

A STUDY OF CONFLICTS EXPRESSED BY A SELECTED  
SAMPLE OF PUBLIC SCHOOL EDUCATORS CONCERNING  
INVOLVEMENT IN EMPLOYEE NEGOTIATIONS

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THESIS



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SAMPLE OF PUBLIC SCHOOL EDUCATORS CONCERNING  
INVOLVEMENT IN EMPLOYEE NEGOTIATIONS

presented by

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## ABSTRACT

### A STUDY OF CONFLICTS EXPRESSED BY A SELECTED SAMPLE OF PUBLIC SCHOOL EDUCATORS CONCERNING INVOLVEMENT IN EMPLOYEE NEGOTIATIONS

By

Jacqueline Jean Oatman

The purpose of this exploratory study was to investigate the intra-individual conflicts arising from involvement in employee negotiations which a sample of public school educators would verbalize about in a personal interview. It was assumed that educators involved in employee negotiations were in a potential conflict producing situation and that it was probable that conflict would occur for those so involved.

An Employee Negotiations Conflict Interview was devised. It was employed to conduct personal interviews with a final sample of thirty-two professional educators. Of these thirty-two, eighteen were affiliated with the Flint Education Association and fourteen with the Flint Federation of Teachers; of the thirty-two, ten were employee negotiations leaders and twenty-two were randomly chosen from the general memberships of the two organizations.

Seven categories of possible conflict were defined and interviews submitted to four independent judges for



their evaluation of the number and types of conflict expressed in each interview protocol. Findings were that the sample expressed most conflicts in the Self Centered Goals--Other Centered Goals and Right--Wrong categories; least conflict was expressed in the Lawful--Unlawful category. Thus the sample expressed most conflict between the goals for themselves and goals for others and about the non-statutory right and wrong elements of employee negotiations behavior. Least conflict was expressed about the legality of types of employee negotiations behavior. All interviewees were found by judges to be expressing conflict; judges differed only on the number and types of conflicts rated for each interviewee.

Inter-judge agreement for four judges was at 78% for the Lawful--Unlawful category. A high level of agreement was not reached by four judges in any of the other categories. Two judges, however, agreed in 79% of all judgments for all categories. Other pairs of judges did not reach this level of agreement.

There were not material differences in expressed conflicts based on type of organization membership, i.e., union or association or on leader or non-leader role within an organization.

It was recommended that greater attention to the general problem of employee negotiations in education and the implications for individual educators be given at the university teacher education level.

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OF PUBLIC SCHOOL EDUCATORS CONCERNING INVOLVEMENT  
IN EMPLOYEE NEGOTIATIONS

By

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Without the assistance of the educators in the sample, this study could not have been done. My appreciation to them for assisting yet another student along the way.

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## FOREWORD

This study had its origin in the writer's concerns and questions raised in observing and talking with members of professional disciplines involved in employee negotiations. The writer had noted that increasingly, public employees in general and professional public employees in particular, seemed to be joining organizations or changing their existing organizations for the purpose of engaging in formal collective negotiations. Observations and discussions with individual members of professions suggested that considerable personal, internal conflict was occurring in a number of those so involved.

In the spring of 1968, the writer had the opportunity for some personal experience with several aspects of the problem while working in an agency during the time of employee negotiations. The combination of direct, personal experience and the previous observations and discussions intensified the writer's perceived need for information on the effect of involvement in the negotiations process on individuals. When readings in the area revealed that this was not readily available, it led to formulation of the purpose of this study.



This study is designed to explore the sorts of intra-individual conflicts which a sample of professional, public school educators will verbalize regarding their involvement in employee negotiations. The personal interview was selected as the investigative tool for this exploratory study. Thus maximum freedom of response is permitted the individual in dealing with the personal material of internal conflicts.

In the ensuing chapters, we will look first at the problem of increasing employee negotiations in the sphere of education and thence at the need, purpose and overall plan of this study. Next, material concerned with theory of conflict will be discussed followed by presentation of the methodology or procedures for this study. Final chapters will analyze data obtained and discuss conclusions and recommendations.

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### The Problem

Employee negotiations in education is increasing but there is a dearth of information about what happens to the individual educator in the course of employee negotiations.

It is noted in the literature that former President John F. Kennedy's executive order of 1962 giving federal government employees the right to bargain collectively regarding salary and conditions of employment provided the initial impetus to organization of all segments of public employees, including teachers, for the purpose of collective bargaining with public employers.<sup>1</sup>

The attempt to organize with the intent of bargaining collectively and to use a major tool of collective bargaining, the strike, to gain desired ends, is not new to the educational profession, however. The first teachers' union in the United States was organized in Chicago in 1897 and there has been activity aimed at improving teachers' lots since that time by labor unions and professional education

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<sup>1</sup>"Public Employees Ask For a Better Shake," Business Week, December 3, 1966, 92-98.

associations. Since the organization of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) in 1916, teacher union membership has grown from 7,000 in 1930 to 140,000 in 1968 with forty thousand in New York City alone. Of 300,000 college faculty in 1968, ten thousand were unionized, mainly in New York, California, Illinois and Michigan. A 1967 survey published by the American Association of Higher Education says that junior colleges and former teacher colleges will be the first to unionize, basically because these institutions lack a system enabling faculty to share in decisions. Marmion in citing these statistics adds his own speculation, that church related institutions also are fertile fields for unionization and that California is most likely to be the first state with a considerable number of unionized college faculty.<sup>1</sup>

Klass who believes that unions are the answer for teachers and who thinks the issue of whether strikes and collective bargaining are acceptable practices for teachers is dead, says that as early as 1932, the Chicago teachers struck to protest working conditions.<sup>2</sup> Similar circumstances prevail in England with the National Union of Teachers. The Times Educational Supplement notes that the first known strike of teachers was in 1896 in Portsmouth, England and

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<sup>1</sup>Henry A. Marmion, "Unions and Higher Education," Educational Record, 49 (1968), 41-48.

<sup>2</sup>Irwin Klass, "The New Breed of Teacher," The American Federationist, 69 (November, 1962), 1-5.

that, "Teachers have been striking, at intervals, for over sixty years--and almost always about money." The same article provides an interesting forecast, "Teachers have never yet indulged in a national strike, but it is fallacious to believe that professional ethics would prevent them doing so now."<sup>1</sup>

Some surveys have been done about American teachers' attitudes toward striking. Business Week and Senior Scholastic quote National Education Association (NEA) surveys showing that in 1965, 53% of the nation's teachers favored strikes but in 1967, 59% did.<sup>2</sup> Senior Scholastic goes on to state, "More than half of the nation's teachers favor the use of strikes in extreme situations after other alternatives have failed; eight out of ten teachers favor the use of sanctions."<sup>3</sup> Business Week<sup>4</sup> and Weisenfeld<sup>5</sup> say that in 1967, one fourth of all the nation's teachers were working under collective bargaining agreements. Regarding teacher strikes, they count 129 teacher strikes from

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<sup>1</sup>"Not the First Time: Teachers' Strikes Since 1896," Times Education Supplement, 2397 (April 28, 1961), 841.

<sup>2</sup>"Where Unions Have the Most Growth Potential," Business Week, (October 21, 1967), 76-78.

<sup>3</sup>"More Teachers Favor Strikes," Senior Scholastic, 91 (October 26, 1967), 29.

<sup>4</sup>Business Week, op. cit., pp. 76-78.

<sup>5</sup>Allan Weisenfeld, "Collective Bargaining by Public Employees," Monthly Labor Review, 89 (June, 1966), 610-12.

1940-1966, 33 in 1966 and estimate more than 75 for 1967. Interestingly, Nesvig cites the figures for public employee strikes including teacher strikes for some of the same years: There were 28 public employee strikes in 1962, 42 in 1965, 150 in 1966 and he estimates, more than 300 for 1967. The same author emphasizes that education is the biggest battleground in public employee strikes and says the disguised or "quasi-strike" such as "blue flu" or "professional days," is also of concern as are mass resignations and work-ins where employees go to work but do not actually work.<sup>1</sup> That teacher strikes are on the increase is evident; nearly half of the thirty six teacher strikes from 1960-1966, were in the 1965-66 school year.<sup>2</sup>

Stinnett says that teacher unions had their formative years from 1902-1920 and states that at the end of this time, in 1920, the NEA was reorganized into a more democratic structure.<sup>3</sup> Since that time, NEA has grown to a membership of one million in 1968 with the AFT claiming 151,000 members the same year. Of note is the fact that AFT membership is centered in the very large cities of the nation, New York

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<sup>1</sup>Gordon T. Nesvig, "The New Dimensions of the Strike Question," "Collective Negotiations in the Public Service," ed. by F.A. Nigro, Public Administration Review, 28 (March, 1968), 111-47.

<sup>2</sup>"Teachers on the March," Economist, 222 (March 4, 1967), 829.

<sup>3</sup>T. M. Stinnett, "Causes of New Militancy Among Teachers," School and Society, 96 (March 2, 1968), 152-55.

City, Detroit, Baltimore, Philadelphia and the like.<sup>1</sup> In 1967, NEA had negotiated 93.7% of existing teacher-employer contracts and AFT, three per cent of existing contracts.<sup>2</sup> In 1964, the AFT was new to the list of unions with 100,000 or more members.<sup>3</sup> Similar growth in unionized employees is true for public employees in general. Business Week states that public employees are currently the area of greatest union growth and unrest and goes on to say, ". . . wage levels that lag behind those in private industry have created a militance . . ."<sup>4</sup> In 1966, the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) had 300,000 members at the state and local levels while AFT had 113,000 at the same levels. From 1963-1966, membership in AFT increased 69% and in AFSCME, 26%. Ten per cent of the members of AFSCME are college trained.<sup>5</sup> In April, 1966, the figure for state and local government employees who were union members was only seven per cent of the total number so employed.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>"Why Teachers Strike," Newsweek, 71 (March 25, 1968), 63.

<sup>2</sup>Victor Riesel, "Blackboard Power," Michigan Education Journal, 45 (November, 1967), 1.

<sup>3</sup>H. P. Cohany, "Trends and Changes in Union Membership," Monthly Labor Review, 89 (May, 1966), 510-13.

<sup>4</sup>"Public Employees Ask For a Better Shake," Business Week, (December 3, 1966), 92.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 92-98.

<sup>6</sup>"Settlement of Disputes in Public Employment," Monthly Labor Review, 89 (April, 1966), iii-iv.

Jerry Wurf, president of AFSCME believes that this union has a potential membership of two million exclusive of teachers since they have their own union. He says that of the three groups of public employees included in this union, blue collar, white collar and professional, the latter group is the growing group.<sup>1</sup> Cohany states that in federal service, organized by the American Federation of Government Employees, fifty per cent of the union members are white collar and states that unions generally are gaining more public, and more white collar, employees in their membership.<sup>2</sup>

In general, consensus seems to be that the AFL-CIO is very anxious to establish itself in the growing white collar and professional occupations.<sup>3</sup> Further consensus is that in large part, the competition for teacher membership from this union has been responsible for pushing the NEA to greater action in behalf of its educator membership. Rivalry between AFT and NEA is called, ". . . the most important single factor in the startling spread of the teachers' labour movement."<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Jerry Wurf, "Coming: Unionized Government," U.S. News and World Report, 61 (September 26, 1966), 96-99.

<sup>2</sup>Cohany, op. cit., pp. 510-13.

<sup>3</sup>"Teachers Learn to Strike," Economist, 203 (April 14, 1962), 152.

<sup>4</sup>"Teachers on the March," Economist, 222 (March 4, 1967), 829.

Thus, the past few years have seen rapid growth in organization for, and participation in, employee negotiations in education. This has been a part of a movement among professional, public employees in general. A review of additional, related literature is enlightening in looking further at the problem of increasing employee negotiations in education and the effect on the individual educator.

#### Related Literature

Now, in the decade of the nineteen sixties, teachers have become more actively militant in seeking redress of employment grievances. Numerous authors attempting to explain this state that teachers have suffered from low salaries, little voice in conditions of employment and treatment less than fitting for the status of a professional person. Beyond this, however, authors reviewed separate on what is seen as the primary reason for greater action and specifically, greater militancy on the part of teachers as a total group.

Several authors conclude that "power," the lack of, and desire for, is the primary motivating force. "Public Schools, Pursuit of Power"<sup>1</sup> appearing in Time Magazine concludes that in spite of their rivalry for teacher membership, both the NEA and the AFT agree that teachers are determined to have a say in the things which affect them. The article cites Albert Shanker, president of the New York

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<sup>1</sup>Time, 90 (September 22, 1967), 43-44.



City federation of teachers' union as saying that teachers want power and further that present day teachers cannot be held responsible for the failures of schools because they have no power over vital factors such as curriculum, discipline, teaching innovations and the like.

Victor Riesel, well known labor writer labels the struggle between the AFT and the NEA for membership in the following way: "Blackboard power is the name of the game, . . . ." "Blackboard power will mean--eventually--terrific influence over the nation's youth. There is the real issue."<sup>1</sup>

Wildman<sup>2</sup> writing on the causes of greater teacher militancy states that teachers usually mobilize because of salary but that their basic motive is power. He quotes Donald Wollett, attorney for NEA, "'Teachers have, . . . , a kind of one-dimensional professionalism-professional responsibility without professional authority.'"<sup>3</sup> West discusses his view that salary and working conditions are important but that even more important is the belief that a teacher only is supposed to teach and never have a hand in policy making or administering. He feels that new teachers are providing much of the impetus for change and states, "They understand that professionalism is not synonymous with

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<sup>1</sup>Riesel, op. cit., p. 1.

<sup>2</sup>Wesley A. Wildman, "What Prompts Greater Teacher Militancy?" American School Board Journal, 154 (March, 1967), 27-32.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 28.

subservience. They insist that professionalism gives them rights as well as responsibilities-- . . . to have the right of full partners in making those decisions that affect the conditions under which teachers teach and children learn."<sup>1</sup>

Blanke lists six powerful social forces which he feels will cause collective teacher action to become a part of all school systems and says that increased professionalism of teachers will cause greater conflict between teachers and administration because the professional feels responsible to suggest and implement improvements.<sup>2</sup>

Other factors cited as reasons or explanations for greater teacher action and militancy run the gamut from specific current issues, e.g., salary, to general, long term, historical issues, e.g., piled up frustrations. For example, Labor Month in Review says, ". . . economic demands continue to be the major cause of teacher strikes as well as other public employee strikes."<sup>3</sup> U.S. News and World Report in February, 1968 ran an article titled, "Why Teachers Strike: Too Little Pay, Too Much Work."<sup>4</sup> It cites NEA figures showing that when compared with non-professionals, teacher's salaries have risen faster than many other groups

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<sup>1</sup>Allan M. West, "What's Bugging Teachers," Saturday Review, 48 (October 16, 1965), 88.

<sup>2</sup>Virgil E. Blanke, "Teachers in Search of Power," Educational Forum, 30 (January, 1966), 231-38.

<sup>3</sup>"Settlement of Disputes in Public Employment," Monthly Labor Review, 89 (April, 1966), iii-iv.

<sup>4</sup>U.S. News and World Report, 64 (February 19, 1968), 84-85.

but that when compared with other college graduates holding a bachelor's degree, only a secretary had an average annual starting salary lower than a teacher. The following month, Newsweek in an article also titled, "Why Teachers Strike,"<sup>1</sup> says that the changing nature of the teaching force explains the new militancy. The fact that one half of all public school teachers today are men, that teachers are young and aggressive and that teaching jobs are plentiful provides reason for increased militancy and for strikes. Sam M. Lambert, NEA Executive Secretary is quoted as saying that teacher strikes in the winter of 1968 are, "' just the prelude to really big trouble in the years ahead.'"<sup>2</sup> Berube writing about a strike at St. John's University in New York City discusses why college professors picket.<sup>3</sup> He says that with college expansion, the college professor finds himself in a "hired hand" role as a "cog in a giant educational industry" and that this leads to dissatisfaction. At St. John's, when the administration ignored the American Association of University Professors attempting to speak for the faculty, this group joined with the United Federation of College Teachers, a local union of the AFT in revolt and struck the university in January, 1966.

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<sup>1</sup>Newsweek, 71 (March 25, 1968), 63.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 63.

<sup>3</sup>Maurice R. Berube, "Strike at St. John's: Why the Professor's Picket," Nation, 202 (February 14, 1966), 172-74.

Stinnett also cites the feeling of being but a cog in a machine as one of three causes of teacher militancy.<sup>1</sup> He lists as causes: ". . . mounting anger of teachers with economic injustice specifically and with the relative economic neglect of schools generally."<sup>2</sup>; ". . . changed working conditions and the changed fabric of the teaching profession."; ". . . the hunger to be a real part of a creative enterprise, not cogs in a well-oiled machine."<sup>3</sup>

Dorothy Rogers suggests that the stereotype of a teacher held by the public leads to poor salaries and low self esteem on the part of the individual teacher.<sup>4</sup> Her study asked a sample of elementary teachers and college students preparing to become elementary school teachers to select adjectives they felt the public might use in describing a typical teacher. Results showed that the average sample member thought that the public's opinion of a teacher was generally unflattering and that the following specific descriptions applied: average intelligence, conventional, self reliant, unselfish and cheerful. The author feels that changing the sterotype is necessary if teachers are to be leaders in today's world.

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<sup>1</sup>Stinnett, op. cit., pp. 152-55.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 152.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 153.

<sup>4</sup>Dorothy Rogers, "Implications of Views Concerning the 'Typical' School Teacher," Journal of Educational Sociology, 23 (1950), 482-87.

Cass and Birnbaum state that the battle between AFT and NEA for members and control is an important factor in teacher militancy but that job satisfaction is equally important.<sup>1</sup> They state, " . . . it seems clear that when other professional rewards are lacking, the emphasis on salaries rises."<sup>2</sup> The push for members and control on the part of the two groups is, in the authors' opinion, because it is the economic and political power of a group which wins increased salaries and status from society. These authors introduce an interesting explanation for the increase in teacher militancy now; they state that the reason teachers could slip the "middle class behavior mold" and picket in the streets is because of the 1960's acceptance of civil disobedience, protests and demonstrations which made it acceptable. Further, they feel that teachers feel more alienated from school and community as everything gets larger and more involved and that while today's teachers are better educated, they are less dedicated and more pragmatic. This plus the feeling of alienation leads to teacher group solidarity and militancy which in turn increases alienation. Once the circle is established, the militant approach can become self-perpetuating.

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<sup>1</sup>James Cass and Max Birnbaum, "What Makes Teachers Militant," Saturday Review, 51 (January 20, 1968), 54-56.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 54.

Another article lists four reasons for teachers unionizing: more men in teaching, more from working class backgrounds, more Negroes and better trained teachers, i.e., 90% with Bachelor's degrees and 25% with Master's degrees. The article further states, "Militancy has paid off." Salaries have risen rapidly. " . . . it is not surprising that the teacher of the nineteen sixties is less worried about the blue collar connotation of collective bargaining and more determined to get good pay for an exacting, professional job."<sup>1</sup>

Klass states, "The time lag toward educational reform, plus the nagging grievances inherent in a metropolitan school system, made the issue of whether teacher strikes and collective bargaining are acceptable practices in the 'profession' sound hollow, the archaic echoes of a period when the subdued and colorless image of the teacher prevailed."<sup>2</sup>

It seems clear that increased teacher action, militancy, bargaining, striking and the like, have benefited teachers at least in tangible economic ways. Several writers point out that teacher salary has risen rapidly although it is still behind that of comparable professional groups. For example, Gibberd points out that in Britain, current teacher

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<sup>1</sup>"Teachers on the March," Economist, 222 (March 4, 1967), 829.

<sup>2</sup>Klass, op. cit., p. 1.

salaries represent 1938 purchasing power.<sup>1</sup> Likewise, in non salary, economic benefits, gains have been made. Senior Scholastic quotes results of a 1966 AFT survey of 413 school systems. The report indicates, ". . . dramatic improvements have taken place in the critical areas of teacher fringe benefits and teacher working conditions." The article cites a statement by Charles Cogen, AFT president. "'However, it is clear that teachers still have a long way to go until they catch up with their private industry colleagues. . . .'"<sup>2</sup>

There have been other results too. U.S. News and World Report states that the bill for higher teacher salaries worries the taxpayer. The article states that the total 1968 expense for United States public schools was over thirty one billion dollars and that local governments spent 53.7% of their tax money on public schools.<sup>3</sup>

Other results have been to develop national and international standards for teachers and teacher benefits. For example, as a result of a 1967 Montreal teacher strike, Mr. Daniel Johnson, government leader of the province of Quebec, pushed through a law banning teacher strikes until July, 1968. The law also set a uniform provincial salary

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<sup>1</sup>Kathleen Gibberd, "Teachers in Revolt," New Statesman, 74 (July 21, 1967), 78.

<sup>2</sup>"Teacher Benefits; Fringe Benefits and Working Conditions," Senior Scholastic, 88 (March 25, 1966), 4.

<sup>3</sup>"Why Teachers Strike: Too Little Pay, Too Much Work," U.S. News and World Report, 64 (February 19, 1968), 84-85.

scale and provided for government negotiation of teacher contracts rather than for local school board negotiation.<sup>1</sup> It is of note that another author, West, stated that the negotiating process poses a major threat to local autonomy, ". . . since the new breed of teacher is right, he will ultimately prevail. Prolonged intransigence by school boards can only deepen and widen the area of conflict."<sup>2</sup> On an international level, experts from 29 nations working through NEA, UNESCO and the International Labor Organization met in Geneva in 1965 and agreed on recommendations regarding teacher preparation standards and conditions of employment.<sup>3</sup> Again on a national level, Gibberd<sup>4</sup> in discussing the Conference of the National Union of Teachers in England describes it as refusing to take stands and taking a very conservative posture in the face of current problems. "At a time when education is exploding with new ideas this, the largest and most important of teachers' conferences, mostly talks about things which have been discussed before."<sup>5</sup> She goes on to

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<sup>1</sup>"Clobbering the Teachers," Economist, 222 (February 25, 1967), 721.

<sup>2</sup>West, op. cit., p. 88.

<sup>3</sup>"Improving Teachers' Status World-Wide," National Education Association Journal, 55 (April, 1966), 45-46.

<sup>4</sup>Kathleen Gibberd, "Conservative NUT," New Statesman, 73 (March 24, 1967), 402-3.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 402.



point out that the group will not deal with the questions of pay differentials or teacher aides or that if it does, it is only to take a stand against such things.

Pertinent to long term considerations for educators are attitudes already present and developing around the question of how teachers achieve their employment goals. Most attitudes surveyed can be grouped into two categories, for the negotiating-striking process and against it. Several authors suggest alternatives which merit consideration.

Writers whose attitudes are favorable to teacher organizations' current techniques cite several favorable results. For example, Mary Griffin discussing the role of teacher organizations as change agents states, ". . . teacher organizations seem to be shaping school policy and public understanding."<sup>1</sup> Raskin quotes Shanker, president of the New York City teachers' union as saying that teachers have learned that striking nets gains that cannot be obtained in any other way.<sup>2</sup> In an NEA opinion poll of public school classroom teachers asking, "Do you believe public school teachers should ever strike?", 53% said yes in 1965 and 59% said yes in 1967 to the same question. Opposition to strikes decreased most sharply in the Northeast with the West

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<sup>1</sup>Mary D. Griffin, "Teacher Organizations as Change Agents," School and Society, 96 (April 13, 1968), 242-43.

<sup>2</sup>A. H. Raskin, "Strikes by Public Employees," Atlantic, 221 (January, 1968), 46-51.

showing greatest opposition to strikes. Strike support was greatest in schools of more than three thousand pupils, among secondary rather than elementary teachers and among men than among women. More teachers, almost 80%, favor sanctions compared to the 59% favoring strikes.<sup>1</sup> Carr reports on an International Magna Charta for Teachers.<sup>2</sup> This proposes that teachers be full partners with government and other authority which employs teachers. It also states that after exhausting all avenues to settle disputes between employer and employee, teachers should have the right to take the same steps open to other organizations in defense of their legitimate interests. In addition, certainly NEA at a national policy level and AFT at the same level have favored the right for teachers' organizations to use a number of means, including strike, to obtain their several goals.

On the other side, however, a number of writers cite reasons for opposing such behavior on the part of teacher groups while some others merely spell out some inherent problems without taking a personal position about the right or wrong of various solutions.

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<sup>1</sup>"Teacher Opinion Poll; Strikes and Sanctions," National Education Association Journal, 56 (October, 1967), 38-39.

<sup>2</sup>William G. Carr, "An International Magna Charta for Teachers," National Education Association Journal, 55 (December, 1966), 42-44.

George Taylor writing on the public interest in educational collective negotiations states, "Assertion by teachers of the right to strike, in my opinion, not only interferes with the fashioning of effective procedures but is viewed by the public as an infringement upon its fundamental interests."<sup>1</sup> He states that the primary function of an employee organization is to improve the well-being of its membership but that this, in the case of teachers, must be reconciled with public demand for extensive improvement in the quality of education and the productivity of educators. In the end, both administrative and teacher organizations must satisfy the public which is basically different than the group which must be satisfied in private sector negotiations.<sup>2</sup> He goes on to say that, "The greatest concern of the public about collective negotiations in education . . . whether the process will improve or decrease the chances of developing an educational program adapted to the needs of a changing world." "The traditional organizational structure, i.e., the board-administrator-teacher relationship, has become increasingly ill-adapted to meet the public interests, diverse and conflicting, and the public has failed to respond to the simple argument that 'nothing is wrong that

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<sup>1</sup>George W. Taylor, "The Public Interest in Collective Negotiations in Education," Phi Delta Kappan, 48 (September, 1966), 21.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 16-22.

more money won't cure.'"<sup>1</sup> Similarly, Holzman states that teachers, ". . . are getting trapped between the rising antagonism of the general public and the professional politicians who have to account for public funds." As a result, he points out that the American Association of School Administrators at its March, 1968 convention reached consensus to start open warfare against strikes. He also quotes George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, "'Perhaps the best answer in this field is some system by which unions of these employees could subscribe to a voluntary arbitration, handed down by an impartial party and binding on both sides.'"<sup>2</sup>

A number of comments culled from news media in 1967 yield some information about attitudes toward teacher strikes.<sup>3</sup> From an article in the Christian Science Monitor regarding the need to find techniques which permit teachers to obtain a fair shake without jeopardizing the public interest, "The communities must find ways to make teacher-school board negotiation work. And teachers must help find it."<sup>4</sup> The Williamston (Michigan) Enterprise attributed difficulties in professional negotiations to communication failure between teachers and school boards. The New York

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 17.

<sup>2</sup>Seymour Holzman, "Teacher Militancy: It's Only the Beginning," Senior Scholastic, 92 (March 21, 1968), 4.

<sup>3</sup>"Comments by the News Media on Teachers and Strikes," Michigan Education Journal, 45 (November, 1967), 38-39.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 38.

Times stated that the New York City teachers' strike set a bad example for children and encouraged other groups to break the law. Since New York's Taylor Law provided for mediation of disputes but forbid striking, teacher behavior was considered especially negative. The Times stated, "The city cannot yield to UFT (United Federation of Teachers) irresponsibility." Similarly, the Detroit Free Press stated, "What troubles us is the ability of a group of teachers to defy state laws forbidding public employees to strike and to dictate salary schedules unrelated to a school board's reasonable prospects of meeting them."<sup>1</sup>

In 1963, while teachers were wanting stronger sanctions from NEA and to withhold services to obtain desired ends, the National Association of School Boards went on record as refusing to countenance sanctions, boycotts or strikes. In addition, this association strongly opposed collective bargaining for teachers.<sup>2</sup> A New York correspondent writing about public service and public interest says, ". . . overwhelming weight of legal authority is that a strike against the state is a form of rebellion and therefore illegal."<sup>3</sup> Raskin<sup>4</sup> cites historical opposition to public employee

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 39.

<sup>2</sup>"Militant Teachers," Economist, 208 (July 13, 1963), 129.

<sup>3</sup>"Public Service and Public Interest," Economist, 221 (December 17, 1966), 1245-46.

<sup>4</sup>Raskin, op. cit., pp. 46-51.

strikes from Governor of Massachusetts, Calvin Coolidge in 1919, President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1937, Mayors LaGuardia and Wagner of New York and President John F. Kennedy in 1962. He states that the rapid growth of government as an employer has led to erosion of the no strike against government rule and the most basic question to be answered is whether the prohibition on strikes against government can be made to work. He suggests that assessment of the no strike position must look at the question of the essentialness of the public service in question to know whether such a strike can be permitted. Likewise, he feels that the question of whether both the public employee and the public are getting a fair shake must be looked at and quotes Albert Shanker of the New York City Teachers' Union as saying that they have learned that striking obtains gains they cannot obtain in any other way. Raskin suggests that part of current public employee turmoil, " . . . is the general rebellion against all institutions, and what institution is stuffer, more tradition-ridden than government itself?"<sup>1</sup>

Boutwell responding to the question of whether it is right for teachers to strike since they are public employees, states the opinion that it will be years before agreement is reached on the question of the right to strike. In the interim Boutwell says that while the law forbids it, teachers

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 50.

do it anyway. He does favor negotiations and states that teachers have a right to speak and to be heard.<sup>1</sup> A Life magazine editorial says that the public is against strikes of public employees. The writer states that new laws are needed to insure that all three parties, the public, the public employer and the public employee, are dealt with fairly.<sup>2</sup> The negative propoganda use of information about teacher strikes and student demonstrations about this and other issues, is illustrated in an article in a Greek language newspaper circulated in an Albanian mountain town. The essence of this press coverage is that capitalists control education in the United States and keep it from the poor. For this reason, youth in America are demonstrating, according to this article.<sup>3</sup>

Some writers state strong, clear convictions that strikes and negotiating processes will not work or are wrong. Lesure states, ". . . the strike, or the sanction, or black-listing as a bargaining weapon is not, in the long run, in the best interest of teachers." "Strikes or sanctions and professional recognition are mutually exclusive--teachers cannot have it both ways." He equates the techniques of union strikes and NEA sanctions with coercion and extortion

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<sup>1</sup>William D. Boutwell, "What's Happening in Education," PTA Magazine, 61 (January, 1967), 17-18.

<sup>2</sup>"Strikes That Can't be Tolerated," Life, 64 (March 1, 1968), 4.

<sup>3</sup>"Closed School Doors," Atlas, 12 (July, 1966), 37-38.

and feels that these will obtain neither professional prestige nor really high salaries for teachers.<sup>1</sup> John Maguire<sup>2</sup> says that professional negotiations are not the answer and suggests that teachers can and should learn from history. He states that a look at the American labor movement shows, ". . . the major successes of trade unionism in the United States have come through political action rather than through collective bargaining."<sup>3</sup> Maguire urges teachers to become politically active, to endorse and campaign for people in agreement with them and cautions that collective bargaining is only one step in the process. Wesley Wildman<sup>4</sup> of the Industrial Relations Center of the University of Chicago says that strikes of public employees do not make sense because public services are monopolies created by the public for essential services and without competition, the strike loses its effectiveness. He states that, "Collective bargaining . . . is essentially a power relationship and a process of power accommodation, with emphasis on compromise and concession in matters over which there is conflict between the parties involved."<sup>5</sup> Instead of strikes to end

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<sup>1</sup>James S. Lesure, "And Gladly Strike?" Saturday Review, 49 (February 19, 1966), 79.

<sup>2</sup>John W. Maguire, "Professional Negotiations are not the Answer," School and Society, 96 (April 13, 1968), 241-42.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 241.

<sup>4</sup>Wesley A. Wildman, "Conflict Issues in Negotiations," Monthly Labor Review, 89 (June, 1966), 617-20.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 617.



bargaining impasses, Wildman recommends fact finding, mediation and arbitration. He states that, "Rationality, principle, and understanding in depth of all the problems of running a school district will be the weapons here, not the simple exercise of collective power."<sup>1</sup>

Many writers have seen the basic issue in all of the teacher turmoil regarding strikes, sanctions, negotiations, organization membership and the like as revolving around the question of professional versus unprofessional behavior for teachers. In large part, these writers equate professional with membership in NEA and its affiliates and unprofessional with trade union or AFT membership. For example, Starie and Spatafora cite three major differences between NEA and AFT in program, method and philosophy. They state that teacher welfare is the total union program but only a part of the NEA program; they see as the two major purposes of NEA, to elevate the character and advance the interests of the teaching profession. Regarding method, the authors believe that the union thrives on conflict and the NEA on cooperation. In philosophy, they see the AFT as having allegiance to the working class but the NEA believing that teaching is a profession, as having allegiance to all, not

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 620.

just to a special group.<sup>1</sup> Batchelder<sup>2</sup> writes in the same vein about the struggle between AFT and NEA which he describes as unionism versus professionalism. "The fundamental issue, therefore, is the union approach to teaching and to public education versus the professional approach."<sup>3</sup> "Basic disagreement between the NEA and the AFT may be concisely stated in two words: responsibility and independence."<sup>4</sup> He sees the problem as one of responsible, honorable action and independence in teaching as opposed to the union which claims allegiance to all others in the labor movement and conflicts with the position of NEA that teachers cannot gear teaching to a special interest group. Batchelder states, "The freedom and independence of the educational process are at stake. The outcome will affect the public as well as teachers."<sup>5</sup> "The teaching profession must not become embroiled in secondary boycotts arising from labor disputes."<sup>6</sup> He feels that contrary to the NEA position, unions want teachers to be a

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<sup>1</sup>John H. Starie and Jack Spatafora, "Union or Professional Membership: A Matter of Philosophy and Program," National Education Association Journal, 51 (March, 1962), 80-81.

<sup>2</sup>Richard D. Batchelder, "Unionism Versus Professionalism in Teaching," National Education Association Journal, 55 (April, 1966), 18-20.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 18.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 19.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 19.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 20.

union member first and a teacher second. Likewise, Shoben deals with the question of professionalism.<sup>1</sup> Regarding the New York City teachers' strike he says, the UFT was big enough to put the school board over a barrel and did so. He goes on to say, "There are, however, some troubling facts and implications here that thoughtful men cannot ignore. These matters go to the heart of the nature of teaching as a profession and bear strongly on the future of the educational occupations."<sup>2</sup> He cites three major areas which he feels must be considered. First, regarding the question of an illegal strike, Shoben states, "Unless one feels that the ends justify means, the fact that the additional money is rightly deserved and long overdue for most--not all--of New York's teachers is quite beside the point."<sup>3</sup> The second concerns the question of, ". . . whether teachers in some larger sense have a 'right' to strike." He says in response, "In voluntarily entering the profession of education, do not teachers obligate themselves to the children who are education's object?"<sup>4</sup> He sees the teachers' strike as an action against children, a refusal to render promised service to them. Thirdly, he believes that New York teachers operated

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<sup>1</sup>E. J. Shoben, "When Teachers Strike," Teachers College Record, 65 (November, 1963), 164-67.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 164.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 164-65.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 165.

on the principle that might makes right and generally allied themselves with trades rather than professions and in so doing, set a poor example for children. He states, ". . . in resorting to the strike, New York's teachers . . . were not acting as a profession. . . ." "In using the ultimate weapon of labor, teachers have defined themselves as hired hands, . . . ." <sup>1</sup> Shoben expresses his belief that teachers should take a firm approach to get what they need and should have but feels that it must be more professional, i.e., not labor union. Cohodes agrees saying, "All that's left to stop teachers from acting like plumbers and longshoremen is the wobbly notion that teaching is a profession." He goes on to say, "Teachers, we suggested may be getting more than they bargained for when they strike. What they're getting, we contended, is a black eye among those who believe that a profession should be concerned with service rather than with coercion of communities." <sup>2</sup> Arbuckle writes, "Teachers today appear to want the best of two worlds: the status of the professional, but the level of responsibility of organized labor; the financial return of the professional, but the hours of organized labor." <sup>3</sup> He

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 166.

<sup>2</sup> A. Cohodes, "Teachers May Lose More Than They Bargain For," Nations Schools, 79 (January, 1967), 37.

<sup>3</sup> Dugald S. Arbuckle, "Professional or Technician?" Education Digest, 33 (November, 1967), 12.

further states that when teachers insist that there is no way to evaluate them as often happens in union or non-professional organizations, the end result is that good and poor teachers get the same salary. He maintains that teachers can and should be evaluated and that very large salaries should be paid to the few teachers who are capable of producing at very high levels. He points out that professionals as opposed to technicians, are rewarded for individual effort and skill and ask reward based on actual not assumed, production. The professional is willing to risk a meager return for the possibility of high remuneration while the technician wants a guarantee for everyone. He further states that union bargaining makes each individual a thing and does not deal with each teacher as an individual.<sup>1</sup>

Arthur Corey<sup>2</sup> writing about courses open to teachers if professional negotiations fail states that for teachers, the strike is inappropriate, unprofessional, illegal, outmoded and ineffective. He sees the strike as inappropriate because the public employer does not have unlimited money and loses nothing in a strike as does the private employer who loses sales and money. Further, he says that a public strike is a threat to the public welfare and government and therefore cannot be permitted. Corey labels a strike

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 12-15.

<sup>2</sup>Arthur F. Corey, "Why Teacher Strikes Must be Rejected by the Profession," Nations Schools, 70 (September, 1962), 69-72.

unprofessional citing the opinion that a professional's first duty is to his patient and second to himself. He states that any practitioner who reverses this order is a quack according to Oliver Wendell Holmes. He says, ". . . professional ends may not be gained by unprofessional means."<sup>1</sup> The fact that a strike breaks a contract and that this is against the ethics code of teachers, makes a strike unethical. He clearly states that a teachers' strike is a strike against children. Since laws deny the right of public employees to strike, such a strike is illegal and Corey sees it as outmoded because in his opinion, strikes are progressively less effective even in the private sector. He feels that the strike is an ineffective weapon because teachers are no better off after, than before, recent teacher strikes in his opinion. In summary, Corey favors sanctions as an appropriate step if negotiations fail; he sees sanctions as effective, ethical, professional and with the advantage of a local group being backed by state and national associations as well. Melby joins with others in urging professional unity through professional association to meet current educational challenges. He states that unions do not create a free, creative and independent

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<sup>1</sup>Arthur F. Corey, "Strikes or Sanctions? What Should Teachers Do If Professional Negotiations Fail?" National Education Association Journal, 51 (October, 1962), 14.

profession which he feels teaching must be in order to do right by children.<sup>1</sup>

On the other side, Lieberman says teachers often do not strike because most think it unprofessional and further believe that public employees should not do so. He cites other professions' codes of ethics which demand withdrawal of services under certain circumstances, e.g., the lawyer whose client wants to use unethical means. Lieberman says that teachers should be obligated to withdraw services under certain circumstances. While he sees nothing which should automatically negate teacher strikes and writes in defense of same, he concludes that teachers should develop techniques for resolving issues without needing to resort to striking.<sup>2</sup> Robert Bruker<sup>3</sup> in line with the recent coloring book fad says that a current Educator's Coloring Book would contain a picture titled, "I am a teacher, color me humble." However, Son of Educator's Coloring Book would show a picture, "I am a teacher, color me sick and tired." He states, "It has become fashionable for persons outside of teaching to tell teachers how to do their jobs."<sup>4</sup> He quotes Professor

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<sup>1</sup>Ernest O. Melby, "Advancing the Cause of Education," National Education Association Journal, 52 (1963), 29.

<sup>2</sup>Myron Lieberman, "Teachers' Strikes: Acceptable Strategy?", Phi Delta Kappan, 46 (January, 1965), 237-40.

<sup>3</sup>Robert M. Bruker, "Color Me Humble," Clearing House, 42 (September, 1967), 33-35.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 33.

Harold Benjamin, "'Free men cannot be taught properly by slaves. Courageous citizens cannot be well educated by scared hired men.'"<sup>1</sup> Bruker feels that teaching is an underdeveloped profession with no effective organization because teachers do not govern or discipline themselves. They do not establish the requirements for admission to the profession and have no organized body of knowledge which a new person must learn in order to be admitted. He favors combining NEA and AFT with compulsory membership for all teachers and with the goal of building a true profession. He feels that, ". . . professionalism and economic welfare complement each other."<sup>2</sup> Therefore, he does not feel that negotiations are unprofessional. Bruker feels that when teachers demand mutual respect, trust and equality, they will get it and salaries, and will be considered professional as well.

George Brooks presents a case for teachers' unions based on the premise that teachers' interests are different from the interests of administration and that administrative decisions often have political overtones. For this reason, he feels teachers need unions and feels that the union best can articulate the teachers' interest. He says, "To assume that the interests of the teachers will always have priority or will even be carefully protected by the administrator is

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 34.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 35.



a patent absurdity. The special interests of the teacher need articulation and representation. And for this purpose, only a union is well designed."<sup>1</sup> Dorros of NEA replies with a case for an independent professional teachers' association, ". . . independent professional associations provide structure and program for both the cooperative promotion of the broad professional goals of all educators for the good of the student and society and for the effective protection and advancement of the special interests of the classroom teacher."<sup>2</sup> Posey in 1968 states, "The policy of the NEA is now hardly distinguishable from that of the AFT, and it may well be that Lieberman and Moskow's prediction that the NEA and the AFT may ultimately merge will come to pass."<sup>3</sup> He feels that the use of union tactics by teachers and the increased militancy of teachers specifically and public employees generally is because it yields success. Further, he presents the opinion that teachers' use of union tactics is not an abandonment of professionalism; union concerns for smaller classes, teacher aides and the demand

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<sup>1</sup>George Brooks, "A Case for Teachers' Unions," Monthly Labor Review, 87 (March, 1964), 292.

<sup>2</sup>Sidney Dorros, "The Case for Independent Professional Teachers' Associations," Monthly Labor Review, 87 (May, 1964), 543.

<sup>3</sup>Rollin B. Posey, "The New Militancy of Public Employees," "Collective Negotiations in the Public Service," ed. by F. A. Nigro, Public Administration Review, 28 (March, 1968), 115.

for better public service is professional according to Posey.<sup>1</sup>

Doherty presents some interesting research data regarding attitudes toward labor of teachers who grew up in blue-collar families. He says that in the past teachers were almost exclusively from the middle class but now are being drawn from blue-collar workers' families. In the past, schools have emphasized the violent role of labor and ignored the more positive aspects but now teachers will present less anti-labor bias in class presentations, according to him. However, he sees blue-collar background teachers as handicapped in another way. Using a sample from New York State College students preparing to be social studies teachers, an attitude scale showed that those who were children of blue-collar, union member fathers shared the same anti-labor bias of farm and white-collar background students. Students with a union background showed more cynicism about unions than others and some indicated that teachers' unions were the answer for teachers. Doherty theorizes that these results are influenced by the fact that teaching is a way into the middle class for blue-collar children and that they wish to shed anything which smacks of their blue-collar

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 111-47.

background, e.g., unions.<sup>1</sup> Wildman<sup>2</sup> explains the drive for union organization of teachers; he points out that the public school teacher is a unique public employee in that he is also white-collar and professional. He says that trade unionists hope that organizing teachers will push other white-collar workers to identify and associate and will diminish the, " . . . predominantly blue-collar image of organized labor . . . "<sup>3</sup>

Darland<sup>4</sup> says that it is good that individual teachers want a part in governing their own profession, e.g., through the results of negotiations. He states, "We sense a new day dawning. . . . Teachers are refusing to be mere 'Bureaucratic functionaries' and they are saying so through action. They are demanding new rights, protections, opportunities for involvement in their business." He feels, however, that teachers should be concerned with education as a whole, not with just the teaching profession. He suggests that this is a legitimate area for academic study; "Surely the question of how the teaching profession is to

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<sup>1</sup>Robert E. Doherty, "Attitudes Toward Labor: When Blue-Collar Children Become Teachers," School Review, 71 (1963), 87-96.

<sup>2</sup>Wesley A. Wildman, "Collective Action by Public School Teachers," Industrial and Labor Relations Review, 18 (October, 1964), 3-19.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 8.

<sup>4</sup>D. D. Darland, "It is Academically Respectable," Journal Teachers Education, 15 (December, 1964), 355-56.

be governed deserves more attention than it is now receiving. In our free society, it is a respectable area of academic concern, with profound sociological and political implications."<sup>1</sup> Darland's hope is that the present activity in negotiations might trigger the establishment of such study.

Unlike many writers, Carr suggests that there are dangers to public education in union programs.<sup>2</sup> He feels that since the union has policies on economic and social issues which it advances through political commitments, this is a dangerous alliance for teachers who should be for all people, not just for a special interest group. He states, "The . . . major problem . . . arises from the continuing efforts of the AFL-CIO to take over the teaching profession."<sup>3</sup> On the opposite side, John Livingston<sup>4</sup> writing about higher education quotes Thorsteen Veblen on why professors will not engage in collective bargaining, "'a feeling prevalent among them that their salaries are not of the nature of wages, and that there would be a species of moral obliquity implied in overtly so dealing with the matter.'"<sup>5</sup> Livingston says this is not so much the case now

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 356.

<sup>2</sup>William G. Carr, "The Assault of Professional Independence," Phi Delta Kappan, 46 (September, 1964), 17-18.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 17.

<sup>4</sup>John C. Livingston, "Collective Bargaining and Professionalism in Higher Education," Educational Record, 48 (1967), 79-88.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 79.

with California State Colleges leading the way with AFT unions. He sees union tactics as, " . . . the only effective means to enforce and maintain standards appropriate to the profession." "The charge of 'unprofessional conduct', therefore, is irrelevant to what is going on, unless we examine more closely the nature of our professional commitment and its pertinence to current practices." He states that younger faculty see the ritual appeal to professionalism as a dodge to make poverty more genteel. Livingston says, " . . . many faculty unionists see it (collective bargaining) as the best way of recovering and revitalizing professional ideals which have been corrupted, distorted, and enfeebled." " . . . traditional practices have undermined rather than promoted professionalism."<sup>1</sup> He states that self imposed faculty hierarchy, merchandising of education and a commitment to intellectual integrity and a life of reason which is incompatible with the politics of public higher education are the traditional practices against professionalism. He says that the, " . . . market place values in the academic pecking order . . . ", promote unionism and that, "Younger faculty often see collective bargaining as a means to rescue the professional ideal, and their professional images of themselves, from the phony professionalism of faculty evaluation." He goes on to say that peer evaluation equals,

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 80.

"A form of ritual cannibalism which no other profession has inflicted upon itself, . . . "<sup>1</sup> He concludes that a desire for protection from competition, protection from the publish or perish dictum, attracts faculty to union and desire to protect the integrity of the profession from peer evaluation, from the tendency to curry favor to gain a good evaluation leads to a union. He suggests that unionists may be more professional in these respects than traditional faculty. Regarding collective bargaining, he says, " . . . my own experience leads me to conclude that genuinely professional considerations have much greater weight in the collective bargaining movement than do economic ones."<sup>2</sup>

Lortie<sup>3</sup> addressing himself to the question of professional, what it is and whether teachers are, states, " . . . professionalization . . . process in which an occupational group develops in a direction characterized by increasing self rule, increasing clarity of membership, and increasing prestige."<sup>4</sup> He further states, "And what professionalization means in large part is the substitution of control by the customer with substitution of control by the colleague group."<sup>5</sup> He points out that teachers do not have self rule

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 82.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 85.

<sup>3</sup>Dan C. Lortie, "Are They to Become Professionals?" Michigan Education Journal, 44 (May, 1967), 39-41.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 39.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 40.

since they are ruled by boards and laymen, do not have control of membership, e.g., non-certified people can be teachers, older teachers do not educate the newer ones and have been very poor in building up a body of knowledge and research about teaching. Lortie states that in important ways, teaching is not organized as is typical of high professionalism. He states his opinion that he is not sure teachers are trying to professionalize and may be obtaining just better working conditions. He points out that with such an important social function as education, the public may not stand for teachers professionalizing and controlling education but concludes that the choice about whether to become professionals is at least partially the teachers' choice. Niehaus also puts the burden on teachers to make themselves true professionals. Among other suggestions, he feels teachers should increase their skills, be more inner directed and obtain more than a minimum level of training to be truly professional.<sup>1</sup>

Strauss writing about problems of unionizing in another profession, sheds further light on problems for teachers.<sup>2</sup> He states that in 1957, engineering unions were, " . . . among the white hopes of the labor movement." "If engineers,

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<sup>1</sup>Stanley W. Niehaus, "The Anatomy of Professionalism," Clearing House, 41 (May, 1967), 515-19.

<sup>2</sup>George Strauss, "Professional or Employee-Oriented: Dilemma for Engineering Unions," Industrial and Labor Relations Review, 17 (July, 1964), 519-33.

among the most 'white collar' of white-collar employees, could be organized--so many unionists argued--then white-collar organization generally would be easy."<sup>1</sup> Today, the leadership is demoralized and defeatist and the movement full of animosity and policy conflict and the union has found that it could not sell itself to engineers. One of the reasons for this is, " . . . there are real conflicts between the engineers' interest as an employee and his interest as a professional, and every engineering union must decide to what extent it will serve as a normally employee-oriented union and to what extent it will act as a professional association."<sup>2</sup> Strauss spells out in some detail the conflict between an individual being simultaneously, an employee and a professional and states that this conflict further weakens a union of professionals. Basically, he feels there is nothing inconsistent in unionism and professionalism but being an employee as well as a professional creates problems. For example, a person with an employee orientation wants equality for all, including salary equality while the professionally oriented person wants protection of his superior status and individual recognition. Similarly to the question of whether non-professional technicians working with engineers could be included in the bargaining unit, the employee would say yes but the professional would

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 519.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 520.



say no. It would seem that many of these same sorts of conflicts could exist for other professionals, specifically in this case, teachers.

Further information regarding non-educator, public employees can contribute to an attempt to gain a somewhat broader perspective. For teachers and their increased organizational activities are only one part of a more general movement of many public employees and of many professional employees as the previous statements regarding engineers would indicate. A Time magazine essay titled, "The Worker's Rights and The Public Weal" states that three major things are needed to cope with the problems of public employees: recognition of their right to organize and to bargain collectively, development of appropriate bargaining procedures so that strikes are not necessary and recognition of the difference between types of public service, specifically that some are more necessary than others. In illustrating the magnitude of the problem, it is pointed out that one sixth of the national work force, 12,000,000 people were in public employment at the time of the article in 1968. Further, that in 1966, there were 142 work stoppages by public employees and that these are expected to increase; for example, Dr. Sam Lambert, Executive Secretary of NEA is cited as predicting 250 teacher strikes alone

for 1969. The article concludes that anti-strike laws clearly do not work and are not the answer.<sup>1</sup>

Social Workers in New York City Welfare offices in 1965 and in Chicago in 1966 went on strike to obtain collective bargaining contracts.<sup>2</sup> New York workers succeeded but their Chicago counterparts did not; however, this is another indication of the increasing movement of professionals and public employees to union techniques of dealing with employers. Time commenting on the New York strike states that the welfare workers are very poorly paid and so they went on strike.<sup>3</sup>

Based on two independent research studies, one with a group of bank clerks and the other with a group of scientists and engineers, Blackburn and Prandy developed a conceptual framework regarding white-collar unionization.<sup>4</sup> They conclude that white-collar unions are similar to all other unions although their members do not always like to agree with this. The authors suggest that they are organized for the same basic reasons but that they differ in degree of

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<sup>1</sup>Time, 91 (March 1, 1968), 34-35.

<sup>2</sup>Douglas G. Cater, "The Chicago Social Workers' Strike," Christian Century, 83 (June 29, 1966), 842-43.

<sup>3</sup>"New York: Strike in a Welfare State," Time, 85 (January 22, 1965), 20-21.

<sup>4</sup>R. M. Blackburn and K. Prandy, "White-Collar Unionization: A Conceptual Framework," British Journal of Sociology, 16 (June, 1965), 111-22.

unionization. They suggest that there is a continuum of the amount of unionization and that, "The conditions of unionism, that is, have not affected white-collar workers to the same extent that they have manual workers."<sup>1</sup> They express the belief that in the future, white-collar unions will become more like unions of manual labor.<sup>2</sup>

Similar to the conflict between NEA and AFT is conflict between independent public employee associations and unions. Krislov points out that such independent associations are typically structured very similarly to unions and have a large membership among state public employees but rarely are the spokesman for local government employees. In Michigan for example, the Michigan State Employees Association and AFSCME hold positions with Michigan State employees similar to those held by Michigan Education Association and AFT with Michigan teachers.<sup>3</sup>

Similar to the United States, Strang says that white-collar workers' militancy is the best hope of the trade

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 119.

<sup>2</sup>The writer of this dissertation suggests that this concept of a continuum of amount of unionization provides a productive way of looking at present day activities of NEA and AFT affiliates. Casting aside questions of alleged philosophical and theoretical differences, collective bargaining issues and techniques of the two groups appear very similar. Can the actual differences between the two groups be seen as a difference in the degree of unionization?

<sup>3</sup>Joseph Krislov, "The Independent Public Employee Association: Characteristics and Functions," Industrial and Labor Relations Review, 15 (1961-62), 510-20.

union movement in Britain.<sup>1</sup> The Economist<sup>2</sup> states in one of its articles, ". . . British employers are generally scared stiff of white collar unions. . . ." <sup>3</sup> British government encourages public employee unions, however. A comment on the militancy of white-collar unions is contained in another issue, "It is the custom of trade unions catering for minorities to proclaim themselves more militant than their big brothers."<sup>4</sup>

John N. Berry III presents information about a group of librarians asked to participate in a boycott as an adjunct to an ongoing strike. The St. John's University, New York faculty was on strike at the time the librarians annual congress was meeting there. The faculty union asked that the librarians boycott the annual congress. According to Berry, thirty five librarians responded favorably and marched in the picket line with university faculty; five hundred crossed the lines and attended their meetings. The author points out that attendance at the meetings was seen as support of the university. This may not have been the case; he suggests that the group could have boycotted the meetings and written a letter to the university explaining

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<sup>1</sup>Arnold Strang, "White Collars Getting Dirty," New Statesman, 74 (December, 1967), 840.

<sup>2</sup>"Recognize Me!" Economist, 224 (July 22, 1967), 301-02.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 301.

<sup>4</sup>"White Collar Unions; Sound and Fury," Economist, 216 (September 25, 1965), 1213.

why or could have attended and stated that their sympathy was with the faculty but that they could not cancel at such a late date. The author says that the situation forced individual librarians and therefore, the group into taking one side or the other.<sup>1</sup>

Smith and McLaughlin suggest that public employment is a neglected area in labor relations.<sup>2</sup> It is their thesis that the problems of labor relations in public employment should be an area of research and training at the university level. In illustration, they cite Fred M. Hechinger writing in the New York Times, describing collective bargaining between the UFT and the New York City Board of Education, "' In industrial disputes labor confronts a management that knows what its assets are. Teachers bargain with a board of education, which lacks fiscal independence in the form of taxing powers. It is a kind of shadow boxing. At best, they can expect a promise that the board will recommend a certain amount to the city authorities. . . . Realistically, it might make more sense for teachers and school board to bargain on the same side of the table against those who control the budget.'"<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>John N. Berry III, "Join the Picket Line!" Library Journal, 91 (April 1, 1966), 1782-87.

<sup>2</sup>Russell A. Smith and Doris B. McLaughlin, "Public Employment: A Neglected Area of Research and Training in Labor Relations," Industrial and Labor Relations Review, 16 (October, 1962), 30-34.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 33.

Nigro notes two major gains made by public employees through collective negotiations: improved salary and better upward communication which he equates with chasing some of the paternalism out of public management.<sup>1</sup>

The unionized teacher, other professional or other public employee is part of a larger union group. For this reason, the profile of union members announced on July 16, 1967 by the AFL-CIO is interesting. The profile is based on a poll of 1700 union members done by John Kraft a professional pollster. Among other things about union members, it showed that nearly fifty per cent live in the suburbs, 46% earn between \$7,500 and \$15,000 annually, twenty-five per cent are under thirty years of age and almost fifty per cent under forty, twenty per cent are women and 67% favored the AFL-CIO position regarding federal aid to education. Major problems needing national attention were listed as economic by 53%, Vietnam by 42% and civil rights and law enforcement by 33%.<sup>2</sup>

With all the interest and activity in collective bargaining or professional negotiations by teachers and other public employees, several people have begun to write about the basics of the bargaining or negotiating process

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<sup>1</sup>Felix A. Nigro, "The Implications For Public Administration," "Collective Negotiations in the Public Service," ed. by F. A. Nigro, Public Administration Review, 28 (March, 1968), 111-47.

<sup>2</sup>"A 'Profile' of Union Members: Who They Are, What They Think," U.S. News and World Report, 63 (July 24, 1967), 75.

as it applies to these specific groups. Some authors concern themselves with defining collective bargaining and discussing how to do it, while others comment on changes necessary to adapt the process for public employees and still others suggest solutions to the current problems facing teachers and others among public employees.

For example, after the 1962 NEA convention in Denver passed a resolution calling for permitting professional negotiations, Ronald Daly defined professional negotiation in part as a means of effective communication.<sup>1</sup> Further, he says that it comes about primarily because of teachers' wish to join with school boards in shaping educational policies. Professional negotiation, " . . . places new responsibilities upon teachers and their associations.", and, " . . . likewise increases the responsibilities of the superintendent or chief administrator."<sup>2</sup> He states that, "All educational matters are negotiable." Daly says, "Implicit in the concept of professional negotiation is the recognition that teachers have a right to communicate with school officials and that agreements reached should be in written form."<sup>3</sup> He also feels that the process provides a foundation of good working relationship between

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<sup>1</sup>Ronald O. Daly, "Professional Negotiation," National Education Association Journal, 54 (May, 1965), 30-31.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 30.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 31.

staff, administration and school board. In a subsequent article, Daly notes that since the first NEA resolution in 1962, the position favoring professional negotiation has been strengthened each year. He also comments that several states have begun to pass laws concerning teacher negotiations and to look at the question of what steps to take if negotiations break down.<sup>1</sup>

Carl Megel<sup>2</sup> writes as president of AFT, "Collective bargaining does not mean strikes. It is the avenue by which teachers can resolve grievances with their employers and circumvent the need for a strike." According to Megel, "Historically, teacher strikes have occurred with almost equal incidence among unions, associations and the unorganized."<sup>3</sup> He feels that, "The establishment of collective bargaining means that teachers work with, and not for, their school district."<sup>4</sup> This increases morale and efficiency according to him and will lead to better education. As Megel summarizes, the union through collective bargaining gives the teacher a voice in determining his own employment, gives administration assistance in locating true grievances

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<sup>1</sup>Ronald O. Daly, "New Directions for Professional Negotiation," National Education Association Journal, 55 (October, 1966), 27-29.

<sup>2</sup>Carl Megel, "Can a Case be Made for Teacher Unions?" Nations Schools, 73, No. 2 (1964), 51-93, passim.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 51.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 93.



and strengthening professional objectives and gives the community a more effective educational system.

Newland provides a very concise definition of collective bargaining and/or, professional negotiation.<sup>1</sup> Writing on the applications of collective bargaining concepts in governments, he states, "Collective bargaining is a relationship between management and the representative of organized employees. It is characterized by periodic negotiations resulting in written agreement on a basic rule system to govern the work relationship and organized arrangements for resolving disagreements and problems as they arise day-to-day."<sup>2</sup> He spells out the Taft-Hartley Law's five requirements for collective bargaining: designation of speakers for management and employees with power to act, good faith bargaining, bargaining about wages, hours, terms and conditions of employment, written contract and bilateral administration, interpretation and enforcement of the contract. Newland feels that this definition of collective bargaining, is directly applicable to negotiations between governmental or public employers and employees.

Moskow comments on the concept of exclusive recognition of one bargaining agent in public education. He feels

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<sup>1</sup>Chester A. Newland, "Collective Bargaining Concepts: Applications in Governments," "Collective Negotiations in the Public Service," ed. by F. A. Nigro, Public Administration Review, 28 (March, 1968), 111-47.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 118.

that this concept needs adaptation or supplementation in order to be pertinent to teacher negotiations. Pointing out that the State has a great deal to say in education, he states that exclusive representation at the local level must be supplemented by other things in order to handle decisions made at the State level affecting local level functions, but over which local governing units have no control. Likewise, since the area is one of public employment, school boards have to hear minority representatives too; one group cannot speak for all as in private industry.<sup>1</sup> While Moskow's thoughts have merit, it is of note that in Michigan, the tendency is for exclusive recognition with agency shop provisions which have been upheld in Court tests. It is also of note as Moskow points out, that in 1965, NEA advocated exclusive recognition as fundamental to professional negotiation and that the teachers' organization which has the majority should represent exclusively. The AFT takes the same stand regarding representation. Both organizations when necessary and clearly as a second choice, will accept dual or proportional representation.<sup>2</sup>

In a discussion about the rights and obligations of teachers to negotiate, Street and Ryan argue the merits of

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<sup>1</sup>Michael M. Moskow, "Representation Among Teachers," Monthly Labor Review, 89 (July, 1966), 728-32.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 728-32.

AFT versus NEA.<sup>1</sup> Ryan proposing AFT affiliation for teachers argues the merits of collective bargaining and the greater relative militancy of the union as opposed to the educational association. He supports the teachers' right to strike as an integral part of the bargaining process. Street arguing for NEA affiliation says the teaching profession is unique in that it has responsibility to the Board of Education employer but also has responsibility to the total community as well. Stressing the commitment of teachers to the children of all people not just the children of union families, he says that teaching cannot be compared either with any other professional association or with anything in the labor movement. Street chooses to call the process of reaching agreement between employer and employee, negotiations rather than bargaining.

Friggens<sup>2</sup> says regarding the battle between AFT and NEA for teacher membership, "In the middle--and deeply troubled--is the teacher with the exception of a militant hard core, today's teachers are not, by nature, trade unionists." He states that teachers need better salary and more voice in the educational process and questions how these things can be obtained without a union. He feels that, "The public instead of the unions should be battling

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<sup>1</sup>Marion Street and John Ryan, "Airing the Issue-3," Instructor, 73 (February, 1964), 49 passim.

<sup>2</sup>Paul Friggens, "Should Teachers Strike?" Reader's Digest, 89 (November, 1966), 95-99.

for the teachers."<sup>1</sup> "Small wonder, then, that our teachers are organizing. We've forced them to do what they never wanted to do, and now we are suffering the consequences."<sup>2</sup> Friggens cites five things which he considers urgent to provide solution to teachers' problems: greater citizen participation in schools, new blood in school boards, a new breed of school superintendent, better school district financing and the practice of understanding and restraint on the part of all parties involved.

Commenting on factors which further unionization, Lombardi and Grimes point out that personal specialization as opposed to task specialization leads to greater socio-economic security and therefore, less tendency to unionize, e.g., doctors and dentists representing personal specialization are less likely to unionize than task specialists such as engineers and teachers.<sup>3</sup> Teachers' substandard salaries and fringe benefits plus interference from two non-professional groups, PTA and School Board, leads to unionization according to the authors. Since white collar workers have a high threshold level for unionization, things must get very bad for them to unionize.

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 97.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 98.

<sup>3</sup>Vincent Lombardi and Andrew J. Grimes, "A Primer for a Theory of White-Collar Unionization," Monthly Labor Review, 90 (May, 1967), 46-49.

Willower discusses resistance to change in school systems and lists the following as leading to resistance to change: real or perceived threats to status, influence of group norms, informal norms and structure, change benefiting one part of an organization at the expense of another part, imposition of change from above and lack of information or skill. Certainly these factors which promote resistance can create problems in and for, negotiations between teacher groups and employer groups. Willower suggests that planned change within all open systems is important and must take note of potential sources of resistance in order to implement change.<sup>1</sup> In order to minimize conflicts over collective bargaining, Combe says that both parties, school boards and teacher groups, must play by the well established rules of collective bargaining and must be realistic.<sup>2</sup> In addition, he cites as necessary for both parties: continued rapport and discussion apart from collective bargaining, understanding of needs, objectives and ability to pay of the school district, caution and restraint in public discussion of collective bargaining negotiations, withdrawal of supervisory personnel from recognized teachers'

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<sup>1</sup>Donald J. Willower, "Barriers to Change in Educational Organizations," Theory into Practice, 2 (December, 1963), 257-63.

<sup>2</sup>George W. Combe, Jr., "How to Minimize Teachers vs Boards Conflicts Over Collective Bargaining," American School Board Journal, 153 (August, 1966), 53-54.

collective bargaining unit and exercise of restraint in discussion and demands.

Georgena Potts reports on a summer school session on teacher negotiations.<sup>1</sup> Discussing collective negotiations, a combination of collective bargaining and professional negotiation, she defines it as, ". . . a participative method of arriving at decisions on conditions of employment." Further, she states, "At its root is the palpable loss to the administrator of the right to make unilateral decisions in the negotiable areas."<sup>2</sup> Collective negotiations is changing the roles of the principal, superintendent and school board. The group attending the summer class accepted that the right to strike was necessary to meaningful collective negotiation and most agreed that exclusive recognition was the most workable system for negotiation. Potts quotes Albert Shanker, president of the New York City teachers' union as saying that power is the central factor in negotiation. She points out that many attendees did not like this but could offer no substitute. The opposition did raise questions about the professionalism of such a power motive and whether such techniques from the private employment sector were workable in the public sector.

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<sup>1</sup>Georgena R. Potts, "A Summer School Short Course in Teacher Negotiations," Monthly Labor Review, 89 (August, 1966), 847-50.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 847.

Lester Ball, an Illinois school superintendent says that, "Collective bargaining in education is here to stay."<sup>1</sup> In his primer for superintendents, he says that they must give up the idea that everything must go through him because in collective bargaining the two focal groups are the teachers and the public's representatives, the School Board. Describing these two as power groups, he says that neither will fully trust the superintendent because he is in the middle. He sees the superintendent as having an important role in pre-bargaining phases of establishing procedures and policies and a very minor role at the bargaining table, mainly to provide information when asked and to facilitate bargaining but not to act as mediator.<sup>2</sup> He describes this new role for the superintendent as, ". . . a political rather than an administrative role."<sup>3</sup>

An interesting development which may be an omen for other teacher unions is the allegation by David Epperson that the California State Federation of Teachers has policies which are, ". . . dangerous to the concept of equal opportunity for the children of workers."<sup>4</sup> He says that policies

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<sup>1</sup>Lester B. Ball, "Collective Bargaining: A Primer for Superintendents," Saturday Review, 50 (January 21, 1967), 70.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 70-80, passim.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 80.

<sup>4</sup>David C. Epperson, "Teacher Heresy in the Union Movement," Educational Forum, 30 (May, 1966), 433.

of the union opposing group dynamics methods in the classroom and to training teachers to meet individual needs of students penalize children from lower class homes and maintain schools for middle class children. The author says this opposes what unions are usually for and therefore is heretical.<sup>1</sup>

Thus, it can be seen that while employee negotiations in education made its debut at the turn of the century, the period of rapid growth began in the past decade. As noted in the preceding pages, a number of writers have discussed the problem of increasing employee negotiations in education. Throughout these writings there is a recurrent theme of conflict, sometimes implicit, often explicit. Several authors attempt to explain causation of the increased militancy of the activity; others point out positive and negative results. There is considerable material presenting various individual and group positions favorable or opposed to negotiations; similarly, a number of authors present value judgments, for example, judgments concerning the rightness or professional quality of the process. Others discuss the mechanics or techniques of carrying on employee negotiations. Overall, it seems clear that there is a problem of increasing employee negotiations in education and that this problem is accompanied by conflict.

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 433-38.



### Need for Study

Significant in its absence is information relative to the effects on the individual professional educator of his involvement in employee negotiations. In its essence, employee negotiations is a process engaged in by individuals and conflicts which accompany the process are relevant to these individuals. There is a need then to look at the individual professional educator and the consequences for him of his involvement in employee negotiations. It is the purpose of this study to look at one type of result of such involvement.

### The Purpose

The purpose of this study is to investigate the intra-individual conflicts occurring as a result of involvement in employee negotiations which a sample of professional educators will verbalize about in a personal interview.

### Definitions

Employee Negotiations: As used in this study, employee negotiations is defined to include both the actual process of transacting an agreement between employer and employees regarding all pertinent items of employment and any or all side effects or accompaniments to such process. These side effects would include withholding of services, strikes, public statements in opposition to the employer, walking

a picket line, mass resignation threats and other activities triggered by and/or in support of, the bargaining process.

Conflict: As used in this study, conflict is defined as that state of disequilibrium experienced by an individual because of a clash between two or more simultaneous incompatible or antagonistic wishes, impulses, learned responses, role expectations, ends or goals and requiring decision or choice between the incompatible factors to reestablish equilibrium. It is by definition therefore, limited to intra-individual conflict.

#### Sample

Sample size was arbitrarily set at forty-six. Thirty-two were drawn randomly from the general membership of the two employee organizations for educators in the Flint Public Schools, the Flint Education Association (FEA) and the Flint Federation of Teachers (FFT). The remaining fourteen consist of the negotiations leaders of the two groups. These forty-six representing affiliated educators in the Flint public school system in the 1968-69 school year were those to be contacted for this study.

#### Underlying Assumption

The basic underlying assumption of this study is that the professional educator involved in employee negotiations is in a potential conflict-producing situation and that it

is probable that conflict will arise for individuals so involved.

### Instrument of Investigation

The Employee Negotiations Conflict Interview (ENCI) was devised to elicit verbal expression of, and information about, intra-individual conflicts which individuals experienced due to involvement in employee negotiations. Information regarding personal role and participation in employee negotiations also was sought. ENCI is a brief schedule of questions, open-end and largely unstructured, designed to allow maximum freedom of response to the interviewee.

### Areas of Investigation

Since this is uncharted territory, the concept of exploration or investigation of obtained data seems most appropriate. Obtained interviews were submitted to a panel of independent judges along with definitions of categories of conflict constructed from those suggested in the literature and by the writer's speculations in formulating this study. Thus the data are permitted to cluster into categories of conflict allowing description and exploration of the concepts perceived as being in conflict. The variation if any, in the number and type of conflicts between subjects, between organizations and between general membership and leaders are explored.

### Limitations

This study makes no attempt to analyze the personality structure and dynamics of individuals in the sample; no attempt is made to gather personal history or background information or to ascertain why given individuals do or do not express particular conflicts. Similarly, no attempt is made to determine or analyze factors which may have affected selection of organization membership or choice of role within the organization.

This study concerns itself only with intra-individual conflicts arising from involvement in employee negotiations which the subject will verbalize about in the course of a face to face interview with the writer.

### Summary

The preceding pages have discussed the problem of increasing employee negotiations in education and the need to look at the effects of involvement in this process on individual educators. The purpose of this study, to investigate the intra-individual conflicts occurring as a result of involvement in employee negotiations which a group of professional educators will verbalize about in a personal interview, has been noted. It was indicated that the sample for this study was drawn from Flint public school educators affiliated with the education association or the union at the time of sample selection and that a personal interview schedule was devised as the investigative tool of the study.

Areas of investigation and exploration, limitations of the study and pertinent definitions for the study have been noted. In order to investigate intra-individual conflicts, it is necessary now to look at underlying theory of conflict pertinent for this study. Following this, subsequent chapters will deal with methodology and thence with analysis of data and conclusions.

## CHAPTER II

### CONFLICT THEORY

The basic underlying assumption of this study is that the professional educator involved in employee negotiations as it is herein defined is in a potential conflict-producing situation; it is probable that conflict will arise for him. It is necessary then to understand something about the subject of conflict and its effects in order to look at it as it occurs in the individual. The following selected literature on the subject of conflict as presented to focus on theory important to this study.

#### Pertinent Literature

Role conflict appears as a distinct probability for the educator involved in employee negotiations since the role of educator as facilitator of formal learning is not necessarily commensurate in all aspects with the role of educator in employee negotiations. Kahn et al, would label the foregoing, inter-role conflict, a situation in which role pressures from membership in one organization, i.e., classroom teachers, conflict with pressures from membership

in other groups, i.e., employee negotiations group.<sup>1</sup> The authors' study, a national survey of 725 working adults, is concerned with objective role conflict. This is defined as role conflict in the environment of the individual and imposed on the individual from the external environment; it is also known as, "sent role conflict." Objective role conflict differs from experienced or psychological conflict which is generated internally. In addition to the inter-role conflict described, the authors define two other types of sent role conflict. The two are intra-sender conflict in which incompatible role prescriptions are received from the same person and inter-sender conflict in which pressures from two different role senders are in opposition. These three types of conflict often result in psychological conflict for the individual. Further the authors state that, a combination of sent pressures and internal forces also can produce role conflict as for example, when role requirements violate moral values. Contradictory role expectations impinging on the individual from whatever source produce role conflicts which yield for the individual, intensified internal conflicts, increased tension and reduced satisfaction.

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<sup>1</sup>Robert L. Kahn, Donald M. Wolfe, Robert P. Quinn, J. Diedrick Snoek in collaboration with Robert A. Rosenthal, Organizational Stress: Studies in Role Conflict and Ambiguity (New York, London, Sydney: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1964).

The authors conclude, "It is quite clear that role conflicts are costly for the person in emotional and interpersonal terms."<sup>1</sup>

In addition to their national survey, the authors conducted an intensive study using personal interviews with a small sub-sample of the total initially surveyed. In part their conclusions from this data state, "Indeed, evidence of inner conflict in response to strong role pressures is concentrated among the more neurotic personalities in the intensive study, although dissatisfaction, tension, and feelings of futility occur among all persons under pressure. . . . The evidence urges the conclusion that 'neurotic' and 'non-neurotic' reactions to role conflict are substantially similar, and that sufficient environmental stress may produce neurotic symptoms even in those who show little predisposition to neurotic anxiety."<sup>2</sup>

In a group of military officers who were also teachers, Getzels and Guba studied role, role conflict and effectiveness.<sup>3</sup> The study done at the Air Force Academy examined the relationship between the highly organized roles of officer and teacher in the military, the conflict between these roles when held by one person and the consequences of such conflict

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 71.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 261-62.

<sup>3</sup>J. W. Getzels and E. G. Guba, "Role, Role Conflict, and Effectiveness: An Empirical Study," American Sociological Review, 19 (1954), 164-75.



in effective management of the roles. The authors theoretical position is that, ". . . an actor's behavior may best be understood as a function of role and personality."<sup>1</sup> They state, "In certain situations role conflicts occur. . . . An actor is required to fill simultaneously two or more roles that present inconsistent, contradictory, or even mutually exclusive expectations."<sup>2</sup> In such a situation, he must choose one role over the other, compromise between the roles or withdraw from both roles. Regarding degree of conflict the authors state, "The severity of the role conflict is dependent on two factors. One is the relative incompatibility of expectations between roles. . . . The other factor determining severity of role conflict is the rigor with which expectations are defined within a given situation. How flexible or rigid are the limits set by the defining group within which their expectations may satisfactorily be met? . . . The extent to which conflict is felt is also a function of differences in personality structure."<sup>3</sup> The authors conclude that the greater the incompatibility of two role expectations, the greater the role conflict and that while the intensity of role conflict varied with certain personality characteristics, the greater the intensity of role conflict, the less was role effectiveness. They state that

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 164.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 165.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 165.

while role conflict can be resolved by compromise or exclusion, exclusion was the most likely form of resolution in their study. "There seems to be a major role to which one must commit himself in order to determine his action at choice points, . . . . An actor, therefore, placed in a role conflict situation, will probably choose as his major role the one that is most compatible with his needs and will assimilate other competing roles to it as the frame of reference. . . . If an individual chooses as his major role the one that is also the legitimate role in the situation he is less likely to be affected by conflicts or the threat of sanctions than when he chooses some alternate role."<sup>1</sup> Nathan Ackerman agrees pointing out that the extent to which a role is successfully handled is a function of the degree of overlap between role expectations and the actor's own needs.<sup>2</sup> Thus, roles chosen commensurate with personal needs and legitimate in the situation create less intra-individual conflict than other roles might, according to these authors.

Illustrating role conflict problems of sociologists, Nelson states, "It is almost a truism that when various strategies (role playing strategies) conflict, the actual selection of a strategy often comes about as a result of

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 173-74.

<sup>2</sup>Nathan W. Ackerman, "Social Role and Total Personality," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 21 (January, 1951), 1-17.

serious compromise either between individuals or within an individual leaving the adherents to the compromise deeply dissatisfied."<sup>1</sup> He suggests the possibility that a given pattern of role conflict may be a feature of the inter-relationship of man, his organization and the external environment.<sup>2</sup>

Boulding discusses intra-individual conflict from the frame of reference of the Lewin-Miller theory of conflict.<sup>3</sup> This theory is concerned with the positive and negative values of a goal, i.e., forces which attract to a goal and forces which repel from a goal. According to this theory which Boulding espouses, an individual is in a state of conflict when he is in equilibrium between two equally positive, attractive goals or between two equally negative, repelling goals. The first type of conflict is labelled approach-approach conflict and the latter, avoidance-avoidance conflict. Thus the individual in a position which is both unacceptable and stable is in conflict. A third type of conflict is approach-avoidance conflict in which a goal has both positive and negative values and the individual is ambivalent. Boulding states, "As long as the good in the

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<sup>1</sup>Harold A. Nelson, "How Shall The Advocate Advocate? A Fictional Case Study in Role Conflict," Ethics, 76 (July, 1966), 241.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 239-52.

<sup>3</sup>Kenneth E. Boulding, Conflict and Defense (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1962).

goal certainly outweighs the bad, no psychological conflict is likely to arise, . . . "1

As part of a larger study of the role of the teacher done by the University of Kansas City, Twyman and Biddle report on role conflict of public school teachers.<sup>2</sup> The underlying assumption of their study is that the teacher caught in conflicting pictures for his behavior was in a state of role conflict. Data were obtained in group interviews using an instrument describing thirty different teacher behaviors and designed to measure expectations and prescriptions or norms for teacher behavior held by a sample of teachers, pupils, parents and school officials. One of the findings was that disparities between the role seen for the teacher by school officials and parents and the role seen for the teacher by teachers themselves caused the greatest amount of role conflict and the greatest general difficulty. The authors question that teachers are sufficiently aware of the amount of disparity in these various groups' perceptions of teacher role and point out that such disparity makes adequate evaluation of teacher performance difficult for in such cases, meeting the standards of one group must of necessity mean failing the standards of another group.

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 90.

<sup>2</sup>J. Paschal Twyman and Bruce J. Biddle, "Role Conflict of Public School Teachers," The Journal of Psychology, 55 (1963), 183-98.

In another study, Getzels and Guba investigated the structure of roles and role conflict in the teaching situation.<sup>1</sup> They developed a role conflict instrument after extensive interviews and used it with a sample of teachers to investigate the nature of expectations attaching to the teacher role. The extent of the conflict among these expectations and the differential effect of such conflict on the teachers as a function of certain personal and social characteristics was also researched. They concluded that many expectations, both general and common to all teaching, and specific, depending on the local school and community for their type, were in conflict and state, ". . . the teaching situation is in many critical elements characterized by role conflict."<sup>2</sup> They also found that the differences among teachers regarding the amount role conflict troubled them as individuals were related to the personal characteristics of the teachers.

Gross, McEachern and Mason report on studies of the school superintendency role.<sup>3</sup> They were concerned with studying the individual superintendent exposed to conflicting and incompatible expectations and with developing a

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<sup>1</sup>J. W. Getzels and E. G. Guba, "The Structure of Roles and Role Conflict in the Teaching Situation," Journal of Educational Sociology, 29 (September, 1955), 30-40.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 40.

<sup>3</sup>Neal Gross, Alexander W. McEachern and Ward S. Mason, "Role Conflict and Its Resolution," in Role Theory: Concepts and Research, ed. by Bruce J. Biddle and Edwin J. Thomas (New York, London, Sydney: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1966).

theory of role conflict resolution. Data were collected in individual, eight hour, personal interviews with a random sample of all Massachusetts school superintendents in 1952-53. The resultant 105 subjects each were presented with alternative expectations which relevant groups might hold for his behavior in four different situations and asked to state which represented the expectation of each relevant group for his behavior. When a superintendent indicated that he perceived incompatible expectations held for his behavior by relevant groups as for example, teachers expecting one behavior while school board members expected a different and incompatible behavior of him in the same situation, the interviewer probed with open-end questions to discover the amount of anxiety created, how the conflict was resolved and what the subject thought were the sanctions or rewards and punishments which would accrue to him because of this behavior. To illustrate, 88% of the superintendents reported incompatible expectations from different, relevant groups on the issue of teacher salary, one of the situations used in this study.

The authors also report on the determinants of individual choices in resolving role conflict; they define role conflict as occurring when an individual perceives himself confronted with incompatible expectations as in the teacher salary issue reported above. Their theory begins with the individual's or actor's definition of the situation in which

they differentiate individuals into three types depending on their primary orientation to legitimacy or sanctions in making decisions. For the purpose of their study, the authors define a legitimate expectation as a perceived obligation because the individual feels others have the right to expect it of him and an illegitimate expectation as one which he feels others do not have a right to expect of him and therefore as a perceived pressure. Sanction is defined as reward or punishment conditional on the individual's behavior. The three types of individuals thus differentiated are: moral orientation type who behaves in role conflict to fulfill legitimate expectations and reject illegitimate ones regardless of sanctions; expedient orientation type who gives priority to the sanctions in determining his behavior in role conflict with legitimacy-illegitimacy of expectations secondary to sanctions as a behavior determinant; moral-expedient type who considers both legitimacy and sanctions and behaves according to his perceived "net balance" in resolving role conflict. On a separate scale developed by the authors, subjects answered 37 items designed to ascertain their felt obligation to a variety of situations; there were five possible answers designed to rate the degree of mandatory response for each subject. Thus to the items asking the felt obligation to a given situation, subject responded absolutely must, preferably should, may or may not, absolutely should not, or absolutely

must not. Subjects were scored one point for any mandatory response, i.e., absolutely must or must not. Scores ranged from 1-30 with scores of 1-9 received by low mandatory-expedient types, 10-18 by the moral-expedient type and 19-30 by the highly mandatory-moralists. The authors report that for 77 of the total 85 role conflict cases in their study, the theory above yielded a correct prediction; this represents a .01 level of significance.

Thibaut and Kelley,<sup>1</sup> writing about role conflict state that the amount of conflict is dependent on several factors. They state, ". . . we take the amount of conflict to be an increasing function of four variables: (a) the number of competing responses, (b) their degree of incompatibility or interference, (c) their absolute strengths or intensities, and (d) the degree to which their strengths approach equality."<sup>2</sup>

Talcott Parsons discusses role conflict and its role in stimulating deviant behavior.<sup>3</sup> He says, "The consequences of the factors in the genesis of deviant motivation and

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<sup>1</sup>John W. Thibaut and Harold H. Kelley, "Performance Interdependence," in Role Theory: Concepts and Research, ed. by Bruce J. Biddle and Edwin J. Thomas (New York, London, Sydney: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1966), pp. 222-231.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 226.

<sup>3</sup>Talcott Parsons, "Role Conflict and the Genesis of Deviance," in Role Theory: Concepts and Research, ed. by Bruce J. Biddle and Edwin J. Thomas (New York, London, Sydney: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1966), pp. 275-77.



behavior may be compounded by the factor of role conflict. By this is meant the exposure of the actor to conflicting sets of legitimized role expectations such that complete fulfillment of both is realistically impossible. It is necessary to compromise, that is, to sacrifice some at least of both sets of expectations, or to choose one alternative and sacrifice the other. In any case the actor is exposed to negative sanctions and, so far as both sets of values are internalized, to internal conflict."<sup>1</sup> Regarding the effects of role conflict on the individual Parsons states, "Exposure to role conflict is an obvious source of strain and frustration in that it creates a situation, incompatible with a harmonious integration of personality with the interaction system. There must be external frustrations, internal conflicts or both, in the more severe cases always both. Indeed what, on the interaction level if not fully developed social role level, is exposure to conflicting expectations of some kind may be presumed to be the generic situation underlying the development of ambivalent motivational structures with their expression in neuroses, in deviant behavior or otherwise."<sup>2</sup>

With research into conflict, Berlyne has shown that conflict on a non-painful level arouses the individual physically, sharpens faculties, motivates action and enhances

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 275.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 276.

learning capacity.<sup>1</sup> He believes that conflict which is not painful and does not arouse fear enhances learning and is an important motivator. " . . . Dr. Berlyne believes that complexity, uncertainty and incongruity will in themselves, not because they produce fear--arouse basic responses in the individual."<sup>2</sup>

Sieber and Lanzetta studied the effects of an individual's conceptual structure and problem uncertainty and importance of a decision on the amount of time spent gathering information before making a decision.<sup>3</sup> They state, "According to Berlyne (1960), stimuli which are novel, complex, incongruous, or surprising tend to suggest a host of possible responses, thereby eliciting conflict and response uncertainty. The amount of conflict elicited is a function of both response uncertainty and the 'importance' of the problem."<sup>4</sup> Sieber found that some personality types experienced more role conflict than others in uncertain situations. She states that, " . . . abstract persons are more sensitized to the conflicting cues inherent in complex

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<sup>1</sup>D. E. Berlyne, "Conflict and Arousal," Scientific American, 215 (August, 1966), 82-87.

<sup>2</sup>"Conflict Basic as Hunger?" Science News, 90 (August 6, 1966), 83.

Joan E. Sieber and John T. Lanzetta, "Conflict and Conceptual Structure as Determinants of Decision Making Behavior," Journal of Personality, 32 (December, 1964), 622-41.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 623.

and uncertain stimuli and are therefore more highly motivated than concrete persons to resolve the response uncertainty thereby engendered."<sup>1</sup>

Gustad discussed role conflict and its effect on growth of a university.<sup>2</sup> He says that a university is composed of several faculty communities and that consensus between the communities is needed to go forward; role conflict prevents achievement of consensus within and between communities. Gustad quotes Everett C. Hughes with whom he agrees, "'The American undergraduate teacher has conflicting demands made upon him. He is expected to be a cross between a high school teacher, a chaperone, a distinguished research man, and a personal and public relations counsellor.'"<sup>3</sup> The conflicting demands of these several reference groups to which the individual faculty member belongs produce role conflict and subsequently inhibit the growth of the total university according to the author.

Concerning teacher allegiance, White and Lee discuss role conflict in this area. They state, "The consensus is that conflicts between teachers' unions and school systems are inevitable."<sup>4</sup> According to the authors, research in

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 641.

<sup>2</sup>John W. Gustad, "Community, Consensus, and Conflict," Educational Record, 47 (1966), 439-51.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 440.

<sup>4</sup>Harold C. White and John W. Lee, "Union or School? The Problem of Teacher Allegiance," School and Society, 96 (1968), 69.

industry and business does not confirm this; they feel that dual allegiance for the teacher to both school and union is possible because both have separate functions useful to the teacher. They state that on occasion, teachers may need to choose one side or the other and that this yields role conflict but that they can be expected to resolve such conflict as quickly as possible and return to balanced loyalties.

Definitions of conflict whether it be role conflict, intra-individual conflict, inter-individual conflict, intra or inter group conflict, or some other types of conflict have in common the concept of clash or struggle between two or more factors. A brief survey of conflict definitions seems in order here. Webster for example, defines conflict as, "n. 1. a fight; battle; struggle. 2. sharp disagreement or opposition, as of interests, ideas, etc.; clash. 3. emotional disturbance resulting from a clash of impulses in a person."<sup>1</sup> Harriman defines conflict as it is used in psychoanalysis as, ". . . tensions arising from incompatible unconscious wishes simultaneously operative."<sup>2</sup> Baldwin says, "When two or more ends are presented as desirable, either simultaneously or in immediately succeeding

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<sup>1</sup>David B. Guralnik and Joseph H. Friend, ed., Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language (College ed.; Cleveland and New York: The World Publishing Company, 1964), p. 308.

<sup>2</sup>Philip L. Harriman, Handbook of Psychological Terms (Totowa, New Jersey: Littlefield, Adams and Co., Inc., 1966), p. 39.

states of consciousness, we have the experience known as 'conflict of motives,' the conflict being terminated by a voluntary decision or choice."<sup>1</sup> Znaniecki concerned with conflict in social relations still continues the concept of clash between two or more factors; for example he says, "Another source of social conflict is the participation of the same individual in different social relations with partly incompatible duties."<sup>2</sup> Similarly, Luria doing psychophysiological research states, ". . . the conflict proceeds from two mutually exclusive tendencies."<sup>3</sup> Burrow states that conflict is physiological and true of all humans and says, "In other words, the conflict was internal and indigenous to the organisms in which the element of struggle or opposition was to be found."<sup>4</sup> Laurance Shaffer states, "The term conflict means that the individual confronts a complex situation to different aspects of which he has learned to make antagonistic responses. . . . Since the

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<sup>1</sup>James Mark Baldwin, ed., Dictionary of Philosophy and Psychology, Vol. II (New York: Peter Smith, 1940), p. 113.

<sup>2</sup>Florian Znaniecki, Social Relations and Social Roles (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Co., 1965), p. 92.

<sup>3</sup>A. R. Luria, The Nature of Human Conflicts, trans. and ed. by W. Horsley Gantt (New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1932), p. 208.

<sup>4</sup>Trigant Burrow, M.D., Ph. D., The Biology of Human Conflict, An Anatomy of Behavior Individual and Social (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1937), pp. 32-33.

two antagonistic responses cannot be made at the same time the tension remains unreduced and adjustive activity is demanded. . . . In the conflict situation . . . the adjustment must be a selection or compromise." Further he states, "The two conflicting impulses do not cancel each other but give rise to increased tension and in turn vacillating and non-specific activity."<sup>1</sup> Biddle and Thomas writing on the nature and history of role theory define role conflict as, "1. Inconsistent prescriptions (or other standards) held for a person by himself or by one or more others. 2. The attribution of inconsistent prescriptions (or standards) to others, applicable to one's self. 3. Feelings of unease resulting from the existence of inconsistent prescriptions (or standards)."<sup>2</sup>

Conflict as it is defined for this study incorporates several of the concepts detailed in the preceding literature. For the purpose of this study, conflict is limited to intra-individual conflict only. It is defined as that state of disequilibrium experienced by an individual because of a clash between two or more simultaneous incompatible or antagonistic wishes, impulses, learned responses, role

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<sup>1</sup>Laurance Frederick Shaffer, Ph. D., The Psychology of Adjustment, An Objective Approach to Mental Hygiene (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company; Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1936), p. 119.

<sup>2</sup>Bruce J. Biddle and Edwin J. Thomas, ed., Role Theory: Concepts and Research (New York, London, Sydney: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1966), p. 12.

expectations, ends or goals and requiring decision or choice between the incompatible factors to reestablish equilibrium.

### Summary

In the foregoing pages, it is noted that role conflict is said by several authors to lead to internal or psychological conflict. Some note that in such a conflict situation, the individual must make choices between conflicting factors in order to reduce conflict. Several state that the amount and/or degree of conflict and the mode of handling it are related to personality structure of the individual and it is noted that a degree of conflict can be useful to motivate and promote learning.

Evidence is presented that the teaching situation is characterized by role conflict as an ongoing and integral part of its nature. The indication that different groups relevant for the teacher hold different expectations for him and that these may differ materially from his personal expectations for himself, is important to note.

Finally, a survey of a variety of definitions illustrates elements common to the concept of conflict.

With this background material regarding underlying theory of conflict and previous information concerning employee negotiations in education, let us look now to the purpose of this study and the procedures used toward that end. The following pages will deal first with the methods

used in exploring the conflicts which a sample of educators will verbalize about their involvement in employee negotiations. Thence, obtained data will be discussed followed by presentation of conclusions and recommendations.



## CHAPTER III

### METHODOLOGY

Chapter I has presented the problem to be studied; Chapter II has reviewed conflict theory pertinent to the underlying assumption of this study. The present chapter will discuss procedures used to investigate the problem. The purpose of this study is exploratory, to investigate the intra-individual conflicts resulting from involvement in employee negotiations which a sample of professional educators will verbalize about in a personal interview. To provide a common frame of reference, the physical and chronological setting within which this study took place will be detailed first. Following this, overall general procedure and specific procedures of sample selection, data gathering and data analysis techniques will be discussed.

#### The Setting

This study was done in Flint, Michigan, a city of approximately 195,000 population. Flint is known as a heavy industry town with automobile manufacturing, the primary industry. It has a history of considerable industrial employee negotiations experience including both the sit down strikes of the nineteen thirties and the relatively

more sophisticated procedures of the present. However, it is only recently that it has experienced professional, public employee negotiations. Organized, active, formal employee negotiations in the educational sphere came alive only recently.

The sample for this study was taken from professional educators employed in the Flint public school system. A brief overview of employee negotiations activity in this system is important to understanding of the setting of the study. The time period crucial for our purposes began with the 1966-67 school year. At that time, organized educators in the Flint public school system were affiliated with either the Flint Education Association (FEA) or the Flint Federation of Teachers (FFT). The former organization was affiliated with the Michigan and National Education Associations at state and national levels; the latter organization was affiliated with the union of teachers at the national level and with the AFL-CIO.

During the 1966-67 school year the FEA, the recognized bargaining agent for all non-administrative educators in the system, was engaged in negotiations with the Flint Board of Education. As a part of the negotiations activity, the FEA withheld services for a two day period which it called Professional Days. Schools were picketed and while not all educators withheld services, there were an insufficient number to permit uninterrupted classroom instruction. Some

negotiations leaders were suspended, pictures were taken of those on picket lines and there was some thought that blacklisting might become an administrative weapon. FEA obtained signed resignations in sufficient number that mass resignation could become a potential weapon in negotiations. On the second day of the work stoppage, FFT supported FEA by organization vote; on the first day there was no formal position taken by FFT. This delay apparently was due at least in part to ineffective or inadequate communication between the two groups. A contract was agreed upon which covered the 1967-68 school year. Then again, just before the beginning of the 1967-69 school year, the group was engaged in negotiations with the threat of strike so that schools could not open if negotiations were not satisfactorily concluded. A contract was agreed upon and school opening was not delayed. Negotiations for the 1969-70 school year involved a fourteen day strike at the beginning of the school year as well as fact finding. These activities culminated in October, 1969 with the merger of FEA and FFT into the United Teachers of Flint. This amalgamation has both professional association and union affiliation at a national level through the National Education Association and the United Federation of Teachers. This was the first such merger in the United States.

This study was conceived and conducted during this same time period. The sample was drawn just preceding the

opening of school in the 1968-69 school year and interviews were conducted through the fourteen day strike in fall, 1969. It should be noted that the educators included in this study share a number of common factors. All were affiliated with an employee organization, were professional educators, in the Flint public school system, with the same bargaining agent, exposed to the same communications media, and responsible to the same public. Thus the group has considerable homogeneity; differences pertinent for this study will be noted subsequently.

#### General Procedure

The writer met with the presidents of FEA and of FFT separately during August, 1968 to request permission to draw a sample of the membership of the two organizations for the study. Thence, as the FEA president asked, the writer submitted the request in writing to the FEA executive board; permission was granted and a sample later drawn by the writer. The FFT president deemed it preferable that the membership list not be open to a non-member and as a compromise, offered to draw the sample himself. Sample selection and composition will be discussed in greater detail later in this chapter.

The executives of both organizations suggested that it would be helpful to inform their respective memberships that the writer had the consent and support of the organization's governing bodies in contacting and interviewing individual members and indicated that they would do so. Thus, this

study was conducted by the writer with the approval and cooperation of the FEA and FFT organizations. Both organizations and all participating individuals were guaranteed anonymity by the writer; individual and group involvement was based on this understanding.

It was decided that initial contact with each sample member would be by telephone to solicit participation and schedule appointment for interview. Thus, a statement to be used for the telephone contact and an interview schedule were devised; these are detailed subsequently in this chapter. The writer conducted three "dry run" interviews to test the interview schedule under conditions of actual practice and to provide sufficient familiarity with the instrument to permit smooth functioning when interviews with sample members were begun. Following this, interviews with the sample were done primarily during the 1968-69 school year.

Categories of conflict were defined abstractly and submitted with interview data to a panel of judges to ascertain whether there might be some independent agreement on type and number of conflicts expressed. Comparisons between leader and non-leader and union and association sample members were made. This and other information from the data are discussed in forthcoming pages. Specific procedures regarding sample selection, data gathering and analysis follow.

### The Sample

The total population from which the sample for this study was derived was composed of non-administrative, employee organization-affiliated educators in the Flint public school system at the beginning of the 1968-69 school year. At that time, there were 2,209 educators in the system; according to the presidents of FEA and of FFT, the total membership of FEA was 1,450 and of FFT, 301. Thus, the pool from which the sample was drawn did not include the 458 persons who belonged to neither organization.

Size of sample to be drawn was set arbitrarily at forty-six to be divided equally between the two organizations. Thirty-two of these were selected randomly from the general membership. The remaining fourteen consisted of the negotiations leaders of the two groups and therefore, were not chosen at random.

The writer drew the sample from the general membership of FEA. In order to obtain the required sixteen names from the 1,450 membership, every ninety-sixth name beginning with name number one was drawn for the sample. Thus, names numbered 1, 97, 193, etc., were selected for the random sample of FEA membership. This sub-sample is hereafter designated FEAM.

The president of FFT provided the comparable sample from that organization's general membership. In order to obtain the required sixteen names from the membership of

301, the writer specified that every twentieth name, beginning with name number one be selected for the sample. Thus, names numbered 1, 21, 41, etc., were selected for the random sample of FFT membership. This sub-sample is hereafter designated FFTM.

The negotiations leaders of the two organizations composed the remaining two sub-samples. FEAL was composed of the seven member professional negotiating team of FEA for the 1968-69 contract talks. Each member was also on the executive board of the association. FFTL was composed of the seven FFT executives identified by the president of the organization as those who would comprise the negotiating team if that organization were the bargaining agent.

It should be noted that no identifying or demographic information was collected. Type of organization membership and leader or member role in the organization represent the only available identifying information.

These forty-six individuals representing the general membership and negotiations leadership of affiliated educators were those to be contacted for personal interview. For these purposes, a telephone statement and an interview form were devised.

#### Telephone Contact Statement

This statement was developed in order that there be uniformity of approach with sample members. It was necessary to accomplish five things in this initial direct contact with

sample members. These were: introduction of the writer and the reason for the call, request for participation in the study, provision of sufficient information to allow interview acceptance or rejection based on knowledge and scheduling of appointment when possible. All telephone contacts were made by the writer using the following statement.

Hello Mr. (Mrs. or Miss) \_\_\_\_\_. This is Jacqueline Oatman. You do not know me but I am in the process of writing my Ph. D. dissertation at Michigan State University in educational psychology. My research is with a sample of Flint public school educators and you are part of my sample from FEA (FFT). I would like to come over and talk with you for about half an hour about some of your experiences, thoughts and feelings during the course of employee negotiations which I've defined to include not just the negotiating or bargaining process itself but also all the things which might go along with this such as strikes, mass resignations and the like. Anything you can share with me will be anonymous. May I see you on \_\_\_\_\_ at \_\_\_\_\_?

Upon agreement to participate, an appointment was scheduled for personal interview. For this purpose, the writer developed an interview schedule which was employed in this study. To provide background, a brief survey of comment on this technique is in order. Following this overview, the specific instrument of this study will be discussed.

### The Personal Interview

The choice of personal interview as the investigative tool of this exploratory study had considerable appeal. In an area in which the literature provided a paucity of information, this tool recommended itself as a means of beginning



to explore the question. In order to investigate conflicts occurring internally in individuals, it becomes necessary to obtain information directly from them. In a book prepared for the Committee on Appraisal of Research of the Social Science Research Council, Gordon Allport writes to this point.<sup>1</sup> He says, "If we want to know how people feel: what they experience and what they remember, what their emotions and motives are like, and the reasons for acting as they do--why not ask them? This is the simple logic of the introspectionist's position that commends itself to many in spite of the scorching displeasure of behaviorists and objectivists. Personal documents are for the most part introspective protocols, adapted especially to the study of the complexities of phenomenal consciousness. Their use seems natural enough to psychologists who happen to be interested in complex phenomenal states."<sup>2</sup>

Allport focuses on two problems in this book: "What materials tell us what goes on in people's minds? How are valid generalizations to be made on the basis of such materials?" "To understand man in society . . . we must come to know the mental states of particular men in particular societies."<sup>3</sup> The personal document defined as, ". . . any

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<sup>1</sup>Gordon W. Allport, The Use of Personal Documents in Psychological Science (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1941).

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 37.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. vii.

self-revealing record that intentionally or unintentionally yields information regarding the structure, dynamics, and functioning of the author's mental life."<sup>1</sup>, is seen as a way of gaining such knowledge.

Historically, psychologists and psychiatrists began to use personal documents toward the end of the last century; men such as William James, Sigmund Freud and G. Stanley Hall used personal documents in their work. S. A. Stouffer in his research on attitudes demonstrated that judges can agree about the attitudes of the writers of personal documents and in addition, that they can agree with an independent source about these attitudes.<sup>2</sup> As to why psychologists use personal documents in research, Allport's position cited previously is in essence, if we want to know about people, why not ask them? He quotes W. Stern regarding the same question, "' Every person knows for himself alone how any feeling, e.g., grief, anxiety, is immediately experienced. He likewise knows how thoughts arise and become linked with one another, or how mental items leading to some act of will (impulses, deliberations, doubts, conflicts, of motives, decisions, etc.) appear as facts of mind.'"<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. xii.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 1-191, passim.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 37.

While Allport discusses many types of personal documents, the pertinent one for this study is the personal interview. He says, "Another borderland in the field of personal documents is reached in the vast domain of interviewing. . . . can we consider the product a personal document or not? The criterion seems to be whether the subject's own words are accurately and completely (or almost completely) recorded. . . . Hence, verbatim records . . . must be admitted."<sup>1</sup> "Verbatim records are true personal documents, . . . "<sup>2</sup>

He categorizes criticisms of personal document research in three groups: the irrelevant, trivial or false criticisms; those which are true in a limited sense; and those which are true. In the first group he dispatches the criticism that personal document research is non-objective by agreeing that it is, and is supposed to be, and the criticisms that it is invalid and unreliable by stating that it is frequently shown to be both valid and reliable. In the second category he places criticisms that it permits deliberate deception and self deception but states that the effect of these can be reduced by research design and can be tested for to demonstrate presence or absence. Regarding the criticism that the individual may impose ego values on the data, he says this is what is desired and therefore is

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 90.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 94.

not a shortcoming. The frequent criticism of personal documents, that they cannot be accurate or worthwhile because people are blind to their own motivations, Allport says is not fatal until psychologists have a sure way of obtaining knowledge about motivations. "Since such methods cannot be said to exist at the present time, the subject's own statement of the case seems to merit a respectful hearing."<sup>1</sup> For, even if an individual does not know the whole of his own motivational pattern, he sees enough to make his report indispensable to the open-minded. In the category of true criticisms, he places the one which says that the conceptualization reported in the personal document is arbitrary and pre-determined by the writer. "Any life, it seems, can be fitted into a variety of frames, and no way has been found to compel psychologists to let the case dictate its own proper frame."<sup>2</sup>

In further support of personal document research Allport says, "Behavioral observation, . . . is inferior to the personal document when it comes to the important region of subjective meaning: experiences of love, beauty, . . . fear, jealousy, frustration; . . ." <sup>3</sup> He also says that this type of research meets the three goals of science: to give understanding, to give power of prediction and the

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 141.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 142.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 191.

power of control beyond that which can be achieved with unaided common sense.

In summary, Allport's work for the Social Science Research Council, encourages continued personal document research and says that eventually a fairly definite set of rules for the best use of personal documents will be developed. He cautions users to be aware of common pitfalls and to guard against, ". . . sampling errors, invalidity and unreliability, deliberate fraud, self deception, errors of memory, injurious implicit conceptualization and arbitrariness of final interpretation." Finally, to those who oppose such research he says, "Strong counter measures are indicated against theorists who damn the personal document. . . . Properly used, such documents anchor a discipline in the bedrock of human experience, . . . and aid in meeting (more adequately than can unaided actuarial methods of work) the three critical tests of science: understanding, prediction, and control."<sup>1</sup>

Jahoda et al,<sup>2</sup> writing about research methods in social relations discuss the interview as an instrument for obtaining information from individuals. These authors quote from the Allport material cited above as well as discuss

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 191.

<sup>2</sup>Marie Jahoda, Morton Deutsch, and Stuart W. Cook, Research Methods in Social Relations, Part One: Basic Processes, Part Two: Selected Techniques (New York: The Dryden Press, 1951).

their own thinking which is in general agreement with Allport. They note regarding the interview which they label a verbal-introspective report, "The interview is the more appropriate technique for revealing information about complex, emotionally-laden subjects or for probing beyond public attitudes to the more covert, private sentiments. A permissive situation is necessary if reliance is to be placed upon the face validity of a verbal report."<sup>1</sup> Stating that an interview is likely to be more successful than many other techniques in creating a permissive situation they note, "A skillful interviewer, as the Kinsey study has demonstrated, can obtain information which a person is ordinarily not likely to reveal to anyone but a psychiatrist."<sup>2</sup>

Regarding the structure of questions useful in obtaining information they note, "Feelings and motives are probably investigated better, however, by questions which allow the subject considerable freedom in response. Emotional reactions are frequently too complex to report in a single phrase."<sup>3</sup> "The open-end interview . . . is designed to permit a full response from the subject rather than one limited to stated alternatives. The distinguishing characteristic of the questions . . . is that they merely raise an issue but do not provide or suggest any structure for

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 158.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 158.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 165.

the respondent's reply. Thus the respondent is given the opportunity to answer in his own terms and in his own frame of reference."<sup>1</sup>

Further the authors point out that, "Questionnaires and interviews represent the most common method of data collection in social research."<sup>2</sup> Specifically regarding interviewing they note, "Although interviewing requires certain personality characteristics which enable a person to establish quickly an easy rapport with others, it is a skill which can be improved considerably by training and experience."<sup>3</sup>

Cannell and Kahn<sup>4</sup> also comment on the wide use of interviews stating, "It is likely, however, that the most ambitious and demanding use of interviews as a research technique has been made by social scientists in the course of psychological, sociological, political and economic investigations."<sup>5</sup> These authors place emphasis on the limitations of interviewing but say that it is often the

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 173.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 423.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 463.

<sup>4</sup>Charles F. Cannell and Robert L. Kahn, "Interviewing," in The Handbook of Social Psychology, Vol. 2; 2nd. ed. Research Methods, ed. by Gardner Lindzey and Elliot Aronson (Reading, Massachusetts; Menlo Park, California; London; Don Mills, Ontario: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1968), pp. 526-95.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 528.

instrument of choice and sometimes the only choice available. They define the interview as, ". . . a conversation with a purpose, and further specified that the purpose with which we are concerned is information getting."<sup>1</sup>

Stating that the research interview is concerned with measurement, they go on to point out five discrete steps which the total process should include: 1. creating or selecting the interview schedule; 2. conducting the interview; 3. recording responses; 4. translating recorded responses into numbers; 5. coding interview responses. They note that adequacy of measurement is determined by validity, reliability and sensitivity, precision or discriminatory power of the instrument. Successful interviewing requires accessibility of the required data to the respondent, understanding of his role by the respondent and motivation to fulfill the requirements of that role, according to these authors. They also suggest ways to avoid bias: eliminating biased content from interview questions; reducing interviewer improvisation and undesirable interaction between interviewer and interviewee; minimizing cues about acceptable responses; reducing interviewer bias by training. Noting that these methods cannot guarantee validity, the authors state that they can increase the range and quality of the interview as a source of data.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 530.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 526-95.



Two studies will serve to point out the use of personal interviews as data gathering instruments in major research studies. John and Elizabeth Newson<sup>1</sup> used this technique to gather information about the process of child rearing in Nottingham, England. Regarding the use of personal interviews they comment, "There has been a fashion in psychology, probably arising out of the discipline's persistent insecurity feelings about its scientific status, to devise tortuous tests for the investigation of human feelings and attitudes, and, in the pursuit of objectivity for its own sake, to use such roundabout methods even where the most common sense course of simply discussing his feelings with the individual would be more appropriate. Often the status of the individual as a thinking person with the possibility both of making his own insights and of voluntarily supplying material which will allow others to make insights seems to be mislaid on the way."<sup>2</sup> ". . . it is our thesis that the use of an 'objective' test does not ipso facto produce meaningful data, and that, conversely, . . . direct personal conversation can, given adequate safeguards, produce material which is equally reliable, and which illumines with much greater clarity and in far more detail the real-life situations which it is our aim to

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<sup>1</sup>John Newson and Elizabeth Newson, Four Years Old in an Urban Community (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1968).

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 19.

understand."<sup>1</sup> They note that to encourage freedom of speech on the part of respondents, the interviewer needed to be non-judgmental and the interview technique was deliberately open-ended. They used a schedule of questions which were asked verbatim but which did not require forced choice from a limited set of responses. The interviewer also was free to ask additional questions if necessary or useful in his judgment. "The function of our questions is both to trigger off the mother's own discussion of the topics in which we are interested and also to allow her to introduce any topic which she may consider of interest. . . . The methods which we use are open-ended, not only in the sense that any kind of answer is acceptable, but also in the sense that we are at this stage more concerned with detailed and precise description than with the testing of theoretically derived hypotheses. . . . We do not start with preconceived hypotheses; rather, we look for meaningful patterns in the material as it emerges. . . . rather than force our data into a theoretical framework prepared in advance . . . we try to split it along natural lines of cleavage . . . ."<sup>2</sup>

The authors feel it vital that one member of the directing team in this type of research be directly involved in the interviewing; without such participation, they feel the obtained material cannot be realistically interpreted.

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 20.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 21-23, passim.

Of note, the authors state, "A question which we are sometimes asked is 'How do you know that the mother is telling you the truth?' The short answer is that we don't know; but we may ask in return, 'Why should she not?'" With the guarantee of anonymity and non-judgmental approach, ". . . in short, that no strings are attached to her allowing the interview to take place at all: there is no reason why the mother should not respond with frankness, and this we believe she almost invariably does."<sup>1</sup>

A second study using personal interviews was done by Herbert Gans in Levittown (now Willingboro), New Jersey.<sup>2</sup> Gans describes himself as a participant-observer since he lived in the housing development throughout the gathering of research data. "A participant-observer is much like a politician, for he must always watch his words and his behavior, think about the next question to ask, and plan strategy for studying a prospective event."<sup>3</sup> He gathered thousands of informal, conversational interviews himself but also obtained formal interviews from a sample which was interviewed twice using the same questions, with a two year interval between interviews. He states, ". . . I thought that as a participant-observer I could not conduct

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 25.

<sup>2</sup>Herbert J. Gans, The Levittowners (New York: Pantheon Books, A Division of Random House, Inc., 1967).

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. xxv.

formal interviews with people, because personal questions are answered more easily if they come from a stranger than from a resident of the community."<sup>1</sup> The formal interview questions dealt with behavior and attitude change. He concludes that, "The interview findings could not be tested for statistical significance because of the size and imperfect randomness of the samples, but the consistent patterns in many answers suggest that the findings are not a result of chance and that it is possible to carve out useful quantitative analyses with small samples."<sup>2</sup> He feels that the results from the interviews should be considered illustrative evidence rather than scientific proof.

Allport, Jahoda et al and Cannell and Kahn agree that the personal document, or introspective protocol, or personal interview has advantages as an investigative tool. Allport and Jahoda describe it as a legitimate technique for gaining information about complex emotionally laden subjects or covert, private sentiments and about subjective meaning or complex phenomenal states. Cannell and Kahn indicate that it is often the instrument of choice and sometimes the only choice.

Since the aim of this study was to explore an area in which the writer was able to find little illuminating literature, the personal interview recommended itself as

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 437.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 439.

the desirable investigative tool. Information gathered can then be inspected for natural cleavages or groupings as was done in the Newson study.

The writer devised a brief schedule of questions designed to elicit verbal expression and discussion of intra-individual conflicts experienced in connection with employee negotiations. Information regarding personal role and participation in employee negotiations also was sought. The resultant Employee Negotiations Conflict Interview (ENCI) is open-end and largely unstructured. It is designed to allow maximum freedom of response as Jahoda et al recommend for investigating such aspects. One of the goals of ENCI is to arrive at a clear statement or labelling of the conflicting factors in each instance possible.

#### ENCI

Would you describe your present role and participation in employee negotiations?

Were you here in 1966-67 when services were withheld for two days?

Please describe your participation at that time.

Did this create any personal, inner conflicts for you, any conflicts because of your particular involvement or lack of involvement in employee negotiations?

Please describe these conflicts and discuss them in as much detail as you can.

Would you label the conflicts in as few words as possible?

Could you label the two or more ideas or concepts which were in conflict for you in this instance?

Are there any other thoughts or experiences and conflicts regarding employee negotiations which you feel we should discuss?

As noted previously, ENCI was tested in practice with three dry run interviews; no changes were made as a result of this.

The following rules and methods were set up and applied to the interview procedure: The writer is to conduct all interviews. Interviews are to be conducted in the interviewees home or other place such as an office, which he designates. The interviewer is to concentrate on maintenance of a permissive, non-judgmental atmosphere for the interview. Recording is to be done with a combination of verbatim and summary recording, e.g., since the critical data of this study are the intra-individual conflicts about which the subject will verbalize, any material forthcoming in this area is to be recorded verbatim; all other material such as that regarding role and participation in employee negotiations may be recorded in summary fashion. Only material presented by the subject need be recorded. Material from the interviewee is to be recorded without interpretation by the writer.

To the end of quantifying and coding recorded interview responses as Cannell and Kahn indicate is necessary, a number of conflict categories were established. A panel of

judges then was asked to assess the interviews relative to the number and types of conflict expressed.

### Conflict Categories

Inspection of the literature pertaining to employee negotiations and conflict suggests several areas of potential conflict for the professional educator. For example, Boutwell raises the question of whether it is right for teachers to strike since it is illegal and Corey states that a strike is unethical because it breaks a contract. Lesure feels that strikes and sanctions and professional recognition are mutually exclusive; Shoben sees a teacher strike as an action against children and discusses the question of whether the ends justify the means. Twyman and Biddle comment on role conflict inherent in the position of public school teacher and Getzels and Guba present similar material. From the literature and the writer's conceptions in formulating this study, seven categories of conflict were derived and abstractly defined.

#### PROFESSIONAL--UNPROFESSIONAL (PU)

"Professional" is defined as behavior befitting the high standards of a special class of vocations, i.e., a vocation such as teaching which requires college level or advanced training in arts or sciences and usually involves mental, as opposed to manual, work. Thus, the concept professional includes behavior which is in agreement with prescribed and accepted roles for one's colleagues and for educators in general.

"Unprofessional" is defined as behavior not befitting the high standards of such special classes of vocations. Included is behavior which is seen as contradictory to, or in disagreement with, prescribed

and accepted roles for colleagues and for educators in general.

This category is concerned with conflicts expressed because in the individual's judgment actual or proposed behavior is or is not in agreement with a code of behavior prescribed and accepted for educators because of their vocation or has such connotation as it is expressed by the interviewee.

#### SELF CENTERED GOALS--OTHER CENTERED GOALS (SO)

"Self Centered" is defined as for the individual, with the reporting person being the prime beneficiary, personal, egoistic and focused on the reporting person and not on others.

"Other Centered" is defined as for one or more persons, not for oneself, with one or more individuals different from the reporting person being the prime beneficiary, not personal, altruistic and focused on people outside of the reporting person.

Thus, this category represents conflict between goals which an individual might hold for himself and goals which he holds simultaneously for persons other than himself. Conflicts between selfish and altruistic or selfless goals such as between attaining something for oneself and attaining something for others are included here. It is crucial for this category that the concept of conflict between sets of goals held by the same person be understood, i.e., the conflict between goals an educator might hold for himself personally and the goals he might hold simultaneously for his students or for one student or for his colleagues or his chosen discipline or his children or for humanity or mankind would be reflected here.

#### LAWFUL--UNLAWFUL (LU)

"Lawful" is defined as legal or legitimate and is represented in behavior by statute-abiding, obedient behavior.

"Unlawful" is defined as illegal or illegitimate and is represented in behavior by non-statute abiding or statute breaking, disobedient behavior.

To be represented in this category, conflict expressed must be regarding abiding or breaking a law, i.e., a statute and specifically excludes conflict regarding right-wrong or ethical-unethical, etc., when the question does not concern statutory law.

The most obvious law concerned is likely to be the one stating that it is illegal in Michigan for public employees to strike.



## LOYAL--DISLOYAL (LD)

"Loyal" is defined as faithful or keeping faith with, giving allegiance to, true to, or supportive of, another person or group whom the interviewee appears to accept as having some claim on him for such, either because of generally accepted custom or for some personal reason.

"Disloyal" is defined as unfaithful or breaking faith with, denying allegiance to, being untrue to, or withholding support of, another person or group whom the interviewee appears to accept as having some claim on him for the opposite of such, either because of generally accepted custom or for some personal reason.

In general this category is concerned with allegiance to, and support of, persons or groups in the job hierarchy above the individual interviewee or in his colleague, peer group or with lack of allegiance to, and letting down or withholding support of, the same persons and groups and with conflicts of loyalties.

## ENDS--MEANS (EM)

"Ends" are defined as goals, objects or purposes, the achievement or attainment of which is sought.

"Means" are defined as the modes or methods of achieving or attaining sought goals.

Thus for this purpose, ends indicate what the goal is and means, how its attainment is sought. To be represented in this category a conflict must be concerned with the unacceptability of either the goal or the mode of its attainment but not both.

## RIGHT--WRONG (RW)

"Right" is defined as ethical or moral and may have the status of unwritten law. It is correct and conforming according to the standards of the interviewee and quite probably, according to standards of a much larger group although size of group is not of concern here.

"Wrong" is defined as unethical or not moral or in violation of some aspect of unwritten law. It is incorrect and non-conforming or rebellious according to the standards of the interviewee and quite probably according to the standards of a much larger group although size of group is not of concern here.

To be represented in this category, conflict must be concerned with ethical or unethical, moral or immoral, correct or incorrect, conforming or rebellious, non-conforming behavior as defined by standards and codes of behavior short of statutory law. As differentiated from the LAWFUL--UNLAWFUL dichotomy

which deals only with conflict about codes prescribed by statute, this category deals with all conflict about issues of right and wrong which are not based on legislated statutes.

#### ACTUAL ROLE--IDEAL ROLE (AI)

"Actual Role" is defined as a true, real, factual part existing in reality and acted on by an individual in the present.

"Ideal Role" is defined as an imagined or fantasied model, a part which exists in the individual's mind as a possibility but which is not yet real.

This category is concerned with conflicts which the interviewee perceives as occurring between two or more actual roles, two or more ideal roles or between actual and ideal roles.

These definitions plus a copy of ENCI, and an evaluation form<sup>1</sup> together with the interview protocols<sup>2</sup> were placed in a manila file folder and submitted to each of four judges with the following material labelled, instructions for panel.

#### Instructions For Panel

The attached interviews contain statements made by a sample of Flint public school educators regarding personal, intra-individual conflicts they experienced due to involvement in employee negotiations. For these purposes, conflict is defined as that state of disequilibrium experienced by an individual because of a clash between two or more simultaneous incompatible or antagonistic wishes, impulses, learned responses, role expectations, ends or goals and

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<sup>1</sup>The actual evaluation sheet used for these purposes was a ten column, thirty seven row, ledger sheet, number 18-810, "Eye Ease" bearing the trademark, National, Hammermill ledger.

<sup>2</sup>Interviews were assigned a code number from 1-32 based on the random order in which they were typed; judges were not aware of interviewees' organization or role except as it might have been clarified by the interviewee himself in the interview.

requiring decision or choice between the incompatible factors to reestablish equilibrium. Employee negotiations is defined as including both the actual process of transacting an agreement between employer and employees regarding all pertinent items of employment and any or all side effects or accompaniments to such process which are triggered by, and/or in support of, the bargaining process.

You are asked to evaluate these interviews relative to their statements about such intra-individual conflicts, their number and type. For this purpose, seven conflict categories have been established: Professional--Unprofessional; Self Centered Goals--Other Centered Goals; Lawful--Unlawful; Loyal--Disloyal; Ends--Means; Right--Wrong; Actual Role--Ideal Role. Contents and definitions of these categories are attached. Also attached is a copy of the Employee Negotiations Conflict Interview Schedule, (ENCI), and a form to use in making your evaluation.

Each interview has been assigned a code number which appears both on the interview and in the left hand column of the evaluation sheet. The seven conflict categories are listed along the top of the evaluation sheet. Please rate each interview with respect to the presence of conflict(s) by placing a check mark in any or all categories you deem applicable. If you judge that no conflict is verbalized, place a check mark in the column labelled None. Should you feel that some conflict is expressed but that none of the columns is appropriately descriptive, please use the column labelled Other to note the conflict category you perceive, stating as specifically as possible the two or more clashing elements. Note that any given statement or interview may reflect more than one type of conflict; all conflicts present should be indicated.

With these instructions, four judges working independently evaluated the obtained interviews.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>See Appendix for a selection of interview protocols. These were selected to illustrate the range and type of response while preserving the anonymity of the respondent.

### Panel of Judges

A panel of four judges was selected for their knowledge and expertise in the fields of education and human behavior and for their facility in dealing with research in these areas. Judge A holds the Doctorate in educational psychology and is on the faculty of the University of Michigan. Judge B has the Master of Social Work degree and is on the faculty of the Michigan State University, College of Social Work. Judge C possesses the Doctorate in clinical psychology. Judge D holds the Master of Arts degree in educational psychology and is employed as a school psychologist outside the Flint system. Following the completion of the judges evaluations, the data were subjected to specific procedures of analysis.

### Data Analysis Procedures

Inter-judge agreement will be presented in percentage of agreement figures. For the total number of judgments possible, per cent of agreement is reported for all four judges and for each pair of judges. Per cent of agreement is also reported by category for all four judges and for each pair. Frequency of response tables showing totals by category and judge are reported for the total sample and all sub-sample combinations. Mean number of conflicts is reported by judges for all sub-samples and for the total sample. The analyses of frequencies and means compare the

effect or lack thereof of type of organization membership and role within the organization on expressed conflicts.

It should be noted that all three procedures outlined above consider the seven categories of defined conflict only. The category labelled OTHER conflict used in judge evaluation is discussed separately as are comments of judges and other qualitative analyses.

### Summary

The preceding pages began with a portrayal of the physical and historical setting and an overview of the general procedures of this study. Details of sample selection and description of sub-samples and total sample were noted. The telephone statement developed for the initial contact with sample members was discussed followed by background information on the interview as a research tool. The ENCI created for this study was discussed and categories of conflict defined. Description of the panel of judges and their work was followed by indication of quantitative and qualitative data analysis procedures used.

The following pages will present first the analysis of the data or results of the study and thence, the conclusions and recommendations of the writer.

## CHAPTER IV

### ANALYSIS OF DATA

The purpose of this chapter is to present, analyze and discuss obtained data regarding conflicts expressed by sample members in personal interviews. Inter-judge agreement measures are detailed. Frequency comparisons of types of conflicts expressed are made. Mean number of conflicts expressed are noted. The latter two, frequency and means, are presented for each judge and sub-sample.

It should be noted that all findings are based on interviews with thirty two educators employed in the Flint public school system, and affiliated with FEA or FFT, at the time of sample selection in August, 1968. All interviews were conducted between August, 1968 and October 1969.

Data are reported for a final total sample of thirty-two.<sup>1</sup> Of these thirty-two, eighteen were FEA affiliates and fourteen were FFT affiliates. Sub-sample numbers are: FEAM, 12; FFTM, 10; FEAL, 6; FFTL, 4; thus there are twenty-two representatives of organization general membership and

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<sup>1</sup>Seven people refused participation at time of telephone contact and seven were otherwise unavailable for interview; thus, the initial sample of forty-six was reduced to thirty-two in the final sample.

ten leader representatives. Comparisons between subsamples are made when possible.

For purposes of quantitative presentation, findings regarding number and type of conflict expressions are reported for the seven defined conflict categories only. Findings concerning the remaining categories, labelled OTHER and NONE, which judges were asked to react to are discussed later in this chapter.

It has been assumed that interviewees were truthful as was done in the Newsom study cited. There was no reason apparent as to why interviewees should not be so. It has not been assumed that interviewees revealed all of their conflicts or that they necessarily were aware of all conflicts. This study deals only with intra-individual conflicts which were expressed in the personal interviews.

Data are not presented relative to judges ratings of number and type of conflict expression for individual interviewees<sup>1</sup> since an attempt to analyze such individual differences or individual personality structure is beyond the scope of this study.

Other findings which are of a qualitative nature are discussed following the quantitative presentations.

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<sup>1</sup>The exception to this is the group of protocols included in the appendix where judges ratings are indicated for illustrative purposes only.

Inter-Judge Agreement

Table 1 presents percentage of agreement figures for the six possible judge pairings and for all four judges combined.

Inter-judge agreement is shown thusly for each separate conflict category and for all categories combined. Total possible agreements in each separate category is thirty-two since it would be possible for such agreement to be reached for each interviewee in the sample. Similarly, the total possible agreements for all categories is 224 since there are seven conflict categories with thirty-two possible agreements in each.

The Lawful--Unlawful category shows the greatest agreement between all four judges. All pairs of judges agree at least 84% of the time on conflict expressed in this category and all four judges together agree 78% of the time. Maximum agreement is between Judges A and C who rate the same in all but one instance; this represents a 97% agreement. Of the seven categories, LU is most reliably evaluated by four independent judges.

The least reliably evaluated by the four judges combined is the Actual Role-Ideal Role category where agreement is only three per cent. The remaining categories are agreed upon by the four judges, at a level of 41% and less. Overall agreement between all four judges for all categories is 28%.



TABLE 1.--Inter-judge agreement.

		Conflict Categories (32 possible agreements per category)										TOTAL Agreed (224 # % possible)				
		PU Agreed # %	SO Agreed # %	LU Agreed # %	LD Agreed # %	EM Agreed # %	RW Agreed # %	AI Agreed # %								
Judges																
A-B	28	88%	26	81%	28	88%	17	53%	22	69%	29	91%	26	81%	176	79%
A-C	20	62%	22	69%	31	97%	22	69%	13	41%	11	34%	9	28%	128	57%
A-D	18	56%	24	75%	27	84%	15	47%	14	44%	24	75%	9	28%	131	58%
B-C	18	56%	16	50%	27	84%	15	47%	5	16%	10	31%	3	9%	94	42%
B-D	20	62%	20	62%	28	88%	12	38%	10	31%	23	72%	7	22%	120	54%
C-D	18	56%	22	69%	27	84%	15	47%	21	66%	14	44%	24	75%	141	62%
ABCD	11	34%	13	41%	25	78%	4	12%	2	6%	7	22%	1	3%	63	28%

Note: Percentage figures rounded to nearest whole number.

Of the judge pairs, Judges A and B show greater overall agreement with each other than with any other judge; these two judges agree 79% of the time considering all categories. Agreement between the two is 81% and above for all categories except Loyal-Disloyal (53%) and Ends-Means (69%). The writer is not able to explain this consistently greater agreement.

Thus, with the exception of the Lawful--Unlawful category, it must be said that these four independent judges using the definitions provided do not agree at sufficient levels to establish reliability. With the Lawful--Unlawful category, however, all four judges agree slightly more than three times in four or 78% of the time. Hence, it can be said that this category of conflict is evaluated with a fair degree of reliability.

Similarly, at least one judge pair, A and B, were able to evaluate expressed conflict with a fair measure of reliability, agreeing slightly over three times in four, in all judgments made.

#### Frequency Figures

In view of the levels of inter-judge agreement just noted, it is interesting to look at frequency comparisons by conflict category and judge.

The underlying assumption of this study, that it is probable that conflict will arise for the professional educator involved in employee negotiations is upheld. As

can be seen readily in Figure 1, each judge finds conflict expressed in each category. Of especial interest is the consistency in relationship between judges in the amount of conflict expression they find. In all categories, except the Loyal--Disloyal category, Judge B finds the greatest number of conflict expressions, followed by Judges A, D and C, in that order. This relationship is changed only once, in the LD category where Judges C and D are reversed. This would suggest that each judge operating within his own personal frame of reference evaluates expressed conflict with a great deal of internal consistency throughout all interviews and all conflict categories. It would appear that each judge has his own idea about what constitutes conflict, his own definition of conflict, and that this may be the critical factor in determining his evaluation of expressed conflict.

Of further note is the fact that each judge finds the least amount of expressed conflict in the LU category. The total number of judgments that this type of conflict is expressed is nineteen for all four judges. This category is also the most reliable according to inter-judge agreement figures. The conclusion can be reached that this sample expresses least conflict in the Lawful--Unlawful category. Combined evaluations of all judges shows most conflict expressed in the Self Centered--Other Centered Goals category with only slightly fewer in the Right--Wrong category.

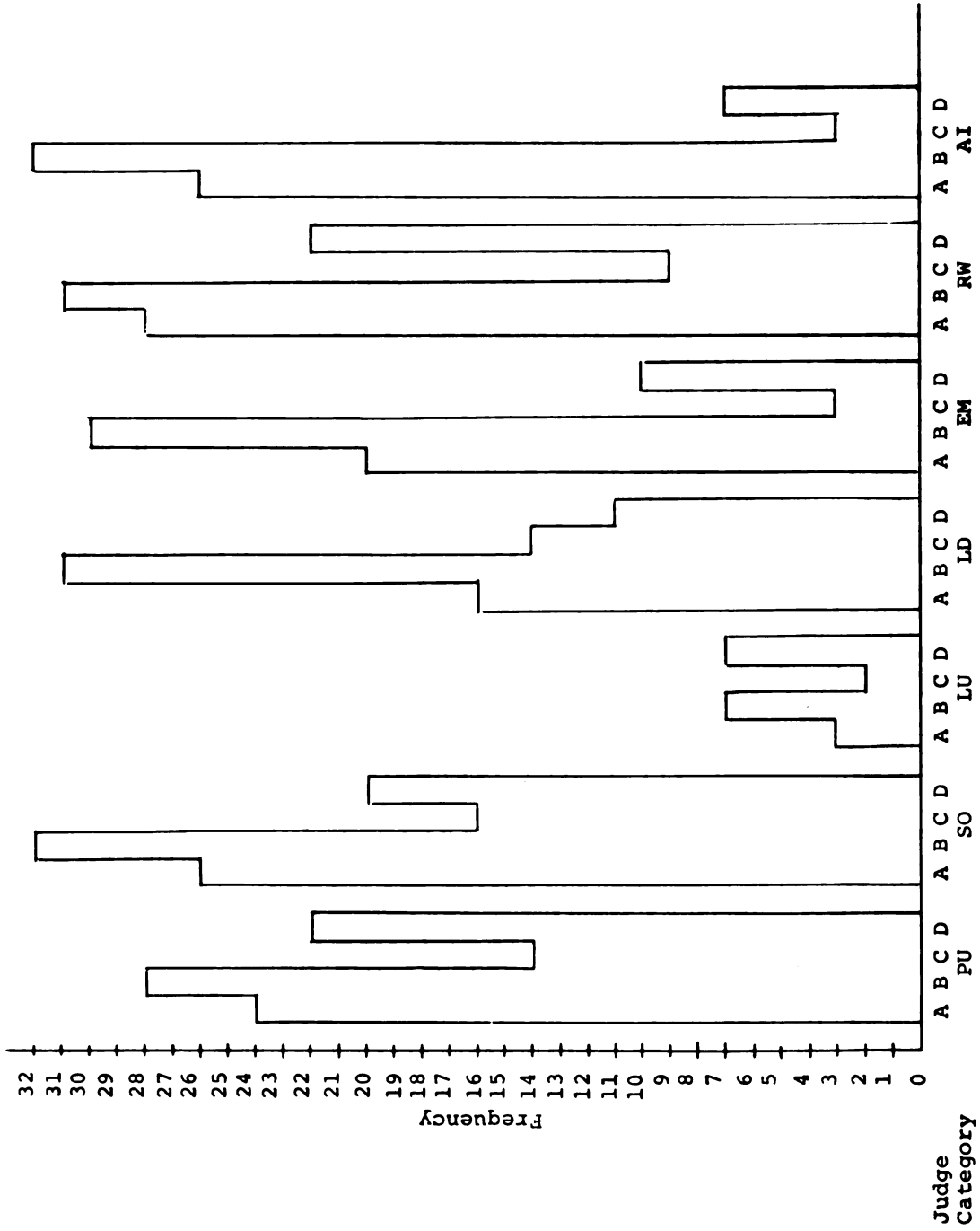


FIGURE 1.---Frequency of conflict for total sample. (N=32)

Combined judges' evaluations show the following category order from most to least in amount of expressed conflict for this sample: SO, RW, PU, LD, AI, EM, LU.

Figures 2-8 present frequency in each category of expressed conflict by sub-sample and judge. In these figures, it should be noted that in all cases, the number of expressed conflicts in each sub-sample has been converted to a percentage of the total conflicts possible within each sub-sample; decimals were dropped and numbers rounded to the nearest whole number. This was done in order to permit some comparison of the different size sub-samples.

For the Professional--Unprofessional category, all judges rate FEA as expressing more conflict than FFT. Within this, all judges rate FEAM as expressing more conflicts than FFTM and three of four judges rate FEAL as expressing more than FFTL and more than FEAM or FFTM. Three of four judges see all individuals in FEAL as expressing PU conflict. Thus, the indication is that for the sample members in this study, the association members and leaders are seen as expressing more PU conflict than their union counterparts. Similarly, the leader group, FEAL is seen as expressing more conflicts than either group of general membership.

In the Self Centered Goals--Other Centered Goals category, Judge B rates each member of all sub-samples as expressing conflict in this category. Three of four judges agree that all FFTL express such conflict. Likewise, 3 of

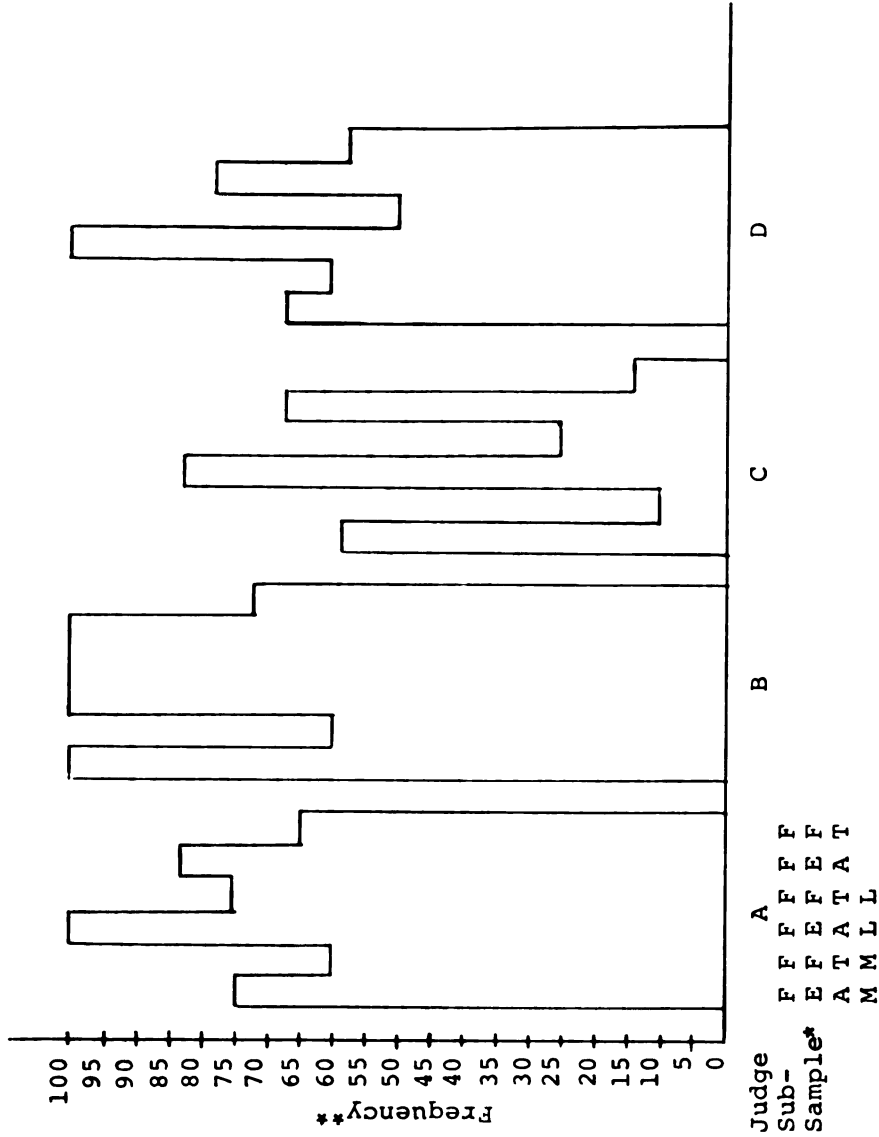


FIGURE 2.--Frequency of PU conflict for sub-samples.

\*The same order of presentation is maintained for all Judges; N=12 FEAM; 10FFTM; 6FEAL; 4FFTL; 18FEA; 14FFT. This is true for all figures 2-8.

\*\*Frequency figures have been converted into percentage of total conflicts possible, decimals dropped and numbers rounded to nearest whole number to facilitate comparison. This is true for figures 2-8.

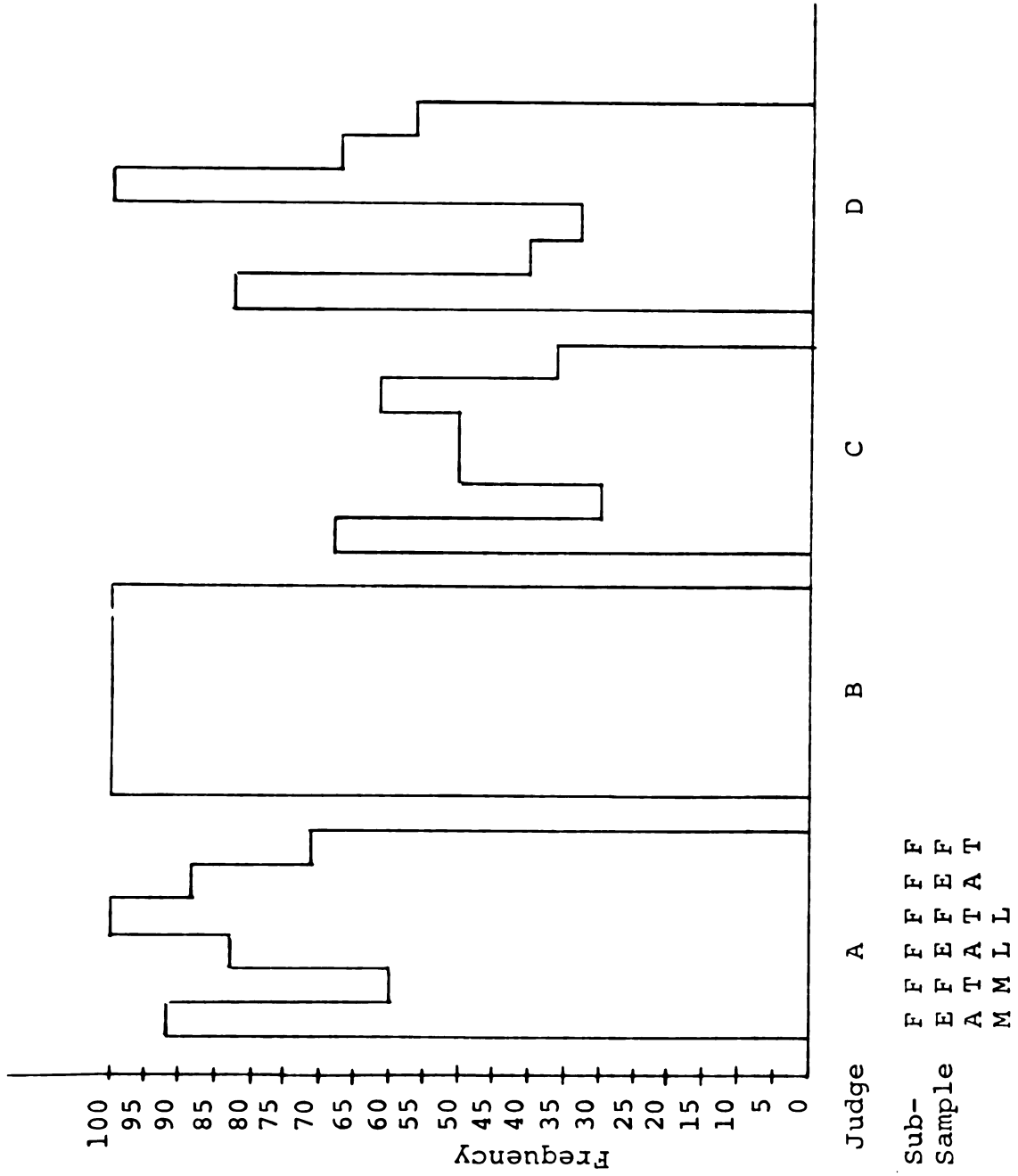


FIGURE 3.--Frequency of SO conflict for sub-samples.

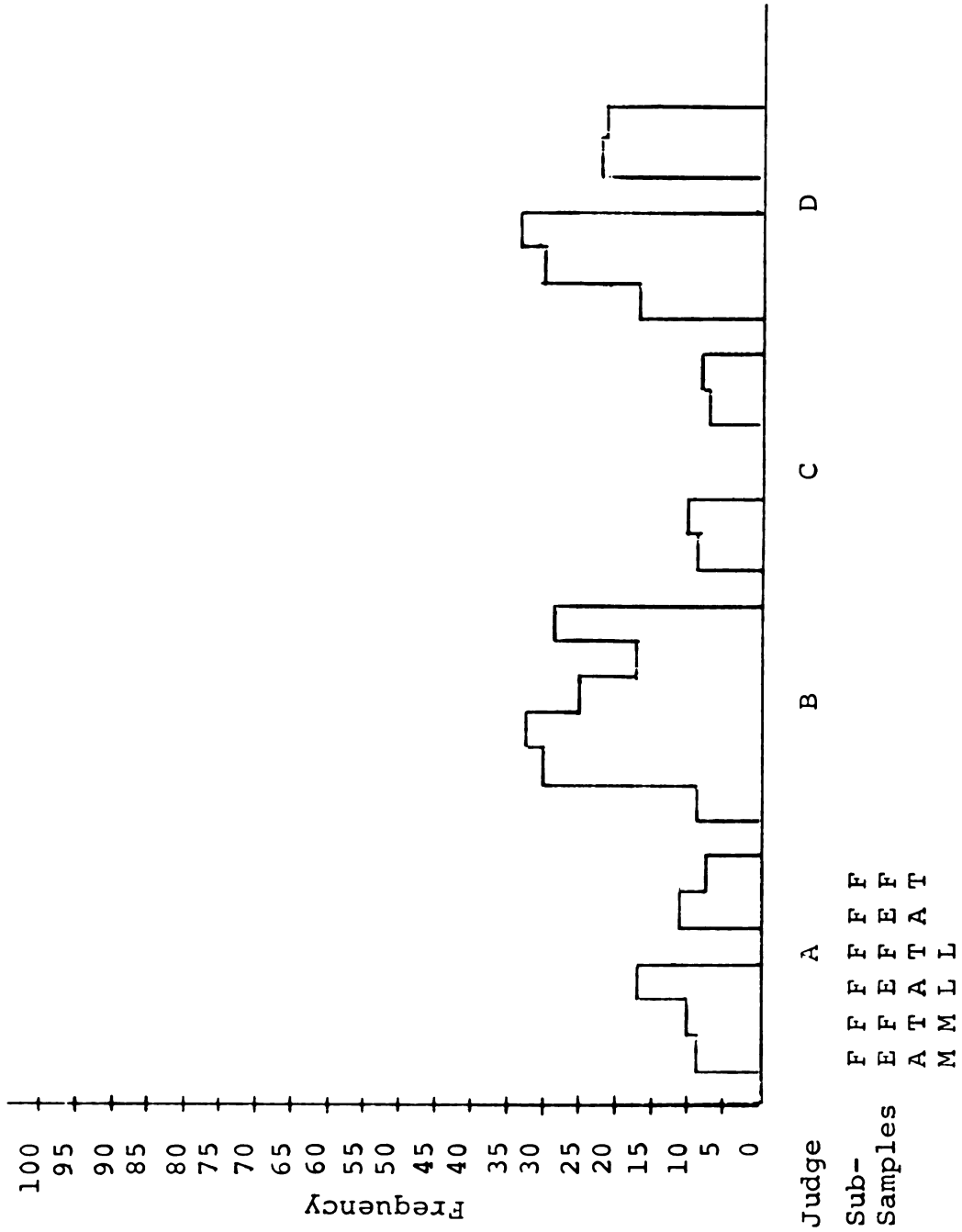


FIGURE 4.--Frequency of LU conflict for sub-samples.



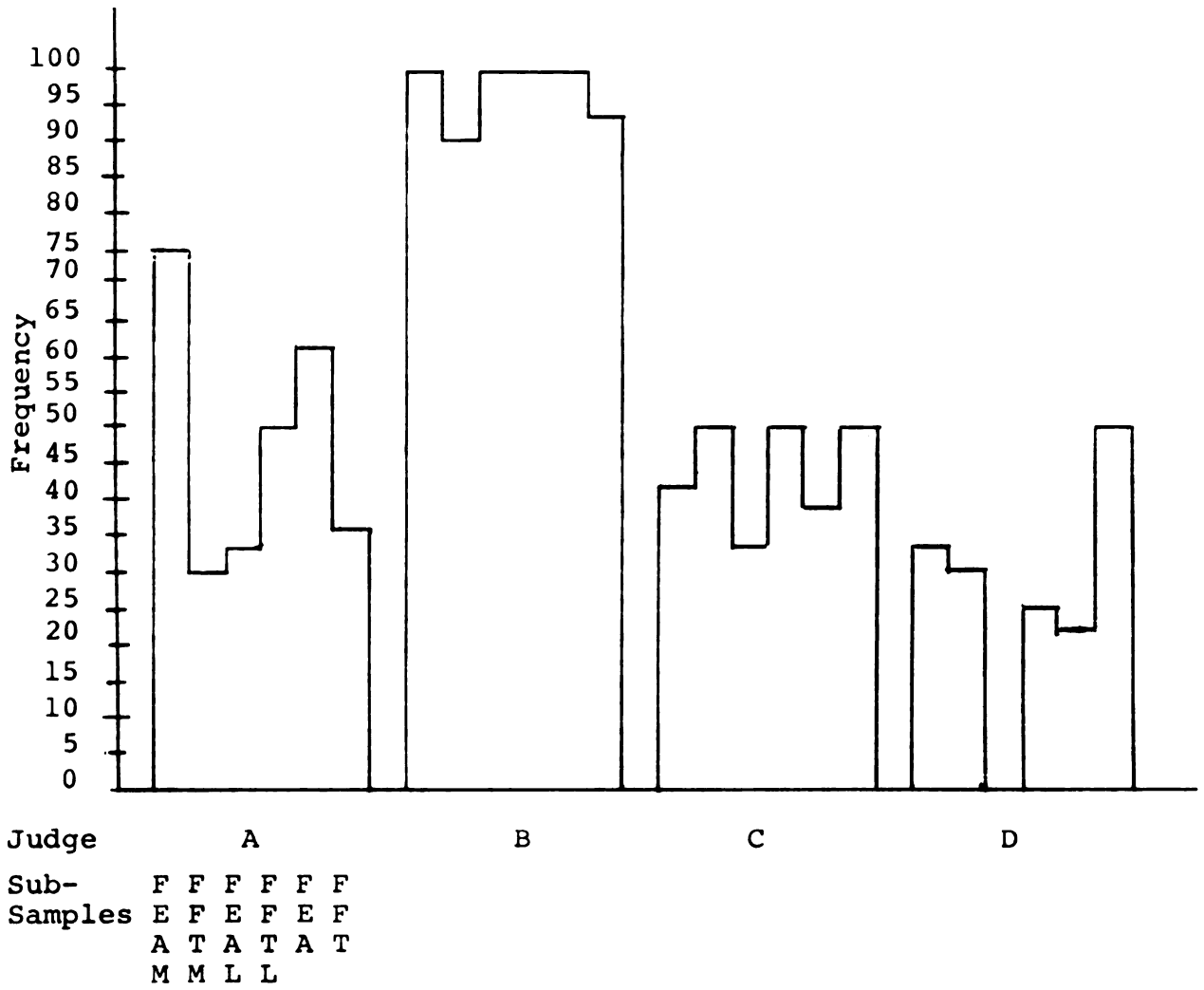


FIGURE 5.--Frequency of LD conflict for sub-samples.

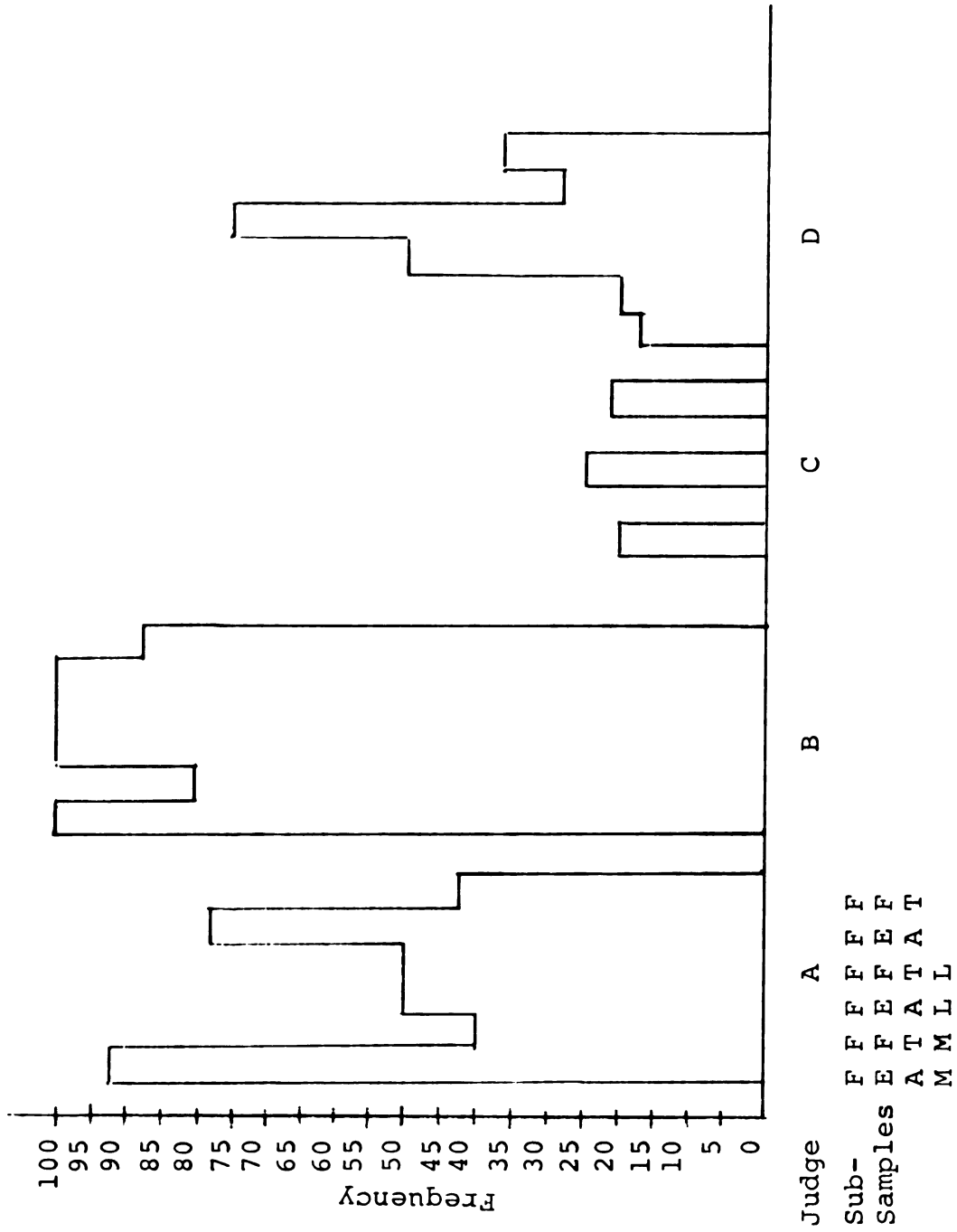


FIGURE 6.--Frequency of EM conflict for sub-samples.

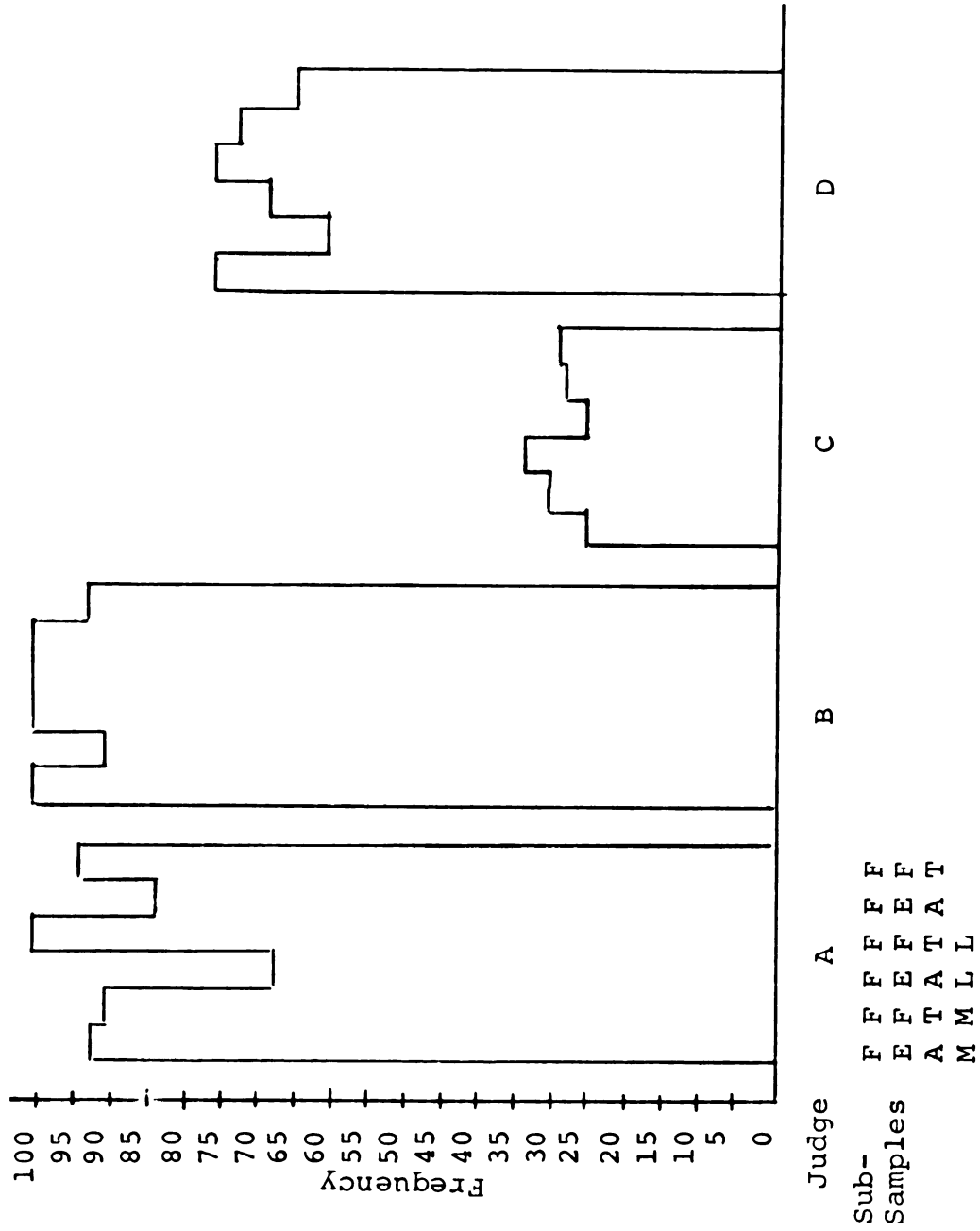


FIGURE 7.--Frequency of KW conflict for sub-samples.

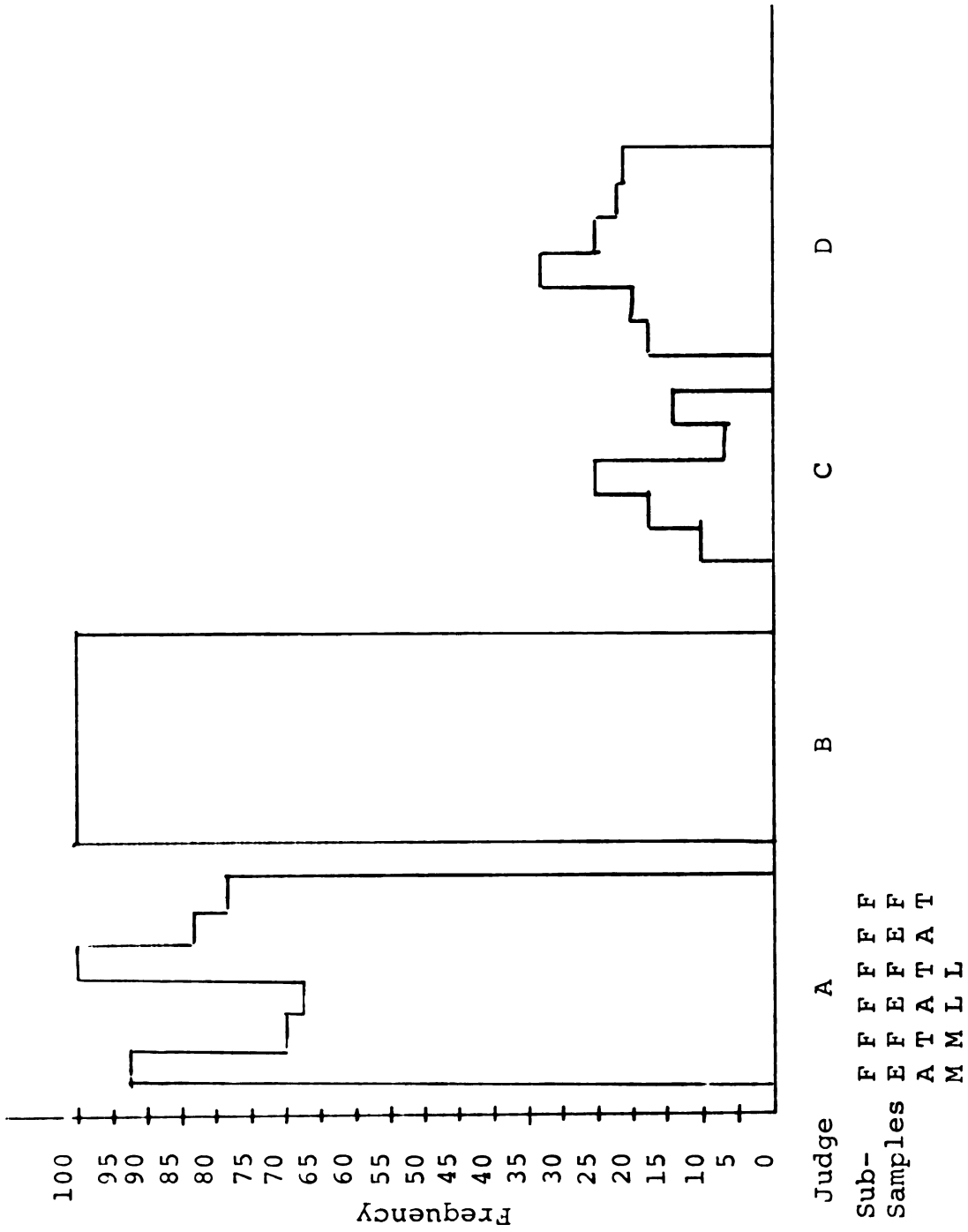


FIGURE 8.--Frequency of AI conflict for sub-samples.

4 judge FEAM to express more such conflicts than FFTM and, FEA more than FFT. As noted previously, this category contains the greatest number of judgments of expressed conflicts of all categories.

The Lawful--Unlawful category contains the least number of judgments of expressed conflict of all categories. Three of four judges agree that FFTL expresses no conflict in this category.

For the Loyal--Disloyal category three of four judges rate FEAM as expressing more conflict than FFTM and FEA more than FFT. Three of four judges see FFTL as expressing more conflict than FEAL in this category.

In the Ends--Means category, one judge says all FEAM, FEAL and FFTL express conflict in this area compared to another judge who rates directly opposite for two subsamples. The latter says that no FEAM or FEAL express conflict in this area. Again, there are opposite conclusions regarding FEA and FFT; two judges say FEA expresses more EM conflict than FFT while the remaining two judges say FFT exceeds FEA.

The Right--Wrong category has the second greatest number of judgments that conflict is expressed. Two judges agree that all FFTL express conflict in this area and one of them says that all FEAM and FEAL do so, as well. Three of four judges agree that FEAM has a greater number of expressed conflicts than FFTM.

In the Actual Role--Ideal Role category, one judge says all members of all sub-samples express conflict in this area; another judge agrees that this is true of FFTL. One judge says FEAM expresses no conflict in this area.

In view of the fact that each judge finds some conflict expressed in each category, the categories of conflict defined can be said to have relevancy for the educators in this sample. While there are some apparent differences between sub-samples within categories, as in the PU category, there do not seem to be consistent differences of sufficient magnitude across all categories to conclude that type of organization membership or leader, non-leader role in the organization is predictive of the amount of expressed conflict. This conclusion is supported by comparison of means of sub-samples.

#### Sub-Sample Conflict Means

Table 2 provides comparison of the mean number of expressed conflicts which each judge separately and the four judges combined find for each sub-sample and for total sample. Again, the internal consistency of each judge is noted. Means for all sub-samples and total sample range from 3.6-5.2 for Judge A, a difference of 1.6 points. Judges B, C and D vary even less; Judge B's range of means is 5.5-6.3, a difference of .8 points; Judges C and D range from 1.6-2.2 and 2.9-3.5, respectively, a difference of .6 points. When total number of conflicts rated by judges for

TABLE 2.--Mean number of conflicts.

		Judges				
		A	B	C	D	ABCD
Sub-samples (N)						
FEAM	(12)	5.2	6.1	2.0	3.1	16.4
FFTM	(10)	3.6	5.5	1.6	2.9	13.6
Total M	(22)	4.5	5.8	1.8	3.0	15.2
FEAL	( 6)	4.2	6.3	2.2	3.2	15.8
FFTL	( 4)	4.8	6.2	2.0	3.5	16.5
Total L	(10)	4.4	6.3	2.1	3.3	16.1
FEA	(18)	4.8	6.2	2.0	3.1	16.3
FFT	(14)	3.9	5.7	1.7	3.1	14.4
Total	(32)	4.5	6.0	1.9	3.1	15.5

each individual are considered, the range is from five to twenty one conflict ratings for each individual. The means range from 13.6 to 16.5, a variation of 2.9 points. Again, mean scores indicate no major differences between subsamples. Thus, in this study there are not pronounced differences in expressed conflict attributable to type of organization membership or to leader or non-leader role within the organization.

#### None and Other Categories

It is of note that with only one interview protocol was there a judgment of no conflict; in this instance, two judges rated None and two rated conflict categories.<sup>1</sup>

Judges' comments regarding conflicts noted in the column labelled Other, need discussion. Two judges note three instances, two of which they agree on, in which they feel conflict is expressed between social contacts or status, causing social pressure, and the individual's actions or behavior. In the agreed upon case, the interviewee says, "I have personal conflict because of friends on the Board." He later labels this saying, "Social contacts conflicted with professional responsibilities."

The same two judges agree that in one instance there is a conflict between family considerations and employee negotiations behavior. This interviewee states, "I have

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<sup>1</sup>See Appendix, Interview protocol 23.



conflict about my family position in the community . . . I didn't know how they would react to me being a militant labor leader . . . it was my dedication to my philosophy opposed to family values and social position."

One judge perceives conflict about reputation in one interview protocol which discusses concern that the teachers' image is lowered in the eyes of children by striking but who says a strike is the only thing which can be done now. The same judge sees conflict which he labels, "white versus black," in an interview in which the person says, "I'm disturbed by racism in the AFL-CIO . . . there would be greater conflict in NEA because they have two separate associations."

A third judge finds conflict expressed in eleven interviews which he labels, "self determined versus forced behavior decisions." He indicated that the conflict he perceived is concerned with a number who seem to feel they have no real choice or have taken no responsibility for making choice and feel that someone else's choices are forced on them.

Thus, it would seem that judges are expressing need for at least two additional categories. One would encompass conflict caused by personal behavior at variance with important others. Such a category would include conflicts because of family values, opinions, status, etc. It would

also include conflicts because of social contacts, status or pressure and concerns about image or reputation.

A second category would include the conflict about self determination of behavior versus determination of behavior by others.

### Qualitative Analysis

All judges commented about findings from the interview protocols other than those concerned with intra-individual conflicts. For example, one judge commented to the point of forced or no choice behavior but did not see it as a conflict. This judge stated that a number seemed to be saying they would go along with the group because of majority rule even though they would not act in a similar instance on their own. The same judge commented that most sample members seemed to feel that the employee negotiations behavior they had discussed was not right but they were doing it anyway and that it seemed to be that a person who had been on strike once could do so more easily a second time.

Two judges noted the frequency of mention of family and the necessity or importance to many of assessing their behavior in the light of family background, position or opinion. The same two judges commented on depth of conflict expressed. One stated that some individuals are obviously more deeply conflicted than others; the other commented that the number of conflicts elicited from any given

individual does not necessarily reflect the depth of their conflict. For example, one individual may express a lesser number of conflicts but be experiencing conflict at a deeper level. He hypothesized that mention of a family member is indicative of greater depth of conflict.

One judge commented that gains for teachers are being made at quite a price to individuals and indicated that he was struck by the number not concerned with legality and the number in whom the ends justify the means. A second judge indicated that most were not concerned about the law. One judge suggested that some Right--Wrong conflict he perceived being expressed was probably concerning legality although it was not stated specifically enough to be rated in the Lawful--Unlawful category.

The above qualitative comments and suggestions were noted by the four judges following their evaluations of the interview protocols. The writer's comments in comparable areas are reserved for the final chapter.

### Summary

Obtained results indicate that this sample of public school educators expressed in personal interview, intra-individual conflicts which they felt arose out of employee negotiations. It has been illustrated that the categories of conflict defined are relevant for evaluating expressed conflict in that judges are able to sort conflicts into these categories with considerable internal consistency.

However, with the exception of one pair of judges and one category, agreement between judges is not sufficient to provide faith in the reliability of judgments about types of conflict present. One pair of judges agrees 79% of the time and the Lawful--Unlawful category is rated with 78% agreement among all four judges.

What does seem clear is that each judge, apparently working with his own concept of conflict, finds conflict in all categories. The amount of conflict he finds remains relatively constant for him, e.g., the judge indicating the greatest number of conflicts perceived, did so in each category. Thus, all sample members are said by the judges, working independently from interview protocols, to express intra-individual conflict. The differences are in number of different types of conflict which each judge rates in each individual. These differences in number of conflicts are shown both in frequency measures and in means of total sample and sub-samples.

Obtained data indicate that for this sample, there are not differences in expressed conflict based on association or union membership or leader or non-leader role within either organization.

Judges' suggestions regarding conflicts which they perceived as being expressed were noted along with new conflict categories which would incorporate the judges' perceptions. Other comments of a qualitative nature made by

judges were noted. The following chapter will discuss the writer's summary comments, conclusions and recommendations.

## CHAPTER V

### CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

The previous chapter has presented quantitative analysis of obtained data and pertinent qualitative analysis. This chapter will present first the conclusions which can be drawn from the data within the previously detailed scope and limitations of this exploratory study. Following this, some of the writer's observations about the study and arising from the study will be noted. Implications of the study and recommendations for additional research will be discussed.

#### Conclusions

This study was designed to explore the intra-individual conflicts arising from involvement in employee negotiations which a small sample of public school educators would verbalize about in a personal interview. The veracity of interviewees' statements about conflicts was accepted. The underlying assumption of the study was that it was probable that conflict would occur for professional educators so involved. Within the scope of this study, certain conclusions appear justified:

Intra-individual conflict is verbalized by interviewees as occurring within themselves as a result of involvement

in employee negotiations. In all but one case, each of four independent judges saw each interviewee as expressing one or more conflicts. In only one case is there disagreement that some conflict is expressed. In this instance two judges rated no conflict and two judges rated conflict.

Least conflict is expressed regarding Lawful--Unlawful aspects of employee negotiations. Four judges functioning independently reach 78% agreement in evaluating conflict in this category.

Greatest amount of conflict rating is in the Self Centered Goals--Other Centered Goals category, followed closely by the Right--Wrong category. Although the inter-judge agreement is poor in these categories, the suggestion is that a number of interviewees were seen as expressing conflict in these areas.

With the exception of the LU category, four judges do not reach a high level of agreement on the number and types of conflicts verbalized. Per cent of agreement figures for four judges range from three to forty one per cent for the remaining six categories.

One judge pair reach a fair level of agreement on number and types of conflicts verbalized. Judge pair A-B agrees at a 79% level for all judgments possible.

There is considerable internal consistency in judges and consistency throughout in the relationship between judges in the amounts of conflict rated. The

judges rating the most and next most conflict maintain these positions throughout all categories of conflict. The judge rating the least amount of conflict does so for all categories but one; in this instance he exchanges ranks with the judge who rated next to the least amount of conflict all but this one time. This would suggest that each judge operates with a personal concept or definition of conflict which he applies quite consistently.

Material differences between interviewees based on type of organization membership are not noted from a study of their interview statements about intra-individual conflicts.

Material differences between interviewees based on leader or non-leader role within an organization are not noted from a study of their interview statements about intra-individual conflicts.

#### Observations

There are several comments regarding study design which should be noted in any follow-up research.

With reference to the sample itself, it is noted that the fact that all sample members are from the same school system, responsible to the same school administration, exposed to the same communications media, the same employee negotiations leadership and serving the same public, may operate to yield greater similarity in findings than might be noted in a less homogeneous population. Equally, the small sample size may operate to reduce representation of



extremes of the total population and therefore, increase the possibility of greater uniformity in findings. Large differences in sub-sample sizes lends the possibility that undue weight may be given to findings obtained from a very limited number of sample members.

The personal interview was selected as the method of choice for this study. For beginning exploration it provided freedom of response and a minimum of structure which the writer felt desirable. However, it is an expensive, time consuming approach which in combination with other drawbacks could be prohibitive in a large scale study.

For purposes of grouping obtained statements regarding intra-individual conflicts, the writer feels that conflict categories must be defined much less broadly. Noting the considerably greater agreement between judges in the LU conflict category defined for this study, an immediate possibility is suggested. This category is very specifically defined and limited much more than any other category. Judges needed to react only to whether an interviewee expressed conflict about abiding or not abiding by statutory law. Other categories are less concrete and broader, requiring greater input from individual judges. The writer notes the need for greater refinement and clarity in definitions of types of conflict and for more restrictive focus.

For purposes of this study, all conflicts are dealt with as equal to each other. It would appear that there are

differences in degree of conflict expressed. While attention to this was beyond the scope of the present study, in the event that one wished to focus more on understanding the differences in conflict experiences of given individuals, some measure of this sort could be fruitful. To illustrate, the following quotes from two interviews will serve: ". . . the conflict was between defying my teaching profession peers and living up to my own principles so I crossed the picket line and was physically ill . . . "; "As a public employee and a teacher--I don't approve of strikes--but if I have to I will." Both interviewees were seen by judges as expressing conflict but it seems a reasonable assumption that the individual who becomes physically ill is expressing a more deeply conflicted experience than the person who does not approve of strikes but will do so. As noted earlier, two judges also commented on the differential depths of conflict expressed.

### Implications

The following will discuss some of the implications of this study which the writer feels are pertinent to consider.

In the SO and RW categories where the greatest amounts of conflict are recorded, the educators in this sample are assumed to be expressing conflict about selfish versus altruistic goals and concern with the right or wrong of

behavior, often behavior toward those goals. Because of the nature of the educator's profession which necessarily involves interacting with others, it is to be expected that employee negotiations behavior might engender conflict in this area. Cass and Birnbaum discussing the acceptability of teacher militancy, described today's teachers as less dedicated and more pragmatic but the fact that the largest number of conflicts is concerning clash between goals for self and goals for others, provides some reassurance that this is not yet a closed issue and that today's teachers have not yet become so pragmatic as to put aside concern for the objects of education. The large number of conflicts reported in the RW category tends to lend support in the same direction.

In spite of this suggested concern with goals for others and with questions of right and wrong, the writer is struck with the fact that the area of least conflict is the Lawful--Unlawful category. Several authors attempt to explain teacher strikes because of the increased acceptance of civil disobedience as do Cass and Birnbaum or the general rebellion against all institutions as does Raskin or as Boutwell, note that while the law forbids it, teachers strike anyway and Shoben points out that for teachers to strike illegally, they must believe that the ends justify the means. This latter concept of ends justifying means is a recurrent theme in the interviews from this sample.

It appears often, not as conflict but as a statement or conclusion. The following illustrations are each taken from a different interview; in addition, the reader may note the protocols contained in the appendix for any examples they may contain; ". . . it's important what the gains will be if we do strike compared to what the children will lose--if the gain is sufficient--the ends justify the means . . ." (the writer notes in passing that the question of whether the gain was sufficient only can be answered in retrospect, at which time whatever the children might lose will have been lost); ". . . to go along with the association and make economic gains--you have to do an unprofessional thing."; "I hate to see a strike happen but it must happen to raise standards. Kids are the only losers in the process."; "I'm against the strike but it's the only way to be heard. It's unprofessional because the kids are out of school but still a strike is the only way to get what you need."; "I'm opposed to strong unionism--and I have a mental block against striking but I have to do this to get across the need to be respected . . . "; "I'm basically opposed to strikes as a professional but it's the only thing which can be done now."; "I'm not in favor of strikes but it's the only means of accomplishing some of the things which I feel should be done in education--it's a breach of contract."; ". . . my philosophy--ideology--says teachers must not strike but that's in opposition with

practical application--reality says they must." While there are other similar comments, these serve to illustrate the point.

The full implication of this lack of LU conflict expressed by this sample along with the seeming philosophy that the ends are, by definition, sufficiently good to justify what individuals frequently note are unacceptable means to reach them, can only be speculated on by the writer. It is of note that these same observations are made in the literature. Certainly educators are products of their culture but the crucial thrust of these implications is in considering that educators are appointed by our society to a major position of trust in transmitting the culture's values, ethics and laws from generation to generation. While law violation or law-ignoring is certainly practiced, as is the philosophy of the use of any means to achieve a goal in our society, one cannot avoid raising the question of the implications of this for future children who might be the recipients of instruction from a generation of teachers with such philosophical positions. The writer feels certain that the individual teacher would give assurances that this of course, would not be part of the curriculum. However, at which point does one draw the line; which method is not justified in attaining a goal; which law is not to be broken and instead to be changed through accepted process? The writer urges emphasis on promotion

of soul searching thought in these areas at the university level where new members of the profession begin their initiation process. Lastly, the writer would echo the need for workable societal methods of meeting educators' legitimate employee goals.

Two of the judges commented to this same point after evaluating interview protocols. It should be noted that these judges were commenting on things they perceived as conclusions on the part of interviewees rather than as conflicts of the interviewees. As stated earlier, one judge observed that most interviewees seemed to feel that the employee negotiations behavior they had discussed was not right but they were doing it anyway. Another commented that gains for teachers were being made at quite a price and was struck by the number in whom the ends justify the means.

In addition to the factors noted by authors surveyed regarding the times we live in, results from civil disobedience, and the like, the writer wonders what the overall effect of both NEA and UFT national policies has in this regard. It seems possible that the strong positions in favor of employee negotiations, including positions which at least accept the strike as a negotiating weapon, further this philosophy in individuals. As Ackerman and others have pointed out, taking the role seen as the legitimate role in a situation minimizes conflict. It seems possible that

national organization approval could operate in such a way as to convey legitimacy to particular behaviors. If such is the case, this would account for the lack of conflict in LU and EM combined with the amount of ends justify means philosophy, at least in part.

One other implication of this study merits note, the fact that material differences are not found between association and union affiliates and between leaders and non-leaders. Regarding leadership role or lack thereof, the writer suggests that the lack of difference in conflict expressed may be simply that the similarities outweigh the differences. Whether or not a leader, all are human beings and members of the same discipline. There may be other equally prevalent similarities but it seems apparent from obtained data that whatever these may be, they outweigh the differences which might attach to the title, "leader" within the scope of this study.

Regarding the lack of differences between types of organization affiliates, the literature would lead one to expect quite major differences rather than the lack thereof as the findings of this study indicate. Several writers discuss differences between education association and union policies, programs, goals, techniques of accomplishing goals, and the like. Starie and Spatafora even emphasize that the union thrives on conflict and the association on cooperation. In spite of this and other strong cases made

for major differences, Megel notes that teacher strikes have occurred with about equal frequency among unions, associations, and unorganized groups of teachers. Bruker, Posey and Lieberman and Moskow recommend or predict the merger of NEA and AFT or note the similarities in policy of the two. Blackburn and Prandy theorize that degree of unionization is the basic difference between unions of professionals and manual laborers. The lack of differences noted in the two groups in this sample would seem to lend support to the latter authors and to urge the conclusion that there are not major differences between the two groups at least as these may be reflected in those who join the groups. Further support that this is a genuine lack of difference is in the fact that the FEA and FFT have recently merged with both association and union affiliation at the national level. While this was the first such merger in the country, it is perhaps indicative of things to come as well as supportive of a finding of this study.

Regarding employee negotiations as an activity in the educational sphere, the writer has formed some opinions in the course of the reading, discussing and soul searching which have been a part of this study. First as to the question raised by some as to the abundance of this activity and the militancy of it at this time, it is the writer's impression that more than any other factor, the weight of years of little or no successful steps to better teachers'



economic conditions has provided the trigger for today's increased militancy in this direction. Combined with this is the fact that our society has observed that united effort and public demonstrations have been extremely potent weapons for other groups, including such diversified groups as labor, civil rights, welfare rights and students which, while the particular aims may vary, have as a common goal, obtaining a change in basic status through displays of power. That such techniques should be used by educators who have been unsuccessful for years in obtaining legitimate economic goals in other ways is then, at least understandable. The question of whether this is done through a union or an education association, i.e., which group carries on the present type of employee negotiations is of little merit in the writer's opinion. In the course of this study, the writer has seen very little true difference between goals and means to goals proposed by association advocates and union advocates generally or between the comments of union or association members in this sample. The writer believes that the major appreciable difference between the two groups with regard to employee negotiations is in the degree of unionization as noted by Blackburn and Prandy.

A far more basic question is whether the current employee negotiations techniques are gaining for educators the goals they wish to achieve. It is here the the writer feels there is urgent need for clear, reality-facing definition of goals within the educational profession. There

seems little doubt that economic goals can be readily obtained by employing the collective bargaining techniques which have amply demonstrated such gains for many other groups. Within this, the writer would include all economic gains, including fringe benefits and the like. The writer would label these short-term, economic goals and to this end, sheer power obviously can be effective. However, if goals are long-term, non-economic goals, the writer has serious question that the current employee negotiations techniques are effective. Throughout the conduct of this study, both in the literature and in the personal interviews, there are references to the gaining of professional status, respect, a major voice in administration of educational institutions and similar less tangible, non-economic gains. The writer suspects that in order to fully obtain these sorts of goals along with the economic goals, some sort of adaptations must be made in technique. It is here that the writer feels attention should be given to develop and test systems especially designed for the educational sphere. To do so demands first, defining ones' goals and establishing priorities among them and then using the most appropriate techniques to achieve them. There is no question in the writer's mind but that employee negotiations is a process of power accomodation and that power can win many tangible things; the question is, are the intangible things which may also be won, the ones which educators wish to win. To look at an analogy, one may well attend to the fact that

one person has defeated another and award him a prize without respecting his skill or ability or the way he went about winning or valuing his knowledge. In the same way, is it not possible that educators can win the monetary prize but not necessarily make any gains outside the economic sphere? Perhaps at this time, economic gains are the only important ones. The writer does not believe so but would urge that educators at least think through these aspects of types of goals and methods of achieving them to arrive at their own personal conclusions.

The writer suspects that many of the interviewees who expressed an, ends justifies the means philosophy, were alluding to some extent to this concept of types of goals and in essence saying that the short-term economic goal was being obtained at some cost to more long-term aims. For example, if one says that one does not believe in strike but one needs the money, is not this the sacrifice of a long-term goal or attribute for a short-term gain or goal?

Again, the need appears to be for serious thinking through of goals and techniques to reach goals. It would seem that the conflicts arising from employee negotiations involvement can be very productively used as possible indications of where to start to make changes. For example, it is significant to the writer that the greatest number of conflicts in this study are regarding clash between goals for oneself and goals for others. This suggests to the writer, the need to attempt to adapt techniques of employee

negotiation in order that one need not choose between these two sets of goals, or if this cannot be achieved, to present choice alternatives clearly.

Conflict is a common human experience which may have either beneficial or detrimental effects on an individual depending on the degree of conflict and the individual's ability to cope with it. The fact that it is said to be present in educators involved in employee negotiations can be useful in suggesting areas of possible change in techniques of employee negotiations and in focusing and guiding behavior choices in the area.

#### Recommendations

Some recommendations have been noted in the preceding. Overall, however, the writer sees some urgency in placing emphasis on the problems of employee negotiations in education at the university teacher training level. It is apparent in this study that considerable intra-individual conflict can be involved for educators in the process. There is in the writer's opinion, need for emphasis on thinking through professional philosophy and ethical considerations and also for practical focus on developing workable systems for dealing with the problem of meeting educator's legitimate employment needs and demands.

Further research is suggested in the same area as this study. The writer would suggest further investigation of conflicts occurring as a result of employee negotiations involvement. It is recommended that this be done with a

much larger, more heterogeneous sample, perhaps employing a questionnaire or other paper and pencil approach in combination with personal interview of a smaller sub-sample and evaluating responses with more rigidly defined conflict categories. It is suggested that there is special merit in focus on conflict categories incorporating the areas of most and least expressed conflict in this study, Self Centered Goals--Other Centered Goals, Right-Wrong and Lawful-Unlawful categories.

#### Summary

This study was designed to explore an area in which the writer was unable to find information in the literature on employee negotiations in education. The purpose was to explore the intra-individual conflict arising from involvement in employee negotiations which a group of public school educators would express in a personal interview. The sample contained members and leaders of education association and union groups. Conflicts discussed in interviews were evaluated independently by four judges to ascertain whether agreement could be reached regarding number and type of conflicts verbalized. Two judges achieved a fair level of agreement with each other over all categories. Four judges agreed at a fair level that the least amount of conflict was expressed along a Lawful-Unlawful dimension. Most conflicts were expressed regarding Self Centered Goals versus Other Centered Goals and in the Right-Wrong category.

There were not material differences between sub-samples representing the two major employee organization groups or between sub-samples of leaders and non-leaders. Further research is suggested to provide more information about SO conflicts, conflicts in the RW category and lack of conflict in the LU area. Greater attention to the problem of employee negotiations and implications for educator is suggested at the university teacher training level.

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APPENDIX

3\*

Present role: Active in current strike behind scenes.

66-67: Worked one day--first day crossed picket line--no conflict about this because FEA had not done right by FFT--disturbed that people couldn't see that FEA should have properly involved FFT--stayed out second day.

Conflicts: There's deep rooted conflict because of the inability of teachers to conduct themselves properly in negotiations--teachers want candy now without what goes along with earning it.

I don't believe the Board are the ogres some people say--the Board are not ogres--they're altruistic, respected individuals--interested in schools and in teachers too--the problem is to help educate them over the long term about what should be done in schools. There's a conflict between classroom teachers and management and a need to see both sides and how to reconcile them more professionally.

There's conflict between positive and negative responsibilities of the profession--if you get the goodies--you must get rid of the deadwood--must police your own profession.

I have no conflict about not being in school--or about strike--I got over that a long time ago--I took the position that I would have to strike back in 1945 when I was pushed into a corner by my Superintendent in a debate.

Label: Conflict about professional conduct and responsibility.

Other thoughts: Colleges must start to shape the profession--they're not doing their job properly. Younger teachers lack the judgment to see that it's a long haul.

Judge A: PU SO LD EM RW AI  
B: PU SO LD EM RW AI  
C: SO AI  
D: SO EM AI

\* NOTE: The key words in the left margin refer to ENCI questions in this and the four following protocols. Similarly, in this and the following protocols, the writer has eliminated certain identifying material; in no case has this changed the basic content of the interview. Judges ratings have been added to assist the reader. While not specifically noted, these interviews contain one each FFTL, FEAL, FFTM and two FEAM.

13

Present role: Picketing--also working actively as coach--  
putting on games.

66-67: Not here.

Conflicts: Professionally--I can't justify it--but as a wage earner and head of household--it's the only way to get enough--I can't afford the principle of no strike. In the beginning, I would have said you shouldn't do--it's not professional--but now--there's no other alternative--I'm not saying it's professional now--just--there's nothing else to do.

It's in opposition to what I teach children--morally and ethically opposed--as a teacher--I'm in the position of saying do what I say not what I do--kids can use teacher behavior to justify their own behavior. It's a conflict between my commitment to children and my commitment to myself and my commitment to support my family.

I'm a coach too--going ahead with coaching--putting on games and picketing too--I'm doing the coaching stuff because if I don't--someone else will and when I get back the job will be more complicated--so I'm in the bind of supporting the strike and picketing--and helping to run part of a program which will get censure from my peer group. I'm working against myself in putting on a strike and then keeping part of the school open by running a game.

Label: Conflict between being a coach as well as a striking teacher.

Judge	A:	PU	SO	LD	EM	RW	AI
	B:	PU	SO	LD	EM	RW	AI
	C:	PU		LD			
	D:		SO	LD		RW	

18

Present: Picketing--active now.

66-67: Withheld services for two days--picketed.

Conflicts: In 1966--I was bothered about hurting children--  
I got into teaching to help children--not to get  
a lunch hour for myself--but I needed a break in  
order to do a better job--so my reasons for  
teaching were in conflict with my need to get  
some things for myself.

It's against my middle class values to go on  
strike--a strike is associated with labor and  
is unprofessional--that's in opposition to my  
need to get essential things for myself--It's  
not as unprofessional to strike as it was in  
1966 but still it's not professional.

I'm not as concerned at all this time because  
I'm going to quit anyway.

Judge A:	PU	SO		EM	RW	AI
B:	PU	SO	LD	EM	RW	AI
C:	PU	SO				
D:		SO		EM	RW	

23

Present: Active--I'll strike though I don't have much confidence in FEA leadership.

66-67: Didn't cross picket line--got other teachers to go out--walked picket line--when teachers go out--I go too even if I don't agree with them--attended meetings and voted.

Conflicts: None--ultimately all this will help students--the things that benefit teachers benefit students. It's both professional and right--I'm just sorry we don't go and fight for some other things. The fact that I worked at other jobs and entered teaching late may have influenced me. We should continue and do everything we should to reach our goals.

Other thoughts: I'm exhilarated about being united and finally protesting as a group--finally standing up--I'm angry at FEA leadership for trying to persuade teachers to back out--teachers are more militant and less fearful than the leadership.

Judge A: None  
B: SO LD AI  
C: NONE  
D: PU EM

31

Present role: Active

66-67: Withheld services--led building out.

Conflicts: That first day--in 1966--the strike was new in Michigan--I felt we were setting a poor example for children--I was physically sick over it--this year it's easier but the tenseness is still there--I'm in the possible position of throwing away all my hard work--putting my career on the line--if people don't support--if it's a complete flop--they can revoke my certificate.

I had conflict about what is professional and what's unprofessional--it's unprofessional to work for poor compensation--the goal was professional but the means not--I decided right and wrong by attitudes expressed by children to teachers' actions--children said--good--glad to see the teachers stand up--and parents were extremely well behind teachers--very supportive--now there's no question--the public is with us--that's very important in deciding it's professional.

I worried for three days--afraid I'd lose my job--three days before the strike--then on the first day of the strike I got very disgusted and quit worrying--I felt if I had to go through this to get a decent salary--then it was not worth it--I was ready to quit teaching if I couldn't do what I felt was right--it helped to be in a building where there were a number of men--they're more ready to strike.

Teachers are responsible for their own problems--my idealistic goals got in the way--conflicted with my contempt for teachers because of their apathy--lack of militancy--the model of the public employee in control of the public and always subservient to the public--needs to be changed.

Other thoughts: I feel the teacher is paramount--I resent administration coming in and telling him how to teach--administration is the agent of management and not an educational leader--since 1966--then I thought that administration more than the Board of Education--had horns and was no good--but now--I realize that they have no power--they're caught between teachers and the School Board.

31

Judge	A:	PU	SO				RW	AI
	B:	PU	SO	LU	LD	EM	RW	AI
	C:	PU	SO					
	D:	PU	SO			EM	RW	

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