Teacher Voice

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ABSTRACT

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In many of today's education debates, "teacher voice" is invoked as a remedy to, or the cause of, the problems facing public schools. Advocates argue that teachers don't have a sufficient voice in setting educational policy and decision-making while critics maintain that teachers have too strong an influence. This study aims to bring some clarity to the contested and often ill-defined notion of "teacher voice." I begin with an original analytical framework to establish a working definition of teacher voice and a means by which to study teachers' educational, employment, and policy voice, as expressed individually and collectively, to their colleagues, supervisors, and policymakers. I then use this framework in Part I of my paper which is a historical review of the development and expression of teacher voice over five major periods in the history of public education in the United States, dating from the colonial era through today. Based on this historical interpretation and recent empirical research, I estimate the impact of teacher voice on two outcomes of interest: student achievement and teacher working conditions. In Part II of the paper, I conduct an original quantitative study of teacher voice, designed along the lines of my analytical framework, with particular attention to the relationship between teacher voice and teacher turnover, or "exit."

As presented in Parts I and II and summarized in my Conclusion, teacher voice requires an enabling context. For much of the history of public education in the United States, a number of social and political factors presented conditions that inhibited teacher voice. As the state acquired more responsibility for the delivery of schooling, the required institutional context took shape allowing for the emergence of teacher voice in its various forms. Collective bargaining laws established formal procedures for the expression of teacher collective voice, originally on matters of employment but quickly spreading to issues of education and policy. Over the past thirty years, just as teacher voice gained strength at the negotiating table and in the corridors of power, the evolving institutional context has privileged choice, or "exit," over voice; a concurrent centralization of authority has made decision making less susceptible to voice efforts.

At present, and despite mechanisms that promote teacher voice such as unionization and collective bargaining, teachers feel as if they do not have much of a voice in educational, employment, or policy decisions. Context matters, though, for when teachers are satisfied with their place of work, when represented by an effective union, and when the issues they raise are implemented or addressed, voice levels are at their highest. My findings also indicate that the right working conditions are associated with higher levels of teacher voice even among those educators who are inclined to leave their school. This finding suggests, and additional research is required to confirm, that promoting teacher voice can reduce unwanted turnover in schools.

I conclude with thoughts on the future prospects of teacher voice. New technologies, social media, and other forms of connectivity are providing teachers with new opportunities to voice ideas amongst themselves and with supervisors and policymakers. Although it is too early to tell, there is reason to believe that these new voice pathways will serve as an effective medium for teachers to influence decisions and policies and expand the enabling context for teacher, and public, voice in education.

Contents:

To Donna, William, and Robert,
with love and gratitude.

Introduction:

The Trouble with "Teacher Voice"

A respected survey finds that seventy percent of teachers feel as if their voices are not adequately heard in current education debates. The figure is nearly identical to when the question was first posed, twenty-five years ago.[1]

New non-profit organizations are founded across the country to help teachers rebuild their profession; a key aim is to ensure that teachers' voice is heard.[2]

In New York City, charter school teachers contact the local union and want to join. Among their reasons for doing so, they want to have a larger voice in their school. In Illinois, Florida, and elsewhere, other teachers do the same and for similar reasons.[3]

In Wisconsin, Tennessee and other states, laws are passed to restrict teachers' collective bargaining rights. Legislators argue that the limits are necessary to protect taxpayers; teachers protest that the changes remove their voice from educational decisions.[4]

In New Haven, district and union leaders collaboratively negotiate a new contract that is lauded by editorial boards and held up as a national model, in part because it gives teachers a voice in a number of school decisions.[5]

A well-received volume of essays by some of the nation's leading education scholars explores ways to improve teacher quality. Although the essays cover a broad range of strategies, including better training, human resource management, and performance-based pay, the articles make no mention of a role for teacher voice.[6]

In Washington DC, thousands of teachers and parents rally to restore the voice of educators, parents, and communities in the making of education policy, which they feel has gone astray.[7]

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In efforts to improve public education, the notion of "teacher voice" is regularly invoked. Depending on how it is expressed and whom you ask, teachers have either too much voice or too little of it. Teacher voice lies at the heart of some of the most animated debates in public education. Expanding or contracting it is implicit in many strategies for school reform. It is at once a question of individual as well as collective action and shaped in a context of policies, institutions, and social norms.

When "teacher voice" is invoked, it does not typically refer to the ordinary speech of teachers in classrooms and as part of their everyday interaction with students, parents and colleagues, although this is no doubt a form of teacher voice. More often than not, "teacher voice" refers to a particular kind of speech, when teachers express their ideas to

more broadly to influence practices, policies, and the political processes that decide many educational questions. Yet in current education debates, such distinctions are rarely made. As a result, "teacher voice" represents different things to different people and lacks a clarity of meaning that might otherwise be useful in thinking about the role of teachers in school improvement efforts.

This is a study of teacher voice. By examining the concept through the lenses of theory, history, and current practice, I aim to bring some focus to an otherwise fuzzy and contested notion. Despite all of the hoopla, my research suggests that teachers feel that they don't have much of a voice in their work, despite their tremendous responsibilities. Whether students and schools would benefit from teachers having a greater say likely depends on the content and the character of such voice, the dialogue it prompts with colleagues, supervisors, and policymakers, and the actions that result from the expression of their ideas.

I am inclined to believe that practitioners should have a say in their practice. On its face, this might appear to be an uncontroversial, even self-evident claim. By way of analogy, we expect as much from doctors and object when their practice is inappropriately constrained by insurance companies, government policies, and other intrusions on their expertise. Given the technical nature of education and the unique skills and knowledge possessed by educators, their views on the organization and delivery of schooling carry particular weight. But teachers do not have an exclusive claim of ownership to the work of education. Citizens, public officials, education specialists, parents, and, as they grow

older, students all have a legitimate interest in the content and the conduct of the public schools. They too have voices that deserve to be heard. But the voice of parents and policymakers does not usually provoke anywhere near the controversy that occurs when teachers express themselves. For that reason, teacher voice deserves special consideration.

"If a Tree Falls in the Woods…"
A Definition and Analytical Framework

What is "teacher voice," anyway? Unhelpfully, the notion is often discussed in such broad terms that it becomes a catch-all for a diverse range of expression. This oversimplification leaves the concept without much specific meaning and often dependent on the context of the speaker who invokes it. For these reasons, it is helpful to begin with a definition and analytical framework.

I offer that "teacher voice" is the expression by teachers of knowledge or opinions pertaining to their work, shared in school or other public settings, in the discussion of contested issues that have a broad impact on the process and outcomes of education. It is not ordinary speech. It is not the private conversations that a teacher may have with a student or parent or statements made in the workplace unrelated to one's job. It is public speech on matters of public concern.

Given that "knowledge or opinion" covers a lot of ground, I offer three categories of teacher voice: educational, employment, and policy (recognizing that these broad issue domains will overlap around the edges), as depicted in Figure 1.
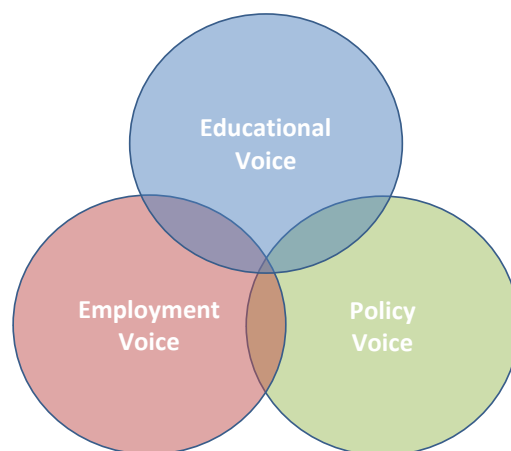

Figure 1. Three Domains of Teacher Voice

Examples of "educational voice" include discussion of issues related to pedagogy and curriculum, lesson plans and units of study, student progress, assessment and achievement, classroom management, professional development and administrative concerns affecting the school day. Examples of "employment voice" include discussion of compensation and benefits, sick and personal time, work responsibilities, schedule and assignments, non-classroom duties and job evaluation. Finally, "policy voice" covers a range of topics that are, by and large, decided outside of the school, such as the structure and governance of school systems, state and federal funding, state and local standards, funding or educational statutes such as those affecting pay, evaluation, and due process. Although these policy issues, once implemented, impact educational and employment matters, the venues in which they are initially discussed and decided set them apart in their own category.

"Teacher voice" also assumes an interchange between two parties; said another way, if a teacher talks in the middle of the woods—or an empty classroom—and no one hears her, then this doesn't count. And although teachers have numerous work-related conversations every day with students, parents, and colleagues, these exchanges do not always rise to the definition of "teacher voice," as many of the issues discussed are not of public concern nor have a broader impact on education. More likely than not, teacher voice occurs when teachers are discussing these contested issues with three main groups: their peers, their supervisors, and with policymakers. Nor are these conversations only face-to-face, as social media and other online forms of communication increasingly allow teachers to reach others in new ways.

Another critical distinction is that teacher voice can be expressed individually or in groups. Particularly in the debates about teacher unions and collective bargaining, the notion of collective voice needs to be given separate consideration from those instances when teachers speak individually with other educators and decision-makers.

Regardless of what and how teacher voice is expressed, is anyone obliged to listen? Or returning to the tree-falling-in-the-woods analogy, even if a colleague, supervisor, or policymaker *hears* from a teacher, to what degree must they act in accordance with this point of view?

This last question introduces the issue of power and the notion that teacher voice can come with varying degrees of influence. In a general sense, collective voice should be more influential than individual voice. Teacher voice through mass political mobilization is likely to be more effective than issue advocacy led by a few. Legally enforceable collective bargaining is probably more powerful than voluntary consultation. Although these are not hard and fast rules (as there are examples of individual speech acts that have been as or more effective than mass mobilization), a study of teacher voice should also consider the power that voice holds to cause the result it seeks.

Overall, this presents us with a multi-faceted framework to structure the study of teacher voice: it is expressed across three issue domains, both individually and collectively; unlike everyday speech, teacher voice occurs in the public discussion of meaningful and often contested issues that affect education; it occurs between different actors or groups of actors; and finally, teacher voice comes with varying degrees of power.

It is important to note that this is a *descriptive* framework; it helps to define how and to whom a particular kind of speech is expressed. Given the generic way in which teacher voice is usually evoked, a descriptive framework of this kind is a helpful first step to understanding the concept and its various forms. But the framework does not supply criteria to judge the *value* of teacher voice. This is an admitted shortcoming, given that much of the controversy over teacher voice lies in the outcomes that teacher voice is perceived to cause or impede. For example, if teachers negotiate better pay that leads to higher taxes, is this a good or bad thing? If teachers advocate for common student

standards across city and state lines that, as a result, are contrary to local control of education, who's to say they are right or wrong? If teachers prefer some kinds of student assessments and personal performance evaluations over others, should they have more or less say in the matter?

Typically, politics answers these normative questions. For example, taxes are raised to the point where a backlash is provoked and new elected officials, riding on a mandate of change, are voted into office. National academic standards (voluntary or otherwise) are advanced or opposed, adopted in some states and rejected in others. New student assessments and performance evaluations are proposed by public officials and policy entrepreneurs inviting a flood of discussion, negotiation, and deal-making before a final version is adopted and implemented or rejected.

Outcomes of this sort are consistent with a pluralist model of politics, in which different interests are, by and large, equally represented across a polity and that power is dispersed across these different groups. As these competing interests engage in a process of negotiation and compromise, the final outcome—be it legislation, a budget, or an educational policy—arrives at a point of compromise between the competing priorities. Under such circumstances, teacher voice is one among many necessary voices contributing to a democratic process of decision-making. All else being equal, teacher voice is a good and necessary thing.[8]

On first blush, the pluralist model seems to accurately describe the political process in the United States, with each interest represented by a lobby in a give-and-take effort to negotiate, compromise, legislate, and implement. But ever since the model was first articulated, its explanatory power has been challenged. Critics have pointed to the fact that not every interest has a lobby, some lobbies are stronger than others, and that some may even block other interests from participating in the process. The most radical view suggests that some interests are so powerful as to shape the beliefs and values of actors who would otherwise have different interests.[9]

A competing model, drawing from economics and consistent with the critique of the pluralist approach, argues that teachers' collective voice outweighs that of other interests. This analysis is based on an offshoot of the principal-agent problem. The standard principal-agent problem exists when an agent has more information than the principal, who is expected to hold the agent accountable for his work, but is compromised in doing so due to this "information asymmetry." A related problem that is somewhat unique to politics and the public sector occurs when agents, in this case teachers, *choose* their principals, in this case school board members and elected officials. This occurs when teachers influence the political selection process through their active involvement in party politics, nominations, and general elections. This line of thinking maintains that teachers, as a result of their political activity as typically organized by their unions, have undue influence over elected officials, have their interests advanced more often than not, and to the disadvantage of other legitimate interests.[10]

But even if this is the case, the principal-agent model still does not provide guidance on how to judge if a stronger teacher voice, as compared to other competing interests, is a good or bad thing. If teacher unions are basically aggregators of teachers' knowledge and opinion, and if teachers have particular insights on what makes for effective practice, then more teacher voice might be a good thing. This position assumes that teachers have unique expertise and judgment and that their lobby fairly represents these positions. Such is the claim often made by teachers' union, summed by their slogan "teachers want what students need."[11] This argument can also trace its lineage to school reform efforts in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, which aimed to replace patronage with professionalism and take education "out of politics" through expert management of schools, although at the time the experts were university-trained administrators, not teachers.[12]

If, on the other hand, teachers and their unions voice positions that are contrary to effective practice—that teacher and student interests are not well aligned—then a dominant teacher voice is likely to be problematic and more optimal outcomes, such as stronger student achievement or more efficient use of resources, would occur if teacher voice was moderated by other lobbies or weakened outright.[13] Given the contested nature of teacher voice, it's not surprising to find that both points of view—that teachers have too much voice and too little—are expressed, sometimes with great fervor.

One analytical way to settle the question would be to identify objective goals, such as student achievement and teachers' working conditions, and then assess the attainment of

these goals against various measures of teacher voice. This is, in fact, the implied

methodology when some activists argue that states with strong unions also have strong

student standards and do well on national assessments such as the National Assessment

of Educational Progress.[14] But as my analytical framework reveals, this simplistic

argument only considers collective teacher voice as expressed by teacher unions, and

assumes, perhaps incorrectly, that this voice is educational in nature; moreover, it relies

on perceptions rather than measures of teacher voice, and bluntly assumes a causal

relationship with achievement without considering rival explanations or other controlling

factors.

A more nuanced approach would aim to study the relationship between the various forms

of teacher voice and outcomes of interest. If the outcome is student achievement, it

would be necessary to have teacher-level measures of educational, employment, and

policy voice expressed individually and collectively to different audiences along with

student achievement data that are linked to individual teachers, among other variables of

interest. At present, such robust data don't exist; even if they did, there remain serious

methodological challenges to building a model that can isolate teachers' individual effect

on student achievement, as current debates over value-added student assessment attest.[15]

But even a robust quantitative model would not capture the role of teacher voice over the

long history of public education in the United States. Fortunately, a historical analysis

provides this context and can begin to answer normative questions about the value of

teacher voice. In the following pages, I investigate the rise and development of teacher

voice from the earliest days of the American colonies through to present day. In each of five major historical periods, key events are assessed through my analytical framework. As this analysis will present, teacher educational, employment, and policy voice only emerged once a political and social context was established to enable its expression. As this context changed, so too did teacher voice.

With the benefit of this historical understanding, I then judge the normative impact of teacher voice against two outcomes: student achievement and working conditions. As academic instruction is central to the purpose of education, it is valuable to discern the extent to which teacher voice helped to promote the availability and quality of schooling. At the same time, working conditions are a central concern to any employee, and it is useful to understand how teachers used their voice to impact their place of work.

A more modest question pertains to the relationship between teacher voice and turnover. Although voice is a way to influence one's circumstances, it is not the only mechanism. The alternative is to leave one's situation, to move on, or in academic parlance, to "exit." Teacher turnover has been a particular focus of policymakers since at least the 1990s, when concerns existed about teacher retirements and shortages. A renewed interest in teacher attrition was prompted by research on human capital management and out of a concern that schools in most need of a stable and high-quality faculty have the highest levels of turnover, as teachers move within districts to higher-performing schools, to different districts, or out of education altogether.

Following my historical review, and to better understand the relationship between teacher voice and exit, is an original quantitative study of teacher voice, structured along the lines of my analytical framework. This study measures the quantity and quality of teacher educational, employment, and policy voice in New York City district and charter public schools, both unionized and non-unionized, as expressed individually and collectively to a variety of audience. The analysis investigates the effect of contextual factors on teacher voice, estimates the relationship between voice and turnover, and explores the extent to which subjective factors, such as level of satisfaction, impede or promote teacher expression.

Based on the findings of my historical analysis and quantitative study, I find that teachers do not feel as if they have a strong voice in education or the workplace decisions that affect their daily lives. Voluntary turnover, with educators leaving their particular schools or the career entirely, has been a chronic problem across most historical periods. Teachers who are likely to leave their schools and seek work elsewhere also speak up less. The decision to voice or exit is influenced by the overarching workplace, social, and political context in which teachers work and live. This context has changed over time, teachers themselves have changed it, and it remains contested political terrain to this day.

This study is organized into two parts. Part One is my historical analysis, which reviews the development and impact of teacher voice across five major periods in the history of public education. In each period I analyze teacher voice through my analytical framework and other relevant theories of political organization and action. This section

concludes with a discussion of the impact of teacher voice on student achievement and working conditions.   Part Two is my quantitative analysis and includes a review of the relevant literature on teacher voice and exit, a description of my survey design and methodology, and a presentation and interpretation of results. Finally, my Conclusion summarizes the major themes and findings of Parts One and Two along with an exploration of the future prospects for teacher voice.

Part One:

A Brief History of Teacher Voice

"Voice is political action par excellence."

So wrote Albert Hirschman in *Exit, Voice and Loyalty,* his exposition of the options that people have to improve their lives.[1] When a person is dissatisfied and is moved to make a change, she can either "voice" or "exit." Voice occurs in the marketplace when individuals aim to improve the products they use, the services they receive, or the experiences they procure by expressing their dissatisfaction and requesting—sometimes demanding—better quality. If, for example, a restaurant serves a bad plate of food, the unhappy patron can send the dish back to the kitchen with instructions to get a new and improved order. In a school, a parent may speak to teachers or the principal about how to improve her child's instruction and experience. Across a polity, voice occurs when people engage in a variety of political activities to influence public decisions, such as by participating in public meetings, writing to elected officials, joining advocacy campaigns, or simply by voting.

Exit is the alternative to voice. It occurs when a person selects a different product or experience that is expected to be superior to her current or previous choice. In the marketplace, exit occurs when consumers move from one product or service to another. In the restaurant example, exit occurs when patrons decide to eat somewhere else. If a

teacher is unhappy with her working conditions, she can seek work at a different school. In a polity, exit occurs when people move to what they perceive to be a better neighborhood, town, or state; parents with school-age children move to a different neighborhood or town with stronger public schools; retirees relocate to a city with lower taxes; the examples go on.

Hirschman also theorized that one's loyalty to a product, service, firm or polity influences one's decision to voice or exit. If it's a family-owned restaurant, patrons may go out of loyalty to the proprietor, not necessarily because of the skill of the chef. In a troubled school, teachers may remain out of loyalty to their students, despite the availability of better positions elsewhere. A dyed-in-the-wool New Yorker (or Angeleno or Bostonian, to name a few) would find it inconceivable to live anywhere else. Moreover, the extent of one's loyalty can suppress both exit and voice, as the recurring patron is also reluctant to criticize the food; when the committed teacher who works in tough conditions does not speak-up, possibly for fear of the consequences; or when a fixture of the neighborhood accepts surrounding decay and decline rather than criticize his own hometown.

The appeal of Hirschman's framework is its clarity and intuitiveness. To voice or to exit? That is the question. But to fully appreciate the degree to which these two options exist, one must look at the surrounding context. For example, if a person cannot afford to move to another town—meaning the cost of exit is too high—then voice may be the more attractive, possibly only, way to better his circumstances. The same is true when one

firm monopolizes a product or service, leaving no alternatives for a person to choose and 'exit' to. In other instances, exit may be the only practical recourse. If urban decay leaves a neighborhood depopulated and under-resourced, no amount of voice may be able to reverse this decline, forcing residents to move out. In an extreme case, citizens who are ruled by an authoritarian regime many not enjoy freedom of speech. In such a context, the risks associated with voice could be too great, even perilous, making exit their only recourse.

These examples illustrate that exit can only occur in the context of a marketplace of choices, where alternatives exist and actors recognize the difference and can trade one off for the other. If there is no real or perceived market of alternatives, and if the product or service is a necessity, then exit is impossible. The same is true of voice. When Hirschman writes that "voice is political action par excellence," he assumes the context of a polity or organization in which the expression of voice is possible and to which voice is meant to influence. Moreover, the context actually shapes which response is more likely; understanding the context becomes a way to understand and anticipate whether people are more likely to voice or exit. Changing the context will change the likely response.[2]

This context, as it turns out, is essential to understanding the emergence and development of *teacher* voice. Teachers found their voice, on matters of education, employment, and policy, only as the responsibility for schooling shifted from the private to public domain, as states and local governments took increasing responsibility for schooling, as women

gained more rights, and as teaching became a full-time occupation—altogether, once a social, political, and economic context for teacher voice was established.

This chapter provides a brief history of public education in the United States to demonstrate how an evolving political and organizational context supported the emergence and development of teacher voice in its various forms. It is by no means a comprehensive history of public education in the United States or even a history of the development of a state-sponsored system of education. Rather, this sketch looks into these histories to discover the roots, causes, and development of teacher educational, employment, and policy voice, expressed individually and collectively. In doing so, a critical relationship is established between the polity and teacher voice.

Drawing on the work of Carl Kaestle, David Tyack, Larry Cuban and others, I review five well-established periods in the history of public education in the United States and analyze the impact of each period's context on teacher voice.[3] Starting with the colonial and early national period, states and localities played only a modest role in the delivery of education. Teaching was part-time work and under the close scrutiny of families and communities. Without the context of a state education apparatus or much professional standing,[i] the very notion of teacher voice was yet to emerge.

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[i] The extent to which teaching is, has been, can or even should be a profession is subject to debate. As David Labaree reviews in *How to Succeed in School Without Really Trying,* teaching fails to meet two of the "key elements that are demonstrably part of any successful claim of professional status: formal knowledge and workplace autonomy." Although efforts have aimed to specify the science of teaching that would constitute the formal knowledge held by teachers and not others, such technical competencies remain poorly defined. Moreover, teachers can only expect so much workplace autonomy, given that parents and citizens also have a legitimate claim to the skills, knowledge, and values that schools aim to cultivate in students. In Labaree's words, "the path to professionalism for teachers in particular is filled with craters and quicksand: the problems inherent in trying to promote professional standards in a mass

In the middle decades of the nineteenth century, advocates of the common schools gradually made the delivery of education a public responsibility. The state systems of education that they developed created an infrastructure for the expression of teacher voice but it was civic leaders, not teachers, who vociferously advocated for public common schools. As teaching became dominated by women during this time, and given the social mores constraining their political activity, teachers were limited in their ability to engage directly in public education debates, a few notable examples notwithstanding.

I next turn to the period of rapid urbanization at the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth. By this time, the common school movement had established education as a "fourth branch of government,"[4] setting the necessary context for teacher voice. The demanding need to provide mass public education, coupled with the era's social movements, prompted the first, full-throated expression of teacher voice, mostly on matters of employment. But it was short-lived. In the following decades, administrative

occupation; the likelihood of credential devaluation as a consequence of raised educational requirements; the leveling legacy of teacher unionism; fiscal and political limits on raising teacher salaries; the historical position of teaching as a form of women's work; political resistance from parents, citizens, and politicians to the assertion of professional control over schools; the late entry of teaching into an already crowded field of professionalizing occupations; the prior professionalization of school administrators and the entrenched power of the administrative bureaucracy; the long tradition of carrying out educational reform by bureaucratic means; the problem of trying to convince the public that knowledge about apparently nonesoteric school subjects is a form of exclusive professional expertise; the difficulty of constituting pedagogy as a formal system of professional knowledge; the extensive role of nonprofessionals (parents and other laypersons) in the instruction of children; the low status of education schools and teacher educators; university reluctance to relax its monopoly over high-status knowledge; and the diversity of sites in which teacher education takes place."

Given the complexity of this issue, my study does not directly address the role of teacher voice in efforts to professionalize teaching or the extent to which professional status is denoted by a robust voice for teachers in their work. Rather, this paper seeks to define teacher voice in its different forms, trace its emergence and development, and estimate the impact of teacher voice on public education. Examining the relationship between teacher voice and teacher professionalism, as intertwined as the two concepts may be, is left for another time.

progressives created a closed system of education, run by managerial experts who aimed to free public education of interfering politics. A reading of their activity through the lens of my analytical framework indicates that *managerial* voice on matters of education, employment, and policy dominated decision-making at this time, not teacher voice.

During the middle decades of the twentieth century, the next period I study, the practical absence of teacher voice was to change in dramatic fashion. As teacher unions won the right to bargain collectively, they used their new rights and political influence to dramatically strengthen teacher collective voice in nearly all areas of educational decision-making. Government-support of public sector unionism radically changed the institutional context, allowing for the strongest expression of teacher voice yet seen. But at the same time, the voice of other protest and advocacy movements placed competing demands on the public school and rivaled teachers' new-found influence.

In the concluding section, I examine the state of teacher voice during the most recent era of school reform, from the 1980s through today. I argue that choice-based reforms, particularly the charter school movement, coupled with the standards and accountability movement changed the state's education apparatus and contracted the context for voice in favor of exit. Concurrent efforts aimed to decrease teachers' collective voice as expressed through their unions, just as teachers continued to influence these reforms and the context in which they work.

In discussing each period, I present the major policy, employment, and educational ideas and events that affected the public schools and its teachers. This review draws on selective but representative, facts, occurrences, and personalities to follow the story of teacher voice in American education. I do so recognizing that the history of education, as a discipline, is controversial terrain in which past works have been critiqued for their evangelism, heroicism, and deconstructionism.[5] An added complication is that the histories of education in the United States tend to overlook the work of classroom teachers, instead focusing on school leaders and institutional and policy development, making the record of evidence somewhat thin.[6] Despite these challenges, my aim is to avoid these disciplinary divides and gaps to establish a basic fact pattern from which to understand the history of the idea of teacher voice in its different forms and its impact on public education.

As the following pages represent, the voice of teachers was nary to be heard prior to the development of a governmental apparatus to regulate, finance, and deliver mass public education. Certainly there was a great deal of public discussion about education, but teachers only entered these debates in a meaningful way after education fully entered the domain of politics, as schools became another branch of government, and as teaching became a full-time occupation for men and women. In other words, teachers found their voice once the context was right; having gained a voice, they would use it again and again to shape and reshape the context itself.

1. The Colonial and Early National Period

Education was a public concern since the earliest days of the American colonies, but direct government support of schooling evolved only gradually and remained modest during the colonial and early national periods. With schooling largely absent from the direct responsibilities of the state, teachers had little context in which to develop and express a voice on educational matters. Instead, education was lauded from the highest offices but remained a family responsibility where their interests and priorities—the *parental* voice—determined the content and form of education.

As early as 1642, a mere twenty-two years after the pilgrims landed in Plymouth, the colony authorized town selectmen to account for children's "ability to read and understand the principles of religion and the capital laws." Connecticut passed similar legislation in 1650, soon followed by New York and Pennsylvania. In 1647, Massachusetts required towns with 100 or more families to establish a grammar school, influencing similar statutes across New England. In Lawrence Cremin's analysis, by the end of the seventeenth century the notion that schools should be generally available "for the advancement of piety, civility, and learning" was accepted throughout the colonies.[1]

This state activity occurred in a context where rudimentary learning was widespread. As Carl Kaestle explains in *Pillars of the Republic*, the American colonies had a disproportionately literate population, as compared to England and other European counties, due to migration from Europe's "middling" social ranks. The Protestant

emphasis on Bible reading and the commercial need for basic literacy and numeracy also encouraged education, furnished through parental initiative and locally-controlled institutions. Although informal and unsystematic, this "local mode of schooling resulted in a relatively high level of elementary education."[2]

Into the eighteenth century, the country's founding thinkers and leaders were outspoken advocates of education as a way to promote republican values and preserve liberty. In 1765, a young John Adams saw the work of Providence in making America "the model for the illumination of the ignorant and the emancipation of the slavish part of mankind all over the earth." Benjamin Rush viewed education as a way to "convert men into republican machines [to] perform their parts properly in the great machine of the state." President Washington's Farewell Address advocated the promotion of institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge to "enlighten" public opinion. Thomas Jefferson knew of "no safe depository of the ultimate powers of the society but the people themselves"; if not sufficiently enlightened, Jefferson's remedy was to "inform their discretion by education." James Madison put the matter more bluntly: "a popular government, without popular information, or the means of acquiring it, is but a Prologue to a Farce or a Tragedy or perhaps both." In Cremin's estimation, "no theme was so universally articulated during the early decades of the Republic as the need of a self-governing people for universal education."[3]

To meet this need, national systems of education were proposed by Benjamin Rush in 1786, James Sullivan in 1791, and by Samuel Knox and Samuel Smith in 1797, the latter

as part of a contest sponsored by Benjamin Franklin's American Philosophical Society.

Franklin's efforts to promote education date back to at least 1740, when he helped to

organize the University of Pennsylvania. In 1779, Jefferson proposed legislation to

create elementary schools in every county and ward in Virginia as part of a three-tier

system of education in which elementary students would graduate to academies and then

on to university.[4]

In 1784, New York established a board of regents and state university to promote and

coordinate the work of colleges, academies and schools. In 1780, Massachusetts added

language to its state constitution to "cherish all seminaries of learning." In 1789 the state

reprised its earlier efforts to mandate schooling by requiring towns of 50 or more

residents to provide an elementary school and towns of 200 or more to also provide a

grammar school. In 1795, Connecticut sold its western land and placed all of the

proceeds, no less than $1.2 million, into a permanent fund to support teacher salaries.

New York took similar steps the same year. Delaware created such a fund in 1796, and

began disbursing the earned interest in 1817. In 1799, Rhode Island directed towns to be

divided into neighborhood school districts, formalizing a practice that existed for many

years there and in other states.[5]

As David Tyack, Thomas James, and Aaron Benavot present in *Law and the Shaping of*

Public Education, the federal government promoted education through the creation of

new territories and states. The Ordinance of 1785, which established the terms by which

the United States would sell lands in the western territory, reserved the sixteenth section

of each township "for the maintenance of public schools." The Northwest Ordinance of 1787, which laid out the process by which territories could become states, encouraged the creation of schools to promote "religion, morality, and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind." As one example, the creation of the Michigan Territory in 1805 was accompanied by a number of laws to promote education, not least of which established the University of Michigan in 1817.[6]

In 1816, Indiana's constitution required the state's general assembly to provide a general system of education, from township schools to state university. Illinois and New Jersey adopted similar language in 1825 and 1829, respectively, and in 1837, Massachusetts created a state board of education. Only the American South stands out against this trend. Despite Jefferson's ambitious plans for a statewide system of schooling in Virginia, his legislation failed and only a few publicly-supported schools were opened (although he did succeed in founding the University of Virginia in 1819). Leaders in South Carolina were outright resistant to tax-supported schools. North Carolina was the only southern state to develop primary schools in meaningful numbers.[7]

As this pattern makes clear, by the early decades of the nineteenth century there was a widespread belief that the polity had a responsibility to ensure that its citizens were educated and that schooling was a "legitimate—and indeed traditional—domain of public policy."[8] Yet despite a public concern for education, the *delivery* of schooling was another matter altogether.

Schools in this period were created out of local initiative by families, churches and civic leaders who hired teachers or private tutors to establish locally-controlled schools. Parents often paid tuition, called rate-bills, and the mingling of private and public funds was common.[9] Few distinctions were made between public and private, spiritual or secular, as tax dollars supported privately-operated academies, some of which were run by religious orders. Attendance was not compulsory, and students made their way through irregularly and intermittently. As David Tyack and Elizabeth Hansot explain, most of the schools were small, loosely structured, and reflected "differences of class, religion, ethnicity, race and regional tastes and needs."[10]

Described by historians Nancy Beadie and Kim Tolley as an era of "freewheeling" choice, a variety of school options were available to the children of white middle- and upper-class Americans. These included venture schools, operated by a sole-proprietor teacher and wholly dependent on students' tuition; dame schools, run by women out of their homes to instruct students in basic literacy and numeracy; tax-supported Latin grammar schools and their more practically-oriented English grammar schools, which were typically found in larger towns and cities for the sons of more privileged families; and free charity schools, established by the Catholic Church and other religious orders, educating children of the poor.[11] Despite this array of options, a major exclusion stands out; as I will describe in its own treatment later in my analysis, the children of African American slaves had no such offerings until after the Civil War.

This exception notwithstanding, education was in the public interest, and many different forms of schooling enjoyed the favor of government. The majority of the early state constitutions expressed some conviction that education was "essential to civil peace and prosperity as well as to individual morality." The result was a marketplace of schools delivered, primarily, by local and private initiative that was lauded and sometimes supported from public offices across the land. [12]

This civil-society approach was in keeping with Americans' skepticism of the kind of centralized, state-controlled educational plans advocated by some prominent leaders and developing in European countries. It suited the era's spirit of capitalism and entrepreneurialism, as well as the civic contributions made by voluntary associations, famously described in Tocqueville's study of American democracy. The approach also fit with American's sense of thrift and antipathy to taxes. As Theodore Sizer made plain in his study of the era's academies, Americans were "*for* many things, but… not for being heavily taxed."[13] As Kaestle summarized, "when men like Jefferson and Rush had proposed state free-school systems in the Revolutionary era, a predominantly rural population had persisted in its attachment to local control and parental initiative."[14]

What role did teachers play within this diverse marketplace of schools? Historical evidence indicates that they taught a wide range of subjects out of their homes as tutors, in churches and meetinghouses, in abandoned buildings and in crude buildings erected specifically for use as schools. Some teachers were self-employed while others were hired by self-perpetuating or elected boards and local committees. Some were paid

through taxes while others were compensated through tuition, endowments and lotteries. Most were chosen not for their instructional skills but for their "religious backgrounds, moral character, and political affinity with the family or community that hired them."[15]

As Kaestle and others have found, teacher turnover was high, most had little training, and wages were low; rural teachers sometimes bartered their time for vegetables, firewood, or livestock; male teachers "doubled as farm laborers, tavernkeepers, prospectors, and craftsmen" before moving on to more stable careers in the ministry or law. Women typically taught as "a brief interlude" between their own schooling and marriage. Itinerant schoolmasters were at times portrayed as "drunken, foreign, and ignorant." Many were only "a few steps ahead of their pupils."[16]

Teachers instructed children of different ages and abilities who attended school together, sometimes forty or fifty students in a single room. School sessions were brief and attendance varied from day to day and by season, depending on the weather and the need for labor at home. Students brought textbooks passed down within their family, offering no guarantee that teachers could base instruction on a common text. Instruction was authoritarian and focused on memorization, repetition, and drilling. Older children often taught younger ones and corporal punishment was common.[17]

Kaestle cites a description of a teacher in Connecticut in 1830 as indicative of the general, and disorganized, conditions: "the teacher was mending pens for one class, which was sitting idle; hearing another spell; calling a covey of small boys to be quiet, who had

nothing to do but make mischief; watching a big rogue who had been placed standing on a bench in the middle of the room for punishment; and, to many little ones, passionately answering questions of 'May I go out?' 'May I go home?'" Other personal reports from the time, in journals, diaries, and letters, similarly describe teaching as thankless, disorganized and stressful.[18]

As if the workplace conditions weren't sufficiently challenging, teachers were also subject to close scrutiny by parents and the community in which they worked. Examinations, which often included public inspection of students' work by family members, were "as much of the teachers as of the pupils." When not in school, teachers' typically boarded in the community where they worked, giving parents and civic leaders ample opportunity to monitor their personal lives. Teachers' behavior at church or at social functions reflected on their abilities; other teachers complained about "ignorant and meddlesome fathers and mothers."[19]

Tyack and Hansot maintain that teachers of this period "could hardly be considered members of a profession… They were young, poorly paid, and rarely educated beyond elementary subjects." Popular portrayal mocked teachers as "pathetic, unmanly creatures" unfit for manual labor or higher professions. With no bureaucracy as a "buffer" between their patrons, teachers were subordinate to parents and local leaders and had "little sense of being part of a professional establishment" let alone a broader civic enterprise.[20]

Analysis

In the colonial and early national era, education was encouraged by the words of public officials and its importance was confirmed through legislative activity. The state had established education as a legitimate domain of public policy and made early efforts to provide some financial support.   But the state did not establish a bureaucratic apparatus to govern, finance, regulate or run schools. Attendance was not compulsory. Most schools charged some form of tuition. State governments did not set a curriculum or select textbooks. There were no standards for operation or for the selection and retention of teachers, nor did states have officials who would oversee school operations.

One way to better understand this context, and how the context would change in following eras, is through the lens of the "weak" versus "strong state" debate within political science. In his study of post-colonial America, and reflecting on the writings of Max Weber, Steven Skowronek defines a state's "mode of operations" by four organizational orientations: the "concentration of authority" to a center of government; the "penetration of institutional controls" into physical territory and civil society; the "centralization of authority" within the national government; and "the specialization of institutional tasks" within government. Richard Franklin Bensel provides a similar taxonomy in his own work, adding other characteristics including the "duties of citizens in relations with the state" such as religious practices and political beliefs; the "control of property" including expropriation; the "creation of client groups" dependent on the

continued existence and viability of the central state; and "extraction," specifically the "coercive diversion of material resources from society into the central state apparatus."[21]

During the colonial and early national period, state governments did not exercise concentrated authority over schools nor did they establish a specialized bureaucracy with the ability to penetrate civil society and local institutions with the state's point of view about education. The state did not dictate a particular point of view regarding the duties of citizens, given that a variety of religious orders, association, entrepreneurs and associations operated schools in accordance with their own set of beliefs, however homogenous was early American society. Client groups, such as state-employed administrators and teachers, had not been established and, with the exception of the sale of federal lands in new territories to support education, the state did not use its coercive power to tax and direct financial resources toward schools. This overall absence of state activity suggests that schools operated, per Skowronek, in a "distinctive sense of statelessness."[22]

Despite the absence of an overt "despotic power," William J. Novak, Richard John, and Michael Mann have argued that the early American state was still particularly effective in pursuing its objectives. It fought and won wars, protected its territory, established communications systems and trade routes, had a coherent legal system, and regularly authorized the private sector to accomplish public objectives. This activity is indicative of "infrastructural power," in which a state encourages civil society to engage in publicly-purposed policies and activities. The extensive use of infrastructural power, Novak

argues, gave the early Republic its success in conquering western lands, creating a vast public infrastructure, and developing a national culture.[23]

The colonies and then states also made good use of this infrastructural power to promote education in the early republic. Speech acts, a form of state action, were a consistent voice of support. Legislation requiring the creation of schools, although not consistently enforced, articulated the state's expectations of its citizens without coercing compliance. The sale of western lands created funds to support teacher salaries and other school-related costs and incentivized local initiative.

With the infrastructural encouragement of the state, education was delivered through local initiative that resulted in a diverse array of school types and modes of operation. The quantity and quality of schools reflected the preferences of parents and communities in a market-oriented system where teachers, schoolmasters and schools, like unique firms, supplied services in response to the particular demands of families and localities. Moreover, schools were only one place where children received their instruction—the family and church were other importance sources of education.[24] As a consequence, the importance of schools was relatively weak, as measured by the financial and other resources directed to them. Descriptions from that time suggest that students' learning and teachers' working conditions left much to be desired and that there was much that could be improved. But as schools alone did not have to carry the full load, a community could get-by with low-skilled teachers, old buildings, and handed-down family textbooks.

It is conceivable that this social and political context could have been conducive to teacher voice. Certainly the material needs existed such that teachers had reason to voice their concerns. Teachers were also in close and regular contact with parents and community leaders—those people with the power to respond to teacher's ideas and suggestions and change school circumstances—another prerequisite of effective voice. But such proximity could have also worked against teacher voice, particularly in regard to matters of employment. Given the intense localism of schooling, parents were well aware of the quality and conditions of their child's education. These conditions either directly reflected their preferences or represented the most they could afford or were willing to pay. As a result, teachers may not have felt that voicing their concerns offered any real remedy. Those who did may have voiced at their own peril, as there is evidence to suggest that teachers who complained to local leaders about their working conditions were likely to be "one-termers."[25]

Instead, teachers were expected to work within the resources made available by families and communities; if they were unhappy with these conditions, it was probably easier to seek a teaching position in the next town over, or in a different line of work altogether, rather than stir the pot. This scenario is consistent with reports of high levels of teacher turnover at the time, suggesting that exit, rather than voice, was the prevailing way in which teachers improved their lot if they had the choice. Some of the turnover was due to social mores outside of their control, such as when women got married and, as such, were no longer fit to teach. In the case of sole-proprietor venture schools, directly subject to the market pressures of enrollment and tuition, the instructor had no one to voice any

concerns to besides himself. If, by contrast, parents voiced *their* concerns about his

services, he could either make changes or move his operation elsewhere. Like the

teachers working at the pleasure of parents and town elders, exit was the sole-proprietors

only real recourse.

Nor do extant records show much evidence of teacher-led activism, either individually or

collectively, to promote and improve education. This should not come as a surprise,

given the market-based system for the delivery of schooling. Although it is possible for

voice to improve conditions of a service or product, markets are premised on exit, as

firms enter and leave based on the quality of their goods and as customers trade-off one

firm for another based on their means and preferences. In a well-functioning market,

such transactions are easier than the time and effort it takes to make change through the

voice response. Simply put, the context of the time promoted, and in some instances

required, teacher exit.

Who then spoke to issues of education, employment, and policy and with whom? Up

through the first few decades of the nineteenth century, it was public officials, not

teachers, who voiced their opinions on matters of policy, such as in their declarations for

state-level support of schooling, to create governance bodies, and to establish funds to

support education. The strongest voices in matters of employment and education came

from parents, who decided where and when to send their children to school, the textbooks

to be used, the tuition they were prepared to pay, and which instructors to hire and fire,

based on close supervision, sometimes from the convenience of their own homes.

These conditions approximate, in the typology developed by Amy Gutmann in *Democratic Education*, the "state of families," in which educational authority is placed "exclusively in the hands of parents, thereby permitting parents to predispose their children, through education, to choose a way of life consistent with their family heritage."[26] Given the era's relatively homogenous society, in which most Americans were of English descent and Protestant faith, the state did not require schools to shape a common national identity, as it would later in the century, allowing for a great degree of family control. The great exception is among African Americans who were not allowed to even take such voluntary activity until after the Civil War.

With the authority vested in families, a teacher's interaction with her supervisors—these parents and local leaders—was necessarily constrained by her desire to maintain good relations and continued employment. As David Tyack found, "in isolated communities, residents expected teachers to conform to their folkways" and be subordinate to the community.[27] Given the lowly status of teachers at this time, it is also unlikely that they would have been influential with elected officials and other policymakers. Finally, the preponderance of one-room, one-teacher schools prevented the interaction with colleagues on a day-to-day basis and the relative isolation of towns and villages only compounded this condition. Overall, in the colonial period and early decades of the new republic, teachers had yet to find their voice.

2. The Common School Era

The decades prior to the Civil War were a time of rapid change in America. The first great wave of European immigration brought hundreds of thousands of English, Irish, German and other immigrants to the young country from the late 1830s through the 1850s. Although most of the U.S. population was dispersed into rural towns and villages, with 91 percent of Americans living in places with fewer than 2,500 people, most new immigrants remained in cities and put pressure on available housing, jobs, schools and other resources. Manufacturing, particularly in the mills of the Northeast, was changing the traditional agrarian and artisan patterns of work. Religious revivalism was fragmenting the Protestant faith into new denominations. Westward expansion was vastly increasing the distances between increasingly diverse people. This period saw instances of urban mob violence, such as the anti-Irish riots of 1834, growing political partisanship, and religious strife—particularly between immigrant Catholics and "native" Protestants.[1]

The problems presented by industrialization, immigration, urbanization and westward expansion seemed to challenge the prospects of the country itself. As Kaestle explains, "Americans of the 1830s and the 1840s inherited from the revolutionary generation an anxious sense of the fragility of republican government… [and] fretted about the dangers of faction and mobocracy." Others interpreted these events as evidence of social and political fragmentation threatening the longevity of a common American society. In republican thought, the survival of the young country "depended on the morality of its

people—not in armies or constitutions or inspired leadership—but in the virtue of the propertied, industrious, and intelligent American yeoman… independent in means and judgment but willing to sacrifice for the common good."[2]

Nothing launches a movement like a crisis. To address the challenges facing the nation, nineteenth century civic leaders put their faith in education. They believed, as had the founding fathers, that only an educated citizenry schooled in civic beliefs, individual character, and "alert to their rights, liberties, and responsibilities" could preserve republican government from "uninstructed minds and unruly wills." Expanding the role of government to deliver this education was justified as a measure of national security. As cultural assimilation into a native Protestant ideology became a national preoccupation, leaders looked to schools to provide "a common language, common social mores… and popular acceptance of the conditions of American economic life."[3]

Schools in the early national period did not meet such ambitious expectations. Although elementary education was available to white boys and girls in most communities by the 1830s, they still reflected local customs and had inconsistent practices. State school reports from that time noted that terms were still short and attendance irregular, that schoolhouses were in disrepair, and instruction led by teachers with little more formal education than their oldest students. In response to this low quality, a close-knit group of school reformers advocated for more robust intervention by the state. As Tyack and Hansot explain, their task was to transform "American's diffuse faith in education into support for a particular institutional form": free public schools that would be high-quality,

controlled by lay boards of education, and that that would mix and homogenize students

of different social classes, religions, and ethnicities around a common national identity.[4]

The most famous of these leaders was Horace Mann. Described as the "archetype" of the

mid-century reformer, Mann drafted, in 1837, legislation creating the Massachusetts state

board of education and then served as its first president for twelve years. Throughout the

1840s and 50s, Mann was joined by a close network of colleagues who advocated for free,

public schools. Leaders of this movement included Henry Barnard in Connecticut,

Charles Mercer in Virginia, Calvin Wiley in North Carolina, John D. Pierce in Michigan,

Catharine Beecher in Ohio, John Swett in California, and Emma Willard, who worked

across the country, among other activists. By and large, these men and women were civic

leaders, not teachers. Mann was a successful lawyer and legislator. Others earned their

living as ministers, farmers, and businessmen. Only a handful could be considered full-

time educators, but even then as college presidents and professors.[5]

The newly established office that they most often held was state superintendent of

schools, from which they distributed state funds to localities, collected statistics, and

prepared annual reports. Beyond these duties, state superintendents initially had little

formal power to regulate education during the ante-bellum period. Their status depended

heavily on personal characteristics and force of personality. To wit, Mann emphasized

the limited powers of Massachusetts' state board of education to deflect concerns over

centralization of authority. He noted that his Board had "no authority as to the amount of

money to be raised, the teachers employed, the books, apparatus, or other instruments to

be used… not, indeed, as to any subject which can, in the slightest degree, abridge or touch the property of towns or districts."[6]

To improve America's schools, the power they did possess and used to maximum effect was their voice. In Kaestle's study of their work, he found that state superintendents were "more like preachers than bureaucrats" as they "travelled about their states, visiting schools, giving speeches… and spreading the common school gospel." Ohio's first superintendent, Samuel Lewis, rode as much as thirty miles a day, speaking in town after town. Connecticut's Henry Barnard travelled to every state save Texas to spread the school reform message. Mann responded to critiques of their agenda with "pamphlet after pamphlet and speech after speech." In many states, reformers rallied teachers and other supporters into "lobbies that effectively pressured state legislatures."[7]

In addition to speeches and meetings, the leaders of common school efforts published numerous journals to spread their message. These included the *Common School Assistant*, the *Common School Advocate*, the *Common School Journal*, *Massachusetts Teacher*, and the *Maine Journal of Education*, among others. A rough estimate suggests that about ten percent of teachers received some kind of journal in 1850 rising to 20 percent by 1870. Through these efforts, reformers gave voice to an "unassailable social function of common schooling" and implied that if one was against these efforts, "one must also be against morality, good order, intelligent citizenship, economic prosperity, fair opportunity, and a common American culture."[8]

In addition to creating the office of superintendent to provide greater state oversight of schools (however limited their enforcement may have been), reformers also lobbied for two other state-level interventions: the consolidation of neighborhood, or "district," schools into town-controlled schools governed by lay boards of education and the replacement of private schools with free, tax-supported, public schools. In their estimation, the small, within-town school districts promoted parochialism and the hiring of incompetent staff. Vermont's first state superintendent derisively labeled districts as the "paradise of ignorant teachers." In Michigan, John Pierce lauded the value of "union schools" that consolidated smaller district schools and allowed for innovations such as the grading of pupils and more advanced instruction. Writing in 1861, Illinois's state superintendent estimated that such consolidation of one-room schoolhouses would reduce the number of districts from 10,000 to under 2,000. Doing so would achieve economies of scale to improve buildings, the selection of teachers, and the availability of resources and equipment.[9]

Reformers viewed private schools as anathema to their vision of free public schooling for all children. Mann complained that tuition-based schools "drew off the support of some of the most intelligent men." Barnard criticized that private schools classified society at its "root, by assorting children according to the wealth, education, or outward circumstances of their parents," educating children of the same neighborhood "differently and unequally." In Michigan, Pierce saw private schools as diverting resources away from free common schools while another prominent reformer complained that private schooling was simply "not republican." These and other reforms, such as the advocacy

for compulsory attendance, represented an extension of state control over education and were in direct conflict with the nation's tradition of local and voluntary civic action. As Tyack, James, and Benavot describe in their study of state and federal intervention in the shaping of public education, citizens at this time typically "cribbed and confined the direct power their state governments could exert, partly from a belief in local autonomy and partly from fear of what unconstrained state governments might do."[10]

Given this political tradition, reformers' faced serious opposition. Two years after Massachusetts's established its Board of Education, a bill was introduced to abolish it. Mann was portrayed by opponents as a bureaucratic boss, threatening local autonomy and imposing his views as doctrine. Opposition to tax-supported schooling was strong in Pennsylvania; Thaddeus Stevens, in support of the reforms, publicly hoped that his state would "learn to dread ignorance more than taxation." Barnard faced similar resistance in Connecticut. Rate bills, those tuition charges that parents were required to pay to supplement the finances of local schools, remained in effect across the country through much of the 19th century. On the issue of consolidating district schools into larger town-controlled schools, Massachusetts flipped back and forth, urging voluntary consolidation in 1853 then requiring consolidation in 1869 only to allow re-establishment of district schools in 1870 and finally ending the practice in 1883. In Chicago, compulsory attendance laws were defeated five times between 1871 and 1881, only to pass 1883. Many citizens in rural areas voted down proposed taxes to finance expensive reforms such as longer school terms and better equipment and facilities, sticking to "their

ramshackle schoolhouses, old-fashioned slates, short sessions, and tattered family textbooks."[11]

The common school agenda also introduced a new tension between the state and the family. As we have seen, the responsibility for schooling had rested with parents since the earliest days of the colonial era. They decided when their children would attend school, paid rate bills, and influenced which teachers were hired. In conflict with this tradition, reformers argued for the "precedence of state responsibility over traditional parental responsibility for education." In this regard, the era's political fights were not simply about the amount and quality of education but whether the state should have an authority that, heretofore, was exercised by the family.[12]

In summarizing the opposition that reformers faced, Lawrence Cremin commented that the fight for free, common schools, governed by more centralized local and state authorities

> was a bitter one, and for twenty-five years the outcome was uncertain. Local elections were fought, won, and lost on the school issue. The tide of educational reform flowed in one state only to ebb in another. Legislation passed one year was sometimes repealed the next. State laws requiring public schools were ignored by the local communities that were supposed to build them. Time and again, the partisans of popular education encountered the bitter disappointments that accompany any effort at fundamental social reform.[13]

Ultimately though, reformers carried the day, in large part by linking their common school effort with a native Protestant ethic, republican values, and as a way to prepare students for the country's capitalist economy. In their state-by-state catalogue of legal

structures, Tyack, James and Benavot found that by 1885, states tended to have a similar legal apparatus for school governance and finance. Nearly all states had a state-level office of schools superintendent, required local school trustees, provided funding to localities, legislated local school taxes, defined the age by which students' should attend school, and made efforts to promote teacher quality. Many states prescribed school subjects, dictated a process for the selection of textbooks, made special provisions for blind, deaf, and other "delinquent" students, and required a school census. Although the enforcement of many of these laws was haphazard due to the "miniscule" departments of education, the state had established its authority on the issue of education and established a legal framework that prepared the way for future regulation and bureaucratization. And as a precursor to the future and sizable role that the federal government would come to play in education policy, a federal Office of Education was created in 1867, residing within the Department of Interior, charged with collecting data and disseminating information that would help states build and improve their school systems.[14]

Reformers' efforts also resulted in a near doubling, as a percentage of the school-age population, of school enrollments between the years of 1830 to 1870. In 1830, thirty-five percent of white children between the ages of five and nineteen were enrolled in some type of school, for a total of about 1.8 million students. By 1870, this figure had grown to 61 percent of the white school-age population, or more than 7.2 million students. The disruption of the Civil War notwithstanding, these trends would continue until, by 1890, 95 percent of white children between the ages of five and thirteen were enrolled in primary school for some portion of the year.[15]

This general sketch of the common school era, covering the middle decades of the nineteenth century, is admittedly broad and focused on the key actors and policies responsible for the state's growing responsibility for education. Other lines in the narrative, not addressed here, pertain to regional differences and the particular case of the South, where reformers were largely unsuccessful in efforts to create free public schools.[16] Related to this regional difference was an absence of public education for African American children, particularly before Emancipation.[17] In response to the nativist, Protestant ethic that dominated common school efforts and after intense political battles, Catholics created their own school system.[18] And the establishment of free public high schools, which shuttered thousands of publicly-supported but privately operated academies, is a story in and of itself.[19] There is one subplot, though, that is of critical importance to the study of teacher voice during this period: the role of women in common school efforts.

Women and the Common Schools

During this time, women rapidly became the majority of teachers, despite the fact that men continued to hold leadership positions as board members and superintendents. In 1800 most teachers were men; by 1900 about 70 percent of elementary and secondary school teachers were women, reaching 85 percent by 1920. At the elementary level, the shift was more complete: by 1905 only 2 percent of elementary school teachers were men. Nor was the shift accidental, as school reformers advocated the use of "inexpensive

female teachers" as a way to stretch scarce tax dollars. Samuel Lewis praised counties that employed female teachers as able to do "twice as much with the same money." In Michigan, women's wages were 44 percent of men's through the 1850s and early 60s; in Wisconsin, women's wages were just 62 percent of men's. During the same period in Massachusetts, and as the number of female teacher grew to 78 percent of the state's elementary school workforce, their wages were only 40 percent of what a male teacher would make.[20]

The justification was not merely financial. Teaching became perceived as a natural extension of motherhood, or as the Connecticut Board of Education wrote in 1840, women were the "natural instructors of young children." The remarks were echoed by school leaders in Indiana and in Pennsylvania, where the state superintendent commented that "except in the family, [a women] nowhere so truly occupies her appropriate sphere, as in the school room." Deportment, moral character, domestic habits and social obedience were all prized virtues in teaching that women exemplified. The feminization of the teaching force had long-term consequences for the occupation, as it fixed the role of the classroom teacher as subordinate to male supervisors. It also invited a deep paternalism in education, as local school committees were largely composed of men who governed the young women in their employ. As Tyack reports, a superintendent of schools in Denver commented that if teachers have advice to give their superior, it was to be given "as the good daughter talks with her father." Finally, feminization relegated teaching to the lower status of "women's work," imbuing it with a missionary quality and further justifying low pay.[21]

There were notable exceptions. Despite the era's constraints on women's public activity, a number of women used what influence they did possess and became central actors in the spread of public schooling. Among them were Catharine Beecher, Emma Willard, Mary Lyon, and Zilpah Grant, whose efforts focused on improving teachers' skills and knowledge. Beecher founded the Hartford Female Seminary for the training of new teachers in 1823 and later the Western Female Institute in Cincinnati. Willard's Association for the Mutual Improvement of Teachers was launched in 1837 and she travelled the country organizing chapters of the Female Association for the Common Schools. Their work included the designing of curricula to train teachers and developed employment networks to place new teachers into jobs.[22]

Catharine Beecher, who was the sister of Harriet Beecher Stowe, was a prolific writer who advanced the theme that woman were best suited to teach, as they were designed by God "to be the chief educator" of the human race, able to "redeem" a nation that was, in her opinion, beset by "vice, infidelity and error." In another instance she wrote that "a profession is to be created for women [so that] thousands of intelligent and respectable women, who toil for a pittance, are to be relieved and elevated." In her estimation, teaching also allowed women a respectable alternative to marriage that did not require women to "outstep the prescribed boundaries of feminine modesty." To overcome the era's chauvinism and gain a wider readership, Beecher at times sent out circulars under the name of her brother-in-law, Calvin Stowe, a noted theologian and scholar.[23]

The limitations on women's public activity also affected their participation in teachers'

early associations, such as the American Institute of Instruction, which were dominated

by men. Membership was not from the rank and file of primary school instructors, who

were young and female, but for men who taught in academies and other secondary

schools. Women were at first banned from such organizations and then relegated to

meeting room galleries from where they could watch the proceedings and be "seen and

not heard."[24]

In rural areas, young female teachers remained isolated from their families and continued

to work under the close scrutiny of a local school committee who would periodically

inspect the school house. In urban areas, teaching conditions slowly improved. Longer

school terms allowed for year-round employment rather than seasonal work. Wages and

teacher training improved, the latter through periodic teacher institutes, analogous to

today's professional development conferences. Commenting on the importance of these

institutes, Henry Barnard described them as an "educational revival agency." In addition

to these institutes, normal schools were founded to train new teachers. Mann founded the

first normal school in Massachusetts in 1839. In New York, privately operated but

publicly supported academies served as the primary institution for teacher training. By

1870, forty normal schools operated across the United States. Many of these schools

emphasized more nurturing teaching techniques and less reliance on corporal

punishment.[25]

Despite the encouragement of more child-centered practices, teachers continued to use authoritarian methods. Students recited passages from texts, worked silently at their desks on assignments, or listened to the teacher's dictation. Teachers expected uniform behavior and coursework from their students. They told their students "when they should sit, when they should stand, when they should hang their coats, when they should turn their heads… often with dogmatic determination." In city schools, students sat in rows, grouped by age and ability, and responded "en masse" to drills. Barbara Finkelstein's analysis of nearly 1,000 contemporary descriptions of elementary schools indicates few changes in these classroom practices, across regions and types of schools, from 1820 through the 1880s. Her findings suggest that while common school reformers were making significant changes to school governance, oversight, and financing, teacher pedagogy remained intensely tradition-bound. Instruction emphasized discipline, recitation, and regularity, perhaps all one might expect to manage 50 or more students of in a room.[26]

As with the colonial and early national era, rapid turnover remained an obstacle to greater consistency in the workforce and professionalization of teaching. In a New York county in the 1840s, 70 percent of teachers were new. In a Wisconsin county, annual teacher turnover was as high as 80 percent in the 1860s. These examples are representative of national trends, as women's careers in teaching were brief and typically limited to the time between the end of their own education and marriage. As Kaestle notes, "such rapid turnover inhibited professionalism, training, and higher pay for teachers." Although reformers tried to break the vicious cycle of low pay attracting transient unqualified

teachers, "who seemed to merit low pay," the problem would persist through to the end of the century.[27]

Analysis

The context of education was changed, in important ways, during the middle decades of the nineteenth century as a result of the common school movement. Offices of state superintendent of schools, the precursors to state education bureaucracies, were established across the country. From this perch, state actors advocated for free, public schooling and enacted reforms in most states, with the exception of the South. Private academies and other forms of tuition-based schools were, by and large, replaced with a publicly-financed schools governed by a local committee of lay leaders. Student enrollments increased and the workforce was feminized. State-supported efforts to increase teacher quality included periodic teacher institutes and the founding of normal schools. Journals, circulars, the meetings of teacher associations, and the employment networks of better-trained teachers began to give teaching the attributes of an occupation rather than temporary work. A concern among teacher leaders like Emma Willard about the quality of teachers' work, and the founding of normal schools by and for teachers, suggests early efforts to establish a self-supporting profession.

Prior to the common school movement, states used infrastructural power to encourage and incentivize local and voluntary support for education. But perceived cultural and political threats prompted civic leaders to advocate for a more robust role by the state in

schooling. Returning to Skowronek's "strong state" definition, we see that common school advocates worked to a.) concentrate authority by consolidating district schools into larger town-wide and -controlled institutions as well as to shift decision-making, regarding attendance ages and other requirements for example, from localities to the states; b.) penetrate the state into civil society, notably through efforts to replace academies and other private schools that resulted from local voluntary activity with a single mode of delivery: the tax-supported, publicly controlled school; and c.) they began a specialization of institutional tasks within government, through the creation of special purpose offices, like the superintendent of schools. Looking through Bensel's frame, we also see that reformers were motivated by their concern over social and political decay; one aim of the common school was to ensure that future citizens would uphold their duties in relations to the state; and by taking a more assertive stance on the need for tax-revenue to finance education, reformers were using the instruments of the state to extract and redistribute resources.

A strong "education state" was emerging. In the process, educational leaders were claiming an authority over the education of children that had previously been reserved by parents. Admittedly, individual states' ability to regulate schooling was still limited and none of the major changes directly affected what students learned and how teachers taught. Parents still had great influence over what textbooks were used and which teachers were hired. Despite training institutes and new normal schools, teachers continued to use traditional and authoritarian pedagogies. Nonetheless, schooling was no longer publicly prized but privately supplied; the state had established education as one

of its central responsibilities and was developing its authority and capacity to govern

delivery. As Ira Katznelson and Margaret Weir observe in their study of the development

of government-controlled schools, this was part of the "larger organizational history of

the state's displacing family, church, and voluntary association controls over various

spheres of life." Although the legitimacy of the state as the "key purveyor of education

was still shaky," actions in the following decades would make the state's authority much

more secure. [28]

The reforms of the common school era occurred through the work and speech acts of

civic leaders like Horace Mann, Henry Barnard and John Pierce. Although there is some

evidence that state superintendents at times rallied teachers to support their efforts, such

collective action was administrator-led and not a result of independent teacher activism.

Given that teachers were directly affected by the changes, such as when district schools

were consolidated and private schools were eliminated, one might expect more evidence

of their involvement in the common school movement. But the feminization of teaching

is likely a leading reason why they did not play a more prominent role. Notwithstanding

the contribution of Catharine Beecher, Emma Willard, and a few others, the shift to a

female-dominated teaching force was a significant change in the context of schooling at

this time. It served to mute the public voice of teachers on matters of policy and

constrained discussion of matters of employment, given that women were expected to be

seen but not heard.

Looking through the lens of my three-part voice framework, we see that issues of *policy* were at the forefront of reformer's efforts. Reformers were also the leading voice on *employment* issues, such as in their advocacy for better pay and more consistent work as a way to attract and retain better teachers. Yet at the same time, their support for the feminization of teacher as a cost-savings measure suggests that they were more concerned with stretching existing tax dollars than increasing the financial burden on families, towns, and states. It is on *educational* issues where we begin to see the emergence of an independent teacher voice and the beginnings of teachers interacting with other colleagues. Catharine Beecher and Emma Willard advocated for and founded normal schools and teacher associations so that teachers could improve their practice. Through their networks, they placed teachers into promising jobs.

With whom did teachers voice their educational ideas? Beecher and Willard's work created opportunities for teachers to converse and correspond with each other, to share ideas, and to begin to construct a professional identity, limited as it was. This was less so in teachers' interactions with their supervisors, the local boards and committees that supervised newly consolidated schools in the countryside, or their principals in urban schools. These relationships were deeply paternalistic, as board members and principals were men and teachers were young women who were expected to interact with their supervisors in a respectful and deferential way, as they would with their fathers. Under such circumstances, it is likely that teacher voice in any of the three issue areas was constrained.

This is, of course, when any interactions occurred. Many teachers still worked in one-room and one-teacher schools, separated from other colleagues, visited only intermittently by board members, in the company of children, and under the watchful eye of families. In these isolated settings, teacher's influence over educational matters was rivaled only by the interests of parents. As evidence from the period indicates, teacher continued to employ traditional and authoritarian methods of instruction, despite encouragement to adopt more humane practices. Teachers continued to use the recitation method, in the regular and repeated questioning of students. As a measure of teachers' educational voice, at least in regard to matters of pedagogy, teacher's had a fair amount of say, if only because there were few others speaking to these issues or with the practical ability to change classroom practice.

Here we see the beginning of a pattern which would be repeated in later eras, where some forms of teacher voice, such as on matters of pedagogy, find socially acceptable expressions whereas other policy and employment issues and demonstrations are considered inappropriate. The peer to peer discussion of curriculum and pedagogy, as encouraged by Willard and Beecher, was a safe and socially acceptable form of teacher educational voice. But in the paternal relationships with supervisors, teachers were not expected to voice employment concerns over issues of pay and working conditions. Similarly, the discussion of matters of policy, such as occurred in the halls of teacher associations, was decidedly a men's affair.

As the country entered the final decades of the nineteenth century, a new educational context had been created. No longer was schooling delivered through the market-based and voluntary activities of local leaders. Although this new education state was not the result of teacher advocacy, a critical political infrastructure now existed for teacher voice to emerge. As Hirschman describes, voice is political action par excellence; as education was now firmly a component of the polity, education was now also subject to the full range of political action that voice can effect. Such is the story of the turn of the century.

3. The Bureaucratization of Schools in the Progressive Era

In the decades following the Civil War, the United States experienced one of the most dramatic transformations in its history. Millions of freed slaves gained new rights and the conquered South needed reintegration into the union. Continued expansion to Western territories further increased the distance between American and challenged the maintenance of a common national identity. Waves of immigrants, more than half a million a year after 1900, came from southern and eastern Europe, China and elsewhere; many did not speak English, hailed from counties without democratic traditions, and were perceived by some as unassimilable. Immigration from abroad was compounded by the domestic relocation of farm workers to cities to seek better work and pay. Both drove rapid urbanization, putting tremendous pressure on available services and living conditions. At the same time, industrialization led to the creation of enormous corporations, huge extremes of wealth, and concentrations of power with great influence over government; in 1897, the capitalization of corporations valued at a million dollars or more was $170 million; by 1904 this figure had jumped to $20 billion. By 1910, the top one percent of the population earned 34 percent of all personal income in the country. For some, the country's captains of industry and finance, Vanderbilt, Carnegie, Rockefeller, Gould, Morgan and others, were models of success; for others they were robber barons trampling on the rights and opportunities of workers and ordinary people.[1]

Industrialization changed the way people worked, replacing small-scale, cottage industries with large-scale factories and assembly-line production. Labor was being de-

skilled as planning was separated from execution and men, women and children often worked in deplorable conditions. But not without protest. In 1892, workers at Carnegie's Homestead Steel Works went on a strike that was violently ended by Pinkerton Guards. Two years later, a strike by over 100,000 Pullman workers over a wage cut was broken by U.S. Marshalls and the Army, at the direction of President Grover Cleveland. Into the early twentieth century, the Triangle Shirtwaist Fire claimed the lives of 146 young immigrant women due to unsafe working conditions and caused an outcry of protests. Through high rates of turnover, absenteeism, strikes and "record-breaking" votes for Socialist candidates in 1912 and 1920, industrial laborers protested "the degradation of work into mindless routines." Muckraking journalists like Ida Tarbell and Jacob Riis exposed the unsafe working conditions and unhealthy, overcrowded living arrangements as well as the fabulous wealth of the "gilded age" capitalists.[2]

The problems were unprecedented and the extremes vast, on a scale that the country heretofore had not seen. As a result, many Americans began to lose faith in the decentralized approach that had characterized the manner in which the country had tackled many of its problems. By and large, it was just this kind of local civic effort—as encouraged by the state—that governed, funded, and monitored the public schools. But as stated by the chairman of the Republic Party in 1870, the responsibilities carried by "those scattered efforts of individuals, churches, and voluntary association for the public good, which have hitherto so grandly illustrated and adorned American history," should now be carried by government to meet the "two great necessities of the country…

unification and education." Striking a similar chord, an 1893 report to Congress indicated that schools were still operated on the basis of "intensely local conditions," following outdated methods and statutes and in need of improvement. Conditions that needed to change.[3]

By 1890 over 13 million students were in elementary and high school, representing about 70 percent of the country's school-age population. Despite this impressive figure and the earlier accomplishments of the common school reformers, the broad enterprise of public education still left much to be desired. Nearly all northern states had passed compulsory attendance laws but had no effective way to enforce them and reach the millions of children still not in school. Although many "district" or neighborhood schools (the scourge of common school reformers) had been combined into town-wide schools run by local lay leaders, these newly consolidated schools were still governed haphazardly with little regard for state laws or the expertise of the educators they hired. Family ties still played a leading role in teachers' appointments. Rural schools, which in 1890 still educated about three-quarters of American students, remained small, ungraded, and were led by young untrained teachers using out-of-date curriculum in those single-room schools, many of which were unfit for occupancy. Although most urban schools were by this time graded by students' age and lasted about nine months of the year, classes were overcrowded, sometimes with 60 students in a room. City schools were governed by boards in each city ward which were seen to be rife with patronage and graft, employing and protecting inadequate teachers and handing out contracts to favored vendors.[4]

The Administrative Progressives

At this time, a new generation of reformers argued that schools could address the myriad problems facing an industrializing America. But just as we saw during the common school movement, the schools needed fixing before they could help fix the challenges facing the country. Reformers argued that if schools were reorganized to achieve maximum efficiency and operated along the lines of professional rather than lay control, then children could be taught that the existing political economy—despite its perceived shortcomings—"was natural and proper." With improved administration emphasizing respect for authority, schools could bring about a "nearly conflict free society." [5]

As Tyack and Hansot explain, this rationale was a notable shift from earlier arguments supporting public education. Whereas common schools reformers had advocated for public schools in moral terms to defend the Republic, the new generation of reformers at the turn of the century discussed discrete social problems to be solved in technical ways. Horace Mann and his colleagues wanted to mobilize the citizenry into action; this new generation of reformers aimed to contain civic engagement and unrest through an educational system run by well-educated experts and social scientists. This new system, they believed, would adapt children to the urban-industrial order and transform the antiquated values and work habits of pre-industrial culture so that children could successfully enter a modern society. [6]

These reformers were the first generation of professionally-trained career educators who studied at Stanford, the University of Chicago, Teachers College and other venerable

institutions, where they obtained degrees and helped to establish the emerging field of education administration. To be clear, they were administrators and academics, not classroom teachers, and went on to hold held prominent positions as state superintendents and in universities and public offices such as the U.S. Bureau of Education (as the Office of Education was renamed in 1870). They made key alliances with the business community and philanthropies such as the Russell Sage Foundation, Rockefeller's General Education Board, and the Carnegie Corporation. From these positions of power, they had an outsized influence on policies governing public education. They placed their graduate students into key school leadership positions across the country. They convened informally, in meetings like the Cleveland Conference, which from 1915 through the 1960s was an annual, and invitation-only, gathering of the "who's who" in education leadership. Despite the decentralized, state-by-state nature of school governance, their overlapping networks gave them and their ideas a national reach, explaining how reforms moved across the country in a similar direction.[7]

Dubbed the "administrative progressives," the leaders of reform efforts at the turn of the century included Ellwood P. Cubberley, who served as Superintendent of Schools in San Diego and Dean of Stanford's School of Education. A prolific writer, speaker and author of the influential *Public School Administration,* Cubberley worked tirelessly to establish education administration as its own field of practice and study. Nicholas Murray Butler, the founder of Teachers College and president of Columbia University, was a key leader of reforms in New York City. Others included Franklin Bobbitt of the University of Chicago, a leading advocate for educational standards and measurement; James Russell,

Dean of Teachers College; and Frank Spaulding, the superintendent of schools in Newton, Massachusetts, Minneapolis, Minnesota, and other cities.[8]

In *Education and the Cult of Efficiency*, Raymond Callahan presents how these reformers enthusiastically embraced "modern business methods" to reengineer the public schools. They attempted to apply Frederick Taylor's ideas of business efficiency and scientific management to create more productive and accountable schools. Central to their conception of a well-designed school system was a new administrative structure, modeled after corporate governance, where decisions would be made by experts trained in administration, curriculum, pedagogy and measurement and implemented by teachers, effectively separating planning from execution. Through this structure, they conducted school surveys to measure and compare schools and systems across a range of largely input-based metrics. They proposed new ways to evaluate and promote teachers. Overall, these changes aimed to bring "uniformity, predictability, and cost efficiency" to public education. Above and beyond their technical reforms for the structure of systems and delivery of schooling, the administrative progressives believed that local patronage politics was to blame for schools' inability to address the problems associated with immigration, urbanization, and industrialization. Their solution was to centralize political control over the schools and run, in Tyack's phrase, a professionally-managed system "for the people, but not by the people."[9]

To do so in rural areas, they advocated the consolidation of the hundreds of thousands of one-room schools into multi-grade, modern buildings, led by professionally trained

principals and superintendents, employing certified teachers, following a standardized curriculum, and less dependent on the vagaries of local taxes through more state-level financial support. In urban areas, they aimed to replace large patronage-based school boards with small boards of professional and business men elected from the city at-large rather than from the machine-controlled wards, who would delegate greater authority to the superintendent. In both rural and urban areas, they wanted more funding to flow from the state, to simplify the "patchwork" of local taxes and equalize resources across schools. Teachers, wherever they worked, were to have better training, acquire certification, and meet higher standards of employment. Not satisfied with the largely symbolic statutory accomplishments of their common school predecessors, the administrative progressives wanted to create and control an effective structure that would allow them to implement their conception of the one best system of education.[10]

By the end of the first few decades of the twentieth century, the administrative progressives had quickly achieved much of their agenda. States granted cities new charters to replace ward-based control with centralized boards and powerful superintendents. Rural consolidation of schools was accelerated. Kindergartens were created. Student tracking, based on new IQ tests and other measures of ability, led to the establishment of special needs classrooms and vocational schools. Regulations and statutes created new categories of jobs for counselors, school psychologists and other specialists, while codes were promulgated for building, health and safety standards and curricular requirements established in areas such as physical education. This and more was accomplished with the assistance of a small army of mid-level supervisors and

specialists; from 1890 to 1920, Baltimore went from 9 to 144 such positions; Boston

from 7 to 159; Cleveland from 10 to 159; Detroit from 31 to 329; St. Louis from 58 to

155; Philadelphia from 66 to 268 and in New York City from 235 to 1,310.[11]

New laws specified teacher requirements and the contents of employment contracts and

due process rights; by the mid-1920s, statutes in 44 states indicated causes for dismissal;

21 states provided for an appeals process and 11 had some form of tenure. By 1918,

every state had passed more effective compulsory attendance laws; some statues included

criminal sanctions for delinquent parents, dramatically increasing student enrollment. By

1930, 30 percent of seventeen-year-olds graduated from high school, up from barely 6

percent at the turn of the century. As historian Kate Rousmaniere summarizes, by the

beginning of World War II, America's public schools "held many of the characteristics of

modern mass public schooling" that we know today.[12]

The administrative progressives achieved much of their agenda by building political

coalitions with business organizations, such as the National Association of Manufacturers,

and social elites. As Charles Lindblom and others have demonstrated, American business

was not simply another interest group but was a major force in politics. In education,

businessmen were active in efforts to abolish ward-based school boards, to refashion

governance along a corporate model, and served, disproportionately, with other

professionals on the new city-wide boards of education. Their language, techniques, and

ideology dominated the new field of educational management. Along with businessman,

lay citizens and members of civic associations were also part of the reform coalition.

Elite women's organizations, such as the Public Education Association in New York City,

often composed of the wives of businessmen and professionals, offered another source of

support.[13]

Teachers Organize

Without this coalition, the reformers would not have been able to overcome the strong

resistance to their agenda. Just as the earlier generation of common school reformers had

to fight against tax revolts and local opposition, so too did the progressive era reformers.

They battled the ward-based and local school board members and committeemen, who

considered themselves part and parcel of the school system and who stood the most to

lose from the centralization of authority. In fighting to abolish the ward-based boards,

the administrative progressives aimed to do away with the perquisites of the job, such as

the power to appoint young women into teaching positions and directing work and

contracts to their favored vendors. But the school wars at the end of the turn of the

century were different from those at midcentury in one critical way: unlike the common

school battles, in which teachers did not play a leading role, teachers now organized and

fought against the reforms they opposed and advocated for their interests through direct

political action. Teacher associations had existed across the country for decades, but they

had largely served social purposes. No longer content with a sidelined observer status,

teachers became primary actors in school politics all across the county.[14]

For example, in New York City in the late 1880s and early 90s, Nicholas Murray Butler led a campaign to replace ward control of schools with a centralized system of governance modeled after a corporate structure. There was much for him to critique: class sizes averaged 87 pupils in some neighborhoods, the curriculum was incoherent, and teaching methods were rudimentary. His efforts were aided by exposés by Jacob Riis and Joseph Mayer Rice and others who put a spotlight on deplorable school conditions and low teacher quality.[15]

As Wayne J. Urban depicts in *Why Teachers Organized*, Butler's early efforts were repeatedly thwarted by the Tammany Hall political machine and the city's teachers who "were nearly unanimous in their opposition" to the reforms. Eleven associations of school employees opposed Butler's efforts in 1891 and nine teachers' associations opposed them in 1895. To some extent, Butler's invited this opposition by regularly criticizing the quality and competence of the city's teachers and their methods, characterizing the typical school teacher as a poorly educated girl, protected by political hacks, in need of replacement by a well-trained woman committed to quality and not the job.[16]

Butler's rhetoric aside, his reforms aimed to abolish the established, local patterns through which teachers gained their employment from local leaders. His efforts to appoint principals on the basis of education, merit, and ratings were also counter to the established tradition of appointing the most senior teacher to job which went—in its original conception—to the principal-teacher. After the election in 1894 of William

Strong, a reform-minded mayor put into office by a coalition of middle- and upper- class voters, Butler was able to push his reforms through the state legislature. Critical to his efforts was the support of middle-class women in the club movement, such as the Public Education Association, who led aggressive lobbying campaigns in support of his reforms.[17]

Cleveland offers another example. In 1895, schools superintendent Andrew Draper proposed reconstituting the board of education into a small body led by leading professionals, rather than neighborhood representatives, and increasing the powers of the superintendent and other administrators. As in New York, teachers opposed the reforms to protect traditional patterns of employment and promotion; they also opposed the manner in which the plan was developed. In Draper's own words, "four or five men in the city of Cleveland who are men of affairs—not teachers but simply business men— came together to reform [the] school system"; so deep was Draper's faith in the wisdom of businessmen and their methods, this was proof positive of the plan's virtue.[18]

Teachers did not mobilize merely to oppose reforms. In city after city, they organized to advocate for their interests, elect supportive public officials, win material benefits and protect their victories, notwithstanding a backlash to their newfound assertiveness. Such was the case in Chicago, the birthplace of teacher unionism, where teachers had gone twenty years without a raise and worked in old buildings, overcrowded classrooms, and typhoid-ridden neighborhoods. In the early 1890s, teacher associations in Chicago lobbied for pension benefits following the awarding of pensions to fire and policemen.

Although Illinois's state legislature passed a pension law for teachers in 1895, it was a

hollow victory as the fund was under-financed and had ambiguous eligibility

requirements. To strengthen the fund and advocate for other benefits, Margaret Haley and

Catherine Goggin formed the Chicago Teachers Federation (CTF) in 1897. Haley,

considered the mother of American teacher unionism, was born to working-class Irish

Catholic immigrants and was raised in a highly-charged culture of local politics. Both

were career educators and benefited from the job patronage of Irish-dominated political

clubs. Under their leadership, the CTF won a salary increase for teachers in 1897; when

the City's Board of education rescinded the raise, citing a financial emergency, Haley and

Goggin launched an investigation into municipal finances. They exposed, and later sued,

large corporations, public utilities, and large landholders for not paying taxes or that had

severely undervalued assets. After five years, a settlement resulted in new revenue that

was put toward teachers' salaries. Their aggressive actions were rewarded in

membership: in 1897 the CTF claimed 2,500 members; this rose to over 3,600 in the

following years, representing over half of Chicago's elementary teachers.[19]

The CTF also led the opposition to New York-style administrative reforms. In 1898

William Rainey Harper, the founder of the University of Chicago, led a commission to

study and recommend reforms for the Chicago's public schools. Their proposals

included a smaller corporate-style board of education, greater delegation of authority to

the city's superintendent of schools over matters of curriculum, hiring, promotions, and

firing, and recommended a system of degree requirements, examinations, and greater

supervision for teachers. Just as in New York City, a coalition of ward-based politicians,

teachers, ethnic and religious groups opposed the reforms on the basis of local, "home rule" for city schools. Harper's involvement was particularly offensive to teachers, as he was a member of the 1898 school board that rescinded the promised raise and had close ties with business leaders, not least of whom was the University of Chicago's primary benefactor, John D. Rockefeller. The Harper Bill, as the package of reforms came to be known, was repeated defeated in 1899, 1901, 1903 and 1909; it was not until 1917 that the centralization bill passed the state legislature after, as we shall see, teachers in Chicago lost much of their newfound power.[20]

In 1902 the CTF joined the Chicago Federation of Labor and in doing so became the first teachers union local in the United States. Organized labor had something of a mixed record on educational issues. In the 1820s and 30s, workingmen's associations railed against private education for the rich and helped to popularize the tax-supported common schools. But by the 1840s, these labor groups were torn by factions, lost political influence to the country's maturing two-party system, and focused on issues of wages and hours, given economic recessions at that time. By the 1850s, trade unions were nearly silent on educational issues. In the second half of the century, the American Federation of Labor supported compulsory education laws, not out of any particular philosophical support of public education but to reduce the amount of child labor in the workforce.[21]

Yet in Haley and Goggin's estimation, the affiliation was a practical necessity. In her memoirs, Haley vividly recalled how CTF "had learned the greed and the ruthlessness of corporate power." The teachers had taken on some of the most powerful interests in

Chicago and the strength of corporations was too great to tackle alone, particularly as

women did not yet have the right to vote and could not express their views at the ballot

box. Membership in the Chicago Federation gave teachers the promise of added, and

necessary, support of voting workingmen and central labor councils; teachers gained

access to the halls of political power.[22]

Although the decision to affiliate with organized labor may have been self-evident to

Haley, herself the daughter of an active member of the Knights of Labor, it was a

controversial decision among CTF members who were fiercely divided on the issue.

Many argued that unionization was opposed to the professional status that teaches sought

to achieve. Others feared that an association with industrial workers would undermine

teachers esteemed social-status (despite their poor remuneration and working conditions).

Haley and Goggin countered that working people were teachers' natural allies, given that

they were the parents of teachers's students. [23]

In an irony of history and perhaps a shrewd political calculation, Haley invited Jane

Addams, the respected social reformer and founder of Hull House, to address CTF's

members on the issue. Chicago's teachers had parted ways with the more middle- and

upper-class women's organizations when these groups opposed the 1895 pension bill. Yet

Addams, as a leader in the world of elite women's associations, could speak directly to

those status-conscious teachers. As Kate Rousmaniere recounts in her biography of

Haley, Addams legitimized affiliation with organized labor by arguing that the teachers'

organizational and political strength had already made them a union; the question was

only whether teachers would avail themselves from the help of others. Addams' speech tipped the balance, Haley moved to take immediate action on the matter, and teachers' voted in favor of unionization.[24]

Flush with a string of victories, largely stemming from their dogged pursuit of corporate tax dodgers, Haley began a national tour to meet with, advise, and encourage teacher activism across the country. Teachers in New York City, encouraged by CTF's success, formed the Interborough Association of Women Teachers (IAWT) in 1906. Although New York City had numerous borough and school-level teachers associations, the IAWT's frequent lobbying gave it prominence over the others. When spurned by the city's Board of Education in their demand for pay equal to that of male teachers, IAWT responded with mass demonstrations, a membership drive resulting in fourteen thousand members, and assertive lobbying of the state legislature. In 1911 and under the assertive leadership of Grace Strachen who was derisively described by her political opponents as a one-woman educational Tammany Hall, the IAWT won state legislation prohibiting discrimination in pay on the basis of sex and secured a raise to equalize women's pay. Two years later, the Teachers' League (renamed the Teachers Union in 1916) was founded in New York City by Henry Linville and Abraham Lefkowitz. At its first official meeting at Teachers College in 1913, seven hundred teachers joined to hear John Dewey, noted suffragist Charlotte Perkins Gilman, and other speakers. The League aimed to give teachers a voice in determining school policies, to gain a representative on the city's board of education, and encourage free public discussion of educational issues.[25]

Although teachers in San Francisco initially shunned organized labor, they too formed

their City Federation of Teachers in 1906. Led by Margaret Maloney, the Federation

monitored the distribution and administration of public lands, which served as an

important source of municipal revenue. In 1905, the Atlanta Public School Teachers

Association (APTSA) formed to pursue higher salaries. Although APTSA had a

relatively cooperative relationship with its Board of Education for many years, in 1910 it

shifted tactics to demand a raise in the salary schedule adopted four years earlier and

allied itself with the city's Federation of Trades to have a stronger influence. Other cities

visited by Haley or inspired by CTF's success included Baltimore, Philadelphia, and

Boston; between 1902 and 1911, teachers associations in at least eleven cities joined the

American Federation of Labor including St. Paul, Minnesota, Milwaukee, Wisconsin,

San Antonio, Texas, and Toledo, Ohio, and Butte, Montana.[26]

Outside of the labor movement, Haley and Goggin had some supporters, including Tom

Johnson, the outspoken progressive mayor of Cleveland, who in 1901 commended their

efforts to expose tax corruption as a public service for the entire country. But Johnson

was the rare exception; as teachers became more aggressive in their demands and tactics,

they were punished politically. In Atlanta, the city council threatened to fire Theodore

Toepel, the head of APTSA, when the association pursued an affiliation with the local

trades groups. In Peoria, Illinois in 1913, the Board of Education forced teachers to end

any association with any trade union, just as the teachers were organizing. The tactic was

later employed in Chicago, where a considerable anti-labor faction had coalesced on the

city's board of education in reaction to the CTF's repeated defeat of the Harper bill and

other reforms. In 1915 the board adopted its infamous Loeb Rule, prohibiting city

teachers from being union members. Although Haley opposed the rule and challenged it

in court, the threatened firing of thirty-five teachers forced the CTF to back down. In

1917, the CTF withdrew from the Chicago Federation of Labor. Although it continued to

operate, the CTF was reduced to the status of a women's club, a far cry from its earlier,

albeit brief, incarnation. As dramatic was CTF's rise to power, so was its swift defeat.[27]

On a national level, opposition to teacher activism also came from an unlikely place: the

National Education Association (NEA). Founded in 1857 as the National Teachers

Association (and renamed in 1870), the NEA was an elite organization led by men of

high standing. Prominent old-guard leaders included Charles W. Eliot of Harvard,

William T. Harris, the country's fourth commissioner of education, and Nicholas Murray

Butler. James Russell of Teachers College, himself a prominent administrative

progressive, described these leaders as 'the feudal barons of the pedagogical realm… the

Rockefellers, the Carnegies, the Morgans of our professions." Although the NEA

admitted women in 1866, the organization continued to be dominated by male

administrators, city and state superintendents, normal school leaders and college

presidents, as was the case of its state-level affiliates. In keeping with its elite status, the

NEA remained a small organization for most of its early history, particularly when

compared to the sizable teacher organizations that grew rapidly at the turn of the century.

Founded by 43 members, by 1880 it had grown to only 354 participants and topped 2,300

in 1900; by comparison, recall that the within a few years of IAWT founding in New

York City, it had over 14,000 members.[28]

At its annual gatherings, school leaders heard earnest speeches on topics such as moral education, curriculum and some educational theory. The simplified spelling movement, which aimed to drop "e"s from the ends of words and make other efficiencies, occupied NEA proceedings from the 1880s to 1912, although whether even spelling was an appropriate issue for the organization was in dispute. NEA leader William Harris commented in 1901 that as "the National Education Association… spelling reform, or temperance reform, or religious reform is not the special object of [the] association."[29]

Notably absent from the proceedings were the practical issues that affected teachers working conditions, standard of living, and status. Characteristically, Margaret Haley challenged complacent remarks made by Harris at the NEA's 1901 convention. When Harris suggested that wealthy philanthropies should give to education, Haley pointed out that she had to sue companies merely to pay their taxes. Haley repeatedly crossed swords with NEA president Nicholas Murray Butler in her efforts give practicing teachers a stronger voice within the organization. No fan of Haley and her militant tactics, Butler described her as a "fiend in petticoats." Although female teachers won some symbolic victories, such as the creation of a Department of Classroom Teachers, the election of Ella Flagg Young as president, and the 1912 endorsement of woman's suffrage, male administrators continued to dominate the NEA's governing boards and policy-setting committees. After an organizational restructuring in 1922, only 81 of the 553 delegates to the NEA's annual convention were elementary school teachers. Its strategic promotion of a united field blurred the lines separating female teachers and male administrators and

"obscured the facts of top-down management" by men. As a result, the NEA would remain an administrator- and male-dominated organization until the early 1970s.[30]

To have a national organization that would advocate, with an unfettered voice, for the interests of classroom teachers, local unions and associations joined in 1916 to form the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) under a charter granted by Samuel Gomper's American Federation of Labor. Of the four founding union locals, three were from Chicago and one from Gary, Indiana. In joining, the Chicago locals and particularly the CTF flaunted the Loeb rule, which prohibited teachers from being union members, and which would prove to be so destructive just one year later. The New York association sent its regrets for not being able to attend the inaugural meeting and teacher union locals in St. Paul and Washington D.C. similarly signaled their intention to join. Atlanta's teachers joined the AFT in 1918. Charles Stillman, the head of Chicago's Men's Teachers' Federation, was elected the AFT's first president and held the post until 1923. In order to appeal to teachers who remained skeptical of ties to organized labor, the AFT avoided a militant image and adopted policies to emphasize its commitment to education and to building professional stature for teachers; in its early days the AFT had a no-strike policy, did not have to recognize strikes by other AFL unions, and argued that unionization would prevent strikes as it would give teachers a vehicle for political action and negotiation. The approach paid off: between 1919 and 1920, over 140 new teacher union locals were formed.[31]

The AFT's early success and the rise in teacher unionism did not go unnoticed by the NEA. Although the relationship between the two organizations was at first cordial, by 1919 the NEA began to advocate for higher teacher salaries as a way to attract teacher members and urged superintendents to pressure teachers to join the NEA rather than its rival. The NEA used the patriotic fervor surrounding the First World War to emphasize loyalty to school, country, and profession as a way to convince teachers to join the NEA and its state-level affiliates—true professional organizations—rather than the AFT, with its affiliation to blue-collar trade unionism. As Marjorie Murphy demonstrates in her history of teacher unionism, this "ideology of professionalism in education grew into a powerful antiunion slogan that effectively paralyzed" organizing efforts.[32]

Making full-use of their access to administrators, the NEA launched its "100 percent" campaign, in which superintendents were recognized for enrolling all of their staff in the NEA; many superintendents simply made NEA membership part of teachers' job requirement. Although the NEA had always been a small organization, the membership drive reaped fabulous results: in 1917 the NEA still only had about 8,500 members; by 1920 that figure had grown to over 87,000 members, and by 1925 over 150,000. Meanwhile, the AFT's membership declined over the same period from 11,000 to about 3,000. Compounding the AFT's troubles, more and more local union officers were fired, bought off, or intimidated, through tactics like those faced by union leaders in Peoria, Chicago, and Atlanta. As a result, many teacher union locals simply melted away. In Wayne Urban's assessment, the administrators' victory over teachers within the NEA coupled with the NEA's defeat of the AFT in school districts across the country denied

teachers an independent and mainstream voice within American education for over fifty years.[33]

By the 1930s, quiescence had fallen over American education politics. The challenge of teacher activism had been suppressed within the NEA as administrator secured the positions of power. The threat of an independent base of power, through teacher unionism, was prevented by the NEA's coercive membership drives and school board's anti-union tactics. Across the country, the battles between local school boards and political coalitions were largely over as control of schools was centralized to the small corporate boards and their expertly-trained superintendents and administrators. As Tyack and Hansot explain, there were still skirmishes over rural consolidation, vocational education, the teaching of evolution and school taxes, among other marginal issues, but "the older enthocultural politics, which had mobilized large numbers of citizens, largely died down, and no pervasive new set of issues emerged to unite voters in opposition to the programs of the administrative progressives." The reformers interpreted this relative calm as confirmation of public support. The hegemony of business ideology made their scientific management seem "self-evidently virtuous" and their coordinated work with economic and professional elites splintered and defused the opposition.[34]

Other Voices of Dissent

Thus far, I've discussed the political battles surrounding the administrative progressives' agenda in terms of localist opposition from political and community leaders and to the

extent to which reforms conflicted with, or failed to address, teachers' material interests. But other dissenting voices also existed at that time and are important to the study of teacher voice. One voice of opposition came from the noted education professor William C. Bagley, who authored the influential *Classroom Management* and was on the faculty at Teachers College. Although his own work was saturated with business concepts and terminology, he was nonetheless critical of reformers' over-confidence and the shaky basis for their prescriptions. He cautioned that "if the history of our art teaches us anything it is that nostrums, panaceas, and universal cure-alls in education are snares and delusions. In a field of activity so intricate and so highly complicated as ours it is both easy and disastrous to lose this perspective… We must give up the notion that solving all our problems in a day, and settle down to patient, painstaking, sober, and systematic investigation." Like others, Bagley derided centralization, the separation of planning from implementation, and the prescribed regimentation in school operations and schedules as a "factory plan" that turned schools into assembly lines.[35]

William Maxwell, one of the more effective superintendents of schools in Brooklyn and New York City, was also a critic of the administrative progressives and their emphasis on efficiency. Maxwell, a reformer in his own right, was no fan of the lay control of schools and effectively managed around the ward structure. Yet he publicly questioned the reformers' competence, the basis for their claims to expertness, and their authority for passing judgment over schools. In regard to their lobbying for vocational education he attacked the "arrogant unreasonableness" of educational theorists who made sweeping indictments and then offered pet solutions. In response to Franklin Bobbitt's detailed

proposals to standardize, specify, and measure educational inputs, processes and outcomes in order to know instantly when students were failing, Maxwell commented that the process "would exceed by many fold the bookkeeping required for the largest railroad corporation in the United States"; if expected of teachers, it would leave them with "no time or energy" to deliver instruction.[36]

The most respected voice of dissent came from John Dewey, the noted educator and philosopher. Dewey considered the application of business and industrial values as inappropriate; he argued that student assessments should be used for diagnosis and planning rather than classification and tracking and he attacked what he saw as the shallow scientism of the efficiency experts. More fundamentally, Dewey sought to understand and explain the role of education in a democracy. In 1902 he cautioned that "it is easy to fall into the habit of regarding the mechanics of school organization and administration as something comparatively external and indifferent to educational ideals." In his estimation, democratic ends could not be divorced from pedagogical means. In his conception of democracy as a social activity, the preparation of students for democratic citizenship required that the purposes, content, and methods of education emerge from shared social activity between school leaders, parents, teachers, and pupils. For Dewey, the top-down management of public schools in a democracy was a contradiction in terms.[37]

Dewey was not alone in his concern. Harvard professor Albert Bushnell Hart was one of the fathers of the study of history in the United States and a member of the NEA's

famous Committee of Ten which recommended the standardization of public high schools. In no less of a forum than the floor of the NEA convention, Hart remarked that the appointment rather than election of school board members was undemocratic and likely to reduce popular interest and support of the public schools. He suggested this form of governance ran the risk of making boards and managers less accountable to the citizenry. He also advocated a larger role for teachers in school affairs and administration, so that they could consider the merits of various educational proposals and recommend appropriate action based on their particular expertise and experience. Like Dewey, Hart rooted his advocacy for teacher voice in notions of representative democracy and teacher professionalism.[38]

Despite these dissenting ideas from such prominent figures, Tyack and Hansot write that "to a large degree the educational trust was successful in persuading other educational leaders to accept their definition of what was normal and desirable in education." In Callahan's view, these strong and intelligent voices of dissent were simply "lost in the wilderness."[39]   In terms of governance and the structure of schooling, these scholars are undoubtedly correct: the system engineered by the administrative progressives, with its depoliticized central governance, top-down management by university-trained experts, and emphasis on measurement and evaluation did not reflect the democratic qualities advocated by Dewey. But there was one exception where a competing notion of schooling gained a modest toehold: teachers' pedagogy.

The Educational Progressives and Teachers' Pedagogy

From 1896 to 1903, Dewey led the University of Chicago's famous laboratory school where he and others developed and implemented far-reaching philosophies of child learning and teacher practice. Their work emphasized a flexible, child-centered curriculum based on students' developmental needs and interests. The interdisciplinary curriculum was rooted in learners' work and experience, rather than isolated tasks and discrete subjects. Students worked together in groups and were guided, rather than directed, by their teachers. These approaches aimed to situate learning in the social interactions that Dewey considered central to democratic behavior and education.[40]

These ideas were based on the writings and work of earlier generations of educators, including Francis Parker, who served in 1873 as the Superintendent of Schools in Quincy, Massachusetts and later, for nearly two decades, as the head of the Cook County Normal School in Chicago. In both institutions, he promoted student-centered approaches. Considered by Dewey to be the father of progressive education in the United States, Parker's work was based in his oft-quoted belief that "the child is the center of all education." Parker was himself influenced by the work of Edward Sheldon, the head of the Oswego Normal School in upstate New York, who had studied the work of Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, a Swiss educational reformer whose work in the late eighteenth century inspired child-centered approaches and Romantic notions of childhood, similar to the writings of Jean-Jacque Rousseau.[41]

The supervisor of instruction at Dewey's laboratory school was Ella Flagg Young, an

inspired educator who put Dewey's more abstract ideas into practice. Self-educated until

she earned a PhD in her fifties, Young began her career as a teacher in Chicago in 1862 at

the age of seventeen. She went on to serve as a demonstration teacher in a normal school,

a high school teacher, an elementary school principal, a professor at the University of

Chicago, a successor to Francis Parker as head of the Cook County Normal School.

From 1909 to 1915 Young was the first female superintendent of Chicago's public

schools, at which time she also served as the first female president of the National

Education Association. She was astonishingly effective at implementing progressive

pedagogies; Dewey once commented that President "Roosevelt's knowledge of politics is

the only analogue of Mrs. Young's knowledge of educational matters."[42]

Young objected to the industrialization of schooling that was at the core of reforms

advocated by the administrative progressives. In an eloquent passage, she wrote

> there has been a tendency toward factory-evolution and factory-
> management, and the teachers, like the children who stand at machines,
> are told just what to do. The teachers, instead of being the great moving
> force, educating and developing the powers of the human mind, in such a
> way that they shall contribute to the power and efficiency of this
> democracy, tend to become mere workers at the treadmill.

The factoryization of schooling was not, in and of itself, a condemnation; Ellwood

Cubberley used the analogy to good purpose in his *Public School Management,* in which

he described schools as "factories in which the raw products (children) are to be shaped

and fashioned into products that meet the various demands of life." But Young, echoing

Dewey's themes about democracy in education, exposed the limits of the metaphor in

warning that "we are now face to face with the fact that a democracy whose school

system lacks confidence in the ability of the teachers to be active participants in planning its aims and methods is a logical contradiction in itself." Although she was at one time skeptical of teachers' political activism, preferring their collaboration in the planning of instruction, she ultimately endorsed teacher unionism as a way to counteract the combination of business interests into massive blocks of power.[43]

As NEA president, Young sought to improve teachers' representation within the organization. During her time as superintendent of Chicago schools, she worked with Margaret Haley to prevent cuts to teachers' salaries. Young instituted teachers' councils, such as those advocated by Albert Hart, as a way to solicit teacher input in school decisions. The concept was also embraced in other cities. As early as 1897, the Atlanta school board created faculty advisory bodies to gain input on important questions connected to the schools "to the end that the teachers may feel themselves responsible not only for the management of the schools, after rules have been adopted, but also for the preparation for the best course of study." Public schools in the District of Columbia also adopted teacher councils at about this same time.[44]

In Denver, under the progressive leadership of Jesse Newlon, over 700 teachers—nearly a third of the teaching force—participated in dozens of teacher-led committees to review courses of study. The practice, which occurred between 1920 and 1930, aimed to study the school system, in Newlon's phrase, from "the inside out." Newlon, echoing Dewey's philosophy, wanted a classroom that was "more natural, more vital, and more meaningful to the students than it has ever been" and believed the way to get there was by

widespread, active involvement of teachers in school decisions. While president of the

NEA, he advocated for the educational leader to be "a reader and student" and for school

teachers to be "a company of scholars engaged in the education of youth."[45]

Through a detailed examination of teacher records, classroom photographs, and other

materials, Larry Cuban demonstrates in *How Teachers Taught* that progressive, student-

centered pedagogies gained a small toehold in classrooms across the country in the early

decades of the twentieth century. Under Newlon's leadership, these approaches were

embraced with gusto and Denver was considered a "national pacesetter" in progressive

pedagogy. In Washington D.C., about a third of elementary teachers and about 20

percent of high school teachers used these methods. He found similar evidence among

elementary teachers in New York City. Above and beyond the adoption of progressive

practices, by the 1940s the vocabulary of pedagogical progressives "had rapidly turned

into the mainstream talk of both teachers and administrators.[46]

Despite this shift, Cuban finds that teachers confronted a fundamental dilemma: despite

their own training in progressive *pedagogies* at places like Cook County, Oswego, and

other normal schools, teachers' principals and supervisors still expected classrooms to

emphasize basic skills, order, and a respect for authority. The pedagogically progressive

notion of education through experience directly clashed with the rigid structural designs

of the administrative progressives who emphasized standardization. Moreover, the basic

architecture of many urban classrooms did not support student groupwork or other

activity-based lessons: desks, bolted to the floor, faced the teacher whose desk was often

raised on a platform at the front of the class. Classroom photographs indicate rows of children with hands folded on their desks; only occasionally were activities depicted. Cuban found that in the vast majority of images "the teacher is the center of attention." This basic and durable design dated back to 1848 when Quincy, Massachusetts built a four story school building to accommodate 700 students, with every teacher in her own room and every grade separated, in an egg-crate fashion.[47]

Given the expectations of their supervisors, classrooms' physical constraints, and the durability of classroom practices passed from one generation of teachers to the next, it is not surprising that studies conducted from the turn of the century through the 1930s found that teacher-centered pedagogies continued to dominate classroom practice, particularly in the high schools. In 1892, Joseph Mayer Rice studied 1,200 urban classrooms in Chicago, St. Paul, Philadelphia, and New York City, and found instruction to be dreary and mechanical, married to drill and singsong recitations and that principals expected teachers to hold unquestioning authority over students. In 1913, a survey of schools in Portland, Oregon, led by none other than Ellwood Cubberley, found instruction "abstract and bookish" and calling for "unreasoning memorization." A study of New York City schools from 1907 to 1911 found that recitation—in which teachers would grill students, rapid fire, with questions—was pervasive. The study estimated that teachers asked an average of two to three questions per minute and that students faced an average of 395 questions in a day. In 1928 Vivian Thayer, an advocate of child-centered practices, also noted that recitation was still in wide use. One calculation determined that teachers asked questions during two-thirds of class time; student responses, in the

remaining time, were usually one-word utterances or short sentences, leaving the impression of teachers as "drillmasters instead of educators." Study after study showed that the classrooms, and its "core technology" of instruction, proved resistant to the changes advocated by pedagogical progressives like Parker, Dewey, Young, and Newlon.[48]

A few final words are necessary in regard to rural schools. As late as 1920, nearly half of all children still lived in the open countryside or in rural villages with fewer than 2,500 people. They continued to attend small schools led by only one or two teachers. By and large, these were isolated schools, operated in old buildings with outdated furnishings. The young teachers who led these ungraded classrooms had little education beyond a high school diploma. Wages were low and turnover was high. Efforts continued to consolidate these one-teacher schools; in 1917 an estimated 195,000 were in operation; ten years later, 153,000 remained, educating over four million students. In the 1920s, four out of five teachers taught in one-teacher schools in South Dakota; across eighteen rural counties in Pennsylvania, 62 percent of teachers worked in such schools; similar figures exist for Texas and other states. As Cuban found, "the demands of teaching in a one-room school all elementary subjects to students scattered over eight grades produced the rat-a-tat of recitations bracketed by opening exercises, lunch, and recess." The methods were much like those used a century before. Writing in 1914, after nearly two decades of dramatic administrative reforms in urban areas, Cubberley asserted that "the rural school is today in a state of arrested development, burdened by educational traditions, lacking in effective supervision, controlled largely by rural people, who, too

often, do not realize either their own needs or the possibilities of rural education, and taught by teachers who, generally speaking, have but little comprehension of the rural-life problem." He concluded that the task of improving rural schools "will necessarily be slow."[49]

Analysis

This age of reform, as the period was dubbed by Richard Hofstadter, was a time of intense social, political, and economic change. The crosscutting currents of industrialism, urbanism, feminism, and other movements caused a transformation in American society, culture, and government that radically changed the context of education and, as a result, the ability of teachers to organize and give their interests a voice. With the exception of rural areas—although change came there too, albeit more slowly—long gone was the intensely local, parent-centered, and market-delivered arrangement for the delivery of schooling that existed during the earliest days of the Republic.

As my sketch of the progressive era presents, school reformers advocated for and built a "strong state" system of education in city after city and state after state. The concentration of authority was a primary objective of the administrative progressives, as they worked to place control of public schools into the hands of small, powerful boards of education and expertly trained professional administrators. Once in command of the reins of power, these state actors implemented a host of policies and institutional controls that penetrated civil society. Consolidating and standardizing rural schools, lengthening

of school terms, increasing state and local taxes, refashioning required curriculum, and creating new rules for certifying, hiring, and firing school workers all represent an unprecedented expansion of the scope of state authority and activity in education. As Tyack and his colleagues explain, reformers successfully equated education with compulsory schooling controlled by the state. Tasks were increasingly specialized as educational bureaucracies created new layers of managerial oversight staffed with university-trained experts in new fields of administration, school psychology, measurement, and testing. Motivating their efforts was a belief that schools could contain social conflict, Americanize new immigrants, and achieve economic stability by instructing children in their duties as citizens in relations with the state. [50]

The concentration of authority and control of schools by state actors created "bureaucratic buffers" that distanced school leaders and from parents and the community in an intentional effort to restrict lay participation in decision-making. This was seen as a measure of progress; as noted at the time by a leading expert in school law, "the public school exists as a state institution simply because the very existence of civil society demands it. Education formulated by the state is not so much a right granted pupils as a duty imposed upon them for the general good." Ellwood Cubberley put the matter more simply, applauding the fact that "each year the child is coming to belong more to the state, and less and less to the parent." [51]

Returning to Gutmann's typology, we see that the administrative progressives' agenda is consistent with the notion of the "family state," defined as the state's claim to "exclusive

educational authority as a means of establishing a harmony… between individual and social good based on knowledge." Gutmann, in interpreting the works of Plato, continues that in the family state, children must learn to associate their own good with the social good and "unless the social good that they are taught is worthy of pursuit, they will grow to be unfulfilled and dissatisfied with the society that miseducated them. All states that claim less than absolute authority over the education of children will therefore degenerate out of internal disharmony."[52] In their critiques of local support of education, in the efforts to take the schools out of politics, and in declarations on the social stability that a properly run school system could effect, the administrative progressives aimed directly at the creation of a "family state" system of education in which the state's authority was nearly complete.

Opposition to their reforms is typically understood as the work of self-interested local politicians and patronage-protected teachers. But with the benefit of Gutmann's framework, we see that an alternate interpretation situates these battles as a competition between two divergent and sincerely held conceptions of schooling: the "state of families," in which schools are locally-controlled, community-based, and reflective of neighborhood ethnicities, languages, and religions versus the administrative progressive's "family state" in which schools are uniformly operated by enlightened state actors. As Marjorie Murphy has argued, teachers' opposition to the reforms was motivated by "a profound degree of solidarity between teachers and their communities." In teachers' testimony at public hearings and in private letters, Tyack found that teachers "argued that the ward trustees were respectable, hard-working, honest people with a strong interest in

the children of the neighborhood." More than mere economic self-interest was at play here, as teachers opposed reformers' intentional efforts to "isolate teachers from the community, to separate their loyalties from immediate neighborhoods, and to wean them from community concerns." This was, in effect, another iteration of the struggle between the family and the state for the control of its children.[53]

The creation of client groups dependent on the state is another characteristic of the strong state. To some degree, teachers always had a client status with their employers, be they local school committees or tuition-paying parents. But as responsibility for education shifted more formally to the state and the delivery of schooling through state-controlled bureaucracies, teachers' dependent status as a client of the state became more pronounced. In this era a new class of clients, those growing numbers of school administrators, also had an interest in the state's expanding role and authority.

The education state constructed by these reformers built on the earlier accomplishments during the common school era. Their work provided the state with a robust and effective means to control and deliver schooling. As I've argued, the expression of voice, by teachers or others, requires the context of a polity or other organization in which the exercise of voice is possible. With the work of the administrative progressives, the necessary enabling conditions now existed.

Other societal changes established new conditions that were also conducive to the expression of teacher voice, first and foremost being the women's movement. Recall that

during the common school era, the feminization of the elementary teaching force coupled

with the period's social mores on women's behavior, worked to constrict and mute

teacher voice, particularly in regard to issues of employment and policy. Early

associations, the NEA included, rarely allowed women to even speak during their

proceedings. Although there were notable exceptions, like Emma Willard and Catharine

Beecher, even their work characterized teaching as a natural extension of motherhood

and reinforced stereotypes and limitations affecting women teachers.

But by the turn of the century, this too was changing. Many female educators were part

of a larger women's movement that was gaining political momentum. Famous suffragists

such as Susan B. Anthony, Anna Howard Shaw, and Henrietta Rodman had all been

teachers at one time in their careers. Ella Flagg Young moved in circles with other

articulate and well-connected women like Jane Addams, who were working to solve

social problems, often from positions of power. In investigating county tax rolls, suing

corporations, and lobbying state legislators, as did Haley, Goggin, and Strachan, women

were exerting an influence heretofore reserved for men. In short, women were no longer

asking permission to speak; they had found their voice and were using it to change

education policies and teachers' working conditions.[54]

Another critical factor supporting the expression of teacher voice across multiple issues

was the fact that teachers were making a career of their work. No longer was teaching a

"pleasant interlude," for prospective brides; it was becoming a job. To be clear, rates of

turnover were still high across a range of indicators. But from 1900 to 1930, the median

age of a female teacher rose from 26 to 29, not an insignificant change given the growing

student population and the need for more teachers. Patterns were noticeably different

between urban and rural areas, too. A study conducted in 1911 found that men in city

schools had taught for an average of twelve years and women for seven, whereas teachers

in rural areas averaged only about two years of experience. In the same study, Over 75

percent of rural teachers had five or fewer years of experience whereas only 29 percent of

urban teachers had such short tenures. Eleven percent of urban teachers had between

sixteen and twenty years of experience while less than 3 percent of rural teachers had that

much tenure.[55]

These data indicate that exit was still the dominant response mechanism in rural areas.

Some of this turnover was involuntary, given the sustained custom that married women

should not teach. But given the poor working conditions and the isolation of a one-room

schoolhouse, teachers likely left to improve their prospects. As turnover was lower in

cities, voice emerged as an alternate way for urban teachers to improve their conditions.

Moreover, cities gave teachers physical proximity to one another, another precondition to

collective voice that rural teachers did not enjoy. Finally, the high level of coordination

among administrative progressives meant that similar reforms were rolling out across

cities and states. Across the landscape, this likely reduced the amount of diversity of

educational policies and practices. If, for example, a teacher was unhappy with school

practices in one part of a city, it was becoming harder to escape those practices by

moving to a different side of town, given that similar reforms were being implemented

there too. With less of an ability to "exit" from one set of reforms to something different, voice was all that teachers had left.

Overall, the conditions to promote and encourage teacher voice were present. The breadth of the education state meant that policies would be decided through political action and on an unprecedented scale; women, who dominated the teaching force, were less constrained by social mores; teachers in urban areas were making teaching a career and were in proximity to one another to act collectively. What, then, did teachers have to say?

During this period, *employment* issues dominated teachers' speech acts. Economic concerns also explain why teachers organized into unions to give collective strength to their voice. This was the case in Chicago, where salary and pension issues preoccupied the efforts of the Chicago Teachers Federation; in Atlanta, where salaries had been stuck for years; and in New York, where women lobbied for equal pay. In these and other cities, and as Wayne Urban demonstrates in *Why Teachers Organized*, "teachers organized to pursue material improvements, salaries, pensions, tenure and other benefits."[56]

A focus on economic issues should come as no surprise: in 1895, *Harper's Weekly* estimated that the national average teachers' salary was $260 a year, a figure the magazine called woefully inadequate. A 1903 study of teachers' pay in Chicago concluded that the starting salary of about $550 a year was insufficient if teachers were to

retain their "health and self-respect." By comparison, at that time government clerks earned about $900 a year; librarians $1,000 a year, and governmental pages between $450 and $600 a year. Nor did teachers' salaries and other economic benefits improve when the country emerged from the economic downturns of the 1890s. A 1910 study found that teachers were still making "very close to the bare minimum wage." In the run-up to World War I, inflation further devalued teachers' income, as the cost-of-living increased by 40 percent between 1915 and 1917.[57]

On matters of *policy* and in dealings with policymakers, we've seen how teachers organized into associations and unions to have a strong voice in these decisions. In Chicago, the CTF repeatedly stopped the Harper bill from being passed. When the Chicago board of education aimed to cut salaries, the CTF organized "vocal political opposition" and defeated the measure. When the CTF was unsuccessful in convincing board members to oppose a merit pay plan, the union tried to have board members elected, rather than appointed by the mayor, on the assumption that they could help elect members more sympathetic to their views. When this failed, the CTF worked to elect a mayor who was favorable to their interests. Organized teacher action and speech occurred in cities across the country; union locals were founded to lobby policymakers, win preferred policies, and fight reforms they opposed.[58]

On *educational* issues, the presence and effect of teacher voice is not as clear cut. In places like Chicago, Atlanta, Denver, and Washington, D.C., faculty and advisory councils gave teachers a formal voice in educational decisions. Such councils were

promoted by pedagogical progressives as a way to model democratic practices in schools and to benefit from teachers' insights. But on another interpretation, the changes in classroom practice sought by Dewey, Parker, and others had the unintended effect of reducing teachers' overt classroom authority. Efforts to promote a child-centered pedagogy, with students working in groups and teachers serving as guides rather than instructors, challenged the dominant position of teachers in a traditional classroom, a hallmark of which was the teacher-led recitation. Among the numerous venues where school policies were debated and decided, the classroom was the one, last venue where teachers could command near total authority. In as much as child-centered approaches were a threat to this authority (and to the extent that administrators still expected orderly classrooms) it is not surprising that progressive pedagogies were slow to take hold. Although not a precise example of *active* teacher educational voice (in which we'd expect to see teachers engaged in discussions and debates over traditional versus progressive pedagogy) teachers still retained the practical ability to employ their preferred pedagogies. As such, teachers' use of traditional pedagogies can be construed as a passive expression of teachers' point of view on educational matters, in successful opposition to the day's recommended approach.

The historical record suggests that collective teacher voice was more pervasive than individual voice, particularly when addressing supervisors and policymakers, likely out of fear of retribution. As we saw in Atlanta, Chicago, Peoria, and elsewhere, school boards retaliated against individual teacher leaders. In 1915, an Atlanta teacher wrote to the *Journal of Labor,* protesting a proposed compensation system that was designed to

cut the salaries of more senior teachers, but did so anonymously given that "no teacher dares to express her opinion for fear of losing her position." At the time, another teacher leader wrote that union local presidencies were vacant because it "meant death in the front line trenches for a teacher to take a stand in regard to certain matters." In New York City, teachers often lived in fear of their principals; in their interactions teachers were "timid, easily frightened [and] scared to have an opinion of their own." There were similar reports out of Philadelphia, where teachers were fearful of "a Siberia, both cold and hungry, for subordinates who criticize the management of the Philadelphia public schools." Raymond Callahan came to a similar conclusion: without meaningful job protections, teachers had little choice but to accept the reforms, as they were too timid to speak up.[59]

There was a time, prior the administrative progressives' reforms, when it was likely easier for teachers to express their views on matters of education and employment given the relative absence of an occupational hierarchy. When one-teacher schoolhouses were dominant, there was no principal with whom a teacher would interact to voice ideas and concerns. When the position of head of a school was determined by seniority and typically held by the principal-teacher, the line separating management from labor was not as clear. But as Wayne Urban notes, progressive era reforms firmly established an employment hierarchy, to the detriment of teachers. The administrative progressives implemented bureaucratic chains of command and teachers were relegated to the "bottom rungs" of the occupation.[60]

It was at the bottom rungs where teachers, particularly female teachers, would remain for decades to come. Although the progressive era witnessed an unprecedented spike in teachers' collective voice on matters of policy and employment, their influence was short-lived. The NEA's "100 percent" campaign, the dominance of administrators in the association's key leadership posts, overt union animus in places like Chicago, conspired to undermine teachers' influence and collective strength just as momentum was gathering.

A compounding factor was the pervasive male chauvinism that persisted despite gains made by suffragists and other leaders in the women's movement. Charles W. Eliot, a president of the NEA and Harvard University, found it an "extraordinary and very discouraging fact that whenever a large number of women get excited in a cause which seems to them in general good and praiseworthy, some of them become indifferent to the moral quality of the particular efforts by which it seems possible to promote the cause." Regarding Margaret Haley, Eliot found "a general moral ignorance or incapacity which is apt to be evidence whenever women get stirred in political, social, or educational contests." Also widespread was a belief, among men, that women had particular intellectual limits. In 1902, the Chicago board of education was reluctant to let female teachers attend a lecture by noted psychologist G. Stanley Hall as his ideas might be too taxing. Another superintendent claimed that "most teachers are unqualified to present any original method of studying… and could do no better for their pupils than to follow a well-developed system with the necessary information regarding the subject presented in the textbook."[61] The notion that female teachers—the majority of the workforce—might

have ideas on educational matters that deserved a public voice was simply inconsistent with the prejudices of the time.

As a result, female teachers faced barriers to career advancement and to positions where they could exercise more authority and influence. Marriage continued to force women out of the work. A survey of 48 cities in 1914 found that three-quarters had regulations prohibiting the employment of married women teachers. In 1928, the NEA found that 60 percent of city school districts prohibited the hiring of married teachers and nearly as many required female teachers who got married to leave their jobs. As jobs grew more scarce during the Depression, thousands of districts passed new bans, in part of protect jobs for men. Not surprisingly, in 1900 only 10 percent of female teachers were married; by 1940 this figure had only grown to 22 percent. In smaller cities and rural communities, marriage bans remained in effect through the middle of the twentieth century.[62] Such regulations forced many teachers to leave the classroom, taking with them their experience and the potential of an informed voice on school matters.

Given men's dominance of administrative positions and employment networks, women also lost the small toehold they had achieved in supervisory positions. By 1922, nine states had elected women to state superintendent of education and the number of female county superintendents rose from 276 in 1900 to 857 in 1922. But as Tyack and Hansot show in their study of public school leadership, the number of female educators holding such leadership positions declined: In 1905, 62 percent of elementary principals were women declining to 20 percent over the next seventy years; women represented 6 percent

of all high school principals, declining to 1.5 percent by 1973. The supervisory positions that women were allowed to hold were gender-identified, in such areas as household economy, hygiene, and child welfare.[63]

There is also reason to be skeptical of the strength and authenticity of teachers' voice in educational matters. Although faculty councils gave teachers an institutional platform to influence school decisions, the advisory bodies were short-lived, narrow in scope, and in some instances used to pre-empt union organizing campaigns. For example, despite Albert Hart's advocacy for teacher councils from the floor of the NEA convention and in Cambridge, Massachusetts, where he served on the local school board, the idea never got off the ground. After Hart's resignation from the board in 1896, the proposal died in a subcommittee, which found that it would be "inexpedient" to take such an action at that time. Councils in Atlanta focused on benign issues such as students' course of study, steering clear of more controversial topics like wages and working conditions. This was also the case in Jesse Newlan's progressive stronghold in Denver, where the teacher committees focused on coursework. In Minneapolis, superintendent Frank Spaulding initiated teacher councils so that the local teachers federation would not use the idea as a way to organize teachers. In Washington DC, the councils were chaired and controlled by administrators. In Chicago, superintendent William McAndrew outright abolished his system's councils in 1920. The variety of constraints suggest that the teachers councils where not a genuine vehicle for independent teacher educational voice. On uncontroversial issues of curriculum and courses of study, the councils gave teachers a formal opportunity to work together with other colleagues. But the councils rather

artfully limited teacher voice within "the same hierarchy that existed in the formal administration."[64]

Finally, loyalty was used as a powerful weapon to silence teachers. As Hirschman theorized, loyalty can influence a decision to exit or voice or do neither. During the progressive era, the NEA used a coercive form of loyalty to its great advantage during the 100 percent campaign, as supervisors convinced teachers that it was their duty to remain loyal to narrow definition of professionalism, specifically "not unionism," and to an organization which advanced administrators' rather than teachers' interests. The campaign undermined organizing efforts, and the AFT saw a sharp decline in membership and in the number of affiliated locals. As we shall see, loyalty to country was again used as a powerful weapon against teacher unions during the Red Scares and communist witch hunts during the middle decades of the twentieth century.[65]

By the late 1930s and early 1940s, the administrative progressives surveyed their accomplishments, reinforced their positions, and interpreted the relative calm in school politics as a measure of their success. Teacher voice, which had briefly found full-throated expression in some matters of policy and employment, had been effectively driven underground. The voice of school managers dominated all others, largely through the workings of a tight-knit network of administrators who held major positions of leadership in state departments of education, colleges of education, state educational associations, and superintendencies. The reforms of the progressive era had established closed systems, where the "organization and rationales for autonomous school

bureaucracies directed by self-regulating educational professionals were, if not wholly uncontested, established features of municipal life."[66]

But as the country entered the middle of the twentieth century, teachers and parents began to object to the administrative progressives' one best system. To do so, they used new instruments of state power to yet again reshape the context of education in such a way that their voices would be heard and, at times, conflict.

4. The Era of Civil and Teacher Rights

Throughout this chapter, I've argued that the exercise of voice requires an enabling

context. Up to the early decades of the twentieth century, the history of public schools

reveals a steady process in which advocates worked to *establish* this context by

strengthening the authority of the state to regulate and deliver education. As a result,

teachers gained, and helped to create, an organizational and institutional setting in which

to express their voice, albeit as moderated by each era's social mores and politics.

As this next section demonstrates, during the middle decades of the twentieth century the

state's authority over education was strengthened as different actors *used* this expanding

context to pursue their own objectives for the educational system. Although the demands

were sometimes in competition with other interests, and at times sought radical changes

in pedagogy, curriculum and other aspects of schooling, they did not challenge the

"education state" itself. Rather, the numerous voice movements depended on the state-

created context and, as such, further legitimized public provision of education.

The 1930s to the 1970s are rarely considered a time of consistency. The New Deal,

Second World War, the rise of communism and the Cold War, another wave of

immigration and urbanization, and the Civil Rights, counter-culture, Black power, and

women's movement—to name just a few key events—fundamentally altered American

politics and society. Moreover, all of these events affected what was taught in schools

and by whom, who went to school and with whom, and what schools could and were

obliged to do. Yet the fundamental notion of state-delivered education was rarely

challenged; events and movements sought change through this context rather than

undoing the context itself. Teachers' own efforts to improve their circumstances were

among many other competing efforts. Only towards the end of the century, after a

tremendous expansion of the state's reach and growing dissatisfaction with waves of

reform, were steps taken to fundamentally alter the state's relationship to the public

schools.

The story of this era begins with the relative calm in education politics of the 1930s

through the 50s after the "education trust," those administrative progressives, had secured

the levers of power and effectively muted dissent. How did they use the context and their

power? What goals did they pursue? What problems did they ignore? Answers to these

questions help to explain the overwhelming voices of protest in the following decades,

with teachers' voice among a noisy chorus.

The Cardinal Principles and the Life Adjustment Curriculum

From their secure positions of power in school systems across the country, the

administrative progressives turned their attention to the content of schooling. In doing so,

they adopted progressive education as their own. In the 1930s, school leaders embraced

the rhetoric of progressive education and by the 1940s it was the conventional wisdom,

no longer "progressive," but simply "modern," "new," or "good educational practice."

But as Diane Ravitch depicts in *The Troubled Crusade*, their notion of progressivism was

no longer part of a larger social and political reform movement as envisioned by Dewey and others. Instead, their rhetoric embraced a utilitarian social efficiency rather than social reform, compounded by a "vigorous suspicion of 'bookish' learning."[1]

David Tyack and Larry Cuban report that the root of this transformation can be traced to *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education,* published in 1918 by the NEA and disseminated by the U.S. Bureau of Education. The principles emphasized students' health, worthy home-membership, vocation, citizenship, worthy use of leisure, and ethical character. The report's initial draft made no mention of traditional academics, only adding "command of the fundamental processes" to a later, final version. Subsequent and influential documents like *The Purposes of Education* also advocated non-academic goals such as self-realization, human relationships, economic efficiency, and civic responsibility, giving short shrift to analytical skills, traditional knowledge, and cultural literacy.[2]

Administrators, with the help of leading academics, moved quickly to put the *Principles* into practice. Franklin Bobbitt's influential *How to Make a Curriculum* was published in 1924; William Heard Kilpatrick's *Foundations of Method* and Ellsworth Colling's *An Experiment with a Project Curriculum* were among works that guided a national curriculum revision movement. Along with Denver, due to Jesse Newlon's efforts, other leading cities included St. Louis and Houston. By the mid-1930s, thirty-seven states had created curriculum revision programs; the director of the Curriculum Laboratory at

Teachers College estimated that, nationwide, more than thirty thousand courses had been revised.[3]

The curriculum review process was typically led by an administrator. Teachers, organized into study groups, were instructed to survey their community and determine how well a school's offerings matched the community's needs. The committee then revised the curriculum based on their findings. Although such a process might have led to different outcomes in different communities, Ravitch found that the results were largely the same, as courses were revised to prepare children for effective living through useful activities. Moreover, teachers' were sometimes forced to participate in the study groups, with deliberations shaped to generate consensus. Isolated reports indicate that some teachers were reprimanded for voicing their concerns about the process and outcomes while others were fired or disciplined. School leaders in Philadelphia threatened to take "protective measures" if teachers attempted to impede the curricular revisions. A Michigan administrator banned teachers from using textbooks that were not approved by the group. Under such circumstances, it was difficult to tell if teachers genuinely supported the new curriculum or simply, and quietly, acquiesced.[4]

The result in many schools was a functionalist curriculum blessed by the U.S. Office of Education and nearly every major education group that emphasized everyday situations as the medium of instruction, focused on human activities instead of subject matter, and stressed attitudes and know-how rather than abstract knowledge. Teachers were encouraged or required to use newspapers, articles, and other community resources

instead of textbooks and traditional learning materials. Intellectual development and mastery of subject matter was displaced by the goal of "a well-adjusted student, who was prepared to live effectively as a worker, a home member, and a citizen."[5]

Recall that the administrative progressives, as early as the 1890s, believed that children could be taught that the existing political economy was natural and proper and that schools could bring about a nearly conflict-free society. To teach this lesson, administrators first waged their three-decade long battle to win political control of the school system. In the process, they muted dissent, commanded the loyalty of teachers, and established a politically-closed system of education. With the reins of power firmly in their grasp, the life-adjustment curriculum, as it came to be known, was their educational vehicle to realize their utopian, if deterministic, vision for society.

But as occurred with earlier reforms, the curriculum revision movement generated its fair share of criticism. Despite teachers' limited ability to voice their skepticism, prominent academics and observers had no such constraints. As early as 1934 William Bagley, who was a consistent voice of dissent against school centralization, commented that the substitution of activities for "systematic and sequential learning would defeat the most important ends of education." Historian Isaac Kandel described the new curricula as superficial and vapid. Even Dewey, in 1938, rebuked the latter-day progressives for replacing intelligent activity with an education based on whim and impulse.[6]

Defenders of the new status-quo, including the editors of the journal *Progressive Education*, attempted to silence their critics by labeling them as dishonest, congenital reactionaries, incompetent teachers, or simply enemies of public education. The NEA, in a somewhat defensive tone, described the criticisms as "ignorant and extreme." But the critiques only escalated through the 1940s and 50s. Right-wing organizations interpreted the approach's utilitarian conformity as a communist plot. Community groups objected to the diminished emphasis on core academic subjects. A younger generation of administrators was alarmed by a perceived lowering of standards. In 1952, *Time* magazine called life-adjustment education "the latest gimmick" in schooling; *Atlantic Monthly, McCall's,* and *Readers Digest* ran similar stories. Scholarly and popular critiques included Robert M. Hitchens's *The Conflict in Education in a Democratic Society*, Arthur Bestor's *Educational Wastelands,* and Albert Lynd's *Quackery in the Public Schools*. Hitchens argued that educators refused to engage in the aims of education and prided themselves on "having no curriculum." Bestor advocated reforms to break the power of the "interlocking directorate," as did Lynd who observed that the educators had "wrested control" of schools from the people and "arrogated to themselves the sole competence" to determine the methods and aims of education. Given the earliest stated aims of the administrative progressives—to take the politics out of education and create a system run by experts—this should have come as no surprise.[7]

The critique of life-adjustment education and, as we shall see, its rapid demise following the Soviet Union's launch of the Sputnik satellite in 1957, was mere prologue to a wholesale attack on the project of the administrative progressives. The undemocratic

foundation of their philosophy—that they, as experts, could single-handedly design and effectively operate the nation's school systems without the input or support of families and other legitimate interests—was to be exposed, challenged and refuted in dramatic fashion. Merely considering students' learning and teachers' working conditions amidst the Great Depression, the Second World War, and its immediate aftermath provides ample evidence that their one best system, and the closed political process intended to sustain it, weren't meeting expectations.

Teachers Radicalize

It is hard to overstate the deleterious impact of the Great Depression on America's public schools. Tax revenue in many districts had fallen by 30 or 50 percent. In the 1934-35 school year, one estimate found that 42,000 schools could not operate for the full school year and another 40,000 operated for fewer than six months. In Philadelphia, teachers took a 10 percent pay cut; their colleagues in Denver took a 20 percent cut. In New York City, 20,000 lower-cost substitutes were employed to replace permanent teachers. Rural areas were hit particularly hard: in Arkansas, 300 schools closed after only 60 days of instruction; Alabama closed half of its schools. Class sizes were increasing and programs were deteriorating. The outbreak of the Second World War compounded these problems, as many teachers left their jobs to serve in the military or for better paying work in the defense industries. During the war, the average industrial worker's income rose 80 percent while teachers' pay fell by 20 percent. Not surprisingly, teacher turnover was intense. In Colorado, one-third of the teaching force was classified as "temporary"; in

Utah, a quarter of all teachers were not certified; in rural Iowa, 800 schools did not have a

teacher; in Alabama, 50 percent of teachers left their jobs. By the war's end, over

125,000 teachers held emergency teaching certificates nationwide, up from 2,300 in

1940.[8]

In 1947 Benjamin Fine, education reporter for the *New York Times,* spent six months

visiting schools across the country. He found that 350,000 teachers had left the field to

seek different work and that 70,000 jobs were vacant. Six thousand schools were

scheduled to be closed due to teacher shortages. Of those remaining teachers, 60,000 had,

at most, a high school education and 20 percent of the workforce—more than 175,000—

were new to the job each year due to turnover estimated at twice the pre-war rate. Their

average salary, at $37 a week, was less than the pay of truck drivers, garbage collectors,

and bartenders. The coming baby boom—which would add 13 million new students to

the nation's schools—put increased pressure on the schools as did the millions of people

who migrated to cities after the war, often from the poorest parts of the country. Across

the country, Fine found miserable morale, overcrowded classes and parents who were

losing confidence in the schools. In his well-informed estimation, "the public school

system was near breakdown."[9]

Apparently the conditions were lost on many Americans. In a 1946 public opinion

survey, 40 percent of citizens couldn't think of anything wrong with the nation's public

schools; they rated 89 percent of teachers as good to excellent. Teachers by comparison,

with their intimate understanding of the situation, took matters into their own hands as

they had at the beginning of the century. In 1946, teachers in Norwalk, Connecticut went

out on strike and won a pay raise. Strikes followed in Hawthorne, New Jersey,

McMinnville and Shelbyville, Tennessee, and in Wilkes-Barre and Rankin, Pennsylvania.

A teachers' strike in St. Paul, Minnesota lasted for five weeks before a pay raise was

awarded. In 1948, strikes occurred in Minneapolis, San Francisco, Jersey City, Chicago,

and in Buffalo where teachers closed 80 percent of the district's schools. The year earlier,

at the height of post-war labor actions, there were twenty strikes nationwide involving

4,700 teachers.[10]

Although the strikes had their intended effect—average teacher salaries increased 13

percent from 1947 to 1948 alone—the resurgence of teacher militancy prompted a rash of

state legislatures to adopt strict anti-strike laws. But it was not the strikes alone that

prompted this backlash. As early as the 1920s, a strain of radical politics was embraced

by some teachers, their unions, and by prominent academics. Their association with the

various "isms" of the day—Marxism, socialism and communism among them—proved a

powerful political weapon against teachers' efforts to challenge the status quo and

compromised teachers' ability to mobilize public support.[11]

Recall that when Henry Linville founded the Teachers' Union in New York City, his aim

was to give teachers a voice in the major issues facing the city's schools. But Linville's

personal radical politics also became the politics of the union and its major publication.

The *American Teacher,* which Linville edited, also became the official publication on the

American Federation of Teachers in 1916. A pacifist in a time of patriotism surrounding

the First World War, Linville defended anti-war teachers who were summarily dismissed, endorsed a socialist candidate for mayor, and condemned the American Federation of Labor's vigorous support for the war, going so far as to advocate for the removal of its powerful leader, Samuel Gompers. In the pages of *American Teacher,* he praised socialist views, writing that there was "no sign of clear thinking… no evidence of constructive programs, except in the socialist movement."[12]

Linville's radicalism caused infighting within his local as well as across the AFT. The Teachers' Union lost 60 percent of its membership during the war. He was publicly admonished by Charles Stillman, the AFT's president, who believed that most teachers supported the war; Stillman objected that Linville's writings gave the incorrect impression that the AFT was a "strongly socialist group." Linville's politics affected membership drives in Boston and were condemned in resolutions passed by the Washington D.C. local. But as the 1920s unfolded, the AFT itself became more radical in its politics. The union entertained or passed resolutions condemning the Ku Klux Klan, to end racial discrimination, liberate political prisoners, recognize the Soviet Union, support the Farmer-Labor party, and ally with the National Council for the Prevention of War. The AFT also challenged the venerable Gompers, endorsing John L. Lewis in his unsuccessful bid to be head of the AFL in 1921. Gompers retaliated by reducing the AFL's financial support to the AFT, leaving the union without a full-time president or labor organizer. In Wayne Urban's analysis, this caused the end of an effective AFT for almost a decade."[13]

With the flush of victory in the First World War and the economic growth of the roaring twenties, radical politics were, to some extent, out of place. But the Great Depression would change all of this. Unemployment was pervasive. Hoovervilles dotted the landscape. Banks failed, mortgages were foreclosed, breadlines grew and businessman became applesellers. As Ravitch presents, although "most Americans shunned extremism and reacted with either hope or resignation to FDR's New Deal, some pursued radical answers." In Marjorie Murphy's estimation, "the incessant confrontation with the failures of capitalism had a radicalizing effect on teachers." Teachers were also encouraged by a number of notable, and radical, academics to recreate society along more egalitarian lines. In his *Dare the School Build a New Social Order?,* published in 1932, Teachers College professor George S. Counts challenged educators to cease focusing on the individualistic, child-centered school, as advocated by the *Cardinal Principles*, and consider instead how to use the school to build a better society. Partly in response to the determinism of life-adjustment progressivism, Counts and other colleagues launched the *Social Frontier,* a journal which served as a forum for those who believed that schools should "lead the way in the reconstruction of American Society."[14]

The trouble with radical politics is how easily they can all be painted with the same brush by outsiders unfamiliar with their shades of grey. After the Soviet purges of the 1930s, many, including Counts, opposed the Soviet Union and the Communist Party, instead favoring democratic socialism and milder versions of Marxist thought. The schisms caused a power struggle in New York's Teachers Union between its democratic-socialist leadership under Linville (now the moderate) and a communist-led opposition group of

younger members. At the national level, the AFT faced a similar internal power struggle until Counts was elected AFT president in 1939, expelled communist-led locals in 1941, and adopted a resolution, in 1948, banning communist teachers. But much of this was lost on the lay observer, as the overarching political struggles left an image in the public mind of the "radical pedagogue using the school to subvert the American way of life."[15]

The result was a widespread Red Scare in American politics and schools, led in the 1930s by powerful and patriotic organizations including the American Legion and the Daughters of the American Revolution. By 1931, the Legion alone had a war chest of half a million dollars and counted among its one million members sixteen U.S. senators and 130 congressmen. Motivated in part by self-interest, the Legion used scare tactics to re-direct scarce, Depression-era tax revenue away from schools towards veterans' benefits. The administrator-led NEA, in its continued effort to discredit the AFT, formed an alliance with the Legion "to promote patriotism and citizenship." One Legion pamphlet, *The ABC's of the Fifth Column,* stated that 80 percent of AFT members were communists and that the rest were fellow travelers. The Legion's work was helped by the likes of Elizabeth Dilling, whose *Red Network: A 'Who's Who' and Handbook of Radicalism for Patriots,* named over 450 organizations and 1,300 individuals, including George Counts, John Dewey, and William Heard Kilpatrick, who "knowingly or unknowingly… contributed in some measure to one or more phases of the Red movement in the United States." In 1939, the *Saturday Evening Post,* with a circulation of three million readers, reported that the AFT was a "red" union. The result was nothing short of

a widespread belief that these radical men, teachers, and unions had "captured American education."[16]

Prompted by a militant anti-communism, state legislatures required loyalty oaths for public employees, including teachers. Although several states had passed such laws in an earlier anti-Red period in the 1920s, another dozen did so in the 30s. In 1935, Congress stipulated that no pay could go to anyone teaching or advocating communism in Washington D.C. public schools. By 1936, twenty-two states had added "red rider" language to their statues. Two years later, the U.S. House of Representatives appropriated funds for a Committee on Un-American Activities to investigate subversive actions by fascists and communists. In 1939, Henry Linville—now a staunch foe of communism—testified about communist influences in the teachers' unions. New York State launched similar investigations in 1940.[17]

Due to America's alliance with the Soviet Union during World War Two, the overt expression of anti-communist sentiment submerged for a brief time, but the interlude was short lived. A quick succession of events in 1947 and '48, including the rise of the Iron Curtain, the communist coup in Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union's decline to participate in the Marshall Plan, and the discovery of Soviet spies in Canada, all contributed to the emerging Cold War, which would dominate international politics for the next fifty years and have a direct impact on domestic school politics.[18]

In 1947, President Truman instituted a loyalty program for all government employees. By 1950, thirty-three states had adopted loyalty oaths permitting the removal of teachers deemed subversive; a number of the statutes required teachers to promote patriotism and to disavow any affiliation with the communist party. Several states and cities, including Utah, Pennsylvania, and Los Angeles, opened investigations to expose teachers who were or had been communists. From 1950 to 1959 in New York, nearly 400 teachers resigned or were dismissed as a result of investigations under the state's anti-communist Feinberg Law. The U.S. House and Senate also opened investigations regarding the public schools, with the Senate focusing on New York City's. Moreover, the hearings matched public opinion: a 1954 survey found that 90 percent of Americans believed that an admitted communist teacher should be fired and AFT leaders lamented the "wave of intimidation" sweeping the country.[19]

In 1952 the U.S. Supreme Court found New York's Feinberg Law constitutional, on the basis that the state has a vital interest in the attitudes of young minds and that school authorities have a duty to screen the officials, teachers, and employees for their fitness. But a series of other decisions began to erode Red Scare legislation. In the same year, the high court declared Oklahoma's loyalty oath unconstitutional as it violated teachers' right to due process. It did so again in 1956, also on due process grounds, regarding a New York law which permitted the firing of teachers if they invoked their fifth amendment rights during investigations. In 1960, the Court overturned an Arkansas law that required teachers to report the organizations to which they belonged, as it violated their freedom

of association. The court threw out Florida's loyalty oath law in 1961, Arizona's in 1966

and reversed its earlier decision regarding New York's Feinberg Law in 1967.[20]

Through these decisions, the Court was exerting its influence on the shape of the nation's

public school system and the boundaries of teachers' freedom of expression. In doing so,

the judiciary was emerging as a major force in the expanding state apparatus governing

and delivering public education. As we shall see, the courts would play an increasingly

prominent role in setting the context in which teacher, parent, and student voice would be

expressed, just as the courts would be used by these actors to further transform schools as

they saw fit.

Arguably the Supreme Court's most important educational decision in the twentieth

century pertained to the rights and educational opportunities of African Americans:

Brown v. Board of Education. To fully appreciate the unprecedented reach and impact of

this decision, it is useful to briefly review the history of education for African Americans,

particularly in the South. Understanding how they were systematically excluded from

educational opportunities and denied a democratic voice is also critical to this study of

teacher voice, particularly in the 1960s, when the demands of blacks and teachers would

collide and destabilize entire systems of public education.

Public Education and African Americans

Prior to the Civil War and unlike their Northern counterparts, Southern states did not build a robust system of public education or embrace the common school movement. Although some state constitutions had laudatory language touting the importance of education, few supported these ideas with specific state activities to expand access to schooling, even for white children. Georgia's constitution, adopted in 1777, merely promoted "seminaries of learning"; Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Mississippi, and North Carolina's constitutions had brief, general statements supporting education while South Carolina's had none. Moreover, all excluded African Americans from the few public schools that did exist, some state's going so far as to make it a crime to teach black children to read.[21]

After the Civil War, Radical Republicans used the brief period of Southern Reconstruction to legislate an elaborate system of public education, following the common school model that had been developing for decades in the North. New state constitutions included detailed blueprints with specific requirements for free public schools. The constitutions of the ten former confederate states affected by the Reconstruction Act of 1867 required free, state-provided school systems, state taxes for education, and the establishment of a state superintendent of schools; eight directed proceeds from the sale of federal lands toward education and created common school funds; and the majority required compulsory attendance, set school terms, dictated the use of local tax dollars for education, and created state boards of education. In Tyack,

James, and Benavot's analysis, "public education was a central concern of those Radical lawmakers who sought to bring about a republican political order that would include blacks as full citizens."[22]

At this time, African Americans also led their own efforts to expand educational opportunities for their children, often drawing on their scare resources or with the help of the Freedman's Bureau, Northern philanthropies and other white groups. Their efforts were not unlike the earlier voluntary activity of colonists in the late eighteenth century and citizens of the early republic to found and support local schools. In North Carolina, children went to school in church buildings; in Virginia, parents bartered with teachers, paying tuition in eggs and chickens; in Savannah (and with no shortage of irony), African American children gathered in the old slave market to receive instruction. Secondary academies, also founded by and for African Americans, opened across the South including those in Vicksburg, Natchez, and Meridian, Mississippi. During Reconstruction, blacks served as county superintendents and on school boards. Although records from that time are thin, evidence suggests that school enrollments of African American children rose from 91,000 in 1866 to 150,000 just four years later and that illiteracy among blacks dropped from 80 percent in 1870 to 45 percent by 1900.[23]

Regrettably, this period of expanding educational opportunity for African Americans was short-lived. The end of Reconstruction marked the return of white supremacy and with it a systematic undermining of schools for African Americans. State constitutions, which for a brief time articulated a hopeful and egalitarian vision, were used to subordinate

blacks. Those written after Reconstruction required racial segregation and altered school governance to assure that control and funding would remain in white hands. By 1877 in Louisiana, only 30 percent of school-age black children were enrolled in school, their teachers' salaries declined, and school terms shrank. By the 1880s across the South, school terms were shorter and spending per pupil was 60 percent of what it was in 1871; class sizes in black schools were larger than those for whites and state funds were often assigned to a white county official who directed most state education aid to white schools. Despite these setbacks, the accomplishments of the Reconstruction era were considerable: writing in 1936 on the role played by African Americans in the construction of democracy, W.E.B. Du Bois argued that "the first great mass movement for public education at the expense of the state, in the South, came from Negroes." In Eric Foner's analysis, Reconstruction "raised blacks' expectations… and allowed space for the construction of institutions that enabled them to survive the repression that followed."[24]

In 1896, legal segregation was ruled constitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court in their *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision and with it the tenuous principle of 'separate but equal.' But equality was not an objective, as efforts to improve public education in the South through the first half of the twentieth century benefited whites and increased disparities. Black students would attend school for six months a year; whites for eight. Their school buildings were dilapidated. Their teachers had less training and were paid less—in some cases by as much as 30 to 50 percent—than their white counterparts. Into the 1940s, school spending for white students in South Carolina was three and a half times greater

than that for black students; in Mississippi it was four and a half times more. A 1935 article in the *Journal of Negro Education* stated that "Negroes have little or no voice in the administration of schools funds, either directly or indirectly, neither do they have the opportunity to hold any offices which have any direct relation to policy-making; nor are they allowed to participate to any appreciable extent in the selection or election of school offices… the entire educational system is controlled and run by the white people and mainly for the white people." As a result, in the South in the 1940s schools for black students received only 12 percent of public revenue, despite these children constituting a quarter of all students. Half of their teachers, themselves African American, had not studied past high school and they lacked basic resources and supplies.   The inequity was not limited to schools, as laws segregated whites and blacks in transportation, hospitals and other public and private facilities and banned inter-racial marriage; beyond *de jure* segregation, race etiquette prescribed the deference that black people were expected to show to whites.[25]

Although there were efforts in the early decades of the twentieth century to protect and expand the civil rights of African Americans, the Second World War is credited with exposing the indefensibility of America's racial order. With white and black soldiers fighting abroad to defend freedom, the contradictions of segregation at home were made plain. The federal government took modest steps to remedy the situation, as in 1941 when President Roosevelt banned discrimination in defense industries and promoted African Americans up the military ranks. In 1948, Truman made civil rights a focus of his State of the Union address, desegregated the armed services, and banned

discrimination in federal employment. But given the strength of white Southerners on Congressional committees and in statehouses, the work of dismantling segregation depended on the third-branch of government: the judiciary.[26]

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) developed and led a carefully constructed legal campaign to end legal discrimination. In the 1930s and 40s, NAACP-initiated lawsuits struck-down statutes that excluded African Americans from serving on juries, that denied blacks the unfettered right to vote, that restricted access to good housing, that segregated interstate busses, and that allowed different pay scales for white and black teachers. Into the 1950s, black students won the right to attend previously segregated colleges and universities. By carefully building a body of legal precedents, the NAACP was exposing the fallacy of 'separate but equal' and used these decisions to end state-enforced segregation in elementary and secondary public schools. Their landmark victory came in 1954 with the U.S. Supreme Court's *Brown v. Board of Education* decision which ruled unconstitutional state-imposed racial segregation in public schools. Writing for the Court, Chief Justice Earl Warren stated that "it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education. Such an opportunity, where the state has undertaken to provide it, is a right which must be made available on equal terms… in the field of public education 'separate but equal' has no place."[27]

The consequences of the decision were sweeping: nearly half of the nation's states had laws, policies, and customs now ruled unconstitutional. At the time, nearly 40 percent of

all the public school students attended segregated systems. Some cities, including St. Louis, Missouri, and Baltimore, Maryland, quickly integrated their schools. In other proactive systems, such as Wilmington, Delaware, Louisville, Kentucky, and Washington D.C., schools were re-segregated due to population movements. But in most places, desegregation proceeded at a snail's pace, if at all, due to the fact that the responsibility for implementing the Court's decision was left to the same local authorities who had so purposefully created race-based educational systems in the first place.[28]

In some places, new laws or policies were enacted to protect segregation: state funds were denied to schools that enrolled students of different races, compulsory schooling was abolished, and grants were provided to white families to cover the cost of private schooling. Hundreds of black teachers were fired for little or no reason. So outraged were Southern elected officials that 19 of the South's 22 Senators and 82 of its 106 Congressmen signed a Southern Manifesto which condemned the *Brown* decision as a "clear abuse of judicial power." Their statement was an eleventh hour protest of the fact that public education was no longer the province of families and neighborhoods or even towns and states. Authority to regulate schooling had expanded to the federal government. Just as we saw with the controversy over teacher loyalty and due process, the judiciary was part and parcel of a federal centralization in power that would be exercised extensively during the second half of the twentieth century to shape and re-shape the public schools.[29]

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As these interweaving narratives suggest, by mid-century the nation's public schools were in crisis and their relationship to the larger society was in question. The education trust's experiment with utilitarian progressive education put the rigor of curriculum and instruction in doubt. The Second World War sapped the country's schools of its resources, both financial and human, leaving buildings unrepaired with overcrowded classrooms led by under-qualified teachers. The radical politics of some educators undermined teachers' broader efforts to act collectively and improve their circumstances. And the disgrace of African American education, stillborn by end of Reconstruction, was exposed by the nation's highest court just as last ditch efforts were made to preserve a racist social order. In David Tyack and Larry Cuban's estimation, "at mid-century American public education was not a seamless system of roughly similar common schools but instead a diverse and unequal set of institutions that reflected deeply embedded economic and social inequalities." Aggrieved locally, advocates for teachers, parents, and students would increasingly turn to state and federal governments for relief. Although not their primary objective, such actions centralized authority and expanded the state's control over the nation's schools which, by 1960, enrolled 46 million students— nearly all children age seven to thirteen and 90 percent of those age fourteen to seventeen.[30]

The Federal Government Steps In, Slowly

To mitigate the financial pressures on towns and localities during the Great Depression, state funding became a growing share of educational expenditure, expanding from 19.5 to 41 percent of school expenditure between 1932 to 1947. In 1934, in the depths of the economic crisis, the federal government disbursed $16 million to thirty states to keep schools from closing and $75 million in loans to renovate the 245,000 one-room school houses that still dotted the landscape. Yet federal relief was framed as a temporary, emergency measure, given that education was still largely considered a local responsibility. Recall that most New Deal legislation affected employment and economic development, not schools. In 1937, and despite active lobbying by the NEA and AFT, President Roosevelt killed a bill that would have provided $100 million in educational block grants to states.[31]

Federalism and parsimony were not the only issues holding back federal aid to schools. The NAACP opposed the 1937 bill on the grounds that it would have disproportionately benefited white students, particularly in the South. The Catholic lobby opposed the bill, as it did not provide relief to private schools. The pattern was repeated in 1946, when Senator Robert Taft led an unsuccessful effort to provide federal funding to schools. The NEA opposed his effort as it would have provided aid to Catholic schools while Southern congressmen opposed equal funding for black and white schools. In the 50s, Eisenhower repeatedly tried to pass legislation for school construction dollars, to no avail. The *Brown* decision only complicated matters, as blacks and liberals refused to support any

legislation that would have funded racially segregated schools and Southern congressmen opposed efforts that would have altered the status quo. As a result, it became "an accepted axiom" in American politics during the 1950s and into the 60s that it was impossible to build a Congressional majority to pass federal aid to schools.[32]

One notable exception was the National Defense Education Act. Passed in 1958, the Act was a Cold War response to the launch of Sputnik and addressed concerns raised by critics of the life-adjustment curriculum that American education had gone soft. The Act provided $1 billion for the improvement of math, science, and foreign language instruction; new curricula were developed in the areas of mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology and the social sciences. Higher education and private philanthropy also supported the intervention. MIT's Physical Science Study advised on the high school physics curriculum. The National Science Foundation supported curriculum revision efforts across the physical sciences. In 1958 the Rockefeller Brothers Fund released *The Pursuit of Excellence*, a report advocating both excellence and equity "without compromising either." Harvard President James B. Conant's *The American High School Today*, published a year later, offered recommendations on how to implement the Rockefeller report and is credited with launching efforts to create large, comprehensive high schools. Not to be outdone, the Ford Foundation funded the Comprehensive School Improvement Program and the Great Cities-Grey Areas Program to create exemplary models of school improvement and urban renewal.[33]

Described by David Tyack and Larry Cuban as the "heyday of curriculum development," leading scientists joined with academics, administrators, and teachers to improve instruction. Thousands of teachers attended seminars and trainings on how to use new materials and methods that aimed to recreate in the classroom the process of scientific inquiry, which an emphasis on discovery and inductive reasoning. Added to these efforts was a new faith in technology and an automated classroom in which television, computers and multi-media equipment would make obsolete the "eggcrate" classroom. The curriculum reformers of the 1950s believed that new technology would allow students to work individually and in small groups. Although not described in these terms, the goal was not unlike Dewey's original aim to educate children through experience-rich, personalized, and intellectually rigorous instruction.[34]

Also in the late 1950s, African Americans were justifiably losing their patience with the slow pace of school desegregation and the federal government's deference to states and localities. Although President Eisenhower had repeatedly expressed a commitment to gradualism, he ultimately federalized the Arkansas National Guard to allow nine African American students attend Little Rock's high school. The incident marked a dramatic new phase in the effort to desegregate schools in which the federal government, backed by the force of arms, acted to ensure the high Court's decision would be implemented.[35]

By the early 1960s, the Civil Rights Movement had forged a broad base of action and support, situating school desegregation in a larger context of equity and social justice. Voter registration drives helped blacks participate in elections, some for the first time. Sit-ins and other peaceful demonstrations of civil disobedience aimed to integrate

restaurants, buses, and other public settings. In Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. the

Movement had a respected and articulate leader. Under President Kennedy, the Justice

Department worked to enforce what civil rights laws existed at the time in regard to

school desegregation, voting rights, and in other areas. Following Kennedy's

assassination, President Johnson seized the moment of political comity and marshaled a

legislative coalition to pass, in 1964, the Civil Rights Act, which banned discrimination

in public accommodations and in federally assisted programs, among other

achievements.[36]

In 1965, Johnson's Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) inaugurated the era

of federal aid for education, sending $1.3 billion to schools across the country. Unlike

previous, failed efforts through the '30s and '50s, the issue of segregation was settled by

the *Brown* decision; the framing of ESEA as an anti-poverty measure also helped to

create a winning majority. Given that Title IV of the Civil Rights Act barred

discrimination in programs receiving federal funds, ESEA funding gave the federal

government a new tool to spur desegregation. A year prior to ESEA, only two percent of

the South's African American students attended schools with white students. By 1968, as

a result of Title IV enforcement, the figure had grown to 32 percent and reached 91

percent by 1972. Meanwhile, the judiciary continued to play an active role in

desegregation efforts; from 1967 to 1976, the courts heard over 1,400 cases on the issue,

as compared to only 151 cases from 1957 to 1966.[37]

Teachers Politicize

Teachers and the AFT were active supporters of the Civil Rights Movement. As early as the 1920s and 30s, the AFT petitioned Congress to provide aid to Howard University, a traditionally black institution. New York City's Teachers Union was active in efforts to support schools in Harlem. In the 1950s, the union refused to admit segregated locals and began integrating its exiting chapters. The moves were not inconsequential: white teachers in Southern locals, such as those in Atlanta, New Orleans, and Chattanooga, risked losing their jobs by belonging to integrated organizations. Atlanta's white union, one of the AFT's founding locals, was unable to integrate with its black counterpart and disassociated from national in 1956. By 1958 the AFT had lost 14 percent of its membership, or about 7,000 teachers, due to its stand on segregation. Undeterred, the AFT supported sit-ins and other demonstrations and protested the lack of school integration in Prince Edward County, Virginia and elsewhere. By comparison, the more conservative NEA was slower to join the effort, allowed for dual affiliation by separate segregated locals, and only endorsed the *Brown decision* in 1961.[38]

But as much as teachers supported the rights of African Americans, they still had much work to do to improve their own circumstances. Stuck in hierarchical working arrangements, teachers had little formal say in the formation of school policies. Their practices were scrutinized and their teachings affected by the Red Scare. In the 1950s, teacher salaries continued to lag behind the average factory worker and urban teachers made less than those working in the suburbs. Female teachers, working predominantly in

elementary schools, were among the lowest paid white collar workers. One cause of the economic disparity was the comparative strength of the private sector and its labor movement. In 1935, the landmark National Labor Relations Act (NLRA) gave private sector workers the right to organize into unions, to strike, boycott, and picket. The Act identified unfair labor practices and established formal procedures to bargain wages, hours, and working conditions and to resolve grievances. By 1950, 35 percent of the American workforce was unionized, wages increased and benefits expanded in a period described by some historians as a period of "accord" between labor and management. But the rights afforded by NLRA were limited to private sector workers; at the time of its passage President Roosevelt was opposed to public sector unionization. No less a labor champion than Samuel Gompers opposed strikes by public sector employees, on the grounds of public safety. As late as 1959, AFL-CIO president George Meany believed, incorrectly as time would show, that it would be "impossible to bargain collectively with government."[39]

Inspired by the achievements of private sector unions, disillusioned over their working conditions, and emboldened by the larger political context supporting the expansion of civil rights, a new generation of teacher union activists aimed to win the ability to bargain collectively. At the time, there were only a few, isolated examples of public sector collective bargaining in Montana, Illinois, and Rhode Island. In the 1940s, New York City inherited a unionized workforce when it took responsibility of the city's subway system. A key milestone occurred in 1959 when Wisconsin was the first state in the nation to adopt legislation authorizing collective bargaining by public employees. But

the central turning point occurred in New York City from 1960 to 1962, when the United

Federation of Teachers, under the leadership of Albert Shanker and others, waged a series

of strikes to gain recognition as the representative of city teachers and to win their first

contract. The contract included a number of improvements in working conditions, a

duty-free lunch period, and a $995 pay increase, described at the time as "the largest raise

in New York City history." As David Tyack notes, the strikes—and resulting union

victories—"set a pattern of teacher militancy for decades to come."[40]

Teachers across the country followed New York City's lead and went out on strike to win

collective bargaining rights and agreements. In 1964 and '65, there were 18 teacher

strikes across the country followed by 30 the next year. Recall that in 1947 at the height

of post-war labor actions, the nation saw 20 strikes involving about 4,700 teachers. In

contrast, there were more than one hundred strikes in 1967, involving 100,000 teachers;

in 1975 there were 203, a record. In the mid-1960s, the AFT and NEA competed in 40

elections to determine who would represent teachers at the bargaining table. Although

the NEA won two-thirds of the contests, the AFT locals were larger and included Detroit,

Philadelphia, and Chicago among other major cities. By 1969, the AFT had grown to

135,000 members and represented the vast majority of them at the bargaining table.

Collective bargaining also transformed the NEA from an educators association dominated

by administrators into a full-fledged teachers union. Collective bargaining laws for

public employees spread from seven states in 1966 to 30 states and the District of

Columbia by 1980, by which time the NEA had grown to 1.7 million members; the AFT

to 500,000. Also by 1980, more than 75 percent of the nation's teachers belonged to some form of a union that represented them in collective bargaining.[41]

New labor laws, sought by the unions and designed to promote unionism and collective bargaining, legitimized teachers' collective voice with the force of law. Having won the right to bargain collectively, early negotiations focused on bread-and-butter issues of pay, benefits, and basic working conditions. Teachers gained procedures for dismissal and due process. Tenure and pension benefits were strengthened and gender discrimination, in the form of separate salary schedules and prohibitions on marriage, were abolished. Over time, the unions also worked to expand the scope of bargaining to include class size, workload, issues of curriculum, school reform and hiring standards, among other issues. In New York City, the UFT lobbied for the More Effective Schools (MES) program, which provided educational enrichment activities for disadvantaged students. In 1967, the UFT went out on strike over nonwage issues, demanding support for MES, reduced class size, and a tougher school discipline policy.[42]

Administrators and public officials opposed efforts to expand the scope of bargaining, on the grounds that it was an intrusion into management's prerogative. The unions countered that teachers, working on the educational front lines, have particular expertise and insights that should be heard and heeded. As a practical matter, districts found it difficult to separate issues of wages, hours, and working conditions from matters of educational policy. United Federation of Teachers and later AFT president Shanker argued that American education would not be improved until teachers could have a voice

in the form and content of schooling. Echoing the arguments made decades earlier by the administrative progressives, Shanker believed that once citizens decided what the ends of society will be, "it is up to the experts to decide how you structure or organize materials in such a way it will effectively accomplish those purposes." From Shanker's perspective, the experts were teachers; the process for deciding was through their union, at the bargaining table, and by lobbying policymakers and other elected officials.[43]

Although there was some backlash to the growing strength of the teacher unions, it paled in comparison to earlier and debilitating responses by the state. New York passed its Taylor Law, which included financial penalties for every day that teachers went out on strike as well as fines and jail terms for union leaders. The law sent Shanker to jail for fifteen days after the 1967 strike, making him a "martyr" in the eyes of many teachers and a household name elsewhere. Southern states passed right-to-work laws, which prohibited collective bargaining and closed shop requirements. But by and large, these efforts did not impede the unions' growing size and strength, particularly outside of the South. By the mid-1970s, both the AFT and NEA had become major powers in school districts, state legislatures and the nation due to their robust political activism. Both unions formed a close relationship with the Democratic Party, and consistently rank among the party's top donors.   Tyack has written that the central place that union's acquired in school politics is comparable in significance to administrator-led centralization efforts at the turn of the century. In Richard Kahlenberg's estimation, collective bargaining proved to be the deciding factor, as it transformed the NEA and

AFT "from somewhat sleepy organizations into institutions widely regarded today as the most powerful forces in education."[44]

Parents Politicize

At the same time that teachers were gaining unprecedented rights and political power, the Civil Rights Movement was not living up to its promise. From 1950 to 1966, the population of African Americans living in America's cities grew from 6.5 million to 12.1 million, rising from 43 to 56 percent of the nation's blacks. Urban slums were growing denser and fear of violence mounted. Blacks suffered from high rates of unemployment; those who were employed were concentrated in low-skill jobs. The growing frustration exploded into riots across the country: in the Watts neighborhood of Los Angeles in 1965; in Newark in 1966; in Detroit in 1967 and elsewhere. The nature of the Movement was also changing. What had started as an inter-racial coalition of liberals, trade unions, and civil rights activists led by African Americans with the goal of ending race-based discrimination evolved into a black movement focused on their particular economic and political interests. As disorder swept through African American communities, Black Power leaders advocated separatism instead of integration and belittled the non-violent tactics that had characterized protests just a few years earlier.[45]

In the public schools, this manifested as the community control movement. As Tyack explains, African Americans and others

> demanded community control [of schools] by their own people in place of
> the traditional corporate model of governance which sought to rise above

'interest groups'; they substituted self-determination as a goal instead of assimilation; they rejected 'equality' if that meant Anglo-conformity, sameness, and familiar failure in the 'one best system.' To many blacks the schools were not 'above politics' but part of the struggle for black power.

The effort was endorsed by studies, including a seminal report by the Ford Foundation, which linked urban riots to political isolation and a lack of community control. School decentralization also gained popular support from civic and business elite, such as the Citizens' Committee for Decentralization in New York City.[46]

One of the more instructive cases in the struggle for community control occurred in 1966 when Harlem parents boycotted a new middle school, I.S. 201, because the principal was not African American. Community organizers recognized the symbolic value of the new building, with its first-rate facilities, as an opportunity to mobilize the community around the idea of local control. The City's Board of Education, eager to avoid the unrest that had occurred in other cities, assented to the demands and transferred the school's principal. Loyal teachers protested the decision and the principal returned, but within a year student disruptions finally drove him out for good. Despite the victory in Harlem, black activists remained frustrated by the Board's unresponsiveness in other parts of the City and launched high-profile actions, including a three-day takeover of the Board of Education's hearing room to establish the "People's Board of Education."[47]

In response to continued demands for community control, the Board identified the Ocean Hill-Brownsville neighborhood of Brooklyn as one of three community-control demonstration districts. But as the project unfolded, the local governing councils became

increasingly radical, demanding total control of schools and freedom from the "white

power structure." Activists in Ocean Hill-Brownsville made explicit their goal to have an

all-black teaching force and protested outside of teacher union headquarters with signs

reading "Stay out of the Black Community." In May 1968, eighteen educators were

terminated by the Ocean Hill-Brownsville governing board; all were white and Jewish.

The UFT fought the firings, on the grounds that they were terminated without any due

process, and the central Board of Education ordered their reinstatement. When five of the

eighteen returned, they were barred from the school by parents and activists. The

standoff resulted in a strike where 300 of Ocean Hill-Brownsville's 500 teachers stayed

out from work for the remainder of the school year. Without any resolution over the

summer and as threats of violence to Shanker and other union leaders increased, the UFT

called a citywide strike in which 93 percent of teachers stayed out of work. Despite

accusations that the union was anti-community and anti-black, the UFT maintained that it

was fighting for due process, a right and benefit to all educators regardless of race. [48]

The standoff between community activists, the teachers' union, and city officials lasted

for months. When the central Board of Education agreed to reinstate the terminated

teachers, the Ocean Hill-Brownsville governing board again refused to implement the

settlement as it was not party to the negotiations. This prompted another strike. Another

settlement provided for the teachers' return with police protection, but they were

reassigned to non-classroom duties. Perceived by the UFT as a betrayal of the deal, the

union launched its third citywide strike that fall and escalated its terms, demanding the

complete dissolution of the demonstration district. With racial tensions flaring, the strike

dragged on for five weeks until the union, City, and Ocean Hill-Brownsville district leaders engaged in round-the clock negotiations. The final resolution did not dissolve the district but included the appointment of a trustee to run it on behalf of the City's central Board of Education and the establishment of a due-process committee. The following year, New York's state legislature replaced the three demonstration projects with a moderate school decentralization law that created 31 community school districts. Limited in their powers, the districts did not have the complete autonomy that local activists were seeking as the central Board of Education remained the City's representative in collective bargaining negotiations and in personnel matters. Moreover, the events severely damaged the reputations of both community and union leaders.[49]

The New Progressivism

The drive for community control was based on a renewed belief that the educational system was severely broken. The view was given mainstream voice by a new wave of protest literature including Jonathan Kozol's *Death at an Early Age,* Paul Goodman's *Compulsory Mis-Education,* Herbert Kohl's *36 Children,* and Bel Kaufman's *Up the Down Staircase.* Along with dozens of other articles and books, these writers described unresponsive bureaucracies, school violence, and an "awesome scope of educational failure." Diane Ravitch vividly summarizes the critics' indictment. In their opinion, the schools

> destroyed the souls of children, whether black or white, middle-class or poor. It coerced unwilling youths to sit through hours of stultifying classes, breaking their spirits before turning them out as either rebellious misfits or conforming cogs in the great industrial machine. It neglected the

needs of individuals while slighting the history and culture of diverse minorities. It clung to boring, irrelevant curriculum and to methods that obliterated whatever curiosity children brought with them. It drove away creative teachers and gave tenure to petty martinents. For those who agreed with the critics, there was no alternative other than to change the schools or to abandon them.[50]

The recommended solution was the open school movement, a resurgence of progressive ideas and an effort to make schools more responsive to students' interests, thereby reducing discontent. A. S. Neill's *Summerhill*, which described a boarding school in England with no rules beyond those developed by the students, was an inspirational text for many in this movement. Another was Ivan Illich's *Deschooling Society,* which emphasized informal education and the value of authentic learning activities outside of school. Under the various banners of open classrooms, free schools, alternative schools, schools-within-schools, and other monikers, the approach encouraged students to select their own activities and design their own courses. Traditional graduation requirements were to be eliminated and letter grades discarded; classroom space was to be used creatively and ample materials made available. Schedules were to be flexible and students assembled in random or mixed-ability groups. The approaches were validated by venerable institutions such as the National Science Foundation, which in 1964 supported teacher training programs to "break [their] reliance on the textbook and rote learning." A report by the Carnegie Corporation described open education as "well-suited to the age of student disaffection and protest because it stressed participation, freedom, feelings, while downplaying tradition, authority, and structured teaching." New York State's commissioner of education favorably described the approach as "person-centered, idea-centered, experience-centered, problem-oriented, and interdisciplinary."[51]

What role did teachers play in developing, adopting, and advocating for these reforms? Despite the attention that open education received by the media and education reformers, the evidence suggests that the approaches were not widely applied and that teachers selected elements that complemented their work without fundamentally changing their pedagogy. To examine the spread of these practices, Larry Cuban conducted extensive case studies of schools in North Dakota, New York City and Washington, D.C. Starting in 1968 in North Dakota, about 20 percent of the state's school districts joined a high-profile effort to embrace the reform. As he describes, "classroom walls came down. Cross-grade teams were organized. Teachers established learning centers for math, science, social studies, creative writing, reading, and art, with individual stations for students, to enrich and motivate students and link the community to the school… students made tables, chairs, carrels, magazine racks, supply bins, games and puzzles out of cardboard and other materials… no letter grades appeared on report cards. Checklists of specific academic skills, cooperative behaviors, and interpersonal skills were sent home twice a year, and two formal teacher-parent conferences were held."[52]

By 1973, open classrooms were present in about 80 schools, or 15 percent of the state's total. But in the following years, the practices were dropped, traditional approaches returned (if they had ever fully left), and walls were re-erected between classrooms so that each teacher could have her own room. Cuban found that teachers still taught, and spoke to, the entire class of students about 60 percent of the time and assigned classwork that required students to listen to teachers' instructions. Both small group and individual

instruction occurred infrequently. Although elements of open classrooms could be discerned, such as the existence of learning centers and student furniture arranged into groups, "the primary mode of instruction involved a variety of teacher-centered practices."[53]

Such was also the case in New York City. The Open Corridor program, launched in 1967, was one of the city's more prominent efforts at informal education and had the backing of the teachers union as part of their school reform efforts. By 1971, 10 schools and 80 classrooms were implementing the approach, growing to 28 schools, 200 classrooms and 5,000 students by 1978. The program shared many of the characteristics of the North Dakota program, including student learning centers, rearranged furniture, and self-directed or small group instruction. But it reached no more than a fraction of the city's 600 elementary schools and 25,000 elementary teachers. At the secondary level, alternative high schools included schools without walls, storefront schools, and mini schools and theme-based schools. By 1975, 11 alternative high schools enrolled 4,000 students and 40 mini-schools educated about 6,500, but again, a small slice of the city's 300,000 high school students. Reports at the time also found that instruction and subject matter were not all that different from what might be found in conventional high schools. The differences appeared to be more structural and cultural, with smaller school and class size, the informality among students and teachers, and the involvement of students in school governance. Moreover, the city's fiscal crisis in the 1970s forced orderliness to replace learning as the primary objective in many classrooms, given that class sizes

increased to 30 or 40 students, support services were eliminated, and the size of the teaching force was reduced.[54]

In 1967, a major study of Washington D.C.'s public schools conducted by researchers from Teachers College found unprepared teachers, a narrow curriculum, student tracking, and unimaginative instruction. Evaluators noted that "the clock seemed to be in charge of every classroom… daily schedules set who did what, when, and under what conditions… [and] the children seemed compliant, obedient, and passive." The city's response was its Model School Division, which in 1969 included 23 schools enrolling 19,500 students, and became "a holding company for almost every innovation that promised improved schooling for urban poor minority students." Open educational practices were adopted in about 15 percent of schools, with student furniture rearranged to support group activities and the creation of learning centers. But reports from the time indicate that teacher-centered patterns remained dominant, the recitation method used to full effect, and that teachers "dominated verbal exchanges."[55]

This evidence from North Dakota, New York City and Washington, D.C. suggests that most teachers did not modify their approaches in significant ways. John Goodlad found the same during nationwide study in the late 1960s. Observing 150 elementary classrooms in 67 schools and 13 states, Goodlad aimed to determine the extent to which widely publicized educational innovations had actually entered classrooms. Consistent with Cuban's later analysis, Goodlad found that classrooms were still marked by "telling, teachers' questioning individual children in group settings, and an enormous amount of

seemingly quite routine seatwork." A survey by the National Science Foundation of research on teacher practices from 1955 to 1975 reached a similar consensus: in math, teachers talked about two-thirds of the time; in social studies, the recitation method was prevalent; in science, about 40 percent of teachers taught the subject through lectures and readings."[56]

The open education movement came to a quick end in the mid-1970s. As we saw in New York City, the approaches may have taken more time and energy than resources allowed; or as in North Dakota, teachers' desire to lead their own classroom rather than facilitate open instruction was a powerful tradition. The National Council for the Social Studies took a generous view, commenting that teachers' "failure to use the new materials and new methods came not from any obstructionist motive" but rather to teach in a way that "consistent with their own values and beliefs and those they perceive, probably accurately, to be those of their communities." In 1975, the College Board announced that SAT scores had fallen over the past decade, putting experimental programs on the defensive and returning schools' attention to basic skills, test scores, and minimum competencies.[57]

In contrast to these bottom-up efforts, education advocates continued to turn to the federal and state governments to 'fix' the schools. President Nixon's Experimental Schools Program was intended to bridge education research and actual practice. Advocates for the handicapped won, in 1975, the Education for All Handicapped Children Act (later remained the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act). By 1980,

thirteen states required bilingual education for English language learners. Between 1964

and 1976, the amount of federal legislation affecting schools increased from 80 to 360

pages; regulations increased from 92 pages to 1,000. Moreover, the courts continued to

actively shape public schools' duties to its students, families, and citizens. Between 1946

and 1956, federal courts heard 112 educational cases; this increased to 729 in the next

decade and approached 3,500 from 1967 to 1979. Over this time, the "preferred political

remedy" was to bypass local educational authorities and work directly with "sympathetic

congressional committees and by gaining judicial supervision" to achieve the desired

goal.[58]

Tyack, James, and Benavot provide a trenchant summary of the decades following the

Brown decision, noting that

> reformers used litigation, legislation, and administrative law to reconstruct
> public education. They sought to desegregate schools; to ban prayer and
> the ceremonial reading of the Bible; to combat sex bias; to enhance due
> process and freedom of expression for both students and teachers; to
> improve schooling for the children of the poor and those with limited
> knowledge of English; to secure and adequate education for the
> handicapped; to equalize school finance; and even defend male students
> who wanted to wear their hair long.

And the accomplishments were real: federal aid was now provided to schools, per pupil

expenditure increased, segregation was rapidly ending, and opportunities were broadened

for blacks, the handicapped, and linguistic minorities.[59]

Despite these gains, America's public schools seemed to be stumbling into the final

decades of the twentieth century. Writing in 1979, a noted advocate of school finance

reform believed that "well-meaning intrusions by Congress, federal agencies, the courts,

and state legislators into education were bringing about the bureaucratization on the American classrooms." About the same time, the Dean of Stanford's Graduate School of Education commented that local school administrator had become "less of an educational leader and more of a monitor of legislative intent." Public opinion was on a steady decline from the heady perceptions of the 1940s: on average, citizens gave schools a B-minus in 1974 and a C-minus in 1981; in 1978, 41 percent responded that schools were "worse than they used to be."[60] Such disillusionment, on the heels of one of the most active periods in the nation's history to improve its public schools, set the stage for a new generation of reformers. But unlike their predecessors, who worked within an expanding state of education, the next wave of change would challenge the very legitimacy of the state.

Analysis

Throughout the dramatic events of the twentieth century's middle decades, the state increasingly acquired strong and centralized control over many aspects of schooling. Decisions by state and federal courts upended school practices across the land. Federal laws and funding, not to mention the occasional force of arms, gave Washington the ability to determine the content of instruction and the complexion of student bodies. State action expanded the rights enjoyed by stakeholder groups, and international affairs affected national school politics and policies to a degree heretofore not seen. Through the lens of the weak/strong state analysis, what emerges is a classic Weberian bureaucracy, with increasing concentration of authority to the federal center of

government; an unprecedented reach of the state into civil society, as exemplified by desegregation; and the creation of client groups, namely teachers, largely dependent on the continued existence and viability of the state and the institution of collective bargaining which was sanctioned by Presidential executive order, adopted by many states, and expanded through the coordinated action of the two national unions. Although the federal education bureaucracy was small relative to other agencies, it extended its reach into local schools by issuing policies and rules to be implemented by state departments of education.

A bureaucratic apparatus is often considered an impediment to government's ability to be responsive to its citizens. In this line of thinking, bureaucracies grow to serve their own interests and, as such, work to protect their rules, procedures, and power rather than serve the will of the people as expressed through democratic processes. In the historical periods reviewed thus far, we saw this occur when common school advocates sought to consolidate schools and distance them from the home, thereby reducing the influence of local, parochial interests. Such was also the case when the administrative progressives built bureaucratic buffers between school decision-makers and families in their effort to take the schools out of politics. But as I have also demonstrated, an expanded "education state" provided an enabling context for more voices to engage in the democratic processes that would define and redefine the purposes and powers of public education throughout the middle decades of the twentieth century. The expanded bureaucracy provided greater access for input and protest.

This seeming contradiction suggests that the character of the state is as important as considerations of its strength or reach. In this regard, other dimensions of Gutmann's typology help to explain the evolution of the nation's education state. As I have demonstrated, her notion of the "state of families" aptly characterizes the weak education state that existed in prior to the 1850s, when family preferences determined the extent of a child's education. Teachers exercised little voice in matters of education, employment, or school policy. Such decentralized structures prompted school reformers to argue that the state's legitimate interest in the education of its future citizens was not being well served. I've also presented that by the 1930s, administrative progressives had established a paternalistic "family state" of education in which they, as state actors, controlled the form and content of public education. In building a closed system run by expert administrators, the interests of parents, teachers, and citizens where discounted if not ignored; schools were run for these constituencies, not by them.

A third alternative presented by Gutmann is the "state of individuals" in which an educational authority "maximizes future choice without prejudicing children towards any controversial conception of the good life." Based on the ideas of John Stuart Mill, who objected to the "evils" of family state attempts to "to bias the conclusions of its citizens on disputed subjects," the state of individuals is a response to the "weakness of both the family state and the state of families by championing the dual goals of *opportunity* for choice and *neutrality* among conceptions of the good life" (emphasis in the original).[61]

A form of schooling that meets such a standard is difficult to achieve, given the implicit biases in any choice of curriculum and pedagogy, although for sake of illustration we can see aspects of the state of individuals in the curriculum revision movement of the 1930s and 40s and the open education movement of the 1960s and early 70s. The goals of life-adjustment progressivism, including self-realization, health, and its broad reference to the "command of the fundamental processes" through the study of human activity instead of subject matter, can be interpreted as a form of educational neutrality in which the state adopted a "to each his own" stance toward students' learning. In the open education movement, students were encouraged to select their own activities and design their own courses in an attempt to downplay traditional, structured learning. The point of view of the state—demonstrated to be illegitimate by waves of protest literature—was intentionally subordinated so as to not bias young minds. Illich's *Deschooling Society,* a key work motivating the ideas of open education, went so far as to argue against formal, institutionalized education, a tacit endorsement of the state of individuals.

Despite initial support, both movements were criticized in their day: life-adjustment education for undermining the country's ability to compete with the Soviet Union and open education for abandoning hard skills and knowledge, as indicated by declining SAT scores. One way to interpret these critiques is that the two movements did not sufficiently hew to the agnosticism of a true educational state of individuals (if that was their intent). This is certainly the case with the utilitarian elements of the life-adjustment program—fitting students into society rather than preparing them to enter and contribute to society to the full extent possible.

But such critiques also point to a deeper flaw in the very notion of a state of individuals in that education is valued not simply for the freedom of thought that it engenders among children but also for the values that it cultivates in them. But whose values? The administrative progressives believed their course of study was the best possible curriculum and that their closed system the best political arrangement—and they implemented both with vigor. Yet their critics maintained that the academic program was devoid of standards and intellectual integrity and that the educational trust had wrested too much control over the schools; they too fought the progressives and defended their conception of a good education with as much intensity. We see that the same pattern was repeated by the proponents and detractors of the open-education movement. Who, then, in a democracy, is to decide?

The question reveals that the total authority of the family state, on the one hand, and attempts to create a bias-free state of individuals, on the other, both fail as a philosophical basis for public education in a democracy. Disagreements of authority, aims, and means are ever present, and as Gutmann argues we are "left with the problem of finding another standard that can justify a necessarily nonneutral education in the face of social disagreement concerning what constitutes the proper aim of education." Instead, what is required is a political mechanism to continuously mediate these disagreements into productive statements and actions on how education should be delivered and how students will be prepared for life and citizenship. Gutmann's proposal is a "democratic state of education" in which educational authority is shared by "parents, citizens, and professional educators" to support "the core value of democracy: conscious social

reproduction in its most inclusive form." Her argument rests on the notion that in a democracy, citizens are "committed to collectively re-creating the society [they] share" and, as such, "aspire to a set of educational practices and authorities to which [they], acting collectively as a society, have consciously agreed [and that aims to] educate all educable children to be capable of participating in collectively shaping their society." Tyack and Cuban put the goal more simply: "at its best, debate over purpose in public education [is] a continuous process of creating and reshaping a democratic institution that, in turn, [helps] to create a democratic society."[62]

Prior to the 1950s, we are hard-pressed to find a democratic state of education in the United States. Parent authority dominated the eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth century. Citizen authority was mobilized during the common school movement, but it was quickly displaced by the authority of professional educators. Nor were processes for deciding the aims and purposes of schools an inclusive endeavor: as Tyack, James, and Benavot remind us, at mid-century one would still find "legal segregation of the races, legal compulsory religious exercises in a multitude of school districts, legal sex-based discrimination, gross inequities in the funding of schools between districts and between rich and poor neighborhoods within districts, and pervasive lack of due process and violations of freedom of expression for both students and teachers."[63]

What we can see, though, in the critiques, dissents, protests, and social upheaval that affected schools through the 1960s and 70s, is a collective, if at times conflicted, effort to establish a more democratic state of education. Many of the era's reforms served to

broaden membership in the democratic education state so that previously unrepresented groups of parents, professionals and citizens could add their voice to debates over the character of American society and school's responsibility to prepare all children for it. This would not have been possible without a state context to enable the discussion through legislative, judicial, and other political avenues and remedies. The question then becomes: who engaged in and dominated the discourse—and by consequence the public schools—at any given time? Asked another way, whose voices were part of the political dialogue in regard to public education, and which ones were heard more clearly than others?

The notion that all voices are not equally expressed or heard has been the subject of intense debate among political scientists. In the 1950s and 60s, Robert Dahl and his colleagues articulated a pluralist theory of politics, in which power is diffusely spread across interest groups who give voice to their competing goals. Political processes mediate these differences and generate outcomes—be they legislation, budgets, educational policies, and so on—that represent an optimal point of compromise between the competing preferences. But in a critique of the theory, E. E. Schattschneider famously wrote that the pluralist chorus "sings with a strong upper-class accent." His point was simply that some voices, often upper-class voices, dominate the political process. His critique was based on an elite theory of politics, as articulated by Floyd Hunter, in his study of community power and C. Wright Mills, in *The Power Elite,* among others. In Mills' estimation, "some men come to occupy positions in American society [from which they can] mightily affect the everyday worlds or ordinary men and

women." Or as Schattschneider continued, "hierarchies of unequal interests" cause some

issues to be "organized into politics while others are organized out." Elaborating on

these themes, Peter Bachrach and Morton S. Baratz described "two faces of power": the

pluralist's observable "first face" and those "second face" instances when power is used

to block its exercise by others.[64]

As we've seen, the administrative progressives dominated education's chorus though the

1940s until a host of academics and other critics expressed their concerns about the

nation's school system. William Bagley, Isaac Kandel, John Dewey objected to the

perversion of progressive education and ideals. Robert Hitchins, Arthur Bestor, and

Albert Lynd delivered book-length challenges to the status quo. A generation later,

Jonathan Kozol, Paul Goodman, Herbert Kohl, and Bel Kaufman would do the same. In

the pages of the *New York Times*, Benjamin Fine catalogued the system's material

shortcomings and major magazines including *McCall's* and *Readers Digest* popularized a

belief that the education was on the wrong track. In the midst of the Red Scare, self-

described patriots and organizations also voiced their concerns about the schools.

Elizabeth Dilling aimed to protect schools and society from communism, as did the

American Legion, the Daughters of the American Revolution and other associations. The

direct impact of these and other efforts is clear: the National Defense Education Act

aimed to address shortcomings in curriculum. Red Riders sought to rid schools of

communist influences. Federal bills were introduced to provide funding for school

buildings and programs culminating in the adoption of the Elementary and Secondary

Education Act. But in a larger sense, these were citizen voices joining the pluralist

chorus, forcing a dialogue with the professional educators who ran the system, in the context of an emerging democratic state of education.

In the fight against segregation and for equal educational opportunities, we see how parents and their advocates also joined the national discussion that was at times loud, controversial, and not without its disappointments. From being systematically excluded from the public schools prior to the Civil War and relegated to second class status after Reconstruction, African Americans turned to the courts to fight injustice; through the Civil Rights Movement they articulated a vision of an equitable society; and despite the acrimony surrounding community control efforts, there we see parents, citizens, and professional educators testing the limits of political processes and civil demonstrations to express their views. The century-long struggle earned African Americans full membership in the democratic state of education, as expressed in dramatic fashion, for instance, when activists occupied New York City's Board of Education for three days to establish their own, "people's" board. Joining these efforts were advocates for the disabled, for immigrants who did not speak English, and other interest groups. The chorus was getting bigger, louder, and not always harmonious, but still dedicated to making the educational system more representative and more effective in serving diverse needs and meeting new goals.

Following the Gilded Age, school reformers often spoke with the "upper-class accent" of America's business elite, as corporate models of governance were introduced to school systems and principles of "scientific management" served as the basis for greater

efficiency. Into the twentieth century, their influence was sustained through their private philanthropies, including the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, the Ford Foundation, and the Carnegie Corporation. With additional support provided by the U.S. Bureau of Education and the National Science Foundation, the activities of prominent commissions and the periodic release of major studies had a disproportionate impact on waves of reforms, as occurred with the release of the *Cardinal Principles,* Rockefeller's *The Pursuit of Excellence,* and Ford's endorsement of the school decentralization.

What then of the central question of this study, the voice of teachers? Over this time frame, the record is mixed in the extreme. In the 1940s, frustration over working conditions exploded in a wave of teacher strikes—arguably the most dramatic of possible speech acts. Yet at the same time, the state forced teachers into political quiescence due to their real or alleged communist activity. Not ten years later, teacher voice achieved an unprecedented institutional strength, through collective bargaining. This ebb and flow indicates that the mere existence of an education state does not guarantee that teacher voice is expressed or heard. Rather, we can understand the enabling context for voice as a necessary but insufficient prerequisite. Once the context exists, it is available to any interest that can organize itself and articulate its point of view.

Such an occurrence is on full display in the loyalty oaths required of teachers during the Red Scare. Patriotic organizations, citizen groups, and vigilant individuals mobilized to ensure that the state's influence on its children was in keeping with their political values. Nor is this altogether surprising, given that the student-teacher relationship has always

been subject to close scrutiny. As we saw in the nineteenth century, teachers were carefully monitored by the family and community to ensure that their behavior met local norms and values. At the turn of the century, teachers allied with local communities rather than reformers, due to their economic and social dependence on those neighborhoods and wards. As the nation struggled with ideological challenges during the 1930s, 40s, and 50s, it is understandable that citizens would lobby their state and local governments to take a particular interest in the education of future citizens. Moreover, the need for intervention by the state was likely exacerbated by the bureaucratic buffers that the administrative progressives built into their educational system, buffers which separated both families and the community from the public schools. The system's intentional isolation led to a lack of understanding, suspicion, and at times fear of what was happening in the classroom.

The numerous Red Riders, loyalty oaths, and investigations also dramatize the fact that students are not merely the jurisdiction of the professional educators; parents and citizens were exercising their own claim to authority over children's public education and asserting their role in a democratic state of education. Such was the essence of U.S. Supreme Court's 1952 defense of New York's Feinberg Law, in which the majority argued that "a teacher works in a sensitive area in the schoolroom. There he shapes the attitude of young minds toward the society in which they live. In this, the state has a vital concern… That school authorities have the right to duty to screen the officials, teacher, and employees for their fitness to maintain the integrity of the schools as part of ordered society, cannot be doubted."[65]

States' loyalty programs effectively muted teachers' freedom of expression, given the climate of fear and intimidation surrounding the Red Scare. As we saw, loyalty was used in a similar manner in the 1920s when the NEA used teachers' desire for professional standing as a way to compel membership, undermine the AFT, and prevent teachers from gaining an independent voice outside of the administrator-dominated organization. Both instances provide evidence for Hirschman's theory on how forced-expression of loyalty will suppress voice and leave exit as the only remedy to one's circumstances, which teachers made full use of in the 1940s and 50s, as evidenced by the high rates of turnover, shortages, and emergency certifications.

Given that the contours of the education state had been shaped to dampen teacher voice on matters of education, employment, and policy, what explains its full-throated expression in the 1960s, with the birth of the modern teacher union movement as denoted by collective bargaining? As the record shows, the re-emergence may simply have been cyclical: teachers repeatedly organized to advance their interests in the face of obstacles at the turn of the century; in the 1920s when union locals were organized; and again in the 1940s around working conditions. Another theory is gender-based: in 1951, women constituted 80 percent of the teaching force. By 1955, this was down to 75 percent and dipped to a low of 66 percent in 1970. As Murphy and others have argued, men were more likely than women to join unions at that time. With all due respect to the earlier accomplishments of Margaret Haley and Catherine Goggin, many of the era's prominent teacher union leaders were men and included Henry Linville to George Counts and Albert Shanker. Also, teachers were increasingly making a career of education, the high

rates of turnover during the war years notwithstanding. By 1975, teachers' average age was forty-two, much higher than earlier in the century when teaching was a mere interlude for women prior to marriage. At midcentury, about 50 percent of teachers held bachelor's degrees and 20 percent held master's degrees. By 1970, nearly the entire profession held a college degree, with 70 percent bachelor's and nearly 30 percent master's or higher. By investing more time and education in their work, teachers had an incentive not to exit, leaving voice as their only recourse.[66]

Moreover, teachers' negative association of unionism subsided as the 1960s progressed. Recall that these perceptions were obstacle to Haley's early efforts in Chicago, where many female teachers believed that unionization was unbecoming of their work. The issue was exploited to full effect by the NEA in its competition with the AFT. The debate affected efforts by union leaders in New York City in the 1950s, and they had to convince their own members about the potential benefits of collective bargaining. But as teachers' early contracts brought home tangible benefits, including better pensions and health care, the distinction between membership in a professional association versus a union became less sharp and the debate somewhat academic. NEA polls, taken in 1965, found that ninety percent of teachers favored collective action in regard to bargaining with their employers and that two thirds believed that strikes were acceptable forms of collective action.[67]

Across the three issue domains of employment, educational, and policy issues, it is clear that employment issues continued to dominate teachers' concerns, labor actions, and

political activities. Issues of low-pay, discriminatory compensation practices, and challenging working conditions motivated their unions to win the right to bargain collectively. Contracts won raises, lunch breaks, and a single salary schedule for men and women. Due process protections, the cause of so much controversy during the Red Scare, were also strengthened. As Murphy concluded in her history of the teacher unions, "collective bargaining changed the fundamental relationship between teachers and administrators. It promised teachers more say in the conduct of their work, more pay, and greater job security."[68]

Once the contracts established an economic foundation, efforts were made to use collective bargaining as a vehicle for teacher voice on educational issues. As we saw in the case of New York City, the unions attempted to bargain issues of class size and issues of curriculum. Having embraced reform strategies such as the More Effective Schools Program and the Open Corridor approach, the union sought to win support for such programs at the negotiating table. In Shanker's expansive view, no issue of schooling was out of the scope of either formal bargaining or union-led political action.

On matters of curriculum and pedagogy, Ravitch found that teachers had little genuine voice in the curriculum revision movement of the 1930s and '40s. In her estimation, the process was so manipulated by administrators and curriculum specialists as to make teachers' input meaningless and their support of the outcome dubious. Although she is more sanguine about teachers' efforts in the late 1950s, when educators joined with scientists to improve the nation's teaching of math and science, the effort was short-lived.

In contrast to the strength of teacher voice in matters of employment and policy, here we find educational voice to be much weaker.

That said, teachers appear to have still taught the way they wanted. On matters of pedagogy, evidence from the open education movement of the 1960s is consistent with prior efforts to implement progressive techniques. Although reformers attempted to make schooling more child-centered, Cuban, Goodlad and others found that teacher-centered practices persisted or quickly returned after earnest attempts as instructional reform. In the classroom, teacher's preferred practices, if not given explicit voice in education debates, continued to dominate other points of view by teachers sheer ability to teach as they saw fit.

By the 1970s, teacher voice also gained a privileged position in the discussion of school policy. A major cause of this was the teacher unions' close relationship with the Democratic Party nationally and electoral politics in states and locales across the country. The troubling events surrounding the community control movement offer a poignant example of the extent of the union's policy influence and the lengths that the union would go—including, in the example of New York City, numerous citywide strikes—to ensure that their interests, namely the protection of due process and citywide collective bargaining, would be preserved.

The confrontations and dramatic events of this era, including strikes, lawsuits, and racial politics, are often characterized as a troubling chapter in American education. The

private interests of discrete groups—education for the disabled, for those who did not speak English, for racial and ethnic minorities; the rights of teachers—came to the fore. Without a doubt, the events polarized educators, parents, and communities along the lines of race and class and presented challenges that public officials were unwilling or unable to address.   When the interests were accommodated, through books of new statutes, sweeping legal decisions, and bundles of new resources, Ravitch among others, argues that the government's responsiveness to so many special interests "mirrored growing uncertainty about the purpose of education… [and] any conception of the common interest."[69]

David Labaree takes a similar stance in his examination of the "credentials race" in American education, in which he characterizes the problem as a shift from thinking about education as a public good to a private good. As a public good, education serves to "provide society with benefits that can be collectively shared," such as responsible and productive citizens. As a private good, education serves as a tool for individuals to "gain a competitive advantage over other people," through an education credential that will "distinguish the owner from the rest of the pack." In Labaree's view, "the pursuit of individual advantage has come to exert an increasingly powerful effect on education in the United States, and that in the process private purposes have undermined the ability of the public schools to serve the public interest."[70]

But this interpretation begs the question, what *is* the public interest? Common school reformers were motivated to protect and advance the Republic, a clear conceptualization

of education as a public good. But in the process of consolidating schools, shuttering civically-organized private academies, and centralizing authority to state officials, common school reformers limited, in a modest way, the ability of families and localities to articulate their own conception of education, be it for the common good or personal gain. Animating the work of the administrative progressives was their own and ultimately controversial conception of the public interest—social efficiency and stability. Their successful albeit short-lived effort to close off the schools from democratic politics protected their utilitarian point of view, however publicly purposed, from competing conceptions of the public interest.

Despite the best intentions of each era's reformers, articulating a conception of the public interest outside of democratic processes becomes problematic. To some degree, the point of view becomes the private interest of the group in power. Even if their position emphasizes education as a public rather than private good, the fact that it is determined without broad public participation undermines its legitimacy. If, alternately, we understand the state as a mediating force among competing interests, the public interest is, by definition, the result of give-and-take pluralist politics. The more inclusive the process, the more likely education is to represent a democratically-determined conception of education and the extent to which schooling should emphasize public benefits to society and private benefits to students.

Although the common interest of the 1960s was different from what first animated the common school movement in the nineteenth century or the common purpose expressed

by administrative progressives in the twentieth, we can see in the midst of this era's turmoil a more democratic state of education. In David Tyack and Elizabeth Hansot's estimation

> the civil rights and other protest movements stimulated the third great period of reform of the common school. Again, as in Horace Mann's era, powerful visions of a brighter future animated reformers in education, but this time people demanded social justice for those who had been pushed to the bottom of society and largely ignored. Again, as in the mid-nineteenth century, leaders of social movements pressed for change, but this time they sought not so much to build new institutions as to gain a voice in existing but unresponsive school systems.[71]

Education's pluralist chorus was bigger, louder, and stripped of its upper-class accent. Teachers gained a prominent voice in the chorale, but by no means the only. At times, the experience was discordant and chaotic. Yet for the first time in the country's experience, the national dialogue over the purpose and position of public education was broadly inclusive, with citizens from many walks of life articulating their vision for the country, how schools should prepare children for it, and using the extensive apparatus of the state to bring it about.

Is it possible for there to be too much participation in the democratic dialogue? In other words, too much voice? This is one of the questions examined by Carole Pateman in *Participation and Democratic Theory,* her study of classical and current theories of democracy. Writing in 1970, she noted that a number of contemporary democratic theorists, preoccupied with the "stability of the political system," were advocating "a drastic revision" of classical democratic theory and principally the "idea of the maximum participation of all the people." For example, in Bernard Berelson's writings, Pateman finds the argument that "limited participation and apathy have a positive function for the

whole system by cushioning the shock of disagreement, adjustment and change." She

points to Dahl's concern that a rise in the political participation of lower socio-economic

groups, in which "authoritarian personalities are most frequently found," could also pose

a danger to the stability of the democratic system." Or in the works of Giovanni Sartori

and colored by the political events in Europe, there exists a more extreme fear that

"active participation of the people in the political process leads straight to

totalitarianism."[72]

Pateman argues that these theorists, to their own detriment, employ a definition of

democracy that is drawn from Joseph Schumpeter's work and that over-emphasizes the

creation and maintenance of institutional arrangements. By re-examining the works of

Rousseau and John Stuart Mill as well as empirical evidence from workplace democracy,

Pateman offers an alternate theory of *participatory* democracy, "built round the central

assertion that individuals and their institutions cannot be considered in isolation from one

another." Rather, individual participation in political institutions and processes

legitimizes and strengthens those institutions. Nor does broad participation pose a special

problem to political stability, she argues, as such a system is "self-sustaining through the

educative impact of the participatory process. Participation develops and fosters the very

qualities necessary for it; the more individuals participate the better able they become to

do so." In this conception, the major function of participation is "an educative one,

educative in the very widest sense, including both the psychological aspect and the

gaining of practice in democratic skills and procedures." [73]

Interpreting a wide array of evidence regarding political participation at the national and local level, and across a variety of activities including education and worksite labor-relations, Pateman advances the claim that the "necessary condition for the establishment of a [participatory] democratic polity is a participatory *society*" [emphasis added]. She notes that Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba in *The Civic Culture* also established a clear connection between "a participatory environment and the development of a sense of political efficacy." This line of reasoning aligns with my own argument that contextual factors are key determinants of the degree to which voice—i.e. political participation—can occur. To wit, Pateman explains that "the opportunity to participate" depends on "the nature of the "context within which all political activity [is] carried on."[74]

A political, cultural, and institutional context that supports expanding opportunities for participation helps to achieve one of the underlying assumptions in democratic thought. As Sidney Verba, Kay Lehman Schlozman, and Henry Brady argue in *Voice and Equality: Civic Voluntarism in American Politics*,

> voice and equality are central to democratic participation. In a meaningful democracy, the people's voice must be clear and loud—clear so that policymakers understand citizen concerns and loud so that they have an incentive to pay attention to what is said. Since democracy implies not only governmental responsiveness to citizens interests but also equal consideration of the interests of each citizen, democratic participation must also be equal.

The authors acknowledge that "no democratic nation… lives up to the ideal of participatory equality," given that some citizens are politically active and some are not; citizens also differ in social characteristics and in their "preferences, needs, and priorities." Yet the differences are not random across the populace. Through an

extensive analysis of political activity, as measured by an original survey of over 15,000

Americans and over 2,500 follow-on interviews, Verba and his colleagues find

convincing evidence of a "systematic bias in representation through participation. Over

and over [their] data showed that participatory input is tilted in the direction of more

advantaged groups in society… the voices of the well-educated and the well-heeled…

sound more loudly."[75]

Pateman's theory of a participatory democracy would argue in favor of the robust

political activity surrounding the public schools in the 1960s and 70s. Verba and

Almond's evidence supports the assertion that the expanding context of the education

state created more opportunities for participation and a sense of efficacy. Verba,

Schlozman, and Brady's findings suggest that that an expanding education state can help

to correct for some of the imbalance in political voice as it pertains to schooling.

Combined, these authors would argue that there was not too much teacher, parent, and

public voice in public education at this time; rather the various events made their voices

louder, clearer, and more equitable.

But as I will argue in the following pages, the political, social, and institutional alignment

in support of greater participation through voice was short-lived. Just as the nation was

developing a democratic state of education in which a diverse array of citizens and their

advocates could articulate their desired aims and means of schooling, the next wave of

school reform brought in ideas that would constrain the context for such democratic voice.

Teacher voice, particularly as expressed collectively by their unions, would come under

particular scrutiny and attack. I turn to these developments next.

5. *The Era of Choice and Exit*

In 1983, the National Commission for Excellence in Education, under the leadership of U.S. Secretary of Education Terrence Bell, released *A Nation at Risk.* The report was as influential as the *Cardinal Principles* in the early 1900s and the *Brown* decision at mid-century in that it launched and galvanized the current era of school reform. It was written in stark and accessible prose and confirmed much of the nation's popular disillusionment with the public schools, warning that "the educational foundations of our society are presently being eroded by a rising tide of mediocrity that threatens our very future as a Nation and a people." This failure, the authors contended, posed a direct risk to national security, both economically and politically. The report and others like it helped to generate broad support for significant school reform in school districts, states, and at the federal level.[1]

Close observers of the nation's schools, including Carl Kaestle, challenged the reports' narrative of decline, noting stable rates of literacy from the 1940s to the 1980s. Despite a decrease in SAT scores, results on other College Board achievement tests actually rose between the 1960s and mid-1970s. The National Assessment of Educational Progress had shown generally stable achievement from 1970 onward, over a period when educational access expanded to more Americans and when much more was expected of schools. Jeffrey R. Henig found that the achievement gap in SAT scores between white and black students had started to shrink in 1975 and was reduced by over 22 percent in 1989. Teachers College president Lawrence Cremin challenged *A Nation at Risk*'s

central premise that bad schools caused a weak economy, calling it a "crass effort" to direct attention away from those responsible for truly "doing something about competitiveness."[2]

Yet despite these critiques, Tyack and Cuban demonstrate in *Tinkering Toward Utopia* a subtle shift in the nation's two hundred year-old conception of public education. Recall that Horace Mann and his colleagues turned to the public schools to *save* the Republic; that Nicholas Murray Butler and a generation of administrative progressives believed schools could bring about a conflict-free society; how John Dewey advocated a progressive vision of education as the lever of social reform; and that Justice Earl Warren, speaking for the Supreme Court on behalf of a nation in the grip of a movement for civil rights, expected schools to redress the injustice of institutionalized racism. Although the leaders of each era turned to public education to address the major challenge of the day, the shortcomings of the schools notwithstanding, there remained strong confidence in public education as a force for progress.[3]

Yet by the final decades of the twentieth century, perhaps out of disappointment from such high and unmet expectations, this narrative of progress was replaced by "a common assertion that public education [was] in decline." Moreover, this view was in keeping with a general loss of confidence in public institutions. Epitomized by the quagmire in Vietnam, the embarrassment of Watergate, the disappointing results of Great Society programs, and urban decay, American's trust in government dropped from 58 percent to 19 percent from the 1950s to the late 1970s. Although citizens gave consistently good

grades to local schools on annual Gallup polls, they expressed "strong fears" about the

overall quality of education. Or as Labaree characterizes, "the vision is one of general

threats to education that may not have reached the neighborhood school quite yet but may

do so in the near future."[4]

With the benefit of hindsight, we can see that the response to *A Nation at Risk* was

schizophrenic with efforts to improve the nation's schools inspired by two competing

notions of the state's role in education. The standards and accountability movement,

which focused on academic achievement, prompted further expansion and concentration

of state authority. Meanwhile, the movement to provide more choice in education,

through the use of vouchers and opening of charter schools, challenged the state's

legitimacy in the delivery of schooling.[5] Teachers and their advocates influenced both

strands of reform, just as the changing context and political climate affected their ability

to do so. What follows is an examination of both efforts.

The Standards and Accountability Movement

At its heart, the standards movement engaged the question: what knowledge, abilities and

attitudes should students gain and develop during their time in school? Prior to the 1950s,

answering the question was largely a state and local affair, notwithstanding the informal

coordination by administrative progressives to revise curriculum in the 1930s and 40s or

the default curriculum imposed by publishers of textbooks like the McGuffey readers.

But international threats posed an implicit challenge to this decentralized approach.

When the Soviet Union launched Sputnik in the late 1950s, leaders believed that we were falling behind *as a nation*, and supported efforts to improve science instruction across the country. In the 1980s, international economic competition, particularly from Japan, placed *the entire country* "at risk" and necessitating a national response.

The reaction was nationwide, as state after state convened their own task forces and commissions and adopted new laws and regulations to promote educational excellence. The length of school days and years was increased. More academic courses were required, emphasizing a back to basics approach. Teacher qualifications were increased and more discriminating standards were adopted to evaluate their work. Standardized tests were developed to measure and track student achievement, with resulted reported to state officials, and graduation requirements were increased. The effect was a flurry of top-down, state-led reforms aiming to regulate schools into excellence.[6]

At the federal level, the National Assessment of Education Progress (NAEP) released, at the encouragement of reform-minded governors, state-level comparisons of student achievement. The Assessment, which was first proposed in the 1960s by U.S. Education Secretary Francis Keppel, was initially opposed by states and education organizations as an inappropriate expansion of federal power over schools. Fears were raised that a national test would lead to a national curriculum, infringing on state's rights. Early iterations of the test, after a lengthy development process, only sampled groups of students and released results by four national regions to avoid state-to-state comparisons. Yet by the 1980s, and after two decades of federal involvement in the schools, activist

governors including Bill Clinton of Arkansas and Lamar Alexander of Tennessee argued that the data could help convince reluctant taxpayers to invest in education and stimulate competition, "in the best sense," to stimulate school improvement. State education commissioners, including Jerry Tirozzi in Connecticut, also supported state-level assessments in order to have "accurate, appropriate, and fair measures of comparison."[7]

Also in the 1980s, various proposals were made to answer the question of what all students should know, regardless of their race, class or the region in which they live. E.D. Hirsch's *Cultural Literacy* defended a traditional canon of knowledge that all students required for success in the world, and his work was implemented as the Core Knowledge curriculum. In contrast, advocates of multiculturalism argued that students would be more engaged in their studies and learn more if their unique racial and ethnic heritage informed the curriculum rather than a curriculum dominated by the history and culture of Europe and Western civilization. The self-esteem movement was advanced in educational circles as "both and ends and a means" to improved achievement while Theodore Sizer and Deborah Meier led a renewed interest in progressive education, emphasizing a depth of knowledge over a breadth of facts, the cultivation of analytical and communication skills, with authentic demonstrations of learning.[8]

Despite these different and at times competing approaches, advocates maintained that standards would provide the nation with a clear statement of what students should be able to know and do by key milestones in their education. As such, standards could bring greater coherence to instruction: with objectives clearly stated, schools of education

would know how to best prepare and develop teachers and school leaders; instructional materials and assessments could be aligned to these desired outcomes. Standards would also serve the goal of equity in education, as they would set a single expectation for all students, regardless of their background. Across the country, governors, legislators, and business leaders lobbied for higher standards; California adopted grade-by-grade curriculum frameworks in the early 1980s followed by New York and other states throughout the decade.[9]

One of the leading advocates of student standards was AFT president Albert Shanker. Unlike many leaders of the country's educational organizations, including the NEA, who objected to the findings of *A Nation at Risk*, Shanker endorsed the report and encouraged teachers and AFT locals to engage in school reform efforts. Standards, he argued, provided the objective goals to which school reforms should aim and against which their success should be judged. On a practical matter, Shanker argued that standards made the work of teachers more coherent and predictable: knowing the objectives in advance would turn the focus to how best to get there. Shanker used his platform at the AFT and his influence with union locals to advocate for standards across the country.[10]

A key event in the movement towards common student standards was the National Education Summit in Charlottesville, Virginia in 1989. Then President George H. Bush convened the nation's governors to tackle the challenge of school reform; it represented only the third time in the country's history that a president convened the governors on any topic, the first time on the issue of education. By the end of their deliberations, the

governors and White House agreed to establish "clear, national performance goals" tied to seven areas: school readiness, performance on international achievement tests, dropout rates, adult literacy, workforce training, qualified teachers, and safe, disciplined, drug-free schools. In Tyack and Cuban's estimation, the nation's leaders were implicitly recommending "a policy that would previously have been anathema," given the long tradition of state and local control—a national curriculum.[11]

In 1991, Bush announced his America 2000 plan which envisioned a system of national standards and voluntary assessments. Over the next two years, the U.S. Department of Education provided grants to teacher and specialist organizations to develop standards in seven subjects: science, history, geography, the arts, civics, foreign languages, and English (national standards for mathematics had already been developed and released two years earlier). But the result was a disaster. The history standards, developed by the National Center for History in the Schools, were widely condemned from all quarters. Released in 1994 under President Clinton, the standards painted a negative picture of American history making no mention, for example, of Paul Revere, Thomas Edison or the Wright brothers yet cited Joseph McCarthy and McCarthyism nineteen times and included seventeen references to the Ku Klux Klan. Lynne Cheney, former chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities, attacked their political bias. Shanker called the standards, with their "leftist point of view," a "travesty." Secretary of Education Richard Riley distanced the Clinton administration from the standards, noting that the grant was initiated under President Bush. In January 1995, the standards were condemned by the U.S. Senate in a vote of 99 to one.[12]

The other standards did not fare much better. The English standards, published by the National Council of Teachers of English, were attacked for their lack of rigor. The math standards, developed by the National Council of Teachers of Mathematics, were criticized for their bias against abstract knowledge and rote learning and for being more a pedagogy to guide teacher practice than a statement of what knowledge and analytical skills and procedures students needed to master. As a result, the matter was temporarily returned to the states. Clinton's Goals 2000 legislation, passed in 1994, provided funding for states to establish their own student standards and assessments, and every state except Iowa followed suit. The work was conducted by state-level committees composed of subject-matter specialists. But the problem with the approach, as observers would quickly note, was that states adopted standards that varied widely in quality and clarity. As a result, student excelling in their school work in one part of the county might not pass muster in another. Often written in vague jargon, many of the standards failed to provide clear guidance on how teachers and schools should plan their curriculum.[13]

The same year, Clinton reauthorized the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, redubbed the Improving America's Schools Act. Clinton's initial draft of the bill included sanctions, including the withholding of federal funds, to state's that did not make "adequate yearly progress" on standards-aligned tests. Other potential consequences included giving students the right to transfer to a better school or reconstituting school staff. Although the accountability provisions were watered-down in the final version of the law, such was not the case under Clinton's successor. In 2002,

President George W. Bush signed into law his signature educational initiative: the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB). In exchange for a sizable increase in federal funding, much of which was targeted to support low-income schools and disabled students, the Act required states to administer standardized tests in grades three through eight. Results from these tests would determine if schools were making adequate yearly progress towards a goal of proficiency for all students in reading and math by 2014. Moreover, data had to be disaggregated to determine if racial and ethnic subgroups and students with special needs were also making gains to close the "achievement gap." States were required to employ only highly qualified teachers, although each was allowed to formulate their own certification requirements.[14]

Reviving ideas from Clinton's bill, NCLB allowed students to transfer out of schools that failed to make required progress and mandated privately-supplied supplementary educational services for struggling students. If schools failed to improve, states were required to take corrective actions ranging from school redesign, staff changes, conversion to a charter school, or management by a private entity. At that time the law, passed by a Republican president from Texas with bipartisan and cross-regional support, represented the largest expansion of the federal government into public education. The AFT was initially supportive of the Act unlike the NEA which later sued to have the program stopped.[15]

But as with Clinton's Goals 2000, under NCLB each state still defined its own learning standards. Support was not provided to raise their quality and align with other states or to

support the development of standards-aligned curriculum and instructional resources. Instead, what started as a *standards* movement evolved into a controversial *accountability* movement, with high-stake consequences attached to the results of standardized assessments. Critics have argued that the focus on student assessment has narrowed curriculum, pushed test-prep to the forefront of instruction and atrophied our conception of student learning. Both national unions came to oppose the law, as its effects unfolded. Given the potential loss or redirection of federal funding on the basis of low test scores, states were effectively incentivized to keep standards low, define every teacher as highly qualified, and set minimum passing scores on state tests.[16]

To address these inconsistencies and perverse incentives, in 2009 the National Governors Association (NGA) and the Council of Chief State Schools Officers (CCSSO) launched the Common Core State Standards Initiative. Described as a state-led effort and funded with support from the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, the Initiative developed learning standards in English language arts and mathematics "in collaboration with teachers, school administrators, and experts, to provide a clear and consistent framework to prepare our children for college and the workforce." The Initiative describes the standards as "informed by the highest, most effective models from states across the country and countries around the world, and provide teachers and parents with a common understanding of what students are expected to learn… [providing] appropriate benchmarks for all students, regardless of where they live." In describing the development process, the NGA (which describes itself as "the collective voice of the nation's governors") and CCSSO "received initial feedback on the draft standards from

national organizations representing, but not limited to, teachers, postsecondary educators (including community colleges), civil rights groups, English language learners, and students with disabilities. Following the initial round of feedback, the draft standards were opened for public comment, receiving nearly 10,000 responses." The Initiative's website includes a "Voices of Support" page where anyone can upload a video to a YouTube Channel to tell "the Common Core Supporters community why you support the standards and the impact they will make in your community."[17]

The new standards were released in 2010. Although notionally voluntary, the federal government, under the leadership of President Barack Obama, required states to adopt "internationally benchmarked standards and assessments," among other reforms, in order to be eligible for over $4 billion in federal "Race to the Top" school reform funds. Moreover the federal government awarded over $330 million to two consortia of states to develop "a new generation of tests" that "provide ongoing feedback to teachers during the course of the school year, measure annual student growth, and move beyond narrowly-focused bubble tests… [and] aligned to the higher standards… developed by governors and chief state school officers." According to the Initiative, all but five states have formally adopted the Common Core and plan to align educator preparation, curriculum, resources and instruction to these new standards; the vast majority of states belong to one assessment coalition or the other. The result, for all intents and purposes, is a set of national standards and national assessments.[18]

The Choice Movement and the Teacher Unions

Had the nation's president and governors merely launched an effort that resulted, thirty years later, in the 'voluntary' adoption of national standards and assessments, their meeting in Charlottesville would have easily counted as historic. But they also called for decentralization of authority and decision-making to the school-level so that educators could be "empowered to determine the means for accomplishing the goals and to be held accountable for accomplishing them."[19] This set of ideas—decentralization of authority and greater autonomy to schools in return for heightened accountability—would come to animate the second major strand of school reform during the last decade of the twentieth century and into the present: the school choice movement. Largely implemented in the form of charter schools, school choice countervailed the concentration of state authority brought about by the adoption of state and national standards and assessments but would have just as significant an impact on teacher voice.[20]

Recall that in the years following *A Nation at Risk,* state after state adopted new statutes, regulations and policies in an effort to promote educational excellence. But the effect was top-down and regulatory and failed to raise student achievement as quickly as desired. Shanker, among others, complained that the changes represented "thick books of legislation telling everybody how many minutes there should be in a school day and the school year, how many hours there should be of this and that, and what should determine whether someone passes or fails." John Chubb and Terry Moe, in *Politics, Markets and School Reform,* similarly complained that the government-led approach wasn't working

and wouldn't, given bureaucrat's self-interest to protect the status quo. Tyack and Cuban, among others, found that at about this time a new "catchword" became fashionable among leaders disappointed with the results of reform: "restructuring."[21]

In a call for a "second reform movement," Shanker proposed the idea of charter schooling during a speech at the National Press Club in 1988. Drawing on ideas developed by educator Ray Budde in *Education by Charter: Restructuring School Districts,* Shanker elaborated the concept in a *Peabody Journal of Education* article and won approval for the concept at the AFT's national convention. In his writing and speeches, Shanker outlined a system where educators would have greater autonomy to develop an innovative school proposal and receive a "charter" from an official government body to implement the plan. Regulations that stood in the way of the proposal would be waived, and the school would control its own budget. It would be a publicly funded and non-discriminatory school of choice, where parents would elect to send their children and where teachers would choose to work. Periodic evaluations would ascertain if pre-determined goals were met and if the charter should be extended. If it failed to meet expectations, the charter would be revoked and the school closed.[22]

Recognized as one of the first and most prominent advocates of the approach, Shanker believed that charter restructuring would stimulate bottom-up, educator-led innovation. The concept was also consistent with Shanker's efforts to give teachers a greater voice in their work, given the authority and responsibility entrusted to those who received a charter. So confident was Shanker that the idea would improve student achievement and

enhance teacher professionalism, he expressed his intention to "go to each and every one of [the AFT's] locals across the country… [to] make it possible for any group of six, seven, eight, nine, twelve or more teachers who want to do this to do it," adding:

> This proposal will take us from the point where the number of real basic reform efforts can be counted on the fingers of two hands to the point where, if we meet here again a few years from now, we'll be able to talk about thousands and thousands of schools in this country where people are building a new type of school that reaches the overwhelming majority of our students."[23]

In this last regard, Shanker was prescient. What started as one school in Minnesota in 1992 has grown to over 5,400 charter schools currently operating in 39 states and the District of Columbia. Charters currently enroll more than 1.7 million students including the majority of children in some of the most troubled cities and neighborhoods in the country. Moreover, the Center for Education Reform reports that another 1,000 charter schools have closed since 1992, on the basis of poor performance, insolvency, or for lack of students.[24]

But the charter movement diverged from Shanker's original vision in one critical regard. Whereas he envisioned that the charter school would remain part of the school district and its teachers still part of the local bargaining unit, charters were established as independent educational corporations, governed by a not-for-profit board of trustees and autonomous from the school district and its collective bargaining agreements. Charter teachers may organize into a union (in states that permit collective bargaining), but typically do not have such rights from the outset of their employment. Minnesota's

design, which established the prototype for the rest of the country, was a clear setback to the teacher union movement, birthed in its modern form just thirty years prior.[25]

The decision to incorporate charter schools outside of the public sector was part and parcel of a renewed interest in private sector, market-based solutions. In the late 1960s and early 70s, performance contracts were negotiated with corporations to help raise the achievement of low-performing students, such as in Texarkana, Arkansas, which enrolled hundreds of its students in Dorsett Educational Systems' Rapid Learning Centers and in Gary Indiana, which engaged Behavioral Research Laboratories to manage some of its schools. In a pilot program, President Nixon's Office of Economic Opportunity awarded contracts to six companies to run schools in eighteen school districts. Into the 1980s and 90s, public leaders turned increasingly to the business community to lead school reform efforts; as part of Bush's America 2000 strategy, the president created the New American Schools Development Corporation to design and promote school models "light years beyond those of today." Notably, the Corporation's founding board was composed entirely of CEOs of large corporations. In 1991, entrepreneur Christopher Whittle launched Edison Schools, a for-profit education management company that promised to "transform American education" through a franchise of well-designed private schools. Over time, Edison would also manage schools on behalf of school districts. In 1994, the City of Hartford, Connecticut briefly turned over the management of all of its schools to the company Education Alternatives.[26]

Underlying these efforts was a lost confidence in the public sector's ability to deliver results and a conviction that the private sector would do much better. Advocates of this approach were explicit in their belief that competitive market pressures through deregulation, privatization, and greater choice would radically transform education and increase student achievement. As early as 1955, the economist and libertarian Milton Friedman advocated for a limited role of government in the delivery of education through the provision of school vouchers. In his recommendation, parents would receive public funds to pay for private school tuition. The system would create greater freedom of choice and greater competition among educational providers, both of which would marshal market forces to, in theory, improve achievement. Although the idea failed to gain much traction, the Nixon administration supported a small voucher program in the 1970s in Alum Rock, California and Congress nearly passed a tuition-tax credit plan in 1978. President Reagan by comparison, was an outspoken proponent of school vouchers and tried, unsuccessfully, to get a voucher plan through Congress in 1983, 1985, and 1986.[27]

As Jeffrey Henig explains in *Rethinking School Choice,* these setbacks led Reagan and his successor, President George H. Bush, to "repackage" the idea in the form of *public* school choice by embracing magnet schools and the handful of within-district school choice programs then in operation across the country, such as in Montclair, New Jersey and in East Harlem, New York. By 1990, advocacy for market-based solutions gained new life and mainstream appeal from Chubb and Moe's *Politics, Markets, and America's Schools*, in which the authors argued for the benefits of privatization and competition.

They pointed to the freedom from regulation and union contracts as the cause of success in private, mostly Catholic, schools. And through the "panacea" of school choice, they concluded with a set of sweeping recommendations to restructure public education according to market principles in which school vouchers would be redeemable at public or private schools that would compete with each other for students; this competition, they believed, would improve school quality or drive poor performing schools, unable to recruit students, out of business.[28]

In the following years a handful of voucher programs were piloted across the country. Milwaukee launched the country's first in 1990 and Cleveland followed suit in 1995. From 1996 to 1999, randomized voucher programs in New York City and Washington DC assigned students to voucher and non-voucher groups, administered baseline assessments, and tracked achievement over time. Yet in each case, the results were mixed and the programs were intensely controversial. They drew strong opposition from teacher unions and other groups which viewed the programs as a direct effort to privatize public education and replace unionized teachers with a non-union workforce. [29]

Charter schools, by comparison, were less susceptible to attack, given Shanker's early advocacy of the idea, their enrollment of students via lottery (when oversubscribed) rather than by selection criteria, and their accountability to state authorities under the terms of the charter and as measured by student achievement. Moreover, as a school choice alternative more palatable than vouchers, charters won bi-partisan support from Democratic and Republican alike. These differences notwithstanding, free-market ideas

still animated the charter sector. Choice for students, parents, and teachers became a mantra. Proponents argued that competition among schools to enroll students would drive performance, growth, or closure. Although governed by non-profit boards, a small industry of for-profit educational service providers emerged to operate the schools.[30]

As charter schools represented a non-union wedge into densely unionized school systems, the movement was also embraced by political conservatives and funders. Notable among them is the Walton Family Foundation, which has provided hundreds of millions of dollars to incubate more than 600 charter schools across the country along with numerous national, state, and local charter advocacy organizations. Other conservative philanthropies and think-tanks, such as the Heritage Foundation, the Center for Education Reform, and the Thomas B. Fordham Institute helped to grow the charter sector. For many years, leaders in the charter movement maintained a prominent anti-union posture. A notable example was the Atlantic Legal Foundation's 2005 publication *Leveling the Playing Field: What New York Charter School Leaders Need to Know About Union Organizing.* The pamphlet, essentially a how-to guide in avoiding unionization, was drafted by Jackson Lewis, a notoriously anti-union law firm, and was praised by nationally-recognized charter advocates who described it as a "must read" and "indispensable resource" for any charter "targeted" for unionization. [31]

Despite their growing popularity and political support, the combination of effects cemented perceptions of the charter movement as a key front in a conservative effort to privatize public education and dismantle teacher unions. In one of the great reversals in

education history, Shanker and the AFT came to oppose the movement they helped to launch. Through much of the 1990s, political battles were waged in statehouses and school districts across the country, characterized by "high-pressure union lobbying" against charters and efforts by "charter advocates… to break the unions' power." A handful of projects have bucked the trend, including the pro-union Green Dot charter schools in Los Angeles and the Union Park charter in Chicago.[32] Other examples include teacher "co-operative" charter schools, such as those in Minnesota and Milwaukee, in which teachers populate the schools governing board or are members of a worker co-operative, EdVisions, and lease their services to charter schools. More recently, the AFT has attempted to pivot its stance on charter schools to be attractive to all teachers "irrespective" of the type of school in which they work. A small number of charter school teachers in New York, Chicago, and Florida have responded to the change, organizing with their local union and in spite of anti-union campaigns run by school management.[33]

Intermittent efforts have been made at diplomatic solutions, including meetings among charter and union leaders hosted in 2006 by the Progressive Policy Institute and the Minnesota-based think tank Education|Evolving. Moreover, as the charter movement has grown, it has lost some of its ideological image. The sector's funding has diversified, with sizable support from the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, and the schools are increasingly viewed as a mainstream reform. But by and large, little has improved in the relationship between the teacher unions and the charter school movement, questions

continue to be raised about their compatibility, and in the meantime, the sector remains largely union-free.[34]

Teacher Unions on their Heels

Opposition to the teachers union is nothing new. In the early decades of the twentieth century they were opposed by the business community and marginalized by the administrative progressives, with no shortage of help from the National Education Association. In the 40s and 50s, the unions were attacked for their radical politics. In the 60s, the fight for collective bargaining rights sent many teachers out on strike, destabilizing communities across the country. Teacher rights also collided with the goals of African Americans in the fight over decentralization and community control of schools. But things had changed by the 1980s and 90s. The ability to bargain collectively gave teacher unions an unprecedented degree of influence within the school system, or as Tyack notes, teachers had become "the group with the greatest power to veto or sabotage proposals for reform. No realistic estimate of strategies for change in American education could afford to ignore teachers or fail to enlist their support."[35]

In their defense, union supporters pointed to increased pay, elimination of gender discrimination, reduced class size and more professional development among other improvements. But detractors objected to reduced flexibility in the workplace, a contraction of managerial discretion, time-consuming processes for due process, and

opposition to innovation and reform. Moreover, teacher union power was peaking just when private sector unionism was entering its long decline, from nearly 40 percent of private workers in 1974 to a low of about seven percent today, and in a context of overt anti-unionism, as epitomized by Reagan's breaking of the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization in 1981.[36]

Nor was there an apparent end in sight to the degree of influence that the teacher unions aimed to hold within the school system. Starting in 1985, Shanker made a series of speeches outlining a vision that would go beyond collective bargaining to achieve "true teacher professionalism." His proposals included peer review as a way to reform tenure, higher-paid "lead teacher" positions as a response to merit pay proposals, a certification board to set teacher standards, and greater choice among public schools as a parry to voucher proposals. Organizations, including the Teacher Union Reform Network, aimed to replace the industrial nature of collective bargaining with interest-based approaches that focused on student achievement and school reforms. In her research, Julia Koppich found that these "reform contacts" aimed to expand the scope of bargaining and blur the distinction between labor and management.[37]

These efforts aimed to fight the image of self-interested unionism, present an openness to reform, and portray an alignment between students' needs and teachers' demands. But from the vantage of school leaders, the business community, and concerned citizens, these proposals represented yet more intrusions on management's prerogative and opposition to the teacher unions became a cottage industry. Notable works included

Myron Lieberman's *The Teachers Unions: How they Sabotage School Reform and Why;* Peter Brimelow's *The Worm in the Apple: How the Teacher Unions are Destroying American Education,* and Joe Williams' *Cheating Our Kids, How Politics and Greed Ruin Education.* More recent works include Terry Moe's *Special Interest: Teachers Unions and America's Public Schools* and Steven Brill's *Class Warfare: Inside the Fight to Fix America's Schools.* The common critique in these and other works, made with varying degrees of evidence, analysis, and sophistication, states that the unions protect the interests of adults not children, their influence is pervasive, and that their power must be weakened if schools are to improve.[38]

In 2010, *The New York Times Magazine* cover read, "Are Teachers' Unions the Enemy of Reform?" The article, also by Brill, chronicled school reform efforts over the past few years. It described the emergence of prominent school reform organizations like Teach For America, New Leaders for New Schools, and Democrats for Education Reform; the expanding size and influence of the charter school sector; the federal government's promotion of charters and performance-based accountability through the Race to the Top competition; and local battles between the United Federation of Teachers and the New York City Department of Education. [39]

But at its core, the story described a political realignment in the nation's education politics. Brill depicted how school reformers, many of them Democrats, had dislodged the teacher unions' close relationship with the Democratic Party. Union opposition to charter schools and test-based accountability was interpreted as hostility to reform itself.

As Moe had presented, the unions are now "on the defensive: blamed for obstructing reform, defending bad teachers, imposing seniority rules… with open criticism coming not simply from conservatives, but also from liberals, moderates, and Democrats." The fact that Brill's article graced the cover of the reliably liberal *Times* magazine spoke yards about the unions' loss of influence and allies.[40]

Nor was this backlash unforeseen. Writing in 1975 in his classic sociological study *Schoolteacher*, Dan Lortie noted that the "ritual piety" that teachers received, due to low pay and their sense of mission, was likely to erode in the face of union strength. Lortie observed that the "clamor for teacher 'accountability' [had] risen since teachers [had] become militant in their relationship with school boards," and that the trend was likely to continue. Complaints over teacher tenure, teachers' obstruction of reforms, and automatic pay increases were on the rise, as was the possibility that "school boards, backed by state departments of education, may launch various kinds of counterassertions to teacher power."[41]

This backlash notwithstanding, the facts of union membership suggest that their reach and practical power remain strong. At present, 63 percent of teachers are covered by some form of a collective bargaining agreement and 78 percent belong to a union, figures that have remained largely constant since the 1980s. The NEA claims 3.2 million members, with 2.7 million of them considered "practicing teachers." The AFT reports 1.4 million members, and its locals represent teachers in many of the country's largest cities, including Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Washington D.C., Chicago, Miami,

Los Angeles, and San Francisco. While the NEA may be more representative of
America's teachers, the AFT works in places most affected by school reform.[42]

Nor should it be overlooked that the vast majority of the country's 14,000 school districts
are governed by elected school boards. This gives teachers a unique ability to express
their views, through democratic processes, and work to elect management that reflects
their views and priorities. Although research in this area is scant, Moe has found that
teachers vote in school elections in disproportionately higher numbers than other citizens.
In some instances, the effect of a union endorsement is as large as the effect of
incumbency, which has been shown to greatly increase an elected official's chances for
re-election. As these are also the people with whom teachers will bargain, it is in
teachers' interests to negotiate with members who are sympathetic to their views. From
this perspective, teachers are not merely one voice among many in the pluralist politics of
democratic elections and policymaking—they are a dominant voice. For these and other
reasons, education reformers have questioned the value of school boards, challenged their
ability to govern effectively, and advocated their replacement with centralized mayoral
control of schools, as has recently occurred in Chicago, New York, Boston and elsewhere,
or charter-like arrangements of schools organized into portfolios managed by district or
state authorities on the basis of their performance. Like administrative progressives a
century ago, these proposals again aim to take the schools out of politics, but this time
teachers' politics.[43]

Analysis

Two competing notions of the state's relationship to schools animate reform efforts from the 1980s through today. In the standards and accountability movement, the federal government encouraged and later required all states to develop and adopt learning standards. When this led to inconsistent expectations from state to state, the federal government, working in close coordination with the nation's governors and chief state school officers, effectively mandated a set of national standards and assessments. Moreover, Washington D.C. dictated specific remedies that states and districts must undertake in their low-performing schools. Over this thirty year period, these changes represent a significant centralization of authority to the federal government over the content of instruction and strategies to improve performance. Yet through school choice, the state has delegated much of its operating authority to charter schools or, through the issuance of vouchers, outright relinquished its responsibilities to private institutions. Under these reforms, family preferences and market mechanisms determine the kind of schooling students receive.

On one level of analysis, we can see evidence of the "family state" *and* the "state of families" in these two strands of school reform. Standards set by a national authority and dictating what students should learn, national assessments measuring if they have, and federally-mandated remedies if they don't are all indicative of a strong family state. School choice, by comparison, has returned greater authority to parents, akin to a state of families. Although the historical record suggests that teachers have struggled to be heard in both contexts, we find that teacher voice on matters of education was instrumental in

the launch and shape of both reform movements. The first, if unsuccessful, set of national standards, developed in conjunction with President George H. Bush's America 2000 initiative, were prepared by professional organizations of teachers including the National Council of Teachers of English and its sister organization for mathematics. Teacher unions, particularly the AFT, were strong advocates of standards. Although classroom teachers were not directly involved in the development of the recently adopted Common Core standards, consultations and opportunities for feedback allowed for some teacher input. Throughout these examples, teachers' individual and collective voice can be heard on this central *educational* issue.

Similarly, the earliest iteration of the charter school movement, which has become the nation's primary form of public school choice, was advocated by teacher unions in an effort to give teachers more control and say in school matters. To wit, Minnesota's original charter school statute required that teachers constitute the majority of members on a school's board of trustees. Many of the nation's charters have been founded by teachers, including nationally-recognized schools and their parent organizations like KIPP, Uncommon Schools and Achievement First. In this regard, teacher voice influenced one of the most significant developments in education *policy* over the past thirty years, the result of which has become a means for teachers to have a greater voice on educational, employment, and policy matters within the school they've founded. Even as the charter movement evolved from its original conception into its current form, teacher collective voice—through union lobbying—shaped changes to the charter sector, for better or worse, through the political debates and new legislation.

Meanwhile, unionized teachers continued to have a voice on *employment* matters through collective bargaining and negotiations. In fact, efforts were made to go "beyond" traditional economic issues, in the name of greater professionalism and reform unionism, to have a voice in all matters of employment—from the setting of professional standards to the performance appraisal of peers. As with educational and policy voice, teachers' employment voice appears to have remained strong in the current era of educational affairs, notwithstanding a concerted effort to weaken teacher unions.

Nor, by any stretch of the imagination, have teachers had the only say in the development of the standards, accountability and choice movements. Public figures, elected officials, and academics expressed their concerns over the early standards and their input was sought in the development of the Common Core. A plurality of interests, from teachers wanting to get out from over-regulation to political conservatives wanting to challenge union influence, has debated, battled, and compromised over vouchers and charters. Such robust debates would suggest that despite the "family state" attributes national standards and the "state of families" characteristics of school choice, a "democratic state" still animates the enterprise of public education and supports a context that is conducive to many voices, teachers' included.

Furthermore, mean-ends arguments are made by proponents to defend both standards and choice as a *more effective* way to deliver education in a democracy. Standards, developed through deliberative processes with many stakeholders, reflect a

democratically-conceived notion of what it means to be an educated American. Once the

goal is clear, choice—another key attribute of life in a democracy—offers students and

families a variety of ways to achieve these goals and educators a variety of ways to

deliver the goods. This was the argument made by nation's governors in Charlottesville

in 1989, when they called for decentralization *and* standards, and by Shanker in his own

advocacy for public school choice, charters, and standards. The argument continues to be

made to reconcile the seeming contradiction between these two driving forces of school

reform.

Democracy in education, then, is not only alive and well but even improved, or so the

advocates of these policies would have others believe. National standards, developed

through a multi-stakeholder process, have appeared to settle the controversial and at

times ideologically-driven battles over what students should know, as occurred in the

debates over multi-cultural education or in the history standards. Choice, assuming

school options exist, has freed families from unnecessary government control, which was

at the core of debates over decentralization, community-control, and integration during

the 1960s and 70s. In the process, as Chubb and Moe argued, schools can be more

responsive to students' needs and parents' interests and become *more* democratic than

what can be delivered as a result of political compromises and bureaucratic control in

state-run schools.[44]

But what happens if we change our mind? What if the Common Core, despite the multi-

state and multi-stakeholder process through which it was *initially* developed, ceases over

time to reflect what it means to be an educated American? How do new standards come about? Or within a system of school choice, how can parents change the quality or character of their child's education, or educators change their working conditions, short of choosing a different school? These questions are central to the current critique of both the standards and choice movements, and they share a common theme: within the current political, social, and institutional context, *how can teachers, parents, or citizens give voice to their ideas, concerns, and opinions and will it make a difference?* Although public voice may have been instrumental in *creating* the current arrangement of public education, does this context promote *continued* and *future* voice?

I believe that the centralization of decision making regarding learning standards presents practical obstacles for future voice, posing a challenge to a continued democratic system of education. Objectives are set by experts and educators in a process that is far removed from schools, communities, states and regions. The number of participants in this process, as expert as they may be, is a small fraction of those affected by their decisions, given the millions of educators and tens of millions of students in our public schools. Once set, the standards exert a significant influence across the education system: curriculum, textbooks, and other learning resources are developed and revised to align with the required outcomes; formative and summative assessments, measuring whether the standards have been met, are prepared by teachers, districts and a commercial testing industry. Schools of education prepare the next generation of teachers and school leaders in the context of these standards, just as practicing educators modify their instructional strategies to help students meet the standards. Modifications would necessarily affect all

of the elements on a national education supply chain, components of which are highly resistant to change.

Nor is this by accident. Quite the contrary, it is the intended effect of standards—to bring coherence and stability across the entire, and national, system of education. As a result of national enforcement, through federal grant requirements and assessment, they cannot be changed locally or quickly. This arrangement places educational authority with the standard-setters rather than parents, citizens, and professional educators; debates over the purpose of public education, and how the standards should change, have a harder time finding their way into classrooms and children's lives. Such a context undermines democratic voice, given that speech acts by teachers and others are unlikely to have a practical or near-term effect on public education. This view is expressed by a number of noted educators including Deborah Meier, who has argued that standards release citizens and teachers from the responsibility of shaping their own schools. As a result, communities do not need to engage in, or are even expected to answer questions of how schools should prepare children for meaningful lives.[45]

Long the chronicler of the battles over school reform, Diane Ravitch entered this current debate with her own work, *The Death and Life of the Great American School System: How Testing and Choice Are Undermining Education.* The book, which includes a wide-ranging critique of the nation's current school reform movement, notes how today's standards are drafted with an eye to what can be readily measured on a test. Ravitch explains that the same observation was made over twenty years ago by members of the

National Academy of Education, who commented that such assessments cannot measure the "aesthetic and moral aims of education… and the personal qualities that we hold dear—resilience and courage in the face of stress, a sense of craft in our work, a commitment to justice and caring in our social relationships, [and] a dedication to advancing the public good in our communal life." Academy members opined that by measuring what we can, we run the risk of valuing what is measured over what is not. Their point was that the assessment-ready standards come to shape public values about education rather than serving as an articulation of our values, regardless of how hard it may be to measure them. Determined by expert standard writers who are removed from any particular context, insulated by their distance from schools, and protected by the industries dependent on their work, we are left without a practical or political mechanism to readily voice a different set of expectations and implement them through a different set of standards.[46]

Nor does school choice offer a meaningful escape from this predicament, given the requirement that all public schools, whether magnet, charter, or district-operated, must measure their work against the same set of externally-imposed and narrowly defined standards. Henig demonstrates that this arrangement stems from a central assumption in the economic literature on school choice, which considers schools to be mere "service-delivery mechanisms" rather than one of a number of public institutions that also serve as vehicles for public "deliberation, debate, and decision making."[47] Lost is an appreciation that schools do more than impart academic skills and knowledge; they also shape children's values and, ideally, teach children how to understand competing values.

Which values depends on the extent to which they are discussed and deliberated and by whom. Given than standards take the debate over competing values off the table by defining, a priori, what we should value, educators no longer need to model the lesson of how to engage, understand, and tolerate different values; students lose an opportunity to see democracy in action.

By definition, school choice is the alternative to voice, in that market-based arrangements of schooling hinge on the assumption that dissatisfied parents will exit to another school instead of voicing their concerns. The same goes for teachers, given efforts to fight unionization in the charter school sector and prevent teachers from gaining a collective teacher voice. Dissatisfied teachers are expected to leave rather than speak up, either voluntarily or at management's direction. Although high rates of exit can indicate to schools that they should change their practices, the signal is not as strong, direct, or immediate as the voice response. In privileging exit, school choice undervalues the voice of parents, teachers, and citizens and undermines the deliberation that is required for a vibrant democratic state of education.

Contrasted to teacher and parents' diminished voice in the context of local choice and national standards is the outsized influence of private philanthropy in shaping the course of public education. As noted above, the Walton Family Foundation has spent some of its fortune supporting school choice and charter schools, motivated as much by politics as education. The Gates Foundation was a lead supporter in the development of the Common Core standards, but this was just a small portion of their largess. With an

endowment of over $60 billion, Gates has set the school reform agenda for over a decade (and with no end in sight). It launched a nationwide effort to transform large high schools into small ones; is researching measures of teacher effectiveness; has spent over $100 million on charter school management organizations and has incubated a constellation of advocacy organizations that lobby for their preferred reforms. In 2009 alone, Gates provided $78 million to organizations including Teach Plus, which aims to give teachers a voice in policy debates outside of union-led advocacy; Educators 4 Excellence, which supports an end to seniority-based decisions and merit-pay; and the Alliance for Excellent Education, which advocates for the Common Core. Alongside Gates and Walton is the Broad Foundation, which is also a major supporter of charter schools and leadership development and aims to bring principles of private sector management to public education. Broad has similarly invested in advocacy organizations to lobby for their interests.[48]

In tracing the history of teacher voice, I've demonstrated the extent to which the political, social, and institutional context affects teachers' ability to bring their views into the public debate. Once was established, this public context was available to all, as evidenced by the noisy, tumultuous, but fundamentally democratic movements in the 60s and 70s to debate and shape the nature of public education. Moreover, different interests have articulated their views across the state apparatus, in legislatures, courts, and by executive action. A democratic state of education is animated by the values of students, parents and citizens and by the views of educators, experts and leaders; in as much as we

value democratic ways to decide what our schools must do and who our students will become, competing ideas and beliefs must be given a voice.

In my estimation, the developments over the past thirty years are more than just another phase in the nation's many waves of education reform and are a cause for concern. They represent a durable shift in the context of education. Institutional arrangements have been significantly altered through the centralization of decision making over content to the delegation of authority to privately-run, if publicly-purposed, educational entities in the form of charter schools, and to parents, through school choice. These reforms have changed the enabling conditions, the effect of which serves to deinstitutionalize public and teacher voice. In appropriating the setting of standards, the federal government has made it harder for schools, districts, and states to deliberate over their own expectations of their students and put these values into practice. By effectively mandating these standards through financial rewards and consequences, Washington has removed states' ability to choose another route and muted most dissent. By defining standards narrowly to what can be measured, broader notions of what it means to be an educated person have been shown the exit.

In being presented with a choice of schools, parents have less need to voice their concerns and priorities, nor may their views be welcome. In losing the ability to bargain collectively and join a union, as is the case in the overwhelming majority of charters, teachers in those schools have lost the single most influential vehicle for the expression of their views and interests. By delegating educational authority to separately

incorporated and privately-run charter schools, the education state has at once contracted while becoming more diffuse, making it less susceptible to changes brought about by parent, teacher, and citizens' voice. Teachers' collective voice as expressed through their unions faces a well-organized opposition from the political Right and Left while those remaining voice efforts of advocacy organizations reflect their funders' penchant for choice and standards.

Writing in 1994 on the prospects and potential pitfalls of the school choice movement, Henig cautioned that "through over identification with school-choice proposals rooted in market-based ideas, the healthy impulse to consider radical reforms to address social problems may be channeled into initiatives that further erode the potential for collective deliberation and collective response."[49] I add that the movement to national standards and the recent critiques of school boards has had a similar effect. These observations hearken to Ella Flagg Young's concern, made one hundred years earlier when business-based theories also animated her era's school reform efforts. Recall that Young observed that "we are now face to face with the fact that a democracy whose school system lacks confidence in the ability of the teachers to be active participants in planning its aims and methods is a logical contradiction in itself." In a context of diminished institutionalized structures to encourage and mediate debate by teachers, parents and citizens, voice is lost in a wilderness of choice and muted by standards that are unresponsive to its call.

What does the future hold for teacher voice in the nation's system of public education? Despite the forces aligned against voice in the era of choice and exit, a new mechanism

for voice has recently emerged. In the Conclusion to this study, I will briefly examine how this new context is bringing old and new voices to the fore in dramatic and potentially democratic fashion. But before I turn to present and future prospects, let me revisit two questions posed in the introduction to the study regarding the impact of teacher voice.

6. Perspectives on the Impact of Teacher Voice

Teacher voice is not a good in and of itself. As I presented in the introduction to this chapter, normative questions about the value and appropriate role of teacher voice animate many of the past and present controversies over its expression. This survey of the five major eras in the history of public education provides some answers to the effect and value of teacher voice on two key areas of concern: working conditions and student achievement. Working conditions are squarely within teachers' interests, and it is useful to see how they used the power of their voices to affect changes to their material and economic circumstances. These questions are also in the public interest, given that taxpayers foot the bill. Student achievement is a fundamental public interest and is dependent on teachers' work. Interpreting the impact of teacher voice on student learning is another key question that animates many current debates on the appropriate role of teacher voice, particularly as expressed by their unions. I assess each in turn.

Teacher Voice and Working Conditions

For most of the nineteenth century, the institutional and social context did not exist for teachers to voice their concerns on matters of employment. But once it did, due to the education state-building actions of common school reformers and administrative progressives, teachers raised their voice to improve working conditions. Their concerns were not unwarranted. School houses were poorly kept, textbooks and resources were out of date or in short supply, student attendance was irregular and classrooms overcrowded. Not only was pay meager, but states intentionally cut costs or expanded the size of the

workforce by hiring female teachers at lower salaries. Working conditions in urban areas improved in the late 1800s, with longer terms allowing for year-round employment and the construction of new buildings with graded classrooms and the "egg-crate" design. But the intense social upheaval of the time put added pressure on teachers' workplace, particularly with the influx of non-English speaking students, and salaries remained lower than those earned by other white collar workers.

Organizing into unions in the early 1900s, teachers gained a strong collective voice which called out these problematic working conditions. In Chicago, teachers organized for better pay and a pension and to hold corporations accountable for their tax obligations. In New York, the Interborough Association of Women Teachers advocated for pay equal to that received by men. In Atlanta, teachers agitated for raises. Nor were these isolated instances, as material concerns motivated teachers to act collectively in cities across the country. The same pattern occurred in the 1940s. Recall that schools were in a state of neglect, jobs were lost, and salaries stagnant as a result of the Great Depression and the need for human and material resources during the Second World War. In cities across the country and in nearly every region, teachers went out on strike to demand higher pay. Teachers repeatedly lobbied the federal government, in 1937, 1946 and the 1960s to provide financial relief to struggling states and school districts.

In the 1960s and 70s, economic concerns dominated teachers' assertive efforts to win collective bargaining rights and agreements. The watershed New York agreement in 1962 provided for "the largest raise in New York City history." Pay, pension, due process protections and working conditions were the central concerns voiced by teachers in their

early negotiations in city after city. The changes also ended decades of discrimination against women who became ineligible to work after getting married or on becoming pregnant. The institution of collective bargaining, however, also allowed teachers to negotiate contracts with management that brought greater specificity, and at times, rigidity, to the workplace, specifying terms and conditions such as the length of the school day and year, the length of instructional periods, class size and student load, mandatory preparation periods, and other issues affecting a range of working conditions.

As the history suggests, teacher voice has largely been, and remains, *employment* voice. This is not to say that teachers have not also raised a voice on educational matters, which I will turn to momentarily, and some of the issues, such as class size, overlap. But as we can see, issues of about working conditions, income, and other employment-related matters prompted teachers' earliest voice efforts and remain a central concern. The harder question to answer is: to what effect?

The evidence suggests that the conditions of schooling throughout much of our nation's history did not meet the expectations of each era's leading education advocates who wanted modern buildings, well-trained and paid teachers and adequate resources, among other material improvements. Their personal preference for improved education was certainly higher than that of the average citizen, given that the conditions in each era reflected what the majority of citizens were willing to pay for, either through taxes or other resources. But simply aligning to popular preferences, achieving a high degree of "policy responsiveness," does not mean that education was being supplied well or at an optimal level to generate desired social outcomes. Old and crowded school houses and handed-down texts likely

impeded what students could learn. High levels of teacher turnover, due to low salaries and workplace discrimination, undermined efforts to create a stable and self-improving workforce. Short school terms, due to financial constraints or the need for seasonal child labor on farms, limited children's time to learn. Forcing educators out of the profession, because of their marital or family status, was an arbitrary loss of talent.

In as much as teachers helped to change these conditions, and there is a fair amount of evidence to believe that they did, we should consider teacher voice a good thing. Despite pushing and often winning a commitment of public resources higher than what would have otherwise been supplied, the historical record suggests that education was under-resourced for most of the nation's history. When schools were being shut down due to budget cuts, when teachers were making less than garbage collectors, and when students were sitting 50 or more to a room, the need for more resources is apparent. In driving more resources to education, teacher voice has had a positive effect.

This position is easier to defend when the deficiencies are glaring. Where the analysis gets tricky is over the past thirty years, a time when the material working conditions were much improved, particularly in comparison to prior eras. At present and adjusted for inflation, the country spends more than twice per student than it did in 1970, three times what was spent in 1960, and more per pupil than most other developed countries. Although the unions consistently maintain that teachers are underpaid and at least 60 percent of American's think that teachers should be paid more, the backlash to union power has prompted some to ask if teachers are now sufficiently paid or even overpaid, particularly when considering the fringe benefits and the length of the work year. Gains in these areas

have largely been accomplished through teacher collective employment voice, in the form of union-led collective bargaining, which directly leads to the question, has teacher voice gone too far?[1]

In a review of extant research regarding the effect of collective bargaining on teacher pay, Susan Moore Johnson and Morgaen L. Donaldson report that collectively bargained wages are 5 to 15 percent higher than the salaries paid to non-union teachers. And although teachers annually earn about 12 percent less than architects, nurses, and accountants, they come out ahead when controlling for the fact that teachers typically work about ten months a year. Moreover, longitudinal studies have determined that teachers are paid relatively less today than in 1980. Researchers Sylvia Allegretto, Sean Corcoran, and Lawrence Mishel determined that relative wages for teachers declined through the 1970s, rose modestly in the 1980s, and then declined again in the 1990s. They also found that the differential between teachers and non-teachers with a master's degree doubled during the 1990s, from about $13,000 to $24,000. Terry Moe took up the question in his own review of the research, noting Michael Podgursky's finding that when controlled for the actual number of days worked, teachers are paid about 30 percent better than police officers and about 20 percent better than nurses. Moe also points to the fact that salaries are only part of the story, with pension and health care benefits adding to a teacher's overall compensation. Put in an international comparison, columnist Nicholas D. Kristof notes that in South Korea and Finland, two counties noted for their strong student achievement, teachers earn, on average, more than lawyers and engineers and describes the notion that teachers are overpaid as "a pernicious fallacy."[2]

If teacher voice, through union negotiations, has 'gone too far,' we would expect to see consistently higher salaries on a variety of measures, dimensions and comparisons, but the evidence is decidedly mixed. Moe's caution that these remarks and opinions often miss the full story is a point well-taken. In a novel analysis using small polity inference, Michael Berkman and Eric Plutzer estimated the extent to which local school policies matched the preferences of residents in 10,000 school districts across the country. In regard to spending on schools, the authors found that unions were effective in raising spending but without "enhancing or diminishing (on average) responsiveness to public opinion." This suggests that higher spending, as a result of teacher collective voice, is in opposition to local preferences about as often as voice supports policy responsiveness across the country.[3] In estimating the ultimate value of teacher voice on issues of pay, the answer may simply be that it depends.

Beyond issues of compensation, collective bargaining agreements have articulated teacher employment voice—albeit in a process of negotiations and compromise with management—into the organization of the workday and year. Early research, including work conducted by Randall Eberts and Joe A. Stone in the mid-1980s, found that unionized teachers have about 4 percent more paid preparation time than their non-union colleagues and enjoy a student-teacher ratio that is nearly 12 percent lower. Their figure is consistent with later work including research by Caroline Hoxby which found that the ratio decreases by 7 to 9 percent. Eberts and Stone also found greater standardization in unionized schools, with students spending 42 percent less time with a specialist, 62 percent less time with an aide, 26 percent less time with a tutor than their peers in non-union schools.[4]

More recently, Federick M. Hess and Andrew P. Kelley analyzed 20 randomly selected contracts from across the country to assess the question of contract restrictiveness. Across the contracts, they found that the length of the school day ranged from very explicit and strict to ambiguous, sometimes in the same clause. They found the same pattern in regard to district transfer policies, meaning teachers' ability to move to a different school in the same district and principals' ability to manage their staff, including new hires. While some contracts base transfers on seniority, others are more flexible, as long as the transfers "do not conflict with the instructional requirements and best interests of the school system and the pupils." In some cases, seniority is only used to break a tie among equally-qualified candidates. "Given that union contracts are faulted for many of the rigidities of school governance" Hess and Kelly write, "the substantial ambiguities in contract language governing issues like the school day, class size, and teacher transfers may be surprising." In their view, claims that school boards and leaders are excessively constrained by contract provisions are "at best an incomplete account, and at worst a misleading characterization of how collective bargaining affects district management."[5]

These findings again suggest that teacher voice on matters of employment, as expressed through collective bargaining agreements, has a mixed effect on the organization of the school day. Increased planning and preparation time, if used well, can improve instruction. Although increased standardization limits differentiation of student instruction, lower class sizes can countervail this finding. Moreover the contracts themselves may not be as debilitating as lay observers suspect, given Hess and Kelly's conclusion that "the impact of teacher contracts on district management may turn as much on the willingness of district

leadership to exploit existing contract language as on changing the formal provisions in the contract."[6]

Terry Moe, for one, is unconvinced. In his own analysis of the impact of collective bargaining on school organization and working condition, he catalogues the many rules that teachers contracts often include. These rules dictate when a principal may visit a teacher's classroom, how improvement programs must be designed for struggling teachers, the number of allowable faculty meetings, limits on non-teaching duties, and so on and so forth, in "countless numbers." In an empirical analysis, Moe developed measures of contract restrictiveness and analyzed 288 contracts from a cross section of school districts across the United States. He found that contracts become more restrictive as districts get larger, as well as in districts that enroll higher percentages of minority students. In interpreting these data, Moe argues that "district leaders tend to be *most constrained* in their efforts to build effective organizations and promote student achievement" (emphasis in the original).[7] For Moe, teacher voice as expressed through collective bargaining and agreements is a loser from the perspective of effective school operation.

Although greater flexibility, for teachers and managers, is likely a virtue when faced with the daunting task of improving student outcomes and closing achievement gaps between white and minority students, Moe errs in placing the blame for contract restrictiveness at the feet of teachers and their unions. This conclusion ignores the key historical facts that schools were organized along the lines of a rule-bound, industrial model by the administrative progressives a full fifty years before teachers won the right to bargain collectively. As I've presented, teachers opposed these reforms and the creation of

hierarchical management structures that separated teachers, as laboring workers, from their managers, the supervisor-planners. When teachers won the right to bargain in the 1960s and 70s, schools were already organized into the rule-based organizations to which Moe objects. While teachers could have used their voice to bargain a new set of conditions, it is not unreasonable that negotiations began with the existing facts on the ground, particularly in light of the obstacles that teachers had to overcome merely to win a seat at the bargaining table. Nor should it be forgotten that collective bargaining agreements are not *union* documents—they are jointly negotiated and agreed to by both labor *and* management.

Beyond this historical oversight, Moe's larger frame of analysis, which is fundamental to his critique of teacher voice, rests on a questionable assumption. Moe argues that teachers' individual and collective interests are not aligned with the interests of children and, as a result, mechanisms like collective bargaining that give the force of law to their interests, undermines the effective operation of schools. To support this, he cites teacher opinion data that show, among other findings, teachers' overwhelming support for the right to strike and their opposition to the elimination of tenure, school vouchers, and the use of tests to measure student achievement. In assuming that their position is merely motivated out of self-interest, Moe ignores the possibility of principled positions on these issues and presumes that reforms in these areas will improve student achievement. But as I have demonstrated, strikes, as destabilizing as they are to children and communities, have been used to improve glaring deficiencies in the material conditions of schooling. Elimination of tenure raises questions of what comes in its stead. At-will employment? An arbitrary and capricious standard? Given the history of actions taken against teachers for their opinions, activities, and dissent, concerns about the loss of tenure, without a clear

articulation of what would replace it, are understandable. The evidence supporting school vouchers as a better alternative for disadvantaged children is mixed, and the high-stakes use of standardized tests has been challenged from a number of quarters due to the margins of error and other imprecisions in the data models.

While Moe posits that teachers are self-motivated, he also assumes that management is somehow not equally self-motivated but rather fully incentivized to deliver what is in the best interest of children. This belief underlies his comment that any form of negotiation and compromise by management departs from what is best for children, given that the outcome is "somewhere *in-between* what the districts demand and what the union demands."[8] From this zero-sum perspective, Moe ignore the possibility that such give and take could result in better outcomes and policies that are more implementable, given that they were agreed to by both parties.

Moe also underestimates the incentives on management and the extent to which they may not be aligned to students' best interest. As Frederick Hess demonstrated over a decade ago in his *Spinning Wheels, the Politics of Urban School Reform,* superintendents are also motivated out of self-interest. Given that they typically remain at any one job for just a few years, they aim to make quick changes, adopt the latest popular reforms, and demonstrate to citizens, funders, the media and their peers that they are making a difference. As the subsequent superintendent faces the same set of incentives, she introduces a *new* set of reforms to put her own spin on school improvement. The effect is a recurring cycle of "policy churn" where ideas and reforms do not have a chance for sustained implementation, refinement and focus, hardly the kind of steady circumstances required to improve student

learning. Verba and his colleagues draw the larger lesson, looking across different domains of political activity, to note that "public officials act for many reasons, only one of which is their assessment of the state of what the public wants and needs."[9] My own historical survey provides ample evidence that school leaders have jumped from one school reform fad to the next. Under such conditions, teachers' opposition to reform can serve as a healthy conservative force to stabilize and slow the pace of change in ways that are actually better for students.

It is more accurate to assume that both teachers and administrators have a range of incentives driving their work, from material self-interest to mission-driven altruism. If the criterion for authority in education is a pure alignment with children's interests, then only parents would qualify. Although this may be the preferred outcome for some, particularly advocates of school choice, I have demonstrated that the state's legitimate interest in the education of its future students is not met by "state of families" arrangements. Choice alone is insufficient. Although voice may be no panacea, it serves to keep our system of education responsive to its citizens, articulating and redefining the common public interest.

Teacher Voice and Student Achievement

What then can we say about the impact and value of teacher voice in regard to student achievement? The question is not as straightforward as it may seem, given that the expectations of what students are meant to learn in school—or if they should even be in school—have changed dramatically over the past two hundred years. Regardless of these different expectations of schools and students from era to era, my historical review

suggests that teachers have not been outspoken in efforts to improve student achievement. Despite *doing* the work of education day in and day out, teachers did not often voice their ideas on how to improve this work and have often acted to block or delay reforms suggested by others.

Recall that the common school movement was led by prominent citizens and a handful of notable educators, but was not a mass movement of teachers advocating for change. When the administrative progressives brought wholesale reforms to the governance, organization, and delivery of schooling, teachers allied with local leaders to oppose these efforts. It would be incorrect to assume that these reforms were 'right' and that teachers' opposition to the changes equates to opposition to improved student achievement; despite the halcyon glow around the word 'reform,' it does not necessarily equate to improved schools or student achievement. Regardless of this distinction though, it is clear that teachers stood outside of each era's major effort to improve the public schools.

Nor did teachers lead efforts to improve instruction. By the middle of the nineteenth century, normal schools were advocating that teachers adopt more child-centered practices. Progressive educators, including Francis Parker and John Dewey, promoted a child-centered approach to instruction. Despite isolated adoption of these practices, teachers continued to use authoritarian, teacher-centered practices throughout the nineteenth century and into the twentieth. The same can be said of curriculum, where efforts to revise courses of instruction in the 1930s and 40s were dominated by administrators. Given that these curriculum revision efforts were ultimately discredited, it is possible, with the benefit of hindsight, to interpret teachers' passive resistance as an effort to protect good practices and

promote student achievement. More likely, teachers were simply ambivalent to distrustful of the day's leading effort to reform education.

In the middle decades of the twentieth century, teachers began to use their voice to improve student achievement. Notable was the AFT's support for school desegregation, which brought new educational opportunities to millions of children. Teachers also participated in a new round of curriculum revision efforts in the 1950s and were active in the open school movement of the 1960s and 70s. But the revitalization of progressive educational ideas was short-lived, as most teachers maintained or returned to their traditional practices. Moreover, teachers' efforts to gain and maintain their own rights was at times in direct conflict with other efforts to improve the educational opportunities, as was the case with the community school movement and school decentralization efforts. Teachers may not have been on the wrong side of this issue, but they were perceived as being on the opposite side of students and parents.

Only in the past three decades have teachers, through their unions and other representative organizations, voiced their views on matters of education and curriculum. Teachers participated in the writing of student standards and the founding of charter schools. Reform unionism and interest-based bargaining aimed to expand the scope of bargaining to include matters of curriculum, instruction, and school operation. But at the same time, the context for teacher voice has been closing, given that national standards preclude the opportunity for local- or state-level discussion of student objectives and the choice movement is premised on exit rather than voice.

Researchers have aimed to isolate the relationship between teachers' collective voice, through their unions, and student achievement. Such evidence would provide the clearest indication as to whether or not teacher voice supports higher levels of student achievement, although the methodological challenges to answering the question are not insignificant. State-level analyses may not adequately control for factors beyond the level of unionization that affect student achievement. Point-in-time analyses fail to control for changes in unionization and achievement over time. Nuanced measures of union strength and influence are, in and of themselves, difficult to estimate. Meaningful union and non-union comparisons, with consistent student achievement data across the different jurisdictions, are hard to come by.

These challenges notwithstanding, Eberts and Stone studied student achievement on pre- and post-tests taken by 14,000 fourth grade students in 328 unionized and non-union school districts. The authors found that performance in unionized schools was 7 percent higher than in the non-union counterparts, but that the effect was non-linear, meaning that achievement was lower in unionized schools for below and above-average students. At the state level, F. Howard Nelson and Michael Rosen found that students in states with a high level of collective bargaining score, on average, 43 points higher on the SAT. Lala Steelman found a similar result with students' SAT and ACT scores. Yet in a contrary finding, Michael Kurth investigated the decline in SAT scores from 1972 to 1983, finding that teacher unionism was associated with an 8 percent decline in SAT math scores and a 7 percent drop in reading.[10]

Caroline Hoxby has also studied the question, in an analysis that is widely respected for its statistical sophistication. Using longitudinal data from 1972 to 1992, Hoxby examined school drop-out rates in unionized and non-union schools, finding that the union schools have dropout rates that are 2.3 percent higher. In Moe's study of contract restrictiveness, he found a large and negative impact on student achievement in large districts with restrictive contracts, but found no relationship between the two variables in districts with fewer than 20,000 students.[11]

In reviewing this literature, Dan Goldhaber offers that existing studies "provide a mixed portrait of the role that unions play in influencing student achievement" and until better research and data exist, "the weight of the rhetoric on either side of the 'unions are good, unions are bad' debate will continue to rest on shaky empirical ground." Given Moe's recent evidence to suggest that the positions advocated by teacher unions leaders closely reflect the views of their members (discussed below), we can safely conclude that teacher voice, as expressed collectively through their unions, has a mixed effect on student achievement.[12]

• • •

Goldhaber is not alone in his lament that insufficient data and research exists to make any firm conclusions on these critical questions of the effect of teacher voice. Tom Loveless, in 2000 similarly commented on the "surprisingly small body of literature evaluating the impact of teachers unions on American education." A decade later, Terry Moe observed

that the situation was not much improved, noting that "the research literature is quite sparse."[13]

Nor does research on teacher unions capture all of the dimensions of teacher voice. As my historical analysis presents, teacher voice has been expressed individually as well as collectively to peers, supervisors, and policymakers and across a range of educational, employment, and policy-related issues, some more than others. Moreover, the expression of teacher voice has been contingent on the particular circumstances at any given time. To fully appreciate teacher voice in all of its tones, these factors should be considered.

To offer my own contribution to the quantitative literature in a way that is sensitive to these different types and expressions of teacher voice, Part Two of this paper is an original study of teacher voice in New York City public schools. Findings are based on data collected through an original survey, administered to teachers working across the city, in elementary, middle, and high schools, and among educators who have union representation and those that do not. Constructed along the lines of my analytical framework, teachers were asked about the quality and extent of their deliberations with their supervisors, policymakers, and colleagues on matters of education, employment, and policy. Multivariate analysis also allows for the examination of relationship between contextual factor and teacher voice.

Moreover, the following study focuses on the relationship between teacher voice, exit, and loyalty. As I will present, there is a strong theoretical foundation to believe that all three are related. Teacher turnover, or 'exit,' is of particular concern to policymakers, given the high rates at which teachers leave their schools and careers and the destabilizing effect it

can have on student learning. Stemming this turnover is seen as a key goal to stabilize

schools and faculties and retain talented educators where they are needed most.

Understanding the role of teacher voice in these issues can provide some guidance on how

to achieve these policy goals.

Part Two:

Teacher Voice Today

In Part One, I presented how teachers gained a voice in American public education. This historical analysis, focused through the lens of my analytical framework, identified trends in the types of teacher voice and the contextual factors that supported or impeded its expression. In particular:

- *Employment* issues dominated teachers' concerns and collective voice efforts. At the turn of the century, low salaries, poor benefits, and difficult working conditions motivated teachers to become politically active and to transform their associations into unions affiliated with organized labor. In the 1940s, a wave of protests and strikes were staged to win better pay and in the 1960s, the modern teachers union movement, denoted by collective bargaining, was launched to achieve teachers' economic demands.

- *Policymaking*, controlled exclusively by families and communities during the earliest days of the Republic, was steadily centralized through the nineteenth and twentieth century. Common school reformers advocated school consolidation and greater state authority. Administrative progressives created an elaborate educational bureaucracy in large districts and state governments to operate and regulate schools. The protest movements of the 1960s and 70s turned to the federal government to address grievances, giving Washington D.C. new prominence in matters of schooling. Only in

the final decades of the twentieth century, through the choice and charter movements, was some decision-making decentralized to schools, although the standards and accountability movements and a shift to mayoral control countervailed this trend.

Over this time, teachers had a say in the changes, such as in their opposition to school centralization in the early 1900s and their support for federal intervention in schools, as exemplified by desegregation efforts. Their voice on matters of policy gained unprecedented strength on matters of school policy after teachers won the right to bargain collectively. Their unions, with the newfound benefit of a sound institutional footing, engaged in political activities to influence school policy at the bargaining table, in statehouses, and in other political forums.

- On *educational* issues, the record of teacher voice is mixed. Teacher councils, such as those created in Chicago by Ella Flagg Young or in Denver by Jesse Newlon, were not widely adopted. The sincerity of teachers' involvement in curriculum revision efforts in the 1930s and 40s is in doubt. A brief period of genuine participation in curriculum development post-Sputnik was short-lived. During the open education movement of the 1960s, only a fraction of teachers embraced the practices. Combined, these examples suggest that teachers have not had much of a say in the shaping of school curriculum; this work has been left to academics, reformers, and administrators. Yet across all of the time periods studied, teacher voice remained dominant in the classroom itself in as much as they had the practical ability to follow their own path and sustain traditional practices despite the trends of the day. Teacher-centered practices sustained, in one form or another, since the earliest days of recitation-based instruction

and despite repeated efforts in the 1900s, the 1930s, and the 1960s to make schooling more child-centered.

- The degree of teacher voice in any of the three issue areas depended on the situation in which it was being expressed. The historical record suggests that teachers have been deferential to their principals, likely because of their supervisor's economic power over them. Teachers have been most vocal with policymakers, through protests, advocacy campaigns, strikes, drives for unionization, collective bargaining, and political activity. Teachers have also had a high degree of voice with each other, in their schools and professional associations.

- Overall institutional factors served to enable or constrain teacher voice. As public education increasingly became the purview of the state, matters of schooling were decided through political action and teachers were active in these politics. Yet at times and at the urging of other interests, the state imposed constraints on teacher voice, notably through the loyalty programs of the 1930s through the 1950s. Finally, the grafting of collective bargaining rights onto the state institutionalized teacher voice to a very strong degree.

- Other social factors were also in play. The feminization of teaching during the nineteenth century, combined with the social mores constraining women's behavior, suppressed teacher voice until it was unleashed by the suffragist and reform movements of the Progressive Era.   The large number of men who entered teaching in the 1940s and 50s, coupled with their willingness to join unions and make militant demands, is

credited with the winning of collective bargaining rights in the 1960s and 70s. As teachers were staying on the job longer and investing more in their career through greater preparation and higher education, exit became a less viable remedy to unsatisfactory working conditions and policies, leaving voice as the only alternative to acquiescence.

In addition to these trends, there is reason to believe that the current institutional context is less than conducive to teacher voice. The centralization of decision-making regarding standards precludes opportunities for discussion of student expectations and goals. Choice-based reforms are premised on exit, not voice. Although teacher unions remain large in members and represent teachers in many negotiations, they may be compromised in their ability to represent teachers' collective voice due to political realignments and other efforts to undermine their legitimacy.

To what extent are these factors affecting the expression of teacher voice, across its various forms, today? Answering the question is not as easy as one might expect. Although numerous opinion surveys support an extensive body of research *about* teachers' opinions across a range of issues, the surveys themselves are a vehicle *for* teacher voice, not an examination *of* voice itself. For example, one of the most prominent surveys is the Schools and Staffing Survey and the Teacher Follow-Up Survey, both administered by the National Center for Education Statistics about every three to five years since 1998. The surveys ask teachers a broad range of questions about their personal characteristics and circumstances, their level of education and the quality of this preparation, the grades and subjects they teach, and the kinds of professional development and other on-the-job support received. Additional questions ask about working

conditions such as teaching load and income, school resources and safety, communication with parents and students, and the amount of control they have over their work. Other areas of inquiry include teachers' satisfaction across a range of topics including curriculum, standards, performance evaluation and student achievement and even goes so far as to follow teachers who have moved from one school to another to learn about the reasons for this turnover. All of this information is useful but does not indicate the degree to which teachers give voice to the issues with their colleagues, supervisors, and policymakers.[1]

A somewhat better source of information on teacher voice is the *MetLife Survey of the American Teacher*. Conducted annually since 1984, the survey aims to "share the voices of those closest to the classroom in order to help strengthen education for all of our children." Over the years, the survey has covered a broad range of topics, from job satisfaction to attitudes on professional development, curriculum and school safety. Although the survey does not give teachers' voice a systematic investigation, it has looked at issues of communication. In 2009, the authors found that seven in ten teachers felt as if their voices were not adequately heard in education policy debates. Not surprisingly, teachers working in schools with lower levels of collaboration and who are less satisfied with their jobs were more likely to feel this way. Notably, the figure is nearly identical to when the question was posed twenty-five years earlier, when 72 percent of teachers felt as if their opinions were not being heard. On teachers' interaction with supervisors, the 2008 study found that about three in ten teachers never seek their principals' advice on teaching; at the secondary school level the amount of interaction is even less, with 39 percent of teachers reporting that they do not go to the principal for advice. By comparison, teachers interact with their colleagues much more often. Nearly two-thirds reported that they meet at least monthly with a more experienced

teacher to discuss teaching. About 60 percent of teachers reported they communicate with teachers working in other grades at least once a month to discuss student progress. At 85 percent, the vast majority of teachers surveyed indicated that they discuss student achievement data with their peers, with respect to improving teaching, at least once a month.[2]

In one of the few studies of teachers' collective voice, Roderick Iverson and Douglas Currivan investigated the relationship between union participation (their "voice" construct) and job satisfaction on teacher turnover among 700 teachers in a Midwestern urban school district. They found that union participation had a significant and negative effect on quit rates regardless of job satisfaction. Thomas Smith and Richard Ingersoll made a related discovery in that teacher-to-teacher mentoring and other induction activities decreased the likelihood of turnover among first year teachers. The programs that they investigated included opportunities for teacher voice, including "regular or supportive communication" with principals and common planning time with other teachers.[3]

Another question in the debates over teacher voice is the extent to which teacher unions accurately reflect the positions of their members. Simply put, is union voice truly an expression of teacher collective voice, or something else, perhaps just the voice of its leadership? Given that little research has been done in this area, Moe conducted a survey of over 3,300 teachers from across the country. Among his many findings, teachers are satisfied with their union and would join voluntarily if they were not obliged to by closed-shop provisions. Seventy-two percent believe that collective bargaining produces reasonable rules that promote learning and 87 percent believe that it has a neutral to positive effect on teacher professionalism. Moreover, the positions of national unions are nearly perfectly aligned with

the views of their members who identify as Democrats. Overall, Moe finds that the policies

and politics of teacher unions are "precisely what the great majority of teachers want." This

conclusion overlooks the role that unions play in educating their members, through meetings,

assemblies, and other information campaigns. These efforts shape teachers' views and

preferences and work to *manufacture* the alignment that Moe observes between union positions

and teacher views. Although this is a critical distinction for understanding how teachers come

to the views they hold, it is less pertinent for understanding the impact of union advocacy and

the representativeness of these views, given, that union voice *is,* for all practical intents and

purposes, teacher collective voice.[4]

Given the sparse literature that directly investigates teacher voice *defined as a form of

discourse*, other areas of research can serve as a proxy, but only to a point. Examples include

the work of Albert Bandura and others who found that teachers have a greater sense of self-

and collective-efficacy when school policies and practices gave them more control over

curriculum and materials, the conditions of the learning environment, and classroom discipline.

Richard Ingersoll also examined the relationship between the amount of control held by

teachers over key aspects of their work and the social climate in schools. Using data from the

Schools and Staffing Survey, Ingersoll found that there are fewer student behavioral problems

in schools where teachers had more control over social issues in their schools, such as the

disciplinary policy. Yet despite this positive association, Ingersoll also found that teachers

have a minor amount of control over school administrative decisions and student policies.[5]

Although it is tempting to interpret "control" as a form of teacher voice, control over one's

work could just as easily occur in an autonomous and isolated setting, without any discourse –

the precise opposite of voice. Or take for example another area of research, which identifies a sense of community and cohesion among colleagues as important factors in a school's success. It is reasonable to believe that cohesion is achieved through a fair amount of interaction among educators, providing circumstantial evidence of the presence of teacher voice. But having a sense of community could just as easily be construed as a form of loyalty to one's school; and as we have seen, loyalty can be a powerful constraining force on teacher voice.[6]

One, albeit indirect, way to learn about teacher voice is to study its silence. Akin to Sherlock Holmes solving the mystery because the dog *didn't* bark, there is a sizable literature on teachers' alternative to voice: exit. Recall that Hirschman made a series of predictions about the relationship between voice and exit, particularly in regard to a person's loyalty to an organization or ideology. By contextualizing the research on teacher turnover in the exit-voice-loyalty framework, we can gain some insights to teacher voice and why, in particular, it was not expressed.

To briefly summarize, Hirschman theorized that the role of voice should increase as opportunities for exit decline and that exit is the only recourse if voice is unavailable. The decision to exit may also be made in light of the prospects for the effective use of voice: if voice will have the desired impact, rates of voice rise and exit is postponed. Moreover, the impact of voice is likely to be stronger if backed-up by a credible threat of exit. Exit should also be lower among those with a strong sense of satisfaction and loyalty to their work, but loyalists can come in two types: those who voice to improve their surroundings and those who merely refuse to exit and, as a consequence, suffer in silence. Individuals who care most about the quality of their work-life are likely to also be the most creative agents of voice. But for the

same reason, they are also those most likely to exit in the case of an organization's decline, thus depriving the organization of a strong voice for improvement. If an organization has ready access to new employees, it may welcome exit if it serves to "unburden" management of its more troublesome, noisy workers. Alternately, the threat of dismissal can restrict voice, as can loyalty-promoting actions.[7]

How do Hirschman's predictions help us to hear teachers' voice—or lack thereof—through the sizable literature on teacher turnover? Just as we saw in the historical analysis, teachers continue to make full use of exit to improve their circumstances. The National Center for Educational Statistics found that annual teacher turnover ranges between 16 and 24 percent of public school educators nationwide. Data from the Center's *Teacher Follow-Up Survey* indicate that between 2003-2004 and 2004-2005, 16 percent of all teachers moved to a different school or left teaching altogether—indicating that of the nation's 3.2 million teachers working at that time, over half a million left their school at the end of the academic year. Among teachers age 30 or younger, the rate increases to 24 percent, and these findings are consistent with the Center's data dating back to 1988, where overall turnover ranged from 13 to 15 percent of all teachers. Looking within the charter school sector, recent data indicate that 37 percent of new charter teachers moved to a different school or left the profession after their first year, compared to 27 percent of new teachers in district-operated public schools. Among urban charters, 30 percent of new teachers *left teaching* at the end of their first year. Other findings suggest that the annual attrition rate for new charter school teachers is close to 40 percent.[8]

To a certain degree, some amount of turnover is expected. Teachers relocate or retire. Those who leave teaching may do so to pursue other opportunities within education or to start a family, care for a loved one, or for other personal reasons. Some may discover that teaching is simply 'not for them' and voluntarily pursue a new career while others have the choice made for them and are let go. Those who remain in teaching but move to a different school may do so to pursue a better fit with a particular educational approach, grade range, or location. It is also possible that in some of these instances, turnover serves to improve organizational performance, as less successful teachers leave the work and more effective teachers sort themselves into jobs they find most fulfilling. For example, a nuanced study by Donald Boyd and colleagues of New York educators found that elementary and middle school math teachers who leave teaching prior to their second year are responsible for lower student achievement gains, on average, than their remaining colleagues.[9] In this light, turnover would be part and parcel of a functioning system of human resource management, development, and organizational effectiveness. If so, the use of voice is unnecessary (and quite possibly inefficient), as exit serves to effectively match teachers to the work for which they are best suited.

What particular working conditions are teachers trying to escape, by leaving their job? Early research on teacher exit found, not surprisingly, that turnover occurs most often at the start and end of teachers' careers. Recent data indicates that many as 50 percent of new teachers change jobs within the first five years. Turnover is also a function of pay, as there is a consistent movement of teachers from low-to-high paying schools and districts. [10] Why might teachers go through all of the effort of moving to a different district, simply to get a raise? The answer may have to do with the costs of voice. As many teachers are paid according to a set salary

schedule, often negotiated by their union, gaining a raise is not as simple as asking for it. Instead, collective action and bargaining is required to change and increase the overall salary schedule—a much more time consuming proposition from the perspective of an individual teacher, particularly if a better paying job is available in the next district over. Depending on the market conditions, exit can be more attractive than voice.

There are also conditions that voice cannot change or dare not name. As Howard Becker introduced in his classic article on the careers of Chicago public school teachers, educators systematically move from lower- to upper-class schools. Recent evidence indicates that exit rates are 40 to 50 percent higher in high-poverty schools than in their low-poverty counterparts and that teachers "trade up" to schools with more affluent students. If the challenge of students' economic class weren't enough, race also plays a factor. Evidence suggests that teachers' employment decisions are not colorblind, as race is a strong predictor of where teachers seek work. Eric Hanushek and his colleagues found that higher rates of enrollment of black and Hispanic students increases the likelihood that white teachers will leave their school. Overall, white teachers appear to leave high-minority schools for teaching assignments in schools with fewer minority students.[11] Although teachers could (and sometimes do) advocate for anti-poverty programs, no amount of teacher voice can change students' family income or a child's race. Nor is it socially acceptable to say that one would prefer to teacher more affluent, white students. As a result, teachers silently exit to work with the kinds of students they prefer.

Given the well-established relationships among poverty, race, and low student achievement, it is not surprising to find that teachers leave low-performing schools in higher numbers. In New York City, attrition out of low-performing schools after two years approaches 40 percent—

eight percentage points higher than in top-quartile schools. Data from Texas also indicate that nearly 20 percent of teachers leave the lowest performing schools each year, as compared to 15 percent in higher-achieving schools, and that the lowest achieving students are more likely to have teachers new to the school and the profession.[12] These findings suggest that struggling students who could most benefit from a school with a stable, seasoned workforce attend schools that are losing their teachers at alarming rates. Could a stronger teacher voice change this pattern? The answer is unclear. The demands of low-performing schools may be too much for the average teacher to meet for very long, regardless of the amount of teacher voice in a school. Nothing prevents these schools from being high-voice workplaces, per se, but simple burnout may result in high rates of exit.

Hirschman's theory also suggests that teachers who care most about the quality of their work-life are likely to also be the most creative agents of voice but, for the same reason, are also more likely to exit—depriving a school of a strong voice for improvement. Is this the case? A reasonable amount of evidence suggests that more talented new teachers—arguably those who care most about the quality of their work-life—are also more likely to leave the profession after a few years. In a study of Missouri's public school teachers, high-ability college graduates, as measured by their American College Testing scores, are more likely to leave teaching after a few years. The same was found across New York State, where more highly-qualified teachers, as measured by certifications and attendance at more competitive colleges among other factors, move out of poor and urban schools, as well as in North Carolina, where high poverty schools are staffed with teachers holding weaker qualifications. In New York City, 23 percent of new teachers whose math value-added score was in the lowest quartile also transfer or leave teaching at the end of the year, as opposed to 15 percent of their top-quartile colleagues. This

indicates that some of the turnover is removing first year teachers better suited to a different career. But transferring teachers who are more effective in math instruction typically move to higher-achieving schools, suggesting that quality-conscious teachers prefer to exit than voice.[13]

In contrast, Goldhaber conducted a longitudinal study of turnover in North Carolina public schools and found that the most effective female teachers stay in their schools and districts longer than their less-effective colleagues, although this trend does not hold in the *most* challenging schools, as defined by a variety of school-level characteristics including racial composition and free-lunch eligibility, where even effective teachers also tend to leave.[14] This may suggest that quality-conscious women are more loyal to their school, possibly more likely to voice or, in Hirschman's phrase, suffer in silence.

Notwithstanding the North Carolina study, these findings suggest teachers believe that exit will be more effective than voice in gaining better pay and working in a more effective school; that voice cannot change other conditions related to their preferred employment, such as students' class and race. For the policymaker looking for ways to reduce teacher turnover and considering voice-promoting interventions as a strategy, these findings are less than encouraging. Fortunately, other factors that *are* in a school's control, and susceptible to teacher voice, also play a part in turnover. For example, Thomas Smith and Richard Ingersoll report that when asked why they leave their schools, teachers often indicated a lack of influence over school policies, a poor relationship with their administrators, or to gain more control over their work.[15] In other words, they did not have the policy, educational and employment voice that they wanted, particularly with their immediate supervisors.

Linda-Darling Hammond, Susanna Loeb and others have come to similar conclusions, noting that the quality of professional development, availability of up-to-date textbooks, and school cleanliness are strong predictors of teacher turnover. Mentoring and induction programs for new teachers also work to retain staff. The level of administrator support, availability of supplies and materials and participation in school decision-making also influence teachers' decision to remain on the job.[16] The echoes of teacher voice emerge across these findings. Mentoring is a form of communication among educators. Professional development is a collective educational voice activity. Administrator support is delivered through positive interactions, as is participation in school decision-making. These findings suggest that voice matters; if Hirschman is correct, then improving opportunities for teacher voice could lower teacher turnover and make fuller use of the voice mechanism to improve organizational effectiveness.

The "Voice" Survey

Given the limited the research using direct measures of teacher voice, I developed an original

survey based on my voice analytical framework and that explicitly asks about teachers'

individual and collective workplace voice on educational, employment, and policy issues with

their colleagues, supervisors and policymakers. To ensure item clarity and reliability, many of

the questions were modeled after questions on well-known and field-tested instruments, such

as the *Schools and Staffing Survey*. Moreover, experts in survey development and

administration advised on the questionnaire design. The survey was administered in the Spring

of 2009 to a randomly selected sample of teachers working in New York City district and

charter public schools; the responses generated a wealth of new information about this

relatively under-studied topic.

Nine questions, explicitly about the *quantity* of teacher voice, comprise the heart of the survey.

The first three, focusing on *educational* issues, inquire about how often, in the past year,

teachers expressed their ideas about:

> *"educational approaches and curriculum, lesson plans and units*
> *of study, books and materials and strategies for classroom*
> *management or student discipline,"*

> how to *"improve students' work, their progress, promotion to the*
> *next grade and overall achievement,"* and

> *"the professional development [they'd] like to receive."*

The first question prompts responses about educational inputs; the second on student learning,

and the third on professional needs. Combined, they measure three distinct but inter-related

aspects of the educational process. Responses were selected from among a four-point scale of "never," "rarely," "sometimes," and "often."

The next three questions focus on traditional *employment* issues, asking teachers how often they discussed their:

> *"base compensation, pay for extra duties and accomplishments, and time off for sick and personal days,"*
>
> *"work responsibilities including teaching assignments, schedule, and non-classroom duties,"* and
>
> *"formal and informal work evaluations and overall job performance."*

These three questions prompted responses about the major categories of employment issues, namely pay and time, workload, and performance evaluation. The final three questions focus on larger policy issues affecting schools and districts and determine teachers' level of input on these topics, including:

> *"federal policies such as Race To The Top or No Child Left Behind,"*
>
> *"state policies such as school funding, state assessments, or charter schools,"* and
>
> *"district or school policies such as due process/tenure, facility and building use, the budget, or school closings."*

At the time that the survey was administered, the U.S. Department of Education's "Race to the Top" competitive grant program was frequently in the news and the subject of much debate. Similarly, New York State was facing a freeze in school funding that affected district and charter schools. In New York City, the closing of schools, the location of charter schools in public buildings, and teacher tenure were all controversial issues affecting the city's educators

and also often in the news. In using these prompts, I gathered information about teacher voice on policy issues across all three levels of governments.

As introduced in the analytical framework and explored in the historical review, voice occurs between different parties. For this reason, the nine questions were repeated throughout the survey, asking teachers to consider how often they discuss educational, employment, and policy matters with three distinct groups, namely their:

principal or immediate supervisor,

other teachers and colleagues, and

policymakers.

"Policymakers" was broadly defined as "district officials, network leaders, school chief executive officers, board members, elected officials, union leaders or others empowered to establish policies affecting your school." Moreover, to capture the variety of forms that teacher voice may take when addressing policymakers, respondents were prompted to consider a variety of actions including "meetings, phone calls, emails, letters, or participation at a public event or rally."

Respondents were also asked to distinguish between their *individual* interactions with their principal and policymakers from interactions as an entire *faculty*. For discussions as an entire faculty, respondents were prompted to consider collective interaction through "representative educator committees, a union chapter, a faculty council, an inquiry team or other group discussions that occurred in staff meetings." This distinction allows for the separate study of individual and collective voice.

Despite their breadth, the nine core questions only measure the *quantity* of teacher voice across

the three issue domains and with the three audiences. To determine the *quality* of any voice as

well as its *impact*, teachers were also asked:

> *"to what extent were the ideas raised in these discussions actually implemented or addressed,"* and to

> *"describe the tone of [these] discussions."*

Response options for the degree of implementation were again on the four point scale of

"never," "rarely," "sometimes," and "often." Possible answers for the tone of discussions were

"confrontational," "tense," "pleasant," or "collaborative."

This comprehensive approach gathered a large amount of original data—over 8,300 unique

pieces of information—on the degree and character of teacher voice, both individual and

collective, across a range of issues and between different audiences. Other survey questions

concerned job satisfaction, loyalty to one's school, respondents' intention to seek employment

elsewhere (i.e. to exit), and personal characteristics such as age, gender, race/ethnicity, and

marital status. This additional information allows for the study of voice while controlling for

teachers' personal characteristics, the perceptions of their workplace, and their career plans.

The full survey is included as Appendix A.

Each survey was coded with only a school identifier to protect respondents' anonymity. Based

on this identifier, respondents' answers were combined with additional data about the school in

which he or she works. This school-level information is publicly available from the New York

State Education Department and New York City Department of Education and was gathered

during the same academic year. These data include student demographics, staff turnover,

school size, and other contextual characteristics that permit the further study of teacher voice in regard to school conditions and circumstances.

Sample

With 1.1 million students and 135,000 employees, of whom about 74,000 are teachers, the New York City school system is the nation's largest. It is racially diverse, includes some of the country's poorest and wealthiest neighborhoods, and has some of the highest and lowest achieving schools. As we've seen, the city has played a central role in the nation's history of school reform and the development of emergence of an education state, from Nicholas Murray Butler's centralizing efforts in the early 1900s to decentralization in the 1960s and back to a highly centralized system controlled by the city's mayor after 2002. New York City launched or embraced many of the nation's recent and prominent reform efforts: it introduced standardized assessments before such testing was a state and federal requirement; it launched the small schools movement and was one of the first districts in the country to embrace charter schools; more recently, the city has adopted a "portfolio management model"[17] of system governance. In regard to teacher voice, New York City was also a birthplace of teacher unionism in the early 1900s and launched the modern teacher union movement, as denoted by collective bargaining.

In May 2010, I mailed 925 surveys to randomly selected teachers working full-time in New York City district and charter public schools. Given that this is a study of *teacher* voice, care was taken to only survey teachers so that responses were not gathered from supervisors, administrators, and other support staff.[18] As teacher turnover is another focus of this study,

teachers were surveyed in the spring when exit considerations are more likely than at other times in the school year.

Given the school system's size, history, and diversity, teachers work in a variety of circumstances that may impact their ability to voice their ideas and concerns. To ensure that responses were collected from teachers working in different settings, I stratified my sample to generate sufficient responses from three subgroups of interest. Specifically, 290 surveys were mailed to the home address of randomly selected teachers working in New York City Department of Education public schools (i.e. "district schools") in areas of the city *without* a large number of charter schools. Another 299 surveys were sent to a randomly-selected sample of teachers working in district schools in areas of the city *with* a large number of charter schools. Finally, surveys were sent to a randomly selected sample of 336 charter school teachers. As the typical number of responses per school was one and as the probability of selection was unequal across the three strata, weights (described below) are used to generate estimates that pertain to the population of the city's district and charter teachers.[19]

Collecting data from district and charter schools offers particular insight to questions of teacher voice. As I've argued in the preceding chapter, charter schools represent a major shift in the structure of the state's relationship to its schools. Charter school teachers work in a different context that is likely to impact the expression of educational, employment, and policy voice. Moreover, teachers in most of the city's charters are not union members and do not bargain collectively. This is another meaningful difference that is likely to have an impact on teacher voice. Although charter schools differ from district schools in other ways, these two considerations offer a valuable test of the impact of the state context on teacher voice.

From May to July, 2010, 119 completed surveys were returned by teachers working in all of the city's five boroughs. About 55 percent were elementary school teachers or from educators working in K-8 schools, with just under 20 percent working in middle schools and 25 percent in high schools. This distribution mirrors the distribution of schools across the city. About 75 percent of respondents are women, which also reflects the city-wide statistic for classroom teachers of 76.3 percent. Fifty-seven percent of respondents are white, 17 percent are African American, 10 percent are Hispanic, and the remaining 17 percent identify as Asian or of other race/ethnicity. Teachers in my sample range in experience from one to thirty-nine years of teaching, with a sample average of twelve years. Seventy-eight respondents work in "district" public schools operated by the New York City Department of Education while 41 work in a New York City charter school.[20]

These 119 responses represent a 13 percent rate of return and, fortunately, are sufficient to run significance tests that generate meaningful results. That said, a number of factors may account for the low response rate: paper administration (which included a postage-paid pre-addressed return envelope) was necessary due to the fact that email addresses were not available. This approach was also preferred given that a number of questions pertained to potentially sensitive employer-employee relations. Moreover, the survey was long and complex, asking respondents to consider the exercise of different kinds of voice in different situations; although this length captured the various dimensions of teacher voice, it may also have suppressed participation. The Spring administration—although necessary to gather timely "exit" considerations—may have also complicated participation, as this is a particularly busy time of year for teachers.

Nonetheless, at a 13 percent rate of return, it is unlikely that responses are random from among the teachers who received the survey. To determine the presence of any bias, I examined characteristics of the respondents and the schools in which they work and compared these findings, where possible, to the larger population of teachers working in New York City and the City's schools. This preliminary analysis posed three questions: Given the relationship between contextual factors and teacher voice, to what extent do the teachers in my sample work in *schools* that are representative of schools citywide? Second, does any bias exist among respondents from charter schools, from district schools in the same neighborhood as charter schools, and from district schools in neighborhoods without charter schools (i.e. bias between my three strata)? And third, to what extent are the *teachers* in my sample representative of teachers citywide?

By and large, the schools at which my respondents work are representative of the 1,500 schools citywide. As noted above, schools from all of the city's five boroughs—Manhattan, Bronx, Brooklyn, Queens, and Staten Island—are represented in rates that are proportionate to the number of schools in each part of the city ($p > .10$). Similarly, I failed to identify significant differences in regard to grade level, meaning that the number of elementary, middle, and high schools in my sample are also proportionate to the levels of schools citywide. Moreover, a number of school-level characteristics also suggest that the teachers in my sample work in schools that are representative of schools citywide. Specifically, I found no significant differences on measures of student attendance, the rate of student suspensions and student stability, a measure of the number of students returning from year to year. The percentage of students with limited English proficiency, the average number of years of teacher experience at

each school, as well as schools' teacher turnover rates are also indistinguishable (p > .10). This last finding is particularly notable in judging the direction of any bias in my data. If we expect rates of turnover and voice to be inversely related, then higher or lower average turnover in my sample could predict lower or higher rates of voice and indicate the direction of any bias. Yet the failure to identify a significant difference in school-level rates of turnover suggests that teachers in my sample work in schools where teachers are just as likely to exit or voice as schools citywide.

Despite these similarities, the teachers in my sample work in schools that are, on average slightly larger than the typical New York City school (755 students to 517 students, respectively, p < .10). Also, the percentage of African American students is higher in my sampled schools than citywide (42 percent to 36 percent, respectively, p < .05) and the schools have slightly higher rates of student poverty, as measured by eligibility for Free- and Reduced-Price Lunch (81percent to 77 percent, p. < .05). These last two findings are likely a result of my stratified design, in which two-thirds of the surveys were sent to neighborhoods with a large number of charter schools. These areas of the city are also poorer and home to more African American residents than other parts of the city. As these neighborhoods are also home to a higher degree of school reform activity than occurs elsewhere in the city, it is possible that teachers in my sample are more vocal about the changes affecting their schools and communities. If true, it suggests that rates of voice in my study could be higher than what exists among teachers citywide.

There does not appear to be any bias across my three strata. Recall that a third of my surveys were mailed to teachers working in charter schools, a third to teachers in nearby district

schools, and a third to teachers elsewhere in the city. The rate of return was nearly equal from each of the three groups (13.4 percent, 13.0 percent and 12.2 percent, respectively). As such, the voice of any one group of teachers is not stronger than the other two. Also as noted above, demographic characteristics of the teachers in my sample reflect citywide teacher demographics. Despite limited publicly available information about the characteristics of New York City's teaching force, the gender breakdown is about the same in my sample as in the population (75 percent female compared to 76% percent, respectively) as well as the racial composition.

Combined, these findings suggest that the teachers and schools in my sample are representative of teachers citywide and work in schools that are also similar, on average, to the city's many schools, indicating that the threat of any bias in my results is minimal. That said, a survey is in and of itself a "voice act," suggesting that teachers who are more inclined to speak up are also those more inclined to complete a long and detailed survey at the busiest time of the school year. A key piece of evidence to support this assertion is the fact that about 40 percent of my respondents indicated that they hold a leadership position in their school. As it is unlikely that a typical New York City school offers leadership opportunities to 40 percent of its educators, the teachers in my sample are likely to be more outspoken than their peers. This indicates that the rates of voice in my sample are quite possibly higher than the actual rates of voice across the full population of city teachers; in the following pages, interpretation of my results will keep this potential bias in mind.

A final word is due regarding the potential relevance of my findings to schools and districts outside of New York City or at different point in time.   Despite the care that was taken to

administer the survey to a random selection of teachers and the absence of much bias in the kinds of schools represented and the characteristics of teachers, a sample of this size cautions against any over-generalizations. This caveat noted, the majority of the teachers in my study work in parts of the city where school reform activity is high, as evidenced by the presence of charter schools. In these neighborhoods, students are more likely to be poorer and of African American heritage as compared to students elsewhere in the city. Taken together, generalizations to other cities and school districts that meet these characteristics are defensible.

In the years preceding my study, the New York City Department of Education instituted new policies regarding teachers' ability to transfer from one school to another and aimed to loosen restrictions on such intra-district movement. Although intended to create an "open market" for human resources across the city, close observers have found that these changes may have had the unintended consequence of making it harder for teachers to move from one school to another. This may be a key difference from other school districts that have no such policies and, if exit is less of a practical option for New York City teachers, then theory would anticipate rates of voice to be higher under such conditions.

The timing of my study also has bearing on the generalizability of results. The survey was administered in 2010, in the middle of the deep recession. Schools were facing a freeze in state funding, budget cuts, and restrictions on hiring new staff. Under such a scenario, open positions, particularly in desirable schools, were few and far between. This practical limitation on teachers' ability to exit to a different school also would predict higher rates of voice than in more typical economic conditions when more open positions exist and more intra-district transfers are possible.

Measures

My study measures and examines teacher voice in a variety of contexts. I first investigate the degree, character, and impact of teacher voice. I then assess the relationship between voice and teachers' personal characteristics such as gender, race/ethnicity, age, years of experience, level of workplace satisfaction and loyalty, and the likelihood that the teacher will be at his or her current school in the coming years (i.e. a measure of teacher exit). I then analyze the relationship between voice and school-level characteristics, such as school size, student demographics, school type (i.e. district or charter) and union affiliation. Finally, I examine the relationship between voice, exit, loyalty, and other contextual factors while controlling for other variables.

Dependent variables. Teacher voice, my primary dependent variable of interest, is studied across three domains: educational voice, employment voice, and policy voice. Three questions were asked within each voice domain, for a total of nine questions. As explained above, educational voice was measured by the amount of input teachers have on educational approaches, student achievement, and professional development; the three indicators of employment voice covered compensation, teaching assignments, and job evaluations; policy voice was judged by the amount of discussion of federal grant programs, school budgets and state funding, and school closings. Answers were selected from a four-point scale as either "never" (1), "rarely" (2), "sometimes" (3) or "often" (4). As voice is specific to a particular context, these nine questions were repeated to determine the amount of teacher input with different audiences. Specifically, respondents were asked to indicate their level of individual

and collective (i.e. "faculty") discussion and interaction with three audiences: their principal or immediate supervisor, policymakers, and their fellow teachers.[21]

All Educational Voice is a composite, continuous variable calculated as the average of the fifteen survey items that asked about teachers' level of individual and collective voice on educational issues with all three audiences.[22] Given the meaningfulness of my four point scale, ranging from "rarely" to "often," the variable is left untransformed, in order to preserve the 1 to 4 metric, for the first part of my analysis, in which I establish general levels of educational voice. For more in-depth descriptive and multivariate analyses, I standardized the variable (M=0, SD=1) in order to assess the effect size of differences in educational voice among different groups.

All Employment Voice, a composite continuous variable, is calculated in a similar fashion, by averaging the fifteen items that investigate all teacher voice, expressed individually and collectively, on employment matters of compensation, workload, and evaluation. After the initial analysis which compares levels of employment voice on the 1 to 4 metric, I again standardized the measure. For my multivariate analysis, I took the square root of the measure to achieve a more normal distribution and also standardized the transformed variable.

Like the previous two composite voice variables, the *All Policy Voice* measure is an average of the fifteen items that investigate all teacher voice on matters of federal, state, and local policy, expressed individually and collectively to supervisors, policymakers, and among colleagues. After my initial analysis, which compares levels of policy voice on the 1 to 4 metric, I again

standardized the measure. As the measure is normally distributed, it was not necessary to conduct any further non-linear transformations for my multivariate analyses.

These first three variables measure all teacher voice by issue. Another way to judge teacher voice is by audience, rather than topic. To do this, I created five composite and continuous *Voice By Audience* measures to estimate teachers' individual voice with their principal, with policymakers, and with other teachers, and teachers' collective voice, as a faculty, with their principal and policymakers. Each of the five composite measures averages the nine survey items, across difference issues, that are specific to the particular interaction.

In addition to teacher voice by issue, as captured in the three *All Voice* measures, and the teacher *Voice by Audience* measures, as described above, I also created *Individual Voice* and *Collective Voice* measures as another way to study the question. These measures separate teacher versus faculty voice on educational, employment, and policy issues, totaling six separate variables, and are constructed in a similar way, as the average of six to nine survey items that specify either individual or group expression. To gain further specificity about the different forms of teacher voice by issue and interaction with different audiences, I then created fifteen sub-measures of *Voice by Audience and Issue* by averaging three survey items for each of the fifteen variables. The variables are left untransformed for my preliminary analysis of teacher voice, but I standardized my three *Collective Voice* measures (separately representing educational, employment, and policy collective voice) for my descriptive analyses.

All of the above measures capture the *quantity* of teacher voice along my four-point scale of "rarely" to "often." To study the *quality* of such interaction, I created three measures that

assess the tone of interactions by issue: *Educational Tone of Voice, Employment Tone of Voice, and Policy Tone of Voice.* All three are continuous, composite measures of respondents' answers to questions about the quality of their interactions on the three different issues and with the different audiences. The tone of educational, employment, and policy discussions are separately calculated by averaging five relevant survey responses for each of the three issue domains. As with my overall voice measures, these variables are left untransformed to maintain the 1 to 4 metric of "confrontational," "tense," "pleasant," or "collaborative."[23] These tone measures are standardized when used in later descriptive analyses. As with the above, sub-measures of these three main variables, *Tone by Audience, Individual and Collective Tone by Issue,* and *Tone by Audience and Issue* ascertain the tone of voice when expressed individually, as a faculty, and with different audiences.

Independent Variables: Teacher and School Characteristics: A variety of independent variables were used to determine the extent to which measures of voice are different across groups and in different settings. These measures include a dummy-coded *Gender* variable (1 = male, 0 = female) and a five-level categorical measure of teachers' *Race/Ethnicity* in which respondents identified themselves as either Hispanic, White/Non-Hispanic, African American/Black, Asian, or of other heritage. I transformed teachers' *Years of Experience* into quartiles, creating a four-level categorical variable; this separated respondents into groups with one to five, six to ten, eleven to seventeen, and eighteen to thirty-nine years of experience. For my regression analyses, each quartile was converted into a dummy variable, with comparisons made to novice teachers with one to five years of experience.[24]

About forty percent of respondents indicated that they held some kind of leadership position in their school, such as a union chapter leader or as a member on a school leadership or inquiry team. As a result, I created a dummy-coded *Teacher Leaders* measure (1 = plays a leadership role, 0 = does not). *Teacher Turnover,* a measure of teacher exit, is a dummy-coded variable (1=teachers who are likely to seek new employment in the next five years, 0=teachers who are likely to remain at their current school).

I also included a number of continuous variables in my analyses. Teachers' *Age* ranged from 23 to 66 years, and *Compensation* ranged from $25,000 to $106,000. Using factor analysis as a data-reduction technique, I created three continuous and standardized factors to represent teachers' loyalty to their school and their level of job satisfaction. The *Teacher Loyalty* measure ($\alpha = .74$) combined the results of four questions that asked respondents' willingness to stay at their current school, "even if [they] had the chance to take a better job," out of a commitment to their "students," "colleagues," "principal," or because of the school's "mission and approach." This factor has a fairly high eigenvalue of 2.2, explains 56 percent of variance in the set of items, and is standardized. A *Workplace Satisfaction* factor ($\alpha = .56$) combined three categorical measures of satisfaction pertaining to overall workload including non-classroom duties, the level of administrator support, and the quality of parent involvement. Its Eigen value is 1.6 and it explains 55 percent of variability in the items. Finally, an *Economic Satisfaction* factor ($\alpha = .68$) combined teachers' satisfaction with their compensation, fringe benefits, and level of job security, has an Eigen value of 1.9, and explains 62 percent of variability. Both of the satisfaction measures are standardized.

A *Voice Impact* variable estimate the degree to which teachers feel as if the educational and employment issues they raise in discussions with colleagues, superiors, and policymakers, both individually and as a faculty, are actually implemented or addressed. In my initial analysis, due to the fact that only one survey question was asked for each of the ten different interaction scenarios, each separate measure remains a categorical measure. For my descriptive analysis, I average these ten items into a composite and continuous measure of overall *Voice Impact*. To achieve a more normal distribution for multivariate analyses, the *Voice Impact* measure was squared and standardized.

In addition to teacher characteristics, my analysis includes a number of school-level measures that are specific to the school in which each respondent works. *School Type* is a dummy-coded measure indicating whether the respondent works in a district (0) or charter (1) public school. *Focus District,* also dummy-coded, indicates if the respondent's school is located in an area of the city with a large number of charter schools and is defined for both district and charter schools. *School Level* is a categorical measure that distinguishes grades enrolled (elementary, K-8, middle, or high school). *School Size* is a continuous measure of student enrollment at the time that the survey was administered, as is the *Number of Teachers* and the ratio of *Number of Staff to Administrators*.

Union Characteristics. Given the role that teacher unions play as an advocate for their members, a number of union-related measures are studied to determine the relationship between unions and teacher voice. *Unionization* is a dummy-coded variable (1=school is unionized, 0= the school is not). As union-negotiated contracts typically include due process protections, respondents were asked to what degree they are entitled to due process protections

prior to termination. Although this was originally a four-level categorical measure, only a

handful of respondents indicated that they had little to no due process protections. As such, I

converted the responses into a dummy-coded variable *Job Protection* which indicates those

respondents with more due process (1) and those with less (0), recognizing, for example, that

probationary teachers have a different degree of protection. Respondents who were union

members were also asked about the effectiveness of their union in advocating for their needs

and concerns. Based on the distribution of responses, I created a three-level categorical

measure of *Union Effectiveness* rating a respondent's union as effective (0), somewhat

effective (1), and ineffective (2). These were converted into dummy variables for my

regressions analysis, with comparisons made to the "ineffective" group.

School-Level Student Characteristics and Teachers' Working Conditions. The characteristics

of students enrolled in the schools at which respondents worked provide further details

regarding the context of teachers' workplace. Student *Attendance* is a continuous measure, as is

student *Suspensions* which is calculated as a percentage of total enrollment. Student *Poverty* is

the percentage of a school's students who are eligible for Federal Free- and Reduced-Price

Lunch. A non-linear transformation was required to reduce the skew of the *Poverty*

distribution (the measure was cubed and then standardized). Student *Stability* is the percentage

of students in the highest grade of the respondent's school who were also enrolled in that

school at any time during the previous school year. Students who are not proficient in English

and students' *Race/Ethnicity* are also continuous variables, measured as the percentage of a

school's students who are designated as *English Language Learners* or who identify as

American Indian, Black, Hispanic, Asian, White, or *Multi-Racial.*

Teachers were also asked their perceptions of the workplace on a number of indicators.

Responses were given on a four-point scale and the variables were maintained as four-level

categorical measures for my descriptive analyses. These include teachers' perceptions of

whether they have necessary *Textbooks, Supplies, and Materials;* the extent to which

Performance Evaluations are conducted in a fair and consistent manner; and regarding the

Management Attitude at their school, specifically if administrators have a "take it or leave it"

attitude. When used in my multivariate analyses, the categories of all three measures were

converted into dummy variables.

Weights: Because of the stratified nature of my sample, to survey district and charter school

teachers from across New York City and in neighborhoods with a large number of charter and

district public schools, I weighted my data to compensate for this sampling and the unequal

probability of selection. Respondents who are New York City Department of Education-

employed teachers and work in neighborhoods without a large number of charter schools were

weighted at 2.32. Department employees working in neighborhoods with a large number of

charter schools were weighted at .64. Respondents working in charter schools were weighted

at .08. (The methodology used to generate these weights is presented in Appendix B.) The

benefit of such weightings is that analytical results are more generalizable to the broader

population of New York City public school teachers during the 2009-2010 school year. The

downside is that the weights greatly reduce the number of charter and non-union cases. For

this reason, weights are not used in my later analyses, in which I draw distinctions between

these two types of schools and between union and non-union workplaces.

Analytic Approach

I use a variety of analytical approaches to investigate the relationship between teacher voice and teachers' personal attributes and attitudes and the characteristics of their school, working conditions and students. I first present descriptive tests of mean differences using t-tests, one-way ANOVAs, and Pearson correlations to identify meaningful and statistically significant relationships among variables and different groups of teachers. Variables found to be significant are then studied in multivariate analyses, using ordinary least squares (OLS) linear regression. My regressions are constructed in hierarchical frameworks to judge the unadjusted relationship between the primary variables of interest and to then account for impact of other covariates.

Results

Teacher Voice: To start, I first determined overall levels of teacher voice by issue and audience. As the below charts indicate, overall levels of teacher voice are low. On my four point scale measuring how often teachers express their point of view, in which 1= "never," 2 = "rarely," 3 = "sometimes," and 4 = "often," average scores fall between "rarely" and "sometimes." In Chart 1, only *All Educational Voice* surpasses the scale's halfway mark with an average of 2.64. The mean of *All Policy Voice* is 2.50. *All Employment Voice* is lowest, averaging only 2.32. All three have a strong and positive correlation with each other (r = .62 or greater, p < .001).

Chart 1. Overall Levels of Voice by Issue
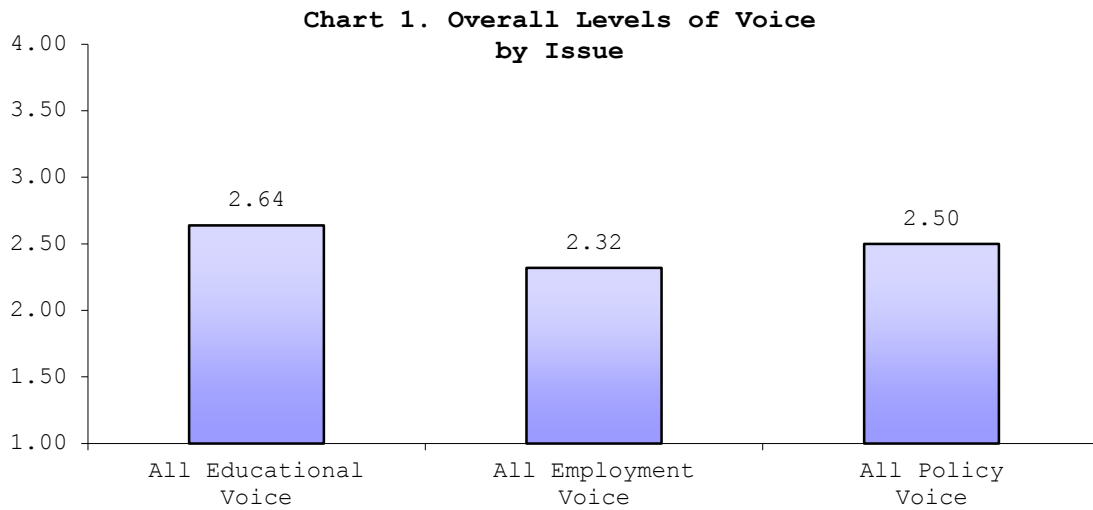
Some interesting differences are identified when voice is measured between audiences, as depicted in Chart 2, below. Teachers indicate a higher level of voice, across all issues, when speaking with their principal as a faculty (2.73) rather than individually (2.22). Similarly, teachers indicate having close to no individual voice with policymakers (1.73, or between "never" and "rarely") but nearly three quarters of a point more when speaking as a faculty or through other representative bodies (2.54). Not surprisingly, teachers report the highest levels of voice when talking to their colleagues; at an average of 3.27, this is the only score to fall between "sometimes" and "often" on the four point scale.

Chart 2. All Voice By Audience
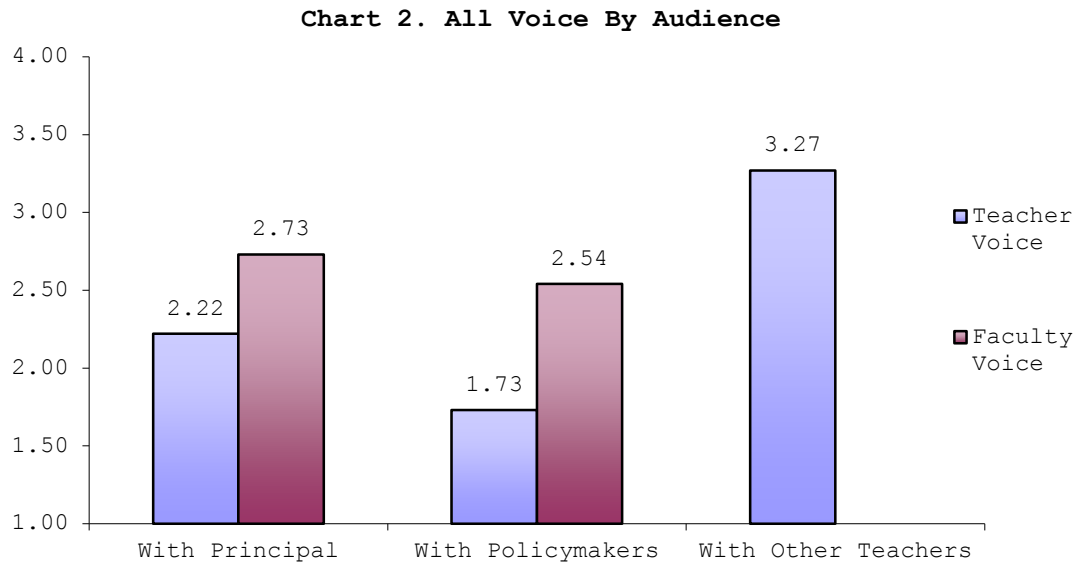
Although all five measures share a significant and positive correlation, the strength of the relationships vary, with the weakest relationship (r = .24, p < .01) between teacher-to-teacher voice and teacher-to-policymaker voice, and the strongest relationship between teacher-to-principal and faculty-to-principal voice (r = .62, p < .001). The correlations of all five measures are presented in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Correlations of All Voice By Audience (n=119)

	Teacher Voice with Principal	Teacher Voice with Policy-makers	Teacher Voice with other Teachers	Faculty Voice with Principal	Faculty Voice with Policy-makers
Teacher Voice With Principal	–	0.50 ***	0.41 ***	0.62 ***	0.26 **
Teacher Voice with Policymakers		–	0.24 **	0.35 ***	0.52 ***
Teacher Voice With Other Teachers			–	0.49 ***	0.26 **
Faculty Voice with Principal				–	0.55 ***
Faculty Voice with Policymakers					–

**p<.01
***p<.001

Looking more closely, interesting differences emerge between measures of *Individual and Collective Voice* across the three issue domains, as presented in Chart 3. On average across all three issue areas, teachers express a collective faculty voice more often than individual voice, but the levels are still low, again falling between "rarely" and "sometimes." The differences between collective and individual educational and employment voice are modest although on matters of policy, collective voice is about half a point higher than individual voice.

Chart 3. Individual & Collective Voice

Domain	Teacher Voice	Faculty Voice
Educational	2.60	2.73
Employment	2.29	2.39
Policy	2.32	2.79
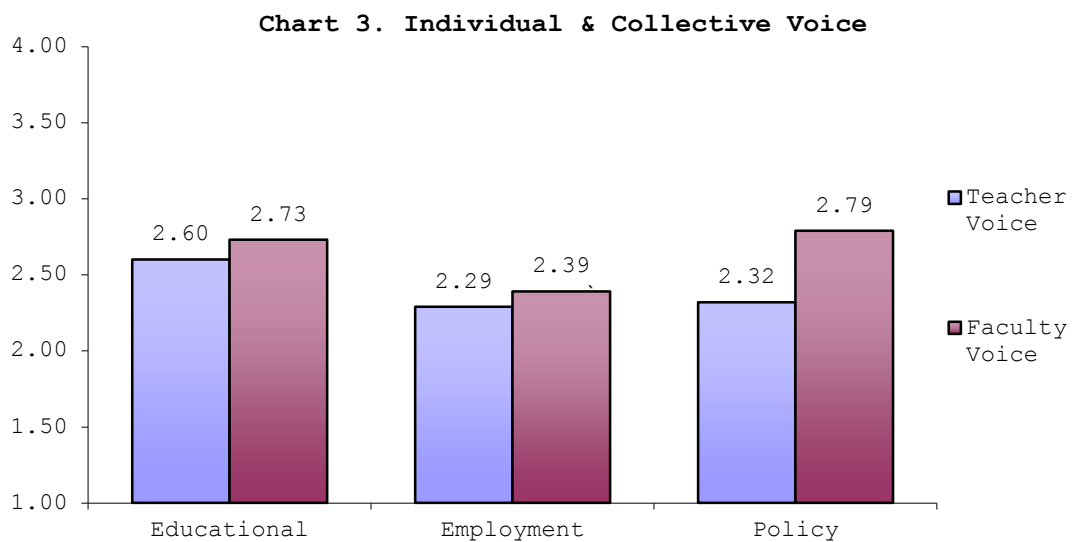
The correlation results in Table 2 indicate that all six measures are significantly related, ranging from a moderate and positive association between *Teacher Employment Voice* and *Faculty Educational Voice* (r = .41, p < .001) to a strong relationship between *Faculty Educational Voice* and *Faculty Employment Voice* (r = .72, p < .001).

Table 2: Correlations of Individual and Collective Voice By Issue (n=119)

	Teacher Educational Voice	Teacher Employment Voice	Teacher Policy Voice	Faculty Educational Voice	Faculty Employment Voice	Faculty Policy Voice
Teacher Educational Voice	–	0.59 ***	0.54 ***	0.60 ***	0.41 ***	0.43 ***
Teacher Employment Voice		–	0.68 ***	0.41 ***	0.50 ***	0.38 ***
Teacher Policy Voice			–	0.46 ***	0.37 ***	0.47 ***
Faculty Educational Voice				–	0.72 ***	0.47 ***
Faculty Employment Voice					–	0.47 ***
Faculty Policy Voice						–

***p<.001

Further unpacking these results by issue and audience reveals clear trends. As Chart 4 depicts, teachers discuss educational, employment, and policy issues with each other quite often and more than with anyone else. Collective voice is consistently higher than individual voice. And on average, teachers report very little discussion with policymakers, particularly as individuals.

Chart 4. Voice By Audience and Issues
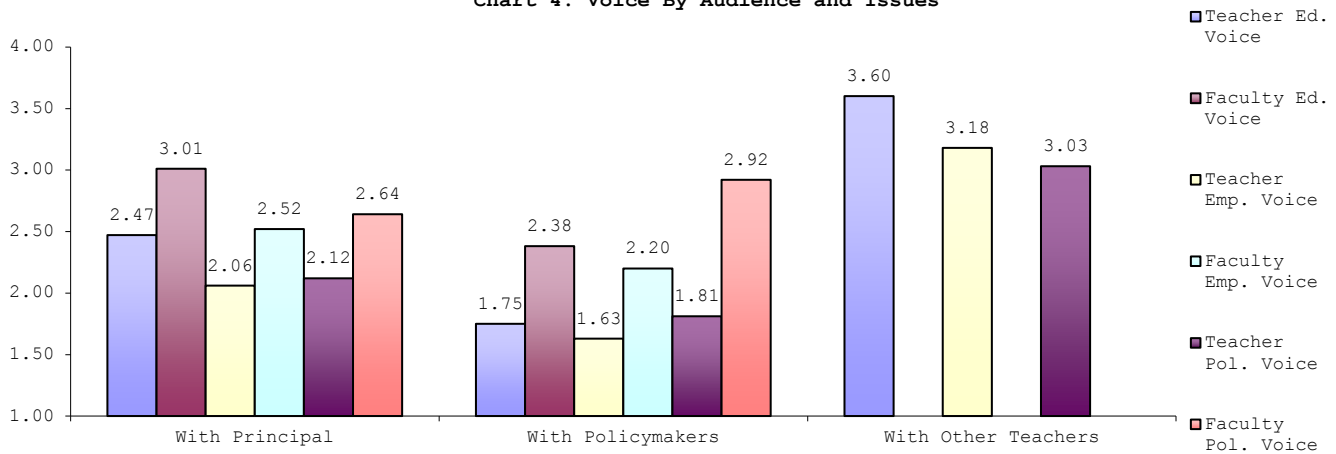
Table 3 presents the correlations between all fifteen measures. Although many of the measures remain positively correlated, the relationships are not as strong as the aggregate measures above; in some cases they fail to attain significance. This suggests that individual and collective measures of voice across the three issues domains are distinct constructs measuring unique phenomena.

Table 3: Correlations of Individual and Collective Voice By Issue and Audience (n=119)

	Teacher Edu. Voice with Principal	Faculty Edu. Voice with Principal	Teacher Employ. Voice with Principal	Faculty Employ. Voice with Principal	Teacher Policy Voice with Principal	Faculty Policy Voice with Principal	Teacher Edu. Voice with Policymkrs.	Faculty Edu. Voice with Policymkrs.	Teacher Employ. Voice with Policymkrs.	Faculty Employ. Voice with Policymkrs.	Teacher Policy Voice with Policymkrs.	Faculty Policy Voice with Policymkrs.	Teacher Edu. Voice with Other Teachers	Teacher Employ. Voice with Other Teachers	Teacher Policy Voice with Other Teachers
Teacher Edu. Voice with Principal	–	0.610 ***	0.49 ***	0.43 ***	0.52 ***	0.46 ***	0.45 ***	0.35 ***	0.34 ***	0.22 *	0.24 **	0.24 **	0.27 **	0.07	0.27 **
Faculty Edu. Voice with Principal		–	0.26 **	0.63 ***	0.45 ***	0.57 ***	0.36 ***	0.47 ***	0.28 **	0.34 ***	0.22 *	0.26 **	0.30 **	0.04	0.38 ***
Teacher Employ. Voice with Principal			–	0.44 ***	0.48 ***	0.33 ***	0.21 *	0.11	0.14	0.15	0.31 **	0.05	0.26 **	0.11	0.33 ***
Faculty Employ. Voice with Principal				–	0.35 ***	0.55 ***	0.30 **	0.46 ***	0.19 *	0.50 ***	0.26 **	0.22 *	0.27 **	0.30 **	0.41 ***
Teacher Policy Voice with Principal					–	0.51 ***	0.29 **	0.36 ***	0.27 **	0.16 †	0.63 ***	0.18 †	0.40 ***	0.28 **	0.49 ***
Faculty Policy Voice with Principal						–	0.20 *	0.30 **	0.15 †	0.28 **	0.24 **	0.39 ***	0.32 ***	0.38 ***	0.64 ***
Teacher Edu. Voice with Policymkrs.							–	0.51 ***	0.56 ***	0.39 ***	0.39 ***	0.26 **	-0.05	0.02	0.05
Faculty Edu. Voice with Policymkrs.								–	0.52 ***	0.68 ***	0.44 ***	0.29 **	0.14	0.18 †	0.22 *
Teacher Employ. Voice with Policymkrs.									–	0.49 ***	0.48 ***	0.27 **	0.03	0.14	0.20 *
Faculty Employ. Voice with Policymkrs.										–	0.33 ***	0.31 **	-0.03	0.23 *	0.25 **
Teacher Policy Voice with Policymkrs.											–	0.18 †	0.29 **	0.33 ***	0.40 ***
Faculty Policy Voice with Policymkrs.												–	0.09	0.14	0.31 **
Teacher Edu. Voice with Other Teachers													–	0.49 ***	0.52 ***
Teacher Employ. Voice with Other Teachers														–	0.62 ***
Teacher Policy Voice with Other Teachers															–

† p<.10
* p<.05
** p<.01
*** p<.001

In some respects, these results indicate what one might expect: teachers talk most often with their colleagues about a range of workplace educational, employment, and policy issues. When it comes to discussions with their immediate supervisors, voice is stronger when expressed through faculty committees, school leadership teams, and other representative bodies. Moreover, and likely as a practical matter, school-based discussions with on-site colleagues occur more often than with policymakers who do not work at the school, despite the variety of ways teachers can interact with policymakers.

With the exception of teachers interacting with their peers, the overall amount of teacher voice is low: at best teachers interact only sometimes, and at worst rarely, with supervisors and policymakers to discuss matters of education, employment, and policy. In fairness, there are many decisions that teachers make that do not require consultation with others, particularly in regard to classroom practice and pedagogy. As I presented in my historical analysis, teachers continued to use traditional methods and were largely unresponsive to attempts by pedagogical progressives to change classroom practice. Also, teachers may be unaware or underappreciate the full-extent of the voice that is expressed on their behalf by their unions. Yet to the extent that decisions are made that affect teachers work, teachers report that issues are being and resolved by supervisors and policymakers without much direct teacher input. Given the possible bias in my data, the actual voice levels may be even lower in the larger population of New York City school teachers.

Tone of Voice: Merely knowing how *often* teachers voice their point of view on different issues is only so helpful. What is the quality of their interaction with other educators? Is

discussion with colleagues, as one might expect, more collegial than with supervisors and policymakers? And is the tone of individual voice different from collective voice? On each of the three issue domains (education, employment, and policy) and across all five interactions (teacher-to-teacher, teacher-to-principal, teacher-to-policymaker, faculty-to-principal, and faculty-to-policymaker), respondents were asked to describe the "tone" of their interaction on a four-point scale as either "confrontational" (1), "tense" (2), "pleasant" (3), or "collaborative" (4). Despite the infrequency noted above, when such interactions did occur they were more often than not "pleasant" or "collaborative," as indicated on the charts below.

Chart 5. Overall Tone of Voice by Issue
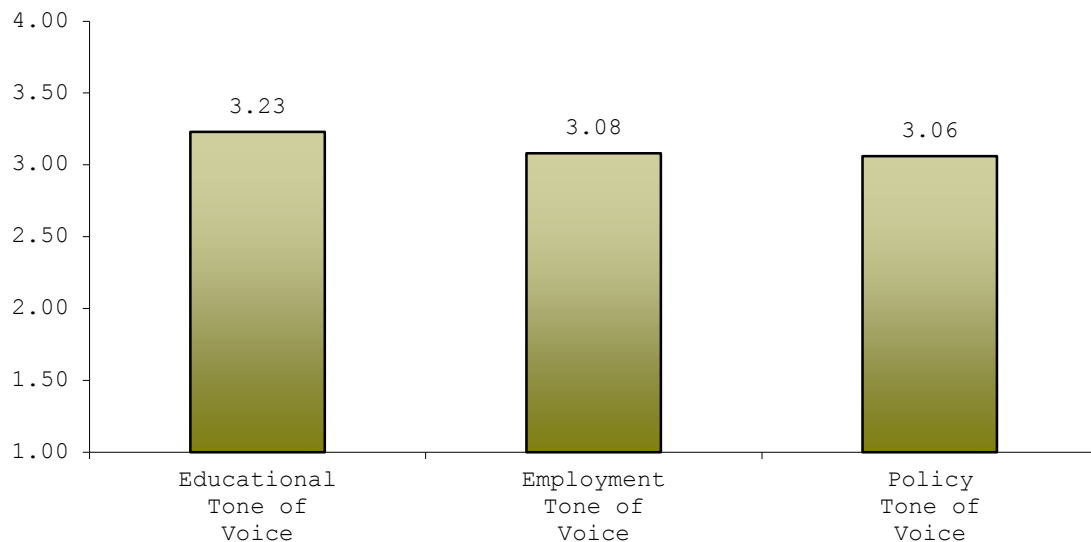
Chart 5 indicates overall *Educational, Employment, and Policy Tone of Voice,* combining both individual and collective teacher and faculty interactions. Although the tone of employment and policy discussions (with means of 3.08 and 3.06, respectively) is not as collaborative as educational discussions (averaging 3.23), it is somewhat surprising to find discussions of sensitive employment matters (e.g. pay, hours, workload, and

evaluation) to be as pleasant as they are. I also find the three indicators are related with a strong and positive correlation between the tone of education and employment and education and policy discussions (r = .77 and .64 respectively, p < .001), and an even stronger relationship between the tone of employment and policy discussions (r = .84, p < .001). Looking at the *Tone by Audience* across all three issues, as presented in Chart 6, I again find that the quality of interactions is generally pleasant; all average measures meet or exceed 2.89 on my four point scale; teachers' discussions with other teachers, at 3.56, is the highest and approaches the "collaborative" mark.

Chart 6. Tone By Audience
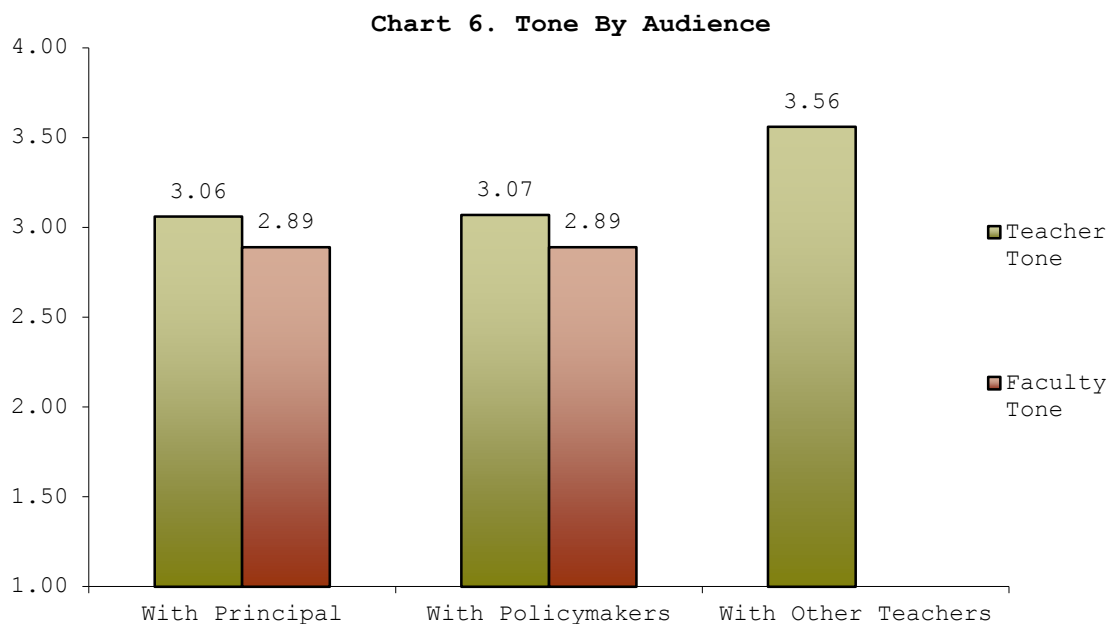
Table 4 presents correlations between these five *Tone by Audience* measures. Notably, few significant relationships exist, suggesting that the variables are measuring distinct interactions. That said, the quality of collective, faculty voice with principals does have a positive relationship to teachers' individual tone of voice with principals, policymakers,

and teachers, suggesting that faculty voice is representative of the tone of teachers'

individual interactions.

Table 4: Correlations of Tone of Voice By Audience (n=119)

	Tone of Teacher Voice with Principal	Tone of Teacher Voice with Policy-makers	Tone of Teacher Voice with other Teachers	Tone of Faculty Voice with Principal	Tone of Faculty Voice with Policy-makers
Tone of Teacher Voice With Principal	–	0.12	0.11	0.55 ***	0.05
Tone of Teacher Voice with Policymakers		–	0.10	0.38 **	0.20
Tone of Teacher Voice With Other Teachers			–	0.37 ***	-0.20 †
Tone of Faculty Voice with Principal				–	0.06
Tone of Faculty Voice with Policymakers					–

†p<.10
*p<.05
**p<.01
***p<.001

In analyzing the tone of teachers' versus faculties' interactions with different audiences

as well as by issue area, individual voice is consistently, and in some cases meaningfully

more agreeable than collective interaction. As presented in Chart 7 below, the tone of

teachers' individual discussion of educational matters, at 3.40, is nearly a half a point

higher than the tone of collective educational discussions. Similar differences are also

found in the tone of teacher and faculty discussions of employment and policy issues.

This may occur if the tough, harder to discuss issues that arise in the course of the school

day and year are reserved for collective discussions.

Chart 7. Individual and Collective Tone by Issue
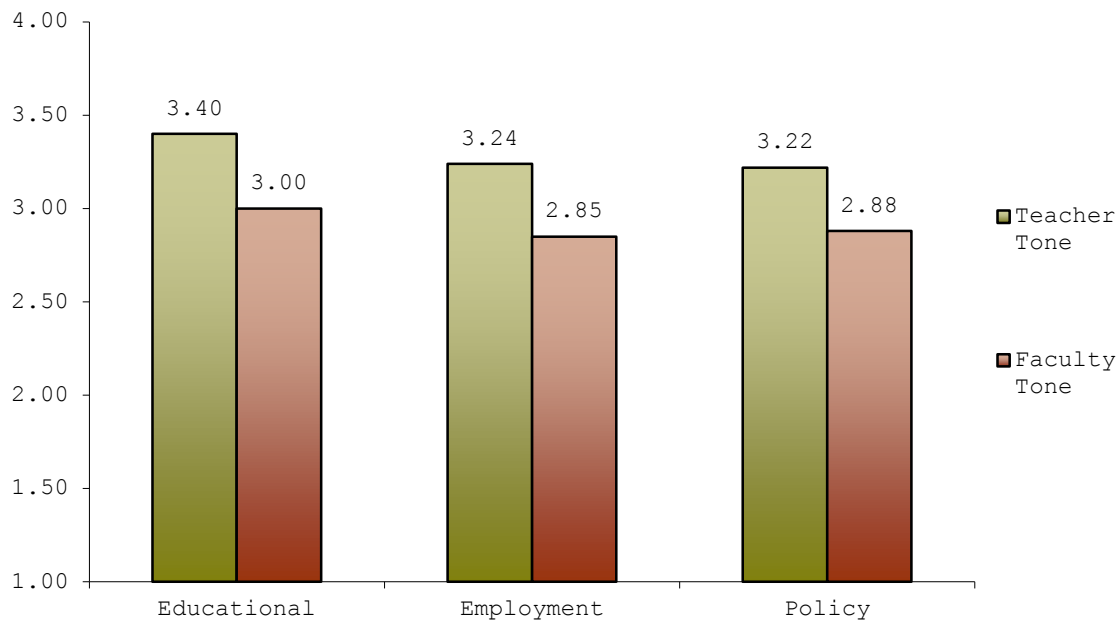
Table 5 indicates that all six measures are significantly related, ranging from a moderate and positive relationship between the tone of faculty collective voice on policy issues with the tone of individual teacher voice on educational issues (r = .25, p < .001), to a strong and positive relationship between faculty employment and policy voice (r = .83, p < .001). Although this suggests that the tone constructs may not be unique, the correlations are not as strong and in some cases fail to gain significance when examined by issue, audience, collectively and individually (presented in Table 6 below).

Table 5: Correlations of the Tone of Individual and Collective Voice By Issue (n=119)

	Tone of Teacher Educational Voice	Tone of Teacher Employment Voice	Tone of Teacher Policy Voice	Tone of Faculty Educational Voice	Tone of Faculty Employment Voice	Tone of Faculty Policy Voice
Tone of Teacher Educational Voice	–	0.61 ***	0.52 ***	0.36 ***	0.32 **	0.25 **
Tone of Teacher Employment Voice		–	0.79 ***	0.52 ***	0.47 ***	0.37 ***
Tone of Teacher Policy Voice			–	0.40 ***	0.43 ***	0.37 ***
Tone of Faculty Educational Voice				–	0.78 ***	0.60 ***
Tone of Faculty Employment Voice					–	0.83 ***
Tone of Faculty Policy Voice						–

**p<.01
***p<.001

Finally, when analyzing the tone of interaction by issue among teachers and between teachers and principals or policymakers, both individually and as a faculty, the patterns hold. As presented in Chart 8, individual voice is more collaborative than collective interactions. Teachers rate their discussions with each other as the most pleasant, at 3.70, although no average score is below 2.77. These data suggest that when it occurs, the tone of teachers' interaction with others is pleasant bordering on the collaborative.

Chart 8. Tone by Audience and Issue
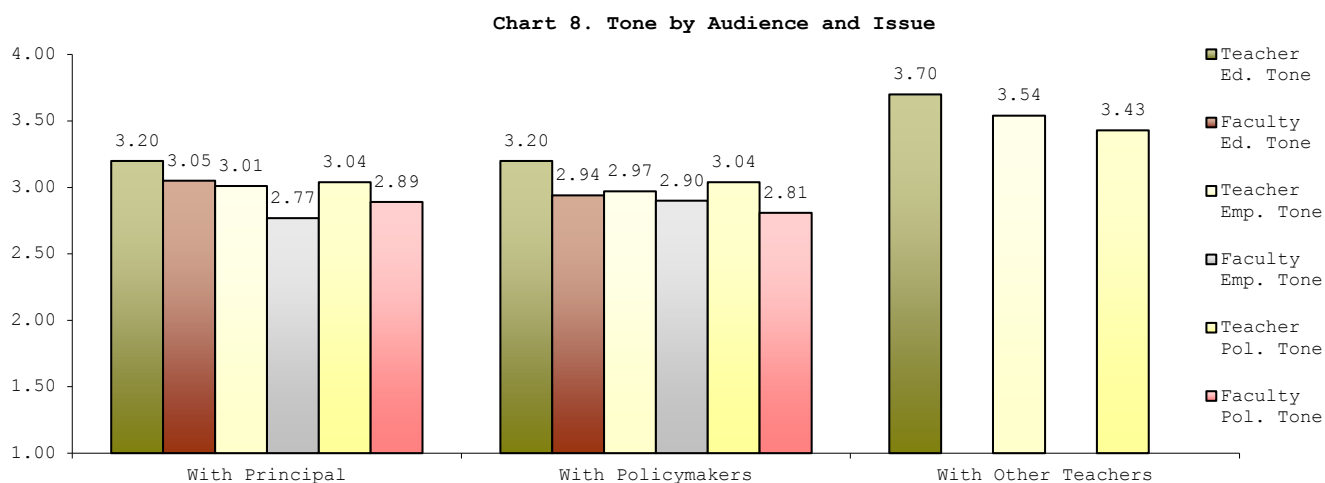
Table 6 presents the correlations between the fifteen tone measures, and some noticeable distinctions emerge. Overall, it appears as if the quality of teachers' individual interactions with their principals is significantly related to the tone of faculty interactions with principals. Similarly, the tone of teachers' discussions with each other is related across the three issue areas. That said, only weak relationships typically exist between the tone of interactions with policymakers and the other measures.

Table 6: Correlations of Individual and Collective Tone of Voice By Issue and Audience (n=119)

	Tone of Teacher Edu. Voice with Principal	Tone of Faculty Edu. Voice with Principal	Tone of Teacher Employ. Voice with Principal	Tone of Faculty Employ. Voice with Principal	Tone of Teacher Policy Voice with Principal	Tone of Faculty Policy Voice with Principal	Tone of Teacher Edu. Voice with Policymkrs.	Tone of Faculty Edu. Voice with Policymkrs.	Tone of Teacher Employ. Voice with Policymkrs.	Tone of Faculty Employ. Voice with Policymkrs.	Tone of Teacher Policy Voice with Policymkrs.	Tone of Faculty Policy Voice with Policymkrs.	Tone of Teacher Edu. Voice with Other Teachers	Tone of Teacher Employ. Voice with Other Teachers	Tone of Teacher Policy Voice with Other Teachers
Tone of Teacher Edu. Voice with Principal	–	0.530 ***	0.71 ***	0.45 ***	0.81 ***	0.51 ***	0.22 †	0.06	0.06	−0.11	−0.02	−0.14	−0.02	0.02	0.12
Tone of Faculty Edu. Voice with Principal		–	0.43 ***	0.85 ***	0.39 ***	0.71 ***	0.41 **	0.14	0.41 **	0.04	0.40 **	0.02	0.21 *	0.30 **	0.31 **
Tone of Teacher Employ. Voice with Principal			–	0.38 ***	0.77 ***	0.41 ***	0.14	0.29 **	0.28 *	0.14	0.24 †	0.12	−0.03	−0.07	0.05
Tone of Faculty Employ. Voice with Principal				–	0.46 ***	0.75 ***	0.40 ***	0.22 *	0.31 *	−0.02	0.31 *	−0.06	0.37 ***	0.47 ***	0.41 ***
Tone of Teacher Policy Voice with Principal					–	0.52 ***	0.20	0.14	0.15	−0.01	−0.03	−0.11	−0.08	0.11	0.26 *
Tone of Faculty Policy Voice with Principal						–	0.34 **	0.12	0.25 †	0.14	0.28 *	0.15	0.02	0.17 †	0.27 **
Tone of Teacher Edu. Voice with Policymkrs.							–	0.17	0.59 ***	0.22	0.76 ***	0.08	0.13	0.26 *	0.25 †
Tone of Faculty Edu. Voice with Policymkrs.								–	0.17	0.67 ***	0.19	0.56 ***	−0.13	−0.04	0.03
Tone of Teacher Employ. Voice with Policymkrs.									–	0.39 **	0.81 ***	0.40 **	−0.16	0.03	0.29 †
Tone of Faculty Employ. Voice with Policymkrs.										–	0.27 *	0.92 ***	−0.31 **	−0.28 **	−0.05
Tone of Teacher Policy Voice with Policymkrs.											–	0.23 †	−0.08	0.06	0.17
Tone of Faculty Policy Voice with Policymkrs.												–	−0.33 **	−0.33 **	−0.12
Tone of Teacher Edu. Voice with Other Teachers													–	0.54 ***	0.35 ***
Tone of Teacher Employ. Voice with Other Teachers														–	0.75 ***
Tone of Teacher Policy Voice with Other Teachers															–

† p<.10
* p<.05
** p<.01
*** p<.001

Despite these strong figures on the *quality* of discussions, it bears reiterating just how low

teachers report the *quantity* of their interaction with supervisors and policymakers. In

rating the quality of their interactions, respondents were given a "did not discuss" option

if none occurred. Roughly 50 percent of respondents indicated that they had no

individual discussions with policymakers on educational, employment, or policy issues.

About 25 percent said that as a *school faculty* they had no interaction with policymakers,

despite interaction being broadly defined as anything from attending a meeting to phone

calls, emails, letters, or attendance at a public event or rally. In regard to interactions

with principals, about 10 percent reported they *did not discuss* the three issue areas as a

faculty or individually. Consistent with my earlier findings on the quantity of teacher

voice, these data corroborate my finding that that that across all three issues domains,

teacher voice, with policymakers in particular, is infrequent. Although this might be

expected to a point, given the practical limitations on voice with policymakers as

compared to voice opportunities that emerge from regular contact with peers and

supervisors, the fact that a quarter to a half of teachers report *no* interaction is a

noticeable silence. Although an answer lies outside of these data, this result begs the

question of just who *is* talking to policymakers, and to whom policymakers are listening.

If the answer remains teachers' representatives, namely their unions, it bears

investigating why teachers perceive such a lack of representation.

Voice and Implementation: Does any of all this talk make a difference? Across the three

issue areas, and in discussions with different audiences, teachers were asked to what

extent the ideas raised in discussions were "actually implemented or addressed."

Response options were "never" (1), "rarely" (2), "sometimes" (3), and "often" (4).

Teachers indicated that discussions among teachers led to educational and employment

issues being addressed more often than as a result of other interactions, as depicted in

Chart 9.[25]

Chart 9. Voice and Implementation

	Teacher to Teacher
	Teacher to Principal
	Teacher to Policymaker
	Faculty to Principal
	Faculty to Policymaker

Educational: 3.22, 2.73, 2.31, 2.90, 2.51

Employment: 2.79, 2.47, 2.33, 2.75, 2.51
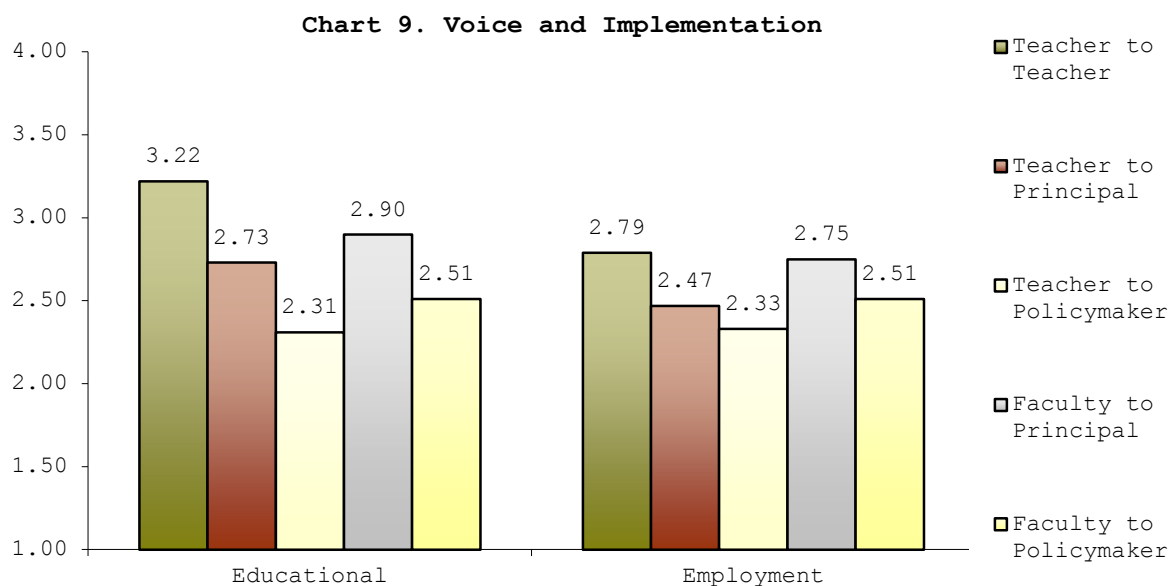
Collective interactions, between a school faculty and its principal or with policymakers

led to action more often than individual discussions, but scores only ranged between

"sometimes" and "rarely." Overall, there was more action on educational issues than

employment.

Table 7 below presents the correlations between the various implementation measures.

The fact that so many of the measures have moderate to strong correlations and that the

relationships are significant suggests that my survey items may have been measuring the

same things. On a practical matter, it may have been difficult for respondents to

distinguish differences in implementation as a result of one interaction over another.

As with the questions about the tone of interactions, respondents were again given a "did not discuss" option if none occurred and thereby preempting any potential follow-up and implementation. Thirteen and 25 percent of teachers indicated that they did not discuss educational or employment issues, respectively, on an individual basis with their principals; 12 and 16 percent, respectively, said they did not do so as a faculty. Given that the majority of my respondents work in unionized schools governed by the terms of a collective bargaining agreement, it is possible that employment matters are put to rest through the collective bargaining process. This may explain why a quarter of teachers did not discuss such employment and economic issues directly with their supervisor. It is harder to explain why more than a tenth of all teachers did not discuss educational matters with their principals. If nothing else, such discussions should be a constant with all employees and supervisors, as education is the central mission of schools. Once again, this is a noticeable silence.

On average, 30 percent of respondents also indicated that they did not discuss educational or employment matters collectively thorough the representative bodies with policymakers, rising to 45 percent of teachers who did not individually discuss educational matters with policymakers and 50 percent who did not discuss employment matters with policymakers. It is possible that these rates are perfectly consistent with—or even higher than rates of voice with policymakers in other occupations and other political arenas. The notion of "marginal actors," as developed in the economic literature, argues that a minority of influential actors—or voices—can have a disproportionate and possibly representative

influence on decision making processes.[26] It may be the case that the teachers who *are* discussing employment and educational matters with policymakers are sufficiently influential and representative to make other teachers' voice heard. This possibility notwithstanding, a large number of teachers do not report direct or representative dealings with those who make decisions about their work. Either such conversations are not happening, or teachers are ignorant of them.

Table 7: Correlations of Individual and Collective Measures of Implementation By Issue and Audience (n=119)

	Implementation following Teacher to Teacher Edu. Voice	Implementation following Teacher to Principal Edu. Voice	Implementation following Teacher to Policymkrs. Edu. Voice	Implementation following Faculty to Principal Edu. Voice	Implementation following Faculty to Policymkrs. Edu. Voice	Implementation following Teacher to Teacher Employ. Voice	Implementation following Teacher to Principal Employ. Voice	Implementation following Teacher to Policymkrs. Employ. Voice	Implementation following Faculty to Principal Employ. Voice	Implementation following Faculty to Policymkrs. Employ. Voice
Implementation following Teacher to Teacher Edu. Voice	–	0.370 ***	0.31 *	0.28 **	0.29 **	0.67 ***	0.38 ***	0.40 **	0.06	0.20 †
Implementation following Teacher to Principal Edu. Voice		–	0.62 ***	0.58 ***	0.60 ***	0.31 **	0.54 ***	0.67 ***	0.43 ***	0.31 **
Implementation following Teacher to Policymkrs. Edu. Voice			–	0.40 **	0.56 ***	0.37 **	0.27 *	0.77 ***	0.26 *	0.42 **
Implementation following Faculty to Principal Edu. Voice				–	0.31 **	0.25 **	0.11	0.26 *	0.58 ***	0.15
Implementation following Faculty to Policymkrs. Edu. Voice					–	0.44 ***	0.23 †	0.42 **	0.32 **	0.62 ***
Implementation following Teacher to Teacher Employ. Voice						–	0.23 *	0.59 ***	0.22 *	0.31 **
Implementation following Teacher to Principal Employ. Voice							–	0.49 ***	0.13	0.34 **
Implementation following Teacher to Policymkrs. Employ. Voice								–	0.37 **	0.46 **
Implementation following Faculty to Principal Employ. Voice									–	0.39 ***
Implementation following Faculty to Policymkrs. Employ. Voice										–

†p<.10
*p<.05
**p<.01
***p<.001

Voice by Teacher Characteristics: Thus far, my analysis compares different forms of teacher voice. But how might the expression of voice across my three issue domains differ among groups of teachers? This next section analyzes voice by teacher characteristic to answer the question, using the *All Educational Voice, All Employment Voice, and All Policy Voice* measures. As described above, these three variables are composite, continuous measures calculated as the average of the fifteen survey items that asked about teachers' level of individual and collective voice on educational, employment, and policy issues, respectively, across all interactions with their colleagues, supervisors, and policymakers. Also, for the following analyses I standardized the three measures in order to determine the effect size of voice level differences between groups. Results are summarized in the Table 8 and 9 below.

Table 8: Voice by Teacher Characteristic

	All Educational Voice[1]	All Employment Voice	All Policy Voice
Gender:[a]			
Male (n=29)			
Mean	-0.093	-0.065	0.114
SD	*(1.360)*	*(1.032)*	*(1.321)*
Female (n=90)			
Mean	0.027	0.019	-0.033
SD	*(0.878)*	*(0.996)*	*(0.894)*
Race/Ethnicity:[2b]			
Hispanic (n=12)			
Mean	0.510	0.150	-0.128
SD	*(0.753)*	*(1.115)*	*(1.266)*
White/Non-Hispanic (n=67)			
Mean	-0.171	-0.070	-0.023
SD	*(1.077)*	*(0.947)*	*(0.957)*
African American/Black (n=20)			
Mean	0.398	0.349	.0549
SD	*(0.782)*	*(1.029)*	*(0.731)*
Asian (n=12)			
Mean	-0.042	-0.127	-0.606 [*]
SD	*(0.886)*	*(1.160)*	*(1.027)*
Other (n=7)			
Mean	-0.319	-0.388	-0.057
SD	*(0.881)*	*(0.834)*	*(1.008)*
Years of Experience:[3b]			
One to Five Years (n=30)			
Mean	-0.202 [†]	0.099	-0.313
SD	*(0.999)*	*(0.993)*	*(0.822)*
Six to Ten Years (n=32)			
Mean	0.026	-0.263	0.151
SD	*(1.019)*	*(0.874)*	*(1.067)*
Eleven to Seventeen Years (n=26)			
Mean	-0.319 [*]	-0.150	-0.178
SD	*(0.955)*	*(1.164)*	*(0.985)*
Eighteen to Thirty-nine Years (n=31)			
Mean	0.443	0.308	0.298
SD	*(0.896)*	*(0.925)*	*(1.026)*

Table 8: Voice by Teacher Characteristic (Continued)

	All Educational Voice[1]	All Employment Voice	All Policy Voice
Teacher Leaders[4a]			
Holds Leadership Position (n=47)			
Mean	0.178	0.037	0.320 **
SD	*(1.022)*	*(0.960)*	*(1.096)*
Other Teachers (n=72)			
Mean	-0.117	-0.025	-0.211
SD	*(0.974)*	*(1.031)*	*(0.877)*
Teacher Turnover[5a]			
Teachers Likely to Stay (n=72)			
Mean	0.246 ***	0.183 *	0.018
SD	*(0.955)*	*(1.014)*	*(0.989)*
Teachers Likely to Leave (n=47)			
Mean	-0.372	-0.277	-0.025
SD	*(0.961)*	*(0.922)*	*(1.026)*

[†]$p<.10$, indicated on the highest value
*$p<.05$, indicated on the highest value
**$p<.01$, indicated on the highest value
***$p<.001$, indicated on the highest value

[a]T-test

[b]Anova

[1]Educational, Employment and Policy Voice are standardized, composite variables of indicators of teacher voice, both individual and collective, on each of the three voice dimension(i.e. all indicators of educational or employment or policy voice with all audiences, both collective and individual).

[2]For post hoc significance testing, all five race categories were compared to each other; Only the mean difference between African American/Black and Asian was significant.

[3]Teachers' Years of Experience were converted into a four-level categorical variable separating the sample into quartiles. For significance testing, the experience categories are compared to the Eighteen to Thirty-Nine Years category.

[4]Teacher Leaders is a dummy-coded variable (1=teachers who indicated they old official leadership positions, 0=other teachers).

[5]Teacher Turnover is a dummy-coded variable (1=teachers who are likely to seek new employment in the next five years, 0=teachers who are likely to remain at their current school). Respondents indicated the likelihood of still being at their current school in five years on a scale of 1 to 100 percent. The new variable was separated at the sample mean of 61 percent.

Men and women are just as likely to express their views on educational, employment, and policy issues (or just as *unlikely*, given the overall low levels of voice as noted above), as I found no meaningful difference in their average level of voice (p >.10). The failure to identify a difference is notable given the role that gender played in the emergence of teacher voice. As we saw in the historical analysis, social mores constrained women's political activity—and voice—for much of the eighteenth and nineteenth century. In the 1940s and 50s, the increasing number of men in teaching is credited with the growth of teacher unionism and the vocal fights to win collective bargaining rights. This history would predict that men would be more vocal, which I do not find. The absence of any difference between the sexes is likely a reflection of the more equal standing that women have achieved in the field of education.

As race and ethnicity do not animate current education debates to the extent that they did in the 1960s and 70s, I would not expect to see different levels of voice on this measure. Although I do find an overall relationship between my race/ethnicity categorical measure and overall rates of educational voice (p < .10), post hoc tests find no significant differences between the subgroups. I also find no significant relationships overall or among subgroups on matters of employment. The exception is in regard to policy voice, were an overall relationship does exist (p < .05). Between subgroups, post hoc tests reveal a significant difference between the high rates of policy voice as expressed by African American teachers as compared to Asian educators (ES = 1.15, p < .05). As the voice of African American educators is also higher than most other groups, it is possible that these other differences would be significant with a larger sample. Given the current

absence of overt race-based politics, it is unclear as to why African American educators would be more vocal than others. One possible explanation is the prevalence of school reform activity in African American neighborhoods in Harlem and Brooklyn, where many black teachers work, prompting a higher level of political engagement and policy voice.

I find an overall and significant relationship between teachers' years of experience on all three voice measures ($p < .10$), although differences in voice rates by quartile of experience are more difficult to interpret. In the post hoc tests, the only differences to achieve statistical significance are between veteran teachers with eighteen to thirty-nine years of experience and novice teachers with fewer than five years of experience on educational issues (ES = .65, $p < .10$) and between these veteran teachers and their colleagues with eleven to seventeen years of experience (ES = .76, $p < .05$). This is consistent with what we might expect in other occupations, where new workers are still learning their craft and less likely to speak up whereas more senior colleagues, established in their practice and with a higher level of job security, are comfortable voicing their opinions on educational matters. Moreover, as veteran teachers have the most experience, institutional memory, and—in theory—expertise, their point of view could be important in driving school improvement.

This finding is also consistent with Hirschman's predictions: young teachers may be judging the likely impact and benefit of voice as compared to exit and decide that voice is less likely to be effective. By comparison, senior teachers who have made education

their life-long career have little to no practical ability to exit (particularly if they are vested in a districts' retirement plan or would lose seniority benefits if they transferred to a different school) and for whom voice is the only mechanism to improve their circumstances. Interestingly, teachers with eleven to seventeen years of experience register lower voice levels across all three domains than most of their other colleagues. The non-linearity of this pattern is not easily interpreted. As these teachers have likely made education their career, exit is unlikely. It is possible, consistent with Hirschman, that they are working in an apathetic silence, letting younger and older colleagues speak up on the issues affecting their work, but such an interpretation would require further evidence to substantiate.

Related to the issue of years of experience, about 40 percent of the teachers in my sample described themselves as having some kind of official leadership responsibilities in their school. Examples, provided in the questionnaire, included serving on a school leadership or inquiry team or as a union chapter leader. One would expect these teachers to report higher levels of voice as compared to their colleagues who do not describe themselves as official teacher leaders. Yet surprisingly, my data suggest no difference, on average, between these two groups on educational and employment issues (p > .05). This may indicate that all teachers have formal *and* informal opportunities to express their views in official and unofficial capacities. Alternately, the overall low levels of voice could suggest that even teachers in leadership roles are somewhat disenfranchised from the issues and decisions affecting their work. That said, teacher leaders report a moderately higher level of voice on matters of policy than their colleagues (ES = .53, p < .01).[27]

What is the relationship between voice and teacher turnover, or "exit"? As predicted by Hirschman's theory, teachers who are more likely to leave their current school in the next five years are also much less likely to express their views on matters of education and employment (ES = -.62, p < .01 and ES = -.46, p < .05, respectively), although there is no discernible difference on matters of policy, perhaps because so many teachers reported that they did not discuss policy issues at all. It is interesting to note that the teachers who intend to seek work elsewhere are not those who have recently exited or plan to at the end of the current school year. Rather, these teachers were asked if they plan to seek work elsewhere *sometime in the next five years.* As a result, years may go by during which these teachers refrain from contributing their point of view on work-related issues to the detriment of a school which might otherwise benefit from their ideas and the voice—rather than the exit—response.

As the study of teacher turnover rarely explores the relationship between voice and exit, these findings are intriguing, but the direction of causality is still unclear. These data do not indicate if teachers are more likely to exercise voice because they cannot or will not exercise their "exit" options (e.g. they are unemployable elsewhere or due to bad a job market), meaning that voice is their only mechanism to impact their working conditions. Alternately, higher rates of voice, and workplace circumstances that promote such voice, may be the reason why about 60 percent of the teachers in my study have no intention to leave their school. Regardless, the negative impact of high rates of unwanted teacher turnover is well-documented, and the benefit of actively-engaged teachers—with a voice in their work—is plausible. As my findings make clear, voice and exit are related.

Teachers inclined to exit speak up less. It is not clear from these data whether policies and managerial approaches that encourage teacher voice could result in lower unwanted teacher turnover, particularly among talented teachers who feel as if they have other options. That said, if these "exiters" are more quality conscious, as Hirschman theorizes, promoting higher rates of voice from this particular subgroup could spur school improvement efforts, even if it does not change their ultimate decision to leave their school in the near future.

Table 9 presents correlations between my three overall voice measures and additional teacher characteristics, and the results are striking. Consistent with my earlier findings concerning teachers' years of experience, there appears to be a positive but weak relationship between age and education-related voice ($r = .27$, $p < .01$), although no relationship between age and employment or policy-related voice ($p > .10$). Given how closely age and experience are related to teacher compensation (since many schools follow an experience-based salary schedule), it is not surprising that I was unable to detect a relationship between pay and two of my three voice domains. Only a weak, positive correlation exists on matters of policy ($r = .19$, $p < .05$), supplying a small amount of evidence that more senior—and better paid—teachers are active in policy debates, conducted through political activity, and largely outside of the day-to-day issues affecting their school.

Table 9: Correlations of Voice and Teacher Characteristics

	All Educational Voice[1]	All Employment Voice	All Policy Voice
Age	0.27 **	0.060	0.10
Compensation	0.10	0.09	0.19 *
Teacher Loyalty[2]	0.48 ***	0.26 **	0.14
Teacher Workplace Satisfaction[3]	0.40 ***	0.18 †	0.25 **
Teacher Economic Satisfaction[4]	0.39 ***	0.43 ***	0.40 ***
Voice Impact[5]	0.65 ***	0.56 ***	0.37 ***

† p<.10, indicated on the highest value
*p<.05, indicated on the highest value
**p<.01, indicated on the highest value
***p<.001, indicated on the highest value

[1] This analysis uses the same standardized and composite voice measures as presented in the previous table.

[2] Teacher Loyalty is a continuous standardized factor (α=.74) that measures teachers' loyalty to their students, colleagues, principal and their school's mission and approach.

[3] Teacher Workplace Satisfaction is a continuous standardized factor (α=.56) that measures teachers' satisfaction with their overall workload including non-classroom duties, the level of administrator support they receive, and the quality of parent involvement.

[4] Teacher Economic Satisfaction is a continuous standardized factor (α=.68) that measures teachers' satisfaction with their compensation, fringe benefits, and level of job security.

[5] Voice Impact is a continuous composite variable of measures which indicate the degree to which issues raised by teachers and faculties are actually implemented or addressed.

Teachers' sense of loyalty to their students, colleagues, principal and school mission has a moderately strong and positive relationship to their exercise of voice on educational and employment matters ($r = .48$, $p < .001$ and $r = .26$, $p < .01$, respectively). This may indicate that the deeper teachers' sense of loyalty to their work, the more likely they are to voice their point of view, although the opposite could just as easily be true: speaking up and having an impact may deepen one's sense of loyalty. Regardless, the finding

brings some clarity to Hirschman's competing predictions about the impact of loyalty on voice. Under some conditions, Hirschman theorized that loyalty could mute voice, if teachers are working in an obedient silence. We also saw how loyalty *oaths* (not to be confused with *sincere* loyalty) were used in the 1930s, 40s, and 50s, to restrict teacher speech. But under other conditions, Hirschman anticipated that loyalty might reduce the likelihood of exit and leave voice as the only alternative for a person to improve his or her circumstances and for organizational improvement. My findings of a positive relationship between loyalty and educational voice and loyalty and employment voice indicate that the measures increase together. Among the teachers in my study, loyalty is not at all silent.

All this said, why might voice on policy matters not be related to teachers' sense of loyalty? It is possible that loyalty is steeped in the immediacy of daily working life and engendered by school-day relationships and interactions. By comparison, matters of policy, defined as those district, state, and federal actions outside of the school, may be too distant to affect one's particular sense of loyalty to school, students, and colleagues.

Teachers' workplace and economic satisfaction both have a small to moderate relationship with the expression of educational, employment, and policy voice. Workplace satisfaction, which covers aspects of teachers' overall workload including non-classroom duties, the level of administrator support received, and the quality of parent involvement, is most strongly related to the expression of voice on educational issues ($r = .40$, $p < .001$). Satisfaction with economic considerations, such as

compensation, fringe benefits, and level of job security, is significantly related to all three

voice domains with economic voice the strongest (r = .43, p < .001). It is quite possible

that satisfaction and voice interact with one another, as active engagement leads to a

more satisfying work-life, encouraging more voice. This finding also suggests that voice

(along with exit) is not merely a remedy in the face of organizational decline—as

Hirschman framed his theory. Rather, my findings suggest that teacher voice is related to

having a fulfilling and rewarding job—qualities possible amidst work in struggling

schools but no doubt harder to achieve.

Hirschman also predicted that the decision to exercise voice is made in light of its likely

impact. Teachers in my study seem to be considering this calculus in their own decision

to voice. I find a moderately strong and positive relationship between my three voice

indicators and my *Voice Impact* measure, which indicates the degree to which ideas and

issues raised by teachers are actually implemented or addressed. The correlation is

strongest between impact and educational voice (r = .65, p < .001). It is possible that

these are also self-reinforcing, given that the success of voice in the past promotes its

continued expression in the future.

Voice by School Characteristics: As demonstrated in my historical analysis and my

interpretation of other research including the literature on turnover, the context in which

teachers work impacts their ability and desire to give voice to their ideas and concerns.

My data point to the same conclusion, as there is good reason to believe that school

characteristics impact levels of teacher voice. Attributes such as school and faculty size,

availability of resources, student behavior, unionization, or status as a district or charter school create a context that either promotes or discourages teachers to give voice to educational, employment, or policy matters. My findings in this line of inquiry are presented in Tables 10 and 11 below. In these and remaining analyses, I use unweighted data in order to have a sufficient number of cases in different categories of interest. Although this sacrifices some generalizability to the population of New York City teachers, it provides insights into different groups of teachers and schools, such as unionized and non-union workplaces.

Table 10. Voice by School Characteristic

	All Educational Voice	All Employment Voice	All Policy Voice
School Type[a]			
District (n=78)			
Mean	-0.047	-0.014	0.127 [†]
SD	*(.999)*	*(.955)*	*(0.980)*
Charter (n=41)			
Mean	0.090	0.027	-0.241
SD	*(1.007)*	*(1.093)*	*(1.005)*
Focus District[a]			
In a Focus District (n=60)			
Mean	-0.098	-0.255	-0.139
SD	*(0.999)*	*(0.895)*	*(0.958)*
Not in a Focus District (n=59)			
Mean	0.099	0.259 [**]	0.141
SD	*(1.000)*	*(1.041)*	*(1.030)*
School Level[b]			
Elementary (n=48)			
Mean	0.264	0.194	0.126
SD	*(0.860)*	*(1.034)*	*(0.947)*
K-8 (n=24)			
Mean	-0.118	0.013	-0.004
SD	*(1.032)*	*(1.013)*	*(0.918)*
Middle (n=20)			
Mean	-0.227	-0.296	-0.156
SD	*(1.307)*	*(0.974)*	*(1.101)*
High (n=27)			
Mean	-0.196	-0.137	-0.105
SD	*(.889)*	*(0.921)*	*(1.108)*

[†]$p<.10$, indicated on the highest value
[**]$p<.01$, indicated on the highest value

[a]T-test
[b]Anova; post hoc tests found no significant difference among the four school levels.

My findings suggest that no significant differences exist in levels of voice between teachers working at district and charter public schools on educational or employment issues. This finding may come as a surprise and disappointment to educators and advocates on both sides of the charter debate. Charter advocates point to each school's

autonomy as a mechanism for school-based decision-making and more personalized interactions among staff and school leaders. This would predict higher rates of voice than reported by teachers working in district public schools, which are assumed to be more rule- and bureaucracy-bound. But such does not appear to be the case. On the other side of the coin, union leaders argue that teacher unions offer a vehicle for teacher voice—in all of its forms. Given that most charter schools are non-union, this line of thinking predicts that charter teachers would report lower levels of voice. But this also does not appear to be the case on matters of education and employment.

The one exception is in regard to policy voice, in which district teachers report more voice on these matters than their charter teacher colleagues (ES = .37, p < .10). As additional analyses will show, unionization also has a meaningful relationship to the expression of policy voice; this could help to explain why charter teachers, typically working in non-union schools, report lower rates. But this does not explain the whole story, given how broadly my survey defined "policymakers," the various ways to engage them, and how respondents from both district and charter schools were encouraged to conceive of policy voice in their particular context. The policy issues themselves were defined as federal, state, and district issues affecting one's school, applied to both kinds of schools, and aimed to prompt consideration of debates and issues inside and outside of the schoolhouse walls. For these reasons, it is reasonable to expect that charter teachers would have just as much to say to the policymakers in an outside of their schools. Yet my results clearly indicate that charter teachers are less active than their district peers in

larger policy debates and the political activity through which these issues are engaged and resolved.

I also investigated differences in teacher voice between schools within and outside of neighborhoods with a large number of charter schools, called the "focus districts." The value of this exercise is to control for neighborhood effects that apply equally to charter and district schools within a focus district. Although teachers outside of the focus districts report, on average, higher levels of voice across all three voice domains, only their discussion of employment issues is significantly higher (ES = .51, p < .01). This finding contradicts, to some extent, Hirschman's prediction about voice as a way to arrest and respond to organizational decline. In general, focus district schools are poorer and have lower achievement than schools in other districts across the city. They operate in challenging conditions—the very circumstances that the expression of voice can possibly address. Yet it may be the case, as my data indicate, that the conditions are prohibitive to teacher employment voice. Under such circumstances, teachers may be using exit rather than voice to improve their work lives.

School level appears to have little relationship to teacher voice. Teachers in schools with elementary grades report, on average, higher levels of educational, employment, and policy voice, but the differences from their colleagues in other schools is not significant. This may be a result of the small number of cases in each category. If so, it is possible that elementary schools, which are not departmentalized, offer more opportunities for teacher to teacher and teacher to supervisor voice. The lower levels of voice in middle

schools is also consistent with the perception that these schools are challenging places in which to work and that the less-than-ideal conditions undermine the context for teacher voice.

Table 11: Correlations of Voice and School Characteristics (n=119)

	All Educational Voice	All Employment Voice	All Policy Voice
School Size	-0.02	0.05	0.22 [*]
Number of Teachers	0.00	0.08	0.19 [*]
Number of Staff to Administrators	-0.13	-0.01	0.06

*p<.05

In a disappointment to small school advocates, who maintain that such schools allow for a more personalized learning environment and collaboration among educators, my data suggest that no relationship exists between school size, as defined by student enrollment, and educational and employment voice. If such a relationship were detectable in my sample, I would find negative correlations indicating that as schools grow larger, voice levels decrease. This finding needs to be interpreted with some caution though; as my sample does not include groups of teachers from single schools, but rather about one teacher from a school, it is quite possible that the respondent's views on individual and faculty voice are not, in fact, indicative of a *school's* average voice levels. Despite this caveat, policy voice has a positive and moderate relationship to school size (r = .22, p. < .05). It may be the case that larger schools adopt more formal structures and mechanisms for voice or that teachers there may be more politically active.

Such an interpretation also helps to explain the relationship between the total number of teachers at a school and policy voice (r = .19, p. < .001). With more teachers, it may be possible for teachers to share their responsibilities, and as a consequence have more disposable time for voice-related activities. Larger faculties may specialize in their tasks, with some teachers, like those designated the teacher leaders, assigned and expected to express their voice on matters of policy. The fact that larger schools are also over-represented in my sample, as compared to the citywide average school size, supports this interpretation. What is somewhat surprising is the lack of any relationship between the number of staff to administrators and my voice measures. I would anticipate a negative correlation, given that the larger the ratio (meaning the fewer administrators available to any one teacher), the fewer practical opportunities for teachers to discuss issues with their supervisors (and vice versa). This does not appear to be the case.

Voice by Union Characteristics: As demonstrated in my historical analysis, teacher unions have played a central role in giving collective voice to teachers' concerns, particularly in regard to employment and economic issues and, after the advent of collective bargaining, on matters of education and policy. This next section investigates the relationship between unionization and union-related issues on teacher voice, with some surprising results, as summarized in Tables 12.

Table 12. Voice by Union Characteristics

	All Educational Voice	All Employment Voice	All Policy Voice
Unionization[a]			
Unionized (n=90)			
Mean	-0.044	-0.008	0.119 *
SD	(0.982)	(0.960)	(0.943)
Non-Union (n=29)			
Mean	0.139	0.025	-0.369
SD	(1.061)	(1.133)	(1.095)
Job Protection[a]			
More Due Process (n=60)			
Mean	0.202 *	0.104	0.264
SD	(1.092)	(1.096)	(0.987)
Less Due Process (n=54)			
Mean	-0.157	-0.116	-0.258
SD	(0.839)	(0.853)	(0.941)
Union Effectiveness[b]			
Effective (n=23)			
Mean	0.358 †	0.434 **	0.590 **
SD	(0.765)	(0.883)	(0.754)
Somewhat Effective (n=46)			
Mean	-0.145	-0.038	0.062
SD	(0.996)	(0.947)	(.977)
Ineffective (n=21)			
Mean	-0.265	-0.428	-0.273
SD	(1.073)	(0.902)	(.873)

†p<.10, indicated on the highest value
*p<.05, indicated on the highest value
**p<.01, indicated on the highest value

[a]T-test
[b]Anova; for post hoc significance testing, all three categories were compared to each other. Differences between Effective and Ineffective measures were significant.

The inclusion of non-union public charter schools in my sample offers a useful point of comparison to unionized district schools and to test assertions about unions' role in giving teachers a voice. Yet my data suggest that teachers working in unionized workplaces do not express their point of view on school-related educational and

employment matters any more frequently than their non-union colleagues. Only differences in policy voice are significant, with unionized teachers reporting much higher rates (ES = .49, p < .05). As policy issues are often decided through political action, this finding suggests that unions are more effective in mobilizing teachers and giving voice to their concerns than charter schools with non-union teachers.

Due process protections are advocated by teacher unions for many reasons. For example, teacher tenure, which affords a high level of due process, was sought by both unions and administrative progressives in the early 1900s as a check against patronage-based hirings and firings. Other forms of due process serve as a check against arbitrary and capricious management. The need to protect speech and free association became urgent during the Red Scare. A more pedestrian, but perhaps equally important, concern stems from the fact that "speaking up" in *any* employment situation comes with potential consequences, good and bad. Some managers may welcome their employees' ideas while others may not; in the worst of cases, employees may fear management retaliation for giving voice to their concerns and a dissenting point of view. Due process protections serve as a check against the worst abuses and, as such, should create a context that is conducive to voice.

Rather than assume that working in a unionized school equates to having due process protections, respondents were directly asked the degree to which they have due process protections prior to a potential termination. Those teachers that enjoy a stronger degree of due process also reported higher rates of educational voice as compared to their colleagues who do not have as much job protection (ES = 36, p < .01). Notably, the

difference in voice levels is only significant on matters of educational voice. This may

occur due to the fact that many employment issues are discussed at the collective

bargaining table (for unionized teachers) and that policy issues are discussed outside of

the schoolhouse walls in political forums. But educational issues of pedagogy and

curriculum, student learning, professional needs, and job effectiveness are central to the

concerns of teachers and their supervisors. They can also be sensitive topics, such as

when a teacher has a different point of view from their supervisors on the best

educational approach or when a teacher's performance leaves something to be desired.

When teachers have due process protections, it appears as if these educational discussions

occur more frequently.

Being a member of a union, paying dues, and having one's interests represented by a

chapter leader, at the bargaining table, and in the corridors of power are all different from

one's satisfaction with this representation. To differentiate from mere membership,

union-member teachers were asked to rate their union's effectiveness. The quarter of all

respondents who rated their union as effective also reported notably higher rates of voice

across all three issue domains as compared to their colleagues who rate their union as

ineffective (with effect sizes ranging from .62 to .86, $p < .10$ or smaller). Notably, the

effect is strongest in regard to matters of employment and policy, further substantiating

the notion that when unions are effective, it is in political forms of speech and, consistent

with my historical analysis, in advocating for employment and economic concerns.

So far, these descriptive analyses have made use of my three *All Educational, All Employment, and All Policy Voice* measures, which aggregate both individual *and* collective voice with colleagues, principals, and policymakers. But it is possible that the influence of unions becomes more pronounced in the area of *collective* voice though representative committees, union chapters, and the like. For this reason, I retested the relationship between teacher unionization, job protection, and union satisfaction with my three measures of *collective* educational, employment, and policy voice. The results are presented in Table 13, below.

Table 13: Collective Voice by Union Characteristics

	Collective Educational Voice	Collective Employment Voice	Collective Policy Voice
Unionization[a]			
Unionized (n=89)			
Mean	0.007	0.027	0.121
SD	(0.992)	(0.981)	(0.964)
Non-Union (n=28)			
Mean	-0.023	-0.084	-0.385
SD	(1.045)	(1.073)	(1.033)
Job Protection[a]			
More Due Process (n=59)			
Mean	0.156	0.064	0.236 **
SD	(1.055)	(0.970)	(.913)
Less Due Process (n=53)			
Mean	-0.128	-0.088	-0.231
SD	(0.930)	(1.016)	(1.030)
Union Effectiveness[b]			
Effective (n=23)			
Mean	0.474 *	0.350	0.555 *
SD	(0.750)	(0.846)	(0.729)
Somewhat Effective (n=45)			
Mean	-0.063	-0.001	0.088
SD	(1.040)	(.992)	(0.984)
Ineffective (n=21)			
Mean	-0.354	-0.269	-0.282
SD	(0.964)	(1.032)	(0.991)

*p<.05

[a]T-test

[b]Anova; for post hoc significance testing, all three categories were compared to each other. Differences between Effective and Ineffective measures were significant.

Whereas unionization was associated with higher rates of *all* policy voice, the difference in *collective* policy voice between union and non-union teachers fails to be significant. This is somewhat surprising, given that matters of policy are often addressed through collective political action, at which unions excel. But again, the union/non-union distinction may be less important that the actual benefits that the union provides. For

example, we see that teachers with stronger due process protections also have higher rates of collective policy voice than their colleagues who have fewer protections (ES = .47, p < .01). More effective unions are also associated with substantially higher rates of collective educational voice and policy voice (ES = .83 and .84, respectively, p < .10).

Voice by School-Level Student Characteristics and Working Conditions: Looking at student characteristics and working conditions gives us some additional insight on the relationship between context and voice, as the next set of results indicate.

Table 14: Correlations of Voice and Student Characteristics (n=119)

	All Educational Voice	All Employment Voice	All Policy Voice
Attendance %	0.13	0.13	0.02
Suspension %	-0.21 *	-0.18 *	-0.15 †
Poverty %	-0.12	-0.12	-0.14
Stability %	-0.03	0.01	0.01
English Language Learners %	-0.08	-0.03	0.03
Race/Ethnicity:			
American Indian %	0.01	-0.02	-0.02
African American %	-0.04	-0.13	-0.12
Hispanic %	0.06	0.07	0.01
Asian %	-0.05	0.06	0.16 †
White %	0.07	0.14	0.21 *
Multi-Racial %	-0.02	-0.02	-0.17 †

†p<.10
*p<.05

As Table 14 presents (and returning to my *all*, rather than *collective*, voice measures), there appears to be no relationship between levels of educational, employment, and policy and the rate of student attendance, poverty, and stability. But the higher the rate of

student suspensions, the lower the rate of voice across all three issues (r = -.21, -.18, and -.15, respectively, p < .10 or smaller). Such suspensions are indicative of challenging schools and workplaces. It is possible that teacher voice is lower in these circumstances if teachers are working, perhaps in isolation, to manage through tough circumstances where student behavior is poor. Yet this is an example of the kind of challenging conditions that are indicative of the "organizational decline" that Hirschman theorized voice can address. It may be the case that teachers are choosing exit over voice, particularly if they feel as if such conditions cannot be meaningfully addressed through voice actions; this would certainly comport with the literature on teacher turnover and student socio-economic status. If teachers are sorting by race and exiting to schools with more white students, as other research suggests, my finding of a positive relationship between policy voice and the percent of students who are white (r = .19, p. < .05) may also indicate that teachers in such schools plan to stay there and, as a result, prefer voice to exit.

The relationship between voice and measures of working conditions are presented in Table 15. On first blush, it may not be surprising to find that educational, employment, and policy voice are all higher in better functioning workplaces. When teachers have necessary supplies and materials, their rate of educational voice is substantially higher than teachers who do not (ES = 1.31, p < .01); the same is true for employment voice (ES = .94, p < .10) and policy voice (ES = .96, p. < .05). Teachers who feel as their work is being evaluated fairly also register higher rates of voice across all three issue areas than their colleagues who feel evaluation is somewhat not fair (ES = 1.31, .92, and .74,

respectively, p < .05 or smaller). And those teachers who work for principals who do not

express a "take it or leave it attitude" and who likely welcome teacher input, report

dramatically higher rates of educational voice than teachers who work under management

with such an attitude (ES = 1.11, p < .001).

Table 15. Voice by Working Conditions

	All Educational Voice	All Employment Voice	All Policy Voice
Textbooks, Supplies and Materials[b]			
Does Not Have Necessary Supplies (n=10)			
Mean	-0.955	-0.823	-0.839
SD	(0.827)	(0.682)	(0.836)
Somewhat Does Not Have Necessary Supplies (n=20)			
Mean	-0.283	0.099	0.153 [†]
SD	(0.798)	(0.985)	(0.913)
Somewhat Has Necessary Supplies(n=48)			
Mean	0.004 [*]	0.165	-0.018
SD	(1.043)	(0.980)	(0.956)
Has Necessary Supplies(n=40)			
Mean	0.359 [**]	0.114 [†]	0.156 [*]
SD	(0.910)	(1.036)	(1.067)
Performance Evaluation[b]			
Evaluation is Not Fair (n=16)			
Mean	-0.484 [**]	-0.364	-0.441
SD	(1.001)	(0.895)	(1.099)
Evaluation is Somewhat Not Fair (n=20)			
Mean	-0.758 [***]	-0.646 [**]	-0.476 [*]
SD	(0.719)	(0.672)	(0.870)
Evaluation is Somewhat Fair (n=38)			
Mean	-0.054 [*]	0.153	0.130
SD	(0.877)	(0.821)	(0.879)
Evaluation is Fair (n=44)			
Mean	0.551	0.274	0.266
SD	(0.909)	(1.152)	(1.029)
Management Attitude[b]			
Does Not Have "Take It or Leave it" Attitude (n=32)			
Mean	0.578	0.287	0.247
SD	(0.939)	(1.070)	(1.136)
Somewhat Does Not Have "TIoLI" Attitude (n=30)			
Mean	0.073	0.001	0.031
SD	(0.954)	(1.003)	(0.918)
Somewhat Has "TIoLI" Attitude (n=31)			
Mean	-0.220 [**]	-0.173	-0.107
SD	(0.765)	(0.874)	(0.985)
Has "Take It or Leave It" Attitude (n=26)			
Mean	-0.533 [***]	-0.148	-0.211
SD	(1.039)	(1.025)	(0.915)

**p<.01

***p<.001

[b]Anova; for post hoc significance testing, Textbook, Supplies and Material categories were all compared to each other. Notation of significant mean differences are when compared to the first category, "Does Not Have Necessary Supplies"; Significance notations for Performance Evaluation levels are in comparison to the fourth category, "Evaluation is Fair"; Within the Management Attitude categories, significance notations are in comparison to the "Does not Have A Take it or Leave It" attitude category.

Looked at together, it becomes clear that the surrounding context of working conditions has a sizable relationship to teachers' rates of voice, although the direction of the relationship is also notable. Voice rates are higher when working conditions are good, as indicated by adequate supplies, fair evaluation, and skilled management. Voice levels are much lower in the tougher conditions. This suggests that voice is under-utilized as a mechanism to improve poor working conditions. Otherwise, voice rates would be higher in schools with poor working conditions, or, at a minimum, the trends would not be non-linear. But based on my evidence, in the face of tough circumstances, teachers don't appear to be speaking up as much.

Multivariate Analysis

To investigate the combined relationships between teacher voice and other variables of interest, I conducted multivariate analyses using ordinary least squares (OLS) linear regressions. These analyses are constructed in a hierarchical framework, across six models, using some of the key measures found in my descriptive analyses to have a meaningful relationship with teacher educational, employment, and policy voice. Table 16 presents the relationships between educational voice and the other variables of interest. Table 17 repeats the analysis, but with employment voice as my dependent variable. Table 18 presents the results examining policy voice.

Across the six models, variables are introduced to capture the contextual, individual, and subjective aspects of teachers' work. Model 1 studies rates of voice in the context of

district versus charter school status. Given that most of the charter schools in my sample are non-union, this also represents a union/non-union distinction. But as my descriptive analyses confirmed, the quality of unionization is likely to be more important than simply being unionized. For that reason, Model 1 also includes measures of due process protections and union effectiveness. These different variables represent an overall institutional context in which teachers work and from which they can express their views.[28] Model 2 introduces characteristics about the teachers themselves, specifically their years of experience and whether or not they hold a leadership position. Model 3 adds measures of working conditions, those indicators of supplies and materials, performance evaluation, and management attitude found to be meaningful in my descriptive analysis above. Such working conditions approximate the school-specific context in which teachers work. Model 4 introduces teachers' subjective reaction to their work, specifically whether or not they are satisfied with their school and workload, their compensation and other economic factors, and the degree to which the think their voice has an impact. Finally Model 5 introduces teachers' sense of loyalty to their school and Model 6 includes the measure of teachers' intention to seek work elsewhere.

By sequencing the models in this way, I can approximate a logic that affects teacher voice by first establishing the kind of school in which a teacher works and the quality of unionization they experience. This is followed by key attributes of the teachers themselves. Particular aspects of working conditions shown to affect teacher voice are then introduced, followed by teachers' personal sense of satisfaction, impact, loyalty, and desire to stay or leave. My results follow, beginning with educational voice in Table 16.

Table 16: The Relationship Between Educational Voice, Exit, and Loyalty (n=119)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Charter[1]	0.272	0.323	0.048	-0.041	-0.086	-0.091
SE	0.241	0.258	0.262	0.237	0.231	0.244
Has Due Process Protections[2]	0.404 †	0.320	0.096	0.110	0.173	0.172
SE	0.229	0.245	0.243	0.219	0.215	0.217
Union Effectiveness:[3]						
Effective	0.589 †	0.448	0.179	0.224	0.323	0.325
SE	0.303	0.320	0.308	0.276	0.272	0.275
Somewhat Effective	0.164	0.129	0.124	0.059	0.038	0.038
SE	0.266	0.27	0.263	0.236	0.230	0.232
Years of Experience:[4]						
Six to Ten Years		-0.079	-0.187	-0.166	-0.117	-0.116
SE		0.282	0.261	0.238	0.233	0.235
Eleven to Seventeen Years		-0.146	-0.142	0.053	-0.006	-0.002
SE		0.321	0.298	0.274	0.267	0.274
Eighteen to Thirty Nine Years		0.365	0.522	0.450	0.385	0.388
SE		0.371	0.371	0.340	0.332	0.337
Leadership Role[5]		0.266	0.220	0.235	0.179	0.175
SE		0.234	0.216	0.195	0.191	0.198
Supplies and Materials:[6]						
Somewhat Does Not Have What's Necessary			0.266	-0.048	-0.031	-0.033
SE			0.441	0.403	0.391	0.395
Somewhat Has What's Necessary			0.548	0.010	0.063	0.061
SE			0.429	0.406	0.395	0.400
Has What's Necessary			0.316	-0.451	-0.388	-0.392
SE			0.491	0.475	0.462	0.468
Performance Evaluation:[7]						
Is Somewhat Not Fair			-0.041	-0.246	-0.207	-0.211
SE			0.403	0.366	0.356	0.362
Is Somewhat Fair			0.234	-0.072	-0.208	-0.208
SE			0.386	0.352	0.348	0.350
Is Fair			0.658 †	-0.017	-0.174	-0.178
SE			0.387	0.378	0.374	0.381
Management Attitude:[8]						
Is Somewhat Not "Take It or Leave It"			-0.334	-0.065	-0.068	-0.069
SE			0.282	0.26	0.253	0.255
Is Somewhat "Take It or Leave It"			-0.567 †	-0.215	-0.215	-0.215
SE			0.292	0.275	0.267	0.270
Is "Take it or Leave It"			-0.809 *	-0.327	-0.272	-0.275
SE			0.340	0.325	0.317	0.321
Workplace Satisfaction[9]				0.293 *	0.232 †	0.234 †
SE				0.121	0.121	0.125
Economic Satisfaction[10]				-0.065	-0.113	-0.113
SE				0.099	0.099	0.099
Voice Impact[11]				0.461 ***	0.443 ***	0.444 ***
SE				0.128	0.124	0.126
Loyalty[12]					0.235 *	0.238 *
SE					0.108	0.115
Likely to Exit[13]						0.017
SE						0.216
Constant	-0.541 †	-0.573 †	-0.553	0.111	0.147	0.146
SE	0.282	0.322	0.599	0.567	0.551	0.556
R^2	0.099 †	0.129	0.373 **	0.522 ***	0.556 ***	0.556 ***
Change in R^2		0.030	0.243 **	0.150 ***	0.034 *	0.000

† $p < .10$; * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Notes for Tables 16, 17, and 18:

[1]Dummy coded measure 1=charter school, 0=district school

[2]Dummy coded measure 1=has stronger due process protections, 0=has weaker protections

[3]Union Effectiveness, originally a three-level categorical measure, was converted into three dummy variables; Effective and Somewhat Effective measures are compared to the Ineffective category.

[4]Years of Experience, originally a four-level categorical measure separating my sample into quartiles, was converted into four dummy variables; all levels compared to the "One to Five Years of Experience" quartile. .

[5]Dummy coded measure 1=has a leadership role at school, 0=does not.

[6]Supplies and materials, originally a four-level categorical measure, was converted into four dummy variables; all levels compared to the "Does Not Have Necessary Supplies and Materials" measure.

[7]Performance Evaluation, originally a four-level categorical measure, was converted into four dummy variables; all levels compared to the "Evaluation is Not Fair" measure.

[8]Management Attitude, originally a four-level categorical measure, was converted into four dummy variables; all levels compared to the "Management Does Not Have a Take It or Leave It" measure.

[9]Workplace Satisfaction is a continuous standardized factor (α=.56) that measures teachers' satisfaction with their overall workload including non-classroom duties, the level of administrator support they receive, and the quality of parent involvement.

[10]Economic Satisfaction is a continuous standardized factor (α=.68) that measures teachers' satisfaction with their compensation, fringe benefits, and level of job security.

[11]Voice Impact is a continuous composite variable of measures which indicate the degree to which issues raised by teachers and faculties are actually implemented or addressed.

[12]Loyalty is a continuous standardized factor (α=.74) that measures teachers' loyalty to their students, colleagues, principal and their school's mission and approach.

[13]Dummy coded measure 1=teachers who are likely to seek new employment in the next five years, 0=teachers who are likely to remain at their current school.

As Model 1 indicates, and consistent with my descriptive findings, differences in the level of educational voice between district and charter school teachers fails to achieve any significance, when controlling for union characteristics. And although teachers with due process protections and who rate their union as effective have higher rates of educational voice than their colleagues without such protections and who consider their union ineffective (ES = .40 and .59, respectively, p < .10), these differences fail to sustain their significance when other measures are introduced into later models.

Despite the meaningful relationship between years of experience and educational voice identified in my bivariate analyses, such experience no longer plays a factor when considered in light of other measures, as presented in Table 2. Nor does, or should we expect, teacher leadership status to affect educational voice, as this was only found above to have an influence on policy voice. (It is included here for consistency across the three analyses.)

In Model 3, I find that some working conditions have a sizable impact on teacher educational voice. Although the availability of supplies and materials is no longer relevant to the voice measures, teacher voice is more than a half of a standard deviation higher in schools where performance evaluation is fair, as compared to those workplaces where it is not (ES = .67, p < 10). Similarly, educational voice is nearly one standard deviation greater in schools where management does not have a "take it or leave it" attitude, as compared to those that do (ES = -.81, p < .05). Interestingly though, these

relationships cease to be significant when more subjective measures of teacher satisfaction, effectiveness, and loyalty are introduced.

As presented in Model 4, workplace satisfaction, which is a composite factor representing teachers' satisfaction with their overall workload and non-classroom duties, the level of support they receive from their administrators, and the quality of parent involvement, is likely to increase teacher educational voice. Specifically, a one standard deviation increase in teachers' workplace satisfaction is associated with a quarter of a standard deviation increase in educational voice (p < .10), and the effect sustains through to Model 6. Although it is possible that the expression of educational voice can in and of itself raise one's job satisfaction, this measure includes exogenous working conditions of workload, administrator support, and parent involvement. As a result, this finding suggests that the context matters and that some work environments are more conducive to teacher educational voice than others.

Model 4 also includes my *Voice Impact*, measure, which estimates the extent to which the ideas raised by teachers are actually implemented or addressed. Through to Model 6, a one standard deviation increase in the voice impact measure is associated with a .44 standard deviation increase in educational voice (p. < .001). This finding is consistent with Hirschman's theory, which anticipates that voice is expressed in light of its likely effectiveness. Actors, including teachers, decide to exercise voice based on the probability that raising issues will actually lead to change and improvement. As my findings suggest, having an impact—and working in a setting and with colleagues

receptive to voice efforts—increases the level of educational voice even when controlling for many other aspects of a teacher's experience.

It is possible that including the voice impact measure introduces some methodological problems into my analysis, given that the variable reflects action taken after, and as a result of, the expression of educational voice. As such, this variable cannot influence the educational voice reported in my data, as it does not meet the assumption that the independent variable occurs prior to the dependent variable in question. But is it is also reasonable to assume that voice efforts occur more than once, in a context that either welcomes or discourages its expression. If at one time the expression of voice had a positive effect, meaning the issues raised were implemented or addressed, it is likely that this same receptive context sustains into the next possible set of voice opportunities and interactions. As such, my voice impact measure characterizes, to some extent, the school's overall context. Having an impact in the past is likely to leave a teacher with the perception that her voice will have an impact again in the future. With a raised expectation about the likely effectiveness of voice, voice impact raises the potential for future voice, as suggested by my findings.

Hirschman's predictions about the relationship between loyalty are voice are examined in Model 5, in which I find that a one standard deviation change in teachers' level of loyalty is associated with a .23 standard deviation increase in the level of educational voice (p < .05). As identified in my descriptive results, loyalty among teachers is not passive or silent but rather is associated with more engagement on matters of curriculum, pedagogy,

and student achievement. Moreover, this relationship sustains into Model 6, where I include the likelihood of teachers' exiting to a new school or out of teaching, which does not appear to have a relationship to educational voice levels.

This last finding is of particular interest. Recall that about 40 percent of my respondents indicated that they intend to leave their current school within the next five years. Moreover, a separate exploratory regression investigating the unadjusted relationship between educational voice and exit determined that teacher who intend to leave are associated with voice levels that are .51 standard deviations lower than their peers who do not intend to exit (p. $< .01$). Simply put, teachers who intend to leave speak up less. But in Model 6, there is no discernible difference in educational voice between teachers likely and unlikely to exit, once other factors are considered. This suggests that contextual factors that affect workplace satisfaction, teachers' sense of loyalty, and the effectiveness of voice can mitigate against the negative effect on educational voice of teachers' intention to exit. As the following analyses will also show, teachers who are likely to exit do not voice their employment or policy concerns any more or less than teachers who are likely to remain, all else being equal.

Overall, it appears that teachers are more likely to express educational ideas when they are satisfied with their working conditions, when their ideas are likely to be well received and have an impact, and when they feel a sense of loyalty to their school and students. Although management's style, the fairness of performance evaluations, the strength of due process protections and union effectiveness influence voice levels, they lose their

importance in light of teachers' personal sense of satisfaction, efficacy and commitment. What is also clear is that educational voice is underused as a mechanism to improve organizational effectiveness. The fact that voice is lower in schools that do not have adequate supplies and materials suggests that teachers are not speaking up to advocate for more educational resources or on other educational issues; the same appears to be case in regard to unfair evaluations, which also suppress educational voice. In as much as Hirschman presented that both voice and exit are responses to organizational decline, it appears as if teachers are more likely to exercise voice when things are going well.

Finally, I find some evidence to support the notion that higher rates of voice could lower unwanted turnover. Although further study is required to make a firm conclusion, I find that the lower rates of voice expressed by those teachers who are more inclined to exit can be mitigated by workplace satisfaction, through a sense of loyalty, and a context in which voice can have a positive impact. Whether or not these conditions can also reduce a teacher's desire to exit, thereby lowering unwanted turnover, remains a distinct possibility.

Table 17, presented below, repeats the above analysis, introducing variables in the same order across six models, but this time in relation to teachers voice on matters of employment, and with some interesting differences. A discussion of these findings follows.

Table 17: The Relationship Between Employment Voice, Exit, and Loyalty (n=119)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Charter[1]	0.099	0.077	0.021	-0.020	-0.034	0.030
SE	0.24	0.258	0.285	0.256	0.258	0.272
Has Due Process Protections[2]	0.170	0.148	0.068	0.107	0.126	0.137
SE	0.228	0.245	0.264	0.237	0.240	0.241
Union Effectiveness:[3]						
Effective	0.893 **	0.850 **	0.595 †	0.629 *	0.659 *	0.638 *
SE	0.302	0.320	0.335	0.299	0.305	0.307
Somewhat Effective	0.436 †	0.425	0.367	0.316	0.310	0.315
SE	0.264	0.270	0.286	0.256	0.257	0.258
Years of Experience:[4]						
Six to Ten Years		-0.306	-0.330	-0.379	-0.364	-0.364
SE		0.282	0.284	0.258	0.261	0.261
Eleven to Seventeen Years		-0.194	-0.225	0.021	0.003	-0.040
SE		0.321	0.324	0.296	0.299	0.305
Eighteen to Thirty Nine Years		0.079	0.176	-0.021	-0.041	-0.070
SE		0.371	0.403	0.368	0.372	0.375
Leadership Role[5]		0.040	-0.045	-0.079	-0.096	-0.054
SE		0.234	0.235	0.211	0.214	0.221
Supplies and Materials:[6]						
Somewhat Does Not Have What's Necessary			0.798 †	0.424	0.429	0.444
SE			0.479	0.436	0.438	0.440
Somewhat Has What's Necessary			0.456	-0.163	-0.147	-0.119
SE			0.466	0.440	0.443	0.445
Has What's Necessary			0.219	-0.551	-0.531	-0.489
SE			0.533	0.513	0.517	0.522
Performance Evaluation:[7]						
Is Somewhat Not Fair			-0.012	-0.214	-0.202	-0.160
SE			0.438	0.396	0.398	0.403
Is Somewhat Fair			0.629	0.327	0.286	0.290
SE			0.419	0.381	0.389	0.390
Is Fair			0.698 †	-0.036	-0.084	-0.037
SE			0.420	0.409	0.419	0.425
Management Attitude:[8]						
Is Somewhat Not "Take It or Leave It"			-0.197	0.014	0.013	0.023
SE			0.306	0.282	0.283	0.284
Is Somewhat "Take It or Leave It"			-0.331	0.041	0.041	0.041
SE			0.317	0.298	0.299	0.300
Is "Take it or Leave It"			-0.126	0.396	0.413	0.441
SE			0.370	0.352	0.355	0.358
Workplace Satisfaction[9]				0.182	0.163	0.140
SE				0.131	0.136	0.139
Economic Satisfaction[10]				0.101	0.087	0.091
SE				0.107	0.110	0.111
Voice Impact[11]				0.555 ***	0.549 ***	0.539 ***
SE				0.138	0.139	0.140
Loyalty[12]					0.072	0.038
SE					0.120	0.128
Likely to Exit[13]						-0.186
SE						0.241
Constant	-0.574	-0.457	-0.968	-0.226	-0.215	-0.205
SE	0.281	0.322	0.651	0.613	0.617	0.619
R[2]	0.110 *	0.130	0.258	0.441 **	0.444 **	0.449 **
Change in R[2]		0.020	0.128	0.182 ***	0.003	0.005

†p < .10; *p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001

Notably, some of the same findings are present in this examination of employment voice as I found in the multivariate analysis of educational voice. There appears to be no difference in voice levels across district and charter public schools, or between teachers with strong or weak due process protections. Differences in years of experience and leadership roles are also not associated with different levels of employment voice. Harder to interpret is the lack of a relationship between employment voice and economic satisfaction. It is conceivable that a negative relationship could exist, with employment voice lower among those teachers who are highly satisfied with their compensation, fringe benefits, and level of due process (the items included in the economic satisfaction factor). Alternately, it is possible that teachers who are unsatisfied with their compensation and benefits do not feel as if they can freely advocate for improvements in these areas. Moreover, the fact that many economic issues are addressed and the bargaining table between management and union representatives could take these issues out of discussion at the school level. This last scenario may be the prevailing occurrence, given that I do not identify a significant relationship between teachers' economic satisfaction and levels of employment voice.

This interpretation is corroborated by my finding that teachers who rate their union as effective are also associated with a .64 standard deviation higher rate of employment voice than teachers who rate their union as ineffective ($p < .01$). This relationship, which sustains though Models 1 to 6, is consistent with the historical role that teacher unions have played in advocating for their members' material, economic, and employment benefits. It is also notable to recall that union effectiveness does not have a

relationship to educational voice, suggesting that unions' primary influence pertains to bread and butter issues rather than on day today educational matters of curriculum, pedagogy, and student achievement. Teachers in this study associate the effectiveness of their union with pocketbook rather than educational issues and express their voice on employment matters in higher rates when their union is working.

Models 4 through 6 confirm that voice impact has an even stronger relationship to employment voice than it did with educational voice. Specifically, a one standard deviation increase in the voice impact measure is associated with a .54 increase in employment voice, all else being equal (p < .001). This finding may be related to the union effectiveness results, in that an effective union not only *advocates* for employment concerns but *delivers* tangible material benefits for its members.

Differences from the educational voice analysis merit discussion. As I presented in Table 16, rates of educational voice are influenced, to different degrees and with varying levels of statistical significance, by a range of issues including due process protections, management's attitude, workplace satisfaction, and one's sense of loyalty. Yet these issues do not play a role in the expression of employment voice. This suggests that discussion of economic issues is different from educational voice and to some extent independent from the school-level factors that affect the discussion of educational issues.

Table 18: The Relationship Between Policy Voice, Exit, and Loyalty (n=119)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Charter[1]	-0.234	-0.182	-0.197	-0.271	-0.268	-0.356
SE	*0.232*	*0.251*	*0.283*	*0.269*	*0.272*	*0.286*
Has Due Process Protections[2]	0.382 †	0.331	0.293	0.292	0.288	0.273
SE	*0.220*	*0.238*	*0.262*	*0.249*	*0.253*	*0.254*
Union Effectiveness:[3]						
Effective	0.860 **	0.794 *	0.608 †	0.628 *	0.623 †	0.651 *
SE	*0.291*	*0.311*	*0.332*	*0.314*	*0.321*	*0.322*
Somewhat Effective	0.325	0.313	0.327	0.265	0.266	0.260
SE	*0.255*	*0.262*	*0.284*	*0.269*	*0.271*	*0.271*
Years of Experience:[4]						
Six to Ten Years		0.077	0.074	0.050	0.047	0.048
SE		*0.274*	*0.282*	*0.271*	*0.275*	*0.275*
Eleven to Seventeen Years		0.068	0.073	0.220	0.224	0.282
SE		*0.312*	*0.321*	*0.311*	*0.315*	*0.321*
Eighteen to Thirty Nine Years		0.222	0.381	0.255	0.258	0.298
SE		*0.361*	*0.399*	*0.387*	*0.392*	*0.394*
Leadership Role[5]		0.132	0.070	0.074	0.078	0.020
SE		*0.227*	*0.233*	*0.221*	*0.225*	*0.232*
Supplies and Materials:[6]						
Somewhat Does Not Have What's Necessary			0.812 †	0.507	0.506	0.486
SE			*0.475*	*0.458*	*0.462*	*0.462*
Somewhat Has What's Necessary			0.614	0.109	0.106	0.068
SE			*0.462*	*0.462*	*0.466*	*0.468*
Has What's Necessary			0.421	-0.264	-0.268	-0.327
SE			*0.529*	*0.54*	*0.545*	*0.548*
Performance Evaluation:[7]						
Is Somewhat Not Fair			0.158	-0.048	-0.050	-0.108
SE			*0.434*	*0.416*	*0.420*	*0.423*
Is Somewhat Fair			0.482	0.210	0.218	0.213
SE			*0.416*	*0.400*	*0.410*	*0.410*
Is Fair			0.503	-0.088	-0.079	-0.144
SE			*0.416*	*0.430*	*0.442*	*0.446*
Management Attitude:[8]						
Is Somewhat Not "Take It or Leave It"			-0.154	0.051	0.051	0.037
SE			*0.304*	*0.296*	*0.298*	*0.299*
Is Somewhat "Take It or Leave It"			-0.277	0.051	0.051	0.051
SE			0.314	*0.313*	*0.316*	*0.315*
Is "Take it or Leave It"			-0.231	0.208	0.205	0.166
SE			0.367	*0.370*	*0.374*	*0.376*
Workplace Satisfaction[9]				0.278 *	0.282 *	0.313 *
SE				*0.138*	*0.143*	*0.146*
Economic Satisfaction[10]				0.026	0.029	0.023
SE				*0.112*	*0.116*	*0.116*
Voice Impact[11]				0.364 *	0.365 *	0.380 *
SE				*0.145*	*0.147*	*0.147*
Loyalty[12]					-0.014	0.032
SE					*0.127*	*0.135*
Likely to Exit[13]						0.256
SE						*0.253*
Constant	-0.506 †	-0.590 †	-1.267 †	-0.616	-0.619	-0.633
SE	*0.271*	0.313	*0.645*	0.645	0.650	0.650
R[2]	0.171 **	0.178	0.272	0.382 *	0.382 *	0.392 *
Change in R[2]		0.007	0.094	0.110 *	0.000	0.010

†p < .10; *p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001

The final analysis, with results presented in Table 18 above, turns to the question of policy voice. As with my findings pertaining to employment voice, union effectiveness plays an important role in levels of teacher voice on matters of policy, and the effect is sustained across all six models. By Model 6, which includes all of my other covariates, teachers who rate their union as effective also report levels of policy voice that are .65 standard deviations higher than teachers who do not believe their union is effective ($p < .10$). This finding is consistent with my earlier descriptive analyses and the interpretation that matters of policy, which are typically resolved through political activity, are influenced by union-led collective action.

It is not obvious why workplace satisfaction is related to higher rates of policy voice (ES = .31, $p < .05$). Recall that this factor is a measure of satisfaction with one's overall workload, the level of administrator support and parent involvement. None of these areas is directly related to matters of policy. But it may be the case that more satisfying conditions also create more opportunities, or simply more time, for teachers to engage in policy discussions inside and outside of the school.

Finally, and also established in the study of educational and employment voice, the impact of one's voice is associated with higher rates of voice. Teachers who report that the issues they raise are actually implemented and addressed are more inclined to speak up on matters of policy (ES = .38, $p < .05$), although the effect is not as great as it is on matters of education and employment. The consistency of this finding, across all three issue domains, suggests that teachers are considering whether or not their voice will make

a difference when deciding to exercise their voice, that the overall context and its receptivity to teacher voice is also a factor, and that once voice is heard and heeded, teachers are possibly more likely to raise their concerns again in the future.

• • •

This study brings some light to the heated debates about teacher voice. A number of my findings are consistent with other research in this area, the theoretical predictions generated by Hirschman's work, or as anticipated by my historical analysis. Aside from the conversations that teachers have with one another, teachers report low levels of voice. Whether on educational, employment, or policy issues, in individual or group discussions with supervisors or policymakers, teachers indicate that these conversations occur at best sometimes and at worst rarely, if they occur at all. This finding is consistent with other research, notably Met Life's consistent finding that teachers feel as if their voice is not being heard.

This finding does not square with the outsize influence credited to teachers and their unions. My results do not paint a picture of outspoken teachers with high levels of interaction and influence across the school system and among its decision-makers. If anything, my data support the position advocated by teacher unions that teachers need a stronger voice in public education. The problem with this interpretation is that interaction and influence are relative concepts. As my study does not measure rates of educational, employment, and policy voice among school leaders, board members,

parents, students, and citizens, it is hard to know if teacher voice, as low as it is, is still stronger than the voice of these other stakeholders.

It may be possible that teacher influence is strong despite teachers reporting low levels of voice due to the efforts of teacher activists, a minority of all teachers and the "marginal" voice producers who have an outsize influence. Moe's finding that teacher union positions are consistent with the views of their members indicates that teachers' interests are being accurately represented by union leaders and (as a function of the free rider problem) may decrease the need for large groups of teachers to speak up and get involved. From the union's perspective, my findings suggest that many teachers still do not feel as if they have a voice in their professional lives and may not recognize their union's influence. This is either an untapped resource, on which the unions can draw to expand their advocacy and give teachers a greater sense of agency, or it is a threat, if teachers feel disconnected, with exit as their only real recourse, and if other organizations seek to organize, represent, and help teachers give voice to ideas and concerns that are currently unspoken. Another possible interpretation, requiring further research to substantiate, is if teachers are ignorant of the actual, and higher, rates of voice expressed on their behalf by their unions.

Through my historical analysis, I've argued that contextual factors play a critical role in setting conditions that either enable or impede teacher voice. My statistical analysis provides some additional evidence that this is the case. Working in satisfactory conditions is associated with higher rates of educational and policy voice. Working in a

context where the expression of ideas is likely to have an impact also translates into higher educational, employment, and policy voice. Having an effective union is associated with higher levels of employment and policy voice. When these contextual factors are present—an effective union, a positive working environment, and responsive management where voice can make a difference—teacher voice is greater. Added to this context is teachers' individual sense of loyalty to their colleagues, students, and school; the greater the loyalty, the higher the level of educational voice.

Although my findings are preliminary, there is also reason to believe that these voice-promoting circumstances can mitigate against teachers' desire to exit and their tendency to speak up less often. In line with Iverson and Currivan's finding that higher rates of union participation lower quit rates, further analysis is required to determine if higher rates of voice, in all of its forms and interactions, also serve to reduce teacher exit. Yet if Hirschman is right, exit-inclined teachers are also the most quality conscious. Although it may not be possible to change their ultimate decision to seek work elsewhere, changing the circumstances in which they work may encourage them to exercise their voice in the time prior to their exit, and at rates that are just as high as their peers who are likely to say. The addition of such quality-conscious voices could bring added benefits to school performance, employment practices and educational policies.

The complication with this recommendation is how to do so. Hirschman predicted that voice is one of the two responses to arrest and improve organizational decline. Yet my findings suggest that teacher voice occurs when organizations are working, not as

mechanism to improve the dysfunction. Where teacher voice may be most beneficial, it appears to occur the least. And as we know from the study of teacher turnover, teachers choose to leave these tough circumstances in large numbers.

It is worth noting, though, that some of the conditions that are associated with teacher voice are in management's control. Whether or not teacher voice has an impact depends as much on the extent to which their ideas are welcomed and taken seriously by school leaders and policymakers. Whether or not satisfactory working conditions exist depends on the teaching load and other duties assigned to teachers by their supervisors and the amount of support that administrators provide. If school leaders were more receptive to teachers' ideas and provided a more supportive work environment, some of the necessary preconditions of teacher voice could be established. If activating teachers' educational, employment, and policy voice serves to improve school performance, then establishing these voice-promoting conditions should be a priority.

Lastly, my findings take the air out of some of the heated arguments in educational debates today. When studied in context of competing influences and numerous variables, teachers working in charter schools appear to have no more or less of a voice in educational, employment, and policy debates than their colleagues in district public schools. Having due process protections does not translate into higher rates of voice, despite the argument that such protections are necessary to give teachers the ability to speak freely and without the threat of retaliation. This is not to say that unions don't matter, despite the fact that unions typically advocate for such due process protections.

Effective unions are associated with stronger employment and policy voice. Determining if teacher and union voice is too strong will require equally robust measures of education, employment, and policy voice as expressed by school managers, citizens, reformers, parents, business leaders and other stakeholders, and is left for another time.

Conclusion:

Teacher Voice Tomorrow

In the Spring of 2011, teacher unions came under sustained attack. In Ohio, legislation was passed to prohibit bargaining on health and retirement benefits, sick time, class size, school assignments and other working conditions. The law also forbade districts from making seniority-based layoffs and required the adoption of performance-based pay. In Wisconsin, a traditional stronghold of labor-friendly progressive politics, new legislation prohibited bargaining on issues other than wages, limited the size of any pay increases, and set the duration of teachers' employment contracts to one year. Similar measures were proposed or adopted in Indiana and Illinois. In Idaho, new teachers lost the right to earn tenure as did currently employed teachers who had not yet achieved it. A similar law, ending tenure and connecting performance evaluation and pay to student achievement, was passed in Florida. Not to be outdone, Tennessee lawmakers abolished collective bargaining outright.[1]

These changes were made against intense opposition from teacher unions. In Ohio, over 5,000 teachers and public sector employees protested the proposed legislation. In Madison, Wisconsin, teachers used sick-time to join 70,000 other protesters, forcing the cancellation of school. Rallies, protests, or sick-outs also occurred in Florida, Michigan, New York, and elsewhere. Nor did opposition subside with the laws' passage. A union-initiated lawsuit challenged the Wisconsin statute only a month after its adoption.

Referenda have been proposed in Idaho to overturn the new legislation, and the Ohio law was repealed just months after its passage. Throughout the year, the nation's education paper of record, *Education Week*, chronicled the affairs with regular coverage and vivid photos of teachers on picket lines, waving placards, shouting through megaphones, and camped-out in statehouse rotunda.[2]

In challenging the Wisconsin law, the president of the state's teachers union expressed her belief that "it is not in the best interest of students, schools or Wisconsin's future to take the voices of educators out of our classrooms." The general counsel for the Idaho Education Association similarly argued that narrowing the scope of bargaining "basically takes the teachers' voice out of discussion on workplace conditions." Testifying against her state's legislation before the U.S. House of Representatives Democratic Outreach and Steering Committee, an Ohio English teacher argued that collective bargaining gives teachers a critical "voice" in educational issues such as class size and standardized assessments. Echoing the same theme, Tennessee's teachers union published *Tennessee's Teachers Will Not Be Silenced* to raise awareness among its members about the state's legislation and the "concerted effort to silence the voice of educators." This seven page brochure mentions teacher voice no fewer than twenty-seven times, often in the context of testimonials asking "who better than a classroom teacher to voice the problems we face and give information that might lead to successful improvements for our children?"[3]

In rebuttal, an Ohio elected official argued that his state's law was about "leveling the playing field [as] there's a point when taxpayers' concerns need to be taken into consideration." At the time, Ohio was facing an $8 billion budget deficit. Wisconsin's shortfall was $3 billion, and across the country 44 states had to close budget gaps totaling $112 billion before next fiscal year. Although the fiscal crisis played a part, it does not explain the full story, as many of the laws went beyond economic issues on the belief that collective bargaining was blocking promising reforms and was protecting teachers from accountability for their work. That said, some of the changes were possibly more than district officials even wanted; in Wisconsin, where relations between teachers and administrators are relatively harmonious, the executive director of the Wisconsin Association of School District Administrators commented that the changes went "way too far."[4]

Teachers' collective voice, as expressed through their union, was not their only form of expression being challenged, as historian Jonathan Zimmerman highlighted in a 2011 piece entitled "When Teachers Talk Out of School." In Ohio, a teacher was dismissed for asking students to report about books that had been banned from schools and libraries. In Indiana, a teacher was let go for sharing with her students that she "honked her car horn" at a rally against the war in Iraq. In New York, a teacher was reprimanded for writing admittedly disparaging remarks about her students on Facebook, as was a Pennsylvania teacher who commented on her personal blog about her 'whining' students. Although these instances include controversial issues and questions about the limits of teachers' public and private speech, less ambiguous was the memo issued by Idaho's

Superintendent of Instruction, warning teachers that they could lose their certification—effectively their jobs—if they participated in efforts to repeal the state's recent legislation.[5]

At about the same time, thousands of educators, parents, and other activists organized a rally in Washington D.C. to protest the "current thrust of education policy in the United States." The Save Our Schools March and National Call to Action was based in a grassroots movement to "restore a central role for educators, parents, and communities in policy decisions" with a focus on four principles: equitable funding for public schools; an end to high-stakes testing; curriculum developed by and for local communities; and greater teacher, family, and community leadership. AFT President Randi Weingarten noted that much of what prompted the event was teachers' "lack of voice." And amidst all of this controversy, the U.S. Department of Education held a two-day conference, "Advancing Student Achievement Through Labor-Management Collaboration." Supported by the Ford Foundation, the NEA and the AFT, the event brought attention to promising reforms developed jointly by unions and school district officials.[6] Given the national climate, it is unclear if anyone was listening.

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Over the preceding pages, I've presented the history of teacher voice as expressed in different ways, on various issues, and to different audiences. Theory, empirical analysis, and my own analytical framework have provided tools to understand this understudied

notion and the vital relationship that exists between teacher voice and its context, the 'education state.' The development of this context in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries created the enabling conditions for teachers and others to express their views about public education and the state's responsibility to its students and citizens. Teachers used and changed this context to advance their interests, as did parents, activists, and other special interest groups. Although the education state expanded through much of the twentieth century, creating more opportunities for educators, parents, specialists, advocates and the public to express their views on issues of education, employment, and policy, I argue that over the last thirty years a contraction has occurred, through the centralization of decision-making to the federal government and the decentralization of delivery through school choice. Combined, these changes are constricting practical opportunities for effective voice and privileging school choice over school voice.

This vantage helps to interpret recent events in education politics and to make some modest predictions. In the flurry of anti-union legislation, we can see lawmakers and activists working to restrict teacher collective voice in a pattern that has existed since Margaret Haley first organized Chicago's teachers. In teachers' protests against the laws, traditional pluralist politics continue to play out in statehouses across the country, much like what animated the era of teacher and civil rights. Although teachers and other public employees repealed the law in Ohio, many of the statutes in other states are still on the books. These laws represent a notable contraction in the enabling context for teacher voice, particularly in regard to matters of employment. As I've demonstrated, collective bargaining institutionalized and amplified teacher voice with great success. The new

limitations on collective bargaining are a clear and intentional restraint on this voice with a compounding effect, given that future decision upon decision will less informed—or affected—by teachers' point of view. These restrictions rest on top of a broad sentiment among teachers, as confirmed in my data and other surveys, that teachers already feel as if their voices are not adequately heard. A reasonable conclusion—surely to be welcomed by those who believe that teacher voice is too loud and lamented by teacher advocates—is that the prospects for teacher voice are dim.

But within the Save Our Schools march, we can see the emergence of a new context that has the possibility to support teacher—and public—voice in ways that may rival previous and current institutional arrangements. As reported by Erik Robelen, social media was a key driver in organizing the event. Teachers used blogs, an SOS Facebook page and Twitter accounts to promote it. Although numerous well-established organizations endorsed the event, including the National Association of Secondary School Principals, the National Council of Teachers of English, and over 30 state and local teacher unions, the organizers took pains to note that it was launched and organized by individual teachers; in the words of Anthony Cody, one of the SOS organizers and a science teacher, the associations and other groups were "not driving the bus."[7]

The speed at which the SOS rally was organized is also notable. Within a matter of months, a handful of teacher and parent activists organized a national rally on the Mall in Washington D.C. Attended by thousands of educators and covered by the national news media, the event included numerous speakers including Diane Ravitch, Jonathan Kozol,

and Deborah Meier. Comedian Jon Stewart delivered a pre-taped message and actor Matt

Damon gave a rousing speech that, within the world of education, went viral. The event

garnered rally organizers a meeting with Education Secretary Arne Duncan and an

invitation to the White House.[8] What allowed them to accomplish all this, in their spare

time and on a shoe-string budget, was the internet.

The web has become a powerful meeting place for teachers and a platform for teacher

voice on matters of education, employment, and policy. Technorati.com, a search engine

for locating weblogs, identifies 16,609 blogs about education, up from about 5,000 in

2005—a 300 percent increase in seven years. Edublogs.org, a free online service hosted

1,173,443 education-related blogs at the time of writing and over 7,600 more than when

the site was visited a few days prior. Linkedin.com, a social media site, has over a

million teacher members. The website Edutopia connects over 45,000 teachers,

administrators, and parents through Facebook. Classroom 2.0 reports over 63,000

members, 8,800 discussion topics, and 781 affinity groups.[9]

A cursory review of articles and advertisements in recent issues of *Education Week* also

depicts the myriad ways in which teachers are using the internet to connect, learn, and act.

On-line forums cover a wide range of topics, from how to adopt hybrid learning

approaches to webinars on "Reaching Special Education Students through On-Line

Learning." Teachers are using Twitter as a professional development tool to connect with

other educators "around the country and even around the world." Some teachers believe

that this more freewheeling and on-demand approach is more targeted and helpful than

"traditional conferences." Taking note, education conferences are now offered in person or on-line, with events "streamed live to your computer." To keep the lines of communication open, teachers in Missouri won an injunction against a state law that restricted teachers' use of social networking sites; their suit claimed that the statute inappropriately limited their ability to contact students for classroom purposes or in cases of emergencies. Rather than just reporting the news, *Education Week* itself is reaching educators through social media, with a Google+ site, a Facebook link, a Twitter feed, and forum discussions where educators can let their "voice be heard."[10]

Teachers are not simply expressing their views into the internet's wilderness or talking only to each other; some supervisors and policymakers are listening. Administrators at the Chicago Public Schools central office, for example, peruse anonymous teacher comments on popular blogs to gain insights to teachers' reactions to school policies and politics. District officials in New York City have done the same. Teacher unions have taken to the web with their own blogs and message boards, often using these sites as a platform for lengthy, public, and at times heated discussions with district officials and other advocates of school reform. National websites, such as the Huffington Post's education page, host message boards and conversations that connect some of the nation's leading educators and education policymakers with practicing classroom teachers. As others have noted across many walks of life, the internet is serving to create a new and expanded public commons for discussion and debate and teachers and their associations are active participants.[11]

These examples suggest that the internet is a new and powerful vehicle for teacher voice. But given the overall contraction of the institutional context for teacher voice, questions remain regarding the extent to which technology can serve as a platform for—or even as a replacement to—more traditional forms of teacher and public voice. Is the internet as effective in communicating and effecting changes to matters of curriculum and pedagogy as it is on matters of policy? Can it rival collective bargaining's ability to effectively express the views of teachers on matters of employment? Can it serve to aggregate and mediate the diverse views of teachers into a collective prescription on a disputed matter, or is it merely a platform for thousands of isolated voices?

To answer these questions, it is helpful to look at other domains of public life where the internet has served as a platform for voice where none had existed and has provided a necessary context for voice-driven change. Although far afield, the most dramatic recent example is the Arab Spring which swept through the Middle East and North Africa in 2011. Social media gave organizers the ability to connect, voice concerns and ideas, coordinate with others, and—sometimes with the added force of arms—topple governments in Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya or to promote reforms in Jordan, Yemen and Oman. In other instances, the web has sustained an armed resistance in Bahrain and Syria. Many of these countries had been ruled by totalitarian regimes where public dissent was not tolerated and immigration—exit—was the only practical recourse for many Arabs looking for a better life. Today citizen voices are helping to open societies and democratize governments in dramatic and unanticipated ways. Whereas the United States and its allies spent billions of dollars to depose Saddam Hussein in Iraq, the

internet helped to effect the same kind of change, in a grassroots manner, for a fraction of the cost in dollars, time, and lives.

Closer to home, social media has been central to two of the more prominent and recent political movements in the United States. On one end of the political spectrum, Tea Party activists used the internet to connect and coordinate their protests against what they saw as an inappropriate expansion of the federal government. On the other end of the political spectrum, the Occupy movement started on Wall Street and quickly spread to cities and campuses across the country, fuelled by on-line support, discussion, and cooperation. Flash protests occurred, ahead of cities' ability to plan for any crowd control, through text messaging and email. Even when protesters were removed from the movement's founding location in New York City's Zuccotti Park, protesters took to the web to maintain their momentum. In another example, when Congress attempted to regulate internet content to protect intellectual property, thousands of popular websites, including Wikipedia, Moveon.org, and Reddit, shut down for twenty-four hours in protest and encouraged citizens to contact their elected officials to oppose the legislation. Thousands of emails and phone calls later, enough legislators withdrew their support of the bill to block it passage. These and other voice-based movements captured national attention, changed elite discussion of contested issues, blocked proposed legislation and affected presidential campaigns. Supported with the horsepower of the internet, the power of voice appears to be ascendant.

Yet as instructive as these examples are regarding the ability of technology-based voice to influence the course of public affairs, they also point to the internet's limits. Across the Arab world, *actual* collective action, through street protests and mass demonstrations, was ultimately required to effect change. Such actions were often taken despite the real threat of physical harm and, in some cases, required the assistance of the world's military powers. The internet reduced some of the costs of collective action—by providing a low-cost way to reach thousands, even millions, of potential actors, but did not alone topple the governments. In the United States, the Occupy Wall Street movement affected the national dialogue because protesters *actually occupied* Wall Street. The clashing images of tent cities in manicured parks and genteel campuses caught the nation's attention, not merely their new-found ability to organize actions. The Tea Party's views have exerted influence on the Republican Party through their ability to mobilize voters and raise—or withhold—campaign contributions. Within education, the Save Our Schools rally made headlines because it was a *rally*, complete with banners, speeches, music, and participants covering a corner of the National Mall. Technology helped to coordinate and amplify their voices, but it was traditional advocacy and actions that brought notice to the event.

Nor is it clear if the rally has had a lasting effect. Despite promoting an end to high-stakes testing and locally-developed curriculum, the Common Core and its related assessments continue to be implemented across the country. Despite organizers calling for greater teacher, family, and community leadership in school policy, the U.S. Department of Education continues to exert enormous influence over state and local decisions. The Department's current policy to grant waivers to states from the

requirements of the No Child Left Behind Act also requires that states base teacher

evaluation on student outcomes, launch intensive strategies to turnaround low-performing

schools, and continue Common Core implementation, regardless of state and local

preferences. Although the SOS rally made headlines, it didn't make policy (at least in the

short term).

Other examples of internet-based advocacy suggest that the technology is less of a forum

for diverse and democratic dialogue than it is a vehicle to promote particular points of

view to the exclusion of others. Recall that the Common Core's website promoted a

"Voices of Support" page. Apparently, voices of dissent need to find another outlet and

without the sizable institutional support of the national organizations promoting the

standards. Reform-oriented advocacy organizations, which make full-use of the internet

through regular issue alerts, newsletters, and action campaigns, have also been criticized

for promoting the preferred reforms of their patrons. Although the internet is user-neutral

and a competing organization with a dissenting point of view can take to the virtual

commons, there is reason to believe that inequities in funding are being re-created on the

internet, as debates are managed by issue-specific advocacy organizations rather than

among broad participatory membership organizations.[12]

Compounding this effect are predictions that technology in education will ultimately

replace large numbers of teachers and greatly reduce their influence. Clayton

Christensen, in his popular *Disrupting Class, How Disruptive Innovation Will Change the*

Way the World Learns, reports that enrollments in on-line courses rose from 45,000 in the

fall of 2000 to 1 million in 2007. He predicts that by 2019 about 50 percent of high

school courses will be delivered online. Terry Moe and John Chubb make similar

predictions in *Liberating Learning: Technology, Politics, and the Future of American

Education*, noting how curricula are being customized to students' learning styles and life

situations and opening access to a vast new catalogue of courses. They report how 1.5

million students took courses online in 2010 and that the trend is likely to continue.[13]

Through on-line courses and support, Christensen notes how technology will allow

teachers to serve as one-on-one tutors rather than "teaching monolithically." As they will

be able to oversee the work of more students, he and others predict that these changes

will require far fewer teachers per student, perhaps half as many. As this may reduce the

size and density of teacher unions, technology is typically understood—and sometime

promoted—as a challenge to union power and teacher voice. Although history suggests

that such predictions may be ambitious—recall that curriculum revisers of the 1950s

believed the automated classroom was right around the corner—Moe, for one,

confidently writes that technology will prove to be "power-packed, because the changes

it unleashes are mutually reinforcing… The rise of cyber schools and on-line options

leads not only to the geographic dispersion of teachers but also to the substitution of

technology for labor and enhanced choice and competition — and all of them, in their

own ways, weaken the fundamentals of union power."[14]

This view situates technology as mechanism to deliver education and as a replacement

for schools, classrooms and teachers. But as we've seen, technology is just as much a

vehicle to deliver voice, complementing other forms of public discussion and enhancing traditional organizing and activism. Given both of these trends, it is likely that technology will effect the education state, school politics, and teacher voice in different ways. On *educational* matters, the internet is connecting thousands of teachers to share their ideas and discuss instructional issues. Although teacher-to-teacher interaction already occurs at high rates within schools, the web is connecting many more teachers across district and state lines. This is likely to break down physical barriers to new ideas, expertise, and best practices. Given teachers historical ability to determine instructional methods, despite the top-down attempts of pedagogical reformers, the internet may become an effective vehicle in facilitating bottom-up changes in instruction.

On issues of *policy*, the internet is another platform for teacher voice. Matters of policy are already being actively discussed and debated on-line and some administrators and policymakers are already monitoring on-line comments and trends. This is likely to continue, given the ease of opportunity it offers supervisors to track implementation, learn about points of resistance, and anticipate heretofore unintended consequences. Although this monitoring could dampen on-line teacher voice, anonymous discussions or comments under an alias are likely to counteract this occurrence. In fact, on-line discussions could increase if teachers know that policymakers are listening. That said, mere web-based policy voice is likely to be insufficient for effecting change. Virtual advocacy requires the added support of actual organizing and mobilization in order to make a difference. Social media can assist this mobilization but cannot effectively replace it.

The internet is likely to be least effective as a vehicle for *employment* voice, particularly when compared to the role of collective bargaining in education. The regular negotiation of employment contracts through a process that is backed by the force of law and that imposes a duty on management to consider the interests, preferences and demands of teachers *requires* that management listen to teachers views. Although pressure politics and issue advocacy that is facilitated and reinforced by online activity can get management's attention, they are not obliged to listen. Nor is teacher voice the only point of view in such public campaigns, as compared to the bargaining table where management and labor have equal standing to the exclusion of other stakeholders. Finally, if technology does come to replace and disperse large numbers of teachers, then the strength of their collective voice, on matters of employment as well as other issues, will be diminished.

When seen through the three issues of my analytical framework, the likely impact of technology on teacher voice appears to be decidedly mixed. But I hasten to note that these predictions are necessarily tentative. As the history of teacher voice makes clear, teachers have used the social, political, and institutional tools at their disposal in each major era to express their views and to reshape the context of public education in ways that promote more teacher voice.

Although the current centralization of authority over matters of curriculum and assessment—to the federal government and standard-setting organizations—coupled with the decentralization of authority on matters of schooling—to parents through school choice—have created a context that constricts teacher and public deliberation, this context is subject to change. The expanding public, albeit virtual, space to deliberate the great and small issues affecting our nation and its classrooms will have an effect on the current context.

Teachers already have an active voice in this space that is at once individual, on personal blogs and social media pages, and collective, through their representative organizations or when, for example, twitter feeds reach tens or thousands of followers in an instant. Teachers are already using this space to address the full range of issues affecting their schools, work, and students. Although some institutions are using the internet to advocate for their particular interests, and may enjoy financial and other advantages over other organizations, their dominance in a particular issue space is not a guarantee. Low-barriers to entry allow for competing voices to rise quickly and reach many just as fast. This is introducing a degree of exciting unpredictability to the dialogues, as discussions are no longer limited to stylized debates among established entities whose positions are well known. A new idea or different voice can find its way through the din with a new-found ease. Among its many possibilities and applications, technology is a great engine of voice.

As I have presented throughout this study, a democratic state of education draws its strength from the variety of voices that work to shape its aims and means. As our national and educational history attests, the debates over what our public schools should be have paralleled the national dialogue about the fate and future of our country, and teachers have been active participants in the discussion. In each era, the context of our politics and the shape of our schools were changed by new and present voices, teacher voice among them. Despite periods of conflict and change, in which the voices of dissent were at times suppressed and other times the loudest, the democratic dialogue continued.

Over the part thirty years, school choice has held a privileged place in many of the debates over public schools. In as much as choice is an expression of the liberty afforded to free citizens, it has worked to deepen the democratic character of our education state. But in its most extreme, choice allows families to exit the public sphere, taking with them their views and emphasizing only the private benefits of education. In this regard, choice alone cannot articulate the common values we aim to instill in the next and future generations.   For this, we require voice.   Through new forms of deliberation and activism, voices old and new, individual and collective, are expressing their hopes and aspirations for our public schools. This holds the promise of a new and essential age of democratic voice, the likes of which our schools have not seen. And none too soon, given the work that lies ahead in for our country and world.

Appendix A:

Voice Survey

PART I. This first set of questions is about your *individual* interaction with *your school principal* or
immediate supervisor . For this section of the survey, try <u>not</u> to consider interactions with your
principal while you served on school committees, inquiry teams, or other leadership bodies. (There are
questions about *group* interactions later in the survey.)

In the past year, how often have *you* and your *principal* discussed: (circle one)

1. Your ideas about educational approaches and curriculum, lesson plans and units of study, books and materials, and strategies for classroom management or student discipline:	*Never*	*Rarely*	*Some-times*	*Often*	
2. Your ideas to improve students' work, their progress, promotion to the next grade and overall achievement:	*Never*	*Rarely*	*Some-times*	*Often*	
3. The professional development you'd like to receive:	*Never*	*Rarely*	*Some-times*	*Often*	
4. Overall, to what extent were the *educational* ideas raised in these discussions actually *implemented or addressed* :	*Never*	*Rarely*	*Some-times*	*Often*	*Did Not Discuss*

In the past year, how often have *you* and your *principal* discussed: (circle one)

5. Your base compensation, pay for extra duties and accomplishments, and time off for sick and personal days:	*Never*	*Rarely*	*Some-times*	*Often*	
6. Your work responsibilities including teaching assignments, schedule and non-classroom duties:	*Never*	*Rarely*	*Some-times*	*Often*	
7. Your formal and informal work evaluations and overall job performance:	*Never*	*Rarely*	*Some-times*	*Often*	
8. Overall, to what extent were the *employment* issues raised in these discussions actually *implemented or addressed* :	*Never*	*Rarely*	*Some-times*	*Often*	*Did Not Discuss*

In the past year, how often have *you* and your *principal* discussed: (circle one)

9. *Federal policies* such as "Race to the Top" or No Child Left Behind:	*Never*	*Rarely*	*Some-times*	*Often*
10. *State policies* such as school funding, state assessments, or charter schools:	*Never*	*Rarely*	*Some-times*	*Often*
11. *District or school policies* such as due process/tenure, facility and building use, the budget, or school closings:	*Never*	*Rarely*	*Some-times*	*Often*

Overall, how would you describe the *tone* of discussions with your *principal* regarding*:* (circle one)

12. *Educational* issues:	*Confront-ational*	*Tense*	*Pleasant*	*Collaborat-ive*	*Did Not Discuss*
13. *Employment* issues:	*Confront-ational*	*Tense*	*Pleasant*	*Collaborat-ive*	*Did Not Discuss*
14. *Policy* issues:	*Confront-ational*	*Tense*	*Pleasant*	*Collaborat-ive*	*Did Not Discuss*

PART II. **This next set of questions is about your *individual* interaction with school *policymakers* . For the purpose of this survey, "policymakers" can include school district officials, network leaders, school chief executive officers, school board members, elected officials, union leaders or others empowered to establish policies affecting your school. As you think about your responses, <u>broadly</u> consider "interaction" to include meetings, phone calls, emails, letters, or participation at a public event or rally. (Again, for this section of the survey, try <u>not</u> to consider *group* interaction with policymakers).**

In the past year, how often have *you* interacted with *policymakers* to express: (circle one)

15. Your ideas about educational approaches and curriculum, lesson plans and units of study, books and materials, and strategies for classroom management or student discipline:	*Never*	*Rarely*	*Some-times*	*Often*	
16. Your ideas to improve students' work, their progress, promotion to the next grade and overall achievement:	*Never*	*Rarely*	*Some-times*	*Often*	
17. The professional development you'd like to receive:	*Never*	*Rarely*	*Some-times*	*Often*	
18. Overall, to what extent were the *educational* ideas raised in these discussions actually *implemented or addressed* :	*Never*	*Rarely*	*Some-times*	*Often*	*Did Not Discuss*

In the past year, how often have *you* interacted with *policymakers* to express: (circle one)

19. Your base compensation, pay for extra duties and accomplishments, and time off for sick and personal days:	*Never*	*Rarely*	*Some-times*	*Often*	
20. Your work responsibilities including teaching assignments, schedule and non-classroom duties:	*Never*	*Rarely*	*Some-times*	*Often*	
21. Your formal and informal work evaluations and overall job performance:	*Never*	*Rarely*	*Some-times*	*Often*	
22. Overall, to what extent were the *employment* issues raised in these discussions actually *implemented or addressed* :	*Never*	*Rarely*	*Some-times*	*Often*	*Did Not Discuss*

In the past year, how often have *you* interacted with *policymakers* to express: (circle one)

23. *Federal policies* such as "Race to the Top" or No Child Left Behind:	*Never*	*Rarely*	*Some-times*	*Often*	
24. *State policies* such as school funding, state assessments, or charter schools:	*Never*	*Rarely*	*Some-times*	*Often*	
25. *District or school policies* such as due process/tenure, facility and building use, the budget, or school closings:	*Never*	*Rarely*	*Some-times*	*Often*	

Overall, how would you describe the *tone* of discussions with *policymakers* regarding*: (circle one)

26. *Educational* issues:	*Confront-ational*	*Tense*	*Pleasant*	*Collaborat-ive*	*Did Not Discuss*
27. *Employment* issues:	*Confront-ational*	*Tense*	*Pleasant*	*Collaborat-ive*	*Did Not Discuss*
28. *Policy* issues:	*Confront-ational*	*Tense*	*Pleasant*	*Collaborat-ive*	*Did Not Discuss*

PART III. This next set of questions is about *teacher to teacher* interaction at your school. In answering these questions, please consider the degree to which teachers, <u>amongst yourselves</u> and <u>without</u> your principal, discuss these issues.

In the past year, how often have *you and your colleagues* discussed: (circle one)

29. Ideas about educational approaches and curriculum, lesson plans and units of study, books and materials, and strategies for classroom management or student discipline:	*Never*	*Rarely*	*Some-times*	*Often*	
30. Ideas to improve students' work, their progress, promotion to the next grade and overall achievement:	*Never*	*Rarely*	*Some-times*	*Often*	
31. The professional development you'd *all* like to receive:	*Never*	*Rarely*	*Some-times*	*Often*	
32. Overall, to what extent were the *educational* ideas raised in these discussions actually *implemented or addressed*:	*Never*	*Rarely*	*Some-times*	*Often*	*Did Not Discuss*

In the past year, how often have *you and your colleagues* discussed: (circle one)

33. Base compensation, pay for extra duties and accomplishments, and time off for sick and personal days:	*Never*	*Rarely*	*Some-times*	*Often*	
34. Work responsibilities including teaching assignments, schedule and non-classroom duties:	*Never*	*Rarely*	*Some-times*	*Often*	
35. Formal and informal work evaluations and overall job performance:	*Never*	*Rarely*	*Some-times*	*Often*	
36. Overall, to what extent were the *employment* issues raised in these discussions actually *implemented or addressed*:	*Never*	*Rarely*	*Some-times*	*Often*	*Did Not Discuss*

In the past year, how often have *you and your colleagues* discussed: (circle one)

37. *Federal policies* such as "Race to the Top" or No Child Left Behind:	*Never*	*Rarely*	*Some-times*	*Often*
38. *State policies* such as school funding, state assessments, or charter schools:	*Never*	*Rarely*	*Some-times*	*Often*
39. *District or school* policies such as due process/tenure, facility and building use, the budget, or school closings:	*Never*	*Rarely*	*Some-times*	*Often*

Overall, how would you describe the *tone* of discussions with your *colleagues* regarding*: (circle one)

40. *Educational* issues:	*Confront-ational*	*Tense*	*Pleasant*	*Collaborat-ive*	*Did Not Discuss*
41. *Employment* issues:	*Confront-ational*	*Tense*	*Pleasant*	*Collaborat-ive*	*Did Not Discuss*
42. *Policy* issues:	*Confront-ational*	*Tense*	*Pleasant*	*Collaborat-ive*	*Did Not Discuss*

> **PART IV.** This next set of questions is about the interaction of the *entire faculty* with your school *principal or immediate supervisors*. For the purpose of this survey, "faculty" can include representative educator committees, a union chapter, a faculty council, an inquiry team or other group discussions that occurred in staff meetings:

In the past year, how often did the *faculty (or representatives)* met with your *principal* to discuss: (circle one)

43. The *faculty's* ideas about educational approaches and curriculum, lesson plans and units of study, books and materials, and strategies for classroom management or student discipline:	Never	Rarely	Some-times	Often	
44. The *faculty's* ideas to improve students' work, their progress, promotion to the next grade and overall achievement:	Never	Rarely	Some-times	Often	
45. The professional development the *faculty* would like to receive:	Never	Rarely	Some-times	Often	
46. Overall, to what extent were the *educational* ideas raised in these discussions actually *implemented or addressed*:	Never	Rarely	Some-times	Often	Did Not Discuss

In the past year, how often did the *faculty (or representatives)* met with your *principal* to discuss: (circle one)

47. Base compensation, pay for extra duties and accomplishments, and time off for sick and personal days:	Never	Rarely	Some-times	Often	
48. Work responsibilities including teaching assignments, schedule and non-classroom duties:	Never	Rarely	Some-times	Often	
49. Formal and informal work evaluations and overall job performance:	Never	Rarely	Some-times	Often	
50. Overall, to what extent were the *employment* issues raised in these discussions *actually implemented or addressed*:	Never	Rarely	Some-times	Often	Did Not Discuss

In the past year, how often did the *faculty (or representatives)* met with your *principal* to discuss: (circle one)

51. *Federal policies* such as "Race to the Top" or No Child Left Behind:	Never	Rarely	Some-times	Often
52. *State policies* such as school funding, state assessments, and charter schools:	Never	Rarely	Some-times	Often
53. *District or school policies* such as due process/tenure, facility and building use, the budget, or school closings:	Never	Rarely	Some-times	Often

Overall, how would you describe the *tone* of *faculty (or representative)* discussions with your *principal* regarding*: (circle one)

54. *Educational* issues:	Confront-ational	Tense	Pleasant	Collaborat-ive	Did Not Discuss
55. *Employment* issues:	Confront-ational	Tense	Pleasant	Collaborat-ive	Did Not Discuss
56. *Policy* issues:	Confront-ational	Tense	Pleasant	Collaborat-ive	Did Not Discuss

PART V. This next set of questions is about your school *faculty's* interaction with school *policymakers* . Again, for the purpose of this survey, "policymakers" can include school district officials, network leaders, chief executive officers, school board members, elected officials, union leaders or others empowered to establish policies affecting your school. Please <u>broadly</u> consider "interaction" to include meetings, phone calls, emails, letters, or attendance at a public event or rally:

In the past year, how often did the *faculty (or representatives)* interact with *policymakers* to express: (circle one)

57. The *faculty's* ideas about educational approaches and curriculum, lesson plans and units of study, books and materials, and strategies for classroom management or student discipline:	*Never*	*Rarely*	*Some-times*	*Often*	
58. The *faculty's* ideas to improve students' work, their progress, promotion to the next grade and overall achievement:	*Never*	*Rarely*	*Some-times*	*Often*	
59. Professional development the *faculty* would like to receive:	*Never*	*Rarely*	*Some-times*	*Often*	
60. Overall, to what extent were the *educational* ideas raised in these discussions *actually implemented or addressed*:	*Never*	*Rarely*	*Some-times*	*Often*	*Did Not Discuss*

In the past year, how often did the *facult*y *(or representatives)* interact with *policymakers* to express: (circle one)

61. The *faculty's* position on compensation, pay for extra duties and accomplishments, and time off for sick/personal days:	*Never*	*Rarely*	*Some-times*	*Often*	
62. The *faculty's* position on work responsibilities including teaching assignments, schedule and non-classroom duties:	*Never*	*Rarely*	*Some-times*	*Often*	
63. The *faculty's* position on formal and informal work evaluations and overall job performance:	*Never*	*Rarely*	*Some-times*	*Often*	
64. Overall, to what extent were the *employment* issues raised in these discussions *actually implemented or addressed*:	*Never*	*Rarely*	*Some-times*	*Often*	*Did Not Discuss*

Regardless of your interaction with colleagues and others, to what extent do: (circle one)

65. *Federal policies,* such as "Race to the Top" or No Child Left Behind, affect your job:	*Never*	*Rarely*	*Some-times*	*Often*
66. *State policies,* such as school funding, state assessments, and charter schools, affect your job:	*Never*	*Rarely*	*Some-times*	*Often*
67. *District or school policies,* such as due process/tenure, facility and building use, the budget and school closings, affect your job:	*Never*	*Rarely*	*Some-times*	*Often*

Overall, how would you describe the *tone* of *faculty (or representative)* discussions with your *policymakers* regarding*: (circle one)

68. *Educational* issues:	*Confront-ational*	*Tense*	*Pleasant*	*Collaborat-ive*	*Did Not Discuss*
69. *Employment* issues:	*Confront-ational*	*Tense*	*Pleasant*	*Collaborat-ive*	*Did Not Discuss*
70. *Policy* issues:	*Confront-ational*	*Tense*	*Pleasant*	*Collaborat-ive*	*Did Not Discuss*

PART VI. This next set of questions asks your opinion on a range of issues.

To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements? (circle one)

71. In general, student misbehavior interferes with my teaching.	*Strongly Disagree*	*Somewhat Disagree*	*Somewhat Agree*	*Strongly Agree*
72. Necessary materials such as textbooks and supplies are available as needed.	*Strongly Disagree*	*Somewhat Disagree*	*Somewhat Agree*	*Strongly Agree*
73. Routine duties and paperwork interfere with my job.	*Strongly Disagree*	*Somewhat Disagree*	*Somewhat Agree*	*Strongly Agree*
74. Management has a "take it or leave it" attitude.	*Strongly Disagree*	*Somewhat Disagree*	*Somewhat Agree*	*Strongly Agree*
75. Teachers who don't "fit in" with the school culture should find work somewhere else.	*Strongly Disagree*	*Somewhat Disagree*	*Somewhat Agree*	*Strongly Agree*
76. My work is evaluated in a fair and consistent manner.	*Strongly Disagree*	*Somewhat Disagree*	*Somewhat Agree*	*Strongly Agree*
77. A school works best when everyone is an "at-will" or "probationary" employee.	*Strongly Disagree*	*Somewhat Disagree*	*Somewhat Agree*	*Strongly Agree*
78. Before I can be terminated, I'm guaranteed some kind of "due process."	*Strongly Disagree*	*Somewhat Disagree*	*Somewhat Agree*	*Strongly Agree*
79 - 82. Even if I had the chance to take a better job, I'd stay at this school:				
…for my *students'* sake.	*Strongly Disagree*	*Somewhat Disagree*	*Somewhat Agree*	*Strongly Agree*
...because of my *colleagues* .	*Strongly Disagree*	*Somewhat Disagree*	*Somewhat Agree*	*Strongly Agree*
...because of my *principal* .	*Strongly Disagree*	*Somewhat Disagree*	*Somewhat Agree*	*Strongly Agree*
...because of my school's *mission* and our *approach* .	*Strongly Disagree*	*Somewhat Disagree*	*Somewhat Agree*	*Strongly Agree*

Please indicate your level of satisfaction with each of the following aspects of your work. (circle one)

83. Your overall workload, including non-classroom duties:	*Very Dissatisfied*	*Somewhat Dissatisfied*	*Mostly Satisfied*	*Very Satisfied*
84. The support you receive from school administrators:	*Very Dissatisfied*	*Somewhat Dissatisfied*	*Mostly Satisfied*	*Very Satisfied*
85. The quality of parent involvement:	*Very Dissatisfied*	*Somewhat Dissatisfied*	*Mostly Satisfied*	*Very Satisfied*
86. Your school's class size:	*Very Dissatisfied*	*Somewhat Dissatisfied*	*Mostly Satisfied*	*Very Satisfied*
87. Your total compensation:	*Very Dissatisfied*	*Somewhat Dissatisfied*	*Mostly Satisfied*	*Very Satisfied*
88. Your employer-provided health and retirement benefits:	*Very Dissatisfied*	*Somewhat Dissatisfied*	*Mostly Satisfied*	*Very Satisfied*
89. Your level of job security:	*Very Dissatisfied*	*Somewhat Dissatisfied*	*Mostly Satisfied*	*Very Satisfied*
90a. If you are in a union, how effective is the union at advocating for your needs and concerns?	*Very Ineffective*	*Somewhat Ineffective*	*Somewhat Effective*	*Very Effective*
90b. If you are not in a union, how much of a need do you have for some form of formal & collective representation?	*No Need*	*Small Need*	*Moderate Need*	*Large Need*

PART VII. Under typical economic circumstances, educators have a wide range of employment options. Choices include schools within the same school district, schools in another district, charter schools, and private and parochial schools. In the future event that you seek a change in employment, the following questions investigate why and when you might seek this change. As a reminder, all of your answers are <u>strictly confidential</u>.

91. Of the following statements, which <u>best</u> describes why you might consider leaving your current teaching position? (please check no more than <u>THREE</u> reasons)

I'm teaching for a few years as *a form of public service* ; I'll eventually leave teaching to pursue *my real career* . ☐

This school is really demanding; at some point, I'd like to work at a school with *more work-life balance* . ☐

At this school, *I don't have* the supplies, resources, and *materials I need* to do my job. ☐

At this school there's too much emphasis on *test preparation* . ☐

Eventually I'll need to work at a school that offers better *salary and benefits* . ☐

Teaching just isn't for me ; I need to find rewarding work in a different field. ☐

I don't have any plans to leave my school any time soon . ☐

I plan to move into a school *leadership/management position* . ☐

If I leave, it's because I might *get fired* . ☐

Other. ☐

If "Other" please specify:

92. Of the following statements, which <u>ONE</u> best describes where you will likely seek your next job?

In a public school run by the New York City Department of Education. ☐

In a public school in a district *outside* of New York City. ☐

In a charter school. ☐

In a private or parochial school. ☐

In a different profession altogether (i.e. a career change). ☐

I have no intention of leaving this school for quite a while. ☐

93. What is the likelihood that you will still be working at your <u>current</u> school five years from now (0 being the most unlikely, 100 being the most likely)? `%`

94. How much would you be willing to start a different job of your choosing at the end of this school year (0 being the most unwilling, 100 being the most willing)? `%`

PART VIII. These final questions ask you describe yourself and aspects of your work.

95. About how many hours do you spend on work related activities during a typical <u>week</u>? Please include hours spent *before* , *during* and *after* the school day and on weekends.

96. How many total years of teaching experience do you have (including this year)?

97. How many years have you taught in your <u>current</u> school?

98. About what is your total compensation for this school year (in 000s)? Please include any additional pay or stipends for additional work or performance.

$\$\_\_ \_\_ , 0\ 0\ 0$

99. Do you play any official leadership roles at your school (e.g. as a union chapter leader or on school leadership or inquiry teams)?

Yes: ☐   No: ☐

100. Please indicate your highest level of education: (check only one)

High School Diploma: ☐

Bachelor's Degree: ☐

Master's Degree: ☐

Coursework beyond a Master's Degree: ☐

Ph. D, Ed. D, or Equivalent: ☐

101. Do you hold a teaching license or certificate:

Yes: ☐   No: ☐

102. What is your year of birth?

☐

103. Are you male or female?

Male: ☐   Female: ☐

104. Which of the following best describes your race/ethnic background? (check one)

Hispanic: ☐

White/non-Hispanic: ☐

African-American/Black: ☐

Asian: ☐

Other: ☐

105. Which of the following best describes your marital status? (check one)

Single: ☐

Unmarried, Living with Partner: ☐

Married: ☐

Separated: ☐

Divorced: ☐

Widowed: ☐

Other/Not Sure: ☐

106. Are you the parent/guardian of any children under the age of 18?

Yes: ☐   No: ☐

Please feel free to make any additional comments in the box below. (Optional)

End of Survey. Thank You for Your Participation.

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Appendix B:

Weights Calculation

Population[1]	Number	%	
NYC Dept. of Education-employed teachers working in neighborhoods without a large number of charter schools (2009-2010)	55,845	76.1%	A
NYC Dept. of Education-employed teachers working in neighborhoods with a large number of charter schools (2009-2010)	15,421	21.0%	B
New York City charter school teachers (2009-2010)	2,079	2.8%	C
	73,345	100.0%	

Sample

	Number	%	
Respondents from neighborhoods without a large number of charter schools (2009-2010)	39	32.8%	D
Respondents from neighborhoods with a large number of charter schools (2009-2010)	39	32.8%	E
Respondents from charter schools	41	34.5%	F
	119	100.0%	

Weights

Respondents from neighborhoods without a large number of charter schools (2009-2010)	**2.32**	A/D
Respondents from neighborhoods with a large number of charter schools (2009-2010)	**0.64**	B/E
Respondents from charter schools	**0.08**	C/F

[1]Source: The New York State Department of Education Staff Report for New York City (2009-2010)

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[18] The names and home addresses of district and unionized charter school teachers were randomly selected and supplied by the United Federation of Teachers, which maintains a database of all its affiliated teachers, both members and non-members (i.e. agency-fee payers). The names of non-union charter school teachers were randomly selected from among charter school rosters submitted by 38 schools through a Freedom of Information Law request, and surveys were sent to the school address. Along with the nine unionized charter schools, teachers were surveyed from about half of the 99 charter schools in operation at that time. The personnel records used to randomly select survey recipients indicate job title, allowing for the sample to only include teachers and exclude employees working in other titles.

[19] A "district" school is defined as a school operated by the New York City Department of Education; a "charter" school is defined as a school authorized by New York State under the New York Charter Schools Act and operated by a board of trustees. The New York City public school system is composed of thirty-two geographically-defined administrative units called Community School Districts ("CSD"). Community School Districts *without* a large number of charter schools from which district teachers were surveyed are Manhattan CSDs 1, 2, 3 , and 6, Bronx CSDs 8, 10, 11, and 12, Brooklyn CSDs 15, 20, 21, 22, 23, and 32, Queens CSDs 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, and 30, and Staten Island CSD 31. Community School Districts *with* a large number of charter schools from which district teachers were surveyed are Manhattan CSDs 4, and 5, Bronx CSDs 7 and 9, and Brooklyn CSDs 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, and 19.

[20] Data on the percent of New York City educators who are women provided by the New York State Education Department: http://www.p12.nysed.gov/irs/pmf/2009-10/2010_Stat-18.pdf and http://www.p12.nysed.gov/irs/pmf/2009-10/home.html.

[21] This scale accommodates teachers' different perceptions of how often they express themselves. For example, a teacher may feel as if she speaks to her principal with some regularity if they interact once a month; another teacher may consider this quite infrequent. The "never," "rarely," "sometimes," or "often," scale accommodates these subjective differences. Although a scale with particular quantities of voice, such as "twice a week" or "once a month," would have provided greater specificity, it would have obscured teachers' different notions of the concept and expectations for workplace interaction.

[22] Debate exists among statisticians and other researchers regarding the appropriateness of converting categorical measures into continuous measures for use in parametric tests of statistical significance. A key concern is whether ordinal categorical data, in which the distance between possible responses may not be equal, can be treated as interval data. Useful summaries of this debate include Susan Johnson's "Likert scales: how to ab(use) them," James Carifio and Rocco J. Perla's "Ten Common Misunderstandings, Misconceptions, Persistent Myths and Urban Legends about Likert Scales and Likert Response Formats and their Antidotes," and Gene Glass, Percy Peckham and James Sanders seminal 1972 paper, "Consequences of Failure to Meet Assumptions Underlying the Fixed Effects Analysis of Variance and Covariance." For my purposes, and in light of the guidance provided by these authors, I treat my composite variables as continuous measures given that a.) the categorical survey items are based on a four point scale representing a latent underlying variable that is continuous, b.) the composite measures are not single items but rather are the average of fifteen survey items, and c.) the resulting composite variables are normally distributed.

[23] Although my four-point tone scale, ranging from "confrontational" and "tense" to "pleasant" and "collaborative" may not be mutually exclusive, as the emotional quality of an interaction is not necessarily the same as its style, allowing, for example, a collaborative interaction to be either pleasant or tense, the survey's presentation of options on a four-point Likert scale implies a single continuum available for the respondent's answer.

[24] During exploratory analyses, I also examined the relationship between teacher voice and teachers' level of education and years of experience at a respondent's current school. As I did not find any statistically significant relationships, these variables were dropped from the final analysis.

[25] Respondents were only asked about the implementation of educational and employment issues. Matters of policy were not addressed given that the issues involved are typically not "implemented or addressed" after single voice interactions but are rather resolved over longer periods of time, with the input of multiple stakeholders, through political, legislative, or regulatory actions.

[26] A good example of the application of the idea of the marginal consumer to education policy is in J. Buckley and M. Schneider, *Charter Schools, Hope or Hype?* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007).

[27] Other exploratory analyses examined the relationship between my three composite voice measures and teachers' *Level of Education* and whether the respondent is *Married* and has any *Children*. As no significant differences were identified between teachers with different levels of education, those who are married or unmarried, and those with or without children ($p > .10$), these results were not included in the summary of findings.

[28] Exploratory analysis confirmed that "focus district" status did not have a significant relationship to voice levels and that the inclusion of "unionized" status did not explain a meaningful increase in the model's variance if the charter/district measure was included; for these reasons, both measures were omitted from the final analysis for model parsimony. The same was true for my measure of student suspensions, and it was not included in final analyses.

Conclusion: Teacher Voice Tomorrow

[1] Associated Press, "Ohio Moves to Restrict Collective Bargaining," *Education Week¸* April 6, 2011; S. Cavanagh, "New Laws Curbing Public-Worker Bargaining Besieged," *Education Week,* April 20, 2011; S. Sawchuk, "States Eye Curbs on Collective Bargaining by Teachers," Education Week, February 9, 2011; S. Cavanagh, "Major Changes to Teacher Tenure, Hiring and Firing Coming in Illinois?" April 14, 2011; Tapscott, M., "Idaho Ends Tenure for Union Public School Teachers," *Washington Examiner,* Washington, DC, March 3, 2011; L. Alvarez, "Florida House Approves Ending Tenure for New Teachers," *The New York Times*, March 16, 2011; A. Sher, "With a Signature, Teachers' Union Loses Influence in Tenn." *Chattanooga Times Free Press*, Tennessee, June 2, 2011.

[2] M. Prater, and C. McCabe, "5,000 Converge in Ohio, Urge State to Stand Up for Workers," www.educationvotes.nea.org/2011/02/17/5000-converge-in-ohio-urge-state-to-stand-up-for-workers/, February 17, 2011; M. DeFour, "Madison schools closed Wednesday due to district-wide teacher sickout," *Wisconsin State Journal*, February 16, 2011; S. Cavanagh, S. "Money, Policy Tangled in Wisconsin Labor Feud," *Education Week,* March 2, 2011; T. Marshall, and R. Matus, "With eye on Wisconsin, Florida teachers gear up for rallies," *St. Petersburg Times*, February 22, 2011; M. Hendley, "Broward Teachers Union Protesting Tonight Over 1,400 Teacher Firings, Budget Spending," *Broward Palm Beach New Times*, May 24, 2011; T. Gantert, "The West Bloomfield Teacher 'Sick Out'," *The Michigan Capital Confidential*, February 18, 2011; S. Edelman, "Inflamed UFT takes Wisconsin tack," *The New York Post,* May 8, 2011; M. Davey, "Judge's Order Blocks Law on Unions in Wisconsin," *New York Times,* March 18, 2011; Associated Press, "Indiana Unions Face Restrictions," *Education Week,* April 27, 2011; S. Greenhouse, "Ohio Lawmakers Pass Anti-Union Bill," *The New York Times,* March 30, 2011.

[3] Associated Press, "Idaho school reform foes hand in petitions," Education Week, June 7, 2011; S. Sawchuk, "States Eye Curbs on Collective Bargaining by Teachers"; Tennessee Education Association, *Tennesse's Teachers Will Not Be Silenced,* www.teateachers.org/images/Users/Publications/TEACH/

March_2011_teach_forWeb.pdf, March 2011; L. Fuller, "Unions Represent the Voice of the People," http://neatoday.org/2011/03/09/ unions-represent-the-voice-of-the-people/, March 9, 2011.

4 S. Cavanagh, "New Laws Curbing Public-Worker Bargaining Besieged"; T. Luhby, "Ohio governor slashes $8B from budget," http://money.cnn.com/2011/03/15/news/economy/ ohio_kasich_budget/index.htm, March 15, 2011; Journal-Sentinel Editorial, "Steps in the right direction but quite a few missteps, too," http://www.jsonline.com/news/opinion/123665029.html, June 11, 2011; E. McNichol, P. Oliff, and N. Johnson, "States Continue to Feel Recession's Impact," Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, Washington, D.C., March 9, 2011; T. Gabriel, "Teachers Wonder, Why the Scorn?" *The New York Times,* March 2, 2011; S. Cavanagh, "Money, Policy Tangled in Wisconsin Labor Feud," *Education Week,* March 2, 2011.

5 J. Zimmerman, "When Teachers Talk Out of School," *The New York Times,* Saturday, June 4, 2011; Associated Press, "Idaho school reform foes hand in petitions"; http://news.blogs.cnn.com/2011/02/16/ teacher-natalie-munroe-defends-blog-comments-about-whiny-students/.

6 E. Robelen, "Frustration at Heart of Washington Rally," *Education Week,* June 15, 2011; S. Sawchuck, "Districts, Unions Seek to Improve Relations," *Education Week*, February 23, 2011.

7 Erik Robelen, "Frustration at Heart of Washington Rally."

8 G. Decker, "Matt Damon criticizes Eva Moskowitz's charters at D.C. rally," http://gothamschools.org /2011/08/01/matt-damon-criticizes-eva-moskowitzs-charters-at-d-c-rally/; N. Shah, "Education Policy Critics Take Heated Message to White House Door," *Education Week,* August 10, 2011.

9 http://technorati.com, search term "education"; http://edublogs.org/, number of blogs indicated on their homepage and at http://oedb.org/library/features/top-100-education-blogs; LinkedIn statistics from http://edudemic.com/2011/03/linkedin-teachers/ and http://www.educationalnetworking.com/ List+of+Networks; http://www.classroom20.com/; http://www.csmonitor.com/USA/Education/ 2011/0217/Natalie-Munroe-calls-out-whiny-kids-Do-teacher-blogs-help-or-hurt-schools; all websites accessed on January 29, 2011.

10 "Training the Hybrid Educator," *Education Week*, Nov. 2, 2011; "Live Webinar: Reaching Special Education Students Through Online Learning," *Education Week*, August 24, 2011; A. Lu, "Twitter Seen Evolving into Professional-Development Tool," *Education Week* courtesy of the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, July 13, 2011; M. R. Davis, "Social Media Feeds Freewheeling PD," *Education Week,* October 26, 2011; "Join In," *Education Week*, January 18, 2012; Associated Press, "Missouri Teachers Challenging Law on Cyber Talk," *Education Week*, August, 26, 2011; Ed Tech 2012, "Boosting Student Achievement" [paid advertisement], Education Week, September 14, 2011.

11 http://www.csmonitor.com/USA/Education/ 2011/0217/Natalie-Munroe-calls-out-whiny-kids-Do-teacher-blogs-help-or-hurt-schools; one example is the United Federation of Teacher's website, www.edwize.org, to which the author has been a contributor; http://www.huffingtonpost.com/education/.

12 The potential risks posed to democratic deliberation and civic life by a shift from broad participatory membership organizations to issue advocacy groups have been thoughtfully explored by Theda Skocpol in *Diminished Democracy: From Membership to Management in American Civic Life.*

13 C. Christensen, M. Horn, and C. Johnson, *Disrupting Class, How Disruptive Innovation Will Change the Way the World Learns* (New York: McGraw Hill, 2008) p. 98; Moe, *Special Interest*, p. 374-377; T. Moe and J. Chubb, *Liberating Learning: Technology, Politics, and the Future of American Education* (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, 2009).

14 Christensen, *Disrupting Class,* p. 101; Moe, *Special Interest*, p. 374-385.

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