ALBERT SHANKER, PRES., AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS: Thank you very much. During the reception which preceded this luncheon, one of the reporters came up to me and said, "Well, the last time you were here, it was just the last minute in the question period that one of us managed to prod the news from you." That was a warning, so instead of waiting until the last minute, I think the time is now, at the very beginning, to state that I am here to do something that I believe no national organization in American education has called for before, and that is to call for a national teacher examination.

There have been organizations -- ours included -- favoring the idea of some examination for teachers. There have been localities that have developed their own tests, some states have developed theirs, and there exists a national teacher exam. But this is a call for something quite different.

The context of this call [for a national test for new teachers] is the reform movement of the last year. We in the American Federation of Teachers, while we have a few differences with a few of the proposals, support the overwhelming majority of specific proposals called for in the various reports which came out last year. And even on those that we do not specifically support or those with which we have some reservations, we believe that the movement for reform is so important that we are willing to talk of compromise on those issues.

Central to the issue of educational excellence and improvement is a staff, specifically teachers, who are capable of carrying out the program which is outlined in these reports. Many of the reports do call for examinations, and a number of the states have now adopted examinations. But the current examining process is very inadequate.

First, the examinations themselves would be considered a joke by any other profession. For the most part they are minimal competency examinations for teachers. What does minimal competency mean? Well, in a state like Florida, minimal competency for an elementary school teacher in mathematics is to pass an examination on a sixth-grade mathematics level. There are similar examinations involving English, involving history, involving other subjects.

Now, this would be the equivalent of licensing doctors on the basis of an examination in elementary biology or licensing accountants and actuaries on the basis of some type of elementary mathematics examination. I don't wish to criticize the states that have adopted these tests. It was difficult for them to do it. They met a great deal of opposition. In many cases they met court challenges. What they have done is to take the first step. But it's important to distinguish a necessary first step from an adequate program of testing, which is quite different.

I think the second problem, aside from the nature of the examination, is that we about to face once again the traditional crunch: the conflict that exists at the state and local level between quantity and quality. We know what's coming. We've seen the statistics. Depending upon whether you
take a more or less optimistic projection, it's quite likely that even in fields other than mathematics and science we will be experiencing, within the next five years, a substantial teacher shortage nationally.

In fields like medicine, if one experiences a shortage of doctors, you do not find states or hospitals giving anyone a substitute emergency medical license to go out and practice. And we don't do it in law or dentistry or in any other field. But our local education agencies will be faced with the usual tough choices as this shortage emerges and grows. They could do the equivalent of what most other professions would do, and do indeed do. That is, after the children come to school and after each teacher's class is full, they could turn to the remaining students and parents and say, "Sorry, there is a shortage of teachers and those of you who could not be accommodated this semester will be given the first opportunity to take the first grade next semester or next year."

The schools won't do that. There is a custodial function to schools, and there is no place in the country where the children will be sent home. They will be permitted to enter.

And so the local education agency is then faced with other choices. They can stand tough and say, "We will not employ anyone who is not qualified by whatever standards have been established. We will not employ, even on a temporary basis, anyone to be a teacher who does not meet these standards."

Well, and of course, that would mean that the number of teachers now available would have to divide among them the additional number of students. We would see class size going up each year or each semester in the coming years till perhaps we had classes, nationally, at a level of 40 or 43 or 44 or 45. That, too, is quite unlikely. Teachers will complain. Union contracts will undoubtedly in many cases be violated. Parents would complain that the quality of education is deteriorating because the number of children in the class is too large.

And so, of course, school boards will do, and states will do, what they have always done. They will ignore the standards which they established. They will at first make believe that they're not ignoring them, because they will claim that the people who are being employed are not really going to be there very long. They will be temporary teachers or substitute teachers or emergency teachers, and they will be about as temporary as the temporary buildings that were set up in Washington, D.C., at the end of World War II.

They will be around, and they will become members of the teacher union in the district and will constitute a large number of people in the state who will teach 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 years. And eventually they will constitute a political block powerful enough to go to the state legislature to get some type of legislation to get themselves the right certificate. Because, after all, it's unfair to use someone day in, day out, exactly as though they were qualified, keep them there for all those years and then tell them that they have no right to a pension or no right to some other benefits.

So, in the midst of all these reports and all this talk about excellence and quality, we're actually about to lower standards and lower the quality, because the minute that we relax these standards that's what we do.

Of course, there is another alternative -- one that I haven't mentioned -- and that is that school boards, if they find that they are not able to attract
the number of qualified teachers they need, could turn to the public (or states
could do the same thing) and say, "We obviously are not paying enough or we're
not treating our people well, or those who are now here are leaving in great
numbers and we ought to do something about that." That also is not very likely
unless there is something new that happens. Certainly in the past that was
not the way in which it was done.

And so I want to return to this notion of a national teacher examination.
I want to make it very clear that I am not talking about a national teacher
examination established by the United States government. I don't think that's
the right place for such an examination to evolve. There are other professional
groups that essentially do have national types of examinations (though there
may be some regional variations). There are examinations given to doctors
and to actuaries. There is a bar exam which contains important national components.
And none of those is established or created or maintained by the United States
government.

I assume that a process similar to that which established those procedures
and examinations could be, and indeed should be, developed in education. Now,
whenever you're starting something, there will not be the great certainty
that exists after something has been in place for 30 or 40 or 50 years and
people can say, "Ah, that's obviously the way to do it, and it's simple." But a start should be made. There should be a convening within the next six
months of a group of leaders of educational organizations, of college presidents
and perhaps (because they have some experience with this) of leading professionals
in other fields to constitute themselves as an independent group, non-governmental --
an American board of professional education. The name is not important but
the notion is very clear.

It would be a group which would spend a period of time studying what
is it that a teacher should know before becoming certified, and how do you
measure it? And it would seek to have instruments established. It might
be that existing testing agencies would create such instruments, which could
be looked at and evaluated by this board. Over a period of time, I would
hope that the board eventually would be controlled by the profession itself,
even if it didn't start completely that way.

I believe that in a period of 3 to 5 years such an instrument could
be created, and it would most likely include three general areas. One of
them obviously is the subject matter that a teacher needs -- and I hope that
that would not be tested at the sixth-grade level. It is important that the
teachers know more than the students they're teaching -- much more. If you
can't reach a student the first or second or third time, each time you have
to find a different way of approaching the subject, and the only way to know
a different way is to know a lot more than what you're teaching at that given
moment.

But I would go a step further to say that, even at the earliest grades,
the motivation of a teacher to teach a child to read could not be very great
if that teacher himself or herself has not experienced the joy of reading
great books; motivation in teaching the elements of arithmetic could not be
very great if at some point that teacher has not experienced the power of
that language. [So, subject matter knowledge is first.]

Second, something which is missing from almost all such examinations
now, and which is tested in other professions, is the ability to make judgments
that would justify instructional decisions. There is a knowledge base in education. It's right to do certain things and it's wrong to do others, and it's even important for prospective teachers to know what is not yet known. Just as it's important for a doctor to know those diseases for which we as yet have no cure, it's important for teachers to know what is known and what is not known. Professional examinations generally consist in testing the ability to apply certain general principles and research knowledge to specific situations. At the present time, there are no [teacher] examinations to do that.

The third aspect of an examination, before someone finally gets the ticket, ought to be an internship program. Teaching is the only profession that I know of where a person begins the first day with the same responsibility that he or she will have the last day -- a profession in which practice and performance are certainly as important as intellectual knowledge, but it's just assumed that you can take someone who's been to college for four or five years and throw him into a classroom the first day to sink or swim. I know of no major corporation, I know of no law firm -- and certainly not the medical profession -- that introduces people that way. Any other profession which involves any complexity is quite different.

Now, of course, this idea, too, takes an investment. And it's going to be difficult to get an internship at a period of shortage, because instead of taking new individuals and giving them a full program right away, you've got to employ more new people because the new person isn't going to be teaching a full program. Or it means that an experienced person is going to have to be relieved of some teaching time in order to help some of the new people.

Unless we make that investment, we will be getting people who don't know their subject matter. We will be getting people who have no knowledge of what is known in education or how to apply it. And we will not really be giving anyone any help in terms of practical and performance matters. And in a few years we will grant them tenure and they will be with us for a long, long time.

Now, what would make the very existence of such an examination effective? How do we know that anybody's going to pay any attention to it? So what? So a bunch of educational leaders, college presidents and others sit together, figure out what it ought to be and eventually they say, "This is it. This group has invented or created the right instrument." I suggest that there are a number of things that can be done on a voluntary basis which, over a period of time, could have a substantial effect on boards of education and on states throughout the country.

I would say, first, that there ought to be just publicity. Such a board of professional education could publish, on an annual basis, a list of all those states which agree to employ only those who have passed the examination. So you would have each year a certain number of states that are in compliance and a certain number of states where the general public knows -- and it will be headlined in each of those states -- that this is one of the states that is hiring people who are below a standard which has been set by a group which has some national recognition.

I think, second, that there would be movements in that case in the states that did not comply and in local districts that did not comply. There would be movements to pass laws in the states, laws which would do for teaching
what is already done for other professions; namely, that any school board
member or school superintendent who knowingly employs anyone who has not met
the standard is subject to criminal prosecution. We'd have to do it slowly
or the jails would be full. (LAUGHTER)

(I think that the mere publication of the list, by the way, would have
an effect. After all, the number of Michelin stars that a restaurant has
is important, and if some chefs and restaurant owners have been known to commit
suicide in losing one star, we might find that some school boards could be
motivated in the same way.)

I would say that, third, there could be something the teacher organizations
could do. I am prepared to say that within a period of three years after
the establishment of such an examination, the American Federation of Teachers
would be ready to say that we would not accept into membership any person
hired as a teacher who had not met this standard, and we would urge the National
Education Association to establish a standard for membership in exactly the
same way. (Applause)

We believe that the impact of this would be very great. There would
be pressure on states to adopt a standard which is high enough. The existence
of such an examination, with large numbers of people taking it, would provide
an interesting barometer on an annual basis. Just as we now have SAT scores
and ACT scores and LSAT scores and others, we would have a national barometer
which would tell us on an annual basis the caliber of the people who are applying,
and in what numbers, to the profession -- a piece of information which we
do not have at the present time.

Finally, I do not believe that the traditional objection that such an
examination would cause all colleges and universities and schools of education
to offer exactly the same lock-step curriculum is any more valid in the field
of education than it is to say the existence of medical examinations or bar
examinations means that all law schools and all medical schools have exactly
the same curriculum. They don't. There are different ways of preparing people
for those professions, and there will continue to be different ways in ours.

This, then, is our proposal. We believe very strongly that the benefits
of reform will soon go down the drain in a teacher shortage and in lower standards
to meet that shortage unless such an examination is created. We, for our
part, are willing to do something that's very difficult for us, and that is
to refuse to accept future teachers who do not meet that standard. We will
work hard to make this become a reality.

(APPLAUSE)

Questions and Answers from the Audience

DAVID HESS; President, National Press Club: Thank you, Mr. Shanker.
Now for the questions. Since a national standard of performance would be
the aim of this exam, how do you keep the federal government from establishing
a base line for the examination?

SHANKER: I don't see the federal government being interested. They've
had a chance for 200 years. Nobody has proposed it. I don't see the federal
government coming in at all. They haven't in other fields. You don't see
the federal government coming in and setting a base line for doctors or lawyers
or actuaries, dentists, engineers, or any other group. I would see no reason why they would do it in this field if they haven't done it in others.

HESS: Would this examination be a recurring requirement for teachers and would it lead to federal licensing of teachers?

SHANKER: Well, lawyers and doctors, even though their examinations are of a national character, are still licensed by states. And I assume the same would be true for teachers. On the question of relicensing, that is an issue which I believe teachers would have to accept the same fate as people in other professions. I don't believe that teachers ought to be singled out. Probably, developments occur more rapidly in the world of medicine than in the world of teaching English or mathematics. But if other professions are required to be periodically reexamined, then teachers would not be exempt from such reexamination. On the other hand, where other professions do not require it, I don't think that teachers ought to be singled out.

HESS: Mr. Shanker, if a person passed the examination without also going to college, could he or she be qualified to teach insofar as local or state or federal regulations might be in effect?

SHANKER: I'm ready to take the bar exam right now! (LAUGHTER)

HESS: Explain how the teacher exam would be enforced in more detail and what would happen to locals who didn't meet the standard.

SHANKER: I think the only thing that would happen at first is that they would be damaged in their reputation. But I do think that in the not-too-distant future, we would have a movement within states to make it a legal requirement. And I believe that once it's a legal requirement, it would operate the same as the legal requirements of other professions.

HESS: What effect might the national teacher exam have on minorities who seek to pursue a teaching career? Evidence, according to the questioner here, is accumulating that minority teachers currently perform poorly on existing exams, leading to the danger of highly disproportionate representation of minorities in the schools -- perhaps as few as five percent of all teachers in the 1990s.

SHANKER: I think we have the same problem in all professions and something is being done about it. There are some very excellent programs [for the disadvantaged], and I'm not talking now about programs that are extreme types of quota programs, which produce numbers but ultimately give those programs a very bad reputation. But there are quality programs which find minority youngsters early enough.

One [program] that I had a meeting on yesterday was sponsored by the Macy Foundation. It's an outstanding program that reaches youngsters who are beginning high school, minority youngsters who cannot yet compete on examinations to get into high schools of special talent. These are students who've been selected because, in the judgment of teachers and supervisors, they are terrific students but their scores don't show that very well because they are overcoming some very great obstacles.

I think that there would have to be summer programs to reach poor minority youngsters. But I don't think that examinations discriminate against minorities. They discriminate against those who can't pass the examination, and that includes
members of majorities. We, as a society, would not want a program which would put into place people who practice medicine or airline pilots because we feel that we have to provide a certain number of spaces on the basis of race or ethnicity. I believe the same about teaching. I also believe that, given the proper outreach program and a sensitivity to the problem and special help, we will end up with the right numbers over a period of time. In the short run, we'll have this problem. The current examinations have the problem as well.

HESS: Mr. Shanker, would the exam be only for teachers of kindergarten through the twelfth grade? How would college teaching be affected?

SHANKER: Well, colleges do research. The colleges have their own system. I think that their own systems may come under some challenge. We were just discussing here the most recent Carnegie Report, which is a very interesting one about the extent of education that's now taking place in private industry, including programs leading to degrees. Most colleges and universities have employed people and retained them not based on what they do to teach, or not on their impact on students, but on the quality of the research and the professional reputation of the individual. I think that some of the competitive institutions that are now growing in the private sector -- that do emphasize what happens to the students in those programs and what they gain -- may very well provide a very great challenge to our higher education institutions. Not to get away from research, but to have an emphasis that's equally great on teaching and learning, which has not been there in the past.

HESS: Would teachers in private schools as well as public schools have to take this exam?

SHANKER: They would only have to if the states compelled them to or if they voluntarily agreed to it. I think the same pressure ought to be there; that is, if state governments enforce compulsory education laws and if they say that if you don't go to a public school you may get your education in a private school, then I think the state has the obligation to maintain the same quality in systems whether they are private or public. You do not have a system in this country where someone who practices medicine in a Lutheran hospital or a Jewish hospital or Catholic hospital doesn't have to be a doctor or doesn't have to be certified by the state. They do. There's a public interest and the same public interest exists with respect to the education of children.

HESS: This questioner asks what's wrong with the current National Teachers Exam established by the Educational Testing Service?

SHANKER: Well, I would have a long speech about what's wrong with the one that's existed up to now. It is sort of a minimum competency examination that does not have very much in the way of a professional knowledge base. It has some types of common-sense questions on professional matters. Part III, of course, is completely missing -- the internship -- but I don't want to stand here and criticize that examination. It's better than nothing, and, furthermore, the Educational Testing Service, I understand, is revamping that entire examination. And it's my understanding that there will be an effort to include materials in future examinations that deal with professional judgment and a professional knowledge base. I haven't seen yet what they're coming up with so I'm not going to endorse it. But that's an examination that's in transition. When it's finished, it may very well be the one that this national board will say, "That's it." Or it may be that somebody else will come up with a better one.

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HESS: The national board itself -- would it be presidentially appointed? How would the members of that board be designated for the job?

SHANKER: I don't have any answer to that, but there's a mechanism that's taking place in California right now. There is a state commission dealing with the question of the teaching profession and it's privately funded with private foundation funds. The members of the commission were appointed by public figures, but in a private capacity. That is, the state commissioner of education appointed some and the head of the education committee of the state assembly appointed some and the state senate did. These are public figures but they didn't do it as the result of any act of legislation. They did it because they are concerned and knowledgeable people. And they came up with a very outstanding group in California. I think that a process similar to that on a national basis could result in pulling together a group, a prestigious group, that would be able to do the job.

HESS: Is this proposal for a national teacher exam official AFT policy or is this something that you're just putting on the table now?

SHANKER: It didn't come up at our last convention but it has been discussed by our executive council, and there is no doubt that it is in conformity with past policies and is not merely a personal idea.

HESS: Again, to clarify an earlier question that arose, would the test apply to practicing teachers -- those who have been in the business for several years -- or just to those about to enter teaching?

SHANKER: Well, my recommendation is that, in order to gain acceptance and given the fact that half the teachers in this country will be new teachers -- newly hired within just a very short period of time -- the way to reduce opposition to any such examination would be to make it for new entrants. There's at least one state and maybe a second where the state legislature has adopted a reform proposal which would include practicing teachers. I think if you do that, common decency requires that you do more than just administer an examination.

After all, if the local education agency or a state employed somebody 5 or 10 or 15, 20 years ago, and has kept him there all these years, they have dirty hands. They did the hiring. It was their standards then. I would say that anybody who'd done that has an obligation to allow the current practitioners a number of chances. It probably owes them some special help. And I would go further and say that if somebody finally can't cut the mustard, that they are probably owed a job somewhere else in state government or county government -- jobs that these people can do if they can't pass the examination.

You've got to get over the transition. The easiest thing to do is to do it with new entrants, and that would be my preference. Where states decided to do more than that, I think they also have an obligation to take care of those whom they hired and have kept and have rated as satisfactory for a long period of time.

HESS: Some critics might see the exam as a way to create a new kind of economic elite and thus elevate teachers' income in much the same way that other professions have done, like doctors, lawyers. Will you comment on that?

SHANKER: I confess! (LAUGHTER) You might also get the same quality and the same standards to go with it. (APPLAUSE)
HESS: Is it fair to establish through the examination national standards that some teachers may not be able to meet because of deficiencies in their state teacher training programs?

SHANKER: Well, one of those very good reasons for establishing such an examination is that it will undoubtedly result in an improvement and a reform of teacher education. It will show that many such programs don't stand up. It will compel teacher colleges to screen their students before they come in. It will certainly be worse than an embarrassment for some institutions if they certify that someone can be a teacher and a very large percentage of their graduates do very poorly on such an examination. What would we think of a medical school where 75 percent of the graduates year after year failed the medical examination or a law school where no one passes the bar examination? That would tell you something about that school, and I think it's about time that we had an instrument that tells us something about education schools, as well.

HESS: Mr. Shanker, what's the difference between the internship program you propose and the teaching practicums now in place in most educational curriculum?

SHANKER: Well, if you mean practice teaching in college, it's a very artificial experience. It's a short time. A person really does not have any responsibility; [he or she] comes in from the outside. It is a very artificial situation. It's better than nothing. It's the only practical experience that most teachers have before they become full-time teachers. It is not a substitute for two or three years of planning, trying things out, observing different teachers, and developing a collegial relationship with others. It just cannot compare. It would be the equivalent of saying that instead of a doctor having an internship, we'll forget about the internship and the last year of medical school. The doctor will go to a hospital for one hour a day or two hours a day and get a little bit of practice in. That's what we're doing now. It's just very different.

HESS: If a new examination is established, what would happen to the current requirements that new teachers must take involving certain college courses to be licensed? Would those college courses become passe?

SHANKER: I think one of the things this national board would do would be to look over the knowledge base and ask the question, "What is known and what is it that we should test teachers on?" I think that it would result in many colleges giving courses that are not now generally available and which should be. And I think it might result in the elimination of some courses, at least the elimination of them as requirements. They could be available for certain people who wanted to have knowledge in that particular field, but they might very well not be viewed as part of what it is a teacher must have.

I do believe that the creation of such an exam would bring about changes in the curriculum in higher education and the professional courses.

HESS: Mr. Shanker, have you floated this idea with the secretary of education designate, William Bennett, or with the superintendent of public instruction in California, since both presumably would be major players in putting together such a national board?

SHANKER: Not yet. I hope they're watching the show. (LAUGHTER)
HESS: What reaction do you expect to your proposal from the NEA (one), the White House (two), teachers and Congress -- not necessarily in that order?

SHANKER: Well, I think Congress doesn't really have a role. I think that many Congressmen as individuals would undoubtedly favor it. I don't know why anyone would oppose it. I don't know what the reaction of the White House will be. I haven't tried it there. I hope that the NEA would support it, but in view of their general opposition to testing .... Or if they are finally dragged to the point where they will say that it's all right to give a test, they don't want to have any passing mark on it. But I do not believe that their official view is one that represents the views of teachers in this country. And since they are engaged in competition with us, and since they do have elections within their own organization, I believe that over a period of time, the policies of that organization will reflect the views of their members.

I believe their members would like to be professionals in the same sense that others are professionals. And they realize that they're not about to have the status, the salary, not about to have a general public which gives the confidence to teachers to make the same type of decisions that other professionals do, unless the quality of those teachers is certified by some such procedure. So I believe they'll come around. And I hope it's sooner rather than later.

HESS: -- the NEA, and the White House, teachers?

SHANKER: I think teachers will like the idea. We have done a good deal of polling. There are now several polls: there's a Gallup poll, there's a nationwide Harris poll, sponsored by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company. We have done polls in many states. There is not a single poll that has come out nationally or locally or statewide, and there now are a substantial number of them, in which teachers do not believe that there ought to be an examination for entering teachers. The idea of an examination for those who are already practicing divides teachers much more. But the overwhelming majority favor it.

I don't know that most teachers out there have sat around thinking about the implications of a national teacher exam as against one given by the state or one where the local agency determines what the cut-off point is. But I must assume that when teachers answer the question and overwhelmingly, by majorities like 80 to 85 percent, answer that they believe that beginning teachers should have to pass a test, they really want future teachers to be highly qualified; they like the public to know that they are highly qualified and to respect them. They would like to make sure that there aren't any incompetents and illiterates, because they realize that that makes their own work much harder and their reputation suffers. And so I don't see why they would oppose this, since I believe that doing it on a national basis is the only way to make it work.

I think that teachers will quickly come to see that local examinations will be played around with, as will state examinations. You know, if you get enough of a shortage, there will only be one examination. Put the feather in front of the nose. If it moves, you're hired. And teachers know that. They've seen it happen and they don't like it. So I think there will be that support.
HESS: Mr. Shanker, what percentage of the nation's teachers do you believe are now competent? It's a serious question from a journalist, so be honest.

SHANKER: I don't have any way of knowing. I think it's a very high percentage. There are some incompetents, but I think it's a very high percentage that is competent. I think that we are still living with a handful of Depression-era people. There were a large number of people who came into teaching at the end of the 50s, many women who today would go into other professions but then felt that they were barred. Many teachers came in because of draft exemptions, many came in because they felt that there would be another Depression. That is, I think we got a lot of outstanding people for some very bad reasons. And we still have them, though they're leaving. The people who are now the high school seniors who say they want to become teachers rank near the bottom -- about 15th out of 19 different occupations [of those taking pre-college aptitude tests]. They score very low. Now we don't know whether those will be the ones who end up actually becoming teachers. But if the high school seniors who say they're going to become teachers, indeed, do become the teachers, then the percentages [of competent] in the future will not be very high. They will be very, very low.

HESS: In your plan will the National Examination Board set the passing score, or would each state establish its own score, as is done now?

SHANKER: No, I think that's a key. If each state establishes its own score, it might as well burn up the examination. I think that it would have this national board stating that if [a person] falls below a certain point, such a person, in our judgment, is not competent to be a teacher. Otherwise, you begin these incremental changes. Well, the score now is going to be 75, while some state decides that well, it's not going to be 75, it's going to be 72. That's not much different, is it? And then, the next year it's 68. Well, that's not much different. Before you finish, you don't have a standard at all. Any cutoff point is arbitrary. And there will undoubtedly be people who fail and who get a few points below. Let them take it again. If they're that close, they can take it again, they can pass the second time or the third time. But if you don't have a standard which is a standard, if it's moving at different times and in different places, then it's not a standard at all.

HESS: Is it true, Mr. Shanker, that in some school districts, the janitor makes more than the teacher?

SHANKER: Oh, yes, it's true -- not only the janitor, but we have school districts where matrons on buses which transport handicapped children make more than the teachers. We have, in New York City, those who repair windowshades in the schools who earn $19,500 as a starting salary, whereas teachers earn $14,500 in salary. And, of course, one of the big problems that we have, especially in urban school districts across the country, is that it doesn't make any difference to them if you have to raise standards. The only thing that matters for a city government is that they maintain parity with other municipal employees.

So you could have a situation where, as is true in New York, in a recent announcement for a policeman's examination, 40,000 applicants came, whereas there are over 1,000 teachers who applied last year without meeting the minimum standards. Yet from the city government's point of view, the only important
thing is that all employees get either the same percentage increase or, if there is any difference, the uniformed service should get a little higher than everybody else. You have urban policies in this country that have nothing to do with what the quality of educational professional services will be, but that treat all of these things as a local political issue rather than as a market issue or as a professional issue.

HESS: Mr. Shanker, will you frame legislation and seek a Congressional sponsor for this idea? And who in Congress seems most favorably disposed toward it?

SHANKER: I'm going to seek out some individuals who could be part of the appointing process, to appoint such a group. And not through legislation, but in their individual capacity. And I don't think that it's fair for me to say who it is I will approach on this until I've approached them.

HESS: People looking at the field of education do not see salaries at a level that would attract them into the profession. How is this going to be corrected?

SHANKER: Well, there's been some substantial movement in some places -- California, or I see that in New Jersey the fight now is between the governor and the legislature as to whether it will be $18,500 or $19,500 as a starting salary. I think that the effect of the reform movement over the last year has been to improve salaries -- but not enough. I also think that we ought to be looking not only at salaries, but we ought to be looking at other things that could bring people into the profession.

For example, a lot of people are college professors. That doesn't pay an awful lot of money. A lot of people like the lifestyle. There's no reason why we could not say that a person who is a teacher isn't going to get rich. They know that. Even if we raise salaries, they're still not going to get rich. But there's no reason why we couldn't say that teachers [like college professors] every seven years would be guaranteed the right to a sabbatical leave. Sabbatical leaves are very inexpensive. A teacher who's at top salary is usually replaced by a teacher who is at bottom salary, which is half the amount. If the sabbatical is paid for over a seven-year period, and it doesn't go obviously to those who have left teaching during that seven years .... that could be paid for by something like a four percent salary set-aside each year -- a very small amount of money.

So, it's very attractive to go to a bright college person and say, "Look, do you want to go out there in the business world? You'll earn some more money, but it is a rat race. You'll get your four weeks vacation or maybe six if you're lucky and you'll wait until you retire till you can ever do the things that you want to do -- take long trips, go back to college, do other things there." There would be people out there who would say, "I will take a job that pays a little less if every seven years I can have seven months off to do all the things that everybody else dreams of doing." So, in addition to salaries, we ought to be thinking about other incentives that are not necessarily expensive, but incentives that are questions of an improvement in lifestyle.

Third, we cannot underline too much the fact that many people don't come to teaching or don't stay because it is not a satisfying job. The question of discipline, the question of violence, the question of having to mark the
papers of 150 to 200 students -- it's an impossible job. And I would say, more than anything else, the way you are treated in a school by administration [determines your coming into teaching and staying].

Most teachers are treated almost the way the children are at any level of the school system. And unless teachers are treated better, you're not going to get people who "got smarts." You're not going to get people and keep people who have a sense of judgment if they are being put into what is not essentially a professional situation where they are respected and enabled to exercise judgment, where they have the time and the ability to confer with their colleagues and to have a professional life, but where they're locked into a room for their entire lives with 30 or 35 students and where they are really in an educational factory being given rules and regulations and observed as to every little thing they do by an assistant principal, chairman or principal. In our current school system you almost get the feeling that the reason that teachers are so observed and looked at and evaluated constantly is that [people] feel that anybody who would take a job at that salary can't be very good, and you better watch them closely.

So the people we're going to get under this proposal are going to have to be well paid .... They'll have to be well paid, but they will also have to be treated with dignity. They're not the kind of people who are just going to take orders, that's not what a professional does.

HESS: We're close to the end of the program. I would like to present you with this certificate of appreciation for coming to the club to speak today and a National Press Club windbreaker to ward off the slings and arrows of the NEA. (LAUGHTER THEN APPLAUSE) And the final question, sir -- when will you run for public office? Isn't it time for a teacher president? (LAUGHTER)

SHANKER: Well, I thought of that once. In 1969 I negotiated a contract with Mayor Lindsay and every place I went taxicabs wouldn't charge me a fare, newspaper vendors would give me a free copy of the Times in the morning, and it really went to my head. Then I thought of the contract I had just negotiated, and I decided against running because I didn't want to have to pay for the contract. (LAUGHTER)

HESS: Thank you, Albert Shanker. And that concludes today's National Press Club luncheon.