1956

The Chicago Teachers Union: A Study of Its Programs, Problems, And Possibilities

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THE CHICAGO TEACHERS UNION: A STUDY
OF ITS PROGRAM, PROBLEMS,
AND POSSIBILITIES

by

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A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the Institute of
Social and Industrial Relations in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree of Master of Social
and Industrial Relations

June
1956
Charles Paul Skibbens was born in Chicago, Illinois, October 22, 1928.

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PREFACE

Thanks are due to John M. Fewkes, President of the Chicago Teachers Union, and especially to Robert Adams, Administrative Assistant to the President, for his patient understanding and generous use of time through many conferences. The author accepts full responsibility for the ideas expressed here.
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Importance of the Study

Today there is much talk about the shortage of elementary and high school teachers, about their being underpaid and about the poor conditions under which they often work. The educational journals are full of articles stating the pros and cons of these conditions, why they exist, where they exist and what teachers, administrators, the public, and unions are doing about them. In Chicago salaries are high, working conditions generally agreed to be good, and demands not excessive, yet Chicago also suffers a lack of certificated teachers along with the rest of the nation.

Chicago is the home of Local 1 of the American Federation of Teachers, the Chicago Teachers Union. This is the largest teachers union in the Nation, operating in one of the largest school districts in the Nation, and all eyes are upon it. Teachers, Union teachers, school administrators and the public the Nation over are interested in the progress being made by the Chicago Teachers Union. The CTU is a leader and what it gains for its membership will eventually sift down to smaller school districts where Union and non-Union teachers are hoping and working toward
the same ends

A Statement of the Study

A brief history and the philosophy of the Chicago Teachers Union are presented, the organizational structure and the operation of the Union are gone into in more detail. The informal Union-Board relationship and how it operates in actual practice has been investigated and presented here. Some additional factors which seem to play an important part in the mode of operation of the Union, factors which influence and affect the attitude and activities of the membership are discussed. Finally in the light of what the author has learned about the Union, its goals, and its means of attaining these goals, he has offered several brief programs of action that appear to be necessary if the Union is to achieve its goals of service to the teachers of Chicago and to the pupils which the teachers in turn serve.

The hope is that some light can be shed on a national problem by studying locally one small aspect of it. If others can gain some insight into what the Chicago Teachers Union is trying to do, the means it is using to accomplish its ends, and the problems and harassments it encounters as it works toward its goals, something, however small will have been accomplished.
CHAPTER II

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE CHICAGO TEACHERS UNION

The Chicago Teachers Federation of 1897

Forty years prior to the establishment of the Chicago Teachers Union, a group of Chicago teachers formed the Chicago Teachers Federation (in 1897). This early organization was subject to great harassment by Chicago politicians and school administrators. This organization fought the school board politicians and real estate interests.

Beginning in 1911, the teachers besieged the state legislature year after year, raising the state school fund from one million to two million; then to three million in 1913, and so on up to fifty-five million by 1927.¹

In 1926 and 1927 organized teachers took the initiative and sued many of the delinquent large tax-payers in the city. The success of this venture is shown in the fact that they were directly instrumental in adding one-half million dollars to the

school budget. Needless to say some of this went toward teachers salaries. 2

**Efforts of Organized Teachers During the Depression**

The depression hit Chicago teachers just as it did many groups throughout the country; for four years, the teachers had only nine pay days on time, and by 1934, they were eight and one-half months in arrears; and this despite the fact that in 1933, fourteen hundred teachers were dismissed and remaining salaries were reduced twenty-three and one-half per cent. At this same time (1933) in a blundering effort to reduce school board costs, what was rated as the most effective part of the school system, the junior high schools, were abolished in one fell blow. 3

It was through the efforts of organized teachers that an RFC loan was finally secured in June, 1934, and by August of that year, pay rolls were once again going out on time, minus the twenty-three and one-half per cent pay cut. All this while tax collections in Chicago were two years behind the proper collection date and one-fifth of Chicago's population was unemployed. From 1933 to 1937, the salary range remained from eleven hundred dollars to twenty-nine hundred dollars. This total salary situation


3 *Chicago Union Teacher*, May, 1948, 5.
was a major factor in the organization of the Chicago Teachers Union in October, 1937.  

The Inception of the Chicago Teachers Union in 1937

The Chicago Teachers Union, Local No. 1, American Federation of Teachers, American Federation of Labor, was chartered in October, 1937, with John M. Fewkes as President. Four Union organizations, Local No. 2, the Men Teachers Union; Local No. 3, the Federation of Women High School Teachers; Local No. 209, the Playground Teachers Union; and Local No. 199, the Elementary Teachers Union, united into one powerful organization of 2,500 members. This united group was able to attract over 3,000 previously unorganized teachers so that within three months over one-half of all Chicago Teachers were united in this one organization.

The Union's Program

The first salary plank was complete restoration of the pre-1933 salary schedule. Also, in February, 1948 the Union began its fight for a basic single salary schedule. By 1943, the original 1933 schedule was won back in entirety, and in 1944, the Board of Education approved of the single salary schedule in principle and began a slow adjustment toward that end. Although


6 Chicago Union Teacher, February, 1948, 2.
salary adjustments have been high on the Union's platform, it has also given its untiring support to the following:

- Centralization of authority under the Superintendent
- Examinations open to all qualified applicants
- Larger state and national financial support for Chicago schools
- Reduction of teaching load
- Improvement of professional service through annual educational conferences
- Continuous committee activity on curricular problems, working conditions, human relations
- Cooperation with administration on all measures to the best interests of the schools
- Frank opposition to the administration on all measures adverse to the best interests of the schools
- Active cooperation with civic agencies in the education of the people of Chicago to the needs of their schools.

Also of importance is the carrying on of the Union initiated Grievance System which advises and aids Union members in such official difficulties as: involuntary transfer, inefficiency charges, demotion, mental or physical incapacity, personality conflicts; and in such legal difficulties as: assault and battery, suit by parents, arrest by parents, injury while on school premises; and other minor difficulties such as: unsatisfactory

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programming, unsatisfactory working conditions, coercion on collections. 8

The history of the Chicago teachers who, through their union, rescued the schools from corrupt political control likewise shows how negotiation with school authorities must be paralleled by community understanding and support. Their achievement is a tribute to the self-respect and courage of classroom teachers. Programs initiated by Local 1 have brought about many reforms in the Chicago school system, including an appointment policy based on professional criteria and unimpeachable examinations, open meetings of the board of education, a revised purchasing system, an end to summary demotions of teachers and school officials, and a school health program. The union has at all times cooperated with representative citizens from all walks of life who have worked sincerely and unceasingly on a broad program for improvements in the city schools. 9

The reasons behind the Chicago teachers strike threat of 1948 dramatically brings out the selflessness and community forethought which motivated the Union's action. That strike threat will be discussed in Chapter VII.

8 Ibid., 31-34.
9 Organizing the Teaching Profession, 89.
CHAPTER III

THE UNDERLYING PHILOSOPHY OF THE

CHICAGO TEACHERS UNION

The Union Serves the Classroom Teacher

The many problems facing the schools and the teaching profession have not gone unnoticed by the teachers. The teachers themselves have often joined together to attack the problems they were confronted with.

There had been many professional organizations of teachers before the American Federation of Teachers, and there have been many since. There were, for example, movements which sought to include teachers and administrators in one comprehensive organization, such as the National Education Association, and there were a myriad of local, state and national organizations of teachers with special kinds of interests, such as associations of elementary teachers, science teachers, mathematics teachers, principals and administrators. Unquestionably, some of these organizations had rendered important service.

Discouraging and repeated experiences, however, had convinced those who founded the American Federation of Teachers that not one of these existing organizations had proved itself to be adequate when it came to the vital task of actually winning concrete advances for the welfare of classroom teachers. Each could, and sometimes did, succeed in making clear to the public the basic unmet needs of teachers and the schools - but all too often nothing beyond that would happen. An analysis of the reasons for repeated rebuffs caused the early leaders of the Federation to realize a hard and basic reality of the times. State legislatures, local school boards and admini-
strators were frequently dominated by large tax-paying interests who were primarily concerned with keeping the cost of public education low and with maintaining obedient and submissive attitudes on the part of the teachers. In the areas where practical decisions were made, these special interest groups exercised the decisive power while the teachers were either unrepresented or were led to defeat after defeat because of their naiveté about public affairs, their lack of skill in marshalling the support of the friends of public education at strategic moments.1

The American Federation of Teachers, and locally the Chicago Teachers Union saw the difficulties of broad all-inclusive associations which became administration, or special-interest group dominated, often seeking special and private advantages that were detrimental to the long range advancement of the schools. Pope Leo XIII in The Condition of Labor, recognizes just this type of problem that has confronted so many educational associations. "In our present age of greater culture, with its new customs and ways of living, and with the increased number of things required by daily life, it is most clearly necessary that workers associations be adapted to meet the present need."2 Where membership in local educational associations has been extended to the school administrators, or where, in effect, company unions have been formed by school boards or administrators under the pseudonym of one or another of the national, state, or local associations, such

1 Organizing the Teaching Profession, 11-12.

groups have had their philosophy shaped, and their energies channeled by local business groups, politicians, and school administrators in direct opposition to the best interests of the school children themselves.

"Inadequacy of his own strength, learned from experience, impels and urges a man to enlist the help of others." The basic reasons for teachers forming and joining unions are essentially the same reasons given by other American workers: the advantages of collective action.

Teachers organize because, acting individually in matters of urgent immediacy, they have no opportunity to participate in decisions that directly affect them. With millions of fellow workers as allies, they usually find that when they operate as members of the movement of organized labor the way is opened to effectual communication. Imposition of ideas from above is transferred into a free exchange of ideas. With a pattern of negotiation established and primary difficulties resolved, the teacher, in new-found dignity, becomes a partner with the education administration and the general community in the solution of farther-reaching and more fundamental educational problems.

Teachers are emerging to accept the responsibilities, and enjoy the positions of leadership in their communities for which their education and training so well qualify them. Being among the best educated in the community and of a professional status teachers are seeking to put this excellent training to use as intelligent

3 Ibid.

4 Organizing the Teaching Profession, 103.
far-sighted community leaders.

The immediate "bread and Butter" objectives of unionization have expanded to take on deeper social and educational meaning including the quest for the right to be a person, to be self-determining, and to share in the development of the policies by which the public affairs of our country are governed. Through membership in a free and independent teachers' union, teachers have recovered the conditions essential to their continued growth.\(^5\)

The record of teachers unions shows that they are upward and forward looking. The sights of the membership are raised high. John Fewkes, President of the Chicago Teachers Union gave this message to the teachers of his local.

Union teachers must be superior teachers. The Union is not a place where inefficient, lazy teachers can hide their deficiencies. The Union is a medium through which all of the ethics of a great profession can be put into practical operation. Thus the Union will continue to be one of the most important factors in raising the standards of education in Chicago.\(^6\)

The Teacher and the Union Serve the Pupil

The American Federation of Teachers and the Chicago Teachers Union are classroom teachers organizations that are looking out for the best interests of the classroom teacher, but their interests and their efforts do not end there. Actually their chief concern is the child that lives and learns with the teacher for a major portion of his life. The well being of the pupil is just as

\(^5\) Organizing the Teaching Profession, 74-75.

\(^6\) Chicago Union Teacher, February, 1948, 3.
diligently guarded and fought for as is their own personal achievement. In fact, unionized teachers have discovered that while short sighted administrators, graft hungry politicians and large tax-paying interests have restricted teachers activities and held down their salaries, the ones that have suffered the most in the form of an inferior education are the school children. Very often hard fought for gains in salaries, freedom of teaching techniques and content have resulted in a better education for the child. The welfare of the broad educational program and the quality of education is closely tied in with the degree of recognition, the professional standing, and the cooperation and support given the classroom teacher by the school administration, politicians and the general public.7

The first point of the Preamble of the Constitution of the Chicago Teachers Union indicates the direction in which the union teacher is headed; it indicates how keenly aware is the union of the close relationship of teacher welfare and the continued improvement of the Chicago Public School System. Point one of the Preamble declares the Union to have the following purpose: "To protect and improve the services of the public schools as a social agency for the development of the capacities of the young and for promoting adult education."8

7 Ibid.
8 Chicago Teachers Union, Constitution and Bylaws, Chicago, 1954, 2.
CHAPTER IV

CHICAGO TEACHERS UNION ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

The Chicago teachers Union operates under a representa­tive form of government. Because of the large size of the Union it is very difficult to hold general membership meetings, therefore the membership exercises its will through the elected House of Representatives. The accompanying organization chart will serve to illustrate the various offices and bodies of the Union and will help to clarify the following outline of offices.

The House of Representatives

The general governing body of the Chicago Teachers Union is the House of Representatives, one-half of which are elected each year. One representative is elected for each fifty members in each functional group. The Executive Board members are also included in the House body, and enjoy full voice and voting privileges. Associate members elect one representative to the House for each 100 members in their functional group, and such representatives also enjoy full and equal voting privileges.¹

¹ Constitution and Bylaws, 5-6.
CHART I

CHICAGO TEACHERS UNION ORGANIZATION CHART

Union Membership

House of Representatives

Executive Board

Chairmen
Standing Committees

- Education
- School Finance and Taxation
- Legislation
- Rules-Elections
- Working
- Conditions
- Publicity
- Social
- Pension
- Membership

President

- First Vice-President
- Recording Secretary
- Financial Secretary
- Treasurer

Functional Vice-Presidents

- Elementary 5
- High School 2
- Playground 1
- College 1
- Principals 1
- Associate 1

District Vice-Presidents

Board of Trustees

Delegates to CFL

Editor

School Delegates
meetings, where a regular order of business, as prescribed by the Bylaws, is followed. Full and free discussion precedes the voting on all business and representatives are required to report periodically to and receive instructions from the representative units which elect them. The House may consider and act upon any matter it regards as pertinent to the purposes and activities of the Union. The decisions of the House are supreme and final, and therefore, it is the policy making and program directing body of the Union. In actual session, the House of Representatives would generally hear and act upon reports from Union Officers, the Executive Board, the various Union committees, school delegates and its own membership.  

The Executive Board

The direct administration of the Union is the responsibility of the Executive Board; the Board being subject only to the sanction and direction of the House of Representatives. It implements the policies and program decided upon by the House and is directly responsible to it. The Board reports all of its official acts to the House and also makes recommendations as it sees fit. In emergencies, the Board takes the necessary action which it feels would be authorized by the House.

3 Constitution and Bylaws, 6.
Consisting of forty members, the Executive Board is made up of the following members. All elected officers: the Union President, First Vice-president, Recording Secretary, Financial Secretary, and Treasurer, eleven Functional Vice-presidents, the six members of the Board of Trustees, and the six District Vice-presidents. The Chairmen of the nine Standing Committees, the two Delegates to the Chicago Federation of Labor, and the Editor of the Chicago Union Teacher make up the twelve appointed members of the Executive Board. All members have the right to the floor at its weekly meetings, and all except the Chairmen of Standing Committees, the Editor, and the Functional Vice-president of Associate Members have the power to vote. Others, such as the two Assistants to the President also attend meetings of the Board as resource persons, to make reports or secure information, but are without vote. The membership of the Executive Board clearly indicates that this group is charged with the administration, it is the power line of the Union.

The President

The President of the Chicago Teachers Union is the only elected official upon whom there is no reelection restriction. The President is of course the chief administrative executive of

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5 Constitution and Bylaws, 7.
6 Ibid., 5.
the Union and is charged in the Bylaws with the general supervision of and the general responsibility for the Union in its every function. In addition, the Union President presides over all General Meetings, meetings of the House of Representatives, and meetings of the Executive Board. The President also makes many appointments as are required by the Constitution, the Bylaws, the Executive Board, and the House. These include appointing all members of all Standing Committees and their Chairmen; including the Chairman of the Publicity Committee, who has the responsibility of publishing the official organ, the Chicago Union Teacher. He is, in addition, a member, ex-officio, of all delegations of the Union to the central bodies with which the Union is affiliated. He is, further, a member, ex-officio, of all Union Committees. 7

As ex-officio member of all committees and delegations the President is also the chief lobbyist of the Union. It is the duty of the Legislation Committee to keep up to date on all proposed Federal, State and Local legislation which concern the Chicago Public Schools and report same to the Executive Board. One may be certain of finding President Fewkes in attendance when legislation is pending which might have an effect on the Chicago School System, especially when such legislation might concern taxes, tax rates or bond issues.

The President's virtual unlimited tenure, his presiding

7 Ibid., 21-22.
over all General, Executive and House meetings, his vast appointive powers, and his ex-officio membership of all committees and delegations makes him a most important figure with almost unlimited powers. There is no group of any important dimensions in the Union of which the President is not a member. His influence and leadership undoubtedly shape the policy and program the direction of the Chicago Teachers Union.

The First Vice-President

This elective position is limited in tenure as are all remaining elective positions to the major portion of two consecutive two year terms, thus limiting the influence and power of any First Vice-presidential candidate. The duties, besides sitting in for the President of the Union in his absence, include acting as Chairman of the Policies Committee. This Committee is composed of the eleven Vice-presidents of the Functional Groups. As all elected officers are, the First Vice-president is also a member of the Executive Board and of the House.

The Secretaries and Treasurer

The offices of Recording Secretary, Financial Secretary and Treasurer are self-explanatory. These three officers are also members of the Executive Board and of the House; their elective

8 Ibid., 22.
9 Ibid., 26.
terms also being limited to the major portion of two consecutive two year terms.

The District Vice-Presidents

The District Vice-president is the administrative officer of the Union in each of the six districts into which the Union's jurisdiction is divided. This elective office is also limited to the major portion of two consecutive terms.

Divided into a Central, South, Southwest, West, Northwest and North District, each having as near as possible the same number of Union members, the general functioning of each district is the responsibility of the District Vice-president, under the supervision of the Executive Board.¹⁰ His specific duties include activating and maintaining a district membership committee; cooperating with the school delegate in increasing and maintaining Union membership in each school through education of the membership to an understanding of the objectives and work of the Union; checking on the attendance of representatives of his district to meetings of the House; arranging for elections of new representatives when vacancies occur; and arranging for and presiding over meetings of the Union membership of his district when they are called.¹¹

The District Vice-president represents all groups

¹⁰ Ibid., 16-17.
¹¹ Ibid., 24-25.
(elementary teachers, high school teachers, principals, etc.) within his district in the House and on the Board, having voice and vote in both bodies; his jurisdiction and interests are therefore broader. He also represents a larger portion of the membership than does the Functional Vice-president. Having the responsibility of the functioning of his entire district, second only to the President, the District Vice-president exercises a fair degree of authority among the membership and in turn enjoys proportionate influence in the House and on the Executive Board.

The Functional Vice-Presidents

A vice-president is elected for each one thousand Union members, or major fraction thereof, in each of the following groups: elementary teachers (5); high school teachers (2); regularly certificated, unassigned teachers (1); and principals (1), provided that each of the above named groups shall have at least one Functional Vice-president representing it. 12 Each of the various interest groups within the Union is thereby assured of a voice and a vote on the Executive Board and in the House of Representatives. The numbers in parenthesis after each Functional group indicates the number of Vice-presidents representing that group, there being at present eleven Functional Vice-presidents.

Meetings of a Functional Group may be called in several

12 Ibid., 5.
Any of a Group's Vice-presidents may call that group into session; or a petition of five per cent of the members of the group will also cause the group to assemble. It is required that meetings be publicized at least two weeks in advance, and five per cent of the members of a group constitute a quorum for the enactment of business pertinent to that group.

The Vice-presidents of each Functional Group also call a meeting of their group during January or February of each election year, at which time the group recommends to the Nominations Committee its choice for Vice-presidents of that group.13

It is the duty of the Functional Vice-presidents to represent the interests of his particular group of teachers both in the House and on the Executive Board. Varying working conditions and hours of employment, and particularly in the past, varying pay scales have made these officers important to the group that they represent.

The Board of Trustees

The six members of the Board of Trustees operate under the supervision of the Executive Board, of which they are a part. Elected officers, their duties include procurement and maintenance of the Union's quarters; securing an annual audit of the finances of the Local; inventorying the physical property of the Union;

13 Ibid., 25.
examining, before they are paid, all Union financial obligations
not specifically provided for by the Executive Board, or by con-
tract; supervising compliance with all public laws by the Union;
and the preparation of the annual budget to be submitted to the
Executive Board, and by that body to the House, for final action.14

The Chairmen of Standing Committees

The Chicago Local's Bylaws provide for these nine stand-
ing committees: Education, School Finance and Taxation, Legislation,
Membership, Publicity, Working Conditions, Social, Rules-Elections,
and Pensions. In this section a brief description of the field of
each committee will be given; later a more comprehensive study of
the School Finance and Taxation Committee will be given, this com-
mittee being one of the more important in the determination of the
Union's proposals to the Chicago Board of Education.

The Chairmen and members of each standing committee are
appointed by the President, with the advice and consent of the
Executive Board. Chairmen and members are appointed for a two year
period immediately following each biennial election.15 Chairmen
of the standing committees are members of the House of Representa-
tives with full and equal voting privileges; they are also members
of the Executive Board with the right to the floor, but not the

14 Ibid., 26-27.
15 Ibid., 8.
right to vote.

Being responsible to the House, it is the duty of each committee to consider and report back to the House all matters referred to it. The Chairmen, being members of the Executive Board, also report to that body, which may, if it chooses, take action independent of the House. Standing committees may also initiate studies, investigations or other activities, within its field, and report on them. Committees can appoint sub-committees, cooperate with any other Union committee, and have any Union member or members appear before it that have an interest in the business of that committee.16 Committee work is often arduous and its consideration of a particular topic may involve many meetings, individual research and painstaking work, and is culminated by the making of a full report to the House and to the Executive Board.17

The Education Committee includes the following in its field: school curricula, classroom procedures, school organization, qualification requirements for teachers, methods of school and teacher ratings, pupil and teacher discipline.18

The duties of the Committee on School Finance and Taxation are to keep up-to-date with all available information on the finances of the Chicago Public Schools, to study taxation and revenue

16 Ibid., 30-31.
18 Constitution and Bylaws, 32.
systems for support of the public schools, and, what is probably of most interest to the Union membership, to propose for Union approval of Union's salary schedule proposal to the Chicago Board of Education.19 As previously stated, a more detailed report of the workings of this Committee will be presented elsewhere in this paper.

Keeping up-to-date information on actual and proposed legislation on Federal, State and Local levels which concerns the Chicago Public Schools is the concern of the Legislation Committee.20 It is not difficult to imagine the broad scope and tedious work involved in being a member of this Committee.

The six District Vice-Presidents are automatically members of the Membership Committee. It is their duty, along with the other members and the Chairman, to coordinate and supervise the district Membership Committees, to conduct an intensive membership campaign each October and April, and to reapportion the districts every two years if necessary.21 The activities of this Committee are closely tied in with the administrative function of maintaining and increasing membership in his district that the District Vice-President has.

The Publicity Committee works in close cooperation with all Committees by keeping the membership informed upon the problems

19 Ibid., 32.
20 Ibid., 32-33.
21 Ibid., 33.
and issues confronting it, and providing information pieces for new and prospective members. This Committee also prepares any press and radio releases and is responsible for favorable public relations and contacts. Its biggest responsibility is the publication each month of the Chicago Union Teacher, which has a circulation of fourteen thousand, including teachers, libraries, and other interested in public schools.\textsuperscript{22}

The areas of the Working Conditions Committee include: length of teachers working day, student load and number of class periods actually teaching, teacher record keeping, overtime, and virtually all conditions of employment.\textsuperscript{23} The field of working conditions is not only important to the Union member, but is also vital to the students inasmuch as poor working conditions will surely reflect in the quality of teaching.

All social activities are the general responsibility of the Social Committee.\textsuperscript{24}

It is the responsibility of the Rules-Elections Committee to codify and keep up-to-date the various rules of the Union, and to supervise the biennial elections and any other elections referred to it.\textsuperscript{25}

\textsuperscript{22} Ibid., 33-34.
\textsuperscript{23} Ibid., 34.
\textsuperscript{24} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{25} Ibid.
The Pension Committee studies current trends in pension and retirement plans throughout the country; keeping informed on all pension and retirement plans which might concern Chicago teachers. It also keeps alert to pension and retirement sentiments and needs of the membership. On the basis of the investigations and studies carried on by this Committee, the Union formulates its stand and makes proposals to the Chicago Public School Teachers' Pension and Retirement Board, an area where, since teachers in Chicago are not covered by Social Security, the membership has an intense interest.

The Chicago Federation of Labor Delegates

Seventeen Local members are chosen by the Executive Board with the approval of the House, to represent the Chicago Teachers Union at the monthly meetings of the Chicago Federation of Labor. These seventeen members elect two of their own body to be members of the Executive Board. The seventeen delegates attend the monthly meetings of the Chicago Federation of Labor along with the representatives of other Chicago Labor Unions. Here local problems involving the welfare of any local Union or all workers in general are discussed and appropriate action taken. The Delegates then report to the Exec-

26 Ibid.
27 Constitution and Bylaws, 30.
utive Board and to the House, both of which bodies they are members.

The Editor

The Editor of the Chicago Union Teacher is usually the fortieth member of the Executive Board; although, as is now the case, the Editor may also be the Chairman of the Publicity Committee. A part-time, paid employee of the Union, the Editor issues the official Union organ once each school month.

The School Delegate

The low man in the hierarchy of Chicago Teachers Union officialdom is the School Delegate. One for each school where there are Union members, he is something of a shop steward-business agent and is the only personal contact the majority of teachers have with their Union. Recruiting, collection of dues, distribution of Union material, supervision of elections, and record keeping as regards members and non-members, are but some of the duties performed by the School Delegate in his school.29 In addition, the Delegate is expected to attend monthly meetings where he is given up-to-the-minute information to be taken back to his school for dissemination to the membership. These meetings are also used to sound out the delegates as to the feeling and trend of thought of the membership.30 In giving the latest Union news to the member-

29 Constitution and Bylaws, 35.
ship, it is expected that the Delegate will discuss such news and get the pros and cons, and bring them up at the next meeting. The School Delegate is therefore an important link in the chain between the membership and actual policy formulation. This will be developed in full later.

That the Union thinks that the School Delegate is important is evidenced by the fact that the newly elected Delegate is soon armed with a forty-eight page CTU Manual for School Delegates which is crammed with a list of his duties, helpful suggestions on how to perform his duties, and develop a strong, well informed Union membership in his school, an explanation of the workings of the Union, a list of the advantages to Union membership, and an Appendix which includes a fifteen line history of Local No. 1, the grievance policy and procedure, and a Glossary of school finance, State aid, and pension terms.
CHAPTER V

DETERMINATION OF UNION POLICY

The actual operation of this complex labor organization might best be represented by following a theoretical salary proposal through the proper channels. The formulation of salary proposals is actually a constant ongoing procedure being developed throughout the year as new information is gathered, new City or State legislation is proposed, put into committee, passed, or defeated, as the cost of living rises or declines, or the teacher shortage becomes increasingly acute. The actual process is continuous, and is further complicated by behind the scenes activities such as coffee break discussions, informal chats in the hall, and after hours telephone calls designed to short-cut some of the red tape. These, of course, are nebulous factors which are ever shifting and changing in form and in importance. Such factors are always present in any organization, and because they will not be extensively treated does not imply that they are unknown to the author, or have been discarded as meaningless. The purpose here will be to describe the proper channels so as to illustrate how the various bodies and offices of the Chicago Teachers Union fit together and function.
The Role of the Committee on School Finance and Taxation

The Committee on School Finance and Taxation is the one that initiates any action as far as salary proposals are concerned. The title of this committee is clear when one realizes that all monies used to finance the schools are obtained from tax sources. The accompanying chart will help to explain the process by which Union policy is developed.

In the development of a new salary proposal the School Finance and Taxation Committee meets to discuss the needs of the Union membership. Many factors enter into the formulation of such a proposal such as, the shortage of adequately trained new teachers, the rate of loss of experienced teachers to industry and retirement, the possibility of getting the necessary tax legislation passed, and the strength and resources of the Union. A more thorough discussion of the factors affecting the demands of the Union will follow this section, here the general view of how proposals are developed and decided upon will be given with a salary proposal as an example.

After a thorough investigation into the problem, involving many meetings and much arduous work, the committee evolves a statement outlining the salary schedule which it thinks the Union should strive to attain. Such a proposal would include salaries for elementary, high school, trade and vocational, and college teachers which entire group is on a four lane schedule. Lane I includes teachers with the Bachelors Degree, Lane II includes those with
CHART II
DEVELOPMENT OF UNION POLICY

Committee on School Finance and Taxation

Executive Board

Union Membership —> School Delegates

Unit Representatives

House of Representatives

President and other Officers

Publicity

Board of Education

City Council

State Legislature
the Masters Degree, Lane III those teachers with the Masters Degree plus thirty-six hours of graduate credit, and Lane IV for those teachers with the Ph. D., or Ed.D. Recommendations concerning new Lane requirements, principal's salary schedule, playground teachers and overtime would also be found in the Union's proposal to the Board of Education. The varied nature of the proposal and the groups involved makes clear why the President chooses members from each Functional Group when making up the various Standing Committees.

Approval or Modification by the Executive Board

This proposal is presented by the Chairman of the committee to the Executive Board for its approval or modification. At this stage the forty man Executive Board, responsible for the administration of the Union, voices its opinion. Any revisions the Board deems necessary are incorporated into the proposal and it is then sent out to the School Delegates.

Presentation to the Membership by the School Delegate

It is the responsibility of the School Delegate to present such proposal to the membership in his school for full and open discussion; the delegate is the sounding board of the membership. He gathers the views, weighs the ayes and nayes, digests the pros and cons, and in turn advises the Unit Representative of

1 Chicago Union Teacher. November, 1955, 1, 4-5.
wishes of his school.²

**Action by the House of Representatives is Final**

After the details of the proposal have had time to sift down to the membership and all views have been collected by the Unit Representative, the Chairman of the Committee presents the proposal directly to the House of Representatives for its consideration. Possessed of the details of the proposal as outlined by the Chairman of the School Finance and Taxation Committee, while at the same time being aware of the feelings of the membership in regards to this same proposal, through the reports of the delegates the House enters into full and free discussion prior to its voting. The House of Representatives being the supreme and final policy making body of the Union, its decision as to the salary proposal is binding. The vote of the House on this matter decides what the Union policy will be.³ From this point on it is the duty of the President and the Executive Board to carry this proposal to the Board of Education for its consideration and ultimate adoption as Board of Education policy. The implementations of the Union's policy will be elaborated on in Chapter VI.

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³ Ibid.
The above quotation from the cover page of the Union's monthly publication vividly depicts the tax situation that the Union and the School System of Chicago Face. The School Finance and Taxation Committee is seeking earnestly for additional sources of tax income; as of November, 1955, it was already planning for and working toward a satisfactory tax program in the 1957 session of the legislature. Without getting into a lengthy discussion of the tax systems of the City and of the State, let it suffice here to state that Chicago's powers of taxation are strictly regulated by the State Constitution while other Illinois communities have more liberal tax provisions; further, Illinois tax rates are insufficient to provide the necessary funds to maintain the schools at present levels, let alone improve them. The Committee on School

4 Chicago Union Teacher, November, 1955, 10.

5 Ibid.
Finance and Taxation is faced with a very difficult situation, one that they believe literally requires the changing of the law, probably of the Constitution, if the schools of the City of Chicago are to perform their obligation of educating the children to be thoughtful, well rounded citizens.

Through the medium of the Chicago Union Teacher the Union and its standing committees point out that they are constantly seeking improvements, better ways of doing the job; that it has faith that the intelligent, professional, practical teacher observing and living with the day to day school situation can constructively contribute to the overall picture of Education in Chicago. The Chicago Teachers Union is set up to amplify the individual voice so that it may be heard.
CHAPTER VI

THE UNION'S RELATIONSHIP TO THE SCHOOL BOARD

Freedom and Security Require Some Control Over the Job

For the employee's freedom and security, both political and economic, can no longer rest upon individual independence in the old sense. To be free and to be secure is to have an effective control over that upon which one is dependent: the job within the centralized enterprise.¹

But the control over the job, of which Mills writes, insofar as the Chicago teachers are concerned, is nonexistent. In areas of intimate, private concern to the teacher, namely those of tenure, hours of work, salary, and working conditions, the Chicago teacher is denied any voice. Since 1897, Chicago teachers have been seeking some measure of control over the job through Union action.

Absence of Collective Bargaining Machinery

The Chicago Board of Education has chosen not to recognize the Chicago Teachers Union, or any other union of Chicago teachers for the purpose of negotiating a written agreement. A

measure of doubt exists as to the legality of collective bargaining in public employment, local school boards may not have the legal power to enter into collective agreements with representatives of their employees. The limited powers of cities are only those specifically delegated by the state constitution, charter and statute, and the power to sign collective bargaining agreements has not been expressly delegated to cities.2

The Chicago Teachers Union and its affiliates, the Illinois Federation of Labor, and other Illinois labor groups are in favor of legislation that will permit governmental bodies within the state to enter into written collective bargaining agreements with the agents of governmental employees. The Illinois Federation of Labor has gone on record in the Proceedings of the 1955 State convention as favoring such permissive legislation. Where contracts with public employees have been executed in the State of Illinois, they have been accomplished in the absence of the expressed right to so do. They have proceeded on the basis that there is no law expressly forbidding collective agreements involving public employees.

Where agreements have occurred in other states, they have usually been on the basis of an interpretative judgement of the Secretary of State and also have no foundation in written

In practice, the Union and the Board of Education are presently on rather cordial terms. This situation is no doubt due in large measure to the personalities of the present General Superintendent and Union President. A healthy, cordial relationship also existed between the previous General Superintendent and the present Union President.

After the Committee on School Finance and Taxation has prepared its salary recommendations and they have been accepted by the House of Representatives as Union Policy, it is the task of the President and the Executive Board to present these recommendations to the Board of Education for its consideration. The proposals with the Union's arguments for their acceptance as Board Policy are drawn up and sent to the Board, they are also printed in the Chicago Union Teacher. This proposal is timed to precede the public hearings which the Board conducts each year prior to the final setting of the coming year's salary schedules of Board Employees. The Board members are then familiar with the Union recommendations before the public hearings and can interrogate Union spokesmen present and listen to their arguments first hand. Generally the public hearings are followed by conferences between the Union President and the General Superintendent.

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3 Statement of Florence Roehm Greve, Director of Research, AFT, personal interview.
wishes to clarify certain issues before making his salary recommendations to the Board for their final decision.

Such conferences between the Union President and the General Superintendent do not, of course, constitute collective bargaining in its strict sense. They are conferences much like the General Superintendent might accord any public group interested in school affairs, such as the Parent Teachers Association or the Citizens Schools Committee. The major difference is that the Union President is speaking for approximately two-thirds of the Superintendent's teaching staff. The President's arguments, his persuasiveness are backed by the solid Union membership.

Union Grievance Policy and Procedure

The Grievance Procedure of the Chicago Teachers Union is a step toward recognition. In the absence of any formal recognition, and in an effort to secure some measure of recognition for itself, the Chicago Teachers Union has developed a Grievance Policy as well as a procedure for Union members to follow when presenting a grievance to the Board of Education.

Due to the absence of any formal bargaining agreement between the Union and the Board of Education, the Union's statement of Grievance Policy is one of sympathetic understanding and advice to the individual and is notably lacking in any statement of concrete relationship with the Board. Every Union member is entitled
to advice and help in accordance with general policies and practices of the Union; the initiative lying with the individual member seeking redress. A confidential handling of the case is asked for, with the member and the Union keeping each other fully informed as the case progresses. Members are requested to "come with clean hands" and avoid additional risks through rash behavior. Finally, the membership is advised that the full resources of the Union will be brought into play only when a case is important to the entire profession, the teaching body or the school system.4

The Union has two categories of Grievance cases, Major Cases involve the interest of the entire profession, teaching body or school system as well as that of the individual, and are deserving of immediate attention. The first subdivision of the Major Case is that of Official difficulties which include involuntary transfer, inefficiency charges, demotion, mental or physical incapacity and personality conflicts. The other sub-division, legal difficulties, includes such cases as assault and battery, suit by parents, arrest by parents, and injury while on school premises.5

The procedure of a member seeking the official assistance of the Union in handling Major Cases is for the member to make a personal request of the President, his assistant, or some other

5 Ibid., 32.
officer within twenty-four hours of the member's awareness of the difficulty. If the member is unable, the delegate should take the responsibility of filing the written request. The request for Union aid should include statements that the member agrees to: (1) give the Union exclusive handling of the case unless other agreement is made, and (2) the maintenance of strict confidence with the Union by keeping it fully informed and giving it the fullest cooperation. The member should further reduce all details of the case to writing as soon as possible and make a personal visit to the Union offices to discuss what steps are to be taken.6

Minor Cases are such that they primarily involve the interest of the individual teacher; they can be handled more leisurely and often can be disposed of by a local committee. Minor Cases include: unsatisfactory programming such as excessive travel, preparation and class size; unsatisfactory working conditions involving heat, light, ventilation, sanitation or poor school order; coercion on collections.7

A local Professional Problems Committee, composed of the School Delegate, any resident member of the House of Representatives, and at least three members with the Delegate as chairman, is recommended for handling Minor cases. The member with a grievance reports it to the Delegate, who in turn informs the other

6 Ibid., 32-33.
7 Ibid., 33.
members of the Committee. The Committee meets to hear the case and decide on the steps to be taken; the teacher is asked to attempt to settle the grievance with the principal individually. Failing this, the Committee intercedes in the teacher's behalf. In the event satisfaction is still not achieved, the case is reported to the Union for further action, if, in the opinion of the Union, the case warrants it.

The Union and the Board of Education have not jointly set up grievance machinery, since there is no recognition of the Chicago Teachers Union by the Chicago Board of Education in any way other than as one of many interested public groups.

In practice, what the Union does is this. Through acquaintance with Board members, the top Board administrators, and channels of procedure, it can track down and follow any grievance the Union brings before the Board. Through pressure and persuasion at every step along the way, the Union can be and is so much more effective than an individual teacher could be seeking adjustment or redress on his own. The Union has the time, money and resources to pursue to satisfactory completion any grievance, which the individual teacher would be unable to do.

On occasion, when a grievance of potential seriousness has arisen, the General Superintendent has actually gone so far as to set up a Committee of Board administrators to meet and confer.

8 Ibid., 33-34.
with a group of Union spokesmen for the purpose of reaching a settlement satisfactory to both the aggrieved Union members and the Board. This was an isolated instance, but it does show that the machinery of collective bargaining has a definite place, and could be of untold use in public employment.

Collective Bargaining Agreements in Other Cities

The Chicago Local is not alone in its failure to secure a bargaining agreement with the employer of its membership. In fact, one must scour the nation to discover that AFT Locals in Eau Claire, Wisconsin; in Butte, Montana; in Bremerton Washington; in Pawtucket, Rhode Island and in Cicero, Illinois are the only five claiming to have achieved bargaining relations with their respective school boards. 9

A perusal of the Eau Claire, 10 Butte, 11 Bremerton, 12 and Cicero 13 contracts show them to be rather weak agreements. It is

9 Organizing the Teaching Profession, 83.


rather apparent that they are merely reiterations of past Board policy with few, if any, clauses favorable to the Unions. Hours of work specifically include any extra-curricular activities assigned in the Eau Claire, Butte and Bremerton agreements, while the Eau Claire and Bremerton agreements provide for actual reduction on the salary scale for teachers that do not take additional professional training past their requirements for certification.

In the Chicago Suburb of Cicero, Illinois, the West Suburban Teachers Union, Local 571, AFT, has been designated the sole bargaining agent for all teachers in the Proviso Township High School. The Board of Education formally voted to recognize the Union as the bargaining agent and this agreement has been in effect since 1948. The West Suburban Local also includes teachers in three additional high schools and the elementary schools of seven suburbs that are not covered by any contract. 14

Although the number of Teachers Locals possessing collective bargaining agreements is not large, it is a beginning, the die has been cast, the precedent has been set.

In New York State, legislation has been sought in the early part of 1956 requiring the machinery whereby New York City teachers could appoint an agent for the purposes of collective bargaining with the Board of Education. 15 In addition the Mayor of

14 Chicago Union Teacher, May, 1948, 2.
New York has been holding hearings for the purpose of extending collective bargaining to city employees, including teachers. A system of collective bargaining for public school teachers has been vociferously advocated by the New York Teachers Guild, one of the largest AFT locals in the nation (though smaller than Local No. 1).\footnote{Ibid., March, 24, 1956, 34.}
CHAPTER VII

SECURING UNION DEMANDS

In the absence of any direct bargaining relationship between the Chicago Teachers Union and the Chicago Board of Education, the Union has had to supplement its program with other means. Unable to be in attendance at the regular Board meetings, which are closed to the public, the Union has put reliance upon several programs to supplement its informal contacts with the Board.

Publicity

The major effort of the Union is probably directed in the area of publicizing its goals and objectives. If the teachers are faced with problems of inadequate salaries, poor working conditions, overcrowded classrooms, inadequate materials, political meddling, and tax funds inadequate to supply the necessities of education to the children, and have no direct means of access to the agencies that can correct these deficiencies, they are forced, if they wish to perform their duties in a professional manner, to present these difficulties to the public in an effort to bring pressure through public opinion. For it is the tax paying public that in the last analysis provides the funds for adequate or inadequate materials, for salaries sufficient to attract competent, well qualified teachers, or sufficient only to attract poorly trained teachers, and
leave many pupils without teachers or in conditions of overcrowding where learning seldom takes place. The parents are often indifferent, but only until they are presented with the facts of what a poor education can do for their children. There are often public spirited citizens or groups who when faced with the truth of a situation will rebel against the authority and demand their children's right to a full and adequate education.

The Chicago Union Teacher is the primary publicity organ of the Union. Published each month of the school year, it is delivered to the membership in the schools, the remainder of the fourteen thousand copies going to libraries, agencies and individuals of the community interested in the Public Schools of Chicago. Through this organ the Chicago Local has the opportunity of extending its influence in the community and in the profession.

Current salary schedules, proposals to the Board, discussions of state taxation problems, status of the Federal Aid question, Union current events and programs, Board of Education news and announcements, reprints from other publications, professional news and general Union news is contained in this official organ. Usually having eight pages, eleven by seventeen inches, with a liberal usage of photographs, it is a professional publication serving a professional audience. With the membership scattered throughout a large city, the Chicago Union Teacher is also the major source of Union news to the vast majority.

A second area of publicity and one directed at a much
wider public is the utilization of the daily and Sunday editions of the city newspapers. News releases frequently are sent to the various papers in the city, especially when the Union wishes to make an official pronouncement concerning Board or Union activities.

The power of the press is well known and this broad medium of news dissemination has often served in abetting the Union's program.

Apart from general news releases of a straight copy type, the Union also urges the various dailies to print the type of story that appears in the Neighborhood or Women's Sections. Complete with photographs, it depicts the interesting learning activities that competent, professional teachers are scheduling in the well equipped, modern schools of the city. This type of story helps to instill public confidence in the school system and maintain the taxpayer's support.

The Union lends its support to (and is careful to go on record through the newspapers as being in favor of) Board policies and programs that are essential to the continuing advancement of the Chicago schools, such as the recent School Building Bond Issue to which the Union gave its unqualified support. In short it may be said that the Chicago Teachers Union carries on an active and aggressive public relations program.

Part of the public relations program is the maintenance of good relations, and cooperation with other agencies that have a mutual interest in good schools for the city. The Union actively participates with and sends representatives to such organizations
as the Parent Teacher Association, Citizens Schools Committee, Chicago Commission on Human Relations, School Crisis Council, Committee for the Wider Use of Schools, and the Juvenile Protective Association.

Legislation

The Legislation Committee has the duty of keeping up-to-date on Federal, State and Local legislation which in any way might affect the Public Schools of Chicago. This is, of course, a very important aspect of the Union's total program, since the vast majority of what the Board does and can do is dependent upon legislation of one level or another. Tax rates, loyalty oaths, building programs, teacher retirement program, and special educational programs such as those for the handicapped, are all dependent upon legislation; the very life blood of the school system is contained in the annual legislative struggles.

It is little wonder then, that the Union keeps careful watch and had representatives in attendance before and during the debate and voting on bills which will effect Chicago Schools; City Councilmen and State Legislators are more often that not fully aware of the stand taken by the Chicago Teachers Union on school issues. The President, as the Union's chief lobbyist is quite familiar with the ways of the Council and State Legislature, little escapes his practiced eye.

The Union constitutes a pressure group of almost ten
thousand members; this is no little group for any legislative body to ignore. When coupled with the other teacher locals in Illinois and other labor groups with which it is affiliated in the city and the state, the Union is capable of making its weight felt when the occasion warrants.

The Chicago Teachers Union has steered clear of partisan politics. The Union Constitution prohibits active promotion of any partisan political group without the prior endorsement of at least two-thirds of the Executive Board and the House of Representatives, or endorsement by one of the central labor bodies with which the Union is affiliated.¹

Strike Threat

The strike, or the threat of a strike, is a powerful and persuasive weapon that is occasionally used by unions. Generally speaking, in the hands of a responsible, well-led union it is used only as a last resort. It is an economic and psychological weapon which often creates bitter feeling and hardship on both sides. Because of the tremendous ramifications of the strike, it can be a particularly effective weapon when employed in the correct situation.

The public is generally antagonistic to the idea of a strike, and particularly so when the strikers might be the local

¹ Constitution and Bylaws, 9.
teaching body. Writers in the field of Educational Administration seem to be unanimous and on the side of Boards of Education in condemning the use of the strike by teachers.

The right to strike guaranteed to private employees does not extend to public employees, either morally or legally, as it manifests nothing less than an intent on their part to prevent or obstruct the operation of government until their demands are satisfied.

The moral and legal obligation of the teacher as regards the strike weapon is clearly spelled out by administration spokesmen. "Teacher strikes are contrary to the public interest, since they interfere with the administration of a national institution, essential to the American way of life."  

The Constitution and Bylaws of the Chicago Teachers Union does not take a stand or even mention the strike or the Union's policy toward the use of the strike. Going up through channels however, we find that the American Federation of Labor has made it clear to members of the American Federation of Teachers, that because of the public supervision and administration of our national educational system, that they should secure redress for grievances and promote their economic welfare through other methods than the strike. The use of the strike weapon is rejected as an instrument of policy by the AFT and any expenses incurred by an AFT Local in

3 Ibid., 492.
connection with a strike cannot be paid out of the AFT treasury.\textsuperscript{5}

The position of the American Federation of Teachers is clear, the strike is a weapon that is not condoned.

In January, 1948, the House of Representatives of the Chicago Teachers Union did unanimously vote to strike, even in the face of public opinion, even in the face of its national's ruling, even in the face of the American Federation of Labor. The strike was never actually called, but the facts behind the case, the reasons why the strike was scheduled, the threat itself, show how a Teachers Union did effectively use the strike threat with moral justification.

In December 1947, the Chicago Board of Education passed a record 1948 budget that included appropriations for badly needed new buildings, salaries for additional teachers to meet the record enrollments and high teaching load, and salary increases for all teachers. As required by state law, the increased tax levy was presented to the City Council to be included in the spreading of the property tax levy. The Finance Committee of the City Council refused to spread the new tax levy on the grounds that they were saving the taxpayers from the added burden of new buildings and the hiring of additional teachers. Council members voiced no objection.

to the pay raise in the increased budget.\(^6\)

This refusal was interpreted by many as an attempt by the old line city bosses to regain control of the school system.\(^7\) The Board met and voted to support the budget without compromise. The Union House of Representatives met and unanimously voted to call a strike unless the City Council approved the tax levy, including the appropriations for buildings and services as outlined the Board's Budget. This was a drastic step for the Union to take, jeopardizing their own pay, but the pay increases for themselves without new buildings and the necessary supplies and services for the children was not fair. Not wishing to take the responsibility of closing the schools, the City Council reluctantly approved the spreading of the tax levy.\(^8\)

Here was an instance in which a strike threat was used to good advantage, in fact, the Mayor, the Board, and the General Superintendent were all attempting to get what the Union was striking for. The weapon was not used solely for selfish purposes, for the teachers undoubtably would have gotten their pay raises in a compromise budget, but the teachers and the Union were looking out for the welfare of the children. They felt that to send the children to overcrowded, dilapidated schoolrooms without adequate materials

\(^{6}\) Chicago Union Teacher, February, 1948, 1.

\(^{7}\) Ibid., 1, 9.

\(^{8}\) Ibid., 1, 4, 8-9.
was more than the profession could stand for. The training, the professional competence of the Union membership could not stand for an increase in pay while not being permitted to perform their duties in an adequate manner.

Publicity, cooperation with other agencies interested in the schools, lobbying, and the strike threat are all methods which are used at appropriate times to secure the legitimate goals of the Union.
CHAPTER VIII

FACTORS INFLUENCING UNION ACTIVITIES AND STRENGTH

The Chicago Teachers Union has a concrete program of publicity, legislation and informal relations with the Board.

Supply and Demand

For the 1955-56 school year the nation's schools needed 150,000 qualified teachers, the nation's colleges graduated 90,000 in June of 1955. Of that number only 60,000 planned to go into teaching leaving a deficit of 90,000 for the 1955-56 school year.\(^1\) This is not unusual, but has been the pattern for several years and is expected to be the pattern for years to come. Year after year the Nation opens its schools with thousands of unqualified teachers facing the children. Despite the fact that Chicago teachers are among the highest paid in the Nation, Chicago also suffers from the lack of certified teachers. The law of supply and demand does not seem to be operative in the case of teachers. In Chicago the supply is short, and yet wages that amount to $700 at a minimum, and $1300 at the maximum over the National average do not attract enough

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\(^1\) New York Times, July 4, 1955, 1, 23.
qualified teachers to this City.²

Teachers, like many other groups of professional and white-collar workers, have tended to subordinate questions of salaries and other economic issues to considerations of professional status, public opinion, and congenial working conditions.³

These factors outside of the area of salaries seem to play an important part in the role that people assume, or are expected to assume, when they become teachers.⁴

**Professional Status**

School teachers are the economic proletarians of the professions, comprising about thirty-one per cent of all professional people. Proud to be classed as professional people, they cling tenaciously to that classification and join and form professional society and association after professional society and association. There is probably a society or association for every conceivable classification of elementary, high school and college teacher imaginable, plus a few duplicates and over-lapping groups which continue to form and join, possibly so that they may become more professional.

School Boards, administrators and many teachers judge professional

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⁴ In no other job that the author has ever had has he been given so many instructions as how to act and how to think as when he was studying for and began teaching.
competence by the number and selection of professional groups to which the individual belongs.

The National Education Association is the largest and most influential of all the professional groups. Having a membership, through its state and local chapters, of approximately ten times the membership of the AFT, the NEA extends its influence far beyond the reaches of union affiliated teacher's organizations. Extending its membership to anyone interested in American education the NEA is liberally sprinkled and actually dominated by those in supervisory and administrative positions, although claiming to be the spokesman for classroom teachers.

Actually the major goals of the NEA are and have been about the same as the goals of the AFT, both working for teachers rights, welfare, increased salaries and fringe benefits, and neither doing much for in-service training or for improving instruction. However, stated goals and actual practice have often trodden two different paths for the NEA. Teachers in local small town chapters find it extremely difficult to push for higher wages and teachers' rights through the medium of the NEA, when the local administration is also occupying key positions in the NEA. It then becomes "unprofessional" to take a stand contrary to the local NEA spokesman.

Magr. Higgins⁶ states that from the point of view of the economics of the teaching profession, the NEA is the equivalent of a company union.

That the NEA does pursue much the same goals as the AFT, in much the same way, is indicated by the fact that Boards of Education have recognized NEA affiliates as collective bargaining agents fifteen times as often as they have recognized teachers Unions for such purposes.⁷ Further, NEA affiliates have actually participated in more strikes than AFT locals.⁸

Administrators and professional spokesmen cite many arguments for membership in professional associations and rejection of so-called "unprofessional union affiliation," one of the most telling being that Union affiliation is diametrically opposed to advancement to supervisory and administrative positions. Without a clear definition on the issue of professionalism, many teachers are confused and are afraid to give their support to a labor affiliated Union group lest they be branded as unprofessional, or if a member of a teachers Union does not want the Union to play the role of a Union, but rather the role of a professional organization. It

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seems apparent that the question of professional status and professional associations is one of the points of confusion in American education, with some authorities arguing that teachers are not of a professional caliber.

Before true professional standing can be acquired, the teachers themselves must gain control of all matters that concern them as teachers, and this control must be exercised by actual teachers, not by politically-minded administrators who join and dominate teacher's organizations. 9

Public Opinion

One of the strongest deterrents of teacher activities is what the citizenry thinks about its teachers. Only recently has the teacher become emancipated from rather strong socio-religious taboos inflicted by the community in which the teacher worked. There are still communities in the Nation where teachers cannot smoke, must room in prescribed houses, and are restricted to one weekend away from the community per month. In large cities such as Chicago, however, the teacher loses her identity as a teacher when she leaves the school at the end of the day. But that merely changes the judgement from an individual one to a collective judgement. The public watches the group as a whole scrutinizing professional agencies as well as the Union groups.

The teacher is pigeon-holed into the category of public servant, and as such is expected to serve the community in almost

every conceivable way without additional pay. Many persons cannot understand how a teacher can desert his life of devotion and self-sacrifice to engage in Union activities, or even desert the profession when economic necessity or desire become irresistible. After playing this passive role for so many years, both teachers and lay people had become so accustomed to the public servant aura surrounding the teacher that they were unconvinced when teachers Unions openly sought increased benefits for themselves.

Other public groups were astounded when teachers foresook the professional groups in favor of labor affiliated Unions.

As Unions become more active and more vocal, taxpayers are becoming increasingly discontented with teachers organizations which unceasingly make appeals for increased salaries, better tenure, more sick leave, and better retirement benefits, but which show little evidence of attempting to assume responsibility for improving teacher service. The public would like to see teachers union organizations take positive steps toward the improvement of teachers in service. An eminent member of the profession and an early member of the American Federation of Teachers takes a somewhat different viewpoint.

It is said that the Teachers Union as distinct from the more academic organizations overemphasises the economic aspect of teaching. Well, I never had that contempt for the economic aspect of teaching, especially not on the

first of the month when I get my salary check. I find that teachers have to pay their grocery and meat bills and house rent just the same as everybody else, I find that the respect in which they individually and collectively are held in the community is closely associated with the degree of economic independence which they enjoy, I find that teachers, more than some other members of the community, are expected by the community to maintain a fairly high standard of living.\(^1\)

The teaching role is a difficult one to assume. The teacher must be a devoted public servant, well trained and of a professional demeanor; enjoying economic independence, but never being too vocal or energetic in seeking it; training students to be active citizens, but not practicing their preachments; being the active dynamic teacher in the school situation, but the passive second class citizen in the community.

**Business and Political Groups**

In Cleveland in 1914; in Struthers, Ohio in 1934; in St. Louis in 1920; in Los Angeles and many other cities, for many years, opposition to the unionization of teachers came from school administrators, politicians and businessmen.\(^2\) The objection was often raised that a teacher should be neutral, but could not be as a member of a labor group. The teacher was, and is, expected to serve all groups impartially and not to favor the Union viewpoint. Administrators were afraid of losing the control they often exer-

\(^{11}\) John Dewey in an address at New York City in 1928, quoted in *Organizing the Teaching Profession*, 60-61.

cised over the school system and its teachers, as was the case in Chicago for many years. Businessmen were against the principle of unionism, which if it stemmed from an honest conviction, was understandable. But they were often afraid of the higher taxes they, as businessmen, would have to pay if the Union gained some of the economic gains it was seeking for its members. Higher taxes often meant more to them than the adequate education of their children.

It has been the finding of AFT officers that the greatest opposition to efforts to improve school service and promote professional welfare developed from the same groups that had fought the original organization of the Union. Real estate lobbyists, chamber of commerce and manufacturers' associations and economy league experts have been the biggest stumbling block to the securing of needed appropriations for public education. Moreover, these groups have gone further and actually sponsored programs involving the adoption of discriminatory and arbitrary personnel practices, curtailment of already inadequate services, and support for tax limitation proposals within local communities as well as state capitals. The fact that these powerful business groups have consistently exercised such an adverse influence on education, has been pointed out time and again as the reason why teachers need affiliation with a union.\(^3\) The history of American education shows labor groups to be in the forefront of the movement for a free public school education.

\(^3\) Organizing the Teaching Profession, 218.
available to everyone.

The atmosphere under which the teacher works is further defined when the typical pattern of appointment to the local Board of Education is seen. Businessman, professional man (doctor or lawyer), and public spirited socialite clubwoman has long been the usual personnel chosen for appointment to the Board. Only recently has the fight to include a labor union member been won, and this concession has been made only in the large industrial centers that have a large labor bloc. Seldom, if ever, have the teacher groups won the important and very logical appointment of a teacher to the Board of Education.

Administration Attitude

Many local school administrators, professors of education and college administrators have actively opposed the trend toward the unionization of classroom teachers. Copen,14 Chancellor of the University of Buffalo, New York, outlines the following argument against unionism. The teacher, a professional person, should be guided by unqualified public service, rather than self seeking, such as is the reason for Union existence. A professional person could not, such as through the use of the strike, bear hostility toward the public, nor could he ally with labor, less he become tainted and his academic freedom be curtailed. The strike, Copen

claims, is treason, and represents the teachers willingness to become a labor class type. "The time has come for the profession to bring the force of an aroused public opinion to bear on those misguided members who through divided loyalty are fast undermining its repute."

It is small wonder that many teachers feared that active participation in teachers organization would restrict their chances for advancement and for salary increases. Often times the new teacher is given an anti-union indoctrination before ever leaving college, and this is strengthened, and examples given once the teacher has reported to the job.

Rather than opposing the teacher organizations and creating hostilities and uncertainties among the staff, administrators would do better to encourage the larger more active role by the teacher agencies in the educational planning and policy making process. The administrator should foster the inclusion of the teaching staff in more administrative policy development, thus making their contribution more apparent and his leadership more effective.15

**Federated Labor's Support**

The American Federation of Teachers is one small national of the large American Federation of Labor, recently joined together

with the Congress of Industrial Organizations into one huge American labor front. The AFT therefore, has the support, protection and guidance of the whole of American labor. It is often said that this is a queer marriage, that of the professional teacher with the blue shirited labor man. In looking into the history of teacher unionization and the history of American public education, the reasons why teachers choose to affiliate with labor becomes apparent.

The history of the AFT shows very clearly that the movement of teachers to unite with labor was a grass roots movement from the very beginning; it was the teachers, who in looking for support and satisfaction of their goals, found labor the one strong group to which they could turn. This was not, as has frequently been the case in unionization, a campaign of the AFT, CIO, or any other labor organization going into school systems for the purpose of organizing the teachers. It was rather, that teachers believed this association would provide the best promise of satisfaction of their own interests and aspirations. Three basic considerations might be shown as prompting the unification with labor. First was the substandard economic conditions under which teachers worked in many communities. Second, was the inherent weakness of most existing teacher organizations and their failure to improve the lot of teachers. The third factor was the faith in education and the role it should play in the preservation and development of our democratic way of life, that was exhibited by labor.  

16 Organizing the Teaching Profession, 19-21.
The record shows that time after time when teachers were being refused a vehicle of protestation by the public, by the politicians, by the business interests, and by the administration, the only group with a sympathetic ear was labor. When the St. Paul Minnesota teachers were fighting for adjustment of salaries and grievances, only labor heard their plea. It was the labor press which told their story, and labor men who appeared before the City Council to demand a hearing for the teachers. The American Federation of Teachers contends that it is at present, the only really effective friend of freedom for teachers below the college level.

Going back into the history of the labor movement the record shows that the earliest organized groups of workers in America were in the forefront of the struggle for a universal system of free public schools. When the American Federation of Labor was founded in 1881, public education for all was high on its program, a single ladder system of schools carrying the individual as far as his talents and capabilities would allow.

When the teachers began organizing and formed the AFT, they found that the labor unions already had an educational program in full swing, and it was basically the type of program the teachers wanted and needed. The teachers added their knowledge

17 Ibid., 36.

and experience to labor's educational program and developed a basic philosophy of public school education that it has since been pursuing and attaining.19

Membership Attitudes

A quick analysis of the make up of the teachers in the elementary school in which the author is teaching might give some insight into the attitudes of these people. The staff has nineteen people, four men and fifteen women. Eight teachers (including one male), or forty-two per cent, are single with no one dependent upon them for support. Six women, or thirty-two per cent, are married and are not the major means of support. Two women teachers, about ten per cent, are married and have children, but again are not the major source of income. The three married men, making up sixteen per cent, each find that additional outside employment is necessary to maintain their families in a manner acceptable to them. Only sixteen per cent of the teaching staff are entirely dependent upon their teaching income for the sustainance of their families, and none of them find it adequate. The vast majority of the staff are either supporting themselves, or are adding to other major sources of income.

This spot check in no way is intended as any sort of a definitive study, but is indicative of what the total picture is

19 Organizing the Teaching Profession, 167.
like. This picture is rather typical of several elementary schools with which the author is familiar. On the other hand, high schools, trade schools and colleges have a higher proportion of male teachers.

In talking with friends and fellow teachers one sees the dilemma and reflection of the influence of the professional associations, the public, the politicians and business interests, the administration, the labor groups. Today the teaching profession offers few of the rewards which ambitious men seek. It carries little status in the community and the monetary rewards are likewise meager. Those scholars that are not drawn off into industry are discontent in their awareness of their superior intelligence over men who have attained power and prestige in other fields.
CHAPTER IX

FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS

What is Needed in the Teaching Profession

Most writers in the educational field are in agreement on one thing at least, that the profession needs more qualified teachers to replace those working on inadequate or temporary certificates, as well as better training for many that are qualified from the standpoint of having the correct number of college credits. The following objectives have been formulated by the American Federation of Teachers\(^1\) to deal with this crucial problem.

The problem of attraction to the field is of major proportions and would best be facilitated in two ways. First, by raising salaries to the point where they could be classified as a saving wage for the married men with family obligations. Secondly, freedom of expression as a citizen and as a teacher must be protected so that well trained people will be attracted to and stay in the profession without fear of retribution after having exercised the right of free speech on all matters including civic affairs.

\(^1\) Organizing the Teaching Profession, 189.
Minimal standards of training of a high caliber must be legislated and then enforced. Many small communities deliberately set low standards or seek unqualified people so that they can keep the payroll at a minimum. Children the nation over deserve the very best education possible and this can be partially guaranteed by rigidly enforcing high standards of teacher selection.

Teacher training must undergo a constant criticism and revision within the framework of a democratic philosophy of education. The teacher training curriculum must be carefully scrutinized and its integration with the liberal arts program should be studied. Teacher training, both pre-service and in-service, should be extended and made available to more persons through scholarships and grants. The undertaking by a Union, of such a program as seeking out and providing scholarships for high school graduates would alone tremendously increase the standing of that local in its community as well as the status of the entire profession.

Teacher training institutions should not neglect the mastery of subject matter, but should give that attention as well as the development of skill in teaching methods and techniques. The teacher, in order to motivate her class and impart to them a thirst for knowledge, must have a good understanding of the subject matter, and for an elementary teacher this means an understanding in practically every field of knowledge.

The last point is that the preparation, experience and salary for faculty members of teacher training institutions must
be on a par with the faculties of the best state universities. The teacher's college should not be content with having second rate men on its faculty, but should make provision to attract and keep the best available.

Catholic Social Principles on the Right to Organize

A major consideration on which there is considerable controversy among the writers and leaders in the field of education is that of the right of teachers to organize and join Unions of their own choosing. Many disclaim the legal right of public employees to organize, others say that Unions are unprofessional and unworthy of membership by the professional teacher. The National Education Association has taken the position that the teachers Unions are unnecessary since it adequately safeguards and protects the economic rights of the classroom teacher.

First, the right of teachers to organize, although not clearly established under the law, is recognized by the majority of Catholic experts in the fields of education and social principles. It seems clearly apparent that in the teaching profession which is seriously lacking in certain respects, the teachers would have the right to form and join Unions of their own choosing for the purpose of correcting the ills besetting the profession. It is the obligation of the profession to set its own house in order, to secure

unto itself its rights, and to accomplish this by the most suitable and effective means. Pope Leo XIII\(^3\) instructs workers associations to secure for its members an increase in the goods of body, of soul and of prosperity. And to this may be added, insofar as teachers associations are concerned, the greater good of the whole society through the advancement of education and the increased competence of the profession.

Secondly, why should the teachers organize into separate and distinct Unions when the National Education Association with its much larger organization has already been in existence many years and has as its goals much the same aims and objectives as the Union groups. The NEA claims to be a professional organization composed primarily of classroom teachers, working and speaking for them. That the vast majority of the membership of the NEA are teachers is true, but does not tell the entire story.

Its membership is primarily made up of classroom teachers, but it also includes in its membership principals, administrators and superintendents, who are in reality the teachers bosses; and it is the educational administrators that control the NEA, not the teacher element. From the point of view of the economics of the teaching profession the NEA is the equivalent of a company union. It would be naive to expect that such an organization could represent adequately the rights and legitimate economic interests of its

\(^3\) Leo XIII, *The Condition of Labor*, 33.
teacher members separately and without undue influence from the membership engaged in supervision and administration. 4

CHAPTER X

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS: OTHER POSSIBLE COURSES OF ACTION OPEN TO THE
CHICAGO TEACHERS UNION

The Chicago Teachers Union, the largest group of its kind in the Nation, has the potential of being a great and powerful tool for the profession. Being the largest, it is also expected to be the leader by the smaller locals scattered throughout the Nation. Once the Number One Local has gained an advantage, secured another of its goals, the others will have additional weight behind their arguments when seeking similar concessions. It is essential then, that Local 1 take the initiative, use every available tool, and leave no avenue unexplored in its determination to secure for it membership, and the profession as a whole, the professional rights, the economic independance, and the increased stature that are so necessary to the profession.

Increased Political Action

The teaching profession would not be so timid if it had political power. The Constitution of the Chicago Teachers Union prohibits the Union's entrance into partisan politics. But polit-
ical action can be and is a powerful tool, even within the framework of the Constitution, the Union could utilize political action and political pressures as long as they did not become partisan in nature. Probably in order to embark upon a program of political action, the Constitution would have to be changed.

Teachers should not fear political action, if they are ever to get the better schools, the better working conditions, and the better salaries they need, they should be ready to face the political facts of life and take the issues directly into the political arena. The president of the University of Kansas City, Dr. Earl J. McGrath, who was United States Education Commissioner from 1949 to 1953, called upon teachers to unite into one powerful organization, enter the political field and hit hard. Such a basic, down-to-earth plan is essential if the schools are to do the job they should.

The History of American Labor has taught Union leaders to be wary of politics. The issues at stake here are not bread and butter unionism against big business, but rather, issues that concern the younger generation, whether tomorrow's citizens will get the best possible education or be short-changed while being turned through the education mill. Teachers, parents, Union locals and interested citizens cannot afford not to take the plunge if they are to leave the educational process in better shape than it was

when they inherited it.

Towards a Formal Collective Bargaining Relationship

A second major step which the Union should consider is the acceleration of its drive toward formal collective bargaining relations with the Chicago Board of Education. It is true that the Union and its affiliates in the Illinois Federation of Labor are on record as favoring legislation that will permit public bodies of this state to enter into written agreements with the agents of their employees. However, this is not enough. The CTU must survey its program in this area with a particularly critical eye, redefine its goals toward the swift accomplishment of a formal bargaining agreement and draw up a program designed to accomplish that goal. Collective bargaining, the airing of grievances, the striving for goals, the mutual give and take of the bargaining relationship, have often led to the integration of divergent interests and the mutual accomplishment of higher goals.

Accelerating the Drive for Membership

The third major proposal for the consideration of the Chicago Teachers Union is the implementation of a membership drive designed to enroll every teacher in the Chicago system. The secure membership of every Chicago teacher is essential for the accomplishment of the considerations here proposed, or for any major undertaking by the Union.

In 1938, one year after its inception, the Chicago
Teacher Union\(^2\) claimed to have sixty per cent of the classroom teachers of Chicago on its membership rolls. In 1956, eighteen years later, the Union has not yet passed the two-thirds mark. The actual membership during this period has grown from some 5,000 members in 1938, to just short of 10,000 members in February 1956. But this increase is not significant in so far as the Union has not enrolled a larger proportion of the teachers. These comparative figures seem to indicate that a membership drive of proportions beyond anything the Union has previously attempted is in order.

**Union Implementation of Teacher Participation Administration**

The fourth major course of action recommended for consideration by the Union concerns a fuller utilization of the professional training of the teachers by the Board. Weber\(^3\) suggests that if teachers are to seek higher salaries for themselves, they should take action to improve the quality of teaching, to develop better curricula, to improve guidance services, and to promote better community-teacher relations. In seeking higher wages and better working conditions, teachers should offer something in return, and can through their Union.

First, the Union should work toward the fullest utilization of classroom teachers into some form of teacher-advisor

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administrative committees. Such committees could be used as advisory committees to the General Superintendent and various other administrative functions. There is at present some utilization of teachers in such functions as textbook selection, curriculum development and as members of the Oral Boards which pass on the selection of new teachers. This is precisely the direction in which the Union should push for further teacher participation. The adoption of a Junior Board to advise and make suggestions to the General Superintendent, is the type of constructive teacher participation that could be very useful to the school administration, while at the same time giving the teacher a direct voice in an area where he has had years of training. McCormick's ideas on the intrinsic worth and the power of people, and on multiple management would have particular application to this recommendation.

Secondly, in order to take fuller advantage of the training and practical knowledge of the teacher, it is recommended that the Union work toward the appointment of a classroom teacher to membership on the Board of Education. There is every reason to believe that the inclusion of one who has a wealth of practical classroom training, the experience of working with and applying Board rules and regulations would be a valuable asset to the make-up of the Board. There is no reason why a professional person with

direct experience in education should not be named to the Board, the typical Chicago teacher has a Bachelors Degree, while many have the Masters and the Doctorate. Certainly many of them would be eminently qualified and would serve with distinction.

**Acceleration of Program of In-service Training**

The fifth program recommended to the Union is for the acceleration of in-service and pre-service training of Chicago teachers through the adoption of a Union sponsored program. In Chicago there are found one of the largest school systems in the Nation, the largest AFT local, a four-year, city teachers' college, three branches of the City Junior college, and at least six universities and colleges with education departments. Here is the ideal setup for in-service training of Chicago teachers, and it needs only the organization of a dynamic, public spirited organization to get the program under way. The Union has made some attempts at professional training, but has not begun to scratch the surface of what could be done in the way of seminars, workshops, guest lecturers and the like. A truly comprehensive program is needed to help Chicago teachers be the very best. When the Union has contributed something of this dimension to the profession and to the City, it can unapologetically demand the best working and economic conditions for its members.

The acceleration of pre-service training in teacher training institutions, as suggested by the AFT and reported in Chapter
IX, is worthy of repeating at this time. The accumulation of funds by the Union from individuals and private concerns interested in furthering the cause of education and the easing of the teaching shortage would be a wise and worthwhile expenditure of Union funds.
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