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DISSERTATION

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in the Graduate School of
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By

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1969

Approved by

[Signature]
Advisor
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To Bernie

a teacher and a friend
VITA

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...self-sacrificing, gentle, kindly, self-effacing creature, overworked, under paid but never out of patience and always ready to 'give freely of her time and money' for school purposes.\(^1\)

No Madison Avenue campaign has ever changed a client's image as radically as the nation's teachers have changed theirs. Kindly Mr. Chips and modest school marm have been wiped off the public mind.\(^2\)

Within the past decade public attention has been increasingly focused upon the educational institution and one group of its inhabitants, the teachers. Newspaper and magazine articles proclaim the emergence of the "new teacher" and his utilization of "militancy". The terms have been used to describe widely divergent actions that vary from actively supporting several candidates for a local school board in Terra Haute, Indiana to striking in New York City. Regardless of the side use or misuse of the terms, there is a common idea implied that was best summarized by Albert Shanker, the president of the union of New York City teachers when he stated, "This marks the end of


the image of the good old dedicated teacher who gets kicked around and once a year, on Teacher Recognition Day, is handed a flower for his lapel." He then asserted that "A new breed of teacher had emerged— one with guts, true dedication and a determination to fight for better school conditions for himself and his pupils." \(^3\)

Shanker and the New York City teachers union, the United Federation of Teachers (UFT), are also important representatives of the entire union movement among teachers since it was their victory for collective bargaining rights in 1961 that firmly established a basis for the future unionization of teachers.

Prior to 1961, since the beginning of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) in 1917, membership had increased slightly but steadily. Yet, only about four percent of the teachers belonged to the union compared to a little over fifty per cent membership in the National Educational Association (NEA). Since 1961 the per cent of union membership has almost doubled while that of the NEA has remained relatively stable. How can one account for the rapid increase? And what has happened to "professionalism", the term that symbolized the attitude usually

associated with the appeal of the NEA?4

The increase in union membership among teachers is only one aspect of a larger phenomena taking place in many other areas of white-collar occupations, especially the services; e.g. policemen and firemen. The affluent, technological society has both caused and been effected by the drastic changes occurring in the labor market. Blue-collar production occupations are rapidly being replaced with white-collar, sales and service occupations; and both types are being replaced by computers. What effect will this have upon the future of unionism? As a result of the values inherent in American history and the rather unique social conditions in this country, unionism has never shared the success here that it has in other industrialized countries; yet, American unionism has developed a pragmatic method and has fulfilled a specific function in the society. This method, one based upon expediency and instrumentalism rather than principal or ideology, is influenced by changing social conditions. Consequently, it is imperative to examine these conditions to understand any group of individuals acceptance or rejection of unionism.

As mentioned previously, technological development has had a profound influence on the labor market and the

4American Federation of Teachers and National Educational Association Membership, Table 7, p. 123.
social structure. Accompanying this development has been the "flight to the suburbs". This population change has effected both the cities and the suburbs. The cities are becoming increasingly populated with Blacks; yet owned, operated, and serviced by Whites. White teachers are faced with increasingly segregated Black communities. What "cultural conflicts" can be expected? And, recent demands by the Black community for decentralization (community control) have increased "racial tensions" within the city. What effect will this have on the educational institution? What function will the union serve in these situations? The suburbs, lacking an industrial tax base and inhabited by a consumer-oriented, nouveau-semi-riche are faced with financial choices toward austerity. This also has had and will continue to have an effect on the educational institution. Here again the union has a function to serve?

Unions have always faced difficulties in organizing white-collar workers. Teachers in particular have been exceedingly difficult to organize. The stereotype of a teacher described in the opening quotation of Waller has ideological significance, if not actual validity. Mr. Chips, Mr. Peepers, and "Our Miss Brooks" are representative of the public's view of individuals that comprise the "profession", and sociological and historical factors tend
to verify this image—an image considered highly unfavorable toward unionism. But have teachers changed? Is it necessary that they change in order for them to find unionism acceptable; that is, have Mr. Peepers and Miss Brooks changed? Have they been replaced by young, more militant, more liberal teachers?

In an attempt to answer the questions raised thus far, it is necessary to examine first (Chapter I), a brief historical analysis of unions to determine the influence of American values and social structure on their function. Second (Chapter II), an analysis of white-collar attitudes should aid in determining the factors that influence the acceptance or rejection of unionism. And third (Chapter III), an examination of the social conditions that are influencing the educational institution should aid in understanding the ideology of teacher unionism; the interests, conflicts, and the direction that teacher unionism will follow. Perhaps then, one can understand what happened to Mr. Peepers and Miss Brooks? Have they changed, have they been replaced, or have they joined the AFT?
CHAPTER I

UNIONISM - HISTORY, STRUCTURE, AND FUNCTION

Working men of all countries, unite!¹

But experience has shown that, as yet, most proletarians hate foreigners more than they hate employers. ²

Unionism is generally defined as—the collective effort of a group of individuals, organized to protect and promote their own interests. Within this definition one can establish four basic assumptions. First, a society consists of conflicting or competing, collective interests. Second, the individual must relinquish some of his personal freedom for the common good of the collective interests. Third, groups of individuals, having collective interests, will actively protect and promote them. And fourth, the "common good" of the society will be enhanced by the promotion of these competing, collective interests.

Any adequate definition of unionism is impossible,


however, without considering the political, social, and economic factors that influence their development. For example, one would expect the unionism of Great Britain to be somewhat different from the unionism of either France or the United States as a result of their different political development. Contrary to the development of unionism in the United States, a "classless" society founded more on principles than politics and where unions attempted to remain free of political alignments, the unionism of Great Britain was greatly influenced by the political relationship between the working class and the Labor Party. In France (and Italy) the main body of the trade union movement is not merely independent of the government nor directly related to one party of the government, but in many situations, it is openly hostile to the government.

In Communist countries, the political relationship between the government and the unions was influenced by the victory of the "dictatorship of the proletariat". In this situation the government is regarded as the representative of the entire working class, with the Communist Party acting as the directing authority. Union leadership is under the direction of the Party and the unions function as a social service agency. If competition is stressed, it is between the different unions as they attempt to stimulate production to meet national economic plans.

In addition to the influence of the political
structure on unionism an even greater influence are the social and economic factors associated with technological development. The origin of the Medieval European guilds is rooted in the religious associations of Germanic antiquity. In the early eleventh century they were prominent in the cities and were formed from merchant associations and served to determine, control, and protect prices, ethics, and standards. Following the examples established by the merchant guilds, artisans, especially in England, created craft guilds with similar structure and intent. For example, the bakers guild in 1162 was guaranteed the exclusive right by Louis VII to prepare bread for sale; this guarantee excluded the millers and fullers, groups that had previously baked bread. By that time many other groups had attained official recognition, all reflecting the stage of technological development (or the lack of it?). These groups included: tanners, weavers, fishers, cordwainers, etc.; all based upon the policies of protectionism and exclusiveness. These policies protected the artisan against the competition from other cities, the competition of his fellow workers, and the emergence of middle-men traders. They established and controlled working hours, wages, methods, and quality standards. The guild itself, served as a base for political power and societal prestige in the bourgeoisie social structure. As Pirenne points out, "The ideal was stability of condi-
tions in a stable industrial organization." Yet, as is true in most historical situations, ideals are symbolic of both overt strength and covert weakness.

With increased shipping, local trade was challenged by the export industry. New areas became available to industry and raw material came under the domination of capitalist merchants. In fact, in areas where guilds remained dominant, with the emergence of nationalism local trade became subordinate to national interests. And with the advent of new machinery, handicraft became a luxury rather than a necessity. Thus, without the control of raw material and produced goods, without the new machinery necessary for production, and without the legal and political support of the nation, the artisan found himself, at best, in a situation closely resembling that of the more modern industrial homeworkers.

Reacting to these factors the guilds became even more exclusive; and consequently were attacked from "within". Some dissatisfaction was expressed by the apprentices who were faced with more stringent standards. But the greatest amount came from the journeymen who had completed their apprenticeship but had been unable to attain the status of master. As a result they attempted

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to either seize control of the guilds, establish their own associations, or organize strikes; battles that forshadowed the later conflict between craft and industrial unions.

In England the guilds were abolished by the laws of 1814 and 1835, in France they were destroyed by revolution in 1791, and the German states forced their abolition in the late 1800's. But, all these actions were rather irrelevant. The guilds were not the victims of a new capitalistic economy as some authors claim; they were incompatible with the political, social, and economic conditions that eventually produced what Ellul has termed *The Technological Society*, or what Eisenhower called the military industrial complex.

In Great Britain trade unions emerged from the social clubs of journeymen in the early 1800's, but they lacked the organization and structure of the guilds. The first attempt to form trade unions, a combination of bricklayers, stonecutters, carpenters, etc. in one trade was in 1813. The most ambitious of these attempts under the influence of Robert Owen occurred in 1835, with the formation of the Grand National Consolidated Trades' Union. The intent of the union was not wage bargaining or standard setting, but the replacement of capitalism with Cooperative Socialism. Yet, none of these attempts gained sufficient power to succeed. It wasn't until the Reform Act of 1867 that unionism gained legitimacy and strength. On a national
scale craft unions comprised of skilled workers, became firmly established between 1850 and 1875. In the late seventies unionism spread rapidly to the less skilled workers, but it wasn't until after the turn of the century that industrial unionism emerged as the dominant force.

In our own country, the development of unionism followed a similar sequential pattern; but, different social, economic, and political conditions vastly altered the shape that American unionism would take.

Guild-like organizations, formed to promote interests similar to those of the Medieval guilds, existed in Colonial America; but, they lacked the degree of organization, legitimacy, and consequently, the power of those earlier guilds. This was also true of the organizations that emerged in the 1790's; organizations of: shoemakers, cordwainers, carpenters, printers, tailors, bakers, et al. The "great awakening" in the labor movement, however, began in the 1820's and its development was greatly effected not only by the previous history of unionism, but also by the values inherent in American society.

Tocqueville remarked, on his visit to this country, How does it happen that in the United States, where the inhabitants have only recently immigrated to the land which they now occupy...[bringing] neither customs nor traditions with them there; where they met one another for the first time with no previous acquaintance; where, in short, the instinctive love of country can scarcely exist...that everyone
takes as zealous an interest in the affairs of his township, his country, and the whole state as if they were his own?4

This spirit of nationalism was founded upon the values inherent in the Declaration of Independence,5 values that eventually merged with those exemplified in the writing of Franklin and given scientific credence by Spencer's Social Darwinism to forge the American Dream. And, who could be a spokesman for this dream but Abraham Lincoln in an address to workingmen in Milwaukee,

The prudent, penniless beginner labors for wages a while, saves a surplus with which to buy tools or land, for himself; then labors on his own account another while, and at length hires another new beginner to help him. This, say its advocates, is free labor—the just and generous, and prosperous system, which opens the way for all—gives hope to all, and energy, and progress, and improvement of conditions to all. If any continues through life in the condition of the hired laborer, it is not the fault of the system, but because of either a dependent nature...or improvidence, folly, or singular misfortune.6

In making the statement, Lincoln was expressing the views of the workers themselves who saw their position


5 Ibid. (This book is an excellent presentation of the origin of American values and how these values functioned in society.) For the relationship between the values of Puritanism (Protestant Ethic) and those of the Declaration of Independence, see Ralph Barton Perry's, Puritanism and Democracy, Harper Torchbooks (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1944).

6 Ibid., p. 313.
not as proletariat in a stable class system, not as a revolutionary force in a class struggle, but as a transitory period leading to the economic independence of the self-employing farmer, the mechanic, the merchant, and the professional. And, the view was not entirely illusory, especially for the leadership of the early craft unions. Stephens, Wright, Lichtman, and Powerdly, founders and early presidents of the Knights of Labor, had all moved in and out of their labor position. They were "bourgeois" not only in their economic views, but also in their political and social views. Many individuals in leadership positions had a private school education, had been trained for the clergy, law, or politics, and belonged to many middle-class social organizations. The founding convention of the Knights reflected the conservative nature of the organization and the influence of Stephens, the first founder and a baptist ministerial student, when it passed a resolution that members had to be, "...men of good moral character, sober and industrious, and thoroughly understanding the trade which he follows."7

Ware described the views of the two major trade union centers of 1876 as follows, "Philadelphia was the oldest trade union center in the country. It had the

longest tradition of 'pure and simple' unionism and had seldom followed the strange gods of reform. It was conservative, law-abiding, and dominated by middle-class ideals. Pittsburgh, on the contrary, was western aggressive, rough, politically minded, and influenced somewhat by socialist thought." And while it is true that socialist thought has had an influence on American unionism, especially in organizing efforts and pushing the craft unions toward industrial unionism, (e.g., International Workers of the World), the ideological consequences have been limited.

The history of socialism in the American trade union movement has been marked with short-termed victories and long-termed defeats. Beginning with the expulsion of the New York Socialists in 1895, a move that ended the Home Club, a group of fundamentalists and socialists that had won the first major victory for socialists when they took over the Knights of Labor in 1886, to the continued expulsion of Socialists (or Communists), individuals or locals today, the unions have maintained their funda-
mental belief in the American system.

In "hard times" unions have turned to politics rather than "foreign" ideologies, and their political position has generally been a pragmatic one. As a result of the rather apolitical nature of American society in general and of the defensive position unions have been forced to assume, they have remained detached from any specific political party; but, they have generally rejected socialism and "reformism" (progressivism).

In 1912, when Debs received six per cent of the popular vote for the Socialist Party, his support came not from organized labor, but from Midwest Populists (farmers), desperate industrial workers (western miners), some German immigrants, and intellectuals. It was these intellectuals—or at least their ideological stance—that supported Owenism, Bellamy's Looking Backward, the Progressive Party


11Arieli, American Ideology, p. 167. Arieli points out, "...the American system was not political at all but a new order of human life, and its policy is rooted in moral or intellectual principles, and not in orders, clans or castes, natural or factitious."

12It wasn’t until 1908, following the Supreme Court's ruling on the Danbury Hatters' case, that organized labor participated in its first national political campaign supporting William Jennings Bryan. (The company manager, Loewe, received $240,000 for damages suffered from the boycott organized by the United Hatters of America.)
of LaFollette,¹³ and other types of humanitarian or reformist movements.

The rejection of Communism by the labor unions has been largely the result of two factors: the defensive position of unionism in American society and the threat Communism posed to the promise of the American Dream. To understand the first factor, one must realize that it wasn't until 1935 that labor attained the legal right to vote for and form unions, and to bargain collectively—the National Labor Relations Act (Wagner Act). And, the Presidential (Executive) Order, granting the same right to government employees, was not passed until 1962, although a weaker version was passed in 1912, the Lloyd-LaFollette Act.

The defensive position of the unions also manifest itself in the union's rejection of strikes and their condemnation of anarchists, socialists, and communists. The Knights of Labor, the first major craft union, never called a strike and seldom supported one. Regardless of the fact that in 1884-1885 various locals had won four of

¹³Organized labor reluctantly backed the LaFollette-Wheeler, Progressive Party ticket in 1924, only after total discouragement with the planks of the major parties. Gompers only statement after the endorsement was, "Bob LaFollette is a great American."
The five major strikes, one being a victory over Jay Gould's decision for a ten per cent wage reduction. There was a general belief that strikes were dangerous and ineffective, did more harm than good, and should be supplanted by peaceful and intelligent methods. Bowing to the anti-labor view of the general public, anti-strike legislation of the courts, or collected bargaining agreements with employers, labor has only reluctantly used their most effective weapons, the strike and the boycott. And they have been placed in a position, sometimes by choice but more often by fear of public sentiment, of disclaiming the right to strike and condemning the advocates of strikes of being "imprudent" and "anti-social"; or labeling them, along with the general public, as anarchists, socialists, and communists. After the Haymarket Riot in 1886,

Contrary to conventional wisdom, employees have won many more "industrial disputes" than they have lost. In most years, excluding times of recessions, the ratio has been two to one in favor of the employees. (See Harry A. Millis and Royal E. Montgomery, Organized Labor (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1945), p. 700.)

The position adopted by the AFT in 1951 is rather characteristic of the one adopted by other unions: "The American Federation of Teachers does not assert (and hereby expressly disclaims) the right to strike against the government of the U.S., or any agency thereof." Their additional statement that the funds and facilities of the national organization will not be used to support a strike, however, is not characteristic of modern unionism. Historically, union survival has depended upon national organizational support; e.g. the typographical union, the first major national organization, was about the only one that survived the Civil War, depressions, and strikes.
the Knights under the influence of Powderly, condemned those indicted, and the American Federation of Labor (AFL), with the comment of Gompers that the riot set the eight hour day back ten years, gave only token support. (Even the IWW rejected socialists, anarchists, single taxers, and populists.)

But the conflict between organized labor and the socialists and communists was more profound than simply a disagreement about "means" or methods. The essential issue was an ideological one, one of ends. The labor movement didn't intend to rule America, it only wanted its share of the American system. The workers didn't want to abolish private property; they wanted to own some. And, they didn't want to remain a member of the "working class", but they wanted for themselves and especially for their children, a chance to "move up"; to be able to buy an automobile, own a home, and educate their children. And, in this sense American unionism has always been liberal. As Schlesinger so aptly points out, in describing the Jacksonians, "...the object of liberalism has never been to destroy capitalism, as conservatism in variably claims--only to keep the capitalists from destroying it."

they have been not only liberal, but their intent has been to attain middle class status.)

The ideological conflict between labor and progressivism (including many intellectuals) has also been more profound than simply the "anti-intellectualism", "conservatism" and "authoritarianism" of the working class. The progressivists emphasized centralism and "social justice" as a paternalistic alternative to grass roots power. Their programs were too often condescending, tinged with guilt, and self-righteousness. "Good, clean" government as an alternative to "corruption" and "political bossism", too often represented a concern for "standard" and a disregard of newly elected immigrants who knew the interests of those on the bottom;\(^1\) and, their concern for harmony as an alternative to strikes and competitive self-interest too often expressed a squimishness about the "masses" and a failure to realize the powerful, entrenched interests of the industrialists. As Hofstader points out,

Progressivism was a mild and judicious movement, whose goal was not a sharp change in the social structure, but rather a responsible elite, which was to take charge of the popular impulse toward change and direct it into moderate and,

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\(^1\)Handlin quotes a typical view of an immigrant toward a ward boss: "I think that there's got to be in every ward a guy that any bloke can go to when he's in trouble and get help--not justice and the law, but help, no matter what he's done." Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, Publishers, 1951), p. 212.
as they would have said, "constructive" channels---a leadership occupying,...a position of independence between the wealthy and the people, prepared to curb the excesses of either.18

The ideological conflict between intellectuals and trade unionists has also been of greater significance than simply the anti-intellectualism of American society in general.19 In addition to their general support of progressivism, intellectuals have: condemned technological progress (Goodman, Mumford, et al.); studied the "working-class" and found them "culturally deprived", racist, etc., (Lipset,20 Warner, Havighurst, et al.); and ridiculed them for either the pursuit of their own interest or not even realizing this interest (Marcuse, Mills, et al.). In addition, intellectuals have only rarely supported union

18Richard Hofstadter, The Age of Reform (New York: Vintage Books, Inc., 1955), pp. 163-4. The conservatism of progressivism has been expressed many times in elections. For example, they supported Hoover (after the defeat of LaFollette), Theodore Roosevelt, and more recently, Eugene McCarthy. In spite of the progressivists' concern about the racist appeal of George Wallace to the working-class, figures show the Wallace vote to have been equally divided among the middle-class and the working-class.

19Excellent examples of this conflict have been expressed by Eric Hoffer.

20A typical example of this point is illustrated in Lipsett's agreement with the statement of North who claims: "...isolation from heterogeneous environments, characteristic of low status, operates to limit the source of information, to retard the development of efficiency in judgement and reasoning abilities, and to confine the attention to more trivial interests in life."--One should ask how this differs from suburbanites!
techniques of secondary boycotts, closed shops, and strikes. Many have expressed fear of the power of "both sides", the "Barons" and the unions; thus failing to realize on which side the power truly resides. For regardless of the type of power one wishes to examine, social, economic, or political, the "Barons" have always maintained the greater share. It is only when one compares the power of the unions with the power of Blacks, poor Whites, and other "outsiders", that it is possible to envision union power as overwhelming and/or exploitive. And it is on this very point that the intellectuals have been right in their criticism of the real conservatism of unionism throughout their history--the conservatism that manifests itself in exclusiveness. This factor has been an important aspect in short-range, self interest; in the long-range, however, it has been the most destructive element of union ideology.

This factor is not considered by Lipset in his discussion of the liberalism and conservatism of social classes. He claims that the lower classes are more liberal or leftist than other classes on economic issues; e.g. they

21In our Age of Education, the same conservatism--exclusiveness--has become more apparent in the actions of the intellectuals; e.g., their refusal to accept open admissions policies and curriculum changes, and to waive standards and requirements. These issues will be discussed in more detail in the proceeding chapters.
favor welfare state measures, unions, etc. But, they are more conservative on social issues; e.g. civil liberties, democratic processes, etc.22 While this may be true, he misses their significant consequences by failing to consider the element of self-interest in ideological positions. This is especially important when considering the possibility of co-operation between the unions and the intellectuals. As William Orton, a British Laborite, stated prior to the 1924 election: the cooperation was dependent upon the question of "...whether, or how far, the intellectuals can afford to recognize the vested interests of the labor movement."23

Beginning with the first labor strikes24 the major interests of unionism became apparent. Generally, these interests, especially among industrial unions as opposed to craft unions, have centered around what has been termed the "trilogy of symbols": "pure and simple" unionism, "here and now" purposes, and "more and more" as the stake

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23Needless to say, this question still remains unanswered; and, has become even more significant during this past decade with conflicts with in the Democratic Party on the national level, and the issue of community control vs. the AFT, on the local level.

24The first strike occurred in 1786; the Philadelphia printers struck for a $6.00 a week minimum wage. The second strike was called by the Philadelphia house carpenters in 1791, for a ten hour day.
of conflict. While it is true that unions have supported issues related to social reform—e.g. compulsory education, welfare programs, child labor laws, etc.—their primary concern has been one of economic self-interest. As Millis states, the unions have maintained a "...determined adherence to economic methods and the trade-union means of improving the material status of the workers, rather than the adoption of broad programs of political and social reform."26

Historically the vested interests have been influenced by various social factors including: the adherence to the American Dream (as exemplified previously in a quote from Lincoln), the abundance of land, and the influx of immigrants. The adherence to the American Dream prevented the establishment of a true working class conscience. The oppressed workers envisioned not the collective action of the "proletariat", but fought to prevent monopolistic actions that would result in the solidification of class lines. Consequently, they frequently found themselves aligned with management on many issues. The abundance of land and the westward movements divided the working class along sectional lines with sectional interests rather than economic interests. And, the influx of immigrants brought

25 Work Stoppage By Major Issues, Table 15, p. 131.
26 Millis and Montgomery, Organized Labor, p. 12.
not only an over abundance of potential workers, but also, a diversity of ethnic, religious, and racial factors that prevented a psycho-social unity along class and economic lines.

Changes in the social structure (as well as organizational efforts), however, did enable unionism to succeed, but to a limited degree. And with these structural changes, one can trace the changes in the interests of the unions. The early craft unions emphasized the interests that had been established previously by the guilds; i.e. the regulation of prices and market competition, and the exclusion of the "unqualified". The later craft unions continued to exclude the "unqualified", sought higher wages and less hours, and attempted to protect themselves against industrialization. The industrial unions (CIO et al.) more completely accepted the industrial system than the craft unions (AFL) before them, just as the later craft unions had accepted the wage system. They also sought higher wages, and better working conditions, but the issue of qualifications had been eliminated with the advent of machines and the division of labor. The industrial unions, although

27 Union Membership as a Proportion of the Labor Force, Table 1, p. 116. This point is developed in more detail in Chapter II. Social changes, for example, include: differentiation of function between the employer and employee; separation of worker from the marketing and production of their products; increasing impersonality of the relationships between employers and employees with managers replacing owners; and, the mechanization of industry.
rhetorically expressing the desire to organize all workers, believed it to be in their interest to restrict membership. By taking positions against child labor, immigration, and, in some cases, Blacks, they too attempted to control the supply of available labor.

With the establishment of wage and price controls during World War II, the unions turned their attention to fringe benefits; e.g. pensions, sick pay, paid vacations and holidays, and insurance. They also fought for the establishment of work rules governing grievances, promotions, transfers, work loads, etc. In 1948, General Motors and the United Auto Workers accepted an important step toward the process of total management, an essential element the newly emerging technostructure—the escalator clause that provided a "built-in" cost of living increase, and automatic wage increases based on productivity and profit sharing. And, in an attempt to adjust to the new technological society, unions have stressed job security, annual incomes, and work rules that permit "progress" with minimal pain and disruption to the workers.

Again, it is necessary to point out that these issues—issues of economic self-interest—are the important concerns of American unionism. It is on these issues that unions utilize their ultimate weapon, the strike.28

28 Work Stoppage by Major Issues, Table 15, p.
Their major goal has not been to infringe on the "rights" of the employers; e.g. the determination of what should be produced, how and where production should take place, and what price it should bring. Nor, have unions been ultimately concerned with social issues; e.g. racism, women's sufferage, civil-liberties, and academic freedom. And for those who have envisioned these goals—Marxists, intellectuals and reformists—unionism has been a failure, even though they have functioned within the social structure and within the system of American values to attain material success for millions of individuals.

As a consequence, however, unionism has suffered from the lack of the essential element that Gompers and other union leaders continually denounced—"visionairies" and "idealists". The unions have continued to function in a defensive way, blocking technological change at best, while providing no alternative or even direction to this change. Consequently, the Knights were unable to survive the industrial changes that occurred in the late nineteenth century, the AFL was unable to unionize the industrial workers, and the AFL-CIO has had little success in organizing white-collar workers (and professionals).

Unions, in their attempt to maintain exclusiveness, have

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29 In fact, for the revolutionist (or even the reformist) the question is not whether it is possible to have social change without the working-class, but whether it is possible with them.
always been victimized by the future. As Hildebrand states,

...the chief emphasis of trade unionism traditionally has been upon organization for the protection of the in-group from the forces of competition, the main impact upon labor mobility has been the erection of new barriers, to reserve jobs for their incumbent "owners"...\(^\text{30}\)

The fact that exclusiveness has not even been an element of self-interest (at least from a long term perspective) has been continually pointed out by members themselves. As early as 1851 a Black delegate to the first Pittsburg Convention of the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions stated "...that it might be dangerous to skilled mechanics to exclude from this organization the common laborers, who might in an emergency be employed in positions they could qualify themselves to fill."\(^\text{31}\) Yet this view has seldom, if ever, gained active support. As a result, immigrants, Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans and other "outsiders" have been seen as a threat rather than as a source of potential strength. This factor has promoted competitiveness among the various elements of the working-class, that when combined with inter-related jurisdictional disputes, has continued to result in situations that further prevent solidarity and


\(^{31}\text{Ware, Labor Movement in the United States, p. 247.}\)
a unified class consciousness. In both cases, unionism may have attained short term gains; but over a longer period, the policy has been nearly disasterous.

It is on this point that the conservatism (if not the hypocracy) of unionism becomes apparent. For while the predominant ideology never claimed to overthrow capitalism it did maintain a rhetorical commitment "...to bring about the effective organization of the working men and women of America regardless of race, creed, color, or nationality..."32 The AFL-CIO constitutions contains no outright prohibition of racial discrimination, providing only a Committee on Civil Rights "...to assist the Executive Council to bring about at the earliest possible date the effective implementation of the principle...of non-discrimination..."33 Yet, the force behind the implementation of this policy, however, is vastly less than the force applied during anti-communist crusades. In fact, the major form of action has been "moral suasion".

When faced with the issue of previous racial discrimination, unions typically reply with the standard

32 Millis and Montgomery, Organized Labor, p. 263. CIO Constitution, Article II.

33 Florence Peterson, American Labor Unions (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1963), p. 81. Black workers comprise about ten per cent of the total union membership, a figure considerably less than their ratio in the total labor force; yet the proportion is higher than in many churches and educational or professional organizations.
rationalization expressed by the AFT, "Segregation was not an issue then. It was simply an accepted fact."\(^{34}\) John Brown knew better than that, and so did many other lesser known "visionaries" and "idealists". In 1943 there were seven AFL and six non-AFL internationals that excluded Negroes by constitutional provision. Was segregation an "accepted fact" then? A number of unions especially in the railroad industry and the construction trades still maintain segregated locals. Is segregation an "accepted fact" today?

When faced with their lack of social consciousness or their exclusiveness unions generally respond with the statement typified again by the AFT, "When teachers' local become accustomed to the mechanics of the labor movement, when they have freed themselves from the repressive atmosphere of pre-union days, then they in turn can give effective support to measures that will improve not only their own lot, but that of their fellow workers as well."\(^ {35}\) But if one must accept the inevitability of history when examining the function of unionism--i.e. unions function within the structure and values of America--then he cannot accept the premise that unionism will become a significant force for social change once it has achieved success with

\(^{34}\) Commission on Educational Reconstruction, Organizing the Teaching Profession, p. 32.

\(^{35}\) Ibid., p. 50.
CHAPTER II
WHITE-COLLAR UNIONISM AND TEACHERS

I don't think that one-hundred and fifty newsmen and announcers should belong to a union of eighteen thousand singers, dancers, and jugglers.¹

The loss of unionism is not a temporary setback pending the organization of white-collar employees and engineers but the earlier stages of a permanent decline.²

Within the past three decades there have been significant changes in the occupational structure of this country. In 1940 blue-collar workers comprised 36.7 per cent of the total work force. In 1950 the figure had risen to 40.3 per cent. By 1960, however, the figure had dropped to 38.6 per cent, and is expected to decline to 33.7 per cent in 1975.

By contrast, white-collar employment rose from 32.4 per cent in 1940 to 37.4 per cent in 1950, and continued to rise to 43.3 per cent in 1960. Between 1955 and 1960 white-collar employment surpassed blue-collar employ-


ment. This trend is expected to continue through 1975 when the predicted white-collar employment will reach 48.3 per cent of the total work force. These changes are accompanied by a continual decline in agricultural employment and a rather rapid increase in service employment.\(^3\) The significance of these changes is evident when one examines the enrollment figures of unions.

Union membership increased from 6.8 per cent of the labor force in 1930 to 15.5 per cent in 1940. From 1940 to 1950 membership again increased, but at a slower rate 15.5 per cent to 22.0 per cent. Between 1950 and 1960 the enrollment peaked (1953 with 25.3 per cent), leveled off (1953 to 1957), and dropped 23.6 per cent in 1960). Since 1960 union membership has fluctuated between 22.3 per cent and 22.7 per cent.\(^4\) Thus we see the close relationship between union membership and the blue-collar work force. Union membership seems to have suffered from the decline in the number of blue-collar workers, and the failure of organizing their replacements, white-collar employees and

\(^3\)Major Occupational Groups of Workers, Table 2, p. 117.

Selected Occupations, Employed Civilian Workers, Table 3, p. 118.

\(^4\)Union Membership as a Proportion of the Labor Force, Table 1, p. 116.
machines. The fact that it has been more difficult to unionize white-collar workers than blue-collar workers is generally agreed upon. There is no consensus, however, about the future of white-collar unionism. From a general viewpoint of technological development white-collar unionism can be seen as a natural extension of a changing industrial order. The unionization of blue-collar workers would continue to increase in a society based upon blue-collar productivity and would then decline as the society became more technologically advanced and the labor force shifted to white-collar employment with a corresponding rise in white-collar unionization. As pointed out previously, the statistics on union membership tend to support the first part of the theory, the decline of union membership among blue-collar workers, but fail to support the second part, the rise of white-collar union membership. It may be too soon, however, to predict the future of white-collar unionism; i.e. this period of time may be the transition stage. In any case, this evolutionary theory remains too

5Both of these phenomena, the change in the labor market from blue-collar to white-collar and the difficulty of organizing white-collar employees, seem to be characteristic of all western industrial nations; Sturmthal et al. studied Australia, Austria, France, Germany, Great Britain, and Sweeden. Adolph Sturmthal, ed., White-Collar Trade Unions (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1966).

6There was a slight gain in white-collar union membership between 1962 and 1964. Ibid., p. 337.
abstract and fails to account for particular factors that influence union membership.

One factor that affects white-collar unionism is the strength of blue-collar unionism. Sturmthal states, "As a proposition of fairly universal validity, at least in the West, white-collar workers are organized best where unionism in general is strong."\(^7\) For example, in Sweden seventy per cent of the white-collar employees belong to unions; the figure is eighty per cent for blue-collar employees. In contrast to Sweden, where historically unionism has been more successful, is the United States.\(^8\) Even when the labor force was dominated by blue-collar workers, union membership never exceeded thirty-six per cent of this group. And, in 1960 white-collar workers accounted for only twelve per cent of the total union membership. Thus, one would expect white-collar union membership in the United States to remain relatively low if Sturmthal's proposition is valid.

If the future of white-collar unionism depends upon the increased organization of blue-collar workers, what can be expected? As Galbraith points out, the new industrial system eliminates not only the need for production workers, 

\(^7\)Sturmthal, ed., *White-Collar Trade Unions*, p. 376.

\(^8\)Several reasons for the limited success of unionism in the United States were pointed out previously in Chapter I.
but also the factors that made unionism possible. He says, the New Industrial State

...is unfavorable to the union. Power passes to the technostructure and this lessens the conflict of interest between employer and employee which gave the union much of its reason for existence. ...Capital and technology allow the firm to substitute white-collar workers and machines that cannot be organized for blue-collar workers that can.... And as an added touch of paradox, things for which the unions fought vigorously—the regulation of aggregate demand to insure full employment and higher real income for members—have contributed to their decline. 9

Thus, one cannot depend upon the further development of unions among blue-collar workers to stimulate unionism among white-collar employees.

Union leaders themselves do not see a future for blue-collar unionism and have generally turned their attention to white-collar organizing. James Goodsell, a leading spokesman for the AFL-CIO, best exemplified their general position when he said,

How do we organize white-collar workers? This is no idle question. It may be the life-or-death question for the American Labor Movement. If we don't, unions will represent a dwindling minority of American workers, and the influence of unions for economic and social progress will gradually fade away. 10

Even if one accepts the permanent decline of blue-


collar unionism, the question of white-collar unionism in
general and teacher unionism in particular, remains ambi-
guous. As stated previously, one might expect white-collar
unionism to expand with the increase in white-collar occu-
pations. And, although this expansion would seem to be
limited by the general weakness of unionism in this country,
there is some evidence that this theory is partly valid.11

During the past fifteen years, the enrollment of
some of the largest white-collar unions has declined;
e.g. The Brotherhood of Railway Clerks and the American
Federation of Musicians. In contrast to this, the enroll-
ment in several other unions has increased rapidly; e.g.
the Communication Workers of America, the Retail Clerks,
and the State County and Municipal Employees.12

Since 1960 the AFT has been one of the most rapidly
growing white-collar unions. As a result of this increase
in membership from 56,000 in 1960 to 136,000 in 1967, they
rank third in growth. Surpassed by only two other unions,
both made up of government employees. Yet, in spite of
this increase, the AFT represents only 7.3 per cent of the

11The actual enrollment in white-collar unions is
very difficult to determine for several reasons: many
union locals, having both white-collar and blue-collar mem-
bership, do not keep separate records of enrollment; some
"professional associations" engage in collective bargaining
and other activities that one usually attributes to unions,
and yet are not listed as white-collar unions, e.g. the
American Nurses Association.

total number of teachers. Several other statistics also point out the previous limitations of organizing teachers: in 1966, teachers comprised 5.3 per cent of the white-collar work force, but only 4.0 per cent of white-collar union membership; also, although union membership had risen to 136,000 in 1967, 48,000 of these members belonged to one local, the UFT in New York City. (In other words, this local alone comprised less than three per cent of the total number of teachers, but more than thirty-five per cent of the total union membership.)

From these statistics one can only conclude that the future of white-collar unionism is ambiguous. The factors considered thus far, however, are rather broad in scope; i.e. the structural change in occupations and the relationship between white-collar and blue-collar unionism. At least part of the ambiguity may be clarified by an analysis of more specific factors that influence an individual's acceptance or rejection of union.

According to C. Wright Mills, there are three factors that predispose white-collar employees to accept

13American Federation of Teachers and National Education Association Membership, Table 7, p. 123.
14Figures compiled from Table 1 and Table 4, plus estimates in Sturmthal, ed., White-Collar Trade Unions.
15AFT and NEA Membership, Table 7, p. 123.
unions: availability, political views, and job satisfaction. Concerning the first of these he says, "One major reason white-collar employees often reject unions is that unions have not been available to them." Of course there are varying degrees of "availability". Simply joining an established union is vastly different from having to organize one. Availability is also dependent upon the legitimacy accorded by the society, i.e. general societal attitudes, legal structure, etc. As was pointed out in Chapter I, the philosophy and actions of the New Deal, the reform movement of the thirties and forties and various legal actions, such as the Lloyd-LaFollette Act and President Kennedy's Executive Order 10,988, have certainly influenced union membership. The precise influence, however, is difficult to determine.

For example, the Retail Clerks International Association was chartered by the AFL in 1890 with roots that go back to 1865, and the AFT was organized in 1897. Yet, it was only in the past ten to fifteen years that these organizations have witnessed any significant gain in membership. Even within the past decade the results of union enrollment among teachers has been contradictory. From December 1961, the date of the AFT victory in New York City, to April 1, 1962,

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16 C. Wright Mills, White Collar, Galaxy Book (New York: Oxford University Press, 1951), Chapter 14. In addition to these three factors this analysis will consider a fourth identity.

17 Ibid., p. 305.
1967, there have been 118 elections contesting the AFT and the NEA. The AFT won fifty-two contests, the NEA won sixty-six contests. In winning fifty-two, however, the AFT received 68,960 votes; the NEA received 50,794. Thus we see when teachers are given a choice, or when unions are made more available to them, they have rejected them. Although the AFT wins the majority of the votes, it fails to win the majority of the elections.

The increase in enrollment is largely the result of union strength in the larger cities. The AFT has won in Detroit, New York City, Cleveland, Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago, Washington D.C., and Baltimore. The NEA, however, also won elections in large cities, including Milwaukee, Rochester, and Newark.

These statistics, as well as others on white-collar union membership are contradictory or irrelevant in establishing much of a relationship between the availability and the acceptance of unionism; some of the "most available" unions have shown a decline in membership and vice versa.

The second factor related to the acceptance or rejection of unionism is the individual's political persua-

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18 Editorial, American Teacher, April 1967.

19 The strength of the unions in cities is rather apparent when one realizes that almost two-thirds of the union membership consists of teachers in these six cities (excluding Washington D.C. and Baltimore). AFT and NEA Membership, Table 7, p. 123. American Teacher, April 1967.
sion. As Mills states, "The political party affiliations of white-collar employees and their families buttress their union feelings."\textsuperscript{20}

As pointed out in the previous chapter, unions in this country generally claim to be apolitical with relation to any specific political party. Historically, however, especially since the Franklin Roosevelt era, unions have supported candidates of the Democratic party and are generally associated with "liberal" or "leftest" ideologies.

Ethnic or religious minorities are also generally associated with Democratic voting patterns. Yet, with few exceptions, ethnic background and/or religious affiliation is less related to political affiliation than socio-economic factors. As Nosow points out, religious institutions seem "...to be relatively insulated from other institutions, and more readily seems to adapt to class divisions, reinforcing rather than modifying them."\textsuperscript{21} One important exception, however, is Judaism. Compared to their per cent of the total population Jews hold an unusually high number of positions in white-collar occupations, including business and the professions. And although individuals employed in these occupations are poorly represented in

\textsuperscript{20}Mills, \textit{White Collar}, p. 306.

\textsuperscript{21}Nosow and Form, \textit{Man, Work, and Society}, p. 525.
unions, Jews are second only to Catholics in union representation.\textsuperscript{22} \textsuperscript{23} \textsuperscript{24}

This acceptance of unions and its related factor, a liberal ideology, is explained by Lipset, "...as flowing from their inferior status position (social discrimination) rather than from elements inherent in their religious creed."\textsuperscript{25} No doubt this is partly true, but cultural and religious factors are also important. As Zborowski points out, Jewish culture places an emphasis on community which results in a "...cohesion maintaining unity and continuity in time and space."\textsuperscript{26} This emphasis on community, as opposed to traditional American individualism tends to favor collective action, a necessary assumption of unionism. Consequently one would expect that Jews who have become "Americanized", as a result of education and/or cultural

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{22} Trade Union Membership in Major Religious Bodies Table 8, p. 124.
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{23} Zborowski points out that verbal and intellectual skills, as opposed to manual labor have always been emphasized in the cultural tradition of Judaism. (Mead and Wolfenstein) This is, no doubt, an important factor in their representation in business, the professions, and other white-collar occupations.
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{24} Jews make up about seventy per cent of the UFT in the New York City local chapter of the AFT. The percent of teachers in the city that are Jewish is also much higher than their representation in the city's population.
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{25} Lipset, \textit{Political Man}, p. 256.
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{26} Margaret Mead and Martha Wolfenstein, eds., \textit{Childhood in Contemporary Cultures}, Phoenix Books (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1955), p. 123.
\end{quote}
diffusion and geographic dispersion, to be less favorable to the collective aspect of unionism. This would also be true of other ethnic and/or religious minorities; that is, as they move "up" into the "mainstream of American life", they tend to lose their leftist voting pattern and their acceptance of collective union action.

This pattern of social movement has been greatly influenced by industrialization. The structural change is quite evident in agriculture. During the past century agricultural employment has declined both in actual numbers and in the per cent of the total labor force. As recently as 1940 only 18.5 per cent of the work force were engaged in agriculture; in 1950, 12.1 per cent; in 1960, 6.4 per cent; and in 1975, the projected figure is 3.9 per cent.27

Consequently, some of those who have been, as well as some who may have been, in agricultural occupations are now engaged in other occupations. And, since the prestige of farm work is so low, many farm workers and their offsprings have probably "moved up"; not through individual effort, but simply as the result of a changing labor market.

This social movement is true of many blue-collar occupations also. For example, containerization has dras-

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27Major Occupational Groups of Workers, Table 2, p. 117. Employed Civilian Workers, Table 3, p. 118.
tically reduced the number of longshoreman. As a result, many of them are now employed as cab drivers, etc., jobs of higher prestige. And, as the job market has changed from a dominance of blue-collar occupation with relatively low prestige, to a dominance of white-collar occupations with a higher prestige individuals (and more often their offsprings) have been "forced up."

Perhaps a more common explanation of this mobility is the one that was profoundly stated by Jay Gould when he said, "...nearly every one that occupies a prominent position has come up from the ranks, worked his own way along up."

But, regardless of whether one chooses to explain social mobility with these Horatio Alger stories, or by means of structural changes in the job market, the fact remains that many individuals perceive themselves and/or their family as being upwardly mobile. And, as was

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28 General economic factors are not critically important in prestige ranking. For example, a time-study man and an inspector have more prestige than the semi-skilled employee working next to them in a factory, even though they may be paid less, work longer, and have spent less time attaining their "skill".

It should also be noted that the concept of upward mobility has relatively little to do with life style. That is, the life styles of teachers, dentists, and doctors may be very similar (in regards to tastes in music, reading, foods, etc.). Yet, individuals generally rank dentists "above" teachers, and doctors "above" both. (The gardener may have been more virile and sensitive than Lady Chatterly's husband, but even D. H. Lawrence knew he didn't have more prestige.)

mentioned previously, individuals who perceive themselves in this manner tend to vote conservatively and reject unionism. Regarding politics, they will tend to vote Republican if they had Democratic, blue-collar parents; or, "Independent" if they had Democratic, white-collar parents.\textsuperscript{30} Regarding unionism, the effect of social mobility is even more pronounced. Lipset found, "Non unionists differed from unionists in being more likely to have experienced social mobility either upwardly or downwardly over a generation or during their own careers."\textsuperscript{31} From this fact, one would expect to find about the same degree of unionization in all western industrial nations, since the rate of social mobility is approximately the same among them.\textsuperscript{32} Great Britain with its tradition of social classes tend to deemphasize mobility; the aristocracy has always denied it as a possibility and the Labor party underestimates it for political reasons. The United States, however, with its traditional values of classlessness, progress, and achievement through individual effort, has emphasized mo-


bility. And, as William James pointed out, the objective reality of a situation means no more, and in many instances less, than the subjective perception of that situation; or in other words, what is more important than the "objective existence" of either God or upward mobility is how one perceives it and how this perception functions in one's own existence.

This point is especially important in any analysis of white-collar unionism, including teacher unionism. Union organizers have always faced a special difficulty when confronted with the prospects of organizing white-collar workers and teachers. Richard Bruner, a union organizer, summarizes these difficulties:

I believe, however, that the labor movement will not have any more than taken success in bringing them into unions. The overwhelming majority of salesmen, typists, file clerks, and professionals will not join because they consider it beneath their dignity, because they feel differently from blue-collar workers about their jobs and their status, because they are afraid it will hurt their advancement, and because the face of the labor movement seems to them crude and exploitative.33

Although Bruner fails to consider the impact of technology on both the white-collar worker and the professional, his statement is illustrative of the importance of an individual's perception of mobility and how it functions in defining his attitudes and actions; attitudes and actions

33Nosow and Form, Man, Work, and Society, p. 188.
that tend toward political conservatism and a rejection of unionism.  

In addition to the previous major factors that determine union membership, availability and political views, one must consider another—identity. Sociologists that have analyzed the white-collar class have generally assumed a society based essentially upon two classes, bourgeoisie and proletariat. Attempts are then made to place white-collar workers into one of these two classic divisions. Mills for example, attempts to demonstrate why the white-collar workers should be equated with the proletariat, based upon income, property, skill, prestige, and power. He then points out that many white-collar workers, however, identify with the bourgeoisie (management). Consequently they comprise a group of "Happy Robots", alienated from their work, and manipulated by a "managerial elite" that

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34Lipset lists nine social characteristics that correlate with conservative voting (and union rejection): small towns, small plants, groups with low unemployment rates, majority ethnic or religious groups, women, economically backward regions, white-collar workers, specific occupations, and more skilled workers. Although these characteristics are too general and fail to account for changes brought about by technology, it is interesting to note that teachers fit rather comfortably into all nine categories.

35In place of these terms the class divisions may be referred to as management-labor, professional non-professional, etc.

36In Marxist terms, they are in a mental state of false consciousness; i.e. they lack an objective class consciousness.
utilizes a method of "human relations in industry".\textsuperscript{37}

Lieberman's analysis of the educational system finds a similar situation faced by teachers. They are "objectively" in a situation where they could only be defined as non-professional. Since he holds little hope that they will identify themselves as non-professional (prolitterait) and join unions, he advocates that they create "objective" conditions to match their existent identity, professional (Bourgeoisie).\textsuperscript{38}

Thus we see that both Mills and Lieberman suggest that white-collar workers and/or teachers suffer as a result of an inadequate adjustment between identity and "objective" reality. On the one hand, Mills suggests that the workers must first adjust their identity; Lieberman, on the other hand, suggests that the teachers must first adjust their working conditions. Both of these common viewpoints fail to adequately assess the continuing influence of technology. As a result, the first viewpoint (Mills, Marcuse et al.) will overestimate the ability of managers to "manage" and underestimate the ability of

\textsuperscript{37}Mills, \textit{White-Collar}, pp. 229-235.

\textsuperscript{38}Some individuals (Counts, Cogen, Moscow, et al.) concerned with teacher unions are more sympathetic with the position expressed by Mills; i.e. they tend to emphasize administrative manipulation and the false consciousness of teachers who identify with management rather than labor. Myron Lieberman, \textit{Education as a Profession} (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1956).
workers to assess their working conditions as they relate to their own self-interest; the second viewpoint (Lieberman, Stinnett, et al.) will over emphasize the importance of conserving class distinctions (such as professional—non-professional). Within a historical contest, however, one is better able to see the profound impact of technology on (1) social classes, and (2) the occupational structure.

Historically the class divisions were originally based upon property. The feudal society, the agricultural society, and the early industrial society were essentially comprised of two classes, those with property and those without. And individuals with as diverse views as Smith, Marx, Ricardo, and Malthus agreed that the ownership of property was inter-related with freedom and power. With the opening up of the New World and the rise of industrialization property lost its importance and is less relevant as a determinate of social class. As Galbraith points out, property lost its importance as it became more available and manufacturing replaced agriculture. In fact, when one speaks of owning property today he is generally referring to his house, his automobile, and his front yard (even though the bank may own most of that).

As manufacturing replaced agriculture as the dom-

39Galbraith, The New Industrial State, Chapter V.
inant mode of production, capital replaced property as the dominant source of power. In both Great Britain and the United States it is possible to trace this shift of power from property to capital as it is related to political power and the transfer of power from the landed aristocracy to the industrialists.

As the industrial society of the nineteenth century is replaced by the technological society of the twentieth century, one witnesses, "...a new shift of power in the industrial enterprise, this one from capital to organized intelligence. And one would expect that this shift would be reflected in the deployment of power in the society at large." As evidence to support this change in the industrial order and the shift of power from capital to "organized intelligence" Galbraith states,

A dozen matters of commonplace observation—the loss of power by stockholders in the modern corporation, the impregnable position of the successful corporate management, the dwindling social magnetism of the banker, the air of quaintness that attaches to the suggestion that the United States is run from Wall Street, the increasingly energetic search for industrial talent, the new prestige of education and educators—all attest to this point. 40

To understand the effect of this change—from capital to "organized intelligence—and its relationship to white-collar unionism, more should be said about the characteristics of bureaucratic institutions in a technological

40Galbraith, The New Industrial State, p. 68.
"Organized intelligence" is a far different concept than the one espoused by the eighteenth century philosophers. The concept of intelligence or reason that characterized the Enlightenment was the basis for the classical liberal ideology associated with town meetings, laisse-faire, and individualism. Reason or intelligence in this sense implies individual action, the relationship of means and ends, determination of consequences, etc.\(^4\) In contrast, "organized intelligence" is the essential component in the process of the rationalization of industry. This process generally consists of four factors: specialization, a hierarchy of authority, a system of rules and regulations, and impersonality.\(^2\) Although a thorough analysis of these factors and their consequences would be beyond the scope of this paper, it is necessary to briefly consider each one and its relationship to white-collar

\(^4\) The concept of "organized intelligence" as is used by Galbraith is similar to the concept of "rational" as developed by Mills, Sociological Imagination. He contrasts "rational" with "reason" and concludes, "A high level of bureaucratic rationality and of technology does not mean a high level of either individual or social intelligence." C. Wright Mills, Sociological Imagination, Evergreen (New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1959), p. 168.

\(^2\) Peter M. Blau, Bureaucracy in Modern Society (New York: Random House, 1956). This study of bureaucracy, as most contemporary studies is based upon the classic theory of Max Weber.
unionism in general and teacher unionism in particular.

Two of these factors, specialization and a hierarchy of authority, are the result of the fragmentation of complex work functions into simpler functions with the necessary coordination of these functions controlled by a chain of command with varying degrees of managerial authority. As a consequence of this radical division of labor, it becomes increasingly more difficult to define occupations along the traditional class lines of management and labor, or white-collar and blue-collar, or skilled and unskilled, or even professional and non-professional. For example, a study of Bell Telephone listed the following specialization and hierarchy involved in middle-level positions (lower to higher): operator—service assistant—chief operator—chief operator assistant—district manager—division manager—operating manager.43

Traditional class lines might define the operator as management, white-collar, skilled, and non-professional. The validity of this definition seems rather apparent in the case of the categories "white-collar" and "non-professional"; but what about the categories "management" and "skilled"?

The operator received many of the fringe benefits

associated with management such as paid holidays, pensions, insurance, etc. Yet she was paid by the hour, and had very little control over her own job, let alone the jobs of others, characteristics generally associated with management. The classification of "skilled" is even more ambiguous. An operator is expected to possess the minimum level of white-collar skills. This would include proper dress, language, manners, etc. as well as a reasonable degree of literacy; skills somewhat different and in some ways less complex than the skills of a first-class lineman. Many lower-level white-collar jobs in business today, are similar to the one just described, and require a high school diploma although the relationship between the education obtained in school and the skill required on the job is questionable. It may signify a certain degree of docility, guarantee "proper" work attitudes and behavior, or indicate a tolerance for meaninglessness (a requirement for many jobs). In any case, it is symbolic of the end of an era when one was hired for having an honest face or because he married the boss's daughter, and the beginning

44This was partly the result of company policy. Bell is generally considered one of the more benevolent and paternalistic of the large corporations.

45Whether the requirement of a high school diploma is an indication of the complexity of modern technology or is simply a screening device in an overcrowded job market, is a question that will be discussed later in relationship with the increasing professionalization of occupations.
of an era that will increasingly be based upon "qualifications" and credentials.

The importance of formal education is also reflected in the job hierarchy. Positions of higher rank generally require a higher level of formal education either attained from a university, a business college or a management trainee center, with less importance accorded to experience at a lower level position, a factor more important in the age of the entrepreneur. As Caplow defines this situation: "Rationalization is essentially the substitution of the formal control of behavior for the informal, personal, and spontaneous devices which regulated human activity in unplanned social situations."47

In a similar manner, the rationalization of the industrial system and the resultant emphasis on "organized intelligence" have had an important effect upon the traditional class lines that differentiated the professional from the non professional. The Bureau of Labor Statistics lists the professions under the category "White-collar Workers" in a group formally designated as Professions, Technicians, and Kindred Workers. This group includes such

46 For a good example of the necessity of formal education for job advancement in the bureaucracy of the educational institution, see Para-Professionals Salary Program, Table 16, p. 132.

diverse occupations as: lawyers, doctors, engineers, teachers, draftsmen, engineering aides, lab testers in factories, airline pilots, nurses (excluding practical nurses) and entertainers. And, as was pointed out previously, this group experienced a larger rate of expansion than any other group in the years between 1950 and 1960, and is expected to continue to be first in the rate of expansion between the years 1964 and 1975.48 This rate of expansion is the result of several factors. First, the number of individuals in each occupation will probably increase. And second, many new occupations will originate as a result of increased scientific and technological development. As in the past, the formation of new occupations, as well as the continual redefinition of more established occupations, will undoubtedly have an effect on the whole concept of professionalism.

The concept of professionalism is generally considered to have originated from the structure of the medieval guild.49 Reacting to their exclusion from the "universities" established by students, the professors formed

48Employment by Major Occupations, Table 4, p. 120. Employed Civilian Workers, Table 3, p. 118. Major Occupational Groups of Workers, Table 2, p. 117.

49"Professionals" in ancient Greece and in the Roman Empire received no formal education, but served as apprentices; "lawyers" trained by the sophists, and "doctors" serving in many cases, as slaves serving in the household of the rich. Architects, accountants, and engineers were usually salaried administrators employed by the state.
a guild. Students were required to attain a specific body of knowledge and pass qualifying examinations before they could be admitted to the guild. Following a period of study under the professors, the students might then attain a certificate or a license to become a professor. "This certificate, the license to teach (licentia docendi), thus became the earliest form of academic degree." 50

Formal education continued to become more structured and important with the rise of the universities. The earliest universities granted degrees in Law, Theology, and Medicine, vocations that eventually became known as "professions", as opposed to guilds. 51 This distinction was based primarily on the difference between formal education and apprenticeship training. In other aspects, the professions continued to share the characteristics associated with guilds: "control over the work situation, regulation of relationships among colleagues, maintenance of an occupational ethic, rules governing relationships between guild member and customer (clients) and special protection by the broader community." 52


51 Carr and Saunders says that the term "profession" was used several times by Bacon and Addison in the seventeen century; it first appeared in the Oxford English Dictionary in 1541. Nosow, Man, Work, and Society, p. 199.

52 Nosow, Man, Work, and Society, p. 198. These same characteristics are generally associated with professions even today; for example, Caplow, Sociology of Work:
Prior to the nineteenth century the formal recognition of new professions was very limited. Accountants had gained recognition in Italy with the development of commerce and the advent of double entry bookkeeping. Surgeons and apothecaries were recognized as a result of discoveries in science and technology. But a rapid increase in the professionalization occurred in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries with the rise of industrialization.

It is quite evident that recent developments in nuclear science, space exploration, and computer technology have resulted in a fantastic increase in "professional" occupations. But one must also be aware of the impact of rationalization on existant professions. The work of many engineers, nurses, et al. have become bureaucratized and routinized, resulting in conditions that almost mirror an assembly line. An office of International Cash Register has hundreds of engineers working in one large room. Desks are numbered and arranged in rows with the pathways between them labeled similarly to streets in a city.

The working conditions of nurses have also changed. Many of the nurses spend most of their time on either "paper work", or carrying out the rules and regulations of routinized tasks; a vastly different situation than the one faced by the heroine of their professional mythology, Florence Nightengale. And, the final effects of computer-
ization upon even the existence of these jobs has not been realized.

The influence of technology on occupations other than those previously considered professional has also been profound. For example, the employee of a 'beauty parlor' is expected to have a high school diploma and two years of additional formal education and training. The curriculum includes the history of hair styling, methods of hair styling, social influences upon the occupation, the chemistry of various solutions, and the psychology of salesmanship. Community sanction has increased with the importance of this service to the public as a result of affluence and leisure. This sanction aids in the establishment of legal procedures of licensing and is influential in determining and maintaining entrance requirements, dress codes, etc. Thus, the employees who styles hair becomes a professional, a cosmotologist. In a similar manner undertakers become morticians, junk dealers become salvage consultants, laboratory employees become medical technologists, newspaper reporters become journalists, salesmen become realtors, etc., etc., etc.

53 The impact of affluence and leisure on the society is reflected in the rapid growth of the occupational category of Service. This group is rated third in expected growth behind Professions and Clerks. See Major Occupational Groups of Workers, Table 2, p. 117. Included in this category are firemen, policemen, janitors, hospital attendants, cosmotologist, et al.
One might argue that this process is a perversion of the concept of "professionalism", and that cosmotologists are not "really" professionals (at one time lawyers probably said this about engineers, and more recently, sociologists said this about social workers). But the fact remains, that there are more professions and more people who perceive their occupations as being a profession, and this is the important point. Even Greenwood, an advocate of maintaining strict professional lines, admits,

...the true difference between a professional and a non-professional occupation is not a qualitative, but a quantitative one....these attributes are not the exclusive monopoly of the professions; non-professional occupations also possess them, but to a lesser degree.\textsuperscript{54}

As the factors that differentiate the profession from the non-profession become more equally distributed (formal education) or change as a result of societal influences (community sanction), the distinction between professional and non-professional becomes less important in determining class or group identity, and consequently, union membership. Teachers, for example, may reject unionism since they identify with professionalism and consider it antithetical to unionism. They may be willing to accept lower wages, longer working hours, etc. as a price one must pay for being a professional. But if the term "professional" is meaningless, then teachers will look to other factors in

\textsuperscript{54}Nosow and Form, \textit{Man, Work, and Society}, p. 207.
making a judgement about unionism.55

The same situation exists for white-collar workers. As pointed out previously, the distinction between management and labor is much less clear today in the age of corporations than it was in the age of entrepreneurs. Consequently, white-collar workers will be less concerned about their image and the importance of their identification with management. They too will look to other factors when making judgements about unionism. And for both teachers and white-collar workers, these factors will be an important part of the most significant determinate in the acceptance or rejections of unionism—job satisfaction.

Most studies concerning job satisfaction generally show it to be related to prestige.56 The importance of prestige was discussed earlier in relation to upward mobility. And, as was pointed out, the importance of prestige and mobility is especially enhanced in the United States, a country that considers itself "classless" and

55Membership in the NEA has always been dependent upon teachers identifying themselves as professionals. As the importance of this identification declines, one would expect the NEA to place less emphasis upon its professionalism, and place more emphasis on other factors; e.g. salary, job security, etc. (factors generally associated with unionism). Thus it seems evident that as the difference between professional and non-professional becomes less important, so will the difference between the NEA and the AFT. This point will be developed further, later in the chapter.

56A typical study is: Relationship Between Occupational Status and Job Satisfaction, Table 10, p. 126.
emphasizes "achievement". Few Americans will admit to a
definitive class structure, yet they do attribute varying
degrees of prestige to different occupational positions.

Ratings of occupational prestige vary to some ex-
tent, but they generally rate medical doctors above den-
tists or airline pilots, and all three above high school
teachers. Teachers are usually rated within the sixtieth
to seventieth percentile followed by such occupations as
undertakers, real estate agents, private secretaries,
salesmen, longshoremen, and last but not least, "profes-
00ITIONAL" prostitutes. It is interesting to note that
teachers are rated in the lowest division of the standard
occupational category of "professional", and are outranked
in prestige by about ten occupations that are categorized
as white-collar, excluding the professions. Included
among these ten are mayors, aviators, certified public
accountants, city postmasters, and bank cashiers.57

Considering the low prestige of teachers, one
might expect them to look favorably upon unionism.

57 Caplow, Sociology of Work, p. 54. Nosow and
Form, Man, Work and Society, p. 269. et al. Since pres-
tige ranking is used in this context only to illustrate
social mobility, the factors involved in determining pres-
tige are rather unimportant. It is interesting to note,
however, that Caplow found the factor of behavior control
"...correlates almost perfectly with the rank order of
prestige ratings." Teachers, foreign missionaries, and
show foremen rank relatively low since they control the
"behavior of low status persons like students, natives,
and factory workers."
Historically, however, teachers have never rated high in prestige. In 1831 Tocqueville pointed out the unusual paradox about American educational values. He noted that although Americans placed a great faith in education and the perfectability of man, they had so little respect for teachers. And, over a century later Waller finds in America, a common belief "...that only persons incapable of success in other lines become teachers, that teaching is a failure belt, the refuge of unsalable men and unmarriageable women."53

This position of low prestige must be seen, however, from a perspective of mobility from one generation to the next. Teaching has been an occupational entry into the middle-class for a few, and into the professions for many others.59 A study of Reiss found that fifty-five per cent of those in the "semi-professions" (teachers, nurses, etc.) have "moved up" from one of two occupational categories: managers, officials and proprietors; and craftsmen, foremen and kindred workers. Only twelve per cent had "moved down" from the "established professions" (law, medicine, etc.); and about three per cent had remained in the same


59 Distribution of Teachers by Father's Occupation, Table 12, p. 128.
position of prestige, "semi-professional". Thus, although teachers are in an occupation of low prestige, their position is generally higher than the position of their parents. And, as pointed out previously, this situation tends toward conservatism in politics and a rejection of unionism.

The relationship, however, between prestige, occupational mobility, and job satisfaction has been greatly effected by technological development. As pointed out previously, the rationalization of industrialization created a complex interdependent system based upon a radical division of labor and a hierarchy of authority. Occupational advancement depends less on prior experience, good work records, friendship with the "boss", etc. and more on "outside", impersonal, "objective" standards; the major one being formal education or training. When this factor is combined with the impact of automation and the consequent elimination of many middle level jobs, the white-collar worker is faced with the fact that his chances for advancement within the company are becoming more limited and his job itself may depend on how rapidly the company installs

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60Nosow and Form, Man, Work and Society, p. 307. Similar results were attained by Havighurst in a study of Chicago Public School teachers; fifty-nine per cent had fathers whose occupations were semi-skilled, skilled, foremen, and small business. Robert J. Havighurst and Bernice L. Neugarten, Society and Education (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1967), p. 412.
automation. Consequently "...the viewpoint of many cler­
ical and sales workers toward their jobs is becoming more
akin to that of so-called blue-collar workers than to that
of professional and managerial personnel."61 This view­
point places less emphasis on "getting ahead" or finding
intrinsic meaning in the work, and more emphasis on sal­
ary, working conditions, retirement plans, etc. (factors
considered to be "extrinsic"). Workers in this situation
are likely to look favorably upon unionism. As Mills
points out,

Not job dissatisfaction in general, but a specific
kind of job dissatisfaction--the feeling that as
an individual he cannot get ahead in his work--is
the job factor that predisposes the white-collar
employee to go pro-union. This opinion is more
important in the conscious psychology of white-
collar unionism than the good or bad will of the
company, the degree of job routinization, etc.62

This type of job dissatisfaction is also character­
istic of the structural changes that have occurred in
teaching. Within the past several decades there has been a
significant increase in administrative and semi-administra­
tive positions, part of the managerial revolution associated
with technology. There has also been a vast increase in
the number of specialized occupations including guidance
counselors, speech and hearing therapists, curriculum con­

61Department of Labor, Manpower Report of the
President (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office,
1968), p. 47.

sultants, test and measurement specialists, teachers of reading, the gifted, and the disadvantaged, etc. etc. Individuals engaged in these occupations are in a more favorable position for appointments in administration than the general teacher. As in other white-collar positions, advanced formal education has become an important factor for advancement. Consequently, the average teacher is less able to attain vertical mobility; i.e. "move up" to principal, attendance officers, etc.

Vertical mobility, however, is only one aspect of "getting ahead" for a teacher; and perhaps a less important aspect than horizontal mobility, "moving up" to a "better" school.63 Horizontal mobility is especially important to teachers who feel "trapped" in urban schools. As segregation in urban schools continues to increase64 as a result of southern immigration and the white, middle-class flight to the suburbs, urban teachers will increas-

63 Nosow and Form, Man, Work and Society, p. 321. A study by Colombotos found that sixty-five per cent of the males and fifty-four per cent of the females entering teaching planned on remaining teachers; twenty-eight per cent of the males and one per cent of the females planned on "advancing" in education to administrators, supervisors, etc. Havighurst and Neugarten, Society and Education, p. 417.

64 "By 1975 it is estimated that, if current policies and trends persist, eighty per cent of all Negro pupils in the twenty largest cities, comprising nearly one-half of the nation's Negro population, will be attending ninety to one hundred per cent Negro Schools." Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, Otto Kerner, chairman (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, Inc., 1968), pp. 426-7.
ingly be faced with an alien community; or to be more accurate, the community will increasingly be faced with alien teachers. The problem teachers generally face when dealing with pupils will become even more difficult; and it is not surprising to find, "...a higher proportion of teachers in schools serving disadvantaged areas are dissatisfied with their present assignments and with their students than are their counterparts in other schools."66

Some of their dissatisfaction with their present assignments can be attributed to their inability to move to "better" schools, but another factor that has become an increasingly important concern for teachers in "disadvantaged", urban areas is the threat to job security. This concern has been magnified with the demand of Black and Puerto Rican communities for community control of institutions within their own community. Many members of these communities have expressed this demand in terms similar to those developed by Carmichael and Hamilton:

"Black parents should seek as their goal the actual con-

65Becker lists the following problems: "...(1) the problem of teaching, producing some change in the child's skills and knowledge which can be attributed to one's own efforts; (2) the problem of discipline, maintaining order and control over the children's activity; and (3) the problem of what may be termed moral acceptability, bringing one's self to bear some traits of the children which one considers immoral and revolting." Man, Work and Society, p. 323.

66Commission on Civil Disorders, p. 429.
trol of the public schools in their community: hiring and firing of teachers, selection of teaching materials, determination of standards, etc."67

Community control per se, however, is not the issue. Historically, this concept has been an important aspect of the American educational system, defended with almost religious fervor. Some of the earliest laws in America pertaining to education required communities of the Massachusetts Bay colony to establish publicly supported, community controlled schools. One such law in 1647 stated,

It is therefore ordered, that every township in this jurisdiction, after the Lord hath increased them to a number of fifty householders, shall then forthwith appoint one within their towne to teach all such children as shall resort to write and reade, whose wages shall be paid either by the parents or masters of such children, or by the inhabitants in generall...68

Two centuries later, Horace Mann is echoing the same sentiments in the midst of a rising number of immigrants and the true beginnings of industrialization and urbanization; he states, "...in every district if every town in the Commonwealth, there should be a free district school, sufficiently safe and sufficiently good, for all the children


within its territory." Mann, and other advocates of the common school movement were less fearful of local community involvement than they were of community apathy. This apathy was reflected in the lack of concern for public office in local educational systems, the lack of interest in voting, and the failure of attaining adequate local tax allotments. Mann also saw the dangers of provincialism, and the possibilities of strong interpersonal conflicts between the community and the teacher, the teacher and the Board of Education, etc. His solution to these problems, however, "lay not in the substitution of state for local authority. It lay in the invigoration of local interest. In genuine local concern coupled with state encouragement, he saw the key to good public schools."69

In the early 1900's educational systems became more centralized with the growth of urban areas. Other regions, however, remained committed to local control. An example of this philosophy is reflected in a contract signed by teachers in 1927:

I promise to remember that I owe a duty to the townspeople who are paying me my wages, that I owe respect to the school board and the superintendent that hired me, and that

Since 1900 urban educational systems have continued to become more centralized. New York City, for example, has over one million students, fifty-five thousand teachers and one central board of education with one superintendent. Teachers are placed in school districts by the central board after passing a written test that covers their specific subject matter, general questions about discipline, and the use of the English language (spelling, sentence structure, etc.). They also are required to pass an oral interview. Employees of the central board administer the tests, oral exams, etc.

Rural areas, smaller cities, and the vast number of suburban areas continue to operate on the basis of community control. Teachers are hired by a superintendent appointed by a locally elected school board. While job security may be a problem in this situation, it is less important when the teacher and the school board share the values, interests, and attitudes of the community. Thus, it is not community control per se that necessarily threatens the job security of teachers. It is only when the values of the teacher and/or the school board conflict with those of the community that job security becomes the important

70Waller, Sociology of Teaching, p. 43.
Many articles on the conflict of social values between middle-class teachers and urban youth describe middle-class values in terms of the protestant ethic. For example, Syrkin lists middle-class values as: neatness, politeness, correct speech, respect for property, respect for order and discipline, value of knowledge and educational achievement, self-denial, competence, hard work, and readiness to postpone immediate gratification for future reward; and claims that the values of the "ghetto-dweller are antithetical to these.\textsuperscript{71}

An adequate critique of such a position would be beyond the scope of this paper, yet several points must be made. First, this set of values fails to include the important historical middle-class values of equality, tolerance, reason, etc. Second, the values of self-denial, future orientation and hard work are either irrelevant or require redefinition of credit cards, affluence, and technology. Third, and most important is the rather ironic fact that the "ghetto-dweller" is a threat to the educational establishment on its own middle-class terms; that is, he is demanding that his child be taught reading and writing, that his child score well on reading tests, and

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\textsuperscript{71}Syrkin, Marie, "Don't Flunk the Middle-class Teacher" New York Times Magazine, December 15, 1968, p. 32. A similar analysis has been developed by Cohen, Kneller, Havighurst, et al.
\end{flushright}
that his child be "motivated" to finish high school and go to college. It is on these terms that advocates of community control argue that since the educational establishment has failed, they could, if not do better, would not do worse. This failure is admitted by the educational establishment and is verified by failure on reading tests, a high dropout rate, and low college admissions rates.\textsuperscript{72}

This failure is even more critical as the society increasing emphasizes formal education. As pointed out previously, the alternatives to education as a means of attaining middle-class status have declined with the elimination of farm employment and the rationalization of industry. The importance of education may be partly the result of increasing specialization and the demand for technological skills. It is also the result of the rapidly changing structure of the job market. As Armer points out, "Many individuals will have to learn and perform two, three, or more different types of work in their lifetime, and education must be accepted as a continuing, lifelong process."\textsuperscript{73}

\textsuperscript{72}Students in New York City average two years below the national average on reading tests; and the difference increases with the number of years the student remains in school. The high school dropout rate in large urban areas is sixty-five to eighty per cent compared with seventeen per cent for the nation.

Not only will some individuals be required to adjust to different types of work, but many will have to adjust to no work at all. From the figures projected for 1975, individuals from the age of fourteen to nineteen years will comprise 9.7 per cent of the civilian labor force but only 7.6 per cent of the hypothetical requirements; individuals of ages twenty to twenty-four will comprise 13.5 per cent of the labor force, but only 10.5 per cent of the hypothetical requirements; and individuals of ages twenty-five to thirty-four will comprise 22.4 per cent of the labor force but only 19.4 per cent of the hypothetical requirements.74 Thus we see, as the Bureau of Labor Statistics concludes, "...even more young workers than anticipated would delay their entry into the labor market in order to obtain the education and training needed to fill the available jobs."75

The extent to which education functions as training for technological skills in a "complex" society, or simply as an alternative to a closed job market is difficult to determine. Unemployment in the depression was not eliminated with the attainment of more education; and jobs became readily available to many individuals previously un-

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74 Age Distribution of 1975 Civilian Labor Force, Table 11, p. 127.

75 Bowen and Mangum, Automation and Economic Progress, p. 81.
employed and without formal education and skills with the outbreak of World War II. In both situations, workers did an excellent job with limited education and skills.

Another example that casts doubt upon the necessity of formal education in our technological society was illustrated by Steiber when he found: "In 1958, sixty-six per cent of our youths aged fifteen to nineteen were in school, as compared with about thirty per cent in France, Sweden, and the Netherlands, and only eighteen per cent in Great Britain and West Germany." This may be partly the consequence of our historical commitment to education; but it is certainly plausible that educational requirements can serve as a screening device for an over abundant labor supply.

Regardless of whether formal education is the natural result of a nationalized industrial order that requires specialized skills or whether it is the device for screening out the surplus labor supply, its significance is almost unquestioned. As Caplow states,

There can be no serious doubt that whether the last half-century, formal education has become the principal channel of upward mobility in the Western World. The distribution of educational opportunities thus becomes a crucial

76Bowen and Mangum, Automation and Economic Progress, p. 166.
factor in determining how much movement between social classes will be permitted. 77

The significance of education as an institution in our society is also reflected in the rate of high school completion and the per cent of students entering college. At the turn of the century only sixteen per cent of those entering the educational institutions completed high school. By 1934 this figure had doubled, 33.3 per cent with 12.9 per cent entering college. In 1969, the high school completion had risen to 72.1 per cent and 40.0 per cent entering college. 78 Consequently, many individuals who previously would have either dropped or failed out of school and become the "working class", and now encouraged, if not coerced or forced, into remaining in school

77 Caplow, Sociology of Work, p. 79. When hearing the news about the financial cutback in the job corp training program, a 31 year old mother of six children, living in the Bronz, working days and going to school at night, stated; "What happens to me and my children if they stop these programs? I remain in the slums, categorized, poor, immobilized. I want out. I want out for my children, too. Either make good jobs available to us without educational requirements or educate us." New York Times, May 4, 1969. (If either is made available, it will probably be education.)

78 High School Graduates and College Entrants Table 13, p. 129. It would seem somewhat strange that so much concern is expressed about school dropouts, when in fact the per cent has continually declined at a rapid rate. This concern, however, is generally proportional to the lack of alternative to school, resulting from the structure of the labor market. David Angus, "High School Dropouts" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Ohio State University 1967).
in an attempt to keep them off the streets and out of the labor market. And, while education may be intrinsically relevant to some students, it is simply the price one must pay for a "good" job for others; and for a few, the price is too high.

This few, no doubt, comprise part of the category of students that are now referred to as the "maladjusted" or "disruptive" child. And regardless of the reason, psychological or sociological, the conflict between this student and the educational system exists. The concern about this situation is reflected in a 1963 survey of Chicago Public schools that "...showed that the condition creating the highest amount of dissatisfaction among teachers was lack of adequate provision for the treatment of maladjusted, retarded and disturbed pupils"79

Another factor that has heightened the conflict between the student and the educational system has been

79Commission on Civil Disorders, p. 429. Of course these terms are highly ambiguous and could be used to define many types of behavior. For example, Yeshiva University has developed a program for some of these students from New York City's "600" schools, schools for the "most difficult" students. Dr. Graubard, the director of the program says that a few students are there because "...in their regular classes they used to simply sit in the back of the room, not bothering any one, but having lost all interest in study." While this example may be extreme, one can recall from his own public school experiences, the type of behavior that would be required to be considered "disruptive" or "maladjusted" by the average school teacher or principal.
the demand on the part of the students for a greater role in the schools for determining their own interests and desires. In the past when power was concentrated in manufacturing (or capital), conflicts about power distribution were waged between labor and management. Today, since power has passed into the technostructure with its need for "organized intelligence", the battle for power distribution will be waged in the institution that provides that need, the educational system. In a four month period, between November 1968 and February 1969, Alan F. Westin, director of the Center for Research and Education in American Liberties at Columbia University, "counted 239 'serious episodes' of disorder—strikes, sit-ins, demonstrations, riots, or other violence—in high schools. During the same period 348 high schools in 38 states underwent some form of disruption..." He estimated "...that 2000 high schools have undergone disruptions from November through today." A further check by New York Times correspondents in fifteen major cities across the country showed that the majority of high schools in some cities experienced disruptions during the current school year.80

The disruptions have been categorized by Westin as follows: Racial, 132; Political, 81; Against dress regulations, 71; Against discipline, 60; and For educa-

tional reforms. In particular, the demands by students have included the hiring of Black teachers and administrators, the retention of some teachers who were dismissed, the permission to wear political buttons, the addition of new courses to the curriculum, changes in cafeteria food, et al. And, it is apparent that most of these demands represent a threat either personally to the power and authority of the administrators and/or teachers, or impersonally to the structure of the educational system. A rather apocalyptic statement issued by the Council of Supervisory Association, the association representing the principals in New York City Schools, expressed this fear: "Disorders and fears of new and frightening dimensions stalk the corridors of our schools...the hour is late, our schools are in peril." They also point to 1832 resignations of teachers and principals, five times the normal number, and the retirement of 846 others, two times the normal number.

Teachers have also expressed this fear. When Mayor Lindsay and Superintendent Donovan announced a plan to place sixty to one hundred security guards in about twenty "troubled" junior and senior high schools. George

81 Disruptive Actions, Table 14, p. 130.

82 New York Times, January 22, 1969, p. 1. This statement is strikingly similar to the recent slogan, 'Crime in the streets'.
Altomare a spokesman for the UFT, called the plan "...a slight beginning but it is far from the large number of such personnel that must be recruited for all high schools at once." In Milwaukee, leaders of the Milwaukee Teachers Association threatened to close some of the inner city schools unless they were made "...safe for children and the staff." And, when security patrols were placed in the Neward schools (one in each of the seventy-eight schools, with four or five in some), a spokesman for the teacher's association stated,

Most teachers favor anything that would prevent having situations we've had in the past. They don't want a police state, but they want some way of keeping students and teachers from getting hurt in tense situations when some students start flinging chairs in the lunchroom and sometimes start slashing with knives.

A less direct threat than the confrontations between the students and the teachers and administrators, or the community and the educational system, but also the result of the importance of education in a technological society, has been the influence of such critics as Rickover, Kerner, Conant, et al. The success of the Russian Sputnik combined with the prevailing Cold War philosophy brought

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85 New York Times, March 9, 1969. Many of these conflicts will be discussed in more detail in Chapter III.
about many criticisms and suggestions that have only recently begun to be implemented into the educational structure. Books with titles that resemble, Why Johnny Can't Read and Ivanov Can, How to Really Educate Educators, et al. express a philosophy that, if implemented, would pose a threat to the advancement and/or tenure of teachers. Proposals have been suggested, and in some cases instituted, to: establish merit rating and salary systems; require additional college credits in specified courses and/or inservice programs; standardize tests for teachers; and, establish strict certification and advancement requirements. Conant himself acknowledged the fact that these criticisms were seen as a threat; he said,

I think it must be said that in almost every state the establishment is overly defensive; it views any proposal for change as a threat and assumes that any critic intends to enlarge its difficulties and responsibilities while simultaneously undermining its ability to bear them.\textsuperscript{86}

The political naivete of Conant's statement is astounding. While one may question whether this point of view (expressed by Conant, Kerner, et al.) is a new mandate for education, or simply the rationale for the emerging technocratic state and suburban life, the political consequences remain the same. Proposals to "upgrade the teach-

\textsuperscript{86} The political naivete of this statement seems to be characteristic of Conant's work; for example, see his other well known book, Slums and Suburbs.
The "insecure profession" are, in fact, threatening to teachers, and in many situations, administrators. This is especially true since the importance of education has placed teachers in a position of attaining added prestige and power. This power is threatened by criticism which is harmful to their public image, and by the proposals that would place the determination and enforcement of "higher" standards under the auspices of boards of education, tenure committees, state authorities, etc.

Tocqueville pointed out that revolutions occurred during times of rising expectations. In contrast to this view Marx, although ambivalent at times, tended to believe that they were fermented by increasing deprivation. Another alternative, perhaps more inclusive, is possible by combining these two theories. And although the issue is not revolution, it may be possible to better understand teacher "militancy". For example, individuals who expect little and receive little (peasants, and previously students and teachers) are not likely to rebel regardless of how miserable their situation. Likewise, individuals who expect more and receive more are not likely to rebel regardless of how much or how little others have. But, when the gap between what one expects and what he receives becomes

87James C. Davies, "Toward a Theory of Revolution" in Reader in Political Sociology, ed. by Frank Lindenfeld (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1968). The author develops a detailed description of this theory.
intolerable, then rebellion can be predicted. This is the situation that exists today for not only students and teachers, but also other members of the educational institution, as well as the individuals engaged in other occupations that have attained increased importance (e.g. service occupations). In other words, these individuals are asking, "If we are so important today, why are we not receiving more income and better working conditions." Thus, we see another important element contributing to the factor of job satisfaction.

Prior to the analysis of the function of teacher unionism, perhaps it would be of benefit to briefly summarize the factors that influence the willingness of teachers to join unions. The first two factors examined previously, the availability of union and the individual's political viewpoint appear to have some influence, but are not the major influence. The third factor, the individual's personal identity was an important factor; i.e. whether he identified with professionalism or unionism; management or labor. But, with the increasing professionalization of occupations and the rationalization of the work process class lines are less distinct. Consequently, when this fact is combined with the non-ideological position of unionism historically, the influence of individual identity is difficult to determine. It would appear, however,
that the pragmatic character of American unionism would favorably coincide with this social condition (the loss of class lines); i.e. unions would now be in a better position of unionizing American white-collar workers and professionals. They could concentrate their efforts on specific problems and point out their willingness and ability to alleviate the problem.

This attitude is characteristic of the utilitarian and pragmatic viewpoint that characterizes not only the society, but also the union movement. And it is extremely important to consider this factor in any attempt to analyze the unionization of any specific occupational group.

As was pointed out in Chapter I, unions have intentionally remained unattached to any political party or ideological position. In other words, an individual does not have to be a Democrat to join a union, although Democrats are generally more favorable to unionism. And, there is no specific union ideology to which an individual must adhere in order to join and/or remain in unions—unionism demands no fervent commitment. Consequently, union enrollment could rise and decline rather rapidly, depending on changing social conditions. This is one major reason why a closed-shop policy is so important to unionism. For without long-range goals, unionism is liable to suffer from success. Yet on short-range goals success
is possible when presented with threatening social conditions. And unionism, although maintaining an adherence to demands for wage increases and exclusiveness, is flexible enough to change its position on issues and promise to alleviate the conditions that threaten the workers. For example, when the local community attempts to gain a voice in school policy, the union can promise the teachers that a unified effort on their part can prevent this. When students become "disruptive", the union can promise to protect the teachers by providing them with the power to demand their expulsion and the provision of police protection. And as American unionism has attempted to provide the worker with the means to attain social mobility (if not for himself, at least for his children), the teacher's union will provide the power to structure mobility within the school system; i.e. to permit the teachers to move to "better" schools or become administrative personnel. When these factors relating to job satisfaction are combined with the recent emphasis upon the educational institution as the locus of power in the modern technological society, and the teachers expectations of sharing in this power. It is highly possible that teachers will join unions (or organizations such as the NEA and local associations, if they are willing to deal with these issues). Thus to gain a greater understanding of teacher unionism, it is nec-
ecessary to examine in more detail the present social issues and the direction the union will take to deal with them.
From the beginning, it [AFT] was considered an organization of, by, and for classroom teachers devoted to a constant concern for the protection and advancement of their interest;...¹

We [Rhody McCoy and Ocean-Hill Brownsville] sit and talk about community involvement and control. He [Shanker, President of UFT] talks about union power. They appear to me to be diametrically opposed.²

The pragmatic character of American unionism does not preclude the establishment of the ideological concern of teachers to determine the possibility of teacher unionism and the function unions would serve. As pointed out in the previous chapter, this characteristic of unionism allows the flexibility required to meet changing social conditions, yet it fails to provide the vision necessary to direct these changes.

¹Commission on Educational Reconstruction, Organizing the Teaching Profession, p. 11.

²New York Post, October 19, 1968. Ocean-Hill Brownsville is one of the three decentralized, experimental districts in New York City.
The recent successes of the teachers' union tends to obscure the previous years of limited gains and frequent failures. The formation of the Chicago Teachers' Federation in 1897 marked the beginning of what would become the AFT. Chicago had grown from a population of twelve families in 1813 to 4000 people in 1831. In 1860 this figure had risen to 100,000; by 1890 it was 1,000,000; and in 1926, 3,000,000. This rapid expansion was largely the result of the influx of immigrants accompanied by the Western movement to form an urban, industrial center.

Needless to say, conflicts arose between competing economic interest groups as well as various ethnic groups, conflicts that were to be felt in the public school system. The AFT describes the situation: "The school system became the victim of political manipulation and domination, and the Board of Education appointed by the Mayor and Council a political tool." The major issue was one of job security, (an issue that continues to be a significant element of teacher unionism). Salary increases were a factor, but not the significant one, since salaries had remained practically stationary for twenty years.

The issue of job security was emphasized again in 1912 with the origin of the American Teacher, the magazine that would become the published voice of the AFT. The

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3Commission on Educational Reconstruction, Organizing the Teaching Profession, p. 22.
editorial policy was largely centered around the condemnation of the "...abuses of administrative power, political influences in teacher appointments and arbitrary action of the Board of Education."4 Even the slogan of the magazine, "Democracy in Education: Education for Democracy" (adopted later by the AFT) indicated the necessity of attaining political power to insure job security.

The Chicago Teachers' Federation joined the AFL in 1902 and in 1916 combined with seven other locals to form the AFT.5 In contrast to the existent organization, the NEA, the original AFT chapter permitted only teachers to become members. This policy revised in 1933 to exclude only superintendents, was based upon the union principle of the inevitable conflict of interest between employer and employee. This position, although accepted, has not been strongly emphasized, and is generally submerged in a rhetoric that is exemplified by the following statement: "Administrators are excluded from its membership not because the Federation believes that they are necessarily different or hostile to the interests of teachers,

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4Ibid., p. 31.

but because it recognizes that two types of responsibility are involved..."6

The exclusion of superintendents from the AFT is one difference between the policy of the NEA; the second, is the affiliation of the AFT with labor unions as opposed to the NEA's emphasis upon being "professional". As pointed out in the previous chapter, however, the progressive democratization of "professionalism" has blurred, if not eliminated the distinction between the professional and the non-professional. This is generally true of all white-collar occupations. Thus, as Sturmthal states, "The stress upon separate organizations for academically trained white-collar workers--distinct even from other white-collar organizations--may appear less and less appropriate as the educational level of the population crisis." This factor is especially important in urban areas. For although the NEA has not been especially popular in these areas, its chances of future success will be even more limited if it maintains an appeal based upon professionalism. In these areas, teachers are envisioned in terms similar to service workers--workers that are increasingly considered "professionals"; e.g. firemen and

6Commission on Educational Reconstruction, Organizing the Teaching Profession, p. 140.

7Sturmthal, White-Collar Trade Unions, p. 389.
There are definite signs that the NEA, if not recognizing this factor, realizes the need for more "militant" action and a greater concern for what would be considered the self interests of teachers. For example, the title of the main address to the 1968 national convention was "Commitment to Action" (a phrase previously associated with the AFT). Within the speech Braulio Alonzo, the president, made the following statements:

The teachers of America have a new image, a new determination. They are committed to action...
No longer a sleeping dragon, the NEA is an aroused, active, alert giant.... Professionalism does not mean acquiescence! Professionalism does not mean acceptance of the status quo!...
Teacher militancy is having a positive effect...9

The title of the second speech, given by Sam Lambert, executive secretary, was "Teacher Power: Key to Change". It echoed the same sentiments as the first, but even stronger.

8Recent television commercials have stressed the necessity of specialized, formal education for airline hostesses, maintenance men (janitors), maids and bartenders. (One ad ends by stating, "So remember, your bartender may be a straight A student.") Another important factor has been the rapidly increasing development of "para-professionals". For example, in New York City, these individuals work in the schools with titles that include Family Worker, Teacher Aide, Educational Assistant, and Educational Associate. Requirements for the positions are based upon varying amounts of formal education. See Para-Professionals Salary Program, Table 16, p. 132.

The demand for "action", "militancy", and "power" was also reflected in the NEA's attitude toward strikes ("work stoppages"). While not openly advocating them, it does not eliminate their possible necessity. This changing attitude was manifested during the 1967 national convention, when William Carr, the president, was replaced by Alonso (quoted earlier). Carr stated, upon his retirement,

...use of strikes by the teaching profession for the economic advantage of the teacher, especially when such action is contrary to law and court order, will impair and ultimately destroy the confidence of the public in the teacher. And when that is gone, the American public school and American life will have lost something precious and irreplaceable.10

(It is doubtful if anything will be lost; the real question is what will be gained.)

In contrast to this position, the new NEA attitude was expressed by Sam Lambert, the incoming executive secretary. He said, the NEA "...will not encourage strikes but if one occurs after all good-faith efforts fail, we will not walk out on our local associations." And, at a news conference he added, "...when school conditions present a serious threat to the safety and welfare of children and teachers, teachers may be justified in taking drastic action."11 This statement was made in 1967; and

in April 1969, NEA urged congress to legalize teacher strikes and to require local school boards to negotiate with teachers. Thus the position of the "new NEA" is strikingly similar to that of the AFT. They both agree about the necessity of work stoppages (strikes) and professional negotiations (collective bargaining); and they are both concerned about the health and safety of the teachers ("crime in the streets halls", and "law and order"). The era of the "great debates" entitled "Unionism vs Professionalism" appears to be finished.

Lieberman, a leading author with continued interest in teacher unionism, pointed to the possible merger of the AFT and the NEA back in 1956. He said,

What appears to be happening is that the NEA and the AFT are moving toward common programs. The AFT, on the defensive because of criticisms of its concentration upon teacher welfare, is trying to broaden its program to include matters not directly concerned with teacher welfare. The NEA, on the defensive for ignoring teacher welfare in the past, is giving more attention than ever before.

12 New York Times, April 1, 1969. During the 1967-68 school year, there were 114 strikes involving more than 160,000 teachers in 21 states. This should be contrasted with only 91 strikes for a period of 22 years, between 1940 to 1962. Shils and Whittier, Teachers Administrators and Collective Bargaining, p. 28. The vast majority of the strikes were by local teachers associations whose membership belonged not to the AFT, but to the NEA.

13 Attempts are being made to combine the AFT with the Association of Classroom Teachers, the "most militant arm" of the NEA.

14 Lieberman, Education as a Profession, p. 312.
And, in 1959 (only two years before the AFT scored their
most significant victory, the unionization of the New
York City teachers) he said, "...there must be a recog-
nition that the policy of affiliation with labor has
reached a dead end and must be abandoned." In 1956 he
was wrong; in 1959 he was really wrong.

Lieberman's statement about the merger of the AFT
and the NEA is only partly true; i.e. the NEA is moving
toward a self-interest position. The AFT, however, is not
moving away from the issues of self-interest. If merger
takes place, it will be primarily in AFT terms; i.e.
economic, social, and political self-interest. In fact,
his statement concerning racial discrimination illustrates
his total incomprehension of the social situation. He
said (in 1962), "The NEA's poor record in combating racial
and religious discrimination will be a serious handicap in
its efforts to organize teachers in large northern
cities." Just the opposite is true! Institutional

15Myron Lieberman, The Future of Public Education,
Phoenix Books (Chicago: University of Chicago Press,
1960), p. 231. Lieberman failed to account for the de-
mocratization of professionalism and the pragmatic nature
of unionism; professionalism in the best sense requires
commitment--American unions requires pragmatic acceptance.
Teachers have been less professionally oriented, and
workers have been less union oriented than is generally
believed.

16Ibid., p. VIII.
racism, that manifests itself in teacher transfer policies, in physical security measures, and in "Professional" standards, has been one of the major (if not the only) factors in attaining union membership in urban areas; and it is, of course, based upon the union's perception of self-interest. This is not to say that teachers in general or urban teachers in particular are individually racist (although some, if not many, are); i.e. they are not overtly racist. Teachers will, however, support an organization that will tend to perpetuate a racist social structure; i.e. an organization that supports and appeals to covert, individual attitudes of racism—attitudes that include belief in the environmental, if not inherent, superiority of middle-class Whites and lower-class Whites over Blacks, Puerto Ricans. Recent examples of this belief have been illustrated in the vast amount of literature concerned with the "culturally deprived", "culturally disadvantaged", and "crime in the schools".

In response to this attitude, one might examine the concept of the self-fulfilling prophesy. In the words of an aide to Rhody McCoy, the Black principal of Ocean-Hill Brownsville (experimental district in a Black and Puerto Rican area of New York City), "Our No. 1 need is brainwashing sessions to give our teachers the belief that these
children are worth teaching and can learn."17 In either case, the individual (overt) racism or institutional (covert) racism the results are the same.

To better understand the manifestations of institutional racism, it is necessary to consider the demographic changes that have resulted in the "flight to the suburbs". Prior to 1966 Whites left the cities at a rate of 140,000 per year. Between 1966 and 1968, however, the rate of emigration had leaped to 500,000 a year. As a result, Blacks comprise a majority in some of the larger cities and in many of the urban school systems. For example, in 1966, Blacks comprised the majority of the elementary school enrollment in seventeen of the largest cities;18 and within these cities segregation is almost total.

Chicago, is a typical example. In 1966, "...36 per cent, or 5,185 of the Chicago elementary teachers were Negro. But in the six elementary districts with 2,669 white teachers and almost all-white student populations, there were only seven Negro teachers, our of 1,284 Negro teachers in all Chicago high schools."19 This defacto

18*Negro Enrollment in Elementary School, Table 17, p. 133.
segregation is created and perpetuated by the transfer policy of the school board, strongly defended by the Chicago AFT local. When recently faced with a Federal demand to integrate the AFT local said they would go to court if necessary to defend transfer rights. The president of the local responded with a question that has become the cliche of segregationists—"What about the civil rights of teachers." For it is one thing to talk about the civil rights of the powerless, but quite something else to be concerned about the civil rights of the powerful. (The admission of a Black student in a university or a Black family into a neighborhood is also an infringement upon the rights or those that wish to prevent the admission). The point is not to prevent the transfer of teachers, since both the students and the teacher may benefit from the transfer. The point is, however, as long as the school system is structured in such a way to permit the development of "good" schools and "bad" schools, the transfer policy will create and perpetuate segregation; and the union, by supporting this policy is supporting de-facto segregation (institutional racism).

The transfer policy in urban education systems is

20_New York Times, July 11, 1969, p. 15. In New York City the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) initiated legal action against the transfer policy. The school board responded that it was "procedures not prejudice"; the UFT threatened to strike.
an important factor in the appeal of unionism to possible members. As was pointed out in the previous chapter, social mobility for teachers is generally realized by "moving up" to a "good" school. Another factor in social mobility is also enhanced by teacher unionism—"moving up" into administrative positions (principals, etc.). A study by the Center for Urban Education in New York City found that in New York City, in one year (from 1968 to 1969), eight per cent of the AFT chapter chairmen in the elementary schools became principals; in the junior highs the figure was twelve per cent, and in the high schools, fourteen per cent. (Evidently the antagonism between the "bosses" and the "workers" is rather minimal.)

The "flight to the suburbs" has had an important impact upon the rise of "teacher militancy" in another area--economics. Suburban areas are faced with a rapid increase in population, a lack of a business--industrial tax base, and a large proportion of consumption oriented individuals (with a relatively low salary). "No new taxes" is the slogan of the suburbanites, an issue that constantly appears on their lips, in their local newspapers, and at their polling booths. This past spring, for example, in New York State, voters rejected 118 of the 700 school budgets, a record number. In three suburban counties--the home of "good schools", "motivated students", and an
"appreciation of education and culture"—sixty-one school budgets were rejected, nearly twice last year's figure. Even the community that represents the epitome of suburbia, Great Neck, voted three times before finally approving their budget. (Part of the reason for refusal of the first two proposals was attributed to a bussing program, designed to bring a small number of Black students into the schools from Queens. The budget passed on the third try one week after the proposal was vetoes by the New York City, Board of Education.)

As a result, teachers are faced with a threat to their newly emerging position of prestige in a technological, service-oriented society. Teachers salaries have always been relatively low when compared with other professions. Even today, beginning salaries in the major cities are two to three thousand dollars less than the salary considered to be moderate for an urban family of

21The tax revolt is also reflected in other areas of the economy. Public employees in general will be effected by an "economy-minded" public who at the same time is demanding more services. This conflict is responsible for the increasing "militancy" among white-collar (and blue-collar) public service employees; e.g. police, firemen, and nurses.

22In 1959 the average salary of teachers ranked fourteen among eighteen professional groups. The only groups earning less were dieticians, ministers, librarians, and social workers.
four ($9300.00). But, in the past, the low salary had a stronger rationale. "Professional status" served as a substitute for money and the educational institution was less valued. Both of these conditions have been changed. Consequently, unions (generally in urban areas) or local teacher associations (generally in suburban areas) are in a position to appeal to militancy brought about by the demands of rising expectations. The success of this demand is illustrated in the results. During and after World War I and World War II the real income of teachers declined. From 1953 to 1963, their income increased forty-one per cent, but placing them only equal to manufacturing salaries and below governmental salaries. Since then, their position has improved over both the aforementioned groups.

The potential power of teachers that results from the importance of the educational institution is more in-

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23 With New York City's $2500 increase this fall, the salary will begin at $7950 and will begin at $9400 in three years. The salaries for other cities are: Chicago, $8350; Detroit, $7500; Los Angeles, $7210; San Francisco, $6820; Milwaukee, $6800. *New York Times*, May 24, 1969, p. 22.

24 Of course it is difficult to determine if the success can be attributed only to militancy. It could also be the inevitable result of the changes in societal priorities. The important point is that teachers believe that militancy is appropriate if not necessary.

direct than the potential power inherent in the urban political structure. A strike by teachers (or other governmental, public service employees) can bring immediate wrath upon the local, elected officials. In New York City, for example, over one million students can be released onto the streets. Although this potential power has always been available, it is significantly more important today with the constant fear of "riots" and "crime in the streets". For transportation employees and sanitation workers, a strike may be very disruptive and cause great inconvenience; for teachers, a strike is viewed as a possible catastrophe. The political success of urban mayors is increasingly measured by his ability to keep "law and order"; thus, any public "disturbance" is evidence of his incompetence.

This power was witnessed in the 1969 New York City primary, mayorality race. Three strikes by the AFT, at the beginning of the 1968-69 school year over the issue of decentralization, were responsible, in part, for the failure of John Lindsay to win the Republican nomination. The disruption and the racial implications were the major factors in his defeat. Although the AFT refused to endorse a candidate, they did give financial support to the Democratic Candidate (Mario Procaccino, $285) and the Republican--Conservative candidate (John Marchi, $1,000),
both of whom eventually won running on a campaign of "law and order" and a get tough policy against community control and "disruptive" students. This action is an indication of both the conservatism of teachers and the historical union policy of "rewarding your friends and punishing your enemies".

The issue of decentralization (community control) has become increasingly significant in large urban areas. As part of a demand by Black people to have greater control over the institutions in their areas (Black power), the issue will have a great influence on teacher unionism. Within the past two years some degree and form of decentralization have been tried in Washington D.C., Philadelphia, Detroit, and New York City; Cincinnati and Milwaukee are considering limited experiments. When the Washington D.C. decentralization program began in September 1967, half the original teachers left rather than work in the experimental district. In sharp contrast to the UFT and its bitter fight against decentralization however, the Washington D.C. Teachers Union, also an affiliate of the AFT, strongly supported the program by a vote of 113 to 43. (The District of Columbia Education Association, an affiliate of the NEA, also supported the plan.) A policy statement said, "Teachers' rights may well be more closely protected in a community-controlled school than by a downtown
board."26 But also in sharp contrast to New York City, where only about ten per cent of the teachers are Black and Puerto Rican (with 1 Black principal prior to decentralization), Washington D.C. has a teaching staff comprised of eighty per cent Black teachers.

The UFT has continued to deny that the issue is one of racism. They point to their financial support of civil rights groups, their participation in Mississippi Freedom Schools and Civil Rights Marches, and their More Effective Schools (MES) program. The issue is not racism, claims the UFT; it is professionalism. In the words of the local, "[decentralization] ...ignores the new power and integrity of the professional teacher who will not continue to teach in any school or district where professional decisions are made by laymen."27 This argument seems strange when one recalls the continued debunking of "professionalism" by the union in their battles with the NEA. For example, James Carey, vice president of the AFL-CIO, told the 1962 NEA national convention delegates that "... 'professionalism' is too often used as a substitute for economic dignity..."28 What he failed to add, however, is

that it can also be used as a substitute for human dignity and justice. As expressed by many Black delegates at the 1968 AFT convention, "'Teacher professionalism'--the term used in opposition to community power--was...just another code to hide racism, the educational counter-part to the political 'law and order' slogan."29

The term "professionalism", and its synonyms, "standards" and "qualifications", are key words in any colonial structure--colonial in the sense that the terms for entrance into the structure are defined by the group with power, for the group without power. This is true whether the issue is voting (poll taxes or educational and property qualifications) or home building (housing codes). The minority (or majority) with power establishes the rules of the game, and even has the power to revise these rules. Can one imagine how long it will take for the vast number of Black Rhodesians to meet the "requirements" for voting; or how long it would take for Black Americans to meet the "requirements" for employment? Without Ohio State University and other land grant colleges, how long would it have taken for Midwestern students to meet the "requirements" of Harvard? In the New York City school system, Ocean-Hill, an experimental-decentralized district

(eight schools with about 1100 students in each) hired four Black and one Puerto Rican principals while the entire city system had only one Black principal, and had never had a Puerto Rican principal. The same situation is exemplified in many other areas. There are only six Black musicians in the five major American symphony orchestras—again, "standards"; and many Eastern state universities are less integrated than the University of Mississippi—again, "standards".

These barriers are becoming more difficult to maintain; i.e. the rationale is less acceptable, less justifiable and more open to the guilt brought on by moral judgement. At one time the absence of Black individuals in an organization was seldom considered or even mentioned. To raise the issue now at least, brings defensive reactions; reactions that give rise to cyclical argument, and typical of the bureaucratic ethos—"organized irresponsibility". No individual or group is to blame. The individual blames the group, and each group blames another. For example, the teacher can do nothing, and blames "the school system"; the universities blame the high school system; the school system blames the parents; the school board blames the real estate agencies; and, of course, they all blame the students.

To break this cycle, someone or some group must
act, regardless of the conventional (and arbitrary) standards; and in an "Age of Education", the burden of proof is on the educational institution.

Again, one witnesses the conservatism of unions--their exclusiveness. Rather than the UFT combining with the Black community to fight the power structure of the administrators and the state, the UFT combined with the administrators (Council of Supervisory Associations (CSA) to fight the local Black community; and the State, with its Regents proposal of decentralization, adopted a more liberal stand than either the teachers or the administrators. On this issue, the "liberal" position advocated a greater degree of decentralization--more community control including the power to hire and transfer teachers to control finances and develop the curriculum. (The Republicans and the Conservatives advocated a strong centralized, bureaucratized system, a rather unusual stand considering their general ideological rhetoric.)

The liberal position was split into factions that reflect the conflicts in the past presidential election. The UFT received the backing of those individuals or groups that in general, supported Humphrey: Michael

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30 The City Colleges of New York City exemplified this action when they "dropped their academic admittance standards starting in 1970, requiring then only a High School Diploma."
Harrington, Bayard Rustin, the CSA (school administrators), School Custodians and Mechanics, and the New York City Central Labor Council (the most powerful labor organization). The community control concept gained the support of those individuals or groups who generally favored Kennedy or McCarthy: Norman Mailer, Murray Kempton, The Americans for Democratic Action, the ACLU, locals of the United Auto Workers, Municipal Employes, and Hospital Workers (locals with a large per cent of Black members)—and even Norman Vincent Peale and the YWCA. Of course there were some like Martin Mayer ("But there were no real issues in the strikes—just slogans.") who had all the facts but no idea what was happening.

The AFT was not without dissent within its ranks. The Afro-American Teachers Association, an organization within the AFT, spoke out continually against the union. An Ad Hoc Committee of Teachers for Community Control collected 1,100 signatures of city teachers for a newspaper advertisement; a union vice-president, John O'Neill, accused Shanker of "racist leadership" and said, "...as

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New York Times, February 2, 1969, p. 71. Shanker said there was a "great alliance against us: TIME - LIFE, big business, department stores,...Black separatists, Students for a Democratic Society, the lawyers association, and white liberals who are racists because they always say yes to Black demands." He was speaking for the "forgotten middle-class". It is ironic that at the same time he urged teachers to avoid taking refuge in right-wing attitudes.
a union officer I cannot stand by while a series of reckless and desperate actions destroys our union."32

O'Neill was wrong. He was fired the next week (the strike was attributed to the "firing" of eleven teachers by Ocean-Hill—they claimed the teachers were transferred, a common policy in the system) and Shanker was given overwhelming support. In fact, his major source of criticism came from teachers who felt the union should take a stronger stand against decentralization! In explaining his strong election victory for union president in 1968 Shanker said, "I think they're (teachers) shying away from radical stands, whether of the radical right or the radical left."33 But when examining the ideological positions it is difficult to imagine those in favor of decentralization, listed previously as being the "radical left". In fact, what the election indicated was that teachers (even in New York City) are rather conservative; and when they are unionized, they will act as other union members, supporting a rather narrow, short-range view of their own self-interest.

The UFT spent an estimated $500,000, about one-


33 New York Times, June 13, 1968. In 1964 Shanker won by a margin of 1.7 to 1; in 1966, 2.4 to 1; and in 1968, 9 to 1.
sixth of the annual dues, on the media to "educate" people and appealed to the fear and racism of the teachers and the city. One full page advertisement, during the strike read, in part,

...threat of disaster hanging over our schools

...Should life in the classroom be guided by people who are responsible concerned with education—or should educational policy and practice be dictated by an assortment of miscellaneous 'militants' like those now performing at school doors and in school corridors?...They (four assistant principals) had endured a day of terror at the hands of a small group.... The vigilantes who had taken over in Ocean-Hill Brownsville, the curbing of whose terrorist activities was pledged by the Mayor and the Board of Education, have thus been given the green light....We are fighting to defend our schools, our local boards, our parents associations from take-over by vigilantes... You ... want an end to vigilantism, hate propaganda and terror in the schools of New York.34

Another advertisement appeared in a recent edition of the AFT magazine stating: What can you do when faced with thirty-eight children; take an aspirin, pray and join the AFT. (It didn't say, "teach them to read and write".)

At the same time, several members of the Ocean-Hill community were accused of anti-semitism, a charge which may have had some validity. Yet the issue was made political—a means of attaining support from the Jewish

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teachers in the UFT and Jewish members of the city. A similar issue was raised during the past several years—the "disruptive child" (discussed in the previous chapter). The union demanded the power to expel them. They didn't acquire this power in the contract, but the demand had a powerful political appeal. It is upon such material, the appeals to fear and hatred, that institutional racism is created, perpetuated, and enhanced.

Shanker is correct when he states, "What you have is people [those who advocate community control] who are willing to make any change that does not effect their own position...But what if you said give twenty per cent of Time Inc. or U.S. Steel to the Blacks? Who would be narrow then?" But he is wrong, both morally and perhaps in the long run politically, to use the characteristic policy of unionism (narrow self-interest) to justify the action of the AFT. As stated previously, that type of justification is only cyclical, as aspect of "organized irresponsibility", and will only further aid in the creation of a new class structure based upon education.

As pointed out in Chapter II, technological

35 Among the teachers hired by Ocean-Hill, seventy-five per cent were white and almost two-thirds were Jewish. (The union response was—'wait until next year'.)

society, barring a national crisis (war or depression), tends to over-educate an individual and under utilize his skill. A similar situation exists in Russia where more education is becoming a prerequisite for technical jobs; yet, eighty per cent of an engineer's work could be accomplished without a degree. For a minority or ethnic group this factor is crucial. While one must grant the fact that the more education a Black person receives, the less able he is to get a job equal to that of a white person with similar qualifications, it is still the case that the more education he receives, the better his chance to at least get a job. In an Age of Education, the educational institution plays the major role in determining who and to what degree one will share in the good life. Even manhood (social equality) is equated with education. A subway ad reads, "Boy!--they'll call you that the rest of your life if you don't get an education." While this may not be true—in fact he probably will be called that, in one way or another, regardless of his education—the sentiment of the slogan is significant. The school system is the modern equivalent to the tribal 'rites of passage'.

37 The educational system has attained, to a great degree, the power it held during the Middle Ages when the teacher knew not only the secret of writing, but also the secrets of the Holy Writ.
With fewer alternatives to education the ethnic and/or racial minorities are faced with the fact that; "Economic stability for an ethnic group preceded its entry onto the broader middle-class stage via education."\(^{38}\) The number of individuals finishing high school didn't increase significantly until 1950, but it has risen steadily since then.\(^{39}\) In comparison many individuals (and some ethnic groups) entered the middle-class. In fact, the amount of education attained by an individual in any particular occupation has steadily risen, even though the individual is functioning in a job similar to the one held by someone a generation before (an individual with less education). It was, "not until the 1950's did the Irish begin to enter the university in large numbers, but they remain predominately 'blue-collar' in status and, like Italian high schoolers, sustain a high incidence of poor school performance."\(^{40}\) On a economic level college entrance was gained, to a large degree, through the G I Bill. On a social level,

\(^{38}\)Collin Greer, "Immigrants, Negros and the Public Schools," _The Urban Review_ (January, 1969), p. 11.

\(^{39}\)High School Graduates and College Entrants, Table 13, p. 129.

\(^{40}\)Greer, Immigrants, Negroes and the Public Schools, p. 11.
the establishment of a parochial (Catholic) system was provided as well as entrance into the labor unions on the political structure.\footnote{Nathan Glazer and Daniel Moynihan, \textit{Beyond the Melting Pot} (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1963), The authors explain the various means of entrance into the middle-class by various groups.} The point is expressed by Greer, "Typically, school success came after the establishment of an indigenous ethnic stability (e.g., ethnic business and political organizations grounded in the community..."\footnote{Greer, \textit{Immigrants, Negroes and the Public Schools}, p. 11. As pointed out in the previous chapter the Jewish community is an exception. The value of book learning in the culture provided them with a culture fit for success as shopkeepers and public school students.} In other words, public school education was the mark of success after attaining middle-class status (just as a Private school education was the mark of attaining upper middle-class status); only rarely has it been the bootstrap. In this sense the school system (especially in urban areas) have been successful. But today, their failure is more critical. It is for this reason that one can see the significance of community control in Black and Puerto Rican communities. Although it would provide no instant success in educational methods, it could possibly provide a center for establishing an indigenous culture and a means of overcoming the
alienation between the community and the educational system. But as long as the teachers view the urban system as a 'blackboard jungle' there will always be a conflict of interest--and with the average White, middle-class teacher this conflict appears inevitable. With the power of the union, the conflict will be magnified.

This factor is important also in the issue of the "disruptive child". The expulsion of "disruptive" students or the creation of special schools (?) provides the educational system with the power to eliminate them from the chance to attain a decent living. Can one imagine the possibility of attaining a living with a diploma from a 'school for disruptive students'?? The present alternative of turning the urban schools into armed camps, as advocated by some teachers and administrators (see previous chapter), is so absurd it cannot be discussed sensibly. (No one has suggested creating a school for authoritarian administrators or compulsive, anxiety ridden teachers.) In New York City it took a legal action by the ACLU to get 670 students re-instated into a Queens High School (Franklin K. Lane). With the urging of the UFT, the administration fully co-operated in expelling the students on the grounds they were "constant truants". In addition, they said their expulsion improved the "racial balance" and the over-crowded school facilities.
When other students became involved, the school was closed for three days, only to open with "dozens of patrolmen and police officers." The opening day several interviews were recorded. Typical reactions were: student, "No use going to that school, that's a prison. Cops, cops all over the place, just waitin' to bust you"; teacher, "Disciplinary problems have practically disappeared;" and, administrator, "It's not all bad. At the end of classes today, we will have the installation of new pupils in Arista (scholastic honor society). Our baseball schedule is going ahead and our manual training shops are in full swing". A Black student committee called for the dismissal of the chapter chairman of the AFT and a number of teachers described as "insensitive".

An issue related to both that of the "disruptive child" and the class structure is the vocational education programs. The AFT has supported vocational schools. (In some cities, e.g. Milwaukee, the vocational teachers have joined the AFT while the other teachers rejected it.) With this support, however, they are supporting a program that is considered a "dumping ground" by even the teachers

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43 Richard J. H. Johnston, "Police Become a Reminder of Tension at Troubled Lane High School," New York Times Magazine, April 1, 1969, p. 40. The article described the student as a "lean, self-assured youth in jeans and a leather jacket"; it failed to describe the teacher or the administrator—evidently their style was less than newsworthy.
themselves who generally add, that there are vast improvements necessary for the program. This attitude misses the critical point, that of perpetuating a class structure. It is not surprising to find in New York City, in 1967, that Negro and Puerto Ricans make up thirty-four per cent of the enrollment in the academic schools and sixty per cent in the vocational schools. These schools are not even pragmatically justifiable. The Board of Education in New York City reported that in 1967, of the 7,585 graduates, 4,508 had been placed. Of these, 77.9 per cent took jobs outside their special area, and 4.5 per cent were unemployed six months later. Ten of the thirteen occupational categories that placed the highest number of students were white-collar occupations. DuBois once said that it was not the aim of education to make men carpenters, but to make carpenters men. But this issue, the aim of education, is lost in the quest for self-interest, since the AFT can attribute some of its success to organizing vocational teachers.

Vocational education as well as the issues pre-

44New York Times, May 29, 1969, p. 18. On a university level, the modern equivalent to the vocational school is the community college or state branch. For ethnic composition of city universities compared with community colleges, see Table 18, p. 134.
viously discussed, decentralization and "disruptive children", illustrates an important element of American unionism and its relationship with the concept of self-interest. Millis best summarizes this point: In American unionism, often "the issue,--fundamental antagonism of interest--envisaged by the workers was not between functional classes, the employers and the employees, but rather it was between the rich and the poor, between the beneficiaries of the capitalism of the day and the economically dispossessed."45 As a result (and as a cause) the antagonism or conflict of interests are centered around "bread and butter issues". For example, the last contract for New York City teachers included these major issues (the decentralization issue was "solved" by the state legislature): salaries, pension and welfare, teacher recruitment fund, More Effective Schools expansion, preparation periods, scholarship fund, hearing examiners (job security) and the agency shop.46 It is on these issues that unions use their ultimate power, the strike.

Issues that would be considered 'social concerns'--racism, national policies on war and technology, and the

45Millis and Montgomery, Organized Labor, p. 28.

46See the resolutions of the newly merged white-collar council of the AFL-CIO--Scientific, Professional and Cultural Employees (SPACE), p. 147.
guaranteed income—are either evaded or handled in such an abstract level that they are meaningless. For example, the policy on racism may mean one thing in theoritic, but quite something else when the interest of the union conflicts with the interest of an ethnic group. Another example, the issue of academic freedom (one that could be expected to be of great concern to an educational organization), the AFT states, "Goal: the right of teachers to teach in the classroom the basic facts of our times..."47 and, "Some educators have placed the major emphasis upon the school's responsibility for the transmission of the social heritage; others, on its responsibility for social improvement. The AFT has tried to avoid committing itself to either side in controversies that are primarily technical in nature..."48 (Technical in nature??)

White-collar unions thus appear to be no different from blue-collar unions. In both cases they are expedient and pragmatic rather than principled or ideological. When a group (teachers) is in a position to lose prestige or jobs (decentralization) the union can provide the power to conserve this status; or when they are in a

47 Goals and Why, AFT brochure.
48 Commission on Educational Reconstruction, Organizing the Teaching Profession, p. 195.
position of low but rising prestige (teachers in a technological society), the union can provide the power to fulfill these expectations. As Mills states, "[the appeal is]...a kind of hard-boiled 'keeping up' tactic ...focused on the pay lag between white-collar and wage worker: 'If you are not organized, the world is passing you by!'" The union is apolitical (aligned with no specific political party) and is concerned chiefly with "bread and butter issues". For teachers, these concerns are salary, job security, and working conditions (class size), transfer policies and "disruptive students"—concerns that have remained nearly the same since the American school system began. Teachers have not changed; they have joined unions. Mr. Peepers and Miss Brooks now belong to the AFT.

49Mills, White Collar, p. 309.
TABLE 1

UNION MEMBERSHIP AS A PROPORTION OF
THE LABOR FORCE 1930-1966

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fiscal Year</th>
<th>Union Membership per 1000</th>
<th>Labor Number per 1000</th>
<th>Force Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>3,401</td>
<td>50,080</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>3,584</td>
<td>53,140</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>8,717</td>
<td>56,180</td>
<td>15.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>14,322</td>
<td>66,040</td>
<td>20.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>14,267</td>
<td>64,749</td>
<td>22.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>16,802</td>
<td>68,896</td>
<td>24.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>17,049</td>
<td>72,142</td>
<td>23.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>16,303</td>
<td>73,031</td>
<td>22.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>16,586</td>
<td>73,442</td>
<td>22.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>16,524</td>
<td>74,571</td>
<td>22.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>16,841</td>
<td>75,830</td>
<td>22.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>17,259</td>
<td>77,178</td>
<td>22.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>17,892</td>
<td>78,893</td>
<td>22.7</td>
</tr>
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</table>

TABLE 2
MAJOR OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS OF WORKERS, ACTUAL 1964 EMPLOYMENT AND PROJECTED 1975 REQUIREMENTS
(in Thousands)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational group</th>
<th>1964 Employment</th>
<th>Projected 1975 Requirements</th>
<th>Per cent change, 1964-75</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number per cent</td>
<td>Number per cent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total, All occupational groups...</td>
<td>70,357 100.0</td>
<td>88,700 100.0</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White-collar workers</td>
<td>31,125 44.2</td>
<td>42,800 48.3</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional and technical</td>
<td>8,550 12.2</td>
<td>13,200 14.9</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managers, officials, and proprietors</td>
<td>7,452 10.6</td>
<td>9,200 10.4</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical workers</td>
<td>10,667 15.2</td>
<td>14,600 16.5</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales workers</td>
<td>4,456 6.3</td>
<td>5,800 6.5</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blue-collar workers</td>
<td>25,534 36.3</td>
<td>29,900 33.7</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Craftsmen and foremen</td>
<td>8,986 12.8</td>
<td>11,400 12.8</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operatives</td>
<td>12,924 18.4</td>
<td>14,800 16.7</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonfarm</td>
<td>3,624 5.2</td>
<td>3,700 4.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service workers</td>
<td>9,256 13.2</td>
<td>12,500 14.1</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm Workers</td>
<td>4,444 6.3</td>
<td>3,500 3.9</td>
<td>-21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 3

SELECTED OCCUPATIONS, EMPLOYED CIVILIAN WORKERS, UNITED STATES, 1940-1960

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational Group</th>
<th>1940</th>
<th>Per Cent</th>
<th>1950</th>
<th>Per Cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White-Collar Workers</td>
<td>14,676,255</td>
<td>32.9</td>
<td>20,819,314</td>
<td>37.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional, technical, and kindred workers</td>
<td>3,579,585</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>4,921,272</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical and kindred workers</td>
<td>4,382,300</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>6,954,440</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales Workers</td>
<td>3,080,714</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>3,906,794</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managerial, officials, and proprietors, except farm</td>
<td>3,633,656</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>5,036,808</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manual Workers</td>
<td>16,394,204</td>
<td>36.7</td>
<td>22,437,059</td>
<td>40.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers</td>
<td>5,171,394</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>7,820,634</td>
<td>14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operatives and kindred workers</td>
<td>8,079,922</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>11,180,315</td>
<td>20.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laborers, except farm and mine</td>
<td>3,142,388</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>3,436,110</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service Workers, Including Private Household</td>
<td>5,291,594</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>5,708,178</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural Workers</td>
<td>8,289,911</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>6,727,789</td>
<td>12.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adolf Sturmthal, ed., White-Collar Trade Unions (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965), Table 1, p. 307.
TABLE 3—Continued

SELECTED OCCUPATIONS, EMPLOYED CIVILIAN WORKERS, UNITED STATES, 1940-1960

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational Group</th>
<th>1960</th>
<th>Per Cent</th>
<th>Per Cent Increase 1940-50</th>
<th>1950-60</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White-Collar Workers</td>
<td>26,587,834</td>
<td>43.3</td>
<td>41.9</td>
<td>27.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional, technical, and kindred workers</td>
<td>7,232,410</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>37.5</td>
<td>47.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical and kindred workers</td>
<td>9,306,896</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>58.7</td>
<td>33.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales workers</td>
<td>4,638,985</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>26.8</td>
<td>18.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managerial, officials, and proprietors, except farm</td>
<td>5,409,543</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>38.6</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manual Workers</td>
<td>23,746,463</td>
<td>38.6</td>
<td>36.9</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers</td>
<td>8,741,292</td>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>51.2</td>
<td>11.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operatives and kindred workers</td>
<td>11,897,636</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>38.4</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laborers, except farm and mine</td>
<td>3,107,535</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>-9.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service Workers, Including</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private Household</td>
<td>7,170,784</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>25.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural Workers</td>
<td>3,950,491</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>-18.8</td>
<td>-41.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 4

EMPLOYED PERSONS, BY MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUP
1950 - 1967
(in Thousands)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>59,646</td>
<td>62,997</td>
<td>66,681</td>
<td>72,179</td>
<td>72,560</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White-collar workers</td>
<td>22,373</td>
<td>24,565</td>
<td>28,728</td>
<td>32,104</td>
<td>33,719</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional, technical</td>
<td>4,490</td>
<td>5,792</td>
<td>7,475</td>
<td>8,883</td>
<td>9,942</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and kindred workers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managers, officials, and</td>
<td>6,429</td>
<td>6,450</td>
<td>7,067</td>
<td>7,340</td>
<td>7,292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>proprietors, exc. farm</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical and kindred workers</td>
<td>7,632</td>
<td>8,367</td>
<td>9,783</td>
<td>11,166</td>
<td>12,031</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales workers</td>
<td>3,822</td>
<td>3,976</td>
<td>4,401</td>
<td>4,715</td>
<td>4,454</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blue-collar workers</td>
<td>23,336</td>
<td>24,771</td>
<td>24,211</td>
<td>26,466</td>
<td>26,312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Craftsmen, foremen,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and kindred workers</td>
<td>7,670</td>
<td>8,328</td>
<td>8,560</td>
<td>9,221</td>
<td>9,572</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operatives and kindred workers</td>
<td>12,146</td>
<td>12,762</td>
<td>11,986</td>
<td>13,390</td>
<td>13,610</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laborers, except farm and mine</td>
<td>3,520</td>
<td>3,681</td>
<td>3,665</td>
<td>3,855</td>
<td>3,130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service workers</td>
<td>6,535</td>
<td>7,106</td>
<td>8,349</td>
<td>9,342</td>
<td>9,373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private household workers</td>
<td>1,883</td>
<td>1,946</td>
<td>2,216</td>
<td>2,251</td>
<td>1,850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service workers, except private household</td>
<td>4,652</td>
<td>5,160</td>
<td>6,133</td>
<td>7,091</td>
<td>7,523</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm workers</td>
<td>7,408</td>
<td>6,537</td>
<td>5,395</td>
<td>4,265</td>
<td>3,153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers and farm managers</td>
<td>4,393</td>
<td>3,739</td>
<td>2,780</td>
<td>2,244</td>
<td>1,860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm laborers and foremen</td>
<td>3,015</td>
<td>2,798</td>
<td>2,615</td>
<td>2,021</td>
<td>1,293</td>
</tr>
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</table>

### TABLE 5

PUBLIC ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS --
SUMMARY: 1900 - 1967
(in Thousands)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Classroom Teachers</td>
<td>423</td>
<td>657</td>
<td>875</td>
<td>914</td>
<td>1261</td>
<td>1387</td>
<td>1504</td>
<td>1625</td>
<td>1767</td>
<td>1855</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>340</td>
<td>402</td>
<td>451</td>
<td>506</td>
<td>558</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per cent</td>
<td>29.9</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>21.3</td>
<td>27.0</td>
<td>29.0</td>
<td>30.0</td>
<td>31.1</td>
<td>31.6</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>296</td>
<td>565</td>
<td>681</td>
<td>719</td>
<td>921</td>
<td>985</td>
<td>1053</td>
<td>1119</td>
<td>1029</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total revenue for public schools</th>
<th>Federal</th>
<th>State</th>
<th>Intermediate and Local Sources</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Amount</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Amount</td>
<td>Percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>2,261</td>
<td></td>
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<td>1.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>1942</td>
<td>2,417</td>
<td></td>
<td>34</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1944</td>
<td>2,604</td>
<td></td>
<td>36</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>3,060</td>
<td></td>
<td>41</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1948</td>
<td>4,312</td>
<td></td>
<td>120</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>5,437</td>
<td></td>
<td>156</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>6,424</td>
<td></td>
<td>228</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>7,867</td>
<td></td>
<td>355</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>9,687</td>
<td></td>
<td>441</td>
<td>4.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>12,182</td>
<td></td>
<td>487</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>14,747</td>
<td></td>
<td>652</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>17,528</td>
<td></td>
<td>761</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>20,544</td>
<td></td>
<td>897</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>AFT Members</th>
<th>Per Cent</th>
<th>NEA Members</th>
<th>Per Cent</th>
<th>Per Cent Neither</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>657</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>80.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>875</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>23.2</td>
<td>73.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>332</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>914</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>453</td>
<td>49.6</td>
<td>45.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>612</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>1,261</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>1,387</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>714</td>
<td>51.5</td>
<td>44.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>1,504</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>812</td>
<td>53.9</td>
<td>41.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>1,625</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>903</td>
<td>55.6</td>
<td>38.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>1,767</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>986</td>
<td>55.8</td>
<td>37.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>1,855</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>1,028</td>
<td>55.4</td>
<td>37.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

National Education Association.
Addresses and Proceedings (Dallas, Texas, 1968), p. 543.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Body</th>
<th>Business and Professional</th>
<th>White-collar</th>
<th>Urban Manual Workers</th>
<th>Farmers</th>
<th>Percentage Belonging to Trade Unions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Entire sample</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewish</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodist</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baptist</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lutheran</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Episcopalian</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congregational</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 9

**SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS CORRELATED WITH VARIATIONS IN LEFTIST VOTING**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Higher Leftist Vote</th>
<th>Lower Leftist Vote</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Larger cities</td>
<td>Smaller towns, country</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Larger plants</td>
<td>Smaller plants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Groups with high unemployment rates</td>
<td>Groups with low unemployment rates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minority ethnic or religious groups</td>
<td>Majority ethnic or religious groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economically advanced regions</td>
<td>Economically backward regions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manual workers</td>
<td>White-collar workers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specific occupations:</td>
<td>Specific occupations:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miners</td>
<td>Servants, service workers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fishermen</td>
<td>Peasant, subsistence farmers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial farmers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sailors, longshoremen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forestry workers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less skilled workers</td>
<td>More skilled workers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## TABLE 10

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AND JOB SATISFACTION FOR EMPLOYED MEN (in Per Cent)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of Job Satisfaction</th>
<th>Professional Technicians</th>
<th>Managers</th>
<th>Clerical</th>
<th>Sales</th>
<th>Skilled Worker</th>
<th>Semi-skilled</th>
<th>Unskilled</th>
<th>Farmer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very satisfied</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfied</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambivalent</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dissatisfied</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not ascertained</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 11
AGE DISTRIBUTION OF 1975 CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE
AND HYPOTHETICAL 1975 REQUIREMENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Civilian labor force</th>
<th>Hypothetical requirements</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total, all ages</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14-19</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>10.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-34</td>
<td>22.4</td>
<td>19.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-44</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>23.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-54</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>21.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55-64</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td>13.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 and over</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*allowing 3 per cent unemployed

TABLE 12
DISTRIBUTION OF TEACHERS BY FATHER'S OCCUPATION AND BY AGE
(in Per Cent)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation of Teacher's Father</th>
<th>Ages 50 or older</th>
<th>46-55</th>
<th>36-45</th>
<th>26-35</th>
<th>Age under 26</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>39.2</td>
<td>34.5</td>
<td>28.7</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td>20.3</td>
<td>26.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled or semi-skilled worker</td>
<td>14.4</td>
<td>22.8</td>
<td>24.0</td>
<td>27.9</td>
<td>23.6</td>
<td>23.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managerial or self-employed</td>
<td>23.6</td>
<td>18.7</td>
<td>21.7</td>
<td>24.6</td>
<td>21.9</td>
<td>22.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional or semiprofessional</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>14.7</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>20.3</td>
<td>14.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical or sales worker</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled worker</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number reporting</td>
<td>263</td>
<td>464</td>
<td>387</td>
<td>509</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>1,860</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year of Graduation</th>
<th>Per Cent Completing High School</th>
<th>Per Cent Entering College</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>12.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>41.7</td>
<td>14.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942</td>
<td>46.7</td>
<td>12.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>41.9</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>50.5</td>
<td>20.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>55.3</td>
<td>28.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>58.2</td>
<td>30.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>62.1</td>
<td>32.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>64.2</td>
<td>34.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>67.6</td>
<td>36.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>71.7</td>
<td>39.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>72.1</td>
<td>40.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 14

**DISRUPTIVE ACTIONS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Protest</th>
<th>Number of Incidents</th>
<th>States Involved</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Racial</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(including Vietnam)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Against Dress</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regulations</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Against Discipline</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For Educational Reform</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>1964</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1965</th>
<th>1966</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>General wage changes</td>
<td>38.8</td>
<td>40.3</td>
<td>43.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supplementary benefits</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wage adjustments</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hours of work</td>
<td>.3</td>
<td>.4</td>
<td>.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other contractual matters</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union organization and security</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job security</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plant administration</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other working conditions</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inter or intra union matters</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not reported</td>
<td>.7</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

# TABLE 16

**UFT PROGRAM FOR PARA-PROFESSIONALS**

**SALARY PROGRAM**

This is a Professional Salary Schedule and Career Ladder Program

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Starting Sept. 1969</th>
<th>2nd Year</th>
<th>3rd Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Family Worker, Teacher Aide</td>
<td>$6,500</td>
<td>$6,800</td>
<td>$7,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher Aide (with H.S. diploma)</td>
<td>6,800</td>
<td>7,100</td>
<td>7,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational Assistant, Family Ass’t</td>
<td>7,000</td>
<td>7,300</td>
<td>7,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational Assistant (1 year of college)</td>
<td>7,500</td>
<td>7,800</td>
<td>8,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational Assistant (2 years of college)</td>
<td>8,000</td>
<td>8,300</td>
<td>8,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parent Program Assistant</td>
<td>8,200</td>
<td>8,500</td>
<td>8,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational Associate (2 years of college)</td>
<td>8,300</td>
<td>8,600</td>
<td>9,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auxiliary Trainer</td>
<td>8,500</td>
<td>8,800</td>
<td>9,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational Assistant (3 years of college)</td>
<td>8,500</td>
<td>8,800</td>
<td>9,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational Associate (3 years of college)</td>
<td>8,500</td>
<td>8,800</td>
<td>9,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>9,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PLUS immediate extra payment for prior service experience.
PLUS another $250 per year per year's experience.

Source: The United Para-Professional (June 1969) p. A.
TABLE 17

PROPORTION OF NEGRO STUDENTS IN TOTAL PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOL ENROLLMENT, 1965-1966

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Percent Negro</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Washington D.C.</td>
<td>90.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chester, Pa.</td>
<td>69.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilmington, Del.</td>
<td>69.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newark</td>
<td>69.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Orleans</td>
<td>65.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richmond</td>
<td>64.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baltimore</td>
<td>64.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East St. Louis</td>
<td>63.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Louis</td>
<td>63.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gary</td>
<td>59.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>58.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Detroit</td>
<td>55.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atlanta</td>
<td>54.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleveland</td>
<td>53.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Memphis</td>
<td>53.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicago</td>
<td>52.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oakland</td>
<td>52.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harrisburg</td>
<td>45.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Haven</td>
<td>45.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hartford</td>
<td>43.1</td>
</tr>
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On March 15, 1967 the AFT joined with sixteen other unions to form a new council of the AFL-CIO with the expressed intent to "...promote the interests of white-collar workers and spur their unionization." The seventeen unions are as follows:

The Actors' Equity Association
The American Guild of Musical Artists
The Journeymen Barbers and Hairdressers Union
The National Association of Broadcast Employes and Technicians
The Communications Workers of America
The International Union of Electrical Workers
The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers
The Insurance Workers International
The American Federation of Musicians
The Office and Professional Employes Union
The International Union of Operating Engineers
The Retail Clerks International Association
The Seafarers International Union
The International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employes Union
The American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employes
The American Federation of Teachers
The American Federation of Technical Engineers

The "Introductory Remarks" are concerned with the changing job market and professionalism versus unionism; the "Constitution" describes the goals and structure of
the council; and, the resolutions are an indication of the direction and the interests of the council. The significance of the council for unionism is questionable; for the major problems of society it appears to be irrelevant.
Introductory Remarks
by
Charles Cogen, President Pro-Tern
at
Founding Convention of the Council of AFL-CIO
Unions for Professional, Scientific and
Cultural Employees
March 15, 1967

I dare say that everyone of us feels the excitement of this occasion! Many of us in the labor movement have been working many years to bring it about, and now, at last, it is here. The Council of AFL-CIO Unions for Professional Scientific, and Cultural Employees is a reality.

I have been striving to think of some briefer and more familiar term--a concise nickname—for this organization. The best I could come up with was "CUPSCE", or, more briefly pronounced "cups". Today our "cups runneth over". Let us hope that the cups of our unions and the members they represent will continue to be overflowing in years ahead.

The need for CUPSCE can hardly be overemphasized. The nature of the American work force has changed drastically since World War II. More and more workers are employed in service occupations—white-collar occupations—and increasingly within this broad group of employees, new occupations of a highly technical, "professional" nature have arisen and old ones have mushroomed in numbers. Yet, when we use the term "labor movement" or "AFL-CIO" the image of a man in overalls, perhaps with an over-size monkey wrench in his hand, flashes into most people's minds. Even most people in the labor movement do not realize the extent to which organization has progressed among professional employees. The labor movement has to take greater cognizance of the millions of workers in these areas, both organized and unorganized.

The objectives of the Council of AFL-CIO Unions for Professional, Scientific, and Cultural Employees are spelled out in our tentative constitution, and they are broad, varied, and significant. One underlying purpose is to dramatize the extent to which employees in this category are organized already and to tell other such employees, "The union is for you, too!" Another underlying purpose is to bring together in cooperation for common objectives those who are already organized into various unions.

The great potential for new membership in our
unions, the lack of adequate public information about existing unions, as well as the need for a coordinated organizational drive are evidenced by the many letters of inquiry that I have received from interested persons. Here is one that illustrates these points very clearly:

A brief article in an issue of the AMA News interested me several weeks ago. This article concerned the formation of a special council within the AFL-CIO, having the objective of unionizing professional, scientific and cultural employees.

As an experienced professional scientist, I can say that the potential for such unionization appears large, and indeed in my opinion such categories appear to be in need of consolidation in this manner. Because interest in this direction seems now to be in its infancy, it is quite possible that I may wish to get in on the ground floor with the possibility of future discussions to determine when such membership would be available and how one might participate most effectively.

It may be of interest to you to know that off and on during the past few years, I have thought of laying before the AFL-CIO for consideration essentially this same suggestion of unionizing scientists and college professors. Now that such individuals appear to be headed towards union coverage, I think it will ultimately be successful; it definitely interests me.

Hoping to hear from you soon, I remain,

The extent of organization among professional, scientific, and cultural employees is obscured by the fact that many of these union members are in unions whose names do not give a clue to the fact that they do represent such categories. The United Steel Workers, for instance, has more than 40,000 members in this highly skilled technical white-collar category. These are engineers, chemists, accountants and others whose work is clearly professional and/or scientific in every sense. The United Automobile Workers, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, and the International Union of Electrical Radio and Machine Workers all have thousands of such members.
The Communications Workers of America includes, in addition to manual and clerical workers, physicists, chemists, Bell Satellite laboratory workers, space technicians, Tel-Star technicians, and engineers.

At this point I want to clear up one misapprehension that some have expressed to us. We are not organizing a "snob department" within the labor movement. We are not providing a way for professionals and others to set themselves apart from other workers. Quite the contrary! We are part of the AFL-CIO, and proud of it! CUPSCE reemphasizes the identity of interest among all who work for wages or salaries. As this new organization develops, I am confident that it will be the impetus for bringing this point home to thousands who now snobbishly think they are "too good for the labor movement".

Most non-union professionals make the inexcusable mistake of claiming that it is unprofessional to belong to a union. As a matter of fact, the contrary is true. Only through a union can full professionalism be achieved. Only through a union, generally, can a man achieve the compensation, working conditions, security, and dignity that professionalism deserves. Anyone who knows, for example, the working life of an actor before and after the founding of Actors' Equity readily understands the professionalizing and indeed, humanizing role of the union.

What is a professional employee? What is a scientific employee? What is a cultural employee? There is no pat answer, and it is impossible to draw up a fool-proof definition. However, we can make a few broad generalizations. First, it is apparent that such employees are usually highly skilled at rather difficult jobs—jobs which are difficult in the sense that their performance cannot be mastered without a great deal of study, training, and practice. Such people do not necessarily have to get their education in a college. Many a top orchestra player never went to college, but we instinctively think of him as both a professional and a cultural employee. The same can be said for many of the other workers to whom we are appealing.

Another characteristic which all professional, scientific and cultural employees share in that their work is creative. What they do and how they do it is usually not according to the book written by some management bureaucrat. Their services are unique and individualized.
It should be noted that professional, scientific, and cultural employees share a degree of insecurity. In private industry, when we are unorganized, we are apt to find ourselves out on the street with every change of management, or even a change in advertising policy. Among teachers and other government employees, we feel the full lash of the law whenever we assert the human right not to work (to strike) under conditions which are unsatisfactory to us.

I am very hopeful that the Council of AFL-CIO Unions for Professional, Scientific, and Cultural Employees can play a vital role in the long-delayed cultural revolution which is so badly needed throughout our land. In the months and years to come, we will be sponsoring federal and state legislation to increase the emphasis of our society on cultural affairs. A symphony orchestra, an opera company, a repertoire theatre, an art school, a conference on philosophy—these are legitimate and underdeveloped concerns for a progressive society, and they ought to be supported on a large scale by government action.

I am looking forward to a rewarding convention. I know it will be a success. With all due humility, I get a great sense of gratification for the part that the American Federation of Teachers and I personally have been able to play in bringing about this event. The other temporary officers—Eugene Klumpp, Hy Faine, and Carl Megel, also have worked hard over a period of nearly two years to bring the Council to fruition. I hope to be closely associated with CUPSCE in the future, I will eagerly take part in the activities of this Council and cooperate with it in every possible way.

The Council has limitless possibilities. We must make every effort to bring into the fold those eligible unions that are still on the outside. A goodly part of the future success of the entire labor movement depends on the success of our enterprise. Now, let us begin!
CONSTITUTION

FOR
COUNCIL OF AFL-CIO UNIONS FOR
SCIENTIFIC, PROFESSIONAL,
AND CULTURAL EMPLOYEES

PREAMBLE

An ever increasing number of employees in scientific, professional, and cultural occupations are joining AFL-CIO unions. They may be found in unions which function exclusively in their interests and in unions which function in the interests of other categories of employees as well. Regardless of the unions in which they may be members, however, scientific, professional, and cultural employees have many problems in common. That the interests of such employees may be better served, and with the approval of the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO, the undersigned unions join together in this Council and give it their wholehearted support.

ARTICLE 1: NAME

Section 1. This organization shall be known as the Council of AFL-CIO Unions for Scientific, Professional, and Cultural Employees.

ARTICLE 2: OBJECTS

The objects of this organization shall be:

1. To bring members of national and international Scientific, Professional, and Cultural Unions into relations of mutual assistance and cooperation.

2. To harmonize and promote the interests of members of affiliated organizations.

3. To encourage all such professionals to share in full benefits, aims, and responsibilities of AFL-CIO union membership.

4. To engage in legislative activity with respect to matters of interest to the affiliated organizations consistent with the policies established by the AFL-CIO.

5. To engage in research, publications, and
public relations activities appropriate to the Council and consistent with policies of the AFL-CIO.

6. To promote greater interest and participation on the part of the general public in scientific, educational, and cultural activities, and to provide services to other union members and to the general public in scientific, educational, and cultural activities.

ARTICLE 3: MEMBERSHIP

Section 1. This Council shall consist of national and international unions affiliated to the AFL-CIO, whose membership in whole or in part is engaged in any of the various fields of scientific, professional, and cultural endeavor.

Section 2. Any national or international union desiring membership in this Council either upon its total membership, if eligible, or upon that portion which is eligible for affiliation shall first make application to the Executive Board of this Council. A majority vote of the Executive Board shall be required to grant affiliation to any national or international union.

ARTICLE 4: OFFICERS

Section 1. The officers of the Council shall be a President, a Vice President, and a Treasurer. Officers shall be elected by roll call vote at regular convention and shall serve until their successors are elected and installed. No two officers shall be elected from the same national or international union.

Section 2. The Executive Board of the Council of AFL-CIO Unions for Scientific, Professional, and Cultural Employees shall be composed as follows: President, Vice President, and Treasurer, and one additional member designated by each national or international union affiliated with the Council.

Section 3. Each national or international union shall name its Executive Board member at least thirty (30) days prior to the convention.
ARTICLE 5: ELECTIONS

Section 1. The President, Vice President, and Treasurer shall be elected at the regular biennial convention. A majority of all votes cast shall determine the candidate so elected.

Section 2. The Executive Board shall have the power to fill vacancies in the elected offices until the next regular convention. Other vacancies shall be filled by the union involved.

ARTICLE 6: EXECUTIVE BOARD

Section 1. Between conventions the Executive Board shall be the governing body of the Council.

Section 2. Regular meetings of the Executive Board shall be held at such time and place as the Board may select. Special meetings of the Board may be held upon the call of the President.

Section 3. The Executive Board shall appoint an Executive Secretary and shall set his salary and expenses and outline his duties not otherwise provided in this constitution. The Executive Secretary shall be an ex officio nonvoting member of the Executive Board.

ARTICLE 7: DUTIES OF OFFICERS

Section 1. President—The President shall preside at all meetings of the Executive Board and of the convention. He shall further perform all of the duties customarily pertaining to the office of President.

Section 2. Vice President—The Vice President shall assist the President and shall preside in the President's absence. If the President's office becomes vacant the Vice President shall assume the duties and functions of the office until the office is filled as provided in this constitution.

Section 3. Treasurer—The Treasurer shall be the financial officer of the Council and shall receive and collect all monies due the Council. All monies shall be paid by the Treasurer or his designee.
only with the approval and countersignature of the President or his designee.

Section 4. Executive Secretary—The Executive Secretary shall act as the Secretary of the Executive Board and shall keep an accurate record of all meetings of the Executive Board. The Executive Secretary shall be in charge of and conserve all properties and files of the Council and of the Executive Board, which shall at all times be subject to the inspection of the President and the Executive Board. The Executive Secretary shall keep a correct and current list of all officers of the affiliated organizations. The Executive Secretary shall issue the call for and act as Secretary of the convention and shall cause the proceedings of all conventions to be recorded.

Section 5. The Executive Board—Within the limitations of this constitution the Executive Board shall have authority to deal with all of the affairs of the Council between conventions. The Executive Board shall cause an auditing committee to be appointed, which committee shall examine and audit the books and accounts of the Council annually and furnish a written report of such audit to all affiliated organizations and to the biennial convention. The Executive Board shall further see that the bonds of the Executive Secretary and of the Treasurer are in due form.

ARTICLE 8: CONVENTIONS

Section 1. The Convention of the Council of AFL-CIO Unions for Scientific, Professional, and Cultural Employees shall be held biennially at a time and place to be determined by the Executive Board. Not less than ninety (90) days notice shall be given to each affiliated organization.

Section 2. All resolutions submitted to the convention must be filed with the Executive Secretary not later than thirty (30) days prior to the biennial convention, except that the Executive Board and affiliated unions whose conventions are held after this deadline may submit resolutions during the thirty (30) day period.
ARTICLE 9: DELEGATES

Section 1. Each national or international union shall be entitled to the number of delegates indicated in the following schedule:

One delegate for each 500 affiliated members up to 5,000.

For each additional 1,000 affiliated members up to 10,000, one additional delegate.

For each additional 10,000 affiliated members thereafter, one additional delegate.

Section 2. Convention voting shall be by voice vote, except on roll call votes and elections. Approval of 25 per cent of the delegates present and voting shall be required to call for a roll call vote.

Section 3. The number of members of each national and international union, for the purpose of selecting delegates and for roll call and election votes at any regular or special convention, shall be the average monthly number on which per capita tax is paid during the period of affiliation since the last Council of AFL-CIO Unions for Scientific, Professional, and Cultural Employees convention, up to and including the second month preceding the convention. The Executive Secretary shall prepare for the use of the convention and submit to it a printed list showing the number of votes and the number of delegates to which each affiliate is entitled.

Section 4. Questions may be decided by division or show of hands, excepting for roll call or election votes, at which time delegations representing each affiliated national or international union shall be entitled to cast one vote for each member which such delegation represents.

ARTICLE 10: REVENUE

Section 1. Each affiliate, national or international union, shall pay an initiation fee of $250.00 and shall pay monthly a per capita tax of 1¢
per member per month upon its affiliated membership.

**ARTICLE 11: AMENDMENTS**

**Section 1.** This constitution may be amended only by majority vote at a biennial convention of the Council.

**Section 2.** Proposed amendments to the constitution must be filed with the Executive Secretary not later than sixty (60) days prior to the opening of the biennial convention. The Executive Secretary should submit copies of proposed amendments to affiliates not later than thirty (30) days prior to the convention.

**ARTICLE 12: ROBERT'S RULES OF ORDER**

Meetings shall be conducted in accordance with Robert's Rules of Order, except as otherwise provided in the constitution or in special rules adopted by the convention.
RESOLUTION I

Professional Associations

Management's favorite argument concerning unions and professional, scientific and cultural employees is that they have no desire to organize—that, if given their choice, they would reject unionization in favor of such devices as so-called "individual bargaining".

This argument has no basis in fact, however. The hundreds of professional associations which exist prove that these employees have a strong motivation to band together for their mutual benefit. If no community of interest existed, there would be no such organizations. Yet almost every group of professional employees has such an association to which it can belong. The basic idea of organization, therefore, is not unfamiliar to these employees.

Professional associations vary widely. They range in size from a few dozen members up into the hundreds of thousands. Some are little more than social clubs or are frankly dominated by employers. Others, however, are sincerely dedicated to maintaining high professional standards and have started to concern themselves with the improvement of wages, hours and working conditions—the historic goals of organized labor. The trend is for these groups to continue to take on more and more of the aspects of trade unions—their members call in sick as a group to express a grievance, they bargain and sign agreements with employers, they appear on certification election ballots—as was mentioned in the Federationist, they are becoming "unions in all but name"; a "halfway house" toward true unionism.

We must recognize this fact and not treat all these organizations as enemies. Instead, we must welcome them and be willing to assist them on the completion of their journey into the ranks of the labor movement.

Now, therefore, be it Resolved, That, inasmuch as the vast majority of professional, scientific and cultural employees belong to professional associations, all channels of communication with these organizations be kept open; that this Council maintain a friendly attitude toward these groups with the aim in mind that we may eventually bring them into the mainstream of the labor movement, either within the framework of existing unions or as separately chartered AFL-CIO international bodies.
RESOLUTION II

Social Welfare and Education Rights

We believe that access to a free higher education is the right of every young American. We also believe that adequate, high quality medical care should be available to everyone, regardless of age. No person should have to live in marginal quarters or go hungry because of substandard nutrition.

These rights are inherent. They should not bear the stigma of a "dole" or be equated with poverty. At the same time, they are not a privilege to be enjoyed only by those who have the money to pay for them. Our government has a duty to see that all citizens gain these rights—gain them without a loss of dignity or self-respect.

Professional, scientific and cultural employees will play a large part in bringing these services to the people. They will assume an increasingly important role in our changing society. They cannot take on this task if they themselves have their dignity and self-respect taken from them.

Now, therefore, be it Resolved, That this Council reaffirm its belief that the benefits enumerated herein belong to all Americans as a matter of right and

Be it further Resolved, That we recognize the paramount place which professional, scientific and cultural employees will play in securing these rights. We believe, therefore, that they should have a larger voice in administering these social welfare and education programs.
RESOLUTION III

Lack of Legal Rights

Many professional, scientific and cultural employees have no legal bargaining or representation rights. Federal law covers some of these employees, but there are numerous areas where federal law does not apply. For example, great numbers of these employees work for non-profit or charitable institutions and thus are excluded from the protection of federal law. This situation is made to order for management tactics which would ordinarily be illegal unfair labor practices.

In addition, state and local governments employ many professional, scientific and cultural personnel. They are not covered by federal law, either, so this is another area where there is often no legal recourse if union-busting tactics are employed. Some state and local governments have their own labor relations laws, but these are often designed to exclude employees in the professional, scientific and cultural group.

In states where there are no such collective bargaining laws, the federal Taft-Hartley provisions regarding interstate commerce must apply before legal protection can be gained. If a professional, scientific or cultural employee works for state or local government or for a non-profit organization in such a state, he is at the mercy of the employer when it comes to his bargaining rights.

This is a situation which must be corrected if these employees are to gain the rights which are inherently theirs.

Now, therefore, be it Resolved, That this Council advocate the extension of legal bargaining and representation rights to all professional, scientific, and cultural employees, regardless of where or by whom they are employed.

To this end, we commit ourselves to a program of extending the provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act to include non-profit institutions.

We also commit ourselves to support the enactment of legislation at the state and local level which would allow full bargaining rights to those professional, scientific, and cultural employees who are presently without legal protection in this area.
RESOLUTION IV

Changes in the Nature of Professional, Scientific and Cultural Employment

We recognize the changes which our changing society has brought to the professional, scientific, and cultural fields. Until recent years, the overwhelming majority of these people were self-employed—in a sense, they were independent artisans. They were free to set their own hours of work, establish their own fees for professional services, and determine the conditions under which they would work. Thomas Edison, Frank Lloyd Wright, Luther Burbank—names which have become permanent monuments to human achievement—were employed by no one except themselves. In those days, even the most obscure professional or scientist knew that his accomplishments were limited only by his own talent and ambition.

All of this, however, has changed. We are in an era where the talents and ambitions of the professions, the sciences and the arts are being harnessed to large establishments. We no longer have a situation where a Thomas Edison can singlehandedly produce a revolution such as was brought about by the electric light. Instead, we have an employee in a giant corporation or government agency. As such, the modern professional, scientific or cultural worker has his wages, hours and working conditions set by unilateral action of his employer.

Present day professional, scientific, and cultural accomplishments are outstanding, but they are the result of the collective talents and contributions of many—sometimes thousands—of individuals, rather than of any single person. To make these advances possible, it has been necessary to do away with freewheeling individuality in favor of a high degree of specialization. This has concentrated policy and decision-making in the hands of the few—the managers and chairmen of the boards—and has made the independent professional a thing of the past.

In place of an Alexander Graham Bell, we now have thousands of computer programmers and technologists. The "horse and buggy" doctor has given way to the salaried hospital staff physician. Architects have become city planners on government payrolls. Music is frequently "canned" for radio, TV and recordings and art are utilized as interior decoration in apartment developments.
The increasing complexity of our economy; the correlation and exchange of information which have brought this about have created a great need for people in the professional, scientific, and cultural fields and, ironically enough, demands that they be more and more highly trained even as they become more and more anonymous. Today's scientist or engineer, for example, has invested a lot more time and money in his training and education than did the often self-taught geniuses of the past. Yet, the dignity and independence which they possessed have been denied him.

The change in status which these employees are undergoing has caused them to inherit many of the problems common to all wage earners. They are victimized by long hours and low salaries. Working conditions are often substandard. Grievances are disregarded and seniority takes second place to favoritism and discrimination. Such loss of dignity is not irreversable, however.

We in the labor movement are familiar with these inequities and have long devoted ourselves to correcting them. The results can be seen in the millions of workers in this country who have regained their rights through the unity of organization. Our past successes prove that we will be able to do the same thing for those who are still at the mercy of the employer.

Management says that unions will take away the "professionalism" of these employees. We know that the reverse is true; that it is management who has taken away their professionalism. We believe that the strength of unionism can restore it.

We pledge our efforts to that end.
RESOLUTION V

Communication Problems

One of the major problems encountered in dealing with professional, scientific, and cultural employees is their lack of knowledge concerning the labor movement. In many cases, they have been fed on misconceptions and inaccuracies. This situation is partly our own fault. We often have not countered management's falsehoods—falsehoods which are often spread through "captive audience" appeals or by similar means. We must realize the relative ease with which management can communicate with its employees and must make every attempt to close the "information gap" which presently exists between ourselves and professional, scientific, and cultural personnel.

Management's task has been made even easier by the bias of much of our mass media. All too often, an employee's only impression of organized labor is gained through employer-oriented editorials or articles. All labor leaders are made to appear sinister or menacing because of the activities of the few "bad apples". This also must be countered if we are to succeed in making a breakthrough among these employees.

Our educational system is also at fault in this regard. Consciously or unconsciously, many history texts glorify industrialists and ignore the great labor figures of the past. This is true at all educational levels. Colleges and universities seldom offer courses in labor history or, if they do, lump them under the heading of "industrial relations"—business school courses which, more often than not, are lessons in the tactics of union busting.

These situations all work to the detriment of organized labor and must be changed to allow full and fair presentation of our aims and achievements.

Now, therefore, be it Resolved, That this Council take full advantage of our legal rights in communicating with professional, scientific, and cultural employees, that we not allow management arguments to go unanswered and that part of our research function be devoted to publicizing covert employer publications and statements regarding the defeat of unionism among these employees.
In this way, the inequitable and sometimes illegal methods of management will be brought to light.

Be it further Resolved, That our public relations tasks will be devoted to making our case known to the general public through all available media, and

Be it further Resolved, That we make it a part of our program to advocate an increased emphasis on labor's historical role in school and college textbooks and also seek revisions of college and university curricula to include courses in labor history and economics. To implement this, we should communicate our desires to those federal agencies administering aid to education as well as to local school authorities.
RESOLUTION VI

Public Relations for Professional, Scientific and Cultural Employees

Professional, scientific and cultural employees of this country form a vast group. One of our primary tasks is to devise ways and means of acquainting these employees, both union and nonunion, with the goals and aspirations of this Council.

From time to time, programs of national interest will be developed both by this Council and by its affiliates. Events, programs, and publications which will provide useful information to all workers in these industries will be worthy of publicity. Accomplishments of merit will attract more persons from this group to the ranks of organized labor. It behooves us to broadcast all of these matters over as wide a range as possible.

Now, therefore, be it Resolved, That one of the duties of the Executive Secretary of this Council be that of public relations; that, if at all possible, as our finances permit, a person be employed whose sole or primary duties be that of public relations.
RESOLUTION VII

Labor's Role in Education

On February 23, 1967, the AFL-CIO Executive Council issued a far-reaching policy statement entitled Education and the Federal Government. This statement should be of particular interest to professional, scientific and cultural employees inasmuch as they have a great investment in educational training.

In the past few years, a major breakthrough has been made—with the unqualified support of the Labor movement. The federal government is now able to contribute to the improvement of education at all levels, from pre-kindergarten programs through graduate school and even beyond.

This "revolution of opportunity" was brought about largely through the efforts of organized labor. Because of these efforts, we now have the Higher Education Act of 1965, which has vastly increased the availability of college and university training through such means as guaranteed loans, federal scholarship grants, work-study programs and increased National Defense Education Act benefits.

...We have the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, a law which make a start toward erasing the inequities presently suffered by students from low income neighborhoods.

...We have the Library Services and Construction Act, which will mean new and better library facilities and an increase in job opportunities in the field of library science.

...We have the Vocational Education Act, which will bring order out of the present chaos of vocational education and enable millions to be trained for jobs so that they can become productive members of society.

...We have the "Cold War G.I. Bill," which will give our ex-servicemen an opportunity to further their education—an opportunity which many of them would not otherwise have had.

The labor movement is not content to rest on its
laurels, however. We realize that there are many areas where further action is needed. To remedy these shortcomings, the Executive Council has proposed a legislative program which will do much to make the federal government a "full partner" in furthering American education.

Teachers are the core of any education system. The system is only as good as its teachers, therefore teacher salaries need to be upgraded and improvements must be made in the training of teachers and those planning to teach. The federal government should increase appropriations under existing legislation and broaden the scope of its aid programs so that teacher pay and training will be included.

Federal support is also urgently needed if construction is to keep up with rising enrollment. This support should be extended to include not only "federally impacted" areas, but all places which suffer from inadequate, overcrowded schools.

Changes are needed in veteran aid as well. At present, the "Cold War G.I. Bill" makes no provision for apprenticeships or on-the-job training and it reduces college benefits for those who first have to finish high school. The law should be amended to correct these injustices.

We agree with the Executive Council that "free public higher education should be the right of every young person"). Brilliant minds should not be lost to the professions, sciences and arts because a college education is prohibitively expensive. Part of the answer lies in more federal assistance for tuition-free community colleges.

The education of a professional, scientific or cultural employee does not end with a diploma, however. In our era of rapidly changing technology, education is really a never-ending process. To make this process easier, there should be expanded federal aid in the field of adult education to include not only those who are "educationally deficient" but also those who need to keep abreast of new developments in their fields.

Professional, scientific and cultural employees should be aware of the fight which the labor movement is making on their behalf and of the large part played by labor in securing those educational opportunities which are now part of the birthright of every American. They,
and the public in general, should be reminded that organized labor has been instrumental in obtaining nearly every educational reform in our country's history. It was labor which first supported universal free public education and the popular election of school boards almost a century and a half ago. It was labor which fought for passage of the Morrill Act in 1863, which created our land-grant college system. It was labor which came out for free textbooks in 1900, at a time when employers were still engaged in trying to defeat child-labor legislation.

A formal vocational training system? Labor has been for this since 1907. Compulsory attendance laws which would take children out of the factories and put them in school? This has been a labor policy since 1911, the same year that the AFL first urged the development of adult education. We in the labor movement advocated the creation of a Cabinet-level Department of Education in 1918 but, because of conservative opposition, we had to wait almost forty years to see our aim realized.

Labor, not management. This has been the story of our educational advances ever since the time of Andrew Jackson. It is still the story today. Both the National Association of Manufacturers and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce flatly oppose the federal aid programs which are enumerated herein. "The federal government", says the NAM, should not "undertake broad programs of general aid" in the field of education. The President of the Chamber of Commerce has equated federal aid to education with Communism; an article in the Chamber publication, Nation's Business, arrogantly predicted that our education system would be filled with "paupers and unfortunates who no one else would take into their private schools" if federal assistance were initiated.

To bolster their positions, these employer organizations invoke the tired old argument of "states rights" and "local control" being destroyed by "federal encroachment". We have heard all of this before. We heard it when TVA was proposed, we heard it when the Wagner Act was passed, it has been a constant refrain during the entire civil rights struggle. Now we are hearing it again in all of its shopworn, tawdry glory. How can these people profess patriotism and, at the same time, appear to hate and fear their government as much as they do? For example, the Nation's Business article cited above stated that federal aid to education will "take us down the same road travelled by Mussolini and Hitler and Stalin and all the
totalitarian societies of the past."

Such reckless statements should be brought to light and shown up for what they are. Just as we must display labor's constructive contributions, so must we display the reactionary, obstructionist attitude taken by employers. A potential scientist who is completing his graduate education on a federal research grant should realize that employers are opposed to such grants on the grounds that they have reached the "saturation point," whatever that means. A music student who has received a loan under the National Defense Education Act should know that the so-called "business community" was against making these loans available to students in the arts and humanities. Similarly, what about a teacher who got such a loan while in college and is now having the principal reduced by ten per cent for every year spent in teaching? Is he or she aware that the Chamber of Commerce testified against this feature of the law because it would "discourage private enterprise"?

Professional, scientific and cultural personnel have the right to know that their employers have consistently tried to curtail or abolish the programs which, in many cases, have allowed them to attain the educational background necessary to enter their chosen field.

Now, therefore, be it Resolved, That this Council affirm its support of the legislative program laid out at the February, 1967, meeting of the AFL-CIO Executive Council regarding federal assistance to education and

Be it further Resolved, That we publicize labor's historic role in obtaining educational benefits which are vitally needed in our society, particularly those benefits which aid professional, scientific and cultural employees in pursuing their careers and that we also document and publicize management policies in the field of education with the aim in mind of demonstrating to these employees the fact that such policies, if carried out, would limit their professional growth and development, thus showing them that their interests would better be served if they were to align themselves with the labor movement.
RESOLUTION VIII

Establishment of the Council of AFL-CIO Unions
for Professional, Scientific
and Cultural Employees

The American Labor movement has served as a leading force in every liberal movement in our country's history. It has concerned itself with the skilled artisan, the industrial worker and the clerical worker. It has been in the forefront of those forces striving for decency for all Americans. It has espoused low-cost housing; it fought and still fights for decent medical care for all Americans. It is concerned about water and air pollution. It actively campaigns for improvement in the area of civil rights. It seeks rules in the halls of legislatures--Federal and state--to enable majorities to get their work done.

Now the labor movement turns its attention to another group which has been for too long overlooked: that segment of the work force comprised of workers in the professions, the sciences, and the arts.

The work force of America has undergone some revolutionary changes in the past several decades. Blue-collar workers now approximate one-third of the American work force, while white-collar workers, including professional, scientific and cultural employees, constitute more than one-half of the work force.

The problems of this last-mentioned group, involving close to 10,000,000 people, are what now concern us.

The great and sweeping changes which have characterized industry in this country since the end of World War II were produced by persons in the professional and scientific and engineering communities. Accomplishments in cybernation, in space programs, in architectural trends, are all the consequences of the application of the collective talents of tremendous groups of people. Sustaining the vast television networks, manning the increasing numbers of symphony orchestras, satisfying the vast markets for cultural activity as affluence spreads slowly throughout the land, all demonstrate that great numbers of people are involved in these activities. And more and more persons will be involved as entrepreneurs meet the increasing leisure time demands of American consumers.
But in spite of the major contributions made by these groups to American society, American industry, and hundreds of American enterprises, there are serious questions about the treatment provided to American professionals, scientists and cultural employees. Teachers in some communities are offered less money than is paid janitors in other communities. Draftsmen who have designed a power plant are sometimes paid less money than the men who fire it or who turn valves allowing fuel to enter the system. Chemists who make significant contributions to the health of the nation may go unrecognized. Actors who may or may not be celebrities may be many weeks without work and income. Nurses and social workers are treated by sometimes well-meaning employers with only slight regard.

We think the time has come for changes in these kinds of situations. We seek to attain recognition, dignity, and equity for professional, scientific, and cultural employees. We think such workers who have devised elaborate systems of automation have the capacity to discuss intelligently and rationally with their employers many policy questions affecting the enterprise. We think teachers can discuss rationally and intelligently policy questions affecting the educational system. We think all of these workers, on whom so much of the economic life of this country depends, are able to make substantial contributions to political and economic concepts for society to consider.

Accordingly, we hereby establish a council of professional, scientific and cultural employees. It is dedicated to bringing union organization to the thousands of workers in the professions, the sciences and to those engaged in providing cultural substance to the nation. We pledge our joint efforts to determine the means and methods of attaining this goal. We hope to work with other organizations—inside and outside of the labor movement in considering and establishing professional standards.

We pledge ourselves to bring the fruits of collective bargaining to these employees. We shall exchange information and investigate means and methods for improving the salaries, hours, and working conditions of these employees, with special emphasis upon features of collective bargaining agreements which are particularly applicable to them.

We pledge that we shall express clearly and un-
equivocally the ideas and aspirations of professional, scientific and cultural employees so they may be heard in both the labor movement and in society.

Now, therefore, be it Resolved, That we hereby establish the Council of AFL-CIO Unions for Professional, Scientific and Cultural Employees; that it shall serve as a vehicle for expressing and fulfilling the aspirations of these workers; that we shall seek to be joined by other organizations in the AFL-CIO which share our purposes; that we shall operate within the constitutional framework of the AFL-CIO to attain the goals described herein.
RESOLUTION IX

Achievements of Members

We have succeeded in bringing hundreds of thousands of professional, scientific and cultural employees into the ranks of organized labor. Many of these members have attained international renown by making substantial contributions in their fields. These achievements should be recognized by the labor movement and the fact that these individuals are union members should be made known to their colleagues and to the general public.

Such recognition has often come from other sources, including employers and management groups. This fact makes it doubly necessary that the labor movement display its loyalty to its members by doing likewise.

Now, therefore, be it Resolved, That this Council declare its intention of initiating an annual set of awards for outstanding achievements by its members.

It is further Resolved, That maximum publicity be given to this intention and to the awarding of the prizes themselves.

To implement this, the Council Executive Board is instructed to devise machinery for setting up the various categories of professions to be honored and for selecting the recipients from each category.
RESOLUTION X

Introduced by: American Guild of Musical Artists

WHEREAS it has been the historic mission of organized labor to assist the working man in fully partaking of the benefits which our civilization and his labor make possible and

WHEREAS organized labor has been in the forefront of all efforts to achieve greater educational and cultural opportunities for its membership and all people and

WHEREAS the AFL-CIO Convention in 1965, cognizant of the growing leisure time needs of the American worker and his family and recognizing the role of the arts and other cultural activities in fulfilling these needs did acknowledge the importance of organized labor's participation in these fields and

WHEREAS the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO, recognizing that organized labor can perform a beneficial service to its membership and to America's society by developing means for making the arts and cultural activities more accessible throughout our country and a more integral part of the life of our people, did order an investigation to be made into methods of increasing AFL-CIO involvement in these matters

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Council of Scientific, Professional and Cultural Employees applauds the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO for encouraging the development of a program that will lead to greater labor involvement in cultural activities and urges the speedy implementation of programs designed to increase organized labor's effectiveness in bringing more opportunities for participation in the arts and cultural matters to its members and all the people.
RESOLUTION XI

Political Rights of Public Employees

We believe that all scientific, professional and cultural employees should be given the right to participate in the political activity of their community and nation. In the case of public employees, these rights are often denied by statute. We are all familiar with the federal Hatch Act, which sets strict limitations on political participation by federal government employees. Many states have likewise enacted similar laws which cover public employees at the state and local level.

We feel that the right to participate in partisan politics should not be taken away from anyone simply because they happen to be employed by a governmental agency. This is discrimination of the worst kind. Not only that, we believe that it is an abrogation of guarantees given to us by the Constitution of the United States.

In an age where the success of labor programs is increasingly dependent upon the enactments of legislatures, it is doubly important that all members of organized labor be given the full opportunity to work and campaign for political candidates who will be friendly to them.

Now, therefore, be it Resolved, That this Council advocate the repeal of any and all laws which serve to restrict the right of political participation by public employees.
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