

THE INFLUENCE OF MEMBERS UPON DECISION-MAKING
IN THE COLORADO EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

By

TIM DRAKE TARLETON
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Thesis Approved:



Thesis Adviser





Dean of the Graduate College

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The contemporary United States of America contains a number of organizations which provide a rational and efficient means of social action to meet the needs arising from the complexities of its modern, pluralistic civilization. Formal political parties are merely one type of organization used to identify and garner support for social issues and programs. The members of society also employ a plethora of interest groups to help them attain their goals. Within this pluralistic society characterized by a federal political system and a mixed public-private economic system, the interest groups seek to protect and extend the social, economic and political influence of their memberships.

Interest group members view their organizations with the same value judgments they apply to representative government. They expect the organizational leadership to carry out the wishes of the membership. The leaders of interest groups, therefore, face many of the same situations as do their government counterparts: leaders who wish to lead must follow the principal wishes of their members. When leaders are faced with the immediate necessity of decision, they must make an effort to explain their actions and garner support for them after acting, if they hope to remain effective.

This study examines the operation of one interest group, the Colorado Education Association, which purports to represent the professional

interests of 22,000 teachers and school administrators in the state of Colorado. For purposes of convenience, representation, communication and local action, the CEA is composed of 150 local affiliate associations. The CEA leadership deals with the public and with the Colorado state government in advancing the interests of the association and its members.

Several members of the CEA have claimed that the adopted programs of the Association do not reflect the wishes of the membership.¹ The contention is that the activities of the CEA leadership have outrun the membership's support of goals and methods to the extent that many members do not see the resulting policies as being in their own best interests. This study examines the relationship between member support for CEA programs and the ability of CEA members to exert influence in decision-making within their organization.

The hypothesis of the study is that the official policies of the CEA do not reflect the wishes of the members because of inadequate structural arrangements within the Association for the election of delegates and executive officials and for the general representation of member interests.

In order to test the hypothesis, it is first necessary to determine whether or not adopted CEA policies do in fact reflect the wishes of the membership. To determine the degree of membership support for CEA programs, the writer administered a questionnaire to a segment of the

¹Mr. Kenneth Porter, President of the CEA from 1967 to 1969, and Mr. Reginald Holmes, Jr., member of the Resolutions Committee in 1968, are two of many CEA members to express such comments to the writer while he was serving as a member of the Professional Relations Committee of the CEA.

membership consisting of the five local affiliate associations located in Arapahoe County, Colorado. The questionnaire sought the opinions of members on current CEA programs, and attempted to determine the extent of their agreement or disagreement on these programs. While the CEA membership of Arapahoe County constitutes nine per cent of the total state CEA membership, no claim is made that the questionnaire results accurately portray the opinions of all CEA members. Rather, the thrust of the findings is to determine whether the CEA programs and policies represent the best interests of a substantial segment of the Association's membership as those members define their own best interests.

The questionnaire design further allowed the author to surmise the existence of various sub-groups within the CEA and to ascertain the extent to which their diverse interests are met by the organization. For example, there is a growing sense of alienation between classroom teachers and administrators, both of whom have an undifferentiated membership in the CEA. While the structure of the organization does not formally reflect the disparate interests of these two groups, it appears to some that existing arrangements tend to favor administrators for the leadership positions. It may be suggested that such a situation could further impair the CEA decision-making process in implementing the teacher's interests as they define them.

A lack of support for CEA programs, if evidenced by the results of the questionnaire, might be significantly related to the existence of structural and communication barriers within the Association which inhibit the exercise of influence by CEA members. Therefore, following the analysis of the questionnaire in Chapter II, Chapter III offers a brief history of the CEA concentrating on its development, growth, and

constitutional provisions for membership participation. Chapter IV examines structural arrangements for membership representation in depth, including apportionment formulas for the Delegate Assembly and the Board of Directors, and the provisions for member participation in decision-making through leadership and through Association publications. An attempt is made in these chapters to investigate every possible avenue for the exercise of member influence within the CEA and to determine to what extent such avenues are either open or closed.

The fifth and final chapter offers a summary and conclusions regarding membership representation within the Colorado Education Association, particularly as this issue pertains to the members of Arapahoe County. The findings as to the existence of structural or organizational barriers to the exercise of membership influence are reviewed, and conclusions are drawn as to whether malapportionment exists in the selection of representatives to the decision-making organs of CEA. In addition, it is pointed out that the existence of a poorly-informed or apathetic membership may be as responsible for a perceived lack of influence as are any structural impediments. Finally, some problems raised by this study along with suggestions for their future resolution are noted.

Several primary and secondary sources have been used in the study. Primary sources include a questionnaire completed by the staff of the public schools of Arapahoe County, Colorado; an investigation of CEA publications; attendance at meetings of the organization's Board of Directors and Delegate Assembly; and interviews with the Director of Information Services, the Director of Field Services, and the Assistant Editor of the two major CEA publications. Secondary sources including

theses and reports were relied upon for much of the material pertaining to the early years of the CEA, since the organization moved into new headquarters in 1968, leaving many original records in inaccessible storage.

CHAPTER II

MEMBERSHIP SUPPORT FOR CEA PROGRAMS

The CEA proclaims both to the public and to its membership that programs adopted by the Delegate Assembly and implemented by the CEA Board of Directors and Executive Secretary are those the Association membership desires. The purpose of this chapter is to determine if, in fact, the CEA is always speaking for its members. In order to acquire empirical evidence on the degree of membership support for programs adopted recently, a questionnaire was submitted to a segment of the membership.

The content of the questionnaire (see Figure 1) came from the programs adopted by the CEA Delegate Assembly of March, 1968. On each question, the respondent was presented with a series of answers, one of which was the program selected by the Delegate Assembly; the remaining answers were devised by the writer to provide respondents with alternative program choices. This type of closed-end questioning allowed a more precise analysis and aided in determining modal and bimodal opinions.¹

The questionnaire was submitted to all members of the five local CEA affiliate associations located in Arapahoe County, Colorado.

¹Robert E. Lane and David O. Sears, Public Opinion (Englewood Cliffs, 1964), pp. 9-10. The modal opinion is that held by most respondents. The bimodal opinion is referred to when there are two popular but opposed positions.

This questionnaire is part of a thesis being written on interest groups. At no point will you as an individual be identified. The number at the top of the page refers to the school in which you teach. Thank you for your cooperation.

Please circle the number of the response you select.

- A. Which one of the following do you believe to be the most productive way for public education to gain the financial backing of the government of the State of Colorado?

1. Appeal to the Governor of the State of Colorado 2. Appeal to the Colorado State Legislature 3. Work through current political parties to elect education minded politicians 4. Invoke sanctions against the State of Colorado 5. Go out on strike 6. None of the above.

- B. Which one of the following committees would you prefer to see conduct a full-scale investigation of the educational financial conditions existing in the State of Colorado?

1. A committee selected by the Colorado State Legislature 2. A committee selected by the Governor of the State of Colorado 3. A committee selected by the Colorado Education Association 4. A committee selected jointly by all three of the above 5. A committee selected by the National Education Association 6. None of the above 7. I do not believe such a committee is necessary.

- C. Which one of the following best states your feelings about the dues structure of the Colorado Education Association?

1. Dues should be lowered 2. Dues are adequate and should remain the same 3. Dues should be raised 4. No opinion.

- D. Which one of the following would you prefer in order to promote the programs and improve the political effectiveness of the Colorado Education Association?

1. Action by individual Colorado Education Association members 2. A more unified action by local education associations 3. A more intensified program by the headquarters staff of the Colorado Education Association 4. The employment of a full time professional lobbyist by the Colorado Education Association 5. None of the above.

- E. Which one of the following do you believe would be the most effective, during the week before election day, to acquaint the voters with the problems of public education?

Figure 1. The Questionnaire

Figure 1 (Continued)

1. Nothing needs to be done 2. Have your local education association take ad space in newspapers, and commercial time on radio and television 3. Have your local education association conduct public information meetings in schools in its school district 4. Have your local education association invite the candidates to speak at a public meeting 5. Have your local education association publicly announce for whom they would vote 6. Have your local education association involve its membership in a house to house campaign 7. None of the above.
- F. Which one of the following sources of revenue should the State of Colorado use specifically for the support of public education?
1. A flat rate income tax 2. A graduated income tax 3. A state sales tax 4. State wide property tax 5. None of the above.
- G. Which one of the following most typifies your feelings as to the use of retired certified personnel as substitute teachers during the school year?
1. Not at all 2. A limited number of days 3. An unlimited number of days 4. No opinion.
- H. Which one of the following most typifies your view toward federal aid to public education?
1. There should be no federal support for public education 2. That federal support be given to any public educational system for specific educational programs 3. That federal support to public education be limited to those schools in economically deprived areas 4. That there be substantial general federal support of the whole of public education 5. That the total cost of public education be supported by the federal government 6. None of the above.
- I. What are the maximum number of days you believe the school year should be?
1. 160 days 2. 180 days 3. 200 days 4. Over 200 days 5. No opinion.
- J. Which one of the following best states your feelings? The Colorado Education Association should:
1. limit its interest to public schools in the State of Colorado 2. involve itself with public schools and faculty organization of junior colleges 3. involve itself with all public schools and institutions of higher learning.

Figure 1 (Continued)

Now to help me classify your answers statistically, may I ask you a few questions about yourself. Please check the appropriate box.

Major Assignment Teacher Administrator Counselor Other

Sex Male Female

Level in which the majority of your work is done

Elementary Junior High Senior High

In which group would you rank the majority of the parents of your students?

Upper Class Middle Class Working Class Lower Class Farmers Don't Know

Is this position the prime source of your family income? Yes No

Did you teach in Arapahoe County last year? Yes No

Were you a member of the Colorado Education Association last year?

Yes No

Arapahoe County schools employed 2,080 educators in school districts ranging in size from 17 to 741 teachers and administrators.² In addition to the fact that CEA membership in Arapahoe County constitutes nine per cent of statewide CEA membership, the county is ideally situated for the study in several other respects. The western edge of the county borders Denver (see Figure 13) and is a highly populated area with both industrial and suburban communities. The whole of the eastern part of the county is devoted to agriculture and consequently provides a sampling of rural communities. Because of large population centers in the western sector, the time needed to distribute the questionnaire was lessened significantly.

Due to the existence of the above factors, the author felt that findings from Arapahoe County might indicate with some degree of accuracy the attitudes of CEA members statewide. While no claim is made that Arapahoe County is a "typical" Colorado county, neither is it atypical in its general socioeconomic structure. Moreover, while it would have undoubtedly been best to sample all CEA members in the state, the time and expense involved would have been prohibitive. At the time the study was done, it was also felt that the next best alternative, a truly random sample drawn from the entire membership roster, would likewise have involved too much travel, time, and expense.

The time factor was very significant. In order to obtain the greatest response, the questionnaire had to be given to the staff of the schools during the staff "work days" prior to the arrival of the

²Office of the County Superintendent, Arapahoe County, Colorado.

students. It would have been virtually impossible, due to summer vacations, to contact all of the teachers involved prior to the "work days." If a date after the opening of classes had been selected, teachers and administrators would have been too occupied with school matters to give the questionnaires careful consideration.

Actual distribution of the questionnaires involved three steps. First, permission had to be obtained from the superintendent of each school district. Second, the principal of each school had to agree to present the questionnaire to his staff.³ The third step was to deliver the questionnaires and answer any additional questions the principals might have.⁴

In August of 1968 when questionnaires were distributed, there were 69 schools in the county, employing 2,080 teachers and administrators. These schools returned a total of 1,665 questionnaires, or 80 per cent of those submitted. Some 300 of these questionnaires were not usable due to the fact that some respondents did not fulfill the requirement of belonging to CEA and/or being employed in Arapahoe County in 1967-68.

In order to further analyze those responding, and to provide some indication of their occupational category within the larger group surveyed, the writer classified them into five subgroups. The first classification determined the number of respondents who were teachers (90

³In the public schools of Aurora, Colorado, all research projects involving school staff must be administered by the Assistant Superintendent, Dr. Salvatore Alioto.

⁴The author delivered the questionnaires to the school principals, who administered them following written instructions.

per cent), counselors (three per cent), and administrators (five per cent). In addition, there were two per cent who fell into none of these categories. The second classification divided those queried into male or female, while the third established the level of education on which they worked (elementary, junior or senior high school).

The fourth category was a departure from the others in that it attempted to establish the socioeconomic character of the respondents' work location by asking them what group the majority of their students belonged to. The choices were upper class, middle class, working class, lower class, and farming. It was felt that the nature of the school and its patrons might have a bearing on the attitudes of educators toward CEA programs.

The final category determined whether or not educational employment provided the respondent with the major source of income for his or her family. The assumption was that this fact might be a major determinant of support or non-support of CEA programs, especially in the area of higher pay demands.

The number of respondents classified in each subgroup appears in Table I, page 13.

Two aspects were of primary importance in analyzing the questionnaires. First, and most important, was the degree to which CEA members were in agreement with the adopted programs of the Association. Second was the possibility of variances in CEA program support among the different subgroup classifications.

To clarify analysis of the questionnaire, responses have been divided into four categories of Association involvement: Questions A, B, and G pertain to CEA activities regarding sanctions; questions D and E

TABLE I
 THE HIGHEST NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS IN EACH
 INDIVIDUAL CLASSIFICATION

Classification*	Number
Teachers	1153
Administrators	59
Counselors	45
Other	18
Male	447
Female	823
Elementary Staff	631
Junior High Staff	348
Senior High Staff	290
Upper Class	89
Middle Class	766
Working Class	311
Lower Class	40
Farming	13
Major Source of Income	861
Minor Source of Income	389

*Some respondents failed to indicate a classification

to programs needed for CEA to become politically effective through active participation in politics; questions F and H to state and federal financial aid to education; and questions C, I and J to general CEA operation and policies.

In the following pages, a chart for each of the above questions graphically depicts the percentage of CEA members in Arapahoe County who agree with the adopted CEA stance on that question. The charts are arranged to illustrate also the degree of support for CEA positions among the five subgroups within the survey sample. The Appendices lists each question and its possible responses and shows the number of individuals in each subgroup within the larger category who chose each option.

Sanctions

During the 1968 Delegate Assembly, the subject of sanctions occupied about half the total meeting time. Due to the amount of interest indicated by this fact, three of the ten questionnaire items dealt with sanctions (see Figure 1, Questions A, B and G).

Question A asked respondents what they believed was the most productive way for public education to gain the financial backing of the state of Colorado. The CEA had gone on record in favor of invoking sanctions as a means of gaining such support.⁵ As Figure 2 indicates, only four percent of the respondents agreed with the CEA position, while 96 per cent favored some method other than invoking sanctions. The modal opinion, expressed by some 70 per cent of those queried, was in

⁵ Delegate Assembly action, March 15-16, 1968.

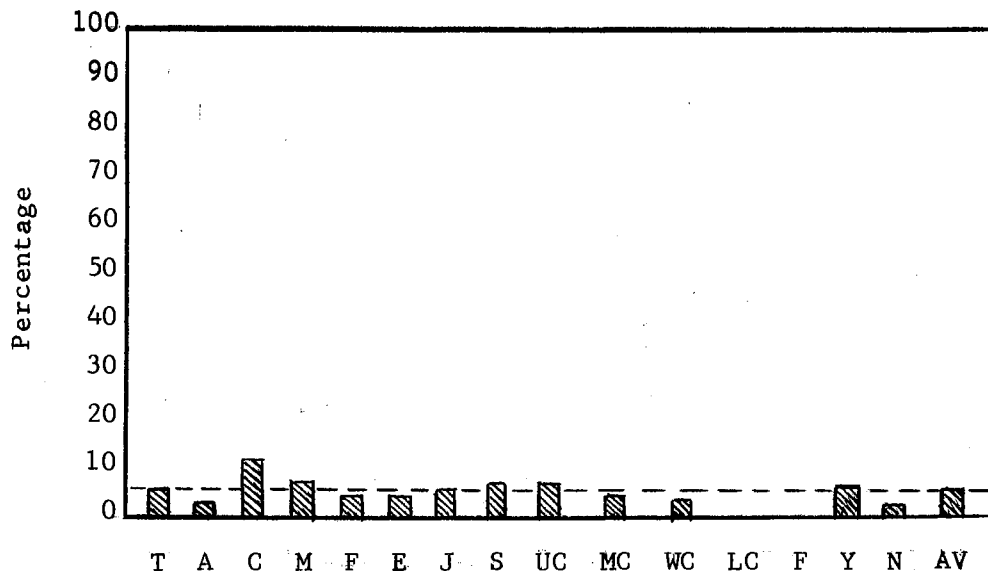


Figure 2. Question A. Percentage of group opinion response in agreement with the CEA position that sanctions should be invoked against the state.

T - Teachers	UC - Upper Class*
A - Administrators	MC - Middle Class
C - Counselors	WC - Working Class
M - Male	LC - Lower Class
F - Female	F - Farming
E - Elementary Staff	Y - Yes**
J - Junior High Staff	N - No
S - Senior High Staff	AV - Average***

*Classification indicated by respondent's answer to:
In what group would you rank the majority of your students?

**Classification indicated by the respondent in answer to:
Is this position the prime source of your family income?

***The average of the total response of classifications in agreement with CEA.

favor of the CEA working through existing political parties to resolve the financial support issue (see Appendix A, page 84).

Support for the CEA position varied among members of the classification subgroups responding to Question A. Respondents working with students from upper class families cast a six per cent opinion in favor of sanctions, while those working with students from farm families failed to register a single opinion in favor of the CEA program. The preferences of those working in rural areas were divided between appealing to the Legislature (38 per cent) and working through political parties (46 per cent). In addition, 11 per cent of the counselors favored sanctions as opposed to only two percent of the administrators. Seventy-six per cent of the administrators wanted to work with political parties while 21 per cent preferred an appeal to the General Assembly.

Question B asked the CEA members whom they would prefer to have conduct a full-scale investigation of educational finance conditions existing in Colorado. The Delegate Assembly had passed a resolution requesting such an investigation by the National Education Association (NEA).⁶ Figure 3 divulges that only eight per cent of those queried agreed with the CEA resolution. The modal opinion, selected by 74 per cent of the respondents, was that an investigating committee should be jointly selected by the Governor, the General Assembly, and the CEA (see Appendix B, page 85).

The classification of subgroups on Question B indicates a marked deviation between members from the lower class area and those from the

⁶Ibid.

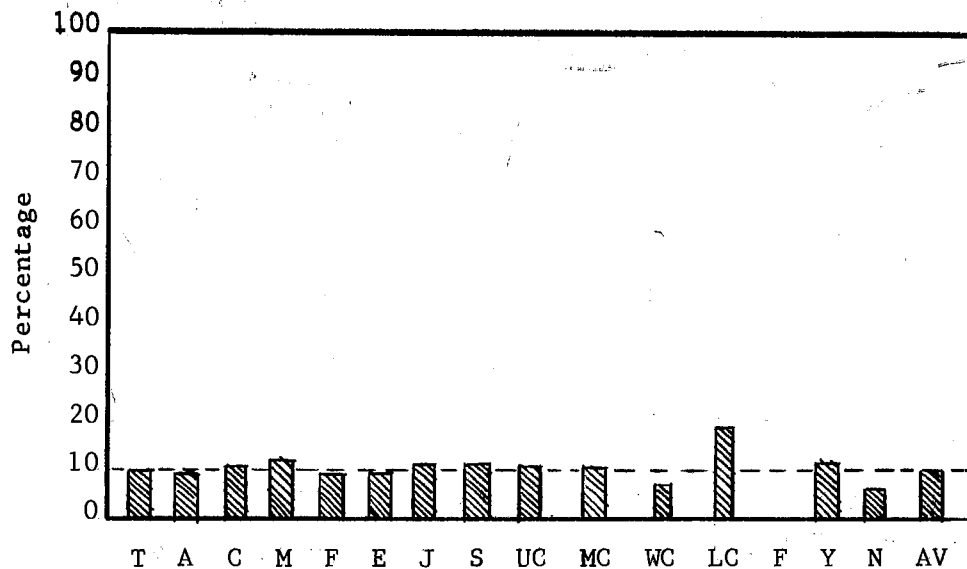


Figure 3. Question B: Percentage of group opinion response in agreement with the CEA position that the NEA should investigate the educational finance conditions in Colorado.

T - Teachers	UC - Upper Class
A - Administrators	MC - Middle Class
C - Counselors	WC - Working Class
M - Male	LC - Lower Class
F - Female	F - Farming
E - Elementary Staff	Y - Yes**
J - Junior High Staff	N - No
S - Senior High Staff	AV - Average***

*Classification indicated by respondent's answer to: In what group would you rank the majority of your students?

**Classification indicated by respondent in answer to: Is this position the prime source of your family income?

***The average of the total response of classifications in agreement with CEA.

farming areas. While 17 per cent of the former selected the CEA position on an NEA investigation, none of the farming area group offered a response for that position. Sixty-one per cent of the rural group preferred the modal opinion listed above, 15 per cent wanted a committee selected by the General Assembly, and the remainder were closely divided between having the Governor or the CEA select the committee.

Question G asked respondents for their feelings concerning the use of retired personnel as substitute teachers. On this issue, the Delegate Assembly, fearing that retired personnel might be used as strike breakers, or as a threat to gain the lifting of sanctions, had adopted a resolution asking that retired personnel be restricted to 90 days substitute work a year.⁷ Figure 4 shows that 25 per cent of respondents agreed with the CEA position, while the modal opinion of 53 per cent favored unlimited use of retired personnel. Fourteen per cent indicated they had no opinion on the subject (see Appendix G, page 90).

Deviation between subgroups appeared at two points on Question G. The first was a bloc of 34 per cent of administrators in favor of the CEA position compared to only 15 per cent of the counselors. The majority of the counselors (60 per cent) favored letting substitutes work an unlimited number of days, while 18 per cent expressed no opinion. The second area of deviation was between the farming and lower class groups as compared to the upper class group. CEA members from both the lower class and farm areas agreed (38 per cent each) more strongly with the CEA position on limiting substitutes than did the members from the upper class area (19 per cent). Fifty-three per cent of those in the

⁷Ibid.

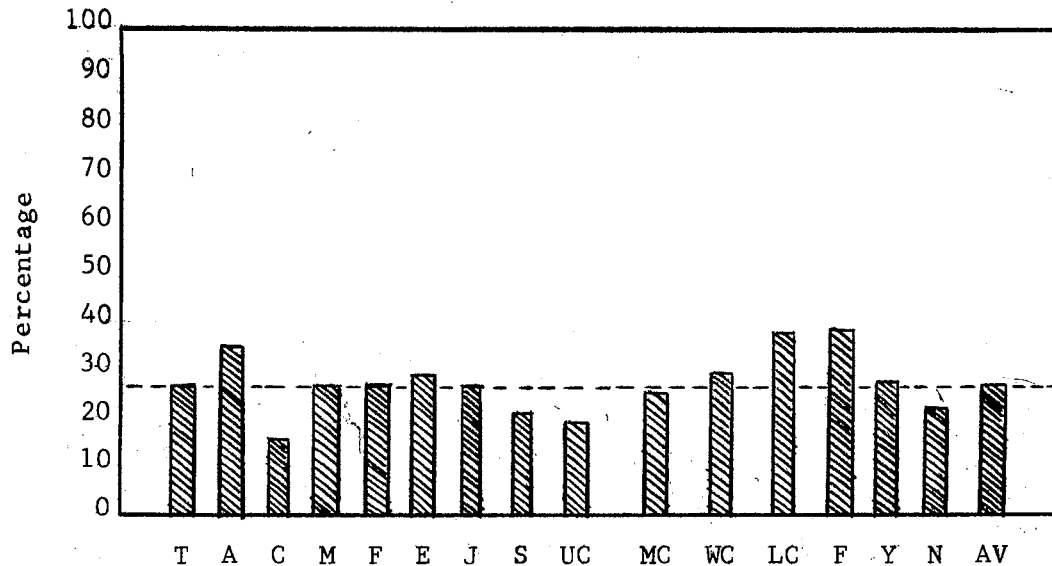


Figure 4. Question G. Percentage of group opinion response in agreement with the CEA position on limiting retired personnel to 90 teaching days a year.

T - Teachers	UC - Upper Class*
A - Administrators	MC - Middle Class
C - Counselors	WC - Working Class
M - Male	LC - Lower Class
F - Female	F - Farming
E - Elementary Staff	Y - Yes**
J - Junior High Staff	N - No
S - Senior High Staff	AV - Average***

*Classification indicated by respondent's answer to: In what group would you rank the majority of your students?

**Classification indicated by respondent in answer to: Is this position the prime source of your family income?

***The average of the total response of classifications in agreement with CEA.

upper class area favored unlimited substitution, while 19 per cent had no opinion.

Political Effectiveness

Two questionnaire items dealt with improving the political effectiveness of the CEA by initiating some form of active participation in politics by the Association and its members.

Question D asked respondents what type of action they would prefer as a means of promoting CEA programs and improving the Association's political effectiveness generally. The Delegate Assembly had adopted a resolution calling for the hiring of a full-time lobbyist to handle these functions.⁸ As noted in Figure 5, the response was 33 per cent in favor of the CEA position. There was also a bimodal response of 34 per cent in support of more unified action by local affiliate associations. Twenty-one per cent indicated a desire for a more intensified program by the CEA headquarters staff, while eight per cent called for action by individual CEA members (see Appendix D, page 87).

In the classification of subgroups, there was a noticeable difference of opinion on Question D between counselors and administrators. Counselors favored the CEA position on hiring a full-time lobbyist by a 49 per cent margin, while administrators supported the position only to the extent of 29 per cent. Of the remaining administrators, 41 per cent chose unified action by local affiliate associations while 22 per cent called for CEA staff action. Another significant difference was found between those working with upper class children, who indicated 41

⁸ Ibid.

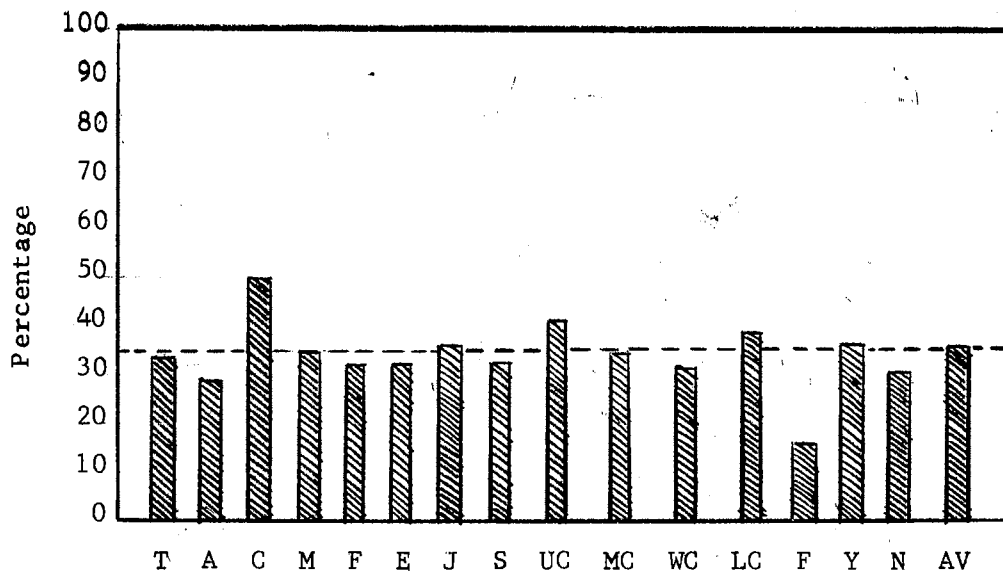


Figure 5. Question D: Percentage of group opinion response in agreement with the CEA position on employing a full-time professional lobbyist.

T - Teachers	UC - Upper Class*
A - Administrators	MC - Middle Class
C - Counselors	WC - Working Class
M - Male	LC - Lower Class
F - Female	F - Farming
E - Elementary Staff	Y - Yes**
J - Junior High Staff	N - No
S - Senior High Staff	AV - Average***

*Classification indicated by respondent's answer to: In what group would you rank the majority of your students?

**Classification indicated by the respondent in answer to: Is this position the prime source of your family income?

***The average of the total response of classifications in agreement with CEA.

per cent agreement with the CEA position, and respondents working with rural students, who gave only 15 per cent support to hiring a full-time lobbyist. The opinion of the largest segment of the rural employees (46 per cent) wanted unified action by local associations.

Question E asked for an opinion on what procedures would be most effective in acquainting the voters with the problems of public education the week prior to election day. The CEA's official stand had called for local associations to conduct public information programs in the schools of each district.⁹ Figure 6 indicates that only 18 per cent of the respondents favored this position. The modal opinion of 45 per cent chose the use of newspaper, radio and television commercials by local associations to discuss educational problems. Of the remainder, 15 per cent were in favor of the local association inviting candidates to speak at public meetings in their area, and 13 per cent thought each association should be involved in a house-to-house campaign (see Appendix E, page 88).

There was a marked difference in responses to Question E between those respondents working with rural students and those involved with students from both upper and lower class homes: 25 per cent of rural respondents favored the CEA position as compared to 11 per cent from lower class and 14 per cent from upper class areas. Forty-four per cent of the upper class respondents selected the modal response of having local associations use media commercials, while 31 per cent from lower class areas chose this same option.

⁹Ibid.

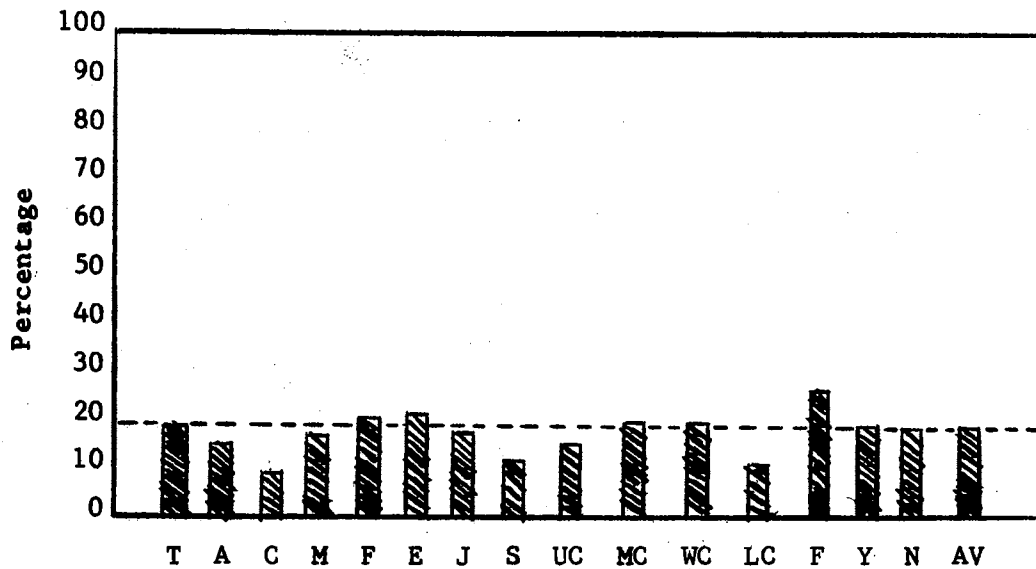


Figure 6. Question E: Percentage of group opinion response in agreement with the CEA position that local CEA associations should conduct public information meetings.

T - Teachers	UC - Upper Class*
A - Administrators	MC - Middle Class
C - Counselors	WC - Working Class
M - Male	LC - Lower Class
F - Female	F - Farming
E - Elementary Staff	Y - Yes**
J - Junior High Staff	N - No
S - Senior High Staff	AV - Average***

*Classification indicated by respondent's answer to: In what group would you rank the majority of your students?

**Classification indicated by the respondent in answer to: Is this position the prime source of your family income?

***The average of the total number of responses.

General Financial Aid

The questionnaire contained two questions on financial aid. The first of these, Question F, dealt with the source of revenue the state of Colorado should use for financial assistance to public education. The Delegate Assembly had determined that the CEA should seek legislation replacing the school district property tax with a graduated income tax.¹⁰ As illustrated by Figure 7, the modal response of 51 per cent was in agreement with the CEA position of using a graduated income tax. The remaining opinions included 23 per cent for a sales tax and 10 per cent each for a flat rate income tax and a statewide property tax (see Appendix F, page 89).

A large amount of deviation appeared among the various subgroups. Teacher opinion in favor of a graduated income tax was 49 per cent compared to 63 per cent of the administrators and 64 per cent of the counselors. Approximately 20 per cent each of teachers, administrators and counselors preferred a statewide sales tax. Fifty-six per cent of males selected a graduated income tax to 47 per cent of females. The largest deviation was between the upper class group and respondents from rural areas: while the former supported the graduated income tax by only 43 per cent, those from rural areas gave a vote of 67 per cent. In every case of disagreement within subgroups, those not in accord with the CEA position chose the alternative of a statewide sales tax.

Question H asked those persons queried to give their opinions on federal aid to public education. The Delegate Assembly had adopted a

¹⁰Ibid.

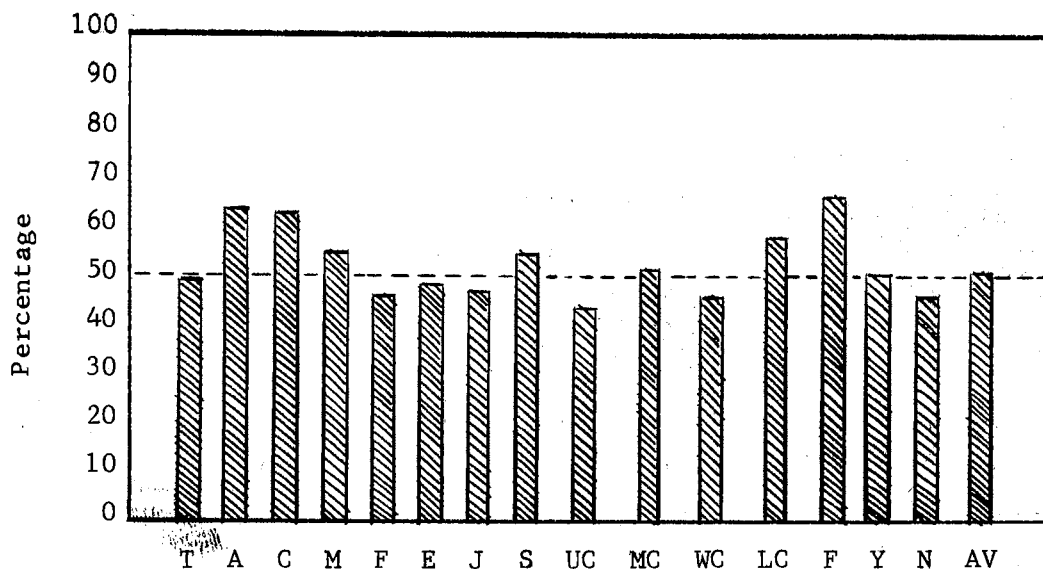


Figure 7. Question F: Percentage of group opinion response in agreement with the CEA position that a graduated income tax should replace the district property tax.

T - Teachers	UC - Upper Class*
A - Administrators	MC - Middle Class
C - Counselors	WC - Working Class
M - Male	LC - Lower Class
F - Female	F - Farming
E - Elementary Staff	Y - Yes**
J - Junior High Staff	N - No
S - Senior High Staff	AV - Average***

*Classification indicated by respondent's answer to: In what group would you rank the majority of your students?

**Classification indicated by the respondent in answer to: Is this position the prime source of your family income?

***The average of the total response of classifications in agreement with CEA.

resolution asking the CEA to seek substantial federal support for the whole of public education.¹¹ Figure 8 indicates that 57 per cent of those responding were in favor of the CEA position. Twenty-two per cent selected the option that federal aid should be given only for specified educational programs, and nine per cent preferred that federal aid be limited to schools in economically deprived areas (see Appendix H, page 91).

Within the subgroup classifications, a noticeable difference existed between teachers and those in administration and counseling. Fifty-six per cent of teachers were for aid to all of education as compared to 76 per cent of administrators and 71 per cent of counselors. The main difference was that 24 per cent of the teachers preferred that federal aid be limited to specified educational programs. Some deviance existed between males and females in that 10 per cent more women than men chose aid for specified programs. Sixty-nine per cent of the farm group respondents indicated agreement with the modal CEA opinion compared to 54 per cent of the upper class group.

General Policies

Three of the ten questionnaire items sought opinions on the general operation of the CEA and on the scope of its policies. Question C, Figure 9, for example, asked for feelings about the dues structure of the CEA. Debate in the Delegate Assembly had resulted in a decision that dues should be increased.¹² A mere seven per cent of those

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Ibid.

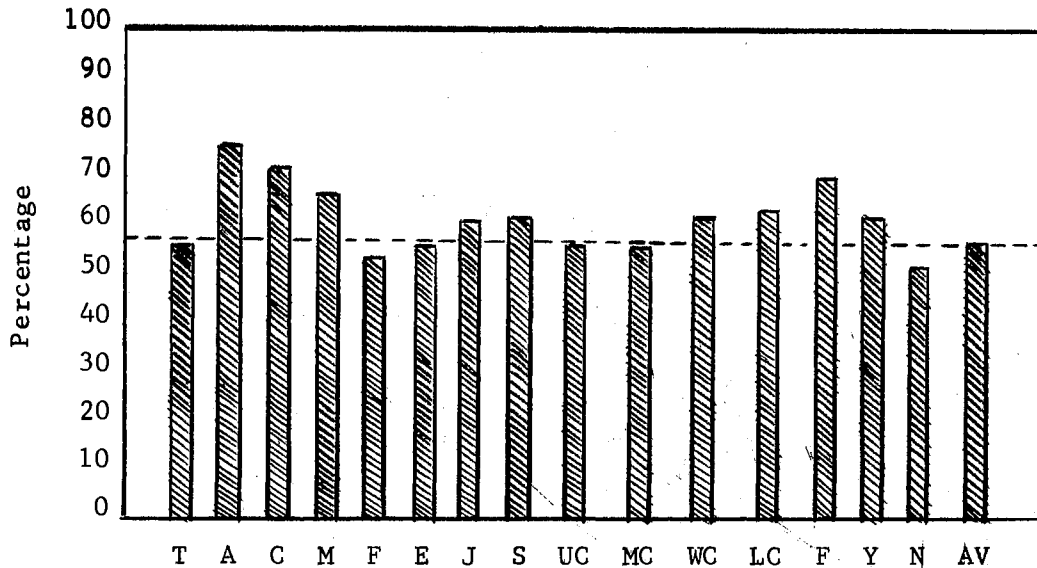


Figure 8. Question H₂. Percentage of group opinion response in agreement with the CEA position of seeking substantial federal support for the whole of public education.

T - Teachers	UC - Upper Class*
A - Administrators	MC - Middle Class
C - Counselors	WC - Working Class
M - Male	LC - Lower Class
F - Female	F - Farming
E - Elementary Staff	Y - Yes**
J - Junior High Staff	N - No
S - Senior High Staff	AV - Average***

*Classification indicated by respondent's answer to: In what group would you rank the majority of your students.

**Classification indicated by the respondent in answer to: Is this position the prime source of income in your family?

***The average of the total response of classifications in agreement with CEA.

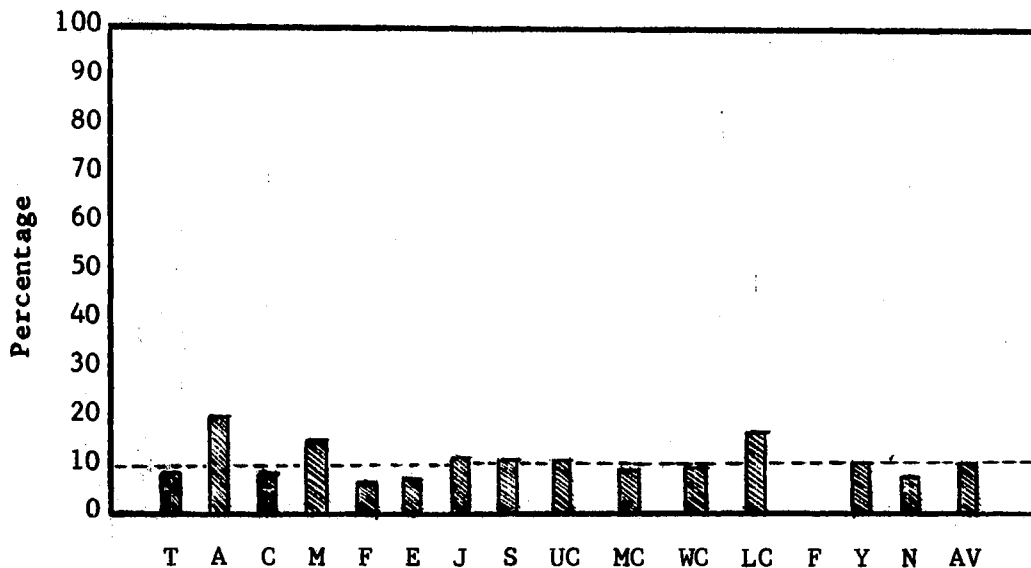


Figure 9. Question C: Percentage of group opinion response in agreement with the CEA position that CEA dues should be raised.

T - Teachers

A - Administrators

C - Counselors

M - Male

F - Female

E - Elementary Staff

J - Junior High Staff

S - Senior High Staff

UC - Upper Class*

MC - Middle Class

WC - Working Class

LC - Lower Class

F - Farming

Y - Yes**

N - No

AV - Average***

*Classification indicated by respondent's answer to: In what group would you rank the majority of your students.

**Classification indicated by the respondent in answer to: Is this position the prime source of income in your family?

***The average of the total response of classifications in agreement with CEA.

responding favored the CEA position, while the modal opinion of 61 per cent believed current dues were adequate and should remain the same. Of the remainder, 15 per cent felt dues should be lowered while 17 per cent had no opinion (see Appendix C, page 86).

While group classifications showed 12 per cent more administrators than teachers or counselors favoring a dues increase, all three groups were close to the modal position. Three per cent of administrators felt dues should be lowered, as did 15 per cent of counselors and 11 per cent of teachers. More males tended to favor an increase than females. The largest deviation between subgroups found the farm segment favoring lowered dues by 23 per cent, while the lower class segment registered a seven per cent opinion in favor of lowering them. While nine per cent of the upper class subgroup was for an increase, not a single opinion was cast for this option by those working with students from farming families.

Question I asked respondents what the maximum number of days in the school year should be. The delegates had adopted a resolution favoring an extended school year of more than 180 days.¹³ Figure 10 shows that 19 per cent of those responding agreed with the CEA position, while the modal opinion of 73 per cent preferred the current 180 day school year. Five per cent indicated a desire for 160 days, and four per cent had no opinion (see Appendix I, page 92).

The largest deviation found in the group classifications was

¹³Ibid. The debate centered upon two points. One was financial in that teachers and counselors could be employed over the full year and thus draw higher salaries (administrators are already employed on a 12-month basis). The second point was the public relations value of an extended term, showing that educators were willing to work harder and that school facilities would be more fully utilized.

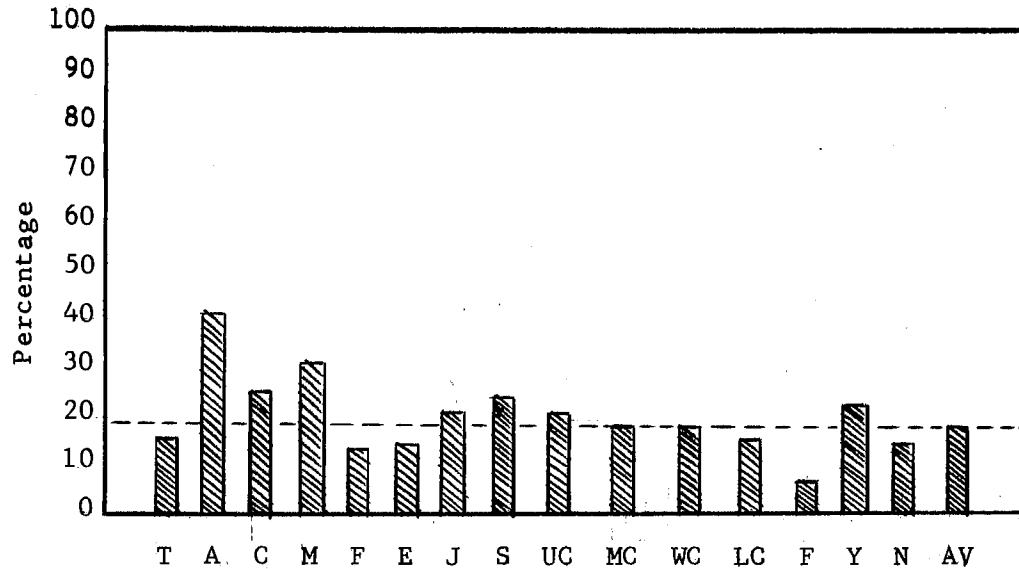


Figure 10. Question I: Percentage of group opinion response in agreement with the CEA position that the maximum number of school days per year should exceed 180.

T - Teachers	UC - Upper Class*
A - Administrators	MC - Middle Class
C - Counselors	WC - Working Class
M - Male	LC - Lower Class
F - Female	F - Farming
E - Elementary Staff	Y - Yes**
J - Junior High Staff	N - No
S - Senior High Staff	AV - Average***

*Classification indicated by respondent's answer to: In what group would you rank the majority of your students?

**Classification indicated by the respondent in answer to: Is this position the prime source of income in your family?

***The average of the total response of classifications in agreement with CEA.

between teachers and administrators. Seventeen per cent of the teachers sought an extension of the school year compared to 39 per cent of administrators; yet the modal opinion was held by 58 per cent of administrators as compared with 74 per cent of the teachers. Males favored the modal opinion by 60 per cent although 30 per cent opted for the CEA position, while 70 per cent of females selected the modal as compared to only 13 per cent favoring a lengthened year. Among the social class subgroups, 92 per cent of those in rural areas favored maintaining the existing 180 day school year in comparison to 68 per cent of the upper class and 70 per cent of the lower class workers.

Question J was asked to determine whether respondents agreed that CEA should become involved with educational systems beyond the traditional elementary and secondary levels. Delegates approved a resolution requesting the CEA to encourage junior college faculty to form campus units of the National Faculty Association.¹⁴

Figure 11 points out that five per cent of the respondents agreed with the CEA resolution calling for involvement with public schools and faculties of junior colleges. The modal opinion of 57 per cent went one step beyond the CEA position, asking for involvement with all public schools and institutions of higher learning. A rather large bloc of 37 per cent, however, were in favor of limiting involvement to public schools, the traditional stance (see Appendix J, page 93).

By subgroup classification, support was strong for the modal opinion of CEA involvement with all public schools and institutions of higher learning, except in the rural group, which favored by a 61 per

¹⁴Ibid.

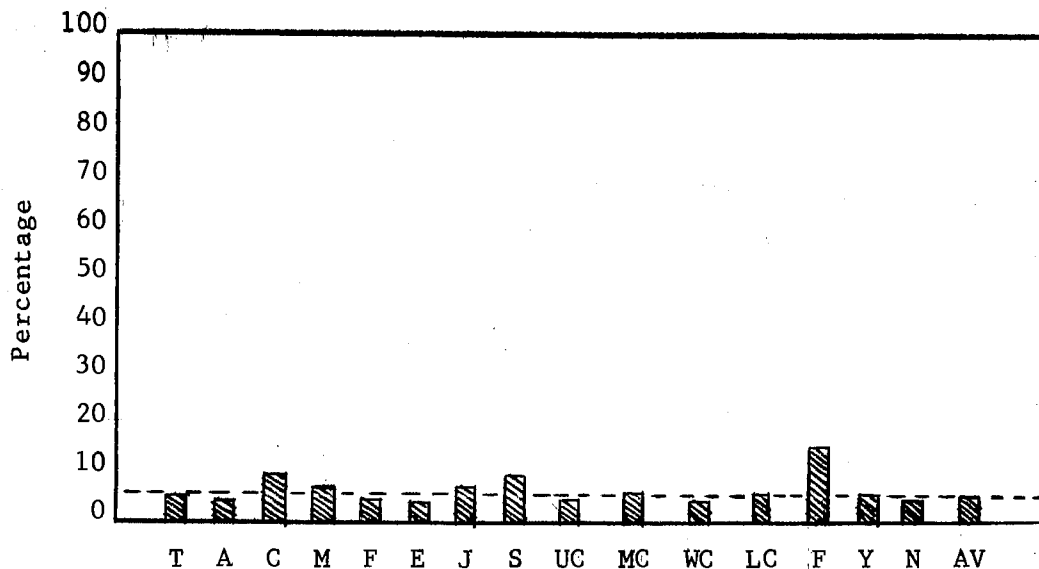


Figure 11. Question J: Percentage of group opinion response in agreement with the CEA position of involvement with public schools and faculty organization of junior colleges.

T - Teachers	UC - Upper Class*
A - Administrators	MC - Middle Class
C - Counselors	WC - Working Class
M - Male	LC - Lower Class
F - Female	F - Farming
E - Elementary Staff	Y - Yes**
J - Junior High Staff	N - No
S - Senior High Staff	AV - Average***

*Classification indicated by respondent's answer to: In what group would you rank the majority of your students?

**Classification indicated by the respondent in answer to: Is this position the prime source of income in your family?

***The average of the total response of classifications in agreement with CEA.

cent margin the option limiting activities to public schools; an additional 15 per cent of rural opinion chose involvement with public schools and junior colleges only. A slightly greater percentage of administrators than counselors favored increased association involvement of some type. Working class, middle class and upper class segments favored CEA involvement in all education by a range of from 56 to 79 per cent.

The analysis of membership support for CEA programs discloses two significant points. First, the Arapahoe County respondents failed to give their support to eight of the ten CEA programs considered in the questionnaire. Second, the analysis implies wide differences in the degree of support for Association programs between the various classification subgroups within the segment of the CEA surveyed. In an effort to determine the cause or causes of the deviation between the Arapahoe County membership and the CEA, the author will in turn examine the history and programs of the CEA (Chapter III) and the structure of its representative system (Chapter IV).

CHAPTER III

DEVELOPMENT, GROWTH AND PROGRAMS OF THE CEA

From its inception until the present, the CEA has undergone numerous changes in structure and policy. As background for the Association's current activities, this chapter presents a brief review of its development, growth and programs. In addition to a description of membership strength and constitutional organization, emphasis is given to two issues, the financing of public education in Colorado and the CEA's interest in promoting the political effectiveness of teachers through their active participation in politics, both of which have been receiving the major thrust of the CEA's resources.

Many problems confronted educators in territorial Colorado, including school funding, school district organization, teacher salaries, personnel qualification and retirement rules, and the establishment of a state department of education. In 1875, Dr. Horace Hale, Territorial Superintendent of Public Instruction, called for a meeting of teachers and others interested in education to resolve these problems.¹

The meeting convened on December 28, 1875, attended by "a group of 150 teachers and friends of education . . . of this group there were 99 who became charter members" of the Colorado Education

¹Ellison E. Ketchum, "A History of the Colorado Education," (Unpub. M. A. Thesis, University of Denver, 1938), p. 14.

Association.² During this meeting the first constitution of the CEA was drafted and approved.

The preamble of the constitution stated that the Association had a twofold purpose:

Resolved that we, the teachers of Colorado in convention assembled, in order to advance the interests of education and to diffuse a professional spirit among the teachers of the Commonwealth, form the state Teachers' Association.³

The Association, then, was to concern itself with problems of both teachers and school districts. The distinction between the two has not always been easy to maintain, due to disagreements over the prerogatives of teachers and those of superintendents and school boards.

As Colorado neared statehood, members of the CEA indicated an interest in teachers being involved in the writing of those portions of the state constitution dealing with education. In line with this objective, several members of the Constitutional Convention were asked to address the first CEA Assembly about legislative matters. It is not known whether the invitation to the delegates resulted in the Association being asked about the educational portions of the constitution, but it is known that some CEA members assisted the convention. Later, a CEA committee composed of three county superintendents, three teachers, and the territorial superintendent was appointed to represent Colorado's educators before the Constitutional Convention.⁴

²Ibid., p. 17.

³Newell B. Walters, "A History of the Legislative Policy of the Colorado Education Association," (Unpub. Masters Thesis, University of Denver, 1938), p. 11.

⁴Minutes, Colorado Teacher's Association, 1875-91, Denver, Colorado (in the files of the CEA).

A second function was assigned to this CEA committee upon statehood, when it was renamed the CEA Legislative Committee and began to serve in a liaison and resource role for the General Assembly's Committee on Education. As the CEA actively involved itself in the legislative process, a sizeable membership became essential, both for determining policies and for lending support to them.

Membership Growth

The first years of the Association were difficult ones when it came to obtaining new members. Potential members had to travel long distances to attend CEA meetings, with any change in the weather making dirt roads almost impassable. Railroads did connect major towns, but most of the people lived in the rural areas of the state. Added to the inadequate transportation system was the fact that teacher salaries were so low that many were financially unable to travel.⁵

Low teacher salaries resulted in problems other than getting members to come to meetings. The first twenty-five years of the organization were years of financial shortage.⁶ The low salaries required dues to be kept at a minimum, and as a result, the CEA had little or no money to spend for promoting its activities. Consequently, not only was the public unaware of the Association and its efforts, but many teachers who might have become members were not sufficiently aware of CEA activities.

The number of administrators and teachers in the Association has

⁵Ketchum, p. 15. In the years just after statehood, the average salary was \$20.00 per month.

⁶Ibid., p. 14.

varied over the years since the organization came into being. Although the first ten-year period was not one of encouragement in regard to membership figures, the succeeding years have shown a marked increase. Figure 12 (page 38) illustrates the increase in CEA membership as well as the total potential membership during the time period 1875-1968.

Like many other organizations, the CEA found its administrative provisions inadequate as the number of members increased. This influx of new members soon led to changes in the operational framework.

Constitutional Changes

The original constitution of 1875 has undergone three revisions, in 1892, 1901, and 1926.⁷ All the revisions had the effect of expanding the machinery for decision-making in the CEA. Under the original constitution, responsibility rested with a president, one vice president from each judicial district and one at-large, a treasurer, and a secretary with two assistants. Joining these officers were an executive committee of three elected members and committees on finance and resolutions. The constitution stated that Association programs were to be formulated by the membership during the annual meetings.

As attendance at annual meetings increased to the extent that full debate of all proposed programs became impossible, the CEA created an "educational council" in the constitution of 1892. This council was composed of all college presidents and school superintendents and was intended to give initial guidance to the membership and the public on CEA objectives. Over the years the council developed such stature that

⁷Ibid., p. 26.

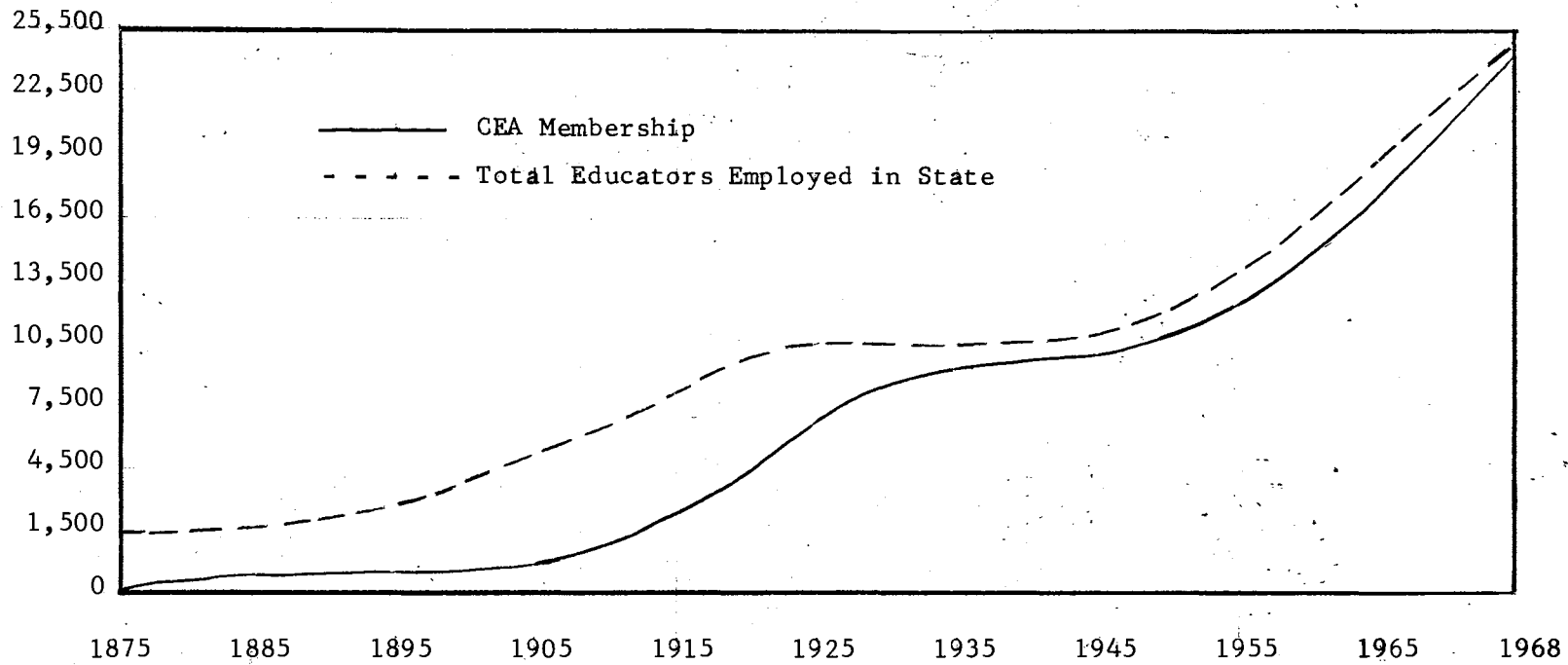


Figure 12. Membership Growth of the Colorado Education Association, 1875-1968

Source: "Membership Report," Colorado Education Association, Denver, Colorado, June 30, 1968.

only upon its formal recommendation would the Colorado General Assembly support school legislation.⁸

By 1926 the feeling had grown within CEA ranks that the determination of policy should be brought closer to the membership, and the constitution of that year replaced the educational council with the delegate assembly. Since that time, the Assembly, with members elected from various districts on an annual basis, has been the official body for determining legislative and other programs to be supported by the CEA.

This overview of changes in the CEA's formal machinery for policy-making would not be complete without some indication of the types of programs the organization has concerned itself with historically. At this point, the review is limited to two key areas of concern, financial legislation and active teacher participation in politics. It will be remembered that seven of the ten questions posed in the questionnaire described in Chapter II related directly to these two issues.

Financial Legislation

The CEA has made a variety of attempts to obtain state financial aid for public education. The first effort for state aid concerned a minimum salary law. Another effort involved bringing a test case before the State Supreme Court. A third approach concerned the uniform system of free public schools as supposedly guaranteed by the State Constitution. Fourth, the Association aligned itself with organizations which held favorable opinions on state aid to education. Finally, the

⁸Tommy L. Tucker, "The Colorado Education Association: A Working Organization," (Unpub. Masters Thesis, University of Colorado, 1955), p. 8.

CEA has attempted to obtain financial aid for schools from the federal government.

Early efforts to obtain state financial aid for education were hampered by Article X, Section 7 of the Colorado Constitution, which states:

The General Assembly shall not impose taxes for the purpose of any city, county, or other municipal corporation, but may, by law, vest in the corporate authorities thereof respectively, the power to assess and collect taxes for all purposes of such corporation.⁹

Because the state would not impose taxes for financial aid to education, the CEA attempted to obtain state money by means of a minimum salary law. In 1904, the possibility of a minimum salary law was brought up during the Association's annual meeting. A resolution was passed recommending that the lowest salary paid to any teacher in the state be fifty dollars per month.

In 1913, the Association secured the passage of the first minimum salary law...of at least fifty dollars a month for a term not less than six months. Under this law the district was required to levy a tax, not to exceed ten mills, and if this rate did not pay the salary required, the district was authorized to ask for and receive state aid to make up the difference.¹⁰

By 1919, the minimum of fifty dollars a month was inadequate, and a committee on teachers' salaries was appointed to study the problem. Through various meetings with the Education Committee of the General Assembly, the Association was able to get the Legislature to pass, in 1921, a new minimum salary law providing for a minimum wage of seventy-

⁹Colorado State Constitution, Article X, Section 7.

¹⁰Walters, p. 76.

five dollars per month.¹¹ The state was to assist if a general levy of five mills over the entire county did not realize sufficient funds.

In his "History of the Colorado Education Association," Ellison Ketchum makes the statement that during the depression of the 1930's it was "...the benefits of the minimum salary law which kept the profession respectably alive."¹² During the years of the depression the five mill levy which had to be raised to pay for the minimum salary program became quite a burden on many communities. In 1936, the Constitution was amended so that it was possible for a graduated income tax to be levied and the receipts of the tax to be allocated to school districts as a replacement of a portion of the general property tax.

In 1937, the income tax law was passed and became a replacement tax for schools. By 1945, the state minimum salary reached the figure of \$1,800 per year.¹³ During the early years of the 1950's, the CEA pushed to have this raised but to no avail. In the latter 1950's, all the districts in the state were above the minimum. The CEA offered no objection when the state minimum salary law was dropped from the statutes.¹⁴ Nevertheless, the CEA now has a minimum salary limit of \$5,000, and the Association asks that no member accept employment for a salary less than this figure. According to Dr. Sorensen, the CEA Director of Research, this policy has had its effect, as there are no districts in

¹¹Ibid., p. 77.

¹²Ketchum, p. 19.

¹³Telephone conversation with an attorney in the office of the State Department of Education, April 2, 1969.

¹⁴Interview with Dr. Dirk Sorenson, Director of Research, Colorado Education Association, May 7, 1969.

the state where the starting salary is less than \$5,000.¹⁵

The second method the CEA employed to acquire state financial aid involved the State Supreme Court. In 1937, the Association sponsored a bill which was passed by the General Assembly. This bill appropriated \$500, on the basis of population, to each of the state's 2,200 school districts. As a result of this bill, a test case was brought before the courts. The State Supreme Court decided that the legislature did in fact have the constitutional power to make such an appropriation. In doing so, the legislature was not violating Section 7, Article X of the State Constitution, but was merely employing another means of carrying out the intent of the Constitution.¹⁶ Because of the Court's decision, school districts received state financial support based upon population rather than upon the tax base of the district.

Another method used by the CEA to gain additional state financial aid involved providing equal education for all students. The Association's efforts centered around Article IX, Section 2 of the State Constitution.

The General Assembly shall, as soon as practicable, provide for the establishment and maintenance of a thorough and uniform system of free public schools throughout the state, wherein all residents of the state, between the ages of six and twenty-one years, may be educated gratuitously.¹⁷

Because of increased school costs and enrollments in the past few years, the burden of financing schools has been increasingly placed on the counties and local school districts. Even though Colorado has

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Wilmore v. Annear, 100 Colorado 106 (1937).

¹⁷ Colorado State Constitution, Article IX, Section 2.

sales and income taxes, with portions of each going for school support, the local and county property taxes support about seventy per cent of all public school costs.¹⁸

For more than ten years, the CEA has promoted legislation which specifies that at least 40 per cent of the total school revenues will be provided by the state. The 1968 Delegate Assembly adopted a resolution for a graduated income tax (see Figure 7) which would help to take some of the burden off the property owners and which would also allow for a more equitable and uniform education program throughout the state.¹⁹

In an attempt to strengthen the position of the CEA when dealing with the General Assembly, the Delegate Assembly has instructed the officers of the Association to work closely with organizations which have similar views on educational finance. Although various groups have been concerned about the present amount of state participation in school finances, the CEA has been the one which most often takes the lead. One group with which it has allied itself is the Colorado Council on Education Legislation. The membership of this organization is composed of representatives from the CEA, the Colorado Association of School Boards, the Parent Teacher Association (PTA) and the State

¹⁸"How Does Colorado Rank?" A report by the Division of Research, Colorado Education Association, May, 1968 (in the files of the Association).

¹⁹In an attempt to gain public support for additional state financial aid for education, the CEA relies heavily upon statistics which compare Colorado with the other states. In 1967-68, Colorado ranked 46th in state aid for public schools. The state paid only 23.5 per cent of the total cost. The national average was 40.5 per cent.

Department of Education. These four groups combined forces to avoid duplication of efforts since their goals for financial legislation were similar. A second group with which the CEA is associated is the Council on Economic Development. This organization is composed of educators, ranch and farm organizations, business leaders and labor groups. Because of its wide public representation, this group has been the more effective of the two.²⁰

In addition to its attempts to gain more state aid, the CEA is also working to increase federal aid to education. The Delegate Assembly of 1968 passed a resolution "...that there be substantial general federal support for the whole of public education (see Figure 8).²¹ The CEA programs, as formulated by the Delegate Assembly, also indicate that teachers themselves are increasingly aware of school problems and of the necessity of political action.²²

Active Teacher Participation in Politics

In the past five years, the CEA has involved itself in three organizational attempts to inform the public and teachers concerning the financing problem in education. The first of these programs was instituted in 1963 when the Association founded Project School Child. This program involved citizens throughout the state in a ten week study of state school conditions which included two main topics: schools and

²⁰A Report of Educational Conditions and School Finance in Colorado, March 4, 1968, Colorado Education Association, p. 4.

²¹Ibid.

²²See the Resolutions of the Delegate Assemblies of the Colorado Education Association for the years: 1955; 1956; 1958; 1960; 1962-68.

school finance. In 1964, a program with a political purpose was initiated. Called Immediate Mobilization of Politically Active Teachers (IMPACT), it was designed to encourage teachers to register to vote so that they could participate in all elections and respond to legislative matters by letter or telegram. Legislators would then know whether they had support or opposition on pending bills. IMPACT also sponsored local, regional, and statewide meetings to keep teachers abreast of current legislation and to explain what actions they as teachers might take. The CEA began an even more active involvement in 1967 by creating the Political Action Committee for Education (PACE), through which political candidates with acceptable educational programs are actively supported for state office with funds contributed by educators.²³ Although PACE was created by the CEA, it is an independent organization and has been the most successful of the CEA's attempts to inform teachers and the public.

Two additional forms of political action were initiated by delegates at the 1968 Assembly in an attempt to overcome conditions that had resulted in sanctions being invoked against the state by the CEA. One of these initiatives involved informing the legislators of the CEA's position on educational legislation. A major duty which both the Executive Secretary and the Assistant Executive Secretary perform is lobbying. Due to the growth of the Association these two men have numerous areas of involvement, and during the sessions of the State Legislature they are not able to spend all of their time at the Capitol. The 1968 Delegate Assembly resolved that the Association hire a

²³Resolutions, 1967, I, C., p. 2.

full-time lobbyist (see Figure 5) in an attempt to persuade legislators to adopt further educational legislation.²⁴ The second initiative of the 1968 Delegate Assembly related to informing all citizens of the CEA's programs and policies. The Assembly resolved that local associations hold public information meetings in the schools of their districts during the week prior to elections (see Figure 6).²⁵

Besides attempts to inform citizens of educational finance problems, the CEA has produced many informational sources such as pamphlets, booklets, and brochures to be used by both its members and interested citizens. The Association's newspaper, The CEA Journal, and its magazine, Colorado Education Review, have both been used to carry information on legislative matters. In addition, the CEA has a bureau which supplies speakers to local civic organizations, the PTA's, and to the League of Women Voters, with the purpose of pointing out the necessity for strong progressive educational legislation. All of the Association's programs, committees, and pamphlets however, failed to resolve the one question that was constantly before the Delegate Assembly: what if the State Legislature did not respond to the CEA's desires? The ultimate answer was to invoke sanctions.

The 1967 Assembly had discussed sanctions, including censure, the withholding of services, and the withholding of contracts. In order to make possible the full implementation of the guideline adopted for an impasse on the local level, the delegates had asked that the CEA draft and support legislation which would make the strike legal process for

²⁴Ibid., 1968, I, A., p. 1.

²⁵Ibid., I, F., p. 2.

teachers in Colorado.²⁶ Delegates to the 1967 Assembly also resolved that:

If sufficient progress has not been made by the 1968 Legislative Session concerning the CEA legislative objectives, the CEA Delegate Assembly to be held in March, 1968, take appropriate action including, but not limited to, sanctions, an initiated law, or a constitutional amendment to enable Colorado voters to decide the issue of the level of state support in the 1968 general election.²⁷

The 1968 General Assembly failed to act with what the Association thought to be constructive measures, particularly in the area of school financial problems. The 1968 Delegate Assembly invoked sanctions on the State of Colorado (see Figure 2). Specifically, these sanctions publicly censured the Governor and members of the Colorado Legislature, and publicized the fact that a state of sanctions existed in Colorado by informing the National Education Association (NEA) and all affiliated state associations, the Colorado State Department of Education, and all universities and colleges who had graduates seeking employment in the field of education in Colorado. The delegates called upon the NEA to begin a full scale investigation of educational finance conditions in Colorado (see Figure 3), went on record for strong support of PACE, and called for support from the Colorado Association of School Boards and the Colorado Congress of Parents and Teachers. The members also asked for an expanded public relations program for the CEA.²⁸

The invoking of sanctions was the latest major attempt by the CEA in its continuing activities to bring about additional state financial

²⁶Resolutions, December, 1967, p. 2.

²⁷Ibid., pp. 3-4.

²⁸Resolutions, March, 1968, pp. 1-2.

aid. Like the other programs discussed above, sanctions were approved first by the Delegate Assembly and then became the official position of the Colorado Education Association. Since the above programs failed to carry much membership support (see Chapter II) the next area of investigation, then, is to determine whether avenues of membership participation are indeed open during the formulation of Association programs.

CHAPTER IV

AVENUES OF PARTICIPATION OPEN TO MEMBERS OF THE CEA

The organization of an interest group must be such that its members, whether directly or through representatives, ultimately determine programs and policies. Just as the members need the interest group and its influence, so does the interest group, in order to achieve its goals, need the members' support for its programs and policies. The strength of an interest group is indeed derived from its members' support. If members are interested in the group's activities and goals and if they feel the group truly represents their interests, they will support it. If the organization of the interest group is such that it discourages or prevents membership participation, intentionally or unintentionally, one can expect that alienated members will look elsewhere to have their interests implemented.

It is possible, of course, that from apathy or ignorance there might be little membership activity in an organization which has open avenues of participation. Assuming that knowledge of and interest in CEA programs and policies does exist among members, there is a need for an examination of the structure of the CEA in order to determine if the avenues of participation in Association activities are open or closed to the members.

In order to ascertain if there is ample opportunity for CEA members to participate, it is necessary to investigate the structure, the

decision-making processes, and the publications of the Association. Does the structure (Constitution, Bylaws, policies) allow all members to participate effectively in Association activities? Can members actually determine the policies and programs of the Association? Do CEA publications constitute a forum in which a variety of ideas and opinions are regularly presented prior to determining consensus?

Constitutional Structure and Membership Participation

As mentioned previously, membership increases in the CEA brought about constitutional changes which altered the type of participation open to the members of the Association. No longer do all members meet annually to decide on Association policies and programs. The authority to shape Association policies and programs has been delegated by the Constitution to two groups: the Board of Directors and the Delegate Assembly.¹ The constitutional composition of each group will be examined to ascertain whether avenues to the formulation of Association policies are open to all members.

The Board of Directors is composed of fourteen persons, of whom ten (Directors) are elected by the membership and four (officers) are elected by delegates at the annual assembly. Of the ten Directors, two represent each of five electoral districts (CEA "divisions" and "subdivisions.").

The CEA, for organizational and program purposes, has divided the state into three geographical divisions. (See Figure 13) The Southern

¹Art. V, sec. 5, and Art. VII, sec. 2. Constitution and Bylaws, Colorado Education Association.

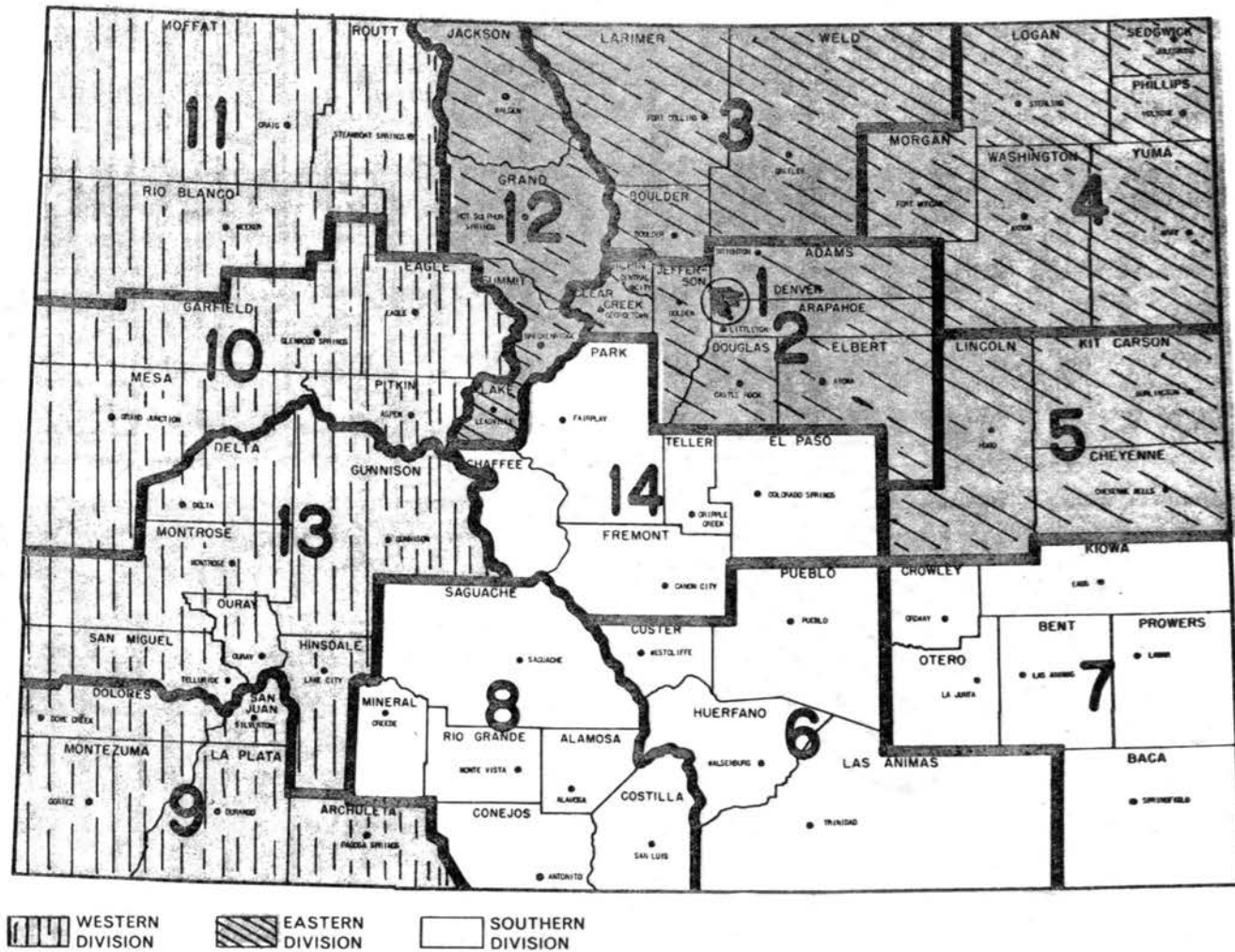


Figure 13. GEA Zones and Divisions

and Western Divisions each have two members on the Board of Directors; and the Eastern Division, broken into three subdivisions, has an allocation of six members (two from each subdivision).² The ratio of representation varies in the several divisions. There are 2,349 CEA members in the Western Division.³ Since they have two representatives, the ratio of members to a representative on the Board of Directors is 1,174 to one. The Southern Division⁴ has 5,446 members and thus a ratio of 2,723 to one. The subdivision of the city and county of Denver has 3,799 members and a ratio of 1,899 to one. The second subdivision, consisting of the counties of Adams, Arapahoe, and Jefferson, has a membership of 6,489 and a ratio of 3,244 to one. The third subdivision, which is the balance of the Eastern Division,⁵ has a membership of 4,788 which gives a ratio of 2,394 to one. There is a difference of almost three to one in the ratio of membership to the number of representatives between the Western Division and the subdivision of Adams, Arapahoe, and Jefferson counties. There is also a major discrepancy in representation

²Ibid. The city and county of Denver (which are one and the same) is one subdivision; the counties of Adams, Arapahoe, and Jefferson constitute the second subdivision; the remaining counties of the Eastern Division form the third subdivision.

³Colorado Education Association Membership Report, "Division of Accounts and Records," CEA, June 30, 1968. Bylaw 7 identifies the counties of the Western Division as: Archuleta, Delta, Dolores, Eagle, Garfield, Gunnison, Hinsdale, La Plata, Mesa, Moffat, Montezuma, Montrose, Ouray, Pitkin, Rio Blanco, Routt, San Juan, and San Miguel.

⁴Constitution and Bylaw 7. The counties in the Southern Division are: Alamosa, Baca, Bent, Chaffee, Conejos, Costilla, Crowley, Custer, El Paso, Fremont, Huerfano, Kiowa, Las Animas, Mineral Otero, Park, Pueblo, Powers, Rio Grande, Saguache, and Teller.

⁵Ibid. The counties in the Eastern Division are: Adams, Arapahoe, Boulder, Cheyenne, Clear Creek, Douglas, Denver, Elbert, Gilpin, Grand, Jackson, Jefferson, Kit Carson, Lake, Larimer, Lincoln, Logan, Morgan, Phillips, Sedwick, Summit, Washington, Weld, and Yuma.

between the three-county subdivision (Adams, Arapahoe, and Jefferson) and the subdivision of Denver, both of which are in the Eastern Division and border each other. The lower ratios of membership to representation are found to be in Denver and in the rural areas. Although equality of representation is impossible, it can be concluded that there are significant and questionable gaps between the members-to-representative ratios of the CEA electoral division.

The remaining four members on the Board of Directors are officers of the Association and, as a result of the position held within the CEA, are also designated as members of the Board. They are the President, Vice-president, the immediate past president of the Association, and the Senior National Education Association Director for Colorado.⁶ Each of these officers is elected to his office by the Delegate Assembly.

Like the Board of Directors, the Delegate Assembly acts as a representative body. As with the Board, the CEA Constitution and Bylaws determine the apportionment process of the representatives to the annual Assembly. If, for some reason, the Delegate Assembly fails to represent the desires of the CEA members, it closes the only other major structural means by which members can participate in determining policies and, through resolutions, in directing the actions of the Board

⁶Constitution and Bylaws, Art. V, sec. 5. The senior National Education Association Director for Colorado is an elected position. He is elected by the annual Delegate Assembly of the Association. His term of office is the same as the Board of Directors, three years. He performs a double liaison duty. He represents the views of the Association to the National Education Association and he keeps the Colorado Education Association informed about the activities of the National Association.

of Directors and the Association in general.⁷ There is, then, a need to examine the Constitutional structure of the Delegate Assembly.

Each affiliated local education association is entitled to elect one delegate for the first fifteen of its members and then one delegate for each additional 50 members or major fraction thereof.⁸ Any chartered local association which has fewer than fifteen members will also be allowed to elect one delegate. Based on this formula for apportionment, the 1968 Delegate Assembly had 556 delegates who represented 153 different associations.⁹

The apportionment of members to the Delegate Assembly had a definite effect on the question of representation. The membership of the CEA for 1968 was 22,766. The counties of Denver, Adams, Arapahoe, Jefferson, and El Paso had a combined membership of 12,049, which was 53 per cent of the total membership of the organization. The number of delegates from these four counties totaled 225, or 40.6 per cent of all the delegates.¹⁰

Discrepancies between apportionment of representatives at the Delegate Assembly can be illustrated in another fashion. In 1968 Arapahoe County's five local associations sent a total of 45 delegates to

⁷ Constitution and Bylaws, Art. V, sec. 2.

⁸ Ibid., Bylaw 33.

⁹ Delegates to the 42nd CEA Delegate Assembly (in the files of the Association).

¹⁰ Membership Report; Delegates to the 42nd CEA Delegate Assembly. When two other largely urban associations are added to the list - Boulder Valley and Pueblo #60 - the number of members represented is 14,043 (or 62 per cent of the total) and the number of delegates representing them is 266 (or 48 per cent of the delegates). The discrepancy in membership and delegate percentages is even greater.

represent a total of 2,178 members.¹¹ Yet fifteen local associations in Larimer and Weld counties, with a total of 1,876 members, sent 57 delegates. Eighteen associations in the ten counties which comprise Zones 10 and 13 sent 42 delegates, representing a total of only 1,151 members; but there were 42 delegates from the one association in Jefferson County, representing 2,067 members. El Paso County, with eight local associations, sent a total of 41 delegates to represent 1,867 members.

A local association may send two delegates if it has from 41 to 90 members (one for the first 15, and one for the next fifty or major fraction thereof). For this reason, counties with smaller and more widely separated school districts tend to have an advantage (as a bloc), when it comes to representation in the Delegate Assembly. On the other hand, it would probably be difficult for the many small associations to unite as a bloc, compared to the large associations which are closer together geographically, are better organized, and are frequently wealthier. Although the facts show that small community rural-area delegates could control the Delegate Assembly, no evidence can be found that they do control it or that they have ever tried to do so. Furthermore, the constitutional formula for apportionment of delegates is liberal when compared to similar devices in the legislative bodies of the state and federal governments.

The subject of delegate apportionment has further significance because the Assembly elects members of the Board of Directors, in addition to adopting policies and programs. The responsibility of the

¹¹ Constitution and Bylaws, Art. II, sec. 2.

delegates is to elect the NEA Director for Colorado (see page 53) and the CEA Vice-president (president-elect). Both of these officers, plus the President and immediate past-President serve as members of the Association's Board of Directors. The remaining ten positions of the Board are divided among the three divisions by the CEA Constitution. Since four members of the Board are elected by the Delegate Assembly and six of the remaining directors are elected from districts in which small associations predominate, it is possible that small community rural-area associations could control the selection of 10 out of 14 members of the Board. Just as there is no evidence to indicate that small associations have tried to gain control of the Delegate Assembly, there is no evidence that they have made a conscious effort to dominate the Board of Directors.

In addition to the matter of malapportionment between electoral division populations leading to minor discrepancies in the apportionment of delegates, there is the possibility of a disproportionately high representation for some special faction within the major interest group (the CEA). This problem involves the distribution of school administrators and classroom teachers on the Board of Directors and in the Delegate Assembly.

In practice, apart from the constitutional structure, avenues of representation seem to be greater for school administrators, in proportion to their numbers, than for classroom teachers.¹² Any reason for this would have to be in the realm of speculation, although it

¹²The only restriction made by the CEA Constitution concerning the membership of the Board of Directors is that in each area allocated two representatives, one must be a classroom teacher. There are no figures on the Delegate Assembly.

might be suggested that many persons, including teachers, have in the past tended to look upon administrators as more knowledgeable in areas of school finance and school law. An administrator's area of responsibility has frequently led people to believe that he is, in effect, a master teacher, that administration is the culmination of a teaching career. Salaries, of course, have often supported such conclusions, but other justifications may be advanced. Administrators, for example, make teaching assignments, allocate additional duties, and are usually the only persons who evaluate teachers formally. A principal, too, is frequently said to have "more responsibility" than teachers. Whatever the speculation or educational mythology, three of the fourteen Directors of the CEA are school principals, and one is a superintendent.¹³ This situation gives administrators a 248-to-one ratio on the Board, compared to a 2,390-to-one ratio for classroom teachers.¹⁴ Although there is no question that these four persons were elected to their positions by fellow members, the increasing division of interest between teachers and administrators forces anyone writing of the situation to view it as a type of unequal representation.

The CEA Delegate Assembly offers a similar picture. There were 556 delegates in attendance at the 1968 Assembly. Seventy-seven were administrators, or approximately 14 per cent of the delegates.

¹³Office of the Executive Director of the CEA. Two of the teacher directors are in the field of guidance and counseling. In some schools these individuals are considered part of the teaching staff while in other schools they are considered to be in the area somewhere between administration and teaching. For the purpose of this study, the author has considered them in the teaching field.

¹⁴There are 1,244 administrator members in the CEA (in the files of the Association).

Administrators comprise, on the other hand, only five per cent of the Association's membership. Delegates are elected and, as far as the CEA's structure is concerned, the "over-representation" of administrators must be viewed as an error not of commission but of omission, since no restriction is placed upon the number of administrators who may serve as delegates or as Directors. Also, there is no evidence to indicate that the interests of administrators are put before those of teachers.

An examination of the avenues of participation open to members of the Association indicates that under the present organizational structure there is little evidence of malapportionment in the composition of the Board of Directors or the Delegate Assembly. However, there are other areas within the structure of the Association which could deter membership participation. One of these consists of the organizational arrangements for decision-making.

Decision-Making

Decision-making within an organization should reflect the opinions and intentions of the membership, if only because it is politically wise to have support or assurance of support before actually determining goals and the methods of implementation. Once it is determined which direction the members want the organization to move (or once the members have selected from among alternatives presented them by their leaders), the responsibility then lies with those who represent the members in the deliberative process to take those actions which will carry the organization toward the desired goals. An examination of the decision-making process within the CEA will be conducted to determine what the process is and whether it is open or closed to the membership.

The formal decision-making process of the CEA is delegated by the Constitution to the membership, the Delegate Assembly and the Board of Directors, with the most powers designated to the latter two groups.¹⁵ (See Figure 14)

The Delegate Assembly meets annually to determine the policies of the Association. The Assembly decides which items of legislation will be proposed to the General Assembly. It also has the power to adopt new bylaws and amend old bylaws.

Decisions pertaining to bylaws are important because these bylaws have the same force and effect as the Constitution, so long as they are not in conflict with it.¹⁶ Furthermore, the Delegate Assembly has the authority to establish any special committees which might be necessary to carry on the functions of the Association. Finally, in addition to electing a Vice-president and NEA representative, the Assembly reviews and amends the Association's budget.

Certain decisions pertaining to the Delegate Assembly are left to the Board of Directors. The Board determines the time and place of the meeting of the Delegate Assembly and can call it into special session.¹⁷ Although the Assembly determines the policies and the legislative goals of the Association, the function of the Board of Directors is to

¹⁵ Constitution and Bylaws, Art. IX, sec. 4. The entire membership may amend the Constitution; or adopt or reject a new constitution; and it is empowered to authorize dues changes.

¹⁶ Ibid., Art. VIII, sec. 2.

¹⁷ Ibid., Art. VIII, sec. 6. Prior to the 1968 meeting, the Assembly was held the first week in December. In 1967 the delegates asked that the Board change the Assembly time to coincide with the state legislative session. The Board accepted this request and beginning in 1968, the assemblies have been held during the month of March.

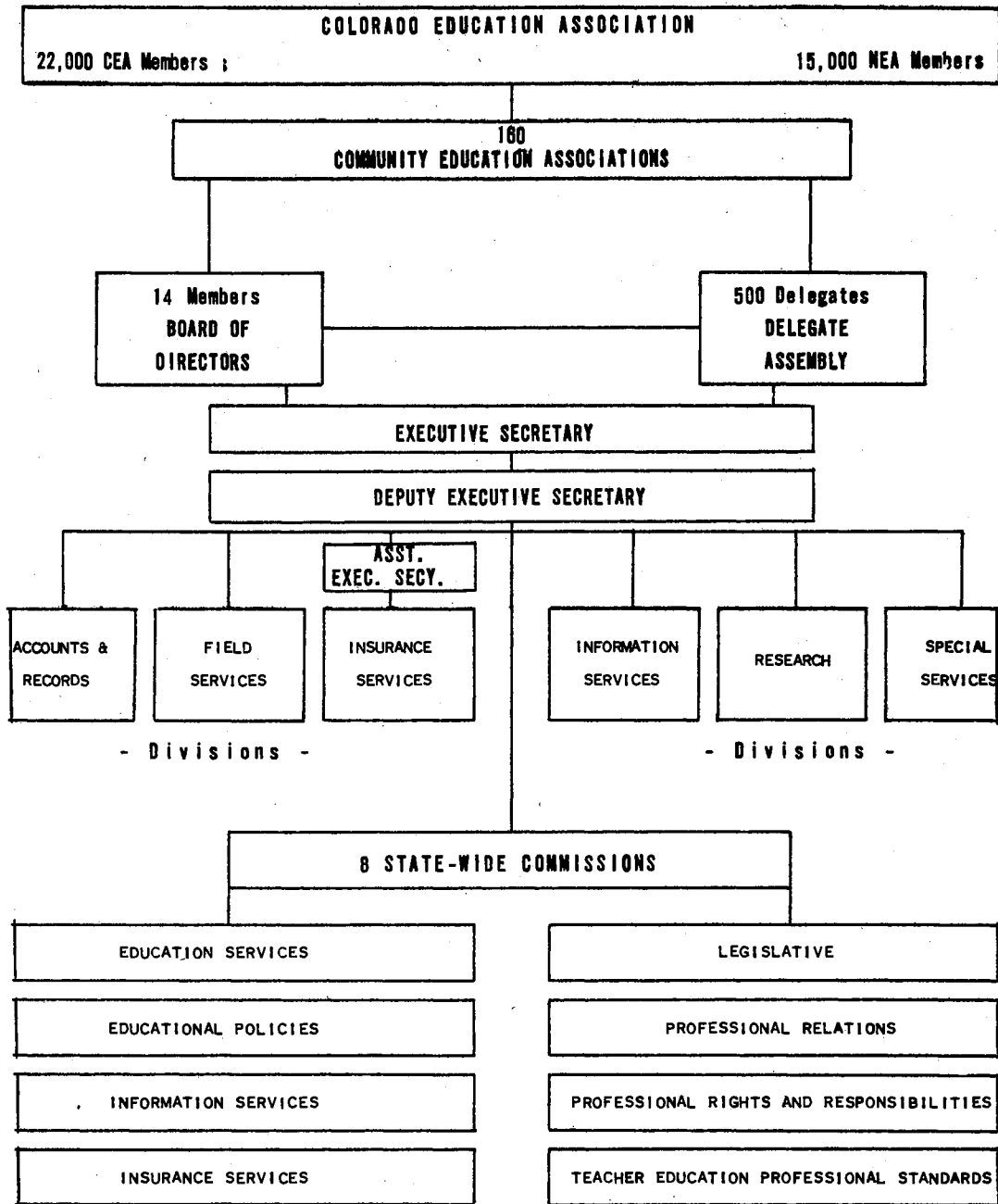


Figure 14. CEA Organization Chart

implement both. For example, the Board decides which tasks will be assigned to general committees and how concentrated the Association's efforts will be on each issue.¹⁸

A second area of involvement in decision-making for the Board of Directors relates to finances. Following the Delegate Assembly's review, the Board adopts the annual budget of the Association and supervises expenditures.¹⁹ The Board authorizes any acquisition of property or borrowing, it determines the salaries of permanent staff members, and it sets annual dues for associate members of CEA.²⁰ Finally the Board of Directors may recommend certain courses of action to the Assembly, with the likelihood that delegates will accept many recommendations. Assembly acceptance is not automatic, of course, but if delegates should tend to find the recommendations reasonable and if there is enough acceptance of Board recommendations, there may develop among delegates a tendency to trust the Board and its proposals. This situation gives to the Board a type of influence or power.

At this point it is necessary to comment even further on the selection of Board members and of Assembly delegates. None of the Directors or officers is elected at large. A member of the CEA has direct involvement only in the selection of the two Board members from his division or subdivision. The only qualifications needed for voting in

¹⁸Ibid., Bylaw 24.

¹⁹Ibid., Bylaw 32.

²⁰Ibid., Art. VI and VII. The membership apparently was not aware of this authority being in the hands of the Board. The author remembers the number of comments, and in some cases anger, the membership voiced when the Board purchased the property of the present CEA headquarters. Also see Bylaw 14.

an association election are that one be a member in good standing and that he be employed in the division in which the election is to be conducted.²¹ Although procedures followed in the selection of delegates to the Assembly are different (delegates are elected by a local association), voter qualifications are the same. To vote, a member must be in good standing and belong to the local association electing the delegates.²²

An examination of the formal decision-making process within the CEA has shown two particular points. One is that the Delegate Assembly and the Board of Directors make practically all Association decisions. The second point is that, although there is a definite process for membership involvement in the selection of those who represent them, there are no representatives directly responsible to the total membership. Although this could lead to a lack of representation of a particular segment of the organization, no evidence was found to indicate that this has ever happened. Since membership involvement in the formal decision-making of the CEA is not limited, do members find avenues to participation in Association decision-making open or closed to them because of the leadership of the CEA?

Leadership, by its very nature, limits the number of participants. This is true of the CEA, in which a relatively small segment of the Association is involved in formulating policies. The prime source of leadership and influence is found among the members of the Delegate Assembly, the Board of Directors, committees, and the full-time staff: a

²¹Ibid., Art. VII, sec. 1, b.

²²Ibid., Art. VIII, sec. 1.

total of about 700 individuals, or approximately three and one-half per cent of the CEA membership.²³ The remainder, an apolitical stratum, will not become involved as leaders, even though they might be interested and enlightened members.²⁴

The amount of influence and leadership available to an individual member tends to increase as he moves through the organization -- from delegate to committee member to committee chairman to director and/or officer. The influence of an individual delegate to the Assembly is small, but as a group, delegates choose the direction they wish the Association to follow. The author has noted in his participation as a delegate to the Delegate Assembly and as a member of a CEA committee,²⁵ that committee members usually come from the ranks of those delegates who tend to promote resolutions and to speak on behalf of local associations. Since the Association has no financial rewards to offer members who are actively involved, committee appointments have a dual

²³The Executive Secretary of the CEA agreed with this number when the author mentioned it during an interview session. In studying the minutes of the 1968 Delegate Assembly, the author found that of the 556 delegates in attendance, 108, or a little less than 20 per cent, commented from the floor of the Assembly. Not included were those whose comment was to second a motion. Of the 108 who spoke, 45 made only one comment, usually in the form of a question about another delegate's proposal. In reality, 63 delegates proposed, counter proposed, and debated the issues.

²⁴See Robert A. Dahl, Who Governs? (New Haven, 1961), p. 90. See also Robert Michels, Political Parties (New York, 1962), pp. 61-80, and Thomas H. Elliot, et al., American Government: Problems and Readings in Political Analysis (2nd. ed. New York, 1968), p. 102.

²⁵The author was a delegate to the Delegate Assemblies of 1963, 1964, 1966, 1967, 1968, and 1969. He also served as a member of the Professional Relations Commission.

nature: first, personal prestige to the member; and second, greater personal influence in the CEA. The individuals who comprise the Board of Directors have served as delegates to the Assembly and have served on organizational committees. Two officials merit even closer attention.

The President and the Executive Secretary hold positions which represent the most influence and leadership in the CEA, with status of position and the additional insights which their offices seem to afford them (and often do afford them). Their offices convey to them the right to lead, should they choose or be able to do so. The status of the office of President, and the fact that it is an elective office, would suggest that a President of the CEA is the foremost leader of that Association. His position as President affords him opportunities to be spokesman for CEA activities before local associations and civic groups. He is chairman of the state delegation to the annual convention of the NEA. Further, he presides over the meetings of the Board of Directors and over sessions of the Delegate Assembly.

The President is not elected by all members at large and is not bound to see himself and his office as a direct extension of the entire membership. On the other hand, his position, like that of the Directors, is what he makes it; yet it is difficult for the President to make much of his office, since he must also remain involved full-time in his function as teacher or administrator. Due to this limitation, the Executive Secretary maintains the greatest amount of influence in the leadership of the CEA.

There are several reasons why the Executive Secretary has the greatest amount of influence and leadership. First, the Secretary is

a full-time paid official of the Association. He has the time necessary for staying fully informed on all aspects of the Association and for keeping the Board of Directors informed about possible approaches to implementing the proposed policies. Second, he has the time to spend with influential persons of the state government. Third, his office serves as a communications center where information is received from his staff and from local associations from all parts of the state about the condition of the Association and the problems the CEA is facing. Fourth, the influence of the Secretary is enhanced by the fact that he is present when decisions are made by the Board of Directors, by committees, and by the Delegate Assembly. Seldom do the Board of Directors or a committee of the Delegate Assembly question comments made by the Secretary or fail to follow his advice.²⁶

The Executive Secretary is expected to give his views to the membership and the Delegate Assembly. In an interview he commented that he attempts to do this through regular channels.

I speak to the issues I am concerned with. If I believe something will cause harm to the Association or set it back, then I will work to bring about a change. If I am neutral, or believe the issues will have little effect, I will stay out of it.²⁷

The Executive Secretary stated that there are times when the delegates at the Assembly and the Board of Directors make recommendations or set policies that do not follow the actual wishes of the membership. This situation occurs when there is a communications gap between the

²⁶ Observations of the author at meetings of the Board of Directors, CEA committees, and in interviews with various members of the headquarters staff.

²⁷ Interview with Dr. Robert H. Johnson, Jr., Executive Secretary, Colorado Education Association, May 29, 1969.

membership and the Board of Directors or the Delegate Assembly.²⁸

As a result, the Board and the Delegates need to evaluate continually what the Association should be doing for the membership.

The members of these decision-making groups can no longer rely on information from a friend and say that it is the feeling of the membership. Too long this has been the case.²⁹

According to the Secretary, this type of quasi-representation is diminishing, and under his guidance the staff of the Association and the Board are attempting to work closer with the membership, thus to know with more certainty what the views of the membership are.

The Secretary perceives his leadership as one of multiple characteristics. His job is to function as the Association's chief spokesman and as a guiding influence of change within the CEA.³⁰ In this capacity he guides the Association in deciding what issues are no longer pertinent and what issues need attention. When decisions come from the Delegate Assembly, his job is to attempt to implement them.

I react where there is a clear mandate and I lead where there isn't a mandate. In either case, certain decisions must be made and that is where my leadership comes into the picture....I must step out of the way and allow the Delegate Assembly and the Board to make the decisions.³¹

²⁸When the author asked the Assistant Executive Secretary if he believed that the decisions made by the Board of Directors represented the majority of the membership, his comment was: "...not always. I think they try. It is not because they don't try nor is it by intent. Lots of times a Board member sort of gets out of touch. There is the feeling that they don't [represent the majority of the membership]. The large membership areas don't believe they are being represented. They [the Board] are a little more conservative than the metropolitan members would like."

²⁹Johnson.

³⁰Ibid.

³¹Ibid.

Once these two groups (the Board and the Delegate Assembly) make their decisions, the Executive Secretary guides and directs the program.

Avenues of membership involvement in Association decision-making through the leadership are limited. However, much direction comes to leaders from the Delegate Assembly, where decisions are liable to be affected by indirect membership participation. Yet many persons have interests which they wish their interest group to protect or promote. If few will accept the role of leader simply to be heard on a given issue, what happens to those who support the Association and want a limited hearing through discussion and voting? One possible means of participation for such persons is the publications of the CEA.

Publications

The publications of an organization must inform members and explain issues and decisions; but, in carrying out this purpose, the tendency is either to present an open forum for the members or merely a forum for the leaders. If an open forum exists, the publications can provide an outlet for the ideas of those who feel they have not had other opportunity to be heard.

Publications of the CEA are used as instruments to explain the policies, plans, and programs of the Association concerning issues pertinent to the membership. The CEA publishes many different pamphlets, brochures, and flyers; but its two major publications are the Colorado School Journal, a newspaper that is published every three weeks, and the Colorado Education Review, a magazine published quarterly. The purpose of the newspaper is to inform the membership of current activities of the CEA and of what other local associations are doing.

It attempts to explain the meaning of actions taken by the Board of Directors, and the hope is that it will interest the membership, so that they in turn will take action.³²

The magazine fulfills a different function. Its primary purpose is to inform the membership of new developments in the whole area of education. Articles are seldom about local associations unless they are about some innovation taking place in a particular district.³³ The staff writes the articles for the newspaper, but the magazine is composed of voluntary contributions.

The CEA policy is that the membership needs to be aware of Association programs and proposed programs. The Assistant Editor of the CEA publications said:

We are not always successful, but we do try. If it is decided that the Association needs a dues increase in order to fulfill the programs, we stress it in the newspaper.³⁴

The writer inquired about the CEA organs printing views in opposition to the policies of the Association, and was told that if the views were representative of a segment of the Association, they would be printed.³⁵ Information was not available on the number of articles received in opposition to Association programs, nor did an investigation of Association publications disclose any articles in opposition

³²Interview with Miss Betty Jean Lee, Director of Information Services, Colorado Education Association, January 7, 1969.

³³See Donald P. Englehardt, "Human Relations Comes to 'Silk Stockings'," Colorado Education Review, May, 1969, p. 21.

³⁴Interview with Mr. Peter Boespflug, Assistant Editor of the Colorado School Journal and the Colorado Education Review, Colorado Education Association, June 2, 1969.

³⁵Ibid.

to CEA programs. The Assistant Editor commented that few articles in opposition to CEA policies are submitted and that most teachers contact the Executive Secretary if they are displeased with CEA policies. He also commented that all copy for publication is read and approved, prior to printing, by the Executive Secretary.

The conclusion must be that the publications of the CEA are intended to inform the membership of the Association's programs. The publications are under the control of the Executive Secretary and are used as a means to guide the membership toward acceptance of Association activities. There is little evidence to indicate that the publications are used as an open forum through which the members can express opinions of Association activities.

This chapter has pointed out that several avenues of participation in CEA policy-making are provided for the average Association member. Each member may vote for two members of the Board of Directors and for a number of delegates to represent him at the Delegate Assembly. Although votes are not equally weighted, a study of the formal structure (Constitution and Bylaws of the CEA) indicates that an attempt has been made to guarantee that malapportionment resulting in a serious lack of representation will not come about. The fact that none of the membership representatives are elected by the entire membership cannot in itself be shown to be detrimental to open avenues of participation by the members. Finally, it appears that the publications of the CEA, controlled as they are by the existing leadership, do not offer a means of presenting views which might conflict with those of the current office holders. This could have an effect on membership alignment with Association programs. Chapter V will comment further on these points and

their relationship to the influence of CEA members in organizational decision-making.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study has investigated decision-making within the Colorado Education Association in an attempt to determine whether or not adopted programs of the CEA reflect the opinions and wishes of the interest group's members. The hypothesis advanced by the writer was stated as follows: the official policies of the CEA do not reflect the wishes of the members because of inadequate structural arrangements within the Association for the election of delegates and executive officials and for the general representation of member interests.

In order to determine whether any discrepancy existed between member viewpoints on given issues and official CEA policies, a questionnaire was submitted to the CEA members of Arapahoe County, Colorado. The responses to all ten issues raised in Chapter II dramatically illustrate the view that many CEA members do not feel adequately represented (see Figure 15). The respondents agreed with only two of the Association's programs. While 58 per cent agreed with the CEA stance that there should be substantial federal aid for the whole of public education and 51 per cent agreed that the state should use a graduated income tax to finance schools, the average response for the CEA position on the eight other questions was only 15 per cent (the average response for all ten questions was 23 per cent).

The writer's classification of subgroups within the Arapahoe

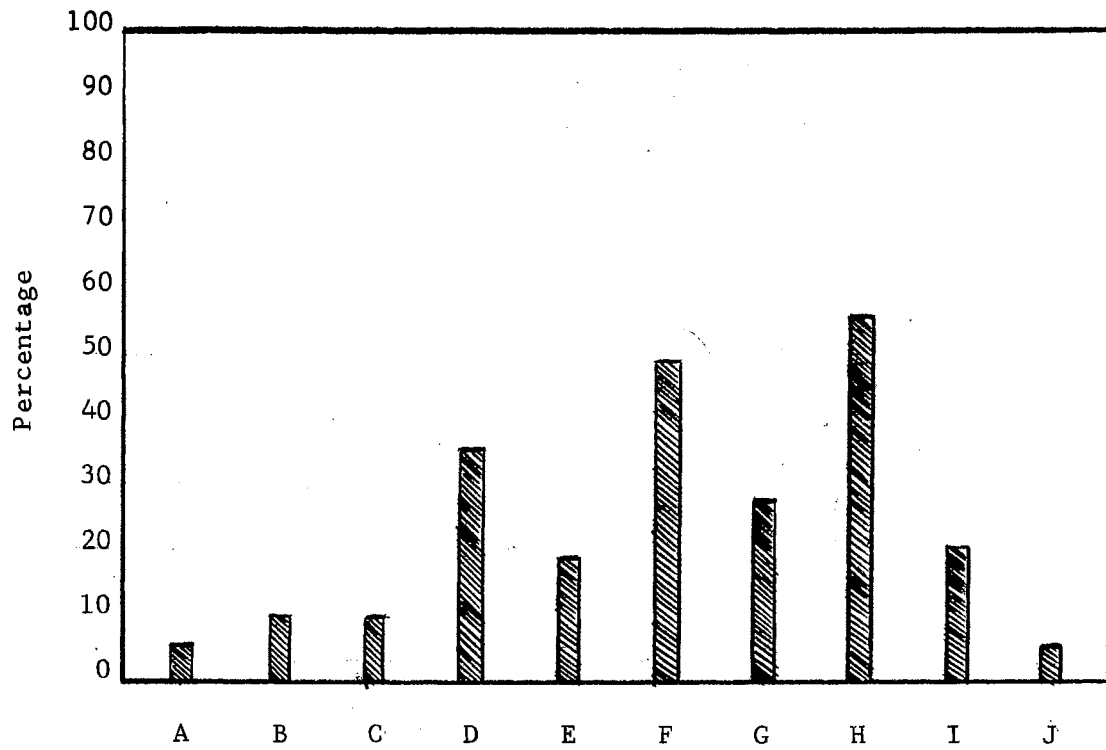


Figure 15. Percentage of Responses of Those Queried in Agreement with the CEA Position.

County CEA membership indicated that some members were more in agreement with CEA programs than were others. The most consistent supporters of Association positions are: (1) dependent upon public education positions for their major source of income; (2) men; (3) employed at the secondary level; (4) counselors and administrators; and (5) employed in rural areas. That support from both administrators and members from rural areas for CEA programs is high is particularly interesting. It will be recalled from earlier discussion that administrators enjoy a slight advantage over teachers in the ratio of members to officeholders, while rural areas command a higher ratio of delegates-to-members in the Delegate Assembly than do other areas.¹ While these trends are hardly significant enough to be determinative, they could help explain a greater acceptance of CEA policies on the part of these two subgroups. At any rate, the writer feels that additional research would be needed to apply the subgroup analysis statewide and determine its effect, if any, upon the programs and policies of the CEA.

Given the existence of a significant deviation between the viewpoints of members and the adopted policies of the CEA, it remained to be demonstrated that inadequate structural or organizational arrangements for member representation accounted for this deviation. To this end, Chapter III dealt briefly with the history and growth of the CEA as an interest group, showing that as membership increased over the years, certain organizational changes became necessary in order to provide for orderly and effective operation. In the long run, these changes had the ultimate effect of expanding the machinery for

¹See Chapter IV, especially 55-58.

participation and decision-making by the members through elected representatives. At its inception, the CEA held annual meetings at which all members could aid in determining policy, but this system soon became too unwieldy due to growth. The second stage of CEA organization found an "educational council" composed of college presidents and school superintendents guiding the operation of the organization. Finally, in 1926, the Delegate Assembly, with members elected from districts throughout the state, became the main policy making body of the CEA. Through the annual election of delegates, members of each local affiliate association have the opportunity to exert influence on the policies and programs of the organization. Yet the question remains how often are these opportunities utilized. For example, Chapter III pointed out that historically the CEA has been quite active in two areas, securing additional financial legislation for education and increasing active teacher participation in politics. However, CEA members responding to the questionnaire in Chapter II did not offer a high degree of support for adopted CEA programs in these areas. This reaction to adopted programs made it necessary to examine in more detail the avenues of participation open to members of the CEA.

Chapter IV examined at some length the Constitution, structure and bylaws of the CEA, as well as provision for membership representation through the delegate assembly, the Board of Directors, and association publications. The central question was whether the formal provisions for member participation in CEA decision-making offer members an effective voice in practice. The possible existence of malapportionment in the Delegate Assembly and the Board of Directors was raised, since this could certainly reduce some avenues of member participation.

It was found that the system employed in allocating the number of delegates to the Delegate Assembly does give a slight advantage to the smaller affiliate associations. Each local affiliate is allotted one delegate for the first 15 members and one delegate for each additional fifty members or major fraction thereof. In practice the formula has resulted in 47 per cent of the membership being allocated 60 per cent of the delegate seats (as of the 1968 Assembly). In spite of this slight imbalance, the existing apportionment formula is quite responsive overall, and probably acts as a deterrent to serious malapportionment. Since any formula for representation must be a compromise between the theoretical desirability of "one-man-one-vote" and the need for a viable representative system, it would appear that the CEA provisions are very workable.

In a similar vein, it was found that the process in existence for choosing members of the Board of Directors, the other key decision-making organ of the CEA, is probably advantageous to small community or rural areas. While such areas constitute a minority of CEA members, in 1968 they controlled 57 per cent of the Director positions, and could theoretically have controlled 71 per cent. However, no evidence could be found to indicate that rural areas are in any way favored by official policies of the CEA, nor was there any evidence that they have ever consciously attempted to gain such favor or power.

Chapter IV also pointed out that there are discrepancies in the composition of the Delegate Assembly and the Board of Directors with respect to the percentage of teacher members and administrator members who hold leadership posts. While administrators comprise only five per cent of CEA membership, they made up approximately 14 per cent of the

delegates and 36 per cent of the Board of Directors in 1968. Since the questionnaire of Chapter II indicated a difference of opinion between teachers and administrators on CEA programs, the predominance of administrators in leadership posts takes on added significance. While it may be true that the administrator members' higher level of support for the CEA programs is related to their success in winning Association office, the writer found no evidence that structural factors either promote administrator participation or hinder teacher involvement.

At this juncture, then, the writer must conclude that the hypothesis with which this study began is null. That is, the deviation between member opinions and CEA policies is not caused by any internal structural barriers to the exercise of membership influence. While many members may not agree with the adopted policies of the CEA, the organization's arrangements for membership representation appear to be quite adequate. However, the study has raised some other possibilities which might help to account for the members' feelings of inadequate representation and a lack of influence over decision-making.

One of these possibilities involves the assumption made by the writer that CEA members are informed and knowledgeable about pending CEA decisions prior to their ratification by the Delegate Assembly or the Board of Directors. That this may not be the case may be illustrated by the subject of increased dues. In March, 1968, the Board of Directors presented Assembly Delegates with a proposed resolution calling for increased dues, which was adopted. The questionnaire described in Chapter II of this study and distributed in August, 1968, indicates great lack of support for such a dues increase among the members of Arapahoe County (see Figure 9). Yet in early 1969, when the subject of

increased dues was referred to the membership of the CEA, they approved the increase. Moreover, out of a possible 24,538 voters, only some 14,000 voted, suggesting that many members did not bother to cast their ballot, yet may have complained of the action later.² This series of events suggests that many CEA members do not adequately inform themselves of pending actions, and may not take part in CEA elections due to apathy and a lack of confidence in their interest group.³

Another possibility is suggested by the fact that the administrators, a minority among CEA membership, hold a disproportionate share of leadership positions in the organization. Since there are not enough administrator members to elect these administrator-officers on their own, some teachers must have voted for administrators on the assumption that the latter could do more for them than teachers could. As Chapter IV pointed out (see pages 57-58), the administrator is often viewed as a "master teacher" and a person of more weight and responsibility in the educational system. Since the questionnaire of Chapter II indicated a difference of opinion on CEA programs between teachers and administrators, it seems likely that some teachers may have changed their minds later about delegating decision-making responsibility to administrator-delegates.

Finally, it needs to be reiterated that the trends described by this study may or may not be applicable to the CEA membership of the entire state of Colorado. While much of the foregoing material is

²The actual vote was 8,185 for, 6,562 against. There are no voting figures for specific counties or local associations in the CEA files.

³It may also be true that such members would not vote for delegates or executive officers of the Association either, but since voting is held at the local association level there are no central figures on this.

pertinent to the statewide CEA organization, the questionnaire distributed by the writer dealt only with the opinions of CEA members in a single county. Certainly there is a need for further research to determine the exact relationship between the opinions of Arapahoe County CEA members and those of the rest of the state. Only after such research is undertaken can truly definitive statements be made concerning the influence of members upon decision-making within the Colorado Education Association.

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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

GROUP RESPONSE TO QUESTION A

Columns refer to answers 1 - 6

Group	1	2	3	4*	5	6	Total**
T	15	218	783	45	40	28	1129
A	0	12	44	1	1	0	58
C	0	3	36	5	1	0	45
O	0	3	11	1	2	0	17
Total	15	236	874	52	44	28	1249
M	5	61	294	30	34	10	434
F	10	173	575	22	10	18	808
Total	15	234	869	52	44	28	1242
E	9	125	445	17	9	11	616
J	1	64	235	17	14	8	339
S	4	43	189	18	21	9	284
Total	14	232	869	52	44	28	1239
UC	4	20	51	5	5	2	87
MC	7	150	513	32	31	14	747
WC	2	48	233	11	4	8	306
LC	0	3	35	0	2	0	40
F	1	5	6	0	0	1	13
Total	14	226	838	48	42	25	1193
Y	12	146	587	43	39	18	845
N	3	86	270	8	5	9	381
Total	15	232	857	51	44	27	1126

T - Teacher; A - Administrator; C - Counselor; O - Other; M - Male; F - Female; E - Elementary Staff; J - Junior High Staff; S - Senior High Staff; UC - Upper Class; MC - Middle Class; WC - Working Class; LC - Lower Class; F - Farming; Y - Yes, this is the major source of income; N - No, this is not the major source of income.

A. Which one of the following do you believe to be the most productive way for public education to gain the financial backing of the government of the State of Colorado?

1. Appeal to the Governor of the State of Colorado 2. Appeal to the Colorado State Legislature 3. Work through current political parties to elect education minded politicians 4.* Invoke sanctions against the State of Colorado 5. Go out on strike 6. None of the above.

*CEA position. **The totals are not identical as some of the respondents did not reply to all the questions.

APPENDIX B

GROUP RESPONSE TO QUESTION B

Columns refer to answers 1 - 7

Group	1	2	3	4	5*	6	7	Total**
T	31	16	136	837	90	10	24	1144
A	1	0	1	51	4	0	2	59
C	1	0	3	34	4	0	3	45
O	1	0	0	12	3	2	0	18
Total	34	16	140	934	101	12	29	1266
M	11	6	48	316	46	7	11	445
F	22	10	92	614	54	5	18	815
Total	33	16	140	930	100	12	29	1260
E	16	9	51	483	41	4	15	619
J	7	3	50	241	34	5	8	348
S	11	3	39	200	26	3	6	288
Total	34	15	140	924	101	12	29	1255
UC	1	3	11	60	8	3	2	88
MC	19	6	81	579	62	1	10	758
WC	6	6	40	224	18	5	11	310
LC	2	0	1	28	7	0	2	40
F	2	1	1	8	0	0	1	13
Total	30	16	134	899	95	9	26	1209
Y	14	10	95	633	80	8	18	858
N	19	6	44	283	20	4	10	386
Total	33	16	139	916	100	12	28	1244

T - Teacher; A - Administrator; C - Counselor; O - Other; M - Male; F - Female; E - Elementary Staff; J - Junior High Staff; S - Senior High Staff; UC - Upper Class; MC - Middle Class; WC - Working Class; LC - Lower Class; F - Farming; Y - Yes, this is the major source of income; N - No, this is not the major source of income.

B. Which one of the following committees would you prefer to see conduct a full-scale investigation of the educational finance conditions existing in the State of Colorado?

1. A committee selected by the Colorado State Legislature
2. A committee selected by the Governor of the State of Colorado
3. A committee selected by the Colorado Education Association
4. A committee selected jointly by all three of the above
- 5.* A committee selected by the National Education Association
6. None of the above
7. I do not believe such a committee is necessary.

*CEA position. ** The totals are not identical as some of the respondents did not reply to all the questions.

APPENDIX C

GROUP RESPONSE TO QUESTION C

Columns refer to answers 1 - 4

Group	1	2	3*	4	Total**
T	178	706	78	182	1144
A	2	35	11	11	59
C	5	28	3	9	45
O	4	8	3	3	18
Total	189	777	95	205	1266
M	60	266	56	60	442
F	129	507	39	142	817
Total	189	773	95	202	1259
E	91	405	36	91	623
J	47	198	33	64	342
S	51	166	26	47	290
Total	189	769	95	202	1255
UC	14	54	8	13	89
MC	113	467	53	125	758
WC	50	183	24	51	308
LC	3	23	6	8	40
F	3	9	0	1	13
Total	183	736	91	198	1208
Y	120	528	73	136	857
N	68	230	22	65	385
Total	188	758	95	201	1242

T - Teacher; A - Administrator; C - Counselor; O - Other; M - Male; F - Female; E - Elementary Staff; J - Junior High Staff; S - Senior High Staff; UC - Upper Class; MC - Middle Class; WC - Working Class; LC - Lower Class; F - Farming; Y - Yes, this is a major source of income; N - No, this is not a major source of income.

C. Which one of the following best states your feelings about the dues structure of the Colorado Education Association?

1. Dues should be lowered 2. Dues are adequate and should remain the same 3.* Dues should be raised 4. No opinion.

*CEA position

**The totals are not identical as some of the respondents did not reply to all the questions.

APPENDIX D

GROUP RESPONSE TO QUESTION D

Columns refer to answers 1 - 5

Group	1	2	3	4*	5	Total**
T	89	376	236	365	52	1118
A	5	24	13	17	0	59
C	3	12	5	21	2	43
O	1	5	3	7	2	18
Total	98	417	257	410	56	1238
M	30	134	101	152	19	436
F	66	281	157	255	36	795
Total	96	415	258	407	55	1231
E	51	202	133	198	29	613
J	23	117	63	118	13	334
S	23	95	61	91	14	284
Total	97	414	257	407	56	1231
UC	7	18	21	35	4	85
MC	53	265	149	244	28	739
WC	25	110	64	93	13	305
LC	7	4	8	15	5	39
F	2	6	1	2	2	13
Total	94	403	243	389	52	1181
Y	61	279	171	297	33	841
N	33	132	80	108	22	375
Total	94	411	251	405	55	1216

T - Teacher; A - Administrator; C - Counselor; O - Other; M - Male; F - Female; E - Elementary Staff; J - Junior High Staff; S - Senior High Staff; UC - Upper Class; MC - Middle Class; WC - Working Class; LC - Lower Class; F - Farming; Y - Yes, this is the major source of income; N - No, this is not the major source of income.

D. Which one of the following would you prefer in order to promote the programs and improve the political effectiveness of the Colorado Education Association?

1. Action by individual Colorado Education Association members 2. A more unified action by local education associations 3. A more intensified program by the headquarters staff of the Colorado Education Association. 4.* The employment of a full time professional lobbyist by the Colorado Education Association 5. None of the above.

*CEA position.

**The totals are not identical as some of the respondents did not reply to all the questions.

APPENDIX E

GROUP RESPONSE TO QUESTION E

Columns refer to answers 1 - 7

Group	1	2	3*	4	5	6	7	Total**
T	7	497	209	167	52	128	38	1098
A	0	19	8	7	4	18	1	57
C	0	21	4	9	1	7	2	44
O	0	8	0	0	3	4	3	18
Total	7	545	221	183	60	157	44	1217
M	1	178	64	65	26	75	17	426
F	6	367	156	117	33	80	26	785
Total	7	545	220	182	59	155	43	1211
E	4	261	129	94	27	68	21	604
J	1	160	55	40	17	44	10	327
S	2	119	34	48	15	44	13	275
Total	7	540	218	182	59	156	44	1206
UC	1	38	12	16	5	7	7	86
MC	4	341	138	107	33	88	19	730
WC	0	127	57	42	15	45	11	297
LC	0	12	4	7	3	10	1	37
F	1	3	3	4	0	1	0	12
Total	6	521	214	176	56	151	38	1162
Y	3	366	150	117	41	117	32	826
N	3	167	68	62	18	38	12	368
Total	6	533	218	179	59	155	44	1194

T - Teacher; A - Administrator; C - Counselor; O - Other; M - Male; F - Female; E - Elementary Staff; J - Junior High Staff; S - Senior High Staff; UC - Upper Class; MC - Middle Class; WC - Working Class; LC - Lower Class; F - Farming; Y - Yes, this is the major source of income; N - No, this is not the major source of income.

E. Which one of the following do you believe would be the most effective, during the week before election day, to acquaint the voters with the problems of public education? 1. Nothing needs to be done 2. Have your local education association take ad space in newspapers, and commercial time on radio and television 3.* Have your local education association conduct public information meetings in schools in its school district 4. Have your local education association invite the candidates to speak at a public meeting 5. Have your local education association publicly announce for whom they would vote 6. Have your local education association involve its membership in a house to house campaign 7. None of the above.

*CEA position.

**The totals are not identical as some respondents did not reply to all the questions.

APPENDIX F

GROUP RESPONSE TO QUESTION F

Columns refer to answers 1 - 5

Group	1	2*	3	4	5	Total**
T	131	542	223	109	89	1094
A	4	37	12	0	6	59
C	2	29	8	4	2	45
O	1	7	6	1	2	17
Total	138	615	249	114	99	1215
M	53	247	89	28	20	437
F	86	362	159	86	78	771
Total	139	609	248	114	98	1208
E	71	295	98	63	70	597
J	36	159	87	28	18	328
S	31	155	61	21	11	279
Total	138	609	246	112	99	1204
UC	11	38	21	8	10	88
MC	87	385	144	69	46	731
WC	35	135	59	34	31	294
LC	1	22	9	1	5	38
F	1	8	1	1	1	12
Total	135	588	234	113	93	1163
Y	88	437	163	86	57	831
N	47	170	83	26	38	364
Total	135	607	246	112	95	1195

T - Teacher; A - Administrator; C - Counselor; O - Other M - Male; F - Female; E - Elementary Staff; J - Junior High Staff; S - Senior High Staff; UC - Upper Class; MC - Middle Class; WC - Working Class; LC - Lower Class; F - Farming; Y - Yes, this is the major source of income; N - No, this is not the major source of income.

F. Which one of the following sources of revenue should the State of Colorado use specifically for the support of public education?

1. A flat rate income tax
- 2.* A graduated income tax
3. A state sales tax
4. State wide property tax
5. None of the above.

*CEA position.

**The totals are not identical as some of the respondents did not reply to all the questions.

APPENDIX G

GROUP RESPONSE TO QUESTION G

Columns refer to answers 1 - 4

Group	1	2*	3	4	Total**
T	87	289	616	160	1152
A	3	20	33	2	58
C	3	7	27	8	45
O	1	7	6	4	18
Total	94	323	682	174	1273
M	46	114	210	77	447
F	46	207	470	96	819
Total	92	321	680	173	1266
E	32	172	355	68	627
J	37	86	168	56	347
S	24	57	158	49	288
Total	93	315	681	173	1262
UC	7	17	47	17	88
MC	52	185	423	106	766
WC	26	87	160	36	309
LC	2	15	20	3	40
F	2	5	4	2	13
Total	89	309	654	164	1216
Y	73	230	431	126	860
N	19	86	241	43	389
Total	92	316	672	169	1249

T - Teacher; A - Administrator; C - Counselor; O - Other; M - Male; F - Female; E - Elementary Staff; J - Junior High Staff; S - Senior High Staff; UC - Upper Class; MC - Middle Class; WC - Working Class; LC - Lower Class; F - Farming; Y - Yes, this is the major source of income; N - No, this is not the major source of income.

G. Which one of the following most typifies your feelings as to the use of retired certified personnel as substitute teachers during the school year?

1. Not at all 2.* A limited number of days 3. An unlimited number of days 4. No opinion.

*CEA position.

**The totals are not identical as some of the respondents did not reply to all the questions.

APPENDIX H

GROUP RESPONSE TO QUESTION H

Columns refer to answers 1 - 6

Group	1	2	3	4*	5	6	Total**
T	43	266	110	633	20	51	1123
A	2	7	0	45	2	2	58
C	1	4	6	32	0	2	45
O	1	3	1	9	0	4	18
Total	47	280	117	719	22	59	1244
M	12	69	33	294	15	18	441
F	35	210	83	423	7	40	798
Total	47	279	116	717	22	58	1239
E	28	155	54	334	9	30	610
J	10	70	34	201	4	20	339
S	9	52	29	178	9	8	285
Total	47	277	117	713	22	58	1234
UC	5	17	10	48	3	2	85
MC	29	187	71	418	11	31	747
WC	9	53	27	185	8	21	303
LC	3	6	5	24	0	1	39
F	0	2	1	9	0	1	13
Total	46	265	114	684	22	56	1187
Y	24	170	78	518	15	43	848
N	22	104	39	192	5	13	375
Total	46	274	117	710	20	56	1223

T - Teacher; A - Administrator; C - Counselor; O - Other; M - Male; F - Female; E - Elementary Staff; J - Junior High Staff; S - Senior High Staff; UC - Upper Class; MC - Middle Class; WC - Working Class; LC - Lower Class; F - Farming; Y - Yes, this is the major source of income; N - No, this is not the major source of income.

H. Which one of the following most typifies your view toward federal aid to public education?

1. There should be no federal support for public education
2. That federal support be given to any public educational system for specific educational programs
3. That federal support to public education be limited to those schools in economically deprived areas
- 4.* That there be substantial general federal support of the whole of public education
5. That the total cost of public education be supported by the federal government
6. None of the above.

*CEA Position. ** The totals are not identical as some respondents did not reply to all the questions.

APPENDIX I

GROUP RESPONSE TO QUESTION I

Columns refer to answers 1 - 5

Group	1	2	3*	4*	5	Total**
T	59	855	103	93	43	1153
A	0	34	9	14	2	59
C	2	28	2	9	3	44
O	0	9	2	6	1	18
Total	61	926	116	122	49	1274
M	26	267	51	82	18	444
F	34	655	64	40	30	823
Total	60	922	115	122	48	1267
E	25	501	56	36	13	631
J	11	237	30	43	24	345
S	24	182	28	42	11	287
Total	60	920	114	121	48	1263
UC	5	61	6	13	4	89
MC	39	551	70	72	31	763
WC	13	230	36	24	8	311
LC	2	28	3	4	3	40
F	0	12	1	0	0	13
Total	59	882	116	113	46	1216
Y	46	602	84	94	35	861
N	15	302	32	26	14	389
Total	61	904	116	120	49	1250

T - Teacher; A - Administrator; C - Counselor; O - Other; M - Male; F - Female; E - Elementary Staff; J - Junior High Staff; S - Senior High Staff; UC - Upper Class; MC - Middle Class; WC - Working Class; LC - Lower Class; F - Farming; Y - Yes, this is the major source of income; N - No, this is not the major source of income.

I. What are the maximum number of days you believe the school year should be?

1. 160 days 2. 180 days 3.* 200 4.* Over 200 days 5. No opinion.

*CEA position.

**The totals are not identical as some of the respondents did not reply to all the questions.

APPENDIX J

GROUP RESPONSE TO QUESTION J

Columns refer to answers 1 - 3

Group	1	2*	3	Total**
T	427	53	639	1119
A	18	2	39	59
C	13	4	27	44
O	8	2	8	18
Total	466	61	713	1240
M	148	31	259	438
F	316	29	453	798
Total	464	60	712	1236
E	251	17	344	612
J	93	19	221	333
S	115	25	144	284
Total	459	61	709	1229
UC	30	3	53	86
MC	286	41	416	743
WC	116	9	178	303
LC	6	2	31	39
F	8	2	3	13
Total	446	57	681	1184
Y	296	43	498	837
N	162	17	203	382
Total	458	60	701	1219

T - Teacher; A - Administrator; C - Counselor; O - Other; M - Male; F - Female; E - Elementary Staff; J - Junior High Staff; S - Senior High Staff; UC - Upper Class; MC - Middle Class; WC - Working Class; LC - Lower Class; F - Farming; Y - Yes, this is the major source of income; N - No, this is not the major source of income.

J. Which one of the following best states your feelings? The Colorado Education Association should:

1. limit its interest to public schools in the state of Colorado
- 2.* involve itself with public schools and faculty organization of junior colleges
3. involve itself with all public schools and institutions of higher learning.

*CEA position.

**The totals are not identical as some of the respondents did not reply to all the questions.

VITA

Tim Drake Tarleton

Candidate for the Degree of

Master of Arts

Thesis: THE INFLUENCE OF MEMBERS UPON DECISION-MAKING IN THE COLORADO
EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

Major Field: Political Science

Biographical:

Personal Data: Born in Dexter City, Ohio, June 22, 1935, the son
of E. Frank and Mabel M. Tarleton.

Education: Attended grade school and high school in Caldwell,
Ohio; received the Bachelor of Arts degree from Oklahoma
State University, with a major in History, in May, 1960; com-
pleted requirements for Master of Arts degree in May, 1972.

Professional Experience: Social Science teacher at Euclid Junior
High School, Littleton, Colorado, 1960-1964; Graduate Teach-
ing Assistant, Department of Political Science, Oklahoma State
University, 1964-1965; Teacher at Arapahoe High School, Lit-
tleton, Colorado, since 1966.

Professional Organizations: Member of Pi Sigma Alpha, member of
Civil War Round Table, member of the National Education As-
sociation, member of the Colorado Education Association, mem-
ber of the Littleton Education Association.