AN EVALUATION OF THE AIMS, METHODS, AND
ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF CERTAIN
TEACHER ORGANIZATIONS

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AN EVALUATION OF THE AIMS, METHODS, AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF CERTAIN TEACHER ORGANIZATIONS

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Purpose of the Study

Education is now big business, affecting millions directly and still other millions indirectly. The task of directing such an ever-growing educational system on its path of progress probably falls more heavily on the organized teachers than on any other group. There are tremendous responsibilities connected with such a task.

The purpose of this study is (1) to determine the fundamental differences in the American Federation of Teachers and the National Education Association and (2) to evaluate these organizations in terms of criteria basic to the organization of any group.

It is hoped that a microscopic analysis and evaluation of these two teacher organizations, representing both union and non-union groups, will cast some beneficial light upon weaknesses and strong points of both groups and result in recommendations which will be of benefit in the work of individual teachers as well as to the organizations.

Major Problems Encountered in the Study

In a study in which there is such a controversial subject as the union versus the non-union teacher group, there is a problem of
Literature distributed by both types of organizations tends to slant or propagandize. Since most of the information on teacher organizations is available only through the organizations themselves, the problem becomes even more acute.

Another problem encountered in this study was the lack of cooperation on the part of individuals who, with very little effort, could have made this study more comprehensive. Various educators of prominence and key organizations ignored written communication for assistance in the form of information.

Limitations of the Study

It was realized early in this study that to analyze critically all teacher organizations, both union and non-union, would be a monumental task and require endless research. Therefore, in order not to broaden the study unnecessarily, it was decided to choose the most outstanding union teacher group and the most popular traditional teacher group. The American Federation of Teachers was selected for the union teacher group, and the National Education Association was chosen for the traditional teacher group.

Although some of the information in this study will come directly from educators, teachers, and administrators, much of the information was, of necessity, obtained from possibly prejudiced groups and individuals. However, every caution was made to remain unbiased in the
preparation of this thesis. On such matters as present membership the figures of the respective organizations were accepted.

Method of Procedure

It was decided to initiate this study by setting up certain criteria which are considered to be basic to the organization of any group. Chapter II proceeds to do just this. Not only will the obvious democratic principles be discussed, but also the sociological and psychological as well.

Chapter III will be concerned with the analysis of aims, methods, and accomplishments of the American Federation of Teachers. Using the criteria set forth in Chapter II as a yardstick, this organization of unionized teachers will be judged and evaluated.

Other teacher unions were excluded from this chapter for two reasons: First, there was not sufficient material available; and secondly, the American Federation of Teachers boasts by far the largest teacher union membership and is the most generally recognized union for teachers in the United States.

In Chapter IV the National Education Association will undergo the same analysis as did the American Federation of Teachers in the preceding chapter. Again, an exhaustive effort will be made to bring out the aims, methods, and accomplishments of this organization and to judge their logic and worth by the criteria set up in Chapter II.
Chapter V will be concerned with selecting all of the good and all of the unfavorable points of the two teacher groups evaluated in Chapters III and IV and placing them up beside one another for even closer examination and comparison. It is the purpose of this chapter to bring to light the real differences in the organizations in the hope that the favorable aspects of each may be salvaged and the unfavorable phases discarded for the benefit of those concerned. Some specific methods and results will be closely scrutinized and dealt with extensively by means of an evaluative technique employing the criteria accepted as fundamental for the organization of any successful group. For example, the strike issue will be discussed as a method of pressure and some instances of its use and results will be observed. The question as to whether the teachers should form pressure groups at all will be raised and analyzed from various standpoints.

Public opinion toward teacher groups of both kinds will not be overlooked. The most recent Gallup poll on this subject will be utilized.

Related Studies

In 1947 Philip Kochman of Columbia University made a study of the role of teacher unions in our society entitled The Developing Role of Teacher Unions. In this study Kochman was alarmed over what he called "the crisis in education." He bases his alarm on the fact that
all over the United States teachers are looking more and more to labor for aid in their fight for higher salaries and better facilities for teaching. He points out many strikes in 1947 as evidence of unrest and interprets the outcome of these strikes as victories for teachers.

Kochman emphasizes the fact that teachers are seeking a more prominent role in the formation of policy in their organizations. He seems to think that administrators have taken over the reins of teacher organizations with little thought for the welfare of the classroom teacher. He concludes that if non-teacher organizations do not become cognizant of their responsibility, teachers will turn in increasing numbers to unions.

Of course, Kochman's study was mostly concerned with unions and was not intended to be an evaluation of other types of teacher organizations. It should also be remembered that this study was made in 1947, prior to recent improvements in teacher welfare.

Another study related to the present investigation was conducted by Arthur F. Rhea at the North Texas State College in 1947, entitled "To Determine Some Fundamental Principles Basic to an Effective Democratic Organization of School Teachers and Administrators."

Rhea's study differs from the present one in that it is concerned with Texas organizations and barely mentions the National Education Association. In addition, no comparison is made between the union and the non-union, or traditional, organization.
CHAPTER II

CRITERIA BASIC TO THE ORGANIZATION
OF ANY GROUP

Democratic Criteria

Almost everyone would agree that any organization, if it is to be
worthy and effective, should have democracy as one of its basic cri-
teria. But what is democracy? To some it is a type of government;
to others it is a set of fine principles that are thought of in terms of
liberty, equality, and fraternity. Still others think of democracy as a
way of life. One author defines democracy in this way:

Democracy is faith in humanity, not faith in "poor" people or "ignorant" people, but faith in every living soul. Democracy does not enthrone the working-man, it has nothing to do with sympathy for the "lower classes"; the champions of democracy are not looking down to raise any one up, they recognize that all men must face each other squarely with the knowledge that the give-and-take between them is to be equal. ¹

According to the above definition of democracy, no group or or-
organization which calls itself democratic should consider one of its mem-
bbers less or more important than another. This point is given even
more dignity in view of the fact that it is an important principle of the

¹M. P. Follett, The New State, p. 156.
most cherished document in American history, the Declaration of Independence.

Hopkins points out that democracy is based upon a set of beliefs. He lists them as follows:

1. Belief in the worth of the individual as a human being; belief in the essential dignity of man; faith in the potentialities of the individual man; respect for the personality of each individual; belief that every person can and should achieve a creative individuality.

2. Belief that everyone has the capacity to learn how to act on thinking; belief that everyone has sufficient capacity, or under favorable conditions can develop sufficient capacity, to manage his life with others through acting on thinking rather than through unguided and unrestrained impulse.

3. Belief that a person who must abide by decisions should have a part in making them; belief that "taxation without representation" is tyranny; belief that basic questions of policy can be decided by best mass judgment; belief that government rests on the consent of the governed.

4. Belief that control and direction of democratic action lies in the situation, not outside of it; belief that the people who are in a situation struggling to improve it find through study and inquiry the directions and controls which they accept as guides to intelligent behavior; belief that the control in a situation is not forced upon those within it by individuals from the outside who are not actually working in the situation to improve it.

5. Belief that the process of living is the interactive process; belief that each individual works with every other individual by sharing and evaluating individual experiences toward commonly recognized ends; belief that each individual within the group works with every other member by isolating common needs, studying all data for their satisfaction, and agreeing upon the most fruitful ways of achieving a desired readjustment.
6. Belief that cultural change should be accomplished through deliberative social action rather than by methods of uncontrolled violence; belief that change can best be brought about by the interactive process among individuals willing to study problems, to find out what is reasonable, in the light of all the circumstances; belief that conscious social change should be accomplished by methods of reasonableness rather than methods of violence.  

Americans have always liked to think of themselves as rugged individualists who do as they please without worrying about the other fellow. Actually, this concept is only a type of hero-worship of the early settlers known as pioneers. If the truth be told, these people were not individualistic in the real sense at all. They depended upon one another to a very great extent, building and working together and ready to die together, if necessary, in order to protect what they had built together. This did not mean that each man did not have an individual personality nor that he could not achieve a creative individuality. It simply meant that these early settlers had to learn to live together for the common good of all. Faith in the individual man is one of the cornerstones on which American democracy is founded.

The belief that everyone has the capacity to learn does not mean that everyone has the same capacity to learn. It is generally agreed that individual capacity is not equal. But this belief assumes that each individual, regardless of his level, could develop his capacity if given the means to do so. For example, many individuals never realize

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their potentialities because of their personality difficulties. This means that every effort should be made in all life activities to put personality on the priority list as a means and an end to the democratic process. Democracy does not suggest that everyone should be perfect, because there would be no individual differences, but it does dispel the idea of the rule of a few elite who hold themselves to be superior, for its case rests upon the improvability of every man.

In 1215 King John of England was compelled to sign a document known since that date as the Magna Charta. This was a manifestation of the belief among the English that government rests upon the consent of the governed. The assumption of democracy goes beyond this conception of approval of the government. It rests upon the belief that the basic questions and policies of the government should be determined by the masses through ways which the masses may decide. The assumption of popular control must necessarily carry with it a belief in the value of mass judgment on basic problems of community life. Abraham Lincoln made it perfectly clear that he believed in mass judgment when he referred to "government of the people, by the people, and for the people" in his Gettysburg address.

Mass judgment does not mean a dictatorship of the majority. The will of the majority, in a democracy, is a flexible thing and becomes "an operational judgment until such time as a better one can be
formulated.  A democracy must always respect the values in minority judgments the same as minorities respect the value of majority judgments. Both must combine efforts to develop the capacity of each individual to learn how to act on better thinking, for therein lies the working success of mass judgment.

Belief that the control and direction of democratic action lies within the situation and not outside of it has always been basic to the democratic way of life. The sovereignty of the people of each state is recognized, subject to such powers as have been delegated to the Federal Government. Each small community in each state manages its own affairs in a way agreeable to the majority. Each family in each of these communities has the power to direct its own affairs except when the behaviors of the family group endanger the well-being of the others within the community. This holds true in all types of organizations, including teacher organizations.

Hopkins mentions that the interactive process is basic to the democratic way of life. He describes interaction this way:

Interaction is a word used to describe the relationship between a people and the existing culture, inherited or in the process of becoming. It applies to a people as a whole, to various groups, and to individuals.\(^4\)

In short, interaction governs the actions of any individual or group of individuals in their dealings with other individuals or groups. This

\(^3\)Ibid., p. 107.  \(^4\)Ibid., p. 109.
simply means that all problems arising among groups or individuals influence the whole group. In such situations, each person shall be free to study the conditions, state the issues as he sees them, and propose his solutions without fear of ridicule, violence, or suppression. This means, of course, freedom of movement, freedom of inquiry, freedom of assemblage, freedom of speech, freedom of press—for without them groups and individuals would be unable to express their beliefs and conclusions adequately. Under this system, individuals or minority groups may not, by a coup d'état or other violent means, gain control of institutions and suppress all persons who do not submit to the rule of their authority. Civil liberties are not ends within themselves. They represent a guarantee that inquiry and thoughtful behavior may result. When they are suppressed, thinking disappears. When thinking disappears, then civil liberties are doomed. It is safe to say, then, that mutual, co-operative, intelligent interaction is the core of the democratic process.

Democracy has always assumed that social change should be based upon peaceful and deliberative rather than violent social action. Democracy holds that government can be made and remade by the deliberative will of the people. This assumption of conscious social change implies that the democratic way is the continuous planning way of life. The people must continually evaluate their institutions and
organizations in the light of their usefulness in satisfying needs and re-
adjust them according to such evaluation.

A vivid conviction about democracy leads to the constant attempt
to get people interested and able to decide questions that affect them.
It has been pointed out that an inert citizenry is the greatest menace to
democracy. This very day, in education, in industry, and elsewhere,
the right of all to participate in meeting problems and working out sat-
isfactory solutions is undergoing a period of severe testing. Democracy
has always demanded an active citizenry. Coyle says that "democracy
as a system is dependent on this type of individuals and through this
participation individuals achieve some of the richest experience avail-
able to human beings." 5

Although the assumptions of democracy as put forth by Merriam
are somewhat similar to those beliefs already discussed as Hopkins' democratic beliefs, it is felt that they should be included in this study.
Merriam explains democracy as a form of political association in
which the general control and direction of the political policy of the
commonwealth is habitually determined by the bulk of the community in accordance with appropriate understandings and procedures provid-
ing for popular participation and consent.

As listed by Merriam, the principal assumptions of American
democracy are as follows:

5Grace L. Coyle, Group Experience and Democratic Values, p. 67.
1. The essential dignity of man, the importance of protecting and cultivating his personality on a fraternal rather than a deferential principle, and the elimination of special privileges based upon unwarranted or exaggerated emphasis on the human differentials.

2. Confidence in a constant drive toward the perfectibility of mankind.

3. The assumption that the gains of commonwealths are essentially mass gains and should be diffused as promptly as possible throughout the community without too great delay or too wide a spread in differentials.

4. The desirability of popular decision in the last analysis or basic questions of social direction and policy, and of recognized procedures for the expression of such decisions and their validation in policy.

5. Confidence in the possibility of conscious social change accomplished through the process of consent rather than by the methods of violence.

It is interesting to note here that Merriam is talking about the complete dignity of the man, not just part of it. For example, in India the lower castes may be respected, but in a very lordly manner; and in the pariahs the dignity remaining is very minute. The untouchables must not even cast a shadow upon the higher type of mankind, their betters. Slave owners may also manifest deep interest in their slaves and respect the dignity of their slave personality, but in other instances sell them like chattels or beat them like dogs.

Merriam believes that the prime factor in the maintenance of democracy is the unification of the assumptions of effective democracy.

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into a workable and working program. He points out that "democracy will be at its weakest when these assumptions are imperfectly or weakly carried through, and strongest when they are energetically advanced in comprehensive, systematic, and persistent fashion."  

In 1940 the faculty of the Teachers College of Columbia University tackled the problem of democracy and education in the current crisis and published a pamphlet on this topic. At the end of the pamphlet, under the heading, "A Creed of Democracy," are included sixty vital points on rights and responsibilities that should be, can be, and must be impregnated into the very life-stream of our people if democracy is to prevail. Here they are in full:

We believe in and will endeavor to make a democracy which:

1. Extends into every realm of human association;

2. respects the personality of every individual, whatever his origin or present status;

3. insures to all a sense of security;

4. protects the weak and cares for the needy, that they may maintain their self-respect;

5. develops in all a sense of belongingness;

6. protects every individual against exploitation by special privilege or power;

7. believes in the improvability of all men;

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Ibid., p. 49.
8. has for its social aim the maximum development of each individual;

9. assumes that the maximum development possible to each individual is for the best interest of all;

10. provides an opportunity for each and every individual to make the best of such natural gifts as he has and encourages him to do so;

11. furnishes an environment in which every individual can be and is stimulated to exert himself to develop his own unique personality, limited only by the similar right of others;

12. assumes that adults are capable of being influenced by reason;

13. appeals to reason rather than force to secure its ends;

14. permits no armed force that is not under public control;

15. implies that a person becomes free and effective by exercising self-restraint rather than by having restraint imposed by external authority;

16. imposes only such regulation as is judged by society to be necessary for safeguarding the rights of others;

17. assumes that all persons have equal rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;

18. guarantees that rights and opportunities accorded to one shall be accorded to all;

19. insures standards of living in which every individual can retain his own self-respect and, unabashed, make his peculiar contribution to the society in which he lives;

20. does not tolerate an enduring social stratification based on birth, race, religion, or wealth inherited or otherwise acquired;
21. recognizes a desire on the part of people to govern themselves and a willingness to assume responsibility for doing so;

22. holds that government derives its powers solely from the consent of the governed;

23. tests the validity of government by its efforts and success in promoting the welfare of human beings;

24. lays on individuals an obligation to share actively and with informed intelligence in formulating general public policies;

25. requires that the responsibilities and activities of citizenship be generally held to be among the highest duties of man;

26. holds that men deserve no better government than they exert themselves to obtain;

27. believes that the decisions concerning public policies made by the pooled judgment of the maximum number of interested and informed individuals are in the long run the wisest;

28. weighs all votes equally;

29. has faith that an individual grows best and most by actively and intelligently exercising his right to share in making decisions on public policy;

30. permits, encourages, and facilitates access to information necessary to the making of wise decisions on public policies;

31. provides free education from the beginnings of formal schooling as long as it may be profitable to society for each industrious individual to continue;

32. attempts a general diffusion among the people of the ideals, knowledge, standards of conduct, and spirit of fair play which promote a sense of equality;
33. permits the unhampered expression of everyone's opinion on public policy;

34. guarantees the right of free expression of opinion on all matters, subject to reasonable libel laws;

35. implies that all who are bound by decisions of broad public policy should have an opportunity to share in making them;

36. demands that minorities live in accord with the decisions of the majority, but accords the right to agitate peacefully for the change of such decisions;

37. exercises tolerance to others without sacrificing the strength of conviction favoring differences in notions and practices;

38. accepts representative government as an economy necessitated by the size of the population;

39. delegates responsibility to individuals chosen by the people for their peculiar competence in defined areas of action, but retains the right to withdraw this authority;

40. develops a steadily increasing sense of obligation to a constantly enlarging social group;

41. induces a willingness to sacrifice personal comforts for the recognized general welfare;

42. stimulates a hope of constant betterment and provides means which the ambitious and earnest may use;

43. encourages constant reappraisal of things as they are and stimulates a hope that leads to action for their betterment in the future;

44. uses peaceful means for promoting and bringing about change;

45. holds that the fundamental liberties may not be impaired even by majorities;
46. permits unrestrained association and assembly for the promotion of public welfare by peaceful means;

47. recognizes and protects the right of individuals to associate themselves for the promotion of their own interests in any ways that are not incompatible with the general welfare;

48. grants the right to labor at work of one's own choosing, provided it does not interfere with the interests of society;

49. guarantees the right to enjoy the fruits of one's honest labor and to use them without molestation after paying a part proportionate to wealth or income to the cost of necessary government and general welfare;

50. encourages individual initiative and private enterprise in so far as they are compatible with public welfare;

51. maintains human rights to be more important than property rights;

52. so regulates the natural resources of the country as to preserve them for the widest use for the welfare of all people;

53. insures freedom of movement;

54. guarantees a legal assumption of innocence until proof of guilt, definite charges before arrest and detention; and open and speedy trial before a jury of peers, with protection of rights by the court and by competent counsel;

55. guarantees freedom from persecution by those in authority;

56. provides that no individual be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law;

57. permits worship according to the dictates of one's conscience;

58. separates state and church;
59. provides such security, freedom, opportunity, and justice for all of its members that they will be qualified and ready, if circumstances require, to sacrifice in defense of its way of life;

60. renews its strength by continued education as to its meanings and purposes. 

Thus we find that democracy is more than a mass of elaborate definitions. Rather, it is a faith in the equality of mankind which must be learned through living in a democratic group which promotes the development of the interests, attitudes, skills, appreciations, and understandings necessary for democratic living. The teacher organization or any other group which forgets this will be short-lived.

Psychological Criteria

In setting up sociological and psychological criteria for a teachers' organization, it is extremely difficult to determine just what is sociological and what is psychological. For example, is a sense of belongingness psychological or sociological; is a sense of security sociological, or are there psychological implications as well?

Although there is some overlapping in the fields of sociology and psychology, especially for this study, effort will be made to separate the two as much as possible.

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8The Faculty of Teachers College, Columbia University, Democracy and Education in the Present Crisis.
We have found in indicating and discussing certain democratic criteria that man will accomplish much more if the action of which he is a part stems from his life experiences and tends to meet his needs. A need or a desire certainly has psychological implications. In fact, "drive is intimately related to need" and "a drive is persistent as long as the need is present."

What has all this to do with a teacher organization? In the first place, no one would think of joining a teachers' organization unless there was a felt need present. The need may be only to satisfy the administrator and it may not even be apparent, but the need is there if one joins. Psychologists tell us that as long as a need is present in an individual, he cannot put forth his best efforts in any endeavor other than that which concerns his need. No matter what one's qualifications may be, if he is hungry, he is more interested in satisfying the hunger drive first, except in rare instances.

A variety of human needs have contributed to the desire of more effective transportation and communication. The whole basis of our social and cultural progress is need. Without need, we would become static and cease to go forward. The needs connected with sex, for instance, have given rise to a wide variety of activities. Love and courtship produce many activities expressing amorosity, display, and

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9 Percival M. Symonds, Dynamic Psychology, p. 17.
10 Ibid.
affection. This in turn leads to the establishment of families, and "families lead to neighborhoods and communities, and the co-operative activities natural thereunto, such as exchange of work and services, educational efforts, community organization, religion, and recreation." Then it would be safe to say that one of the psychological criteria of a teachers' organization would be to meet the needs of its members in order that they may become relaxed and not be hampered by unsatisfactory drives. Folsom says that when a wish is "active," it carries with it a tension. He also points out that "the satisfaction of a wish means relaxation and pleasure." It would then be the duty of any organization to do its part in helping to satisfy the inner needs or appetites of its members.

Using needs and/or wishes as a basis, let us point out and pursue some specific needs, which Britt calls "the more complex forms of motivations." He lists them in the form of wishes and calls them Thomas' four wishes, named, of course, after their author, W. I. Thomas.

Britt points out that, according to Thomas,

There are four wishes or desires which are so fundamental that they probably include all the others—the desire

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11 Harry Elmer Barnes, Social Institutions, p. 27.


(1) for new experience, (2) for security, (3) for response, and (4) for recognition.\textsuperscript{14}

The desire for new experience expresses itself in courage, advance, attack, and pursuit. It implies, therefore, motion, change, danger, or instability. It satisfies the love of adventure, which is present in such activities as gambling. It also satisfies such curiosity as occurs when we are creating or building something or solving a problem. For example, why do people ride roller coasters? Britt concludes the "desire for new experiences enters the picture, since most of us do not spend very much of our lives riding roller coasters."\textsuperscript{15}

It would seem, then, that when applied to a group or organization, the above principles indicate that the organization should offer its members a variety of new experiences, thus satisfying their needs as previously discussed. This in turn will relieve their drive for new experiences to a certain extent and keep tension and frustration at a minimum.

Here is something else one must keep in mind regarding new experiences. When one witnesses new and varied experiences, he is undergoing a learning process and it is a sort of chain reaction. For example, in 1936, the Committee on the Orientation of Secondary Education found that "learning proceeds more rapidly and tends to be more

\textsuperscript{14}Ibid., p. 107.  
\textsuperscript{15}Ibid.
permanent when it is an outgrowth of, or a development from, the experience of the learner." If this be true, then the greater the experiences, the more intellectually mature one becomes.

The second need or wish to be discussed is that of security. Britt says that "the desire for security expresses itself in the form of timidity, avoidance, and flight. The desire for security makes a person cautious, conservative, and apprehensive, tending to regulate habits, systematic work, and the accumulation of property." If this be true, then it should be one of the basic criteria of an organization to give its members a feeling of security, whether it be emotional or economic security. Both, of course, are essential.

In the primitive world man had little use for organizations. Each person looked after his own individual wants and those of persons dependent upon him. As civilization developed, he found that, working and fighting alone, he could not offer himself security, so he looked to the group for help. There were groups organized for war, religion, and professional purposes. The guilds, the forerunners of our present labor organizations, offered a sense of security to their members. Our present organizations reflect a strong desire on the part of the individual to seek security by association with the group.

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The third basic need or desire is that of response. The desire for response causes people to seek intimate contacts with other people. It is the most social of our four wishes, and contains both a sexual and a gregarious (crowd) element. The group, then, is responsible to its members to see that each is given the opportunity to satisfy his desire for response. According to Burton, learning activity is definitely tied up with responses. He says that "the learning products are responses and controls of response, values, understandings, attitudes, and skills." If this be true, then each organization—professional, religious, or otherwise—should encourage response and lend every aid to each individual member in his desire and search for response.

The last of Thomas' four wishes, desires, or needs is that of recognition. He points out that the desire for recognition is expressed in the general struggle of men for position in their social groups. It makes people desire a recognized and advantageous social status. The desire for recognition includes such feelings as vanity and ambition. When one possesses a strong desire for recognition, there are few things he will not do to get it. For example, Britt uses the cigarette as an example. He points out that a person will take a roll of white paper with some brown shreds in it, light it, inhale, and blow out smoke. What is all this for? Why do people engage in this unique pastime? Britt says: "He can certainly achieve a certain amount of

18 Ibid.
recognition as being 'in the know' and not an outsider—no longer does he wonder what to do with his hands. "19

On the basis of the information above, it would be safe to assume that any organization owes its members a sense of recognition. A person is certainly not contributing his best to society in general if he is struggling under the heavy weight of seeking recognition. Obviously, to instill within each member a strong sense of recognition, then, should be the criterion in the organization of any group.

The psychological criteria for the organization of a group might be summarized as follows:

1. The organization should endeavor to satisfy the needs of the individual, both emotional and economic, thus relieving him of drives which act as a source of frustrations and tensions.

2. The organization should satisfy its members' desires for new experiences.

3. The organization should instill within its members a sense of security, both economic and social.

4. The organization should satisfy the individual's desire for response.

5. The individual member's feeling or desire for recognition should be fulfilled by the organization.

19Ibid., p. 108.
Sociological Criteria

As we observe the social changes going on around us, we find our democratic society a very interesting pattern followed by one movement after another. As social workers have seen and have become part of various social movements whose aim has been to meet specific needs, we have seen, for example, the rise of the settlement movement, the accomplishment of child-labor legislation, the growth of the public housing movement, the development of public recreation, the extension of protective legislation for women, the securing of woman suffrage, and various other social movements.

This era of social progress might correctly be called an era of organized group effort. Man has long realized that as an individual on the social scene, he represents very little "bargaining power," but as one of a group he is more apt to be recognized. Thus, the ever-growing group organizations.

Granted that the group movement is well under way and is continuously growing, what are some sociological criteria for setting up a group organization? First, there must be co-operation. The word co-operation has been used so frequently and indiscriminately that its meaning has become vague. We might say that co-operation involves purpose. Consider the staff of a daily newspaper. Every member has his own purpose, probably that of earning a livelihood; but beyond that, all strive for the goal of the total organization for which they work.
Co-operation requires a specific program which brings the participants together. There must be mutual interest. Whether it be a dramatic club or the Red Cross, each has definite activities with duties assigned to specific persons.

Further, the intelligent person who co-operates with others knows what he is doing and he realizes that he is working with others for the accomplishment of aims and objectives recognized by the group. He deliberately adjusts his efforts to what he knows his co-workers are doing. Take a dance team for illustration. Its members work together on a definite project. Each knows what the others are doing and what is expected of himself in order to attain harmony and rhythm in group movement.

Co-operation is a relationship between persons or groups. Among the partners who own a business exists co-operation between individuals; but between the firm and its employees there is only a co-operative relationship between a group and individuals.

Here, then, is a brief picture of what participants in co-operative relationships must have:

. . . They must have (1) a definite project in which they work together, (2) purposively and intelligently. Of course, they must (3) know they are working together and adjust their efforts to that knowledge.  

Another sociological criterion for group organization is that of understanding. In preparing for any task, the participants must know

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20Sumner Harwood, How to Work with People, p. 16.
what they are doing. Whether the undertaking is a business partnership or a camping trip, the group members must understand the nature of their project, its purposes, and how it can be made successful. "Human beings act only according to what they understand." They must understand completely the proposed plan of action. They must understand whatever is essential to the plan. They must imagine what is to come, while relying upon past experiences and customary procedures. Not only must the plan be understood, but each member must be convinced that he understands it in practically the same way as the others. It is very important that each member of a group believe in the group's ultimate success. Harwood says that "they must believe that the plan is inherently possible and practicable. In fact, they must expect it to succeed."  

A third sociological criterion is agreement. The making of an agreement which holds a group together is a very important event in the history of any group. The agreement is impossible without agreement on the individual level. This is the very essence of organization. If the group is to continue, its contracts must be maintained and re-affirmed. Supplementary agreements may be necessary when unexpected conditions confront the group. An agreement might be referred to as an exchange of promises.

\[21\text{Ibid., p. 17.}\]  
\[22\text{Ibid., p. 24.}\]
A fourth criterion is obligation. When an individual agrees to join a group, he promises to contribute certain efforts. No employer hires a man without such a promise. A worker in a business organization gives his efforts in return for a salary. He has a right to the salary and a duty to the group. And the group has a right and a duty toward him. Harwood offers this analogy; he says that the duties and rights of both parties are like the reverse sides of a shield. What is the duty of one party to perform is the right of the other to demand, and vice versa.

There is a feeling of obligation in our present-day society. Everyone is expected to do some sort of work for the benefit of the human race in general. This is the reason why the unemployed and the disabled are traditionally unhappy. They know that they are not producing anything and eventually lose their sense of co-operativeness and the knowledge that they are worth something to society. They lose the sense of obligation so necessary in co-operation.

Another criterion which is seldom discussed in relation to group organization is that of incentives. Again, Harwood is cognizant of incentive as a basic principle in group work. He says: "Whatever strengthens member incentives increases the group's chances of success."²³ The benefits that a group can supply its members are effective only if they are sufficiently valued by those individuals who belong

²³Ibid., p. 60.
to the group. For example, a boy may be willing to leave his play to run to the corner drug store on an errand in return for a proffered five-cent piece. But a grown man reading a newspaper would probably refuse to go for this inducement.

Because the individual must attach value to whatever benefits he receives from the group activity, the group can be destroyed by changing individual values. This happens when children's groups are dissolved because of changing values or interests of growing persons. Those who want co-operation must study people's personal values with a view to maintaining incentives and decreasing the cost of co-operative effort.

The last sociological criterion to be discussed for this study is that of tolerance. Needless to say, no group, regardless of its qualifications or goals, could survive long if the membership were intolerant. Unless internal relationships are sufficiently harmonious, the group cannot continue to operate.

What are the conditions which make mutual toleration possible? Perhaps the most obvious requirement is that the members shall overcome any inhibitions about working with other people. Some people have a retiring disposition which hinders their work with others. Some have prejudices which limit the individual's acquaintances and associations. For such persons as these, co-operation becomes burdensome and unpleasant. Organizations can do much to facilitate member
relationships and reduce such inhibitions and prejudices. Business concerns usually make special efforts to encourage sociability among employees, common methods of doing this including outings and parties. It is for the benefit of all members of an organization that all members learn to practice tolerance if they do not come by it naturally.

Summary

By way of summary, the democratic, psychological, and sociological criteria for any group or organization might be listed as follows:

Democratic criteria. — The organization should meet its individual members' democratic needs by:

1. Stressing belief in the worth of the individual as a human being.

2. Emphasizing that everyone has a capacity to learn, though this capacity varies with individuals.

3. Promoting the belief that government rests upon the consent of the governed.

4. Establishing the belief that social change should be based upon peaceful rather than violent action.

5. Promoting faith in an educated citizenry.

6. Fostering the belief that democracy extends into every realm of human association.
7. Promoting the belief that the maximum development of each individual is for the best interests of the group as a whole.

8. Stressing the belief that all people should have equal rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

**Psychological criteria.** — The organization should meet its individual members' psychological needs by:

1. Satisfying its members' desires for new experiences.
2. Instilling within its members a sense of security.
3. Satisfying each member's desire for response.
4. Fulfilling each member's desire for recognition.

**Sociological criteria.** — The organization should meet its individual members' sociological needs by:

1. Creating a desire for co-operation.
2. Promoting understanding.
3. Encouraging agreement.
5. Encouraging incentive.
6. Fostering tolerance.
CHAPTER III

AN ANALYSIS OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS

Although this chapter will be concerned with the aims, methods, and accomplishments of the American Federation of Teachers, a brief review of how the Federation came into being is in order as an introduction to the chapter.

With the granting of a charter by the American Federation of Labor, the first nationally recognized teachers' union came into existence on May 9, 1916. Several local teachers' groups were already affiliated with labor, but few locals took much interest in a summons to Chicago in April, 1916. However, the four locals present at the meeting were active ones and effected an organization before they left the meeting. A constitution was framed, officers were elected, and an executive council of eleven members was appointed.

The first eight charter locals to be organized had a membership of approximately 2,800. These first affiliated local teachers' groups were as follows:

Local 1. Chicago Teachers' Federation.
Local 2. Chicago Federation of Men Teachers.
Local 3. Chicago Federation of Women High School Teachers.
Local 4. Teachers' Federation of Gary, Indiana.
Local 5. Teachers' Union of the City of New York.
Local 6. Oklahoma Teachers' Federation.
Local 7. Teachers' Association of Scranton, Pennsylvania.
Local 8. High School Teachers' Union of Washington, D. C.

The Federation enjoyed success in its early development. By 1920 there were 140 chartered locals with an aggregate membership of approximately 12,000. There were two reasons offered for this rise in membership: first, that this was a period of similar growth for labor, and the American Federation of Teachers was benefitting from its affiliation; and secondly, that the economic and social status of the teacher was deplorable, and a number of teachers were willing to try this new organization which was seeking to remedy the situation.

This period of growth did not continue for long, however. From the year 1921 until 1927 the Federation witnessed a period of steady decline. At its lowest ebb, less than twenty per cent of the total number of charters issued remained operative. Here are some of the reasons assigned for the decline at that time:

1. Following the World War, capital made a widespread attack against organized labor. The American Federation of Labor lost millions of members and the American Federation of Teachers, affiliated with it, lost its share.
2. Teachers have long been a conservative and yielding group, and there has been strong prejudice against public servants affiliating with labor.

3. Labor, when its own crisis came, was forced to withdraw help which it had been giving to the A. F. T., and all national organizers had to be recalled.

4. Teachers joined the Federation for economic and social aid, and when they received some help, they forgot the source from which it was derived.

5. Teachers entertained an "inferiority complex" concerning their affiliation with labor.

6. The N. E. A. waged a constant battle against the A. F. T. 1

The American Federation of Teachers began a sudden new growth almost as quickly as it had started its decline. In one year alone, from 1927 to 1928, its membership showed an increase of 20 per cent. The membership grew to approximately 17,000 by 1936 and to 35,000 by 1940.

Evidently, the Federation's membership remained rather stable from 1947 to 1949, because Kochman says that "as of April, 1947, the A. F. T. was an organization of approximately 375 locals and 50,000 members," 2 while Martin points out in an article written in 1949 that

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2 Philip Kochman, The Developing Role of Teacher Unions, p. 12.
at that time the membership in the Federation was "approximately 50,000." In 1947 there were locals in all of the thirty largest cities of the country with the exception of Houston, Texas. Locals had been charted in nearly three fourths of all cities with population of more than 100,000. Approximately three hundred locals had been chartered in cities and towns having less than 100,000 population.

Aims

Upon close examination of the constitution of the American Federation of Teachers, it becomes apparent that the aims of this organization are as follows:

1. To bring associations of teachers into relations of mutual assistance and co-operation.

2. To obtain for them all the rights to which they are entitled.

3. To raise the standards of the teaching profession by securing the conditions essential to the best professional service.

4. To promote such a democratization of the schools as will enable them better to equip their pupils to take their places in the industrial, social, and political life of the community.

5. To promote the welfare of the childhood of the nation by providing progressively better educational opportunities for all.  

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4 Constitution of the American Federation of Teachers as adopted in June, 1933.
The program of the American Federation of Teachers stresses "Democracy in Education and Education for Democracy." It emphasizes the social and economic welfare of teachers and advocates adequate salaries and pensions, smaller teacher loads, effective tenure regulations, sabbatical leave, and academic freedom. It also seeks to improve professional standards, modern curriculums, and methods of teaching, as well as advocating federal aid for education and the abolition of war.

The members of the American Federation of Teachers seem to realize full well that the American school is changing. The subjects taught, the manner in which they are taught, and their relation to local and national problems all prove this fact.

The educational aims of the Federation include "adequate and proper enforcement of compulsory school attendance laws." The American Federation of Teachers believes that the compulsory school attendance laws should be closely correlated with the child labor laws, so that conflicting standards do not permit interference with continuous schooling. Also, there should be no exceptions or loopholes which would make possible a child's being kept from school because he is too poor to attend. The American Federation of Teachers' most recent survey "showed 17 states have laws with some sort of poverty exemption." Some twenty-two states used the excuse that the pupil lived

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5Labor's Program of Education for the Classroom Teachers of America, publication of American Federation of Teachers.

6Ibid.
too far from a school as a justification for not enforcing compulsory
school attendance laws.

The American Federation of Teachers is on record also for
strongly favoring adequate appropriations for the maintenance of
schools to be administered for the social well-being of the students to
be taught in classes not to exceed twenty-five in number, in well-con-
structed buildings, by teachers paid salaries commensurate with the
great value of their service to the community. It realizes full well
that, under existing means of taxation, many states cannot offer their
school children the equal advantages that some states can afford.
The American Federation of Teachers, therefore, urges all states to
raise their individual educational budgets in keeping with the human
and national investments involved. It also urges the amendment of
state laws, "particularly tax laws, wherever necessary, to make pos-
sible more adequate school appropriation." 7

The Federation also emphasizes provision for the training for
the assumption of civic responsibility for all persons in the community
and says, in its program of education, that,

... Negatively, there must be no substantive legislation
on curriculum making, and no limitations enacted into law
which would prevent the teaching of social and physical sci-
ence in our schools, a principle in absolute keeping with the
great tradition of free government upon which our schools
are founded. 8

7 Ibid.
8 Ibid.
Since the American Federation of Teachers is affiliated with labor, it is interesting to note here just what importance labor places upon education. Here is an excerpt from a statement on the importance of education adopted by the sixty-ninth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor at Houston, Texas, in September, 1950:

At this time of crisis in our nation's history the American Federation of Labor calls attention to the vital importance of education in the structure of our democratic society. It has been our position over the years that education for democracy and the success of democracy are in-separable. In numerous pronouncements the American Federation of Labor has pointed out this close relationship between the success of democratic government and the maintenance of an adequate free public school system.

**Federal aid to education.** — It may be said that one of the most outstanding objectives of the American Federation of Teachers is to obtain some sort of federal aid bill through action of Congress. It is interesting to note how long the American Federation of Teachers has worked for such a bill with little success. Here is a brief quotation from the report of the Washington representative of the American Federation of Teachers: "The need for federal aid for education is urgent now; no less than at any time during the last thirty-five years in which the Federation has actively worked for such legislation."

The particular report referred to is quick to continue by pointing out

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9 *Labor and Education in the Present Crisis*, a publication of the American Federation of Teachers, 1950.

that "there seems less likelihood than ever that the legislation will be enacted."\textsuperscript{11}

In 1951 there were more than thirty bills before the Congress providing for some form of federal aid for education. Many of these bills were the usual general aid bills which would not assure any money for specific purposes. The only hope for federal aid, the American Federation of Teachers thinks, "lies in the enactment of specific bills for specific purposes."\textsuperscript{12}

Among these specific purposes to which the Federation is referring are salaries, buildings, facilities and maintenance, services for children, and recreational programs. The American Federation of Teachers has a fair argument for separate bills for specific purposes. It cites an instance in which the Supreme Court of the United States ruled that if funds are appropriated for several purposes, and are expended for any one of those purposes, the conditions for the grant have been legally met.

\textbf{Tidelands oil.}—The American Federation of Teachers has reaffirmed its decision to abide by the Supreme Court's ruling in June, 1947, that the states do not own the three-mile marginal belt along the coast, and that the ownership and property rights to the marginal sea are vested in the United States Government, which likewise shall exercise the full power of regulation and control. This makes it clear

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{11}Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{12}Ibid.
\end{itemize}
what the Federation's position is on the tidelands matter. The Federation supports Senator Lister Hill's bill which would turn over the money received from oil obtained from this tidelands area to the United States Treasury, where, in special cash accounts, it would be kept and used for American education "for the benefit of all children."\textsuperscript{13}

Teachers' salaries. — The criticism is often expressed that the American Federation of Teachers is interested only in securing better salaries for teachers. However, upon close observation of all that the Federation stands for, salaries constitute only one of the most important aims. The American Federation of Teachers considers the problem of providing better salaries for teachers and the problem of providing better educational facilities for children as inseparable.

In installing new locals, the American Federation of Teachers says: "In peace or in war, in adversity or in prosperity, the children must come first."\textsuperscript{14} The Federation believes that poor salaries are bedfellows with poor teachers. Without adequate salaries many good teachers have left the profession, thus depriving the pupils of efficient teachers. In this connection, the Federation is quick to point out that the public will not provide adequate salaries for teachers through

\textsuperscript{13}Abridged Proceedings, Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Teachers, Grand Rapids, Michigan, August 20-24, 1951, p. 30.

\textsuperscript{14}The Union in Action in 1951, a report to the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Teachers, p. 7.
inherent kindness and generosity and that only through strong organization and collective bargaining can teachers secure to themselves fair economic returns for their work.

Retirement. — The American Federation of Teachers has always realized the importance of adequate retirement programs for teachers. Only a small minority of the teachers of the United States would be able to provide personal retirement programs through savings from their salaries. In fact, the great majority of teachers in the United States are unable to provide adequate insurance programs to protect their dependents in case of death or disability.

Adequate retirement programs, as in the case of adequate salaries, are directly related to the education and welfare of children. Worry over economic problems and fear of destitution in old age are destructive factors in the work of any classroom teacher. Purely from the standpoint of efficient administration and sound procedure, it would seem good business to provide for teachers adequate retirement programs as well as adequate salaries.

"As a general goal, which has already been surpassed in some states, teachers should be able to retire with at least half of their salaries at the approximate age of 60. "¹⁵ The Federation believes that it will take at least 12 per cent of the payroll for service alone. It

¹⁵Ibid., p. 9.
points out that in only one state does the payroll percentage reach 9 per cent. Illinois is an example of outstanding progress in teacher retirement. The Illinois teacher may retire at approximately the age of sixty years with 60 per cent of his salary up to $4,800. This means that the teacher who has attained an average maximum salary of $4,800 (for the five best years) may retire with a pension of $2,880. It is interesting to note—and it may be significant—that in Illinois teacher unions are rather potent.

Social security. —In 1950 the American Federation of Teachers waged a strong battle to provide for teachers the right to choose for themselves, by two-thirds vote, whether or not they desired to supplement their present pensions systems with the enlarged social security program. Here is where the two large teacher groups differed. The National Education Association preferred to remain independent of social security. At any rate, as the bill was passed, teachers are "prohibited from voting to come under the act."\(^1\)

It is important to call the attention of teachers to the fact that a teacher may retire under the teacher's pension and easily work out full coverage under social security in a comparatively short time. For instance, a teacher might retire at age sixty, secure a position in covered employment, invest all of the teacher pension payments in additional annuity, and at age sixty-five retire with an income equal to

\(^{16}\)Ibid., p. 10.
full salary. This is a matter which each teacher should study carefully in terms of his own personal situation. A combined income under teacher retirement and social security is a real possibility for thousands of teachers.

Tenure. —One of the most important phases of the program of action of the American Federation of Teachers is protection of teachers from dismissal from their positions without just cause. The Federation takes the position that the first duty of a member of a teachers' union is to do efficient work in instructing children in the classroom and that union protection should not be extended to teachers who are not professionally competent. On the other hand, the American Federation of Teachers believes that dismissal of teachers for political reasons, or for unjust reasons, constitutes one of the most serious violations of the principles of democratic government. It is one of the aims of the American Federation of Teachers to eradicate such practices. Specific methods and accomplishments in this field will be discussed under methods and accomplishments of the American Federation of Teachers.

Methods

Affiliation with labor. —The advisability of teachers becoming affiliated with labor has been widely discussed, both within and outside of the profession. The arguments usually offered in favor
of their affiliation include the point of view that alliance with organized labor strengthens the position of the teachers and that teachers, as American citizens, have a right to join such organizations as they wish.

Why did the American Federation of Teachers affiliate with the American Federation of Labor?

. . . The A. F. of T. affiliated with the A. F. of L. because it recognized that organized labor was the major instrumentality in establishing our system of free tax-supported schools, has been their constant and consistent protector and defender, and has an advanced educational program second to none. 17

From the very beginning, the American Federation of Teachers has operated on the theory that its objectives could not be achieved without the active support of organized labor. The basis of union strength, of course, is in numbers. For instance, in a typical American city of 100,000 population, a local teachers' association with five hundred members, by affiliation with the American Federation of Labor, may immediately become a part of an organization of 10,000 members. Thousands in a community, the Federation feels, can accomplish what hundreds cannot do.

The American Federation of Teachers realizes full well the fact that legislation affecting education is passed or rejected by politicians.

17Questions and Answers about the American Federation of Teachers, a pamphlet issued by the American Federation of Teachers.
This organization realizes also that these same politicians respect voting power. This is a very good argument for their affiliation with labor.

It is also argued by the American Federation of Teachers that for nearly a century labor has professed a belief in free public instruction, available to rich and poor alike, and that labor has been a distinct force in establishing and maintaining the American system of free, tax-supported schools.

The American Federation of Teachers has leaned heavily upon the labor movement for support in recent years. The American Federation of Teachers is represented on the American Federation of Labor's Committee on Education. It is the responsibility of the Committee to keep in touch with national, state, and local trends and developments in the field of education, and to use the influence of the American Federation of Labor to advance the cause of public education in the United States.

The strike issue. —The American Federation of Teachers, faced with the question of strikes, finds it a difficult and embarrassing problem. The Federation has policies which firmly oppose strikes. Although some of its locals have had to use the strike as a weapon in the last resort, the American Federation of Teachers still discourages the use of the strike weapon in regard to schools, but regrets even more the conditions which have brought on the strikes.
The American Federation of Teachers was granted a charter in 1916 by the American Federation of Labor with the understanding that union teachers would not employ the strike weapon to close public schools. In return for the agreement not to use the strike weapon in the public schools, organized labor agreed to give union teachers the full support of power possessed by thousands of organized workers.

In 1942, President William Green of the American Federation of Labor issued the following statement:

The American Federation of Labor could neither countenance or endorse the exercise of the right to strike on the part of the American Federation of Teachers for the redress of grievances and the promotion of their economic welfare. For this reason, no local or state body can call upon the membership of an affiliated local of the American Federation of Teachers to resort to strike, or to participate in a general strike. 18

Teachers' union groups have not always obeyed the parent organization. For example, in 1946, the teachers of St. Paul, Minnesota, following long, drawn-out deliberations with local school officials, called a strike. The American Federation of Teachers local was involved along with teachers who were members of other organizations. The strike was in violation of the policy of the American Federation of Teachers and resulted in a called meeting of the Executive Council in Chicago later in 1946. The following statement was released by the Executive Council:

18 Can Teachers' Unions Be Called Out on Strike?, a publication of the American Federation of Teachers.
Because the strike in St. Paul was a strike of all teachers, principals, supervisors, and many of the administrators, union and non-union, and because it was called to relieve intolerable conditions denying to the children of St. Paul adequate educational opportunity, and because it was supported by all of organized labor, the parent-teachers' associations, community leaders and civic organizations of St. Paul, the Executive Council of the AFT contemplates no disciplinary action against the St. Paul locals, and proposes to call to the attention of the locals of the AFT the need of the St. Paul teachers for immediate financial assistance in their endeavor to provide for the youth of St. Paul the educational opportunity to which all American youth is entitled. 19

Although the strike goes counter to the policy of the American Federation of Teachers, here we see the union giving support to a local on strike. But here is an interesting fact. It may come as a surprise to many that only one of the dozen or more strikes among teachers during the first half of the 1946-1947 school year was called by an American Federation of Teachers local. "All the others were called by N. E. A. affiliates or independent teacher associations." 20

Collective bargaining.—During the post-war years following World War II, the right of public employees to organize and bargain collectively has been challenged in many places in the United States. The rights of public employees to organize, to bargain collectively, and to strike, vary widely in the various states in the nation. In general, the right of public employees to bargain has been upheld


20 Ibid., p. 30.
in the courts. The American Federation of Teachers firmly believes that each school system should have a committee of classroom teachers with the authority to present their views, grievances, and suggestions to the administration without fear of consequences. The idea of the administration's using or exercising dictatorial powers has always been repugnant to the American Federation of Teachers. Members of this group feel that just because they are employees of the state or public, they should not be considered ineligible for organization along union lines.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt expressed himself as being in accord with the view that government employees have the right to organize and participate in a limited form of collective bargaining. In 1937 he wrote this letter:

The desire of government employees for fair and adequate pay, reasonable hours of work, safe and suitable working conditions, development of opportunities for advancement, facilities for fair and impartial consideration and review of grievances, and other objectives of a proper employee relations policy is basically no different from that of employees in private industry. Organization on their part to present their view on such matters is both natural and logical, but meticulous attention should be paid to the special relationships and obligations of public servants to the public itself and to the government.²¹

Since organized group relationships between employers and employees have expanded, the collective-bargaining process has become important not alone to the parties involved but also to the public in

²¹Quoted in AFT leaflet, The Right of Public Employees to Organize and to Bargain Collectively, p. 4.
general. In case of interrelationships between the American Federation of Teachers and the local school board, there are hundreds or thousands of children affected. The American Federation of Teachers believes that it is imperative to keep peace in the school system, but not at any price. The quality of the peace must also be examined.

Accomplishments

The American Federation of Teachers has claimed many achievements. These claims may be summarized as follows:

1. It has offered a strong national organization with a smoothly functioning government, closely linked to all of its component locals.

2. It has brought the sympathy and power of the American Federation of Labor to focus on the deplorable educational inequalities in the United States.

3. It has won benefits for all teachers, including many who have never supported it.

4. It has fought for higher salaries, for security of tenure, for pensions, and for educational reforms.

5. It has fought for better tax legislation and has fought corrupt political control of the schools.

6. It has demonstrated an ability to co-operate with other organizations, including foreign ones.
7. It has fought for legislation for improving the schools and the working conditions of the teachers.

8. Its existence has provided a stimulus to the traditional associations so that they have become more aggressive in emphasizing the economic and social needs of teachers.

The American Federation of Teachers has always prided itself on being the teachers' organization of action. It points out that it is more important to lay stress on the accomplishment of its objectives by appropriate action rather than upon "their definition by fine phrases. The study of problems of the defining of objectives is important only when it contributes directly to the accomplishment of those objectives."22

One of the most successful phases of the program of action of the American Federation of Teachers is the operation of its defense machinery. In fact, the American Federation of Teachers is the only national organization which can rightfully lay claim to a successful defense program for teachers in the United States. In 1936 Dr. Howard K. Beale made a study of the defense facilities of teachers' organizations in the United States and reported as follows in his well-known book, *Are American Teachers Free?*:

... the American Federation of Teachers is, among national organizations of educators, at present in existence,
the only really effective friend of freedom for teachers below the college level.\(^{23}\)

The American Federation of Teachers claims that its defense machinery is much stronger today than when Beale wrote his book in 1936. A decade ago the Federation entered into tenure cases not so much in the hope of winning cases and restoring teachers to their positions as for the purpose of making it increasingly difficult to dismiss teachers.\(^{29}\) In recent years the American Federation of Teachers has been winning the great majority of its tenure cases and putting teachers who have been unfairly dismissed back on their jobs. Many writers agree that lack of academic and personal freedom, unjust dismissals of teachers, autocratic attitudes on the part of the administrators, political control of school boards, and the failure of traditional teachers' organizations to correct this behavior are causes of the formation of teachers' unions.

In 1937 the American Federation of Teachers created a national defense fund and the national committee on tenure and academic freedom was established. Support of the defense fund became part of the regular annual budget based on an allocation of one per cent per member per month set aside from the regular per capita dues of locals. The defense fund is available as a service to all locals, large or small.

regardless of the amount paid into the American Federation of Teachers by these locals.

Generally, the locals of the American Federation of Teachers have been very successful in negotiating salary increases to cover the increased cost of living. One of the most outstanding examples is that of the San Francisco Local No. 61, which, with the co-operation of the local labor movement, was able to negotiate a maximum salary of $6,000. Of course, in consideration of the present costs of living, this maximum is by no means too high, but it is a far cry from the average over the nation.

In negotiating salary increases, however, it must be kept in mind that salaries in 1951 should be approximately double the salaries in 1939 in order to represent the same purchasing power. Thousands of teachers who have had substantial increases in their salaries have actually had substantial decreases in respect to the purchasing power of their salaries.

During the post-war period when negotiation of salary increases was a vital part of the program of the American Federation of Teachers, the Research Department of the Federation has been placing special emphasis upon the provision of up-to-date statistics which should be of value to locals in their programs of collective bargaining.

The American Federation of Teachers probably deserves more credit than any other teacher group for its fight for federal aid to
education. The Federation has been extremely active in supporting various bills which would help equalize educational opportunities all over the nation. The Federation's conference on federal aid, held in Washington in August, 1951, served a number of purposes. Namely, they were as follows:

1. It focused attention on the major controversial issues which must be met before legislation can pass.

2. It showed the more than 100 organizations present that there was more than one approach to the Federal Aid issue; particularly it showed the practical value of having one bill for each major need to be served by Federal Aid.

3. It showed that the American Federation of Teachers has a program—a well-thought-out, definite program—for constructive social action.

4. It presented our story to the nation.

5. It showed to us the need for our members' more active participation in civic groups to help in shaping public opinion.

George S. Counts, Professor of Education at Columbia University, recently wrote an article entitled "Why I Joined" which rather concisely sums up the aims and accomplishments of the American Federation of Teachers. He wrote, in part:

People join the American Federation of Teachers, as they do other things, for different reasons. In my own case there seem to have been two major considerations. First, organized working people have always been the staunchest and most dependable friends of public education in the United

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States. . . . Second, organized labor, more than any other element in the population, is carrying on the old struggle for human freedom. . . . To put the whole matter in a word, I joined the American Federation of Teachers because I became convinced long ago that organized labor believes in and is fighting for the things which I believe in and am fighting for. And because I know that in union there is strength. 25

In conclusion we may note the remarks of John Dewey, whose thought and writings have perhaps produced a greater influence upon trends and techniques in American education than those of any other man. Dewey has written:

The educational record of the American Federation of Labor is conspicuous. A few years ago I went over a good many of the documents in that field and I say without any fear of contradiction that there is no organization in the United States—I do not care what its nature is—that has such a fine record in the program of liberal progressive education as will be found in the printed records of the American Federation of Labor. 26

Summary

Briefly summarized, the aims, methods, and accomplishments of the American Federation of Teachers are as follows:

Aims:

1. To unite the teaching profession into a strong, co-operative group.

25George S. Counts, Why I Joined, a pamphlet reprinted from the Chicago Teachers' Union by the American Federation of Teachers.

26Ibid.
2. To elevate the economic and professional status of the classroom teacher.

3. To promote democracy in the schools so that they may better equip their pupils to take their places in all phases of community life.

4. To promote the welfare of the child through:
   a. Compulsory school attendance laws.
   b. Higher appropriations for schools.
   c. Fewer pupils per classroom.
   d. Federal aid for education.

Methods:

1. Affiliation with labor.

2. Democratic procedures.


4. Refraining from strikes.

Accomplishments:

1. Strong national organization.

2. Has won sympathy and backing of the labor movement.

3. Has fought for and won salary, tenure, and pension cases for teachers.

4. Has fought for better tax legislation and federal aid for education.
5. Has prodded other organizations to more action on behalf of the welfare of teachers.

6. Has focused attention upon major controversial issues without fear from anyone.

7. Has initiated an effective program of action.

8. Has a well-organized defense machine to come to the aid of the member teacher who is in distress.
CHAPTER IV

AN ANALYSIS OF THE NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

During the first half of the nineteenth century there were comparatively few teachers' organizations in the United States, but since that time they have multiplied rapidly. The Education Directory, published annually by the United States Office of Education, lists about five hundred national and regional associations and more than one hundred state organizations. Local associations have become so numerous that no effort has been made to count them. "More than 3600 are affiliated with the National Education Association." ¹

The National Education Association of the United States, organized in 1857, has become the largest professional organization in the world. For sixty years the membership of the association ranged from the original forty-three charter members to 10,000, depending largely upon the location of the convention and the vision and vigor of the president. In 1917 it reported 8,466 members and in 1950, 453,797. The phenomenal growth since 1917 has been due to numerous factors: a growing professional spirit among teachers, the expanded

¹T. D. Martin, "Teachers' Organizations," Education Digest, XVI (April, 1951), 49.
program of services which the association has developed, and the aggressive enrollment campaigns which have stressed the importance of education and emphasized the need for organized action by teachers through their professional organizations.

While the National Education Association was intended from the beginning to be a democratic professional organization, it actually did not achieve this character until 1920. During the first sixty years of its existence the membership consisted primarily of the aristocracy of the profession since only leaders could afford to attend the meetings. But in 1920 the association found reorganization necessary and then adopted a plan by which state and local associations became affiliated units. These take part in a democratic and highly representative form of government.

Within the association there are thirty-one departments which conduct their own activities and co-operate in expanding the services of the parent organization. A monthly magazine serves both as a house organ and as a means of stimulating professional growth. A research program and a public relations program are supported.

**Aims**

The expanded program of the National Education Association, as initiated in 1917, has included campaigns to improve educational techniques and to raise the professional standards of teachers, as
well as campaigns for increased salaries, tenure, retirement, allowances, improved working conditions, and higher social recognition of the vocation of teaching. Also, efforts have been made to supply the public with correct educational information, to reveal the need of more money to support public education, and to secure desired educational legislation.

The National Education Association, organized in 1857, will have served the profession and the nation for one hundred years in 1957. In preparation for that anniversary, the Representative Assembly of the National Education Association, at San Francisco on July 6, 1951, adopted the following goals for the Centennial observance:

1. An active democratic local education association in every community.

2. A strong and effective state education association in every state.

3. A larger and more effective National Education Association.

4. Unified dues—a single fee covering local, state, national and world services—collected by the local.

5. 100% membership enrollment of at least 95% in local, state, and national professional organizations, to be recognized by professional certificate; with provision for professional progress certificate for local units with at least 90% membership.

6. Unified committees—the chairmen of local and state committees serving as advisory members of central national committees.
7. A Future Teachers of America Chapter in every institution preparing teachers.

8. A professionally prepared and competent person in every school position.

9. A strong, adequately staffed state department of education in each state and a more adequate federal education agency.

10. An adequate professional salary for all members.

11. For all educational personnel—professional security guaranteed by tenure legislation, sabbatical and sick leave, and an adequate retirement income for old age.

12. Reasonable class size and equitable distribution of the teaching load.

13. Units of school administration large enough to provide for efficient operation.

14. Adequate educational opportunity for every child and youth.

15. Equalization and expansion of educational opportunity, including needed state and national financing.

16. A safe, healthful, and wholesome community environment for every child and youth.

17. Adequately informed lay support of public education.

18. An able, public-spirited Board of Education in every community.

19. An effective World Organization of the Teaching Profession.

20. A more effective United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization.²

²NEA at Work, reprinted from the Handbook of the National Education Association, 1951-1952, p. 20.
It should be pointed out, as a matter of record, that the so-called NEA Victory Program Goals adopted by the Representative Assembly of the National Education Association meeting at Buffalo, New York, on July 5, 1946, are almost identical with the present Centennial Action Goals. This fact may indicate a slowness on the part of the association to accomplish its goals; but, on the other hand, many of the aims are so idealistic and so far-reaching that they cannot be readily accomplished, but must be gradually attained through a period of years.

Democratic society. — The National Education Association believes that the preservation, defense, and perpetuation of democratic ideals in our republic depend upon a citizenry educated to interpret and defend our American heritage. The association opposes vigorously the tenets of communism or the tenets of any other philosophy of government which deny freedom of thought and which ignore the intrinsic worth of the individual human being.

To this end the National Education Association advocates a functional program of education based upon the following principles:

1. Education of all children is the primary responsibility of society.

2. Curriculum, extra-curriculum, and guidance programs should be constantly evaluated by school staffs to insure the optimum opportunity for all boys and girls to be prepared to participate in a democratic society.

3. Life adjustment and terminal courses should be given their rightful places in secondary education and in
adult education to insure the mental, physical, civic, moral, emotional, social, and vocational competence of our people. 3

Moral and spiritual values. — The National Education Association recognizes the necessity for a clear understanding of moral and spiritual values which are fundamental to the behavior patterns of individuals. The association believes that, along with the home, the church, and the community, the school has a major responsibility for developing this understanding and recommends that teacher-education institutions and in-service programs stress continually the methods through which moral and spiritual values may be developed. The National Education Association recently produced a timely motion picture entitled Moral and Spiritual Values in Public Schools, and urges the widest possible distribution of this film to schools and to the general public.

Attacks on the schools. — It is an important aim of the National Education to meet the threat of unjust criticism on the public schools with all the force at its disposal. The association believes that one of the year's most challenging problems is presented by attacks of "front" organizations and pressure groups on the public schools, their teachers and administrators, and on the quality of instruction being offered. The association believes in and welcomes

3 Platform and Resolutions, reprinted from the Handbook of the National Education Association, July, 1951, p. 360.
honest and constructive criticism, but condemns general and irresponsible attacks upon the schools. The National Education Association is meeting this problem through a public relations program.

**Teacher education.** — The association recommends that appropriate steps be taken by the organized teaching profession, in cooperation with state and local official educational agencies, toward the development of a general acceptance of higher standards for accreditation of all programs of teacher education. The association believes that:

1. A background of successful teaching in the public schools should be a prerequisite to employment on a teacher-education faculty, and that periodic experience in the public schools by staff members is essential.

2. Teacher-education faculty members should have adequate preparation in the area in which they are teaching; and that they should receive salaries comparable to those paid in any professional school or college.

**Conservation.** — The National Education Association emphasizes the importance of conserving our human and natural resources which, if depleted, might impoverish future generations. The association encourages the development of an educational program for the conservation of human and natural resources, which will include cooperative planning by industry, business, labor, agriculture, governmental and welfare agencies, and the general public.

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Compulsory school attendance.—The National Education Association believes that the lack of uniformity among the states in school attendance laws and the diversity in enforcement practices constitute a needless handicap to education. It realizes full well that practices in any state affect adjoining states and to a lesser degree other states more remote. The National Education Association recommends the following procedures:

1. Raise the compulsory school attendance age to 18 years or high school graduation, and provide for the issuance of work permits where it is individually desirable for those pupils who have reached the age of 16.

2. Establish enforcement procedures which conform to the best principles of educational practice.  

Federal aid to education.—The National Education Association believes that the American tradition of separation of church and state should be vigorously and zealously safeguarded. The association respects the rights of groups, including religious denominations, to maintain their own schools so long as such schools meet the educational, health, and safety standards defined by the states in which they are located. The National Education Association opposes all efforts to devote public funds to either the direct or the indirect support of these schools. After much discussion of proposals made to the association's Representative Assembly at the 1950 and 1951 meetings to

5Ibid.
weaken the wording of the association's stand on federal aid, such proposals have been voted down by an overwhelming majority in each instance.

The principle of separation of church and state has been upheld by the Supreme Court in two decisions (those in the Everson case and in the McCollum case). The wording of the substance of one of the decisions was as follows:

No tax in any amount, large or small, can be levied to support any religious activities or institutions whatever they may be called, or whatever form they may adopt to teach or practice religion.  

The National Education Association seeks the enactment of congressional legislation which would:

1. Permit the expenditure of federal funds to aid public elementary and public secondary schools in the United States and its territories.

2. Distribute such funds on the terms of an objective formula according to the needs of the states.

3. Expressly prohibit federal control of the educational program.

4. Provide for the expenditure of federal funds by state authorities in the same way they expend the school funds of their states.

5. Guarantee equitable treatment for all children, including those of minority races.

6 "The Roadblock to Federal Aid," Journal of the National Education Association, XXXVIII (October, 1949), 494.

7 Ibid.
The National Education Association has put forth much effort to get the truth about federal aid before the public. The big hold-up in 1948 regarding federal aid was the result of efforts on the part of two Democrats, Majority Leader John McCormack of Massachusetts and Congressman John Lesinski of Michigan, Chairman of the Committee on Education and Labor. These men have been successful in denying even their own committees the right of a full hearing on federal aid. When thirteen committee members signed a petition forcing Lesinski to call a business meeting, Lesinski met with a small group of Republican members of the committee in an adjoining room in order to make it impossible for the committee to have a quorum present. "Had the second group assembled with the others in the regular conference room, a federal-aid bill would almost certainly have been favorably reported." 

Ethics. — The National Education Association and many of the state and local associations have adopted codes which carry definite provisions for the enforcement of the codes of ethics for the teaching profession. However, to date comparatively few disciplinary cases have been handled by the profession. During recent years several cases have been called to the attention of the Ethics Committee of the National Education Association, but only one has resulted in disciplinary action. The others have all been referred back to local and

8Ibid., p. 495.
state associations for investigation and action. The one case which the National Association has handled was that of a superintendent of schools in a large city who, in 1946, was summoned to appear before the Committee on Professional Ethics of the National Education Association to show cause why he should not be dropped from membership in the association for flagrant violation of the professional standards of the association. He ignored the summons, but the charges against him were presented officially at an open hearing, and after careful consideration of the evidence at hand, the committee passed unanimously a motion expelling him from membership in the association. Although this would appear to be weak evidence that the National Education Association is really doing something in the way of enforcing professional ethics, the association is making progress in that direction and has hailed its single effort as "a new milestone in the progress of teaching toward the status of a real profession." 9

Defense. — The National Education Association is proud of the record of its Defense Commission in defending teachers and administrators, but evidence points to the fact that it is remarkably weak in seeing that its recommendations in various cases are carried out.

In April, 1949, five teachers of the Grand Prairie, Texas, school system were notified that their contracts had not been extended

by the school board. At no prior time had these teachers been advised by the board or by their supervisors or the superintendent that any complaints had been made reflecting on their professional competence or character. In fact, the superintendent had recommended that their contracts be renewed. Though their length of service in the Grand Prairie schools ranged from six to twenty-six years, the board refused to give any reason for its action.

The Defense Commission of the National Education Association found that "a substantial cross-section of public opinion, representing both proponents and opponents of the board, believed the non-renewal of contracts was based on the activity of the teachers in board elections." 10

The first of the Defense Commission's recommendations in the Grand Prairie case indicates a sense of weakness in its ability to enforce its recommendations:

The board of trustees, if for no other reason than to clear the teachers' records, should immediately offer to renew the teachers' contracts. If this is not presently practicable, the board should announce its willingness to renew the contracts as soon as vacancies in comparable positions occur. 11

In June, 1950, the Defense Commission was called to California to investigate the dismissal of a Mr. Goslin from the Pasadena Public

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Schools. After much investigating, it was found that Mr. Goslin had been unjustly treated. Why no recommendations were made by the Commission is not known unless it realized that little could be done to help the expelled superintendent or the situation. But it would seem that a Defense Commission, set up "to defend teachers, schools, and the cause of education against unjust attacks and to investigate charges involving teachers, schools, educational methods and procedures, justly, fearlessly, and in the public interest," would wield more power to see that justice was done.

_Tidelands._—The position of the National Education Association on the tidelands question can best be told by examining a letter from Frank W. Hubbard, Director, Research Division of the National Education Association. He writes:

First, we should be clear that the NEA has in the past 10 years adopted no official view in the sense of a resolution passed by the Representative Assembly.

Second, in the absence of an official policy a statement by any NEA committee or commission has "advisory" status. The NEA Committee on Tax Education and School Finance did take a point of view on the tideland issue shortly after the decision by the U. S. Supreme Court. The Committee assumed that the Court was in a position to know the laws and the treaties. In view of recent controversy among teachers, however, the Committee has revised its policy so as to avoid the question of ownership but to continue its view that proceeds from shore lands "beyond state boundaries" should be used in part to support schools in all states.

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It is the opinion of the NEA Committee on Tax Education and School Finance that the resources of the areas seaward from the legally established state boundaries are properly the resources of the nation rather than of the contiguous states. This opinion is based upon the principle that the federal government should provide for the general welfare from resources available to it and that some or all of the revenues from the use of submerged lands, along with other federal revenues, should be devoted to the support of public education in the nation, in accordance with established principles of equalization.  

Methods

Whatever methods the National Education Association uses in accomplishing its aims, it may be said that the association stands on its own, independent of any other group. However, state and local teacher groups affiliated with the National Education Association are not considered outside groups.

In fact, the NEA is the only organization that ties into one organic whole the local, state, departmental, and national groups; the only organization that unites teachers, principals, superintendents, elementary schools, high schools, colleges, and universities.

In 1920 the association found that reorganization along departmentalized lines had become essential. The official setup of the NEA includes, in addition to the Representative Assembly, made up of delegates from the states, a president, and twelve vice-presidents elected

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13 Frank W. Hubbard, Director, Research Division, National Education Association, personal letter, December, 1951.
annually by the Representative Assembly for a term of one year; a board of directors consisting of a member from each state and territory, one third of the group being elected each year for a term of three years; an executive committee; a board of trustees; numerous standing committees, commissions, and councils; twenty-nine departments; and a headquarters staff of more than three hundred employees.

The departments, for the most part, conduct their own activities, fix their own dues, and issue their own publications. Through these departments leaders in special fields co-operate in solving their common problems, grow in the experience of leadership, and co-operate in expanding the services of the parent organization.

Accomplishments

The achievements of the National Education Association have been rather slow but steady in their progress. Heading any list of achievements of the association would be the development of a nationwide professional spirit. The field of teaching has grown in stature, has been brought to the forefront of American thinking and attention, and has developed professionally through co-operative efforts.

National, state, and local associations and their leaders have helped to build this foundation. The following are among the most outstanding developments sponsored by or credited to the National Education Association:
International services. — Publications of the NEA Policies Commission and the different departments are being translated by the United States Government and made available for use in various parts of the world. Teachers are being brought to the United States for study, often on an exchange basis with American teachers.

Salaries. — The National Education Association takes most of the credit for the increase in teacher salaries in recent years. The association points out that salaries have been increased from an annual national average of $189 in 1870 to an estimated $3,080 in 1950-1951. A minimum salary of $2,400 or more, for professionally prepared teachers, has been established in several states and territories.

Higher standards. — Especially in the past few years the National Education Association has done much to elevate the standards of its membership. The NEA Commission on Teacher Education is sponsoring a vigorous program in the form of a campaign to recruit teachers and raise professional standards.

Professional security. — The National Education Association feels that it is making progress in the field of professional security.

... Three-fourths of the states afford some type of protection for all or a large part of their teachers. The NEA Defense Commission and Tenure Committee are constantly protecting and improving employment conditions for teachers. 14

Retirement provisions. — Although they are far from adequate, statewide retirement or pension systems have been established in all of the forty-eight states and in Alaska, Hawaii, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico. These plans are being steadily improved.

Sick leave. — The National Education Association takes credit for the acceptance by many states of sick-leave provisions for teachers. Twenty-three states have enacted necessary legislation in this matter, and Alaska, Hawaii, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico recognize the necessity of allowing sick leave with some pay; and at least one-third of the states operate a cumulative sick-leave plan.

Federal aid for education. — There is little doubt that the National Education Association has done much in the interest of federal aid for education. The association has fostered and encouraged legislation to that effect for many years and is still doing so. It feels that it has done much to focus the public's attention upon the need for federal aid. "Aggressive efforts by the NEA and its affiliated associations have substantially increased congressional and public support for Federal Aid for Education." 15

Teacher participation. — The NEA is placing more importance upon the individual member by seeking his aid in the solution of various educational problems which confront teachers and schools. The individual member is expected to participate in the work of the

15 Ibid.
local groups to which he belongs, and thus he has a part in the affairs of the state and national organizations. By the system of electing delegates from the local groups to the state meetings, and from the state to the national conventions, individual members often have the privilege of personal participation in the National Education Association. The organization is not a hierarchy, but is a democratic group of American teachers who are concerned with the welfare of the children of the United States and with the betterment of conditions under which instruction occurs.

**Faith in education.** — The National Education Association believes that it has instilled within the public a strong faith in education. This assertion, of course, might be doubted to a certain extent in view of recent criticisms both in the press and on the radio. The NEA cites the co-operation of the radio and press regarding National Education Week as evidence that the public is "sold" on the educational system of the United States.

**Integrated co-operation.** — Professional unity has been increased by the National Education Association by means of having the chairmen of local and state committees serve as members of corresponding advisory committees of the national organization.

**Membership growth.** — If there is any validity in the old adage that "in numbers there is strength," then the NEA should be
very strong. It has already been mentioned that the National Education Association boasts more than 465,000 members, and that many people united and working for the same ends should mean progress in American education.

Summary

The aims, methods, and accomplishments of the National Education Association can be summarized as follows:

Aims:

1. A professionally prepared and competent person in every school position.

2. A strong, adequately staffed state department of education in each state and more adequate federal educational agencies.

3. An adequate professional salary for all members.

4. For all educational personnel—professional security guaranteed by tenure legislation, sabbatical and sick leaves, and an adequate retirement income for old age.

5. Adequate educational opportunity for every child and youth.

6. Equalization and expansion of educational opportunity including needed state and national financing.

3. The preservation of our democratic society.

9. The fulfillment of responsibility in developing wholesome moral and spiritual values.

10. The protection of schools and individuals connected with education from unjust attacks and criticism.

11. The conservation of natural and human resources so that future generations will not be impoverished.

12. The seeking of legislation which will enforce adequate programs of compulsory school attendance.

13. Encouraging and enforcing, if necessary, a high code of ethics among teachers and administrators.

Methods. — The National Education Association seeks to accomplish aims and objectives through the following means:

1. The close integration of local, state, and national associations.

2. Independence from any other groups.

3. A good public relations program.

Accomplishments. — The National Education Association claims to have accomplished the following services and benefits for its membership:

1. Close co-operation with foreign educators.

2. Higher salaries.
3. Higher professional standards.

4. Professional security through the operations of the Defense Commission.

5. Improved retirement provisions.

6. Increased public attention focused upon the need for federal aid for education.


8. Achievement of professional unity through integration of local, state, and national associations.

CHAPTER V

COMPARISON OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS WITH THE NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION, AND EVALUATION OF BOTH IN TERMS OF CRITERIA SET FORTH IN CHAPTER II

The two preceding chapters have been concerned with exploring the aims, methods, and accomplishments of the American Federation of Teachers and the National Education Association. The purpose of the present chapter will be to compare the two teacher groups and to evaluate them in terms of the criteria set forth in Chapter II.

Differences

Having studied the aims, methods, and accomplishments of the American Federation of Teachers and the National Education Association, one is immediately confronted with this question: Are there enough differences in the two organizations to warrant open controversy? One would think not, upon first glance; but the fundamental differences are of major importance.
As previously discussed, the American Federation of Teachers is a union organization which is affiliated with labor and firmly believes that it can accomplish its aims only through the continued support of organized labor. The American Federation of Teachers points out that if teacher groups could have accomplished their aims without strong support from a group like labor, they would already have done so. For those who say that teacher unions are unprofessional, the American Federation of Teachers has this to say:

For generations public school teachers have salved their pride with this pitiful substitute (membership in a "profession") for adequate remuneration and position or influence in the community. They have refused to face the obvious fact that whereas doctors, lawyers, architects, and other professional men can control their hours, the conditions under which they work, and the amount of their fees, teachers, as individuals, have almost no control over these matters so vital to their welfare. The results are that the vast majority of teachers receive a smaller annual wage than unskilled laborers, and exert far less influence in their calling and in the community than any other skilled workers.  

In support of the claim of the National Education Association that teachers can better accomplish their aims by remaining independent of union organization, here is an excerpt taken from the New York Times and written by Willard E. Givens, Executive Secretary of the NEA. Givens says:

The NEA believes thoroughly that the teaching profession should be a united profession, should stand on its own

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feet and fight its own battles. It should not be divided into two camps. Any organization—the AFL or others—that seeks to put teachers in one group and administrative personnel in another will do a serious disservice to education and to the teachers themselves. Only 1% of the NEA membership are superintendents. In the summer policy sessions of the Representative Assembly, 75% of those who attended were classroom teachers. NEA... proposes a resolute and unremitting campaign in behalf of the teachers of our country.2

In the above passage Givens brings up another major difference in the two groups—that of membership. The American Federation of Teachers holds to the position that superintendents may not be admitted to membership since the union was established as a classroom teachers' organization. In some rural communities the term "superintendent" is applied to principals who teach and have little or no power to hire and fire. Another is to allow principals and other administrators to organize separately. Locals may use their discretion in admitting administrative officers if part of their job entails the teaching of a minimum of two classes.

Irvin R. Kuenzli, secretary-treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, has often expressed his position on the inclusion of administrators in the membership of the AFT. In 1947 he wrote:

The million teachers of the country constitute the only large body of workers whose organizations are controlled largely by employers. In hundreds of cities and towns the superintendents who hire and fire the teachers and determine their salaries are the key men in the

teachers' organizations which are supposed to protect the civil rights of teachers. Many of the administrators who control the teachers' organizations are deeply involved by chambers of commerce, taxpayers' leagues and other organized groups for the specific purpose of keeping teachers' salaries down. 3

Because of the refusal of the American Federation of Teachers to allow membership to administrators, the charge is made that the AFT has created a wall between teachers and administrators. It is claimed that the common problems of education must require the cooperative efforts of all, and that any attempt to segregate administrators and teachers into different and more or less antagonistic camps must be viewed as a dangerous trend.

For added support to its cause, the American Federation of Teachers has frequently quoted statements made by leading educators. One that is often used is the following comment made by John Dewey:

If all teachers were within the teachers' unions and if they were not merely somewhat nominal members who try to keep their dues paid, but active working members, who come into contact with labor unions, with the workingmen of the country and their problems, I am sure that more would be done to reform and improve our education, and to put into execution the ideas and ideals written about and talked about by progressive educators and reformers than by any other cause whatsoever, if not more than by all other causes together. 4

However, it must be pointed out that the great majority of school superintendents are not favorably inclined toward teachers' unions.

3 Ibid.

4 Tribute to Labor's Education Program by Noted Educators, a pamphlet issued by the American Federation of Teachers.
Naturally, it is to be expected that they might be somewhat opposed to such unions since they themselves are denied membership. The American Federation of Teachers would have to change or amend its constitution before administrators in the true sense of the word could become members.

The following are among the charges frequently hurled at the American Federation of Teachers:

1. The American Federation of Teachers is an unprofessional organization.

2. Union organization turns public opinion against teachers and the teaching profession.

3. The American Federation of Teachers is a dividing force in that it was organized in order to compete with a teacher organization already functioning in the field.

4. Any gains made by the American Federation of Teachers would have occurred anyway.

5. The American Federation of Teachers is working for selfish interests and against the best interests of education.

Among the charges often made against the National Education Association are the following:

1. The National Education Association is dominated by administrators.
2. It offers its membership little, if any, real security.

3. The National Education Association is a "good times" teacher organization.

4. The National Education Association is more concerned with building up membership than with improving the welfare of pupils and teachers.

5. The National Education Association is kidding itself in thinking that it is "professional." (The American Federation of Teachers has often pointed out that the National Education Association does not possess any of the characteristics of a profession like law or medicine.)

The matter of public opinion should be discussed now in view of the fact that it is frequently strong in its argument against unions. This is a very serious charge in that any organization is limited in its achievements if public opinion is opposed to it or unsympathetic toward it. In 1946 a Gallup poll was taken to determine public opinion in regard to the joining or forming of unions by teachers. The question presented to a representative sampling of the public read as follows: "Do you think school teachers should form unions?"

The results of this poll indicated that the charges against the American Federation of Teachers because of its unionization were, to some extent, unwarranted, since the poll revealed no pronounced
criticism of teachers' unions. The national totals revealed that approximately as many persons favored teachers' unions as opposed them. Here are the results of the Gallup poll on the question of unions for teachers:

Yes . . . . 44.0 per cent
No . . . . 41.9 per cent
No opinion . . 14.1 per cent

This poll appears to indicate that the public is fairly evenly divided on the issue. Those favoring unions for teachers said such things as: "It's the only way the teachers can get a living wage. . . . They're the poorest paid of all the professions. . . . Everyone else is organized, why not teachers?"

Those opposing unions for teachers said: "People in public service shouldn't join unions. . . . There are too many unions now. . . . Teachers shouldn't get mixed up in union politics. . . . Unions are below the dignity of the teaching profession."

Until recently, many observers have felt that the greatest weakness of the National Education Association has been its lack of attention, especially in local situations, to the economic and social problems of teachers. In addition, the affiliates apparently lacked a strong sense of state and sectional unity. Each local, state, and regional group has been largely independent of the other.
On the other hand, although the American Federation of Teachers has been active on a number of educational fronts, its most persistent efforts have been concentrated on improving salaries, welfare, and working conditions of teachers in local school systems. While this determined activity, with its promotion of teachers' interests and with its promise of more immediate results, has favorably impressed many teachers, others have felt that the program of the teachers' union has not sufficiently concerned itself with the educational problems of the schools.

More recently, the National Education Association is becoming more unionlike. Certain locals are beginning to exclude administrators from executive posts, using so-called union tactics (pressure) in pressing for salary increases, and beginning to pay increasing attention to matters of teacher welfare.

The fundamental differences in the American Federation of Teachers and the National Education Association have been indicated and discussed somewhat extensively. It is not felt that all of these differences should be treated again at this point in the same manner. For placing emphasis upon these differences, however, Table 1 is presented to reveal distinctions in a more concise and comprehensible form. The table, divided into three columns, is self-explanatory. The first column merely mentions the topic to be compared. The second and third columns indicate each organization's stand on the topics in the first column.
The reader should be aware that the words "emphasizes" and "encourages" are used to point out the differences in the American Federation of Teachers and the National Education Association in various matters.

**TABLE 1**

**BASIC DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS AND THE NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>American Federation of Teachers</th>
<th>National Education Association</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Teacher welfare:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salaries</td>
<td>Emphasizes high salaries</td>
<td>Encourages high salaries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retirement</td>
<td>Wants state retirement plus social security benefits</td>
<td>Works for state teacher retirement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenure</td>
<td>Works for better tenure laws</td>
<td>Works for better tenure laws</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freedom of thought</td>
<td>Demands more freedom for teachers</td>
<td>Demands more freedom for teachers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Child welfare:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compulsory school attendance</td>
<td>Works for stronger laws</td>
<td>Works for stronger laws</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>American Federation of Teachers</td>
<td>National Education Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appropriations</td>
<td>Emphasizes more state and federal help</td>
<td>Encourages more state and federal help</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class size</td>
<td>Believes present class size much too large</td>
<td>Believes that 24 pupils should be maximum class size</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Federal aid</td>
<td>Has worked for federal aid more than 35 years; wants separate bill for each service; for public schools only</td>
<td>Works for federal aid; expenditure of funds according to state wishes; distribute according to need; for public schools only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher defense</td>
<td>Has special defense fund; vigorous approach; more demanding</td>
<td>Has defense committee; weak, negative approach; makes recommendations only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethics</td>
<td>Not enforced</td>
<td>Only one case discussed: superintendent dismissed from NEA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tidelands oil</td>
<td>Government ownership for school purposes (for all states)</td>
<td>For government ownership for school purposes (for all states)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affiliations</td>
<td>Affiliated with American Federation of Labor</td>
<td>Unaffiliated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>American Federation of Teachers</td>
<td>National Education Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organization</td>
<td>Excludes administrators; emphasizes quality rather than quantity in membership; local action strongly supported</td>
<td>Includes all school personnel; urges 100% membership; closely organized into local, state, and national setup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public relations</td>
<td>Weak</td>
<td>Strong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic practices</td>
<td>Excludes superintendents from membership</td>
<td>Encourages all school personnel to join</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collective bargaining</td>
<td>Practiced often</td>
<td>Not used</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitude toward strikes by teachers</td>
<td>Against strikes</td>
<td>Against strikes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Membership</td>
<td>50,000 members backed by entire AFL; has fluctuated little in last five years</td>
<td>More than 465,000 members independent of any other group; growing steadily</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public opinion</td>
<td>1946 Gallup poll results: 44.0% for unionization of teachers; 41.9% against unionization; 14.1% with no opinion</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The apparent indication of the materials presented in Table 1 is that both the American Federation of Teachers and the National Education Association are basically seeking the same goals but with somewhat different methods. Both want higher salaries for teachers, but the American Federation of Teachers is somewhat more persistent in its efforts in this direction. Both are seeking better tenure laws and are fighting for more freedom on the part of the teacher to exercise his constitutional rights.

On the question of child welfare, labor takes most of the credit for taking the child out of the mills and putting him into the schoolroom, but both the American Federation of Teachers and the National Education Association have gone down the road together for stronger compulsory school attendance laws, more federal aid and larger state appropriations, and smaller classes.

The American Federation of Teachers has probably worked longer and harder for some sort of federal aid bill than has the National Education Association. However, both groups are now working in behalf of obtaining federal aid, the only differences being in how the money should be spent, once allotted. Both believe that federal-aid money should be spent on public schools only.

In the field of professional ethics relating to teachers, neither group has done enough to warrant attention in favor of teacher ethics.
Both the American Federation of Teachers and the National Education Association have codes of ethics, but have exercised little power in enforcing these codes.

Since the Texas State Teachers Association has criticized its mother organization on its stand concerning federal aid, the National Education Association has remained relatively silent on the tidelands issue. However, it has advocated, along with the American Federation of Teachers, the use of the tidelands' oil for the benefit of all of the public schools in all of the states.

Affiliation, organization, and membership have all been discussed previously to the extent that anything said here would be repetitious.

Since the National Education Association opens its doors to all school personnel and the American Federation of Teachers excludes administrators except in rare instances, it would appear that the National Education Association is somewhat more democratic. Since democracy is based upon the "of, for, and by" philosophy, then everyone concerned would be included in a true democratic setup.

In regard to collective bargaining, the American Federation of Teachers definitely practices it. Most of the union victories in regard to salary, tenure, and general welfare have been won through the employment of the technique of collective bargaining on the local level.

The National Education Association practices no collective bargaining whatsoever.
The American Federation of Teachers has always been accused of fostering teacher strikes. Nothing could be farther from the truth. Members of both the American Federation of Teachers and the National Education Association have taken part in teacher strikes, but it has always been strictly a local matter and definitely did not have the blessing of the parent organizations. Both the American Federation of Teachers and the National Education Association are on record as favoring a no-strike policy for teachers.

Adherence to Democratic Criteria

The question which now arises is this: Which of the two teacher organizations—the American Federation of Teachers or the National Education Association—compares more favorably with the basic criteria established in Chapter II? Table 2 seeks to present the answer to this question in so far as democratic criteria are concerned.

Upon close examination of Table 2, the reader can readily see that both the American Federation of Teachers and the National Education Association are making much the same efforts toward meeting the democratic criteria. However, there are some variations.

Both organizations are doing much for their members, both academically and economically. Each is emphasizing the worth of the individual by demanding more academic freedom for him. The American Federation of Teachers and the National Education Association fight
TABLE 2

AN EVALUATION OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS AND THE NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION IN TERMS OF BASIC DEMOCRATIC CRITERIA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basic Criteria</th>
<th>American Federation of Teachers</th>
<th>National Education Association</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Belief in the worth of the individual as a human being</td>
<td>Demands more freedom for teachers</td>
<td>Demands more freedom for teachers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Encourages equal educational opportunities</td>
<td>Encourages equal educational opportunities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belief that everyone has a capacity to learn</td>
<td>Encourages equal educational opportunities</td>
<td>Encourages equal educational opportunities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belief that government rests upon the consent of the governed</td>
<td>Local actions of members strongly supported</td>
<td>Local actions of members largely independent of the national organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Emphasizes provisions for the training for civic responsibility for all persons in the community</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belief that social change should be based upon peaceful rather than violent action</td>
<td>Against strikes</td>
<td>Against strikes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Opposed to any type of violence</td>
<td>Opposed to any type of violence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belief in an educated citizenry</td>
<td>Works for strong compulsory school attendance laws</td>
<td>Works for strong compulsory school attendance laws</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 2—Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basic Criteria</th>
<th>American Federation of Teachers</th>
<th>National Education Association</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Belief that democracy extends into every realm of human association</td>
<td>To promote such a democratization of the schools as will enable them better to equip their pupils to take their places in the industrial, social, and political life of the community</td>
<td>Organization is set up under effective democratic principles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belief that maximum development of each individual is for the best interest of the group</td>
<td>Supports free public education past the secondary level</td>
<td>Supports free public education past the secondary level</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belief that all people should have equal rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness</td>
<td>Upholds the Constitution of the United States and fights thought control in the classroom; upholds equality of educational privileges</td>
<td>Upholds the Constitution of the United States and fights thought control in the classroom; upholds equality of educational privileges</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

continually to preserve for the teacher complete freedom from fear of thought control. The individual worth of the individual pupil is also taken into consideration by both groups. The Federation and the Association have and still fight for any decent legislation which they think will be of benefit to the child.
Both the National Education Association and the American Federation of Teachers operate on the theory that everyone has a certain capacity to learn. As evidence of their belief in this theory, the American Federation of Teachers and the National Education Association are seeking ways to insure for each youth a free education up to the point at which further education would be of no benefit either to the individual or to society. This means that it would be necessary to extend free public education into the fields of higher learning.

In regard to the belief that government rests upon the consent of the governed, it is difficult to determine which organization—the National Education Association or the American Federation of Teachers—adheres more closely. Locals of the American Federation of Teachers send representatives to national meetings of importance, and local units of the state teachers' associations are closely related to the mother state organization and have representatives in the state conventions. The state associations in turn send delegates to the national association conventions. It should be mentioned here that the American Federation of Teachers emphasizes the training of all persons in the community for their civic responsibilities.

The common belief that the American Federation of Teachers advocates that social change should be based upon violence or the use of strike methods is completely false. Both the National Education
Association and the American Federation of Teachers denounce strikes by teachers, although members of both groups have at times participated in strikes. The American Federation of Teachers believes that social change should be discussed and remedied through collective bargaining. The National Education Association does not practice collective bargaining, but it does engage in considerable behind-the-scenes "wire pulling."

The American Federation of Teachers and the National Education Association have long worked for compulsory school attendance laws with teeth in them. The belief that democracy demands an educated citizenry is uppermost in the minds of both organizations.

There is one flagrant violation of democratic principles by the National Education Association. It violates the basic democratic criterion which holds that "all people should have equal rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Regardless of what the National Education Association may say about allowing all teachers into the organization, there is segregation of the Negroes from the whites. This practice does not represent equality. On the other hand, the American Federation of Teachers makes it perfectly clear in its constitution that there can be no discrimination against anyone without just cause. Article III, Section 11, of the Constitution of the American Federation of Teachers says:
No discrimination shall ever be shown toward individual members because of race, religious faith or political activities or belief, except that no applicant whose political actions are subject to totalitarian control such as Fascist, Nazi, or Communist, shall be admitted to membership.

Adherence to Psychological Criteria

Table 3 is similar to Table 2 except that it is concerned with the evaluation of the American Federation of Teachers and the National Education Association in terms of basic psychological criteria discussed in Chapter II. The American Federation of Teachers and the National Education Association are evaluated in this table in terms of their ability to:

1. Satisfy their members' desires for new experiences.
2. Instill within their members a sense of security.
3. Satisfy each member's desire for response.

It appears that the National Education Association would come nearer to satisfying its members' desires for new experiences because of its extensive research, regular local, state, and national meetings, and various educational programs, both international and national. The National Education Association has tried very hard to foster international understanding through close co-operation with the United Nations. The American Federation of Teachers also encourages

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5The Constitution of the American Federation of Teachers, p. 6.
## TABLE 3

AN EVALUATION OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS AND THE NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION IN TERMS OF BASIC PSYCHOLOGICAL CRITERIA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basic Criteria</th>
<th>American Federation of Teachers</th>
<th>National Education Association</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To satisfy its members' desires for new experiences</td>
<td>Conducts some research facilities</td>
<td>Has extensive research facilities and services available to members</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Has regular meetings of members</td>
<td>Various departments under National Organization have their own educational services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To instill within its members a sense of security</td>
<td>Emphasizes high salaries</td>
<td>Encourages high salaries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Practices collective bargaining backed by entire American Federation of Labor and protected by strong defense program including a regular defense fund</td>
<td>Works for better retirement and tenure laws</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Advocates better tenure and retirement legislation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Advocates state retirement system plus federal social security</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
international co-operation in the field of education, and conducts a research department, but not on a scale comparable with that of the National Education Association.

Evidence appears to indicate that the American Federation of Teachers offers its members more security than does the National Education Association. The American Federation of Teachers has always emphasized higher salaries and increased teacher welfare, while the National Education Association has only encouraged them. Each member of the American Federation of Teachers is backed by its own 50,000 members plus the entire membership of the American Federation of Labor, plus the sympathy of other labor groups; whereas, the National Education is backed by approximately 465,000 members. This fact offers security to some individuals who still think in terms of who can apply the most pressure in order to obtain concessions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basic Criteria</th>
<th>American Federation of Teachers</th>
<th>National Education Association</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To satisfy each member's desire for response</td>
<td>Strong local organizations offer: Individual participation in Federation affairs Collective bargaining</td>
<td>Close local, state, and national organization. Delegates chosen from membership of local and state units.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Many authorities will agree that many, if not most, concessions are today made because of the exertion of pressure.

The American Federation of Teachers maintains a defense fund for any of its members who become involved in difficulties with local school authorities and offers to use this fund freely for their assistance. The National Education Association has a defense committee, but is reluctant to use it. It is a rather weak group in so far as enforcing its decisions is concerned. In reality, it makes recommendations for the settlement of difficulties, but has little power to see that they are put into effect.

In regard to satisfying each member's desire for response, both organizations are approximately equal. The local units of the American Federation of Teachers have a considerable amount of individual freedom and participation, both in regular meetings, where policy is formulated, and in collective bargaining on the local level. On the other hand, the National Education Association gives every individual a chance for response all the way from the local chapter to the national conventions. He has an equal chance with other local members to be chosen to represent his local group at state and national meetings.

Adherence to Sociological Criteria

Table 4 seeks to present an evaluation of the American Federation of Teachers and the National Education Association in terms of the
sociological criteria set forth in Chapter II. The basic sociological criteria to which any organization should conform are the following:

1. Creation of a desire for co-operation.
2. Promotion of understanding.
3. Creation of a sense of obligation.
4. Encouragement of incentive.
5. Fostering of tolerance.

Here again we find the two organizations close together on some issues and rather far apart on others.

The first basic sociological criterion mentioned in Table 4 is concerned with co-operation. As mentioned in an earlier chapter, co-operation requires a specific program which brings participants together. If there is no mutual interest, there is no co-operation.

The American Federation of Teachers and the National Education Association both bring their members into close relationships of mutual interest. There is evidence to show that members of the American Federation of Teachers, however, are more closely associated, probably because of its limited membership. As the American Federation of Teachers often points out, it has few members in comparison with other groups, but all members act as one in times of crisis. As indicated in this study, in order to co-operate, the individual must know what he is working for. It is the opinion of this writer that
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basic Criteria</th>
<th>American Federation of Teachers</th>
<th>National Education Association</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Creation of a desire for co-operation</td>
<td>Brings associations of teachers into relations of mutual assistance and co-operation. Professional ethics not enforced. Co-operates with American Federation of Labor.</td>
<td>Brings associations of teachers into relations of mutual assistance and co-operation. Professional ethics not enforced.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promotion of understanding</td>
<td>Has weak external public relations program. Individual members better informed on current aims of the organization.</td>
<td>Has strong public relations program. Individual members' understanding of current aims of the organization very vague.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creation of a sense of obligation</td>
<td>Membership more concentrated. Obligation stronger. Individuals are encouraged as members to participate in organization.</td>
<td>Little chance for individual participation on a national level. Membership scattered. Participation readily available and encouraged through local and state levels.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
the individual member of the American Federation of Teachers is
more aware of what his organization is doing than is the member of
the National Education Association.

No "forced" co-operation is evident in either of these teacher
groups. For example, if one member violates the code of ethics of
his respective organization, nine chances out of ten it will be ignored.
The American Federation of Teachers has never enforced its code of
ethics, and the National Education Association has reprimanded only
one violator of its code of ethics.
The American Federation of Teachers spends little time and money in promoting understanding outside its membership. It does not have the money to do so if it wanted to engage in such a program. However, its individual members are taken into consideration on all matters and each member feels that he has a part in his group's work.

In complete contrast to the American Federation of Teachers, the National Education Association spends huge sums of money, and has a complete staff of experts in its Department of Press and Radio Relations. In fact, the public has as good a chance of being informed of the NEA's activities as have its own members. In an organization as large as the National Education Association it is easy to see why some of its activities are unknown to many of its members. For the same reasons, the sense of obligation is stronger in the AFT than in the NEA.

It may be said that both the American Federation of Teachers and the National Education Association encourage incentive. As mentioned before, each group advocates increased salary and other benefits based on the qualifications and experience of the individual teacher. All members are given encouragement by knowing that their organization is working for them whether or not they are aware of each thing that their group is doing.

One of the most important, if not the most important sociological criteria of any group, if it is to be democratic, is that it should
foster tolerance. The American Federation of Teachers would pass the tolerance test with flying colors were it not for the fact that it does not permit administrators to become members of its organization. This separates members of the same profession. The American Federation of Teachers restricts no one merely because of his race, color, or creed.

On the other hand, the National Education Association opens its doors to all members of the teaching profession but places minority groups (Negroes) in segregated groups. Neither of the two teacher groups practices tolerance in its true sense.
CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

The American Federation of Teachers, organized in 1916, is the largest teachers' union in the United States. It affiliated with the American Federation of Labor in order to gain allies in its fight against social, economic, and political injustices under which it conceived the profession of education to be held. It first enjoyed a period of rapid growth and then entered into a period of decline. Since 1927 it has been experiencing a steady growth. However, the last few years the AFT membership has remained at approximately 50,000.

The Federation has two main objectives:

1. It proposes to consolidate the teachers of the country into a strong group which would be able to protect its own interests.

2. It aims to raise the standards of the teaching profession by a direct attack on the conditions which, according to the belief of the AFT, prevent teachers from enjoying the status of a true profession. These conditions include low salaries, poor tenure laws, inadequate teaching facilities, lack of academic freedom and civil liberty, and the absence of progressive reforms.
The American Federation of Teachers maintains that it is vital that all citizens be educated if our democratic structure is to remain sound.

The methods employed by the Federation to achieve its ends are, not the strike, but affiliation with other organizations to gain power and prestige. It has been shown that the union of teachers with the American Federation of Labor has not met with complete popular approval. Some think that the AFT, by affiliating with labor, has lost its independence and has placed too much emphasis on teacher welfare and economic gain.

The American Federation of Teachers might be termed an aggressive organization and one that moves fast and courageously when it comes to protecting its classroom teachers from unjust abuse. The Federation serves as a rallying point for the liberal and progressive teachers, and fights constantly for legislation which would benefit the classroom teachers and the students of the United States.

The Federation is as strongly opposed to strikes by teachers as is any other group. However, it does reserve the right to bargain collectively. In areas in which the AFT is strongest, teacher welfare has been constantly improving in the past few years.

The American Federation of Teachers has claimed many achievements. It claims to have:
1. Won benefits for all teachers, including many who have never supported it.

2. Brought the sympathy and power of labor to focus on the deplorable educational conditions in the United States.

3. Fought for legislation for improving the schools and working conditions of the teachers.

4. Acted as a stimulus to the traditional teacher associations.

5. Initiated a program of action.

6. Organized a well-staffed defense machine to come to the aid of any classroom teacher-member in distress.

The National Education Association, organized in 1857, is the largest professional organization in the world. It has grown from a membership of 8,466 in 1917 to well over 400,000 at the present time. The phenomenal growth of the NEA has been attributed to the following factors:

1. A growing professional spirit among teachers.

2. An expanded program of services which the Association has developed.

3. Aggressive enrollment campaigns.

4. A realization of the need for organization by the teachers.

The aims of the NEA are more concerned with raising the standards of the profession than with worrying too much about teacher
welfare. However, the Association does work for higher salaries for teachers. The outstanding aims of the National Education Association are the following:

1. An adequate educational opportunity for every child and youth.

2. Equalization and expansion of educational opportunity including needed state and national financing.

3. Development of wholesome moral and spiritual values.

4. An adequate professional salary for all members.

5. Protection of the schools and people connected with them from unjust attack and criticism.


The National Education Association does not practice collective bargaining. Rather, it depends upon its own prestige and quality of work to bring in much-needed remuneration. NEA's large membership, along with state organizations, serve as a great voting power, and this, no doubt, results in some benefit for NEA members.

The National Education Association claims to have made the following accomplishments:

1. It has secured higher salaries for teachers.

2. It has put the teaching profession on a "professional" basis.

3. It has raised the standards of its members.
4. It has focused attention upon the need for federal aid for education.

5. It has achieved close unity through local, state, and national associations.

6. It has surpassed all other professional organizations in membership.

Conclusions

Upon close examination one may readily see that there are only two major fundamental differences between the National Education Association and the American Federation of Teachers:

1. The American Federation of Teachers, as a union organization, is affiliated with labor; the National Education Association, as an independent teacher group, is unaffiliated.

2. The American Federation of Teachers, with certain exceptions, does not permit administrators to join; the National Education Association has no such restrictions.

Undoubtedly, the NEA has contributed to many of the achievements claimed by the AFT, and vice versa. Both organizations have worked for higher salaries, better tenure laws, higher standards, federal aid, and better schools. Where the two organizations differ is in the manner of obtaining these improvements and benefits. While the American Federation of Teachers has consistently conducted
studies and widely publicized the need for the improvement of teacher salaries and teacher welfare, the National Education Association has performed its greatest services in the establishment of better schools, better training and selection of teachers, and working for curricular changes and improvements.

Many observers have felt that the greatest weakness of the NEA has been its lack of attention to the economic and social welfare problems of teachers. While AFT's determined activity, with its promise of more immediate results, has favorably impressed many teachers, other teachers have felt that the program of the teachers' union is not sufficiently concerned with the educational problems of the schools.

Demonstrating a trend toward common action, both organizations now appear to be doing something about their weaknesses. In the past five years the National Education Association has tried to out-do the union by advocating many of the reforms and improvements for which the union has been fighting for years. The NEA is doing this through its Victory Program and its more recent Centennial Program. It has been pointed out by some authors that the National Education Association is becoming more union-like by pushing administrators out of executive posts and by beginning to pay increasing attention to teacher welfare.
Recommendations

It is not the purpose of this study to pick out one teacher group and say that it should be abolished because it does not meet the basic democratic, sociological, and psychological criteria. On the contrary, the writer feels that there is room in the educational profession for both the American Federation of Teachers and the National Education Association.

In fact, the AFT and the NEA act as a stimulus for one another, something on the order of the American two-party system. As a militant minority group, teacher unions have been a threat to the status quo of the NEA and stand ready to take over if the NEA proves helpless in meeting educational problems. There is evidence to show that in times of distress, there is a tendency for teachers to seek the American Federation of Teachers. There are, however, some characteristics of the two-party system which have no place in teacher organizations—namely, open controversy, for one. Bickerings among teacher groups only tend to undermine public faith in our educational system, and help neither group.

As mentioned before, where the AFT and the NEA differ most is in their methods. It is believed that, in time, most of the methods and techniques employed by both organizations will have become so similar that the major difference will be one of actual labor affiliation or non-affiliation.
But this is something that only the future can decide. As the organizations are at the present time, the writer would make the following recommendations:

The American Federation of Teachers should:

1. Open its doors to all school personnel, administrators included.
2. Stop criticizing other organizations openly.
3. Improve its public relations program.
4. Enforce its code of ethics.
5. Enlarge its research division to the point where it can offer increasing educational benefits to its members.
6. Place as much emphasis upon improving educational deficiencies as upon teacher welfare.

The National Education Association should:

1. Improve its defense machinery, thus offering more security for its members.
2. Work harder for more equal educational opportunities.
3. Place more emphasis upon teacher welfare.
4. Stop bickering with other teacher groups over minor problems.
5. Cease its practice of discrimination against minority (Negro) groups.
6. Keep individual members informed as to the aims of the organization.

7. Enforce its code of ethics.

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