

Making the Grade: Moral Framing and The Catholic Teachers Union of New Jersey

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MAKING THE GRADE: MORAL FRAMING AND THE CATHOLIC
TEACHERS UNION OF NEW JERSEY

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by

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Making the Grade: Moral Framing and the Catholic Teachers Union of New Jersey
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Abstract

Over the past half-century, the percentage of U.S. Catholic secondary school teachers that are laypeople has skyrocketed from approximately 10% in the 1950s to more than 90% in 2006. With this change comes many important issues that beg to be studied in terms of labor relations between these lay employees and the Roman Catholic Church. While the Church has repeatedly made statements in support of labor unions such as in *Laborem Exercens*, the relations between lay teacher associations and Catholic dioceses in the U.S. have not always mirrored these ideals. This dissertation investigates the case of one organization, the Catholic Teachers Union (CTU), which represents over two-hundred lay teachers at eight high schools in the diocese of Camden, NJ. Using interviews, content analysis, and archival analysis, the investigator found that the union overcame diocesan opposition by deliberately framing (through media outlets and direct communication) their movement and message as strongly connected to Catholic doctrine, Catholic Social Thought, and Church teachings. This “moral framing” helped the union gain support from the parent-consumers sending their children to these schools, which contributed greatly to the union’s recognition in 1984 and then their negotiation of nine contracts for diocesan lay teachers. Incorporating Erving Goffman’s Frame Analysis, Johnston and Noakes schema for Social Movement Framing, James Coleman and Thomas Hoffer’s concept of Social Capital and Intergenerational Closure, and the concept of Community Unionism, the author concludes that CTU can be considered a leader in lay teacher-Catholic Church labor relations and that its tactic of moral framing can inform other unions and the larger labor movement.

Table of Contents

Introduction	1
Chapter 1: Catholicism, Unionism, & Teachers	19
Chapter 2: The Beginning of the Catholic Teachers Union	48
Chapter 3: Frame Analysis & Moral Framing	86
Chapter 4: The Media & CTU: A content analysis	107
Chapter 5: Makers of the Frame	129
Chapter 6: Receivers of the Frame:	151
Chapter 7: Frame Qualities	174
Chapter 8: Win-Win Bargaining & CTU's Moral Framework	193
Chapter 9: Moral Framing & The Labor Movement	212
References	250
Appendix A: The Negotiations & Strikes of CTU	272
Appendix B: Sample Interview Questions	308

These men and women ... have not volunteered to serve the church for "less than proportionate compensation." They are very much like rank-and-file workers in any other large-scale operation. They must punch a time-clock and submit to other personnel policies established -- unilaterally as a general rule - - by management. Their pay scale is also set by management. Theoretically, of course, they are free either to take it or leave it. But many of them cannot afford to leave it. They have to work to make ends meet. Finally, if the truth must be told, their standard of living, in many cases, is considerably lower than that of church professionals who act out of these values of generosity and self-sacrifice" (Higgins, 1993, p.115).

Introduction

On April 16, 1985 commuters driving by Paul VI High School, located on one of the busiest roads in Haddon Township, NJ, were met with a surprising sight. Instead of the usual mass of teenagers with backpacks rushing to beat the morning bell, drivers saw a group of adults marching in front of the school wearing sandwich boards that read, "Honk for Support!," "Our Teachers Deserve Better!," and "Give us Hope, Obey the Pope!" As Paul VI is set back far enough from the road that only those with 20/20 vision could read the signs, it is likely that these commuters expressed several different reactions. Some might have honked in support-even if unsure what they are supporting, others might have disregarded the situation, wondering if it was just another charity 5k run or fundraiser, and still others might have looked twice-especially if they could read the signs- and might have asked themselves, 'Are those teachers? Picketing? At a *Catholic School?*'

The scene of teachers picketing a Catholic school was unthinkable fifty years ago. There are few, if any, records of nuns and monks marching in protest of their *own* labor struggles as history, science, and music instructors. However, these brothers and sisters no longer preside over the classroom in the same numbers and lay teachers have replaced them. Over the past half-century, the percentage of U.S. Catholic Secondary Schools schoolteachers that are laypeople has skyrocketed from approximately 10% in the 1950s

to more than 90% in 2006¹. Researchers (Pytel, 2008; Maguire, 2006) point to the decline in clergy and religious order members as the cause for the change. According to Pytel (2008), "...there are currently more sisters in nursing homes than teaching in schools."

This transformation to a lay-majority staff has brought many previously unaddressed labor issues to the Church's attention. The religious order members who previously staffed the schools belonged to religious communities that required oaths of poverty. This means that the schools only needed to pay the brothers and sisters a very small salary. According to a 1961 *Time Magazine* article, the cost to a Catholic School of room, board, and teaching stipend for a nun ranged from \$650-\$1,250 a year! While inflation calculations² bump this range to \$4,503.80- \$8,661.16 in 2007 dollars, this is significantly less than today's median salary of a Catholic High School teacher which sits at \$31,900.³

In addition to the increase in salary brought on by the conversion to a lay teaching staff, many other labor relations issues come to a forefront. As an employer of laypeople the Catholic Church must now address fringe benefits, working conditions, and many other aspects of labor relations that religious members never brought to the table. While the Catholic Church has made clear statements throughout history in support of labor unions, their actions as employers have not always mirrored these ideals. School teachers, hospital workers, nursing home employees and many others have struggled to get union recognition by U.S. Catholic institution employers and continue to toil in contract negotiations. One group that has faced such opposition and has developed strategies to

¹ Maguire, Erin. (2006) "Program trains educators from Catholic schools in leadership skills" *The Catholic Northwest Progress*.

² Computed by www.westegg.com/inflation

³ Still, this average is less than public secondary school teachers whose average salary is \$45,300 (www.nces.gov)

bolster union strength and help its members reach their goals is the Catholic Teachers Union of New Jersey.

The Catholic Teachers Union of New Jersey (CTU) currently represents approximately 250 lay teachers at five of the ten Catholic high schools in the diocese of Camden, NJ. According to the diocesan website, the Camden Diocese was founded in 1937 and includes the Atlantic, Camden, Cape May, Cumberland Gloucester, and Salem Counties of New Jersey. Romans originally used the term diocese ('diocesis') to refer to a governor-ruled administrative area. The Church adopted the term to denote the area presided over by a bishop. Early Christians broke the church into Ecclesiastical Provinces and later broke these Provinces into Metropolitan Archdioceses and smaller Suffragan Dioceses. Archbishops and Bishops, clergy members appointed by the Pope to these leadership roles, preside over Archdioceses and Suffragan Dioceses, respectively. The Code of Canon Law, the ruling legislation of the Catholic Church, also grants Bishops the power to further divide their diocese into deaneries, or groups of parishes within the diocese. The Bishop, with the recommendations of parish priests, appoints a Dean to preside over the deanery, who coordinates the pastoral activity and ensures communication between the parishes and the Bishop. The Camden Diocese has twelve deaneries and further divides each deanery into two or three regions comprised of three to seven parishes. Each of the 124 parishes in the Camden Diocese belongs to one of the regions.

The Camden Diocese encompasses 2,691 square miles and currently serves approximately 500,000 Catholics. This number includes parishioners who are baptized as Catholic and have asserted themselves as members of a parish within the Diocese,

whether or not they attend mass. The Diocese also believes that 500,000 is an underestimate as many of their parishioners are illegal immigrants. They explain that the immigrants are hesitant to sign-up as members of the parish and are therefore not counted. Even withholding the illegal immigrant population, the Camden Diocese has been experiencing a period of growth. From 2000 to 2006 the Diocese saw a 2.3% increase in membership, with a large portion of the increase coming from the Hispanic population in the six counties. The website touts the high Catholic population of the region noting, “Within the total population of the six counties, 33.5% of the people identify themselves as Catholic, compared with the national average of 23.7%.” Despite this growth, Bishop Galante announced on April 3, 2008 that the diocese would combine many of its parishes and cut the number of operating parishes almost in half from 124 to 66 by 2010. This mimics the trend of other dioceses across the U.S. that are financially struggling to keep churches open.

There are fifty-two Catholic elementary schools and ten Catholic secondary schools in the Diocese of Camden. The diocese considers thirty-six of the elementary schools ‘regionalized’ meaning they are connected to several parishes as opposed to the remaining sixteen that are each linked to one particular parish. Parish subsidies and student tuitions fund these elementary schools. The Diocese website notes that tuition for the elementary schools has been increasing over the past five years⁴ as the student enrollment has been decreasing. The diocese makes a connection between rising tuition costs and falling enrollment but also notes that many deaneries are experiencing a lack of children in their parishes. They point out that many of the parishes in the Camden Diocese now serve ‘empty nesters’ rather than families with school aged children.

⁴ The average tuition cost increased \$661 in the past 5 years (Diocese of Camden).

The ten Catholic high schools in the Diocese employ approximately 300 lay teachers and serve around 8,030 children. Each high school has its own principal, four are laymen, one is a lay woman, four are priests or clergymen, and one is a nun. The diocese also has a superintendant of schools, Mr. Nicholas Regina, and six vice-superintendants, four of whom are also sisters, 2 are lay women. As opposed to a public school district that elects a school board, the Bishop appoints the Diocese school administration board, superintendant, and vice-superintendants.

Unlike the elementary schools, eight of these high schools are not affiliated with or subsidized by particular parishes. Three of the high schools-Bishop Eustace Preparatory School, Saint Augustine Preparatory School, and Our Lady of Mercy Academy- are considered private schools as they are run by particular religious orders rather than by the Diocese. The remaining five high schools are considered 'diocesan schools'. These are the schools that employ teachers who are/were represented by the Catholic Teachers Union. They include; Camden Catholic High School in Cherry Hill, Holy Spirit High School in Absecon, Paul VI High School in Haddon Township, St. James High School in Carney's Point (closed 2000), Sacred Heart High School in Vineland and Wildwood Catholic High School in Wildwood. The union also represents elementary teachers in special education programs at Our Lady Star of the Sea in Atlantic City, St. Cecelia in Pennsauken, St. Luke in Stratford, St. Joseph Pro-Cathedral in Camden, and St. Peter Celestine in Cherry Hill as well as special education teachers at Camden Catholic and Holy Spirit High Schools. Teachers at the remaining two high schools-Gloucester Catholic High School and St. Joseph High School- were represented by CTU until 1994, when the diocese changed their status to parish schools, thus

removing them from the bargaining unit.⁵ While the union does not currently bargain for lay teachers at all secondary schools in the Diocese, it has had a notable history of organizing, bargaining, and negotiating contracts for teachers in the represented schools. Over the course of its tenure, CTU has employed many specific bargaining and negotiating tactics that have lead them to sign nine contracts with the diocese.

Since its inception in 1984, the Catholic Teachers Union has set itself apart as a union that engages in collaborative negotiation efforts, cultivates strong media relations, works to develop relationships with parents in the school community, and takes the measure to strike when necessary. Additionally, CTU has experienced steady leadership, with only two members serving as president over the union's twenty-five year history. These actions have led the union to repeatedly sign contracts while gaining pay raises, securing due process, earning tenure rights, and improving working conditions for its members. While many claim that the organized labor movement in the United States is failing workers, the Catholic Teachers Union can claim success with a historically anti-union employer, Catholic Schools. This study intends to analyze the methods CTU has utilized over the past twenty-five years as well as discover how the context of Catholic School communities and the Camden Diocese have affected the union.

Methods

Merriam (1991) explains that a research design is a blueprint for assembling, organizing and integrating data, which results in a specific end product-the research findings (p. 6). She claims that choosing a research method involves 1) how the problem is shaped, 2) the questions it raises, and 3) the type of end product desired. In

⁵ Chapter 4 discusses this change as well as the current situation with these schools in more depth.

considering the best way to conduct research on this union, I utilized Merriam's typology and chose to conduct this research as a case study.

Yin (1984) states that case studies are best used as a research strategy when the researcher wants to examine contemporary phenomenon in a real-life environment, especially when the boundaries between the phenomenon and environment are not clear. As the Catholic Teachers Union exists in the context of both the Camden Diocese and the bigger picture of contemporary Catholic education, I believe that the shape of the research problem (Merriam's first component) best fit a case study method.

MacDonald and Walker define a case study as an "examination of an instance in action" (1977, p.181), and Cronbach describes this method as "interpretation in context" (1975, p.123). Merriam (1991) more specifically characterizes this method as "an intensive, holistic description and analysis of a single instance, phenomenon, or social unit (p. 21). When considering the case study method, I developed a list of preliminary interest questions to address Merriam's second point. Some of these questions were:

What strategies and practices make CTU a strong union?

How does the mass media portray the union?

What are the parents' opinions of CTU and reactions to CTU?

Is there a link between Catholicism and worker's rights/unions?

How can CTU's story inform the broader labor movement?

While these questions were very broad, they helped clarify the importance of the context surrounding CTU. As it seemed the union and its environment was inseparable, I concluded that it was necessary to include a rich description of this context in order to properly address my questions.

Addressing Merriam's final suggestion, I determined that my desired end product of this research would tell an analytical story of the union that would be both informative

to unions, teachers, and those interested in social movements as well as be interesting and enjoyable for all readers. I believed the case study method would most effectively help me reach these goals. Merriam (1991) argues that all case studies are 1) descriptive, which she explains as producing a rich and “thick” end product, 2) particularistic, meaning it focuses on a particular situation or phenomenon, 3) heuristic, or resulting in bringing understanding of the phenomenon to the reader, and 4) inductive, or established through inductive reasoning. Furthermore, she argues that knowledge learned from case studies is different than other methods because it is less abstract, more contextual, more developed by the reader’s own interpretation, and based on reference points and populations as understood by the reader. I believe that the richness of the case study method as well as its heuristic nature would be most helpful to inform readers while the inductive nature of the method invites them into the story and allows them to draw their own interpretations as the events unfold.

Data Collection

After selecting a Case Study analysis as my research method, I determined how I would collect my data and conduct this research. Merriam (1991) notes that case studies consist of 1) detailed descriptions of situations, events, people, interaction, and observed behaviors, 2) direct quotations on experiences, attitudes and beliefs, and 3) excerpts or passages from documents such as personal correspondences, record, or case histories. Furthermore, Yin explains the case studies can be qualitative or quantitative and may include various data collection methods including fieldwork, archival records, verbal reports, and observations, among others.

In accordance with Yin's suggestion that case studies incorporate two or more data collection methods, I conducted interviews, analyzed newspaper articles, and analyzed the union's archival sources as part of this research.

1.) Interviews

Merriam states, "(Researchers) interview people to find out from them things we cannot directly observe" (p. 72). As many of the events crucial to the study of CTU happened over twenty years ago, I interviewed many people who were part of these events to grasp an understanding of what went on. While I also read and analyzed newspaper articles of the events (see below) I believe that interviews were also necessary to get a more complete landscape. For this research I conducted 27 interviews of CTU leaders and union (rank and file) members, diocese representatives, media reporters, community members, and parents of children who attended CTU represented schools.

In order to select a sample for my interview research I approached union President William "Bill" Blumenstein in January 2008 and he provided me with the names and contact information of six of the union's first leaders. After interviewing these people through the start of summer 2008, I then contacted all union members currently serving on the executive board as well as the union's building representatives. From this group, I spoke with five additional people. As several of the interviewees had children who were attending/had attended the diocesan schools, they introduced me to other parents in the diocesan school system. In addition to these parents, I also contacted the executive board members of the Parent-Teacher Organizations (PTOs) at Paul VI High School and Camden Catholic High School. From these groups I spoke with four parents. I was also able to read archived letters from three other parents who contacted the diocese

during the 2005 negotiations. While I was not able to interview the parents who authored these letters, I was able to analyze their letters and their opinions of the union.

I also wanted to speak to union leaders outside of CTU who were experts on teacher unions and/or familiar with CTU. This led to four additional interviews with what I refer to as “teacher union experts.” To ensure I had considered multiple perceptions of the union, I was determined to interview someone representing the diocese. I contacted three diocesan school representatives and was lucky to speak to two people about the union and the schools. Finally, as the importance of the media framing became clear over the course of my research, I desired to speak with reporters who had covered the union. I contacted seven reporters who had written at least three stories on the union and spoke with three reporters who responded to my contact. While I met with the majority of these interviewees on one occasion each, I interviewed union leaders Bill Blumenstein and Ro Farrow on several occasions (three and two, respectively) over this time period. In total, I conducted 27 interviews with 24 interviewees.

While my sample is in no way random, this was not my intention as I interviewed a variety of people who I believed would together provide a complete view of the union. Instead I applied a type of snowball sampling, which I contend was the best method to reach the interviewees, despite the criticism it receives for possibly adding bias to results. By interviewing a range of people, including parents, media reporters, union members and leaders, and diocesan representatives I believe I was able to gauge an appropriate cross-section of the population from this sample.

In the interviews I asked approximately twelve open ended questions pertaining to strategies and techniques the union employed in contract negotiations as well as inquiries

into the relationship between local media and the union, and the parents in the school community and the union. Additionally, I asked respondents questions pertaining to their opinion on the media coverage of the union, the union leaders, and the negotiations. I conducted these interviews at the participants' preferred site (including schools, homes, offices, coffee shops, and restaurants). The interviews took approximately one hour each and were conducted from January 2008 to January 2009.

2.) Newspaper Articles

A second part of this case study involved a content analysis of all available local newspaper articles involving the Catholic Teachers Union from 1984-2008. I included *The Courier-Post*, *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, *The Vineland Times Journal*, *The Atlantic City Press*, *The New York Times* and *The Philadelphia Daily News* in this research. I also analyzed several Catholic newspapers and newsletters including *The National Catholic Reporter* and *The Catholic Star Herald*, the diocese of Camden's news source. This analysis included 125 articles written from 1984 to 2008. The great majority of these articles (90%) focused on strikes and negotiations, but many of these also referenced Catholic social teaching and Catholic doctrine on organized labor.

I based this content analysis on the newspapers' portrayals of the union and of the diocese. Preliminary research helped me to create a basic coding frame to begin this analysis, but I utilized an inductive approach to create the final codes. This analysis gave great insight into the context surrounding the union and dioceses and I discuss it thoroughly in Chapter 4.

3.) Union Archives

In this research I also investigated the union's twenty-five years of archival material. This included press releases, letters the union sent to parents during negotiations, letters the diocese sent to parents during negotiations, letters parents sent to the union and the diocese during negotiations, negotiation updates the union sent to members, member newsletters, handouts from parental meetings and union meeting notes. I was extremely grateful to have this information because I believe it allowed me to better understand the union's history and gauge their transition from recognition in 1984 to current negotiations in 2009. Additionally, this archival information provided evidence in regards to the concept of moral framing and the connections between the union, the media and the parents, which became crucial to my research.

Theory

A theoretical perspective is a 'way of looking at the world' and helps to define the purpose of a study and forms the questions it addresses. Theory helps the researcher to shape the research process and to relate bigger topics and patterns to the content or topic under investigation. Theory holds an important place in case study research. Researchers use case studies to test, refine, or extend existing theory as well as engage in theory building and discover new theoretical constructs. Both Merriam and Yin emphasize the important role of theory in case study research. Merriam notes that case studies are bound to theory as "a receptacle for putting theories to work" (1993, p.58) and Yin adds that theory links the research design to the literature, policy issues, or some other substantial source (1984, p.4). Yin and Merriam explain that theory may provide the framework for

the case study research therefore guiding questions, helping to define a case and confining observations to the most important details.

In this analysis I am utilizing one main theoretical construct; Frame Analysis and more specifically Collective Action Framing. Frame Analysis is based on Erving Goffman's theory concerning the ways people utilize internal mental schemas or frames to interpret situations or messages. As such, Frame Analysis is often applied to social movements (Benford & Snow, 1986) and media research (Entman) as investigators attempt to show how preconceived ideas and 'frames' may affect the way a person interprets, understands, and judges a message. First, I incorporate Frame Analysis in the construction of a case study framework in my content analysis of local media coverage of the union. I then analyze the union's framing process in terms of Frame Resonance, or how well a target audience identifies with the frame and therefore the social movement. I utilize Johnston and Noakes (2002) schema of frame resonance to analyze how the frame makers, frame receivers, and frame qualities affect frame resonance.

In this analysis, I generate new theory around the concept of "moral framing." I argue that CTU was able to gain strength and mobilize support by connecting their struggle to the moral teachings and values of the Catholic Church. I argue that other labor unions can utilize moral framing to inspire their own members as well as the community. I define moral framing as: Emphasizing the connections of a movement's message to a moral value or outlook shared with (and considered important by) the frame's target audience.

The concept of moral framing directly speaks to C. Wright Mills' discussion of cherished values in *The Sociological Imagination* (1959). Mills argues that individuals

struggle in making connections between their personal troubles and larger public issues as well as locating their life within a historical period. He explains that individuals feel unease and anxiety when they believe that values they hold dear are being challenged or threatened. He writes, “The very shaping of history now outpaces the ability of people to orient themselves in accordance with cherished values” (4). Here he says that personal troubles are often caused by people being unable to see how changing morals and values reflect their personal situation as well as the public state of society. He says individuals get ‘possessed by a sense of the trap’ meaning that they become so focused on their own problems that they cannot see past them to realize how larger cherished values are playing a role in their circumstances.

This insight relates directly to the question of moral framing, in that moral framing allows a way for CTU and the broader labor movement to illustrate the connections between the private troubles of the member-worker and of the potential supporter. Mills writes that individuals in our time are experiencing “moral insensibility” because they cannot make connections between threatened values, personal troubles, and public issues. Mills calls on the social sciences to formulate which values are being threatened, how this phenomenon affects us as individuals living in a particular historical era and how it affects the larger society in which we live. Organized labor has the opportunity to relate individual struggles of a “special interest group” as it is often called, to cherished values of our time and illustrate how anti-union efforts are threatening these values. Mills says, “Instead of troubles - defined in terms of values and threats - there is often the misery of vague uneasiness; instead of explicit issues there is often merely the beat feeling that all is somehow not right” (Ch.1, p.11). He explains that in order to bring

these issues to light, social scientists must reveal these connections and reclaim reason and moral sensibility for humankind. Only then will people be able to address the social ills of our time and reverse the push of troubles and issues.

Considering Mills, I argue that a goal of the broader labor movement should be to make connections between public troubles and private issues. I believe that utilizing moral framing makes this possible. Focusing on a moral fosters connections between potential supporters and a movement, especially when possible supporters do not share many economic or demographic characteristics with the movement members. Moral framing speaks to moral sensibility and encourages possible supporters to see their personal troubles and union members' troubles as intertwined. It suggests that workers and supporters have more in common, in terms of shared cherished values and morals, than they do in opposition. I suggest that labor unions can frame their movement with a message focused on these cherished values and on who or what is threatening these values. As Mills equally emphasizes historical period, I argue that these value-driven messages will be helped or harmed by certain cultural trends and environments. I believe the current cultural climate, especially in light of recent "Wall Street" economic crises have revealed that cherished values of "supporting a family," "health and health care" and "consumer responsibilities" are being threatened by anti-union and anti-worker corporate efforts, and suggest that organized labor has an opportunity to promote their message to potential supporters. I utilize CTU as a case study of a union that successfully made use of moral framing in the example of lay teachers and parent-consumers who were sending their children to these diocesan high schools. This example of moral framing provides guidance for how other unions might also utilize this concept.

In order to argue the case of moral framing and the Catholic teachers union, I address a number of framing issues including union leadership, the target audience, and frame qualities. I also analyze the framework of CTU through the content analysis of local newspapers. Specifically, this thesis follows this outline:

Chapter 1 introduces readers to Roman Catholic doctrine and dogma about organized labor from 1891 to the present. I discuss documents ranging from Papal Encyclicals, to Conciliar documents and Catholic Social Teaching, all of which summon Catholic leaders and parishioners to support and cooperate with worker unionization efforts. Second, this chapter discusses the history of Catholic Education in the United States and tracks its changes over the past three centuries, especially changes in both the teacher and student populations.

Chapter 2 discusses the background and history of teachers unions in Catholic Schools in the United States. This chapter highlights Supreme Court and State Supreme Court cases concerning the rights of Catholic school teachers to organize. Moreover, this chapter introduces the Catholic Teachers Union, highlighting the commencement and recognition of the union as well as the first work stoppage.

Chapter 3 introduces the theory of framing and Erving Goffman's concept of frame analysis. This chapter discusses the literature on frame analysis and describes its usage both as a theory and a methodological tool. This chapter also discusses the moral frame at work in the case of CTU and the separation of the U.S. Labor Movement from its own moral message. While CTU draws support from its strong connection to church doctrine and Catholic Social Teaching, the U.S. Labor Movement has become separated from its moral message about Justice, Quality Jobs, and a Working Class Conscience.

This chapter also introduces the concept of Frame Resonance and Johnston and Noakes (2002) table of factors affecting Frame Resonance, namely Makers of a Frame, Receivers of a Frame and Frame Qualities.

Chapter 4 discusses media framing and the local newspapers' portrayals of CTU and of the Camden diocese. This chapter analyzes the results of a content analysis I performed on one hundred and twenty-five (125) newspaper articles focused on CTU from 1984 to 2008 in local newspapers. As the coverage is episodic, and relates directly to the union's three strikes and additional four strike votes, this chapter also highlights these work actions. This chapter introduces the particular methods CTU uses when dealing with the media, including assigning particular media spokespeople and linking their struggle to Catholic Social Teaching.

Chapter 5 looks at the first factor affecting Frame Resonance, Makers of a Frame. Since its inception in 1984, CTU has only had two presidents, William Blumenstein (1984-1989, 1991-present) and Rosemarie Farrow (1990-1991). Using Johnston and Noakes (2002) schema and Morris and Staggenborg's (2004) theory on social movement leaders, I analyze the credibility of CTU frame promoters. I also look at the work of Farrow and Blumenstein in regard to Weber's concept of charismatic authority and analyze the union's use of strategic marketing in reference to Johnston and Noakes' schema.

Chapter 6 examines the role of parents and parental support in the success of CTU. This chapter analyzes how well CTU's frame has resonated with parents, the receivers and target audience. I argue that CTU has used Parental Meetings, where they inform parents about their negotiation demands as well as whether they are going to

strike, as a tool to gain community (and in their case consumer) support. This chapter also expands Coleman and Hoffer's (1987; 1988) theory of social networks and intergenerational closure in Catholic schools to include connections between parents and their children's teachers and relates this to the more recent concept of 'Community Unionism.'

Chapter 7 This chapter addresses the third category of Johnston and Noakes' schema- the Frame Qualities- namely the context surrounding the frame, and the empirical credibility and experiential commensurability or relevance of the frame. This chapter looks at how the more recent CTU negotiations have been framed in a time where the Catholic Church is facing some opposition due to pastoral sexual scandals. The anti-church sentiment expressed during this time played into the context and environment into which CTU present its frame and its message. I argue that the current popular "Anti-Wall Street" sentiment following the recent stock market collapse and economic bailout may provide a similar context for organized labor to plead its case.

Chapter 8 looks at CTU's usage of Win-Win or Integrative Bargaining in 1987 and 1990, as an example of the union's dedication to a moral standard. This negotiation process is based on the idea that both disputant can see negotiations as successful if needs of each group are known to both sides. I analyze how this method again characterizes the union as the upholder of church teachings and compare how differences between the 1987 and 1990 negotiations further intensified this image.

Chapter 9 draws conclusions from these findings and looks at how this research can inform Catholic school teachers and administrators as well as the broader labor movement. I argue that these teachers as well as the broader labor movement might learn

from the experience of the Catholic Teachers Union. Specifically, I explain the broader Labor Movement can appropriate CTU's method of moral framing by linking its mission to concepts of cherished values of "supporting a family", "health and health care," and "consumer responsibilities". I argue that by doing this, organized labor can motivate their members and mobilize potential supporters who already believe in and support these moral messages. By making these connections, I believe organized labor can also work towards removing the stigma it carries as a special interest group and in turn attract supporters to a movement of "Community Unionism."

Chapter 1-Catholicism, Unionism, & Teachers

"If the dignity of work is to be protected, then the basic rights of workers must be respected--the right to productive work, to decent and fair wages, to the organization and joining of unions, to private property, and to economic initiative"

- *Themes of Catholic Social Teaching*
United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, 2003

According to the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops, work is "a form of continuing participation in God's creation." Based on this belief that work is a spiritual and holy activity, Roman Catholic doctrine has upheld the importance of work as well as rights and the human dignity of the worker for centuries. One of the earliest church documents, the *Didaché*, also known as *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, (circa 140 A.D.) explains,

If anyone wants to settle among you, let him have a job. Let him work and thus provide for himself. And if he has no job, provide for him in the way that you think best, in such a manner that there be no idle Christian among you (taken from Pham, 2000)

Such early proclamations by the Church established connections between Catholic faith and the importance of work as a holy activity. The Catholic Church also quickly established ties between the faith and the laborer as the New Testament depicts of Joseph, a carpenter, being chosen as Jesus' father on earth. This early and most holy documentation created a positive portrayal of the workingman in the Catholic Church's most sacred writings. Throughout the New Testament, Jesus himself strives against the wealthy Pharisees and chooses fishermen to be amongst his closest disciples, the twelve Apostles, again projecting light on the worker.

Catholic Leaders in the United States and abroad have tried to follow the pro-worker example of the New Testament and early Church writings. In addition to drawing many parishioners from the working classes, Catholic leaders have supported organized labor movements that uphold the dignity of the human worker. Examples of this include the priests who marched with protesting laborers in Poland's *Solidarność* movement, Dorothy Day-the Catholic laywoman who created the Catholic Worker movement in the U.S., and the foundation of Catholic trade unions and associations, including the Knights of Labor in America and abroad. Additionally, Catholic Bishops have issued several letters and statements concern labor and making the connection between worker rights and human rights based on specific council meetings. These conciliar documents include, *Gaudium et Spes* (Vatican II, 1965), *Justice in the World* (Second General Assembly of the Synod of Bishops, 1971), *The Seven Themes of Catholic Social Teaching* (U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops, 2003), and *The Bishops' Pastoral Letter* of 1986.

Finally, and maybe most importantly, several Popes, who serve as the leader of the Roman Catholic Church and the direct connection between Catholics and God, have

written letters, called Papal Encyclicals, in support of organized labor. Of these Encyclicals, the most famous declarations for workers right to organize was Pope Leo XIII's Encyclical on Capital and Labor (*Rerum Novarum*) and Pope John Paul II's *Laborem Exercens*. I will discuss these encyclicals as well the labor related conciliar documents and the Knights of Labor in the following section.

Rerum Novarum

On May 15, 1891, Pope Leo XIII delivered the *Rerum Novarum*, the Encyclical on Capital and Labor that has become the main doctrine on the Church's stance on the organized labor. While this proclamation on worker's rights reached his widest audience, Pope Leo XIII had a long history of preaching about the Church coming to the aid of workers and condemning greedy employers and owners. The Encyclical emphasizes traditional Church teachings on the right to private property, but also shows how modern property situations harm the working class. From here, the document exclaims that the Church, State, worker and employer must all work together to remedy this crisis. Several writers and researchers (Thies, 1993; Manning, 2008) point out that the Encyclical accomplished several key things. To start, it is the first time a Pope appealed to the populace rather than the aristocracy or royals for support. Second, it established the link between Justice and Charity in Catholic teaching and third, it was the Church's first declaration of its dedication to creating an equal society. Lastly, it declared the church's pronouncement that it would achieve these goals without the 'false and destructive character of socialism' (Manning, 2008).

Pope Leo XIII begins the Encyclical with a focus on the Church's mission to help those living in poverty. While the Pope's statements on the Church's goal to help the

poor now seems obvious, this was the first Papal proclamation of the Church's mission for a more equal society. Rather than simply helping the poor through charity and offerings, Pope Leo XIII spoke of creating a more just world that would end poverty instead of just ameliorating it. The first section of the Encyclical focuses on the state of the poor in the world and the need for Catholics to help those in need,

All agree...and there can be no question whatever that some remedy must be found, and that quickly found, for the misery and wretchedness which press so heavily at this moment on the large majority of the very poor

After calling for a remedy to extreme poverty, Pope Leo XIII turns to the connections between wages, capital, and poverty to address what can be done to lessen the plight of the needy. Here he highlights the role of organized labor in this work. In regard to organized labor, Pope Leo XIII exclaimed that the Catholic Church must support labor unions and condemn avaricious employers who take advantage of their workers,

The ancient workmen's guilds were destroyed in the last century, and no other organization took their place. Hence by degrees it has come to pass that workingmen have been given over, isolated and defenseless, to the callousness of employers and the greed of unrestrained competition.

Here, the Pope calls on parishioners not only to be fair to their own employees but also to support unions who are confronting the unfair treatment of workingmen. In this writing, the Pope went as far as to call employers and owners evil, powerful, and avaricious men, who would turn workers into slaves if left to their own devices. He also proclaimed his support for "workingman's associations", meaning labor unions, and exclaimed that unions could better a man's conditions in body, mind, and property.

Rerum Novarum remains one of the most quoted Papal Encyclicals of all time, especially because of its strong influence of modern Catholic Social Teaching (CST),

discussed below. Despite its now historic fame and widespread use in CST, the Encyclical did not ignite an immediate social justice movement in the Church. In Europe, where unions have a stronger and richer history, the Pope's word bolstered support for an already strong organized labor movement. However, in the U.S., Catholic parishioners and leaders were split over the Encyclical, as it seemed to go against Capitalist ideals of profit, competition, and laissez-faire government.

According to O'Brien (2004, pp.41-42) *Rerum Novarum* originally received a good deal of press in Catholic and public newspapers and was cause for excitement among Catholic laborers. However, conservative factions within the Church, led by German-American bishops, worried that taking great action would hurt the Church's development in American, where it was still struggling to find its place. Many Americans also believed the Pope was suggesting a socialist-type of solution, due to his recommendation that the State regulate labor conditions, especially in the creation of a 'living wage.' Despite the Vatican's insistence that the Church remained an anti-Communist institution and that Catholic doctrine valued the right to private property, many critics focused on the Pope's call for State intervention. This perceived grouping of organized labor, Catholicism, and Socialism intensified the strong anti-union and anti-Catholic sentiment present in the U.S. at the turn of the 20th century and led many non-Catholics to question if Catholic parishioners could assimilate to American ideals.

Despite the concern it raised among Catholic and non-Catholic Americans alike, the Encyclical encouraged the birth of a new aspect of Catholicism focused on social justice. The Encyclical clarified the Church's stance on unions, and many bishops, clergy members and parishioners, such as laywoman Dorothy Day and Cardinal James Gibbons,

embraced this message and planted the roots for Catholicism steeped in service. Catholic leaders in the United States adopted the link between social justice, charity, and labor and created the Social Action Department within the National Catholic Welfare Council. The Encyclical remains one of the Church's most read and cited documents and had a vast effect on parishes in American and Europe for much of the 20th century.

Knights of Labor

A few years before this Encyclical, the Catholic Church in the U.S. was tackling its first confrontation with organized labor, involving the Knights of Labor-the largest union in the U.S. in the late 19th century. Though the Knights started as a fraternal organization, by 1888 it was functioning as a strong labor organization and would become the precursor to the American Federation of Labor (AFL). As the Knights were known, unlike most other fraternal groups at this time, for their inclusivity, many members of the Knights of Labor were Catholic. The participation of Catholics in the Knights caused a split in Catholic leaders who were unsure of how the Church would respond to the secrecy of the group, especially since the Church barred Canadian Catholics from joining the Knights' northern counterpart. While some clergy members and bishops opposed the secrecy associated with the union, others maintained that worker organization was tied closely to the Church's values. In 1888, Terrence Powderly, leader of the Knights of Labor and Baltimore Cardinal James Gibbon joined forces in behalf of Catholic Knights members as Gibbons wrote the Vatican requesting permission for Catholics to join the union. Pope Leo XIII granted their appeal and Catholic membership in the Knights continued to blossom until 1900 when government and industry repression of unions, the Labor socialist party, and the Industrial Workers of the World drained the

Knights' base. The Pope's acceptance of the Knights', even prior to his famous Encyclical, is seen as an important example of positive labor-church relations in U.S. history.

While the Knights of Labor dissolved before the turn of the century, Catholic laborers continued the tradition of being strong unionists. Laywoman Dorothy Day took a radical step in following Pope Leo XIII's decree and founded the Catholic Worker Movement (CWM) in 1933. Day, a journalist, began the movement by selling "The Catholic Worker Newspaper" in the streets of New York City during the Great Depression to raise money to provide hospitality homes, food, and clothing for those in need. CWM also has a history of supporting labor movements and basis its practices on Catholic Social Teaching concerning the dignity of all workers and all human beings. According to the CWM website, the organization refuses to apply for Non-Governmental Organization tax breaks because it believes strongly in Pope Leo XIII's cry for the cooperation between the State and the Church in aiding those in need. This movement has grown into approximately 135 independent communities that provide help and prayer to the working poor, poor, and homeless across the United States.

Out of the Catholic Worker Movement in New York City, a group of Catholic labor activists created the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists (ACTU) in 1937. O'Brien (1983) explains that the group worked to organize and provide support for Catholic union members as well as to fight communism and corruption within the U.S. labor movement. While the group dissolved in the 1960s, they became well known for their anti-communist efforts, especially within the ranks of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) and again exemplified Catholicism's dedication to labor.

Monsignor George G. Higgins, a self proclaimed 'labor priest', notes that Catholic Church leaders continued their work with labor unions through the Twentieth Century. He points to the important role of the organizations such as the U.S. Catholic Conferences in the cause of Cesar Chavez and the farm workers in their struggles in the 1960s (Higgins & Bole, 1993). Prouty (2006) explains the shifting role of Catholic leaders in this dispute who were torn between supporting Catholic landowners and Catholic farm workers. At first Catholic leaders were hesitant and only committed to a committee of five bishops and two priests, the Bishops' Ad Hoc Committee on Farm Labor, four years after the UFW strike began. This Committee helped to negotiate a settlement between landowners and grape-picking laborers. The Committee took a more active role in the conflict between landowners and lettuce-workers as the Bishops acted on Catholic Social Teaching ideals and became a strong advocate and ally for the farm workers. According to Prouty, Chavez claimed that the Bishops Committee was "the single most important thing that has helped us" (2006, p.)

While Catholic leaders in the U.S. have documented their support for organized labor through the legacy of the Knights of Labor, the Catholic Worker Movement, and work with the UFW, they did so without set guidance from the Vatican except for Leo XIII's 1891 Encyclical. As the world, and the U.S. in particular was becoming more secular and industrialized, issues of work and labor moved rapidly to the forefront and posed questions about how significant a role Catholic leaders should take in this secular sphere. They received many answers to these questions, including those regarding labor issues, from the *Gaudium et Spes*, a document created from Vatican II.

Gaudium et Spes (GS)

Opening in 1962 and closing in 1965, the Roman Catholic Church revolutionized itself with the Second Ecumenical Council of the Vatican, more commonly known as Vatican II. Vatican II was a meeting of the world's bishops designed to address the important political, economic, and social situations facing the Catholic Church as well as the role of the church in an increasingly secular world. Additionally, Pope John XXIII, who presided over the Council, hoped the meeting would address issues particular to the Church itself such as liturgy and revelation.⁶

Following each of the four sessions of Vatican II, the Bishops produced a number of documents including one titled *Gaudium et Spes (GS)*. *Gaudium et Spes*, or the Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World translates into “Joy and Hope” and covers topics such as religious freedom, family life, and war. Along these lines, GS also included a chapter focused on the role of workers in the modern economy. Theologian John-Peter Pham (2000) notes that GS marks a change in the Church's stance on organized labor. While the Church followed Pope Leo XIII's Encyclical by openly supporting labor movements in the first half of the twentieth century, they often did so in hopes of influencing European politics. The Vatican II documents departed from this approach and focused on a more philosophical and human rights based aspect of labor. This writing also became the basis for Pope John Paul II's proclamations in *Laborem Excerums* (discussed below). Like Pope John Paul II's later Encyclical GS speaks directly to the Church's stance on wages noting,

⁶ While Pope John XIII convoked Vatican II, he passed away in 1963 and Pope Paul VI then presided over the council. The first Vatican council was held almost 100 years prior to the second meeting, but ended early when the Italian army entered Rome.

Remuneration for labour is to be such that man may be furnished the means to cultivate worthily his own material, social, cultural, and spiritual life and that of his dependents, in view of the function and productiveness of each one, the conditions of the factory or workshop, and the common good (GS 6).

Here the writers delineate that the Church's call for employers to provide more than simple sustenance to their workers. Rather than taking the Marxist view that in capitalism wages need only be enough for the members of the working class to physically reproduce themselves for another day⁷, GS argues that wages should allow an entire household to have a material, familial, and spiritual sense of well-being. In this, the Bishops are not calling owners to forget the goal of profit-making but are insisting that employers and the State work together to consider the welfare of each family and intervene where the other is lacking. This also relates to the Church's earliest claims that work should be the continuation of God's creation and therefore should also provide spiritual benefits to workers.

GS also adds to Pope Leo XIII's Encyclical regarding the Catholic Church's supportive stance on organized labor. Often, people question why a conservative institution like the Church sides with those on the left in terms of labor movements. While one stance is that implementing Catholicism into worker organizations will quell any spread of Communism, the basis of this support has more to do with Catholic and Christian Social Justice Teachings. GS explains that labor unions are one of the most important tools in maintaining human dignity and helping workers escape poverty and therefore are of great concern to the Catholic Church. In this way, GS states employees are humans first and workers second.

⁷ In the pamphlet *Wage Labour, and Capital* Marx (1847,1891) writes, "The price of his work will therefore be determined by the price of the necessary means of subsistence."

Justice in the World (1971)

Following Vatican II, in November, 1971, the Second General Assembly of the Synod of Bishops added to these statements concerning organized labor when they submitted a document to the Holy Father Pope Paul VI entitled *Justice in the World*. While the document focused on the task of all Catholics to work against inequity and towards unity, one aspect in particular dealt with worker's rights of Church employees,

... within the Church rights must be preserved. No one should be deprived of his ordinary rights because he is associated with the Church in one way or another.

This statement was the first time a group of church leaders addressed the role of organized labor within the church for lay Church employees. By proclaiming that the Church should abide by the same standards they set for other employers, the Synod of Bishops made an important statement about how Church institutions should treat their employees to avoid hypocrisy and to set a positive example.

Laborem Exercens (1981)

In 1981, on the 90th anniversary of Pope Leo XIII's *Rerum Novarum* Encyclical, much loved Pope John Paul II wrote his Encyclical *Laborem Exercens*, translated "On Human Work". This letter was another testament to worker's rights and to intersections between labor and human dignity. Like Pope Leo's earlier writing, *Laborem Exercens* has become the cornerstone for modern Catholic teaching and perspective on organized labor and worker's rights. The Encyclical, signed September 14, 1981⁸ focused on the issue of humans' dignity in work and was based on four central concepts; the

⁸ The Holy Father noted, upon signing that the document was completed for the actual May 15th anniversary of Pope Leo XIII's original encyclical, but Pope John Paul II's hospital stay delayed the signing.

subordination of work to person, the primacy of the worker over the whole of instruments, the rights of human person as the determining factor of productive processes, and the mission to help people identify with Christ through their own work. As such, Pope John Paul II separated the Encyclical into an introduction and four chapters; "Work and Man," "Conflict Between Labor and Capital in the Present Phase of History," "Rights of Workers," and "Elements for a Spirituality of Work."

Like Pope Leo XIII, Pope John Paul II begins this writing with a statement about worker's rights, but he more strongly connects worker's rights to human dignity,

But the Church considers it her task always to call attention to the dignity and rights of those who work, to condemn situations in which that dignity and those rights are violated, and to help to guide the above-mentioned changes so as to ensure authentic progress by man and society.

Here the Holy Father extends the declaration the Pope Leo XIII made 90 years earlier and calls on Catholics to take an active role in supporting worker's rights. Pope John Paul II also reiterates the earlier belief that work plays a large role in human life and that it is the task of religion to help people to make connections between work and spirituality.

As Pope John Paul II spent a good portion of his life aiding and supporting the Solidarity Movement in his native Poland, it is not surprising that he also speaks directly to the issue of labor unions in modern times in this Encyclical,

"In order to achieve social justice in the various parts of the world, in the various countries, and in the relationships between them, there is a need for ever new movements of solidarity of the workers and with the workers."

Reflecting his own devotion to labor, the Pope not only calls for solidarity 'of workers' but also 'with the workers.' This distinction importantly calls on the Church to cooperate and actively aid worker movements instead of merely supporting them through rhetoric.

In this Encyclical, the Pope explains how issues of labor and work have changed since Pope Leo XIII's encyclical and notes that there has been increasing conflict between capital and labor as the economy now places capital and production above the human dignity of the worker. He also comments on the conflicts between Capitalism and Marxism and explains that both are too rigid in theory and practice to win the Church's demand for respect for the worker. As such, he proclaims that the Church must find a system that allows work, above all things, to represent human dignity.

Like Leo XIII, Pope John Paul II also comments on the role of the State and suggests that national and international governments must take action to regulate labor policy, especially in regard to unemployment, which he calls "a true social calamity." However, unlike Leo XIII, Pope John Paul II specifies particular issues of worker's rights including jobs for the disabled, the re-evaluation of "mother's roles," the social ethics of salaries and wages as well as health and vacation workers' benefits.

The Holy Father also comments on the need for labor unions, calling them "an indispensable element of social life." He highlights that labor unions create bonds and connections between workers and that they illustrate the similar trials all workers face as well as those specific to each profession,

All these rights, together with the need for the workers themselves to secure them, give rise to yet another right: the right of association, that is to form associations for the purpose of defending the vital interests of those employed in the various professions. The vital interests of the workers are to a certain extent common for all of them; at the same time however each type of work, each profession, has its own specific character which should find a particular reflection in these organizations.

In this statement, the Pope not only defends labor unions but also calls for specified unions by occupation that can address concerns specific to that profession. With this,

Pope John Paul II also emphasizes the importance of strikes and work stoppages as a bargaining tool,

One method used by unions in pursuing the just rights of their members is the strike or work stoppage. This method is recognized by Catholic Social Teaching as legitimate in the proper conditions and within just limits.

The Pope's acceptance of strikes and work stoppages as a legitimate method is extremely meaningful to labor unions. While governments, including the U.S. government has historically acted as 'strike-breakers' and some states have even outlawed the use of strikes by their state employees, Pope John Paul II's declaration of acceptance gives moral legitimacy to worker movements. This is particularly important for lay employee unions in Catholic institutions, including the Catholic Teacher's Union, who have the right to strike while their Public school counterparts do not.

Referencing Catholic Social Teaching, the Pope connects his encyclical to the set of social justice principles developed from Pope Leo XIII's earlier writing. Catholic Social Teaching (CST) is the name given to the Catholic Church's collection of papal, conciliar, and Episcopal documents on questions of social justice. CST is used to inform, guide, and council the Church and all Catholics on the Church's official stance on social justice issues. The U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops, the leadership entity of the U.S. Catholic Church (<http://www.usccb.org/sdwp/projects/socialteaching/excerpt.shtml>), has identified seven themes from these readings including:

Life and Dignity of the Human Person

This is the belief that human life is sacred and that human dignity is at the moral center of society. This is the basis for all CST teachings and relates directly to issues of war, abortion, euthanasia, cloning, and the death penalty.

Call to Family, Community, and Participation

This has to do with how humans should conduct themselves socially and how we organize our selves economically and politically. The Catholic faith believes that marriage and family should be upheld and that people should create laws based on the ideals of human dignity and the common good.

Rights and Responsibilities

This says that human dignity can only be upheld by a community that protects human rights. Every person has the right to human life and human decency and every person is subject to the responsibilities that accompany these rights.

Option for the Poor and Vulnerable

This is a call to put the needs of the poor and vulnerable first, above their own.

The Dignity of Work and the Rights of Workers

This is the belief that work is continued participation in God's creation and therefore the dignity of work, including the basic rights of workers, must be protected. This includes the right to fair and decent wages, to the organization and joining of unions, to private property, and to economic initiative.

Solidarity

This is the belief that all humans are one family and should love each other despite national, racial, ethnic, economic, and ideological differences. This also calls on humans to promote peace and avoid violence and conflict.

Care for God's Creation

This is the call to protect the planet Earth, as it was created by God, and all of God's creations on the planet. This is a moral and ethical call to respect God's creation.

Of the seven themes of CST, the one most obviously related to the Catholic Teachers Union is The Dignity of Work and the Rights of Workers. This theme spells out the exact official opinion of the Catholic Church on matters of unions and fair wages as well as connects work with dignity and with God.

At the end of this Encyclical, Pope John Paul II takes it a step further and addresses the role of the church in helping people find spiritual meaning in their work. He notes that Jesus Christ was himself a laborer and humans should follow his example in their lives by searching for dignity and meaning in their work.

Bishops Pastoral Letter (1986)

Most recently, U.S. Catholic Church leaders directly addressed the issue of labor unions in November 1986, when U.S. Bishops issued a Pastoral Letter, *Economic Justice for All: Catholic Social Teaching and the U.S. Economy*. In this letter, they state,

All church institutions must also fully recognize the rights of employees to organize and bargain collectively with the institution through whatever association or organization they freely choose.

Furthermore, the Bishops not only defend the rights of organized labor in this Pastoral letter, but also reprimand ‘union-busting’ efforts by U.S. employers and reference Pope John Paul II’s claim that worker’s rights are human rights,

(The bishops) firmly oppose organized efforts, such as those regrettably now seen in our country, to break existing unions and prevent workers from organizing no one may deny the right to organize without attacking human dignity itself (p. 71).

This most recent letter, taken with the Church’s established partnership with organized labor and Pope Leo XIII and Pope John Paul II’s Encyclicals suggests that Roman

Catholic dogma and doctrine are extremely supportive of labor movements. While the Church leadership structure places a bishop in charge of his own diocese, these documents are meant to serve as guiding principles for how individual dioceses, deaneries, and parishes approach and deal with social justice issues, including organized labor. Although there is clear recommendation and documentation suggesting parishes, dioceses, and their leaders should support and encourage unions, this theory does not always match their practice.

Catholic Schools

"Throughout history, there is no more compelling instance of Catholic commitment to education than the school system created by the U.S. Catholic community,"

-Thomas H. Groome, Professor of Theology, Boston College

According to the National Catholic Education Association (NCEA), there are currently 7,498 Catholic schools in the United States (6, 288 Elementary and 1,210 Secondary) serving 2,320,651 pupils (5% of all students) and employing 159,135 full-time teachers, 95.6% of these laypeople. The history of these schools has been forming over the past 400 years along with the growth of Catholicism in the U.S. While Church documents show that Catholic schools in America go back as far as the 17th century, it is unclear exactly when this form of education began and how closely it resembles contemporary Catholic education institutions.

The first Catholic Schools

According to the NCEA, Catholic scholars estimate that the first Catholic schools opened around 200, A.D. Religious leaders founded the schools to deal with the discrepancies in Christian and Pagan thought as Pagan schools taught ideals that were in

conflict with Christian beliefs. Coupled with the need to educate Christian clergy, this led early Christian leaders to establish schools that were attached to the Bishops' houses.

While the earliest of these schools focused on secondary and higher education, several schools also taught elementary level students. These schools increased in number as Christianity grew and as religious leaders, especially those at the third Council of Vaison called for Catholic education of laypeople. At this Council, held in 529, Church leaders commanded priests (particularly the Priests of Gaul) to teach boys to, "read the Psalms, and the Holy Scripture and to instruct them in the Law of God" (Catholic Encyclopedia).

In 742, the Bishop of Metz echoed this command and ordered priests in his diocese to take over the seminaries attached to their churches and use them to educate lay people in addition to clergy. This began with Cathedrals in each diocese and expanded to smaller parishes who tried to organize their schools in the same way as the priests who were running the 'cathedral schools.' The clergy separated the schools into the elementary school (*schola minor*), which focused on reading, writing and simpler psalms and the secondary school (*schola major*) which taught grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic, or included the 'full programme', by adding liberal arts and scripture to the curriculum. The cathedrals and parishes ran and subsidized these schools but also demanded a fee to cover certain costs.

Soon, the cathedral school system expanded to include schools run by guilds and hospitals as well as to organize and run city schools. While there was some debate over the Church's role in city schools, it was a solution to the task of educating a growing number of city youth. Their involvement was also based on the idea that 'knowledge is a gift from God' and should be shared with all people. The schools grew in number so

quickly at the end of the Middle Ages, that religious orders trained clergy specifically for the purpose of staffing and serving the city elementary schools. From this time forward, the Catholic Church showed its devotion to educating the lay masses and its dedication to subsidizing the schools.

Catholic leaders and Councils (such as Theofulf of Orleans in 797, The Council of Cloveshoe in 749, and The Council of Rome in 853) produced many documents and decrees which instructed bishops, clergy members, and priests to continue to educate laypeople. These decrees also explained that Canon Law⁹ states that while parents are responsible for their children's education, religious education may only be taught by a cleric or by a parent with clerical permission. Furthermore, canon law states that if a parent neglects to educate his/her children, the state has the obligation to mandate education and make the child's attendance mandatory. It was the Church, rather than the state, that took the first action to educate these children as to nearly every school in England and Scotland was tied to the Church as early as 1100. As historical events including wars, revolutions, and The Protestant Reformation led to many Cathedral and monastery seizures and closures, the schools associated with these institutions were shut down. The increased secularism that accompanied these happenings led the State to take over the education of the masses. While many Catholic schools remained active and open, the newer secular system grew in popularity and took over as the primary educator.

Catholic Schools in the United States

More than twelve hundred years after the founding of the first Catholic school, Franciscan monks continued the tradition by opening the first recorded U.S. Catholic

⁹ Canon Law is a collection of ecclesiastical regulations and laws that governs the Catholic Church

School in St. Augustine, Florida in 1606. Their stated purpose was to combine Christian doctrine with basic reading and writing skills. While other religious groups such as the Jesuits opened similar schools, sometimes geared towards Native Americans, the influx of English Colonists opened their own publicly supported and Protestant based schools. Many historians and Catholic scholars point to the anti-Catholic rhetoric of these Protestant schools as a cause for the lack of support for Catholic education. So, while Jesuits continued to open and operate schools in areas with large Catholic populations, including Maryland and New York, these mainly served as preparatory schools for boys who would enter the seminary. Most Catholic families who could afford to send their children to private school chose to send them overseas to study in Europe rather than to one of the new, often scrutinized, Catholic schools in the colonies.

Participation of Catholic patriots in the Revolutionary War helped to pave the way for a surge in Catholic schools. The strong anti-British sentiment encouraged Catholic revolutionaries in Philadelphia opened what is considered the first parochial school in 1782 and one famous patriot John Carroll established the first Catholic college, now Georgetown University, in 1789. At the same time, Franciscan missionaries in California continued to educate Native Americans about the Christian beliefs and westernized farming techniques and skills.

This upward trend continued when states ratified the Bill of Rights in 1791. Catholics rejoiced as the First Amendment guaranteed religious freedom and this led to more development of a Catholic school system. Many Catholic sisters and brothers, including Elizabeth Ann Bayley Seton, Mary Rhodes, Christina Stuart, and Nancy Havern, set up schools dedicated to teaching poor children how to read and write as well

as Catholic ideals and doctrine. Historians notes that despite these advances and the acceptance of religious freedom, many Americans, including some of our ‘founding fathers’, still held anti-Catholic feelings, fearing the role of Jesuits and other groups as schoolmasters and educators (NCEA website).

The rise of Catholic immigrants to the U.S. also created an increase in the interest of Catholic education services and pushed Catholic leaders to rid the public schools of fundamentalist (and typically Anti-Catholic) Protestant bias. The anti-Catholic feelings mirrored anti-immigrant sentiments and groups such as Nativists and the Know-Nothing Society (who were committed to wiping out "foreign influence, Popery, Jesuitism, and Catholicism”) sprung up across the country. As anti-Catholic sentiment grew stronger, Catholic leaders saw more hope in opening up their own schools to educate the immigrants instead of continuing failed attempts at reforming the public school system.

Anti-Catholic attacks continued in response to these new schools as mobs burnt a convent and murdered a Massachusetts nun in 1834, destroyed 2 Catholic churches in New England in 1854 and tarred and feathered a Jesuit priest in Maine that same year. Despite these attacks, U.S. Catholic leaders continued to encourage Catholic education and in 1852 the First Plenary Council of Baltimore, a leading church authority, urged every Catholic parish in the nation to establish a school.

Just as the Revolutionary War aided the struggles of early Catholic school organizers, the Civil War helped to dilute religious prejudices, as Catholics fought alongside Protestants on both sides of the war. North versus South debates took precedence over the Catholic versus Protestant battle and many of the anti-Catholic organizations and political parties died out. Catholic schools continued to grow in the

Reconstruction period, particularly after the Second Baltimore Council repeated the call for parochial schools in 1866 and the Third Baltimore Council in 1884 then demanded that all parishes open schools within two years. Many religious orders answered this call in the later 19th century, including the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament, founded by wealthy heiress Katherine Drexel, which focused on educating Blacks and Native Americans.

By 1900, there were approximately 3,500 parochial schools in the United States, leading to the creation of the National Catholic Educational Association (NCEA) in 1904 to manage this school system. By 1920, there were 6,551 Catholic elementary schools, enrolling 1,759, 673 pupils taught by 41, 581 teachers. Secondary schools witnessed the same growth as more than 1,500 Catholic high schools existed by 1920. These numbers continued to grow through the mid-1960's when Catholic school enrollment reached an all-time high of 4.5 million elementary school pupils, and about 1 million Catholic high school students.

As of 2007-2008 school year, the enrollment of Catholic schools has decreased to 2,320,651 students, with a significant drop occurring since 2000. Between 2000 and 2008 15.5% of Catholic schools have closed and the number of pupils declined by 14.4%, with the elementary schools in large urban areas being most affected.¹⁰ According to the NCEA, the Catholic Church continues its strong commitment to education, but changing demographics have impacted Catholic school enrollment. The Association explains that there are still waiting lists at 34.8% of Catholic schools, especially those in urban areas, but there are no nearby Catholic parishes or church population to support them. Similarly,

¹⁰ NCEA annual report "Catholic School Trend Data 2008

they believe there are thousands of potential pupils in the suburbs who rely on public education because there are no nearby Catholic schools, especially at the secondary level.

An education think tank, the Thomas B. Fordham Foundation, offers another reason why Catholic schools are closing so rapidly, particularly in urban areas. Mike Petrilli, Vice President for National Programs and Policy at the Fordham Foundation, explained that the Foundation found the decline was caused by the increasing costs of operating Catholic Schools, which he directly related to the change to a lay teaching population. In an April 16, 2008 interview on National Public Radio's "All Things Considered", Petrilli noted that the decline of Catholic School enrollment and the increases in the closing of Catholic schools is caused by the increasing costs these schools must take on to hire lay teachers (instead of nuns) and pay them a 'reasonable salary.' He argued that this most often results in increased tuition costs that many working class and lower middle class families cannot afford. Petrilli explained that Catholic schools, especially those in urban areas, have a long history of successfully educating working class students, Catholic and non-Catholic, but the increased costs have taken away this opportunity. He also notes that the decreased enrollment is not reflective of less interest in Catholic schools by Catholic families that may not share the strong ties to the church that immigrant groups such as the Polish or Italian did in years past. Instead, the study found that Catholics "love Catholic schools" but cannot afford them.

All Things Considered host Michele Norris noted that the Fordham Foundation has historically taken a pro-voucher stance and therefore asked if this study was simply a way to revive the fading voucher debate. Norris' observation is backed by numerous Fordham Foundation publications in support of vouchers (www.EdExcellence.net), as

well as by the characterization of the foundation as a ‘pro-voucher group’ in education news reports and releases (Neas, 2003; Pryzbyla, 2006). In response to Norris’ inquiry, Petrilli noted that the study found that vouchers were not the ‘panacea’ as Catholic school enrollment was still declining in places such as Milwaukee, WI where there is the nation’s largest voucher program. Instead, Petrilli praised a program in the Wichita, Kansas diocese where church leaders asked parishioners to increase the portion of their salary they give as (tines) so that Catholic education is free to all Catholics in the diocese. While this program appears to be successful so far, the demographics of Wichita are very different from the large urban areas being hit hardest by Catholic school closures.¹¹

While the first half of the 20th century saw American Catholicism grow into a national force involved in labor activism, social justice, and education, this has not been the recent narrative. The story of the Catholic Church in the U.S. in the early 21st century is surrounded by the clergy sexual abuse scandals, the crisis of the small number of Catholics entering religious vocations, and a clash between Catholic doctrine about human life, sexual preference, and political choices. Despite declines in Catholic School enrollment, the number of Americans who consider themselves Catholic is actually increasing, especially among Hispanic-Americans. Pope Benedict XVI claimed on his April 2008 visit to the U.S. that he still considers American Catholics one of the strongest Catholic communities and is encouraged by the number of people joining the church, especially from the Hispanic community.

¹¹ In this interview, *All Things Considered* host Michele Norris asked Petrilli if there was a connection between the costs of the clergy sex scandal (in regards to payoffs to victims) and Petrilli responded yes, but only that it was the final nail in the coffin. He explained that many parishes went bankrupt after these pay-outs but that the church has not been able to subsidize these schools for some time

Due to these factors, the 21st century is truly a turning point for Catholic Education in the U.S. As many families turned away from the church following the molestation scandals, Catholic schools have become increasingly populated with non-Catholic students seeking an alternative to the education available in many failing public, usually urban, schools. Non-Catholic students now make up 14.1% of Catholic school students, an increase from 2.7% in 1970. Likewise, the decrease in the number of Catholics entering religious life has clearly affected who is staffing and teaching in these schools. As such, the Catholic Church has turned to lay teachers to educate an increasingly non-Catholic population, a vast change from the Church's original plans and intention. What do these differences mean and how do they affect the future of Catholic education?

Culture of Catholic Schools

"From the first moment that a student sets foot in a Catholic school, he or she ought to have the impression of entering a new environment, one illumined by the light of faith, and having its own unique characteristics, an environment permeated with the Gospel spirit of love and freedom."

-The Religious Dimension of Education in a Catholic School, #25

As Catholic schools originally began as a reaction to Pagan teachings, modern Catholic schools are still focused on the purpose of providing children with a religious-based education. When monasteries and cathedrals opened their schools to laypeople and religious orders opened elementary and secondary schools, this purpose expanded to include instruction in grammar, reading, writing, and the humanities. Though investigations (Vitz, 1986) find that modern public school textbooks mimic the anti-Christian bias, Catholic schools are more than a reaction to these textbooks. According to the Diocese of Columbus, Ohio U.S. Catholic schools now concern themselves with

“each student’s development as a whole person: intellectually, spiritually, physically, socially, and psychologically.” The diocese further explains that Catholic schools achieve these goals through actions, experiences, and interactions that reflect Gospel teachings and Catholic cultural values. This topic of school culture has been the focus of the majority of the research on Catholic schools.

While course requirements for a Catholic and Public high school will look nearly identical, the extra religious education class is not the only thing separating the two schools. The Catholic Education Center explains that Catholic schools have a deeper culture based on Catholic faith that engages students in prayer and service to God as well as respect for all of God’s children, including their classmates and teachers. Reflecting this, the Diocese of Columbus notes, “Catholic school is way to teach students how to learn and live so they may face challenges with Christ’s example.”

Catholic schools are based on four apostolic goals: doctrine/message, worship, service, and community. The first of these refers to the focus on the Gospel and religious doctrine, but also on incorporating the message of Jesus’ teachings in all subjects. In reference to the four goals, Dominic Aquila, chairman of the Humanities Department at Franciscan University writes, “Rather than seeing Catholic education as merely the addition of a religion course to the usual academic subjects, we want our students to make Christian sense out of what they learn in their natural science, math, and history courses, in their study of art, music, and literature.” This statement mimics Vatican II’s *Declaration on Christian Education which* instructs Catholic schools to illustrate Catholic lessons by making connections to real life. The Declaration explains that making

these connections in school lessons will help students act on these connections in their own lives.

The second apostolic goal, Worship, concerns the practice of prayer and religious ceremony in schools that separates Catholic and public schools. This goal is met through religious education classes but also involves religious symbols that represent the school and amplify the Catholic identity of the school. In addition to attending football games, proms, and pep rallies together, students and teachers in Catholic schools worship together at mass and can take these religious themes into the classroom. This reflects the freedoms allowed in a Catholic school that teachers and parents often point to as an advantage over public schools.

Catholic schools often approach the goal of service by engaging their students in forms of community service such as food, book, and clothing drives as well as requiring service hours to graduate. Like the incorporation of worship into everyday school lessons, Catholic schools set out to bring experiences to students that teach them to live the ideals of the Catholic faith and Catholic culture. Byrk, Lee, and Holland (1993) note, "...it is now the Catholic school that focuses our attention on fostering human cooperation in the pursuit of the common good."

Tied to the practice of learning, worshipping, and performing service together, community is perhaps the apostolic goal that most impacts and reflects a Catholic school's culture. In a document titled *The Religious Dimension of Education in a Catholic School* the Vatican explains, "What makes the Catholic school distinctive is its attempt to generate a community climate in the school that is permeated by the gospel spirit of freedom and love." The Catholic school culture is strongly based in the focus on

community—a community that worships, does service, and learns together. Moreover, researchers (Coleman & Hoffer, 1987; Coulson, 2005; Bryk, Lee, and Holland, 1993) repeatedly show that this strong community present in Catholic schools affects the students' academic and personal success.

Coulson (2005) in a Hoover Institute editorial article reviews studies of the benefits of public and private schools to their students. He notes that in these investigations, Catholic schools stand out as a particularly effective group. One of the studies he notes is Coleman and Hoffer's (1987), research on the impact that Catholic school communities have on students, especially those from low income and minority families. Coleman and Hoffer concluded that Catholic schools had a lower dropout rate than public schools because of the social capital that students gain in this tight knit community. As Coleman and Hoffer's feeling deals specifically with the role of parents in the community, I cover it in depth in Chapter 6.

Coleman & Hoffer's conclusions influenced Bryk, Lee, and Holland (1993) who found that Catholic schools have an advantage over public schools in terms of student achievement especially for minority and low-income students. They also found that Catholic schools do a better job of sustaining and promoting teacher and student commitment and engagement. These findings echoed Greeley's earlier (1982) study that analyzed the federally funded "High School and Beyond" dataset and concluded that Catholic high schools were especially beneficial to Hispanic and Black students. A more recent study by Neal (1997) repeated these results in the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth and showed that Catholic schools are helping students, urban minorities in particular, more than ever. Neal found that 91% of Black and Hispanic urban-area

students who attend Catholic high schools graduate, as opposed to 62% who attend public high school. Neal also showed that twice as many urban minority students who graduate from Catholic high schools go on to graduate from college, as opposed to their public school counterparts.

These findings are important evidence of the benefits of Catholic schools but also are a reflection of how providing Catholic School opportunities are especially important to at-risk students. According to Coulson (2005), “It is an educational, a social, and ultimately a *moral* issue. Whatever one might think of the Catholic faith, Catholic schools are playing a liberating role for tens of thousands of underprivileged American children, just as Pope John Paul II played a liberating role for millions of victims of communist tyranny” (2005, p.)

The culture of Catholic schools does not only help students meet academic goals but also helps Catholics to ‘live their faith’ and live up to the demands of their faith. The cultural pluralism created by the church and school communities magnifies and reiterates Catholic ideals for students and families who belong to these communities. Researchers have shown that Catholic schools consistently provide benefits to their students, especially those ‘at-risk’, but also that the culture and values of Catholic schools permeate the school community and affect the students after they graduate. The Vatican document, *The Catholic School* (1977) speaks to this enrichment of culture, “Indeed, culture is only educational when young people can relate their study to real-life situations with which they are familiar” (#27).

I have documented the history of Catholic education and the changes these schools have faced over the past century as well as the central role culture plays in these

schools. As so much of this culture is based on faith and worship, what do the changes in Catholic schools, particularly in regard to the increasing lay teaching staff, mean for this culture? Does the operation of unions within the schools diminish (as some Catholic leaders suggest) the ‘Catholic quality’ of the schools? Or are labor and education both so central to Catholic doctrine and history that these labor unions are a perfect example of Catholic ideals? I now turn to these questions, focusing on the case of the Catholic Teachers Union of New Jersey.

Chapter 2-The Beginning of the Catholic Teachers Union

“All church institutions must also fully recognize the rights of employees to organize and bargain collectively with the institution through whatever association or organization they freely choose.”

-Economic Justice for All, #353

Scholars in the field of Sociology of Education have long been interested in Catholic schools in the United States (Rossi & Rossi, 1958; Greeley, 1984; Coleman & Hoffer, 1987). While these studies present valuable information on social networks and academic achievement in Catholic schools, they do not focus on teachers who work in these schools. One reason for this may be the fact that historically Catholic schoolteachers have been clergy members rather than laypeople. As the composition of Catholic school teachers has changed dramatically over the past half-century, the concerns these employees face have also transformed.

Two issues that have come to the forefront have been the low salaries and poor working conditions that these lay teachers confront. While lower salaries may not have been such a problem for clergy members, they are troublesome for employees who are trying to support themselves and other family members. The NCES *School and Staffing*

Survey shows that a higher percentage of Catholic schoolteachers work additional jobs outside the school district than do public schoolteachers. The survey also shows that Catholic schoolteachers earn more money in these extra jobs in order to make up for the teacher salary differential.¹²

In addition to the salary issues, Catholic schoolteachers, unlike their public school counterparts, most often are not represented by a union and are therefore considered “employees at will.” This means that they work without a contract and are very much at the discretion of the administration in regards termination, discipline, and personnel regulations. Many lay Catholic schoolteachers have spoken out about to these issues, particularly to the fact that they may lose their jobs at the administration’s discretion without guarantees of due process or independent review. As more and more teachers are speaking up about these concerns, it seems that the unionization of Catholic Schoolteachers has become a question that the Church must address if it wishes to maintain the employment of lay educators.

Catholic Schoolteachers & Unionization

Despite the Catholic Church’s long history of supporting labor unions and workers through encyclicals, conciliar documents, and the Catholic Worker program, these ideals have not always translated into action for employees of Catholic-operated institutions such as schools. In fact, the Catholic Church in the U.S. has gone so far as to bring the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) to court in order to prove that the

¹² 20.2% of Catholic schoolteachers work an additional job outside of the school and earn an average of \$5,000 a year. 13.6% of public secondary school teachers work an additional job outside of the school and earn an average of \$4,700 a year (SASS 2003-2004).

Church, as an employer, is exempt from the practices they require other business owners to observe.

In 1979 the U.S. Supreme Court took up the question, “Are lay teachers in church-related schools covered by the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA)?” The NLRA, also known as the Wagner Act, was established in 1935 to guarantee collective bargaining, strike, and worker protection rights to private sector employees. The Act also established the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB), a federal agency which oversees union elections and investigates unfair labor practices and NLRA violations¹³. The NLRA was met with great opposition from business owners and wealthy political contributors and Congress amended the Act in 1947, over President Truman’s veto, and signed the Taft-Hartley Act. This amendment, considered staunch anti-labor legislation, added prohibitions for labor unions including a ban on wildcat strikes and sympathy boycotts, among other things and created the “Right to Work” laws, discussed in Chapters three and nine.

The lay teacher-NLRA investigation began in the late 1970s when a group of Chicago Catholic schoolteachers sought the help of the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) to establish a labor union that could negotiate a contract with the Chicago Archdiocese. When the Archdiocese refused to recognize the union or negotiate with them, the NLRB ordered the Bishop:

to cease and desist from refusing to bargain collectively concerning rates of pay, wages, hours, and other terms and conditions of employment with Illinois Education Association as the exclusive bargaining representative of its employees. (justia.com)

¹³ Full text of the Act is available at www.nlr.gov

At the same time, lay Catholic schoolteachers at five Catholic schools in the Fort Wayne and South Bend, IN dioceses asked the NLRB to intervene after those dioceses also refused to recognize their unions. The NLRB again declared “a cease and desist order” and required the dioceses to start negotiating with the unions.

The Bishops of Chicago, Fort Wayne, and South Bend petitioned the United States Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit, the federal appellate court of Chicago, to review the situation. The NLRB claimed that lay employees in Catholic-run schools teaching both religious and secular subjects should have their collective bargaining rights protected by the NLRA. The dioceses argued that NLRB involvement was a violation of the separation of church and state. The court sided with the dioceses, referencing *Lemon vs. Kutzman* (1971) a Supreme Court case that established methods to test if a state law interferes with the First Amendment. The Court of Appeals’ decision stated that Catholic schools are based on religious missions and that NLRB’s interference violated free exercise of religion clauses guaranteed by the First Amendment as well as the separation of church and state.

As the case and the decision were subject to a great deal of press and controversy, the federal government petitioned the Supreme Court for a *writ of certiorari*, or a formal request for the Supreme Court to hear a case from a lower court. The Supreme Court granted the writ and case hearings began in October, 1978. On March 21, 1979, the Supreme Court found in the case of *NLRB vs. Chicago Bishop*, “no clear expression if an affirmative intention of Congress was to place lay Catholic schoolteachers under NLRA protection.” The court also stated that if Congress had intended for these lay teachers to be covered by NLRA, they would be violating the Religious Clauses of the First

Amendment.¹⁴ Therefore the Supreme Court upheld the decision of the Appellate Court and agreed that NLRB had no jurisdiction over these schools.

Although the Supreme Court found that these teachers were not protected under the federal labor laws including the NLRA, it did not claim that Catholic schoolteachers should not or could not organize. It simply stated that the federal government could not force the Catholic Church to allow their employees to unionize based on the conditions of the NLRA. However, by denying the lay teachers this protection, *Chicago Bishop* left labor relations and collective bargaining issues up to the lay teachers and Catholic leaders to figure out.

At the same time as the lower courts were hearing the *Chicago Bishop* case, the United States Catholic Conference (USCC), a group of U.S bishops and Church leaders, were addressing this matter at their annual meeting in 1977. At this assembly, the USCC Subcommittee on Teacher Organizations, created one year earlier, presented a working paper on lay teacher associations within Catholic schools. Members of this committee included Bishop William E. McManus of Fort Wayne-South Bend, Indiana, Bishop Joseph A. McNicholas of Springfield, Illinois, Bishop William R. Johnson of Orange, California, Bishop Edward D. Head of Buffalo, New York, Bishop Daniel Pilarczyk of Cincinnati, Ohio, Rev. John Leibrecht of St. Louis, Missouri, Mr. Raymond J. Watson of Odell, Illinois and Mr. J. Alan Davitt of Albany, New York. While the Subcommittee did not include any females, the combination of lay and religious people from across the country spurred hope in burgeoning unions that religious leaders might finally address their pleas.

¹⁴ Full decision available at supreme.justia.com/us/440/490

According to the USCC final report¹⁵, the Subcommittee began by inviting representatives involved in lay-church labor struggles, including teachers and administrators from the South Bend diocese, to share their stories and perspectives at the group's first meeting. After these testimonies the subcommittee members agreed that lay teachers had the right to organize freely but also that NLRB had no right to intervene on their behalf. From this conclusion, the subcommittee decided it would appeal any Supreme Court decision that stated otherwise. The subcommittee also recognized that every teacher they spoke with complained about the lack of communication between the teachers and their dioceses. The group recognized the importance of this disconnect because teachers claimed it was the reason that they sought guidance from outside groups such as the American Federation of Teachers (AFT).

Due to the complexity and sensitivity of the labor struggles, the subcommittee agreed that they should draft a set of guidelines to instruct church leaders and lay teacher organizations on how to work together. The subcommittee met four additional times to create this document, inviting parish priests, parents, school board members, and principals to share their thoughts at the final meeting in June 1977. These eleven additional voices read the working paper and offered their reflections on the document. Overall, they agreed that the paper reflected Church teaching on labor relations, but thought that the Subcommittee needed to develop more practical guidelines for implementation. The invitees noted that the paper should more fully address the question of parental involvement as well as recognize that teacher associations are not always adversarial, salary focused groups.

¹⁵ Accessed via www.NASCT.com

Following the final meeting, the subcommittee members amended their document and submitted it to the USCC Committee on Education, who again edited the paper and then presented both drafts to the USCC Committee on Social Development and World Peace in late 1977. This committee combined the papers to create a document with three foci; 1) the community of the school 2) Collective bargaining by teachers 3) procedural recommendations. The first part discusses the culture of Catholic schools and echoes the ideas presented on culture in Chapter 1. The second section guarantees the right of lay teachers to organize and bargain collectively under Catholic doctrine. Additionally, it allows teachers the freedom to hold open union elections and engage in mediation and negotiation processes with their employers. Thirdly, to guide church leaders in the specific actions they should take, the document suggests that every diocese and school should develop a list of personnel policies with the teachers as well as a system for reviewing and adapting these rules. The paper also instructs Catholic school leaders to cooperate fully with the teacher organizations and to only involve lawyers or consultants who understand the culture of Catholic schools. The document closes by stating that teachers and dioceses can and should utilize Reconciliation practices when negotiations become tense.

While the USSC committees created detailed guidelines about how lay teacher unions and Catholic school administrators should work together, they did not offer suggestions about the union formation process except to emphasize that teachers should enjoy this right. As such, when the Supreme Court decided against the NLRB in *Chicago Bishop* two years after the USCC accepted the working paper, administrators ignored many of the subcommittee's post-formation suggestions. Following the *Chicago Bishop*

decision it became increasingly more difficult for workers in Catholic-operated schools to gain collective bargaining rights and to negotiate a contract with their employers.

Furthermore, some Catholic leaders even openly discouraged worker organization in Catholic institutions, claiming that it diminished the Catholic character of these schools. These leaders often pointed to the pro-choice stance of teacher union groups such as the AFT, even though the overwhelming majority of unionized Catholic schoolteachers have no affiliation with this group (Blumenstein, 2008). In practice, if the NLRB could not force Catholic school leaders to allow the teachers to unionize, lay teachers in Catholic schools had to fight to gain these rights. In addition to the teachers in the Chicago, South Bend, and Fort Wayne dioceses, lay instructors across the country in Connecticut, New York, Kentucky, Massachusetts, Missouri, New York, New Jersey, Ohio and Pennsylvania, have struggled to form unions in their schools. From the formation of the first lay teacher union in Philadelphia, PA¹⁶ in 1966 to the 2008 struggle in Scranton, PA¹⁷ battles between the church and its lay teacher employees have repeatedly occurred throughout the past thirty years.

¹⁶ The first lay teacher association in a Catholic school was started by a group of secondary school teachers in the archdiocese of Philadelphia, PA in 1966. The teachers, now called Association of Catholic Teachers 1776, also staged the first strike by a catholic school teacher group in order to receive recognition, and was elected the sole negotiator in 1968. The group affiliated with AFT in 1967 and then disaffiliated in 1978 due to disagreement over school vouchers and other issues important to Catholic school teachers. ACT1776 helped to found the NACST in 1978 and ACT1776 President Rita Schwartz also serves as National Association Catholic School Teachers (NASCT) president.

¹⁷Scranton, PA Bishop Joseph Martino announced that he would reorganize the diocesan school system in November 2006, which included closing a number of the schools. Since the reorganization, the bishop has refused to recognize or bargain with the lay teachers union that has been negotiating contracts for diocesan lay teachers for thirty years (Guydish, 2008). The story received national coverage due to the strong student support, as students staged a walk out and joined their teachers on the picket line in spring 2008. As of July, 2008, the bishop still had not recognized the Scranton Diocese Association of Catholic Teachers (SDACT) and the union sought House Bill 2626, which would amend the Pennsylvania Labor Act to include lay employees of Catholic institutions. If the Bill passes, the bishop will be forced to recognize and negotiate with the union.

This history leads to the important question: If *Chicago Bishop* denied NLRA protections to Catholic institution employees and the Catholic Church has generally acted against organizing attempts, how is it possible that a union such as The Catholic Teachers Union even exists?

The main answer to this question is that, according to Gaul (2007) “*Chicago Bishop* carries significantly less precedential weight in states whose constitutions expressly grant public and private workers a constitutional right to organize.” Gaul explains that one factor in establishing free exercise is the importance of the state’s interest in regulating labor relations. In a state, such as New Jersey, where the state constitution protects an employee’s right to unionize, the court must take these constitutional issues into account. Therefore, Gaul explains that in these states *Chicago Bishop* does not take precedence over the state constitution and the state’s stake in labor regulations. In states like New Jersey, the court is forced to decide between the Catholic schools’ rights under the First Amendment and the worker’s right to collective bargaining guaranteed by the state constitution. It is, according to Gaul, a “zerosum game.”

The Beginning of the Catholic Teachers Union of New Jersey

On the Monday before Thanksgiving 1984, readers of *The Courier Post*, South Jersey’s local newspaper, expected the daily to be filled with recipes for the approaching holiday and predictions for the upcoming Philadelphia Eagles football game. Instead of a story on turkey basting and pumpkin pie, the November 19, 1984 front page of the *Courier Post* read “Picketing Shuts Catholic Schools.” The corresponding article told the story of a group of teachers at the area’s Catholic High schools who were taking

unprecedented action to make the Camden Diocese recognize and negotiate with their newly formed labor union.

The previous contract for these teachers, who worked at eight of the ten area high schools, Camden Catholic High School in Cherry Hill, Holy Spirit High School in Absecon, Paul VI High School in Haddon Township, Sacred Heart High School in Vineland, St. James High School in Carneys Point and Wildwood Catholic High School in Wildwood, St. Joseph's High School in Hammonton and Gloucester Catholic High School in Gloucester City, had run out at the beginning of the school year. The contract itself had been negotiated by the diocesan school administrators and nine lay faculty representatives called the Secondary Contracted Teacher's Council (SCTC). Current CTU leaders describe this nine-person group as an 'in house union' which developed out of the Lay Faculty Council-a diocese-sanctioned committee that represented the teachers since the 1960s. While the diocese found the Lay Faculty Council more than sufficient, members of the Council, including current union president William (Bill) Blumenstein, pushed for a more formal organization in the late 1970s.

The diocese tried to appease the teachers by creating the Secondary Contracted Teachers Council (SCTC)¹⁸ in 1977, which Blumenstein referred to as an 'in house union,' whose leaders were identical to those of the Lay Faculty Council. The diocese said that SCTC's main purpose was to increase communication between teachers and the diocese, but it also gave SCTC the exclusive right to negotiate with the Diocese on wages and benefits. Neither SCTC nor the Diocese ever formally documented or certified this agreement but SCTC represented the teachers in contract negotiations. While the Diocese

¹⁸ SCTC changed its name to Secondary Contracted Teachers Organization (SCTO) in 1984 and the union officially changed its name to The Catholic Teachers Union in 1999. I will refer to the union as CTU or the Catholic Teachers Union throughout the research to avoid confusion.

stated that teachers and the administration had shared interests in “educational policy and problem solving procedures,” SCTC was only allowed to negotiate salaries and fringe benefits-which it did for two contract cycles, first in 1977 and again in 1981.¹⁹

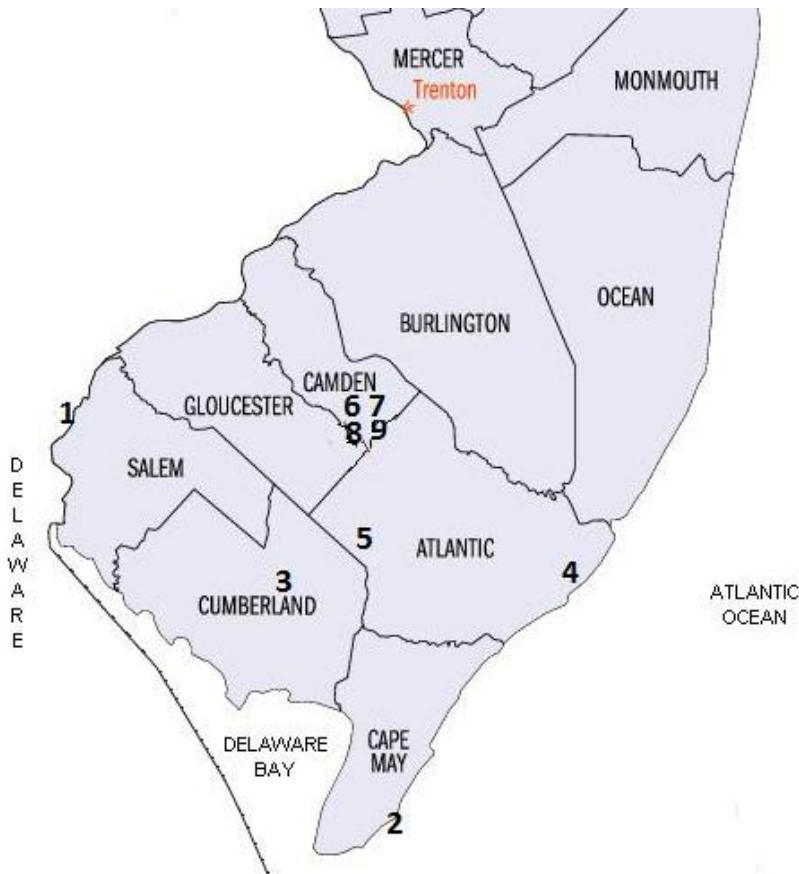
When the second SCTC contract ran out in June 1984, Blumenstein had taken over as SCTC president when the former president was promoted within the diocese. Under Blumenstein’s direction members asked for additional meetings with administrators to discuss their new contract requests, but the Diocese did not respond. The Diocese instead proposed a contract to the SCTC that shifted health insurance costs to the teachers and set salaries up to 75% lower than the area’s public schools as well as the Catholic schools in the neighboring Philadelphia Diocese. The teachers rejected this contract offer in September 1984 and began the school year without an agreement.

As they continued to work without a contract, the teachers realized that the ‘in-house’ SCTC was ineffective. Blumenstein gathered a group of lay teachers, Rosemarie (Ro) Farrow, William Checcio, and Lou Piotti, and together they made the decision to establish a formal union called the Secondary Contracted Teachers Organization (SCTO). While Blumenstein led the union from his position on the Council, other school representatives, including Checcio cannot remember how they got involved. Checcio said,

“I don’t even remember how I got picked (to represent Holy Spirit). We had talked for years about replacing the council. Then I heard there was a meeting and I showed up at the office and met a bunch of people I didn’t know. But the more involved I got, the more outraged I became”
(Personal Interview, 8/20/08).

¹⁹ This information comes from the Atlantic County Superior Court case DOCKET NO. ATL C 193-97 opinion

According to Blumenstein, interest in the union was high and he noted, “We just coalesced.” The leaders proposed the union to lay teachers at eight of the ten diocesan high schools²⁰ and more than 80% of them signed cards expressing their desire to join this new union²¹.



CTU-Represented High Schools in the Diocese of Camden, NJ*

1. Saint James High School (Closed 2000)
2. Wildwood Catholic High School
3. Sacred Heart High School

²⁰ The remaining two high schools were preparatory schools, Bishop Eustace Prep in Pennsauken, NJ and St. Augustine Prep in Buena Vista Township, NJ that are run by religious orders did not participate in the SCTC or Lay Faculty Council.

²¹ According to NLRB regulations, when an individual introduces a union/new union into a workplace, she must present a petition to the NLRB, along with proof that at least 30% of employees share an interest in the union. This process involves handing out union authorization cards to all workers and asking them to sign the cards to show their support for the union. If at least 30% of employees sign the cards, the initiator has sufficient proof and the NLRB then holds formal union elections. In these elections the union must receive the support of the majority of the workers in order to receive NLRB certification to represent and bargain for the employees. (www.nlr.gov)

4. Holy Spirit High School
5. Saint Joseph's High School
6. Camden Diocesan Central Offices
7. Camden Catholic High School
8. Gloucester Catholic High School
9. Paul VI High School

*Map adapted from <http://www.censusfinder.com/mapnj.htm>

With such great support, on October 9, 1984 SCTO petitioned the diocese, specifically Superintendent of schools Monsignor McIntyre, for recognition of the union. Diocesan leader Bishop Guilfoyle had already recognized several other unions for diocesan employees, including cemetery and nursing home workers, but Superintendent McIntyre denied SCTO's appeal. The Superintendent stated that a new union in the schools would not be beneficial to either side. Checcio remembers the denial, and explained,

"They (the diocese) said that a union was adversarial. They just wanted to stick with the council. Their idea of non-adversarial was you do what we tell you to" (Personal Interview, 8/20/08).

On October 22, SCTO leaders met with McIntyre and asked again for recognition. A week later a diocesan attorney sent Blumenstein a letter denying their request and presented the teachers with the diocese's 'best and final' contract offer. The proposal was identical to their previous offer and the teachers overwhelmingly voted down this contract 243 to 20 on October 29, 1984.

Still eager for recognition and negotiations, the newly formed union voted to picket the Diocese of Camden offices on November 8, 1984, and did so after school hours as not to affect students. Approximately 150 teachers invoked Catholic doctrine and Papal Encyclicals supporting unions and worker's rights and carried signs referencing Catholic teachings on social justice. In response, the Director of Diocese

Communication Father Roger McGrath sent a prepared statement again denying recognition of the new union and demanding that the teachers negotiate a contract under the current SCTC system.

The teachers realized that the Diocese was not taking the union seriously and that they would need to take further action to prove their intention to bargain collectively. Their first action was to boycott an in-service day that the diocese held on Thursday November 15, 1984. The teachers chose this day because it would not affect students, who already had a vacation day. After the Diocese did not respond to the boycott, SCTO leaders informed the administration that they had until the end of the school day on Friday November 16, 1984 to recognize the union or the teachers would engage in a job action the following Monday. The next day (Saturday, November 17) the union held a rally in an open field at Camden Catholic High School, again alerting the Diocese of their intention to stage a one-day strike if the administration did not recognize the new union.

On Monday, November 19, 1984 nearly 200 teachers at seven Catholic high schools²² walked out of their classrooms at 8 a.m., affecting approximately 7,100 students (*Courier Post* 11/19/84). Three of the schools (Camden Catholic, Paul VI, and Holy Spirit) closed shortly after the teachers walked out and the remaining four closed at noon. Rather than picketing the individual schools, the teachers met and picketed in front of the Camden Diocesan Center. Blumenstein, who members had elected as the president of SCTO, announced that the teachers had sent a telegram²³ to Bishop Guilfoyle asking for him to recognize SCTO as the “sole and exclusive bargaining agent for wages, hours, and other terms of employment for lay teachers in the eight diocesan high schools” (*Courier*

²² Teachers at Gloucester Catholic High School chose not to participate in the job action

²³ The Bishop was in Washington D.C. at this time attending the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops

Post, 11/17/84). In this telegram, the union also told the Bishop that, 'This (the diocese's) stance is difficult for us to accept in light of the church's consistent policy. Pope John Paul II's 1981 encyclical, *Laborum Exercens*, states that, 'every able bodied person should have the opportunity to work at a job that offers a just wage and decent working conditions (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 11/20/84). The union hoped that citing Catholic doctrine would remind the Bishop and the diocese of the church's policy on labor unions and worker's rights. Blumenstein also said that the teachers would return to school the next day and await the Bishop's response, but could strike after Thanksgiving if the situation did not improve.

The work stoppage and threat of additional strikes led the Diocese, as the teachers hoped, to recognize the union. At the request of the Diocese, on the Monday after Thanksgiving (November 26, 1984) the Diocese and SCTO leaders met for a mediation session run by federal mediator Robert Kyler. This meeting, as well as a second mediation meeting on the following Tuesday (December 4) was held on neutral territory in the William J. Green Federal Building in Philadelphia. At the first meeting, the Diocese informally recognized SCTO as the teachers' new bargaining unit and at the second meeting Monsignor McIntyre and SCTO president Blumenstein signed an agreement formalizing this statement. According to Father Roger McGrath, the agreement also noted that the diocese would retain control over certain areas including teacher-student ratio and teacher accountability. Additionally, the diocese claimed the right to make policies based on Catholic doctrine and SCTO agreed not to affiliate with outside union organizations, such as AFT or the AFL-CIO. Blumenstein commented that these exceptions were standard in other Catholic school bargaining agreements and that

he saw them as minor. After both sides signed the recognition agreement the union and the diocese set up meetings to begin contract negotiations, which both sides were optimistic they could complete without resorting to further mediation.

While the first contract negotiation meeting took place one week after the two sides signed the recognition agreement, contract talks soon waned. Negotiations between the union and the diocese remained stagnant over the next five months as the two sides were unable to reach an agreement. According to many union members and leaders, the diocese purposely dragged out the process in hopes of breaking down the teachers and the newly formed union. As former CTU president Ro Farrow explained,

“They saw us as a fledgling union and didn’t take us seriously at first. They didn’t realize how astute we really were...They thought they would just get rid of us” (Personal Interview 3/7/08)

Members and leaders who were involved in these initial negotiations remember that the diocese worked to intimidate the union by bringing some of the area’s most well known, and high-priced, lawyers to the bargaining table with them. One early member noted that she became acquainted with one of these lawyers a few years later and he told her that the diocese showed the union ‘great disregard’ and said, ‘They (the diocese) really thought they could break the union.’ According to the *Atlantic City Press* (4/16/85) the two sides met eight times from January to March 1985, but union leader Bill Checcio said in early April, “We’re really no further now than we were in September.” As the negotiations stagnated to the point of a standstill, union leaders realized it was time for the union to again take action and prove to the Diocese how serious the group really was.

The First Strike

The union again reached a breaking point at a meeting in early April when they collectively realized that they were still very far from negotiating a contract with the diocese. As of April, the teachers had been working as ‘employees at will’ for over nine months and did not want to finish the school year without a contract. The teachers and the administration were at odds over some of the union’s contract demands, particularly concerning working conditions and grievance procedures. While the diocese maintained that administrators alone should have control over teacher disciplinary and grievance processes, the union believed that workers deserved due process and independent arbitrator rights. As neither side was willing to move on these issues, the union executive board called a member meeting on April 2, 1985 to discuss their options. At the meeting, the teachers voted to offer ‘Binding Arbitration’ to the diocese, a process where an independent arbitrator would write what he/she saw as a fair and just contract, which both sides would then be required to sign. The union even suggested that the outside arbitrator could be Monsignor Francis Schulte, the auxiliary Bishop of Philadelphia, who had acted as superintendent of Philadelphia Diocese Schools for twenty years and had negotiated many contracts with the Philadelphia lay teachers union.

At this meeting Blumenstein also explained to 200 plus members that in lieu of the Binding Arbitration, a work stoppage might be the only way to get the Diocese to negotiate. The union president called strikes and the threat of strikes the ‘ultimate tool’ at CTU’s discretion, especially since striking is illegal for public school teachers in New Jersey. Since CTU-represented teachers work for the Camden Diocese, they are considered private sector employees and are not barred from striking by the New Jersey

Employer-Employee Relations Act.²⁴ Blumenstein also emphasized that a strike would only be effective if all members were willing to participate. As with the job action that took place in November, union leaders worried that some teachers, especially those at Gloucester Catholic High School, might cross the picket lines and hurt morale. The members then voted and decided 194-12 that if the Diocese rejected the 'Binding Arbitration' offer, they would give power to the Executive Board to declare a strike.

The union made a formal proposal for 'Binding Arbitration' to the diocese on April 3, 1984 to which the diocese promised to respond the next day. According to *The Atlantic City Press* (4/16/85), the union waited several days for a reply and then received a registered letter from the Diocesan attorney refusing the offer for Binding Arbitration. Union members and leaders were frustrated by this response and Blumenstein was quoted saying, "We don't think the diocese has been bargaining in good faith" (*The Vineland Times*, 4/16/85). After the diocese refused the Binding Arbitration, the union Executive Board took on the power the members had given to them and called a strike to begin on Tuesday, April 16, 1985. On Monday, April 15th the union called Superintendent McIntyre as well as all individual school principals and informed them of the impending strike. In *The Atlantic City Press*, union leader Checchio explained that the union was reticent to strike but saw the action as their only option, "We're going to stay out until they either agree to binding arbitration or we get a settlement. We have tried every means available to solve this short of a strike." (*AC Press* 4/16/85).

²⁴ The New Jersey Employer-Employee Relations Act (1968) states, 'Nothing in this act shall be construed to interfere with, impede or diminish in any way the right of *private* (italics added) employees to strike or engage in other lawful concerted activities' (Chapter 13A-8).

Early History of the Catholic Teachers Union (CTU)

1960s-Diocese forms the Lay Faculty Council, an 'in-house' union that is only allowed to discuss teacher salaries and benefits. Council continues to negotiate contracts for teachers through late 1979. According to CTU leaders, the lay teacher representatives on this board were 'hand-picked' by the diocese.

1979-Lay Faculty Council representatives, now including 2nd year teacher and future CTU president Bill Blumenstein, express their desire for new representation with more power to bargain for the teachers. The diocese replaces the Lay Faculty Council with the Secondary Catholic Teachers Committee (SCTC) whose members and bargaining rights are identical to the Lay Faculty Council.

October 1984- SCTC president is promoted and the council elects the young and eager Blumenstein as their new president. As contract runs out, Blumenstein requests additional meetings with the diocese, which they refuse. Blumenstein and other teachers form the new union SCTO and ask the diocese for recognition. The diocese refuses to recognize the union and presents teachers with their "best and final" contract offer, which teachers vote down 243 to 20.

November 1984- The diocese and the superintendant of schools again refuse to recognize or meet with the newly formed union. Teachers vote to skip in-service on Thursday November 15 to demonstrate the seriousness of the new union. After the Diocese does not respond, union members vote to engage in a work stoppage the following Monday, November 19. Though they returned to work the next day, they warned the Diocese that they would strike the following week if the administration did not recognize the union. In response the Diocese agrees to recognize and negotiate with the SCTO.

April 1985-After months of stagnate negotiations, the union decides to take action in hopes of securing a contract before the end of the school year. The make an offer to the Diocese to engage in 'Binding Arbitration.' When this offer is refused, the Executive Board, with member permission, votes to strike. The strike begins on April 16th, and lasts 15 days, effecting 6,800 students. The strike ends on May 1st when the Diocese and the union agree to utilize a federal mediator to negotiate the contract, due in great part to parental and student pressure to end the strike.

At 8 a.m. on Tuesday, April 16th, about 200 teachers at seven of the schools walked out of their classrooms and formed picket lines outside of the schools. Gloucester Catholic High school students and teachers were on vacation until Thursday, the 18th and were not affected by this walkout. Clergy teachers and administrators shuffled students into auditoriums and held mass or held massive-sized classes in an effort to keep the

schools open. Students could watch their teachers through the windows as they marched and carried signs noting, “Teachers Care, Diocese Unfair” and “Keep Quality in our Schools.” In an article in *The Atlantic City Press* one student at Wildwood Catholic High School observed, “It obviously wasn’t much use in coming to school today” (4/17/85). While clergy people at several of the schools worked to keep the schools open, this was not possible at all buildings, including Sacred Heart, St. Joseph’s and Holy Spirit High Schools where students were sent home early. Students exiting the building were not met with teachers aggressively marching or yelling, as Farrow noted, “Things were very peaceful. Teachers were very professional and orderly” (*Atlantic City Press* 4/17/85). An estimated 230 of the diocese’s 260 lay teachers (who then made up 85% of all diocesan teachers) walked on the picket lines, affecting about 6,800 students. As the teachers had agreed in December not to affiliate with any other labor organizations, such as the National Association of Catholic School Teachers (NACST) or the AFL-CIO, they picketed without strike pay or benefits.

The Strike Continues

The strike continued and hit another milestone on Thursday, April 17, when Gloucester Catholic Students were set to return from their spring break. To the union’s dismay, only 10 of the 30 lay teachers at Gloucester Catholic chose to take part in the strike with the remaining teachers crossing the picket lines. Even though the same group of teachers chose not to participate in the November job action, the union representative for Gloucester Catholic was still surprised and told *The Courier Post*, “We don’t know why there is a lack of support at GC” (4/18/85). Larry White, who served as the council and union representative for Saint James High School from 1977 to 1985 believed that

Gloucester Catholic's lack of participation had to do with the demographics of the teachers at that school. White recalled,

“There were two groups of lay teachers in the Catholic schools. First, there were married women who, to them, this job was really just a second income. Second, there were us twenty and thirty-somethings that really needed money. At Gloucester Catholic, a much greater percentage of the teachers were wives and didn't need to strike. Gloucester is a really blue collar town, but they just didn't need to strike” (Personal Interview, 8/22/08).

While the 20 teachers who crossed at Gloucester Catholic were able to keep the school open for all students, the other schools were struggling. There were not enough clergy members to keep the schools open for all students and the diocese had promised not to hire substitutes or utilize parent volunteers in the December recognition agreement. As such the diocese was forced to close the schools for Wednesday April 18 and reopened them only for seniors beginning on April 19. The smaller schools, Sacred Heart, Saint James, and Wildwood Catholic opened as half-day sessions for seniors only on Thursday while Holy Spirit and St. Joseph's had to wait until Friday to have enough staff to facilitate the larger senior classes. Paul VI High School, serving almost 500 seniors, did not reopen until Monday April 21 and Camden Catholic seniors remained on a pre-scheduled senior trip to Disneyworld until that Monday as well.

While the schools were open for seniors, many parents did not send their children to school, whether in a show of solidarity for the teachers, or a belief that it might not be an effective learning environment. While the diocese insisted that attendance was 'normal', multiple local newspaper claimed that it was in fact very poor, with only 10 of Wildwood Catholic's 100 seniors attending school and about half of seniors at St. James and St. Joseph's staying home (*Philadelphia Inquirer* 4/22/85). Additionally, some of the

seniors who did go to school during the strike left the auditorium/makeshift classroom and joined the teachers on the picket. At the smallest school, Sacred Heart High School (where union vice-president Ro Farrow also served as dean of students), about 60 seniors, led by student body president Mary Leahy, skipped morning classes to walk with their striking teachers. The students explained that they hoped the action would encourage the diocese to negotiate with the teachers and do what was in the students' best interest (*The Vineland Times Journal*, 4/22/85).

As the issues behind the strike became more public, the teachers repeatedly answered questions about salaries, prepared to reply with standard numbers in multiple newspaper articles. In each of the thirty plus articles, union teachers explained that a starting teacher with a bachelor's degree in the Camden diocese earned \$10,200 a year. They then stated that the union was asking that this be raised to \$11,600 which was significantly less than the average starting salary for a NJ public school teacher. Public school teachers in NJ were starting at \$14,000 in 1985 and were about to get a raise as newly elected Governor Thomas Kean proposed a measure to increase their starting salaries to \$18,500. This number exceeded even the average salary for CTU represented teachers, which sat at \$16,000. Stan Marczyk, a revered 36 year veteran teacher at Holy Spirit High School commented on this discrepancy, "We're not asking for the moon."

The union also hoped for a salary increase plan that was incremental based on years of experience, as is common in public schools, rather than the diocesan system of increases based on a teacher's original starting salary. In the then-current system a teacher who started with a salary of \$9,500 could still only be making \$10,200 after five years of service, the same as a first year teacher. According to the U.S. Census Bureau,

the national median household income for 1985 was \$23,618 (\$42,205 in 2006 dollars) and was \$30,980 (\$55,360 in 2006 dollars) for New Jersey residents. These numbers meant that these teachers, generally considered middle class professionals, were earning well below the median income. Ro Farrow remembered the impact of the low salaries on herself and her male counterparts,

“The reason I got involved with the union was because of the respect I had for Bill and men like him who were trying to raise families on such little money, because they were doing work that they loved. It was an impossible situation” (Personal Interview 3/8/08)

Camden Catholic teacher Pamela Palazzo echoed Farrow’s statement in a *Philadelphia Inquirer* (4/30/85) newspaper article,

“Though I have my own commitment about the strike, it is because of people like Phil (a male teacher at Camden Catholic) that I am on the line. I admire their dedication. It is not as hard financially for a single person like me. But how can he support a family?”

During the pre-strike negotiations, the union asked for a 10% increase in salaries over the three years of the contract. This increase would put them closer, though nowhere near equal, to their local public school counterparts as well as to their Catholic school counterparts across the river in Philadelphia.

The union also emphasized that their contract demands went far past salary requests. One of the main reasons the leaders formed the union was because they were unhappy that the prior diocese-sanctioned Lay Faculty Council was unable to negotiate working conditions including class sizes and course load. These issues became central to the teachers’ struggle and demonstrated that the union wanted a voice in areas other than

salaries and benefits. In the *Atlantic City Press* (4/17/85) Holy Spirit High School union representative Bill Checcio explained,

“If working conditions were good, the lower salaries would be OK. Nobody’s expecting to be paid what public school teachers are getting paid. We’re getting paid less than public school teachers to do more than public school teachers.”

Larry White, union representative for the Saint James, a smaller high school in the diocese remembers the feelings he and other members had leading up to the strike,

“I recall this huge, huge sentiment among all the lay teachers-we just wanted to be thanked for a job that was difficult, made more so because of the benefits. If they just said to us, Thank you for what you are doing, we want to give you more, but we can’t right now, but we are working on it, but thank you, we appreciate you. If they said that, we probably would’ve stayed” (8/22/08).

White explained that it was different in the smaller school because there was more face to face interaction with the principal, who up to the 1984-1985 school year had been Father Andrew Martin. White described Martin as a fair and caring man who was genuinely concerned for the teachers and willing to listen to their concerns. Unfortunately, Father Martin left his role as principal at the end of the 1983-1984 school year and was therefore not a part of the administration when the teachers began to organize.

As the Lay Faculty Council and the more recent SCTC were both unable to negotiate working conditions for the teachers, the union hoped it would be allowed to speak on these issues. However, when CTU and the diocese signed the recognition agreement in December 1984, the union was forced to rescind the right to bargain on certain areas including student-teacher ratios and other working condition concerns.

While the union was resilient in their hope of negotiating these issues, the diocese held their ground as Rev. McGrath reminded the union, through a *Courier Post* article, that they had given up the right to discuss these areas.

With both salary and working condition concerns in contest, the teachers remained on strike for three days before the diocese agreed to revive contract talks on Friday, April 19th. According to Blumenstein, the first day of talks yielded little progress as he told the *Courier Post*, “There’s still no cause for optimism, but there is less pessimism” (*Courier Post* 4/20/85). The teachers and the diocese representatives met again on Sunday April 21st for a second marathon negotiation session. While the teachers hoped that this session would result in the end of the strike, the groups remained in a stalemate and agreed to meet again on the morning of Tuesday, April 23. At this meeting, a lawyer representing the diocese presented a diocesan-proclaimed ‘fair and proper’ contract offer to the union and then immediately alerted the press about the offer. The union leaders barely had time to present the contract to the union and could not conduct a vote before the offer information was in the papers. In this contract, the diocese offered the union a 7% salary increase over three years and a new health care plan that actually increased the cost of health care for the workers and their families. The union had pushed for a new health care plan, and proposed one Blue Cross Insurance option to the in earlier negotiations which would save the diocese approximately 25%. That offer was turned down due to the diocese’s desire to keep one plan for all diocesan employees. Lastly, the contract made no changes to the current grievance procedure for teachers which consisted of a hearing before a board of three diocesan representatives and two lay teacher representatives. Of this system Blumenstein observed, “You know what that means. The

vote was always 3-2” (*Courier Post* 4/25/85). The union had hoped they could enact a new grievance procedure where a teacher’s fate would be decided by an independent judge rather than the diocesan-heavy review board.

The evening after the diocese presented their contract offer, Blumenstein and the rest of the bargaining team presented the contract to union members at a meeting the following evening at Whitman Square Fire Hall in Washington Township, a large suburban area in Gloucester County. The members in attendance rejected the contract offer, voting 194-12 against the proposal. The union presented the diocese with a counter offer, which the diocese quickly rejected with ‘no comment’, according to their legal team. The negotiation talks had failed and the teachers would remain on strike.

The First Parental Meeting

The same day that the diocese presented their ‘fair and proper’ offer to the teachers, the administration also sent a four page letter to all parents describing the proposed contract. After the union voted down the contract offer, many parents realized they had little knowledge about which issues were being debated and why the teachers were actually on strike. As New Jersey law requires students to complete 180 days of school each year, parents were becoming increasingly concerned how the strike would affect their children, especially those with seniors awaiting graduation. Additionally, parents were still paying tuition for their children to attend the schools during the strike. In a *Courier Post* April 26th article, Kathy McGovern, mother of two Camden Catholic students noted, “I pay a little under \$3,000 a year for my two kids and they’ve been to school for two days in April” (*Courier Post*, 4/26/85). The growing concern for their financial and educational investments moved some parents to take action.

One Camden Catholic High School parent named Richard Gorman²⁵ took it upon himself to address this knowledge gap and engage parents in the struggle between the union and the diocese. Blumenstein remembers Gorman as a genuinely concerned and unbiased gentleman whose true intention was to enlighten parents on both sides of the issue. After the strike showed no signs of stopping, Gorman contacted Monsignor Adamo, the pastor of Saint Vincent Pallotti Church, the parish that shares its grounds with Paul VI High School and asked if he could hold a parental meeting at the church. Monsignor Adamo agreed and Gorman and his wife personally called 91 parents to inform them about the meeting at the church on April 25th. They also asked the parents they contacted to continue the communication chain and inform other parents about the gathering.

Gorman also invited the Diocese, through Superintendent McIntyre, and CTU, through Blumenstein, to speak at the meeting and contacted local newspapers to cover the event. Blumenstein remembers receiving the invitation and asking himself, “Why didn’t I think of this?” Blumenstein and other CTU leaders prepared for the meeting, crafting pamphlets and information sheets to hand out to parents. One person who was instrumental in this was Steve Sweatsky, the husband of Paul VI teacher and CTU member Donna Stagliato. Sweatsky was the president of the Washington Township Education Association, the teachers union at one of the largest public school districts in New Jersey, and was also the New Jersey Education Association (NJEA) representative for Burlington County. Blumenstein said the Sweatsky’s experience with these organizations, particularly in regards to graphics and printing, was a priceless asset to

²⁵ Gorman soon after became President of the newly formed Concerned Parents of Camden Diocese.

CTU as he was instrumental in creating eye-catching pamphlets that communicated the union's position.

As parents arrived at St. Vincent Pallotti, CTU representatives met them at the door with pamphlets in hand. The diocese, however, did not accept the invitation to attend this first parental meeting. Blumenstein remembers that each time that Gorman sincerely asked, "Is anyone here from the Diocese? Anyone?" he was met with silence. Monsignor Adamo read a statement sent to him by the diocese, which Blumenstein remembers being succinct and vague, simply emphasizing their disapproval of and disappointment in the union's decision to strike. The statement also declared that teacher salary demands would require increases in tuition, without providing any specific numbers.

Following the Monsignor's reading, the parents invited CTU representatives to speak. Blumenstein, who attends St. Vincent Pallotti, recalls walking down the aisle towards the altar and thinking the church was as full as it would be on Christmas Eve, with more than 500 parents in attendance. He said that he and the other union leaders were extremely nervous as they had no idea if parents would be supportive of their efforts. He remembers thinking, "Half of the people here are parents of seniors who are probably asking, 'Hey, will my kid graduate?'" Blumenstein stepped up to the pulpit and began to go through the union's requests regarding salaries, benefits, and working conditions with the parents, referring to the distributed pamphlets. He then outlined the union's contract demands and went so far as to calculate how much the 10% increased salary request would raise each student's tuition. As Blumenstein recalls that CTU had already seemed to gain an edge by 'just showing up', the union leader said he felt

comfortable giving facts and making jokes as he spoke with the parents. Blumenstein explained,

“When parents see the numbers and the long term prospects, they support the union. They also consider the positive experiences they have with the teachers and the one on one relationships and then say ‘This is not a big deal; I will pay the extra \$100 year in tuition if that is what it takes” (Personal Interview, 1/26/08).

At the parental meeting, the teachers felt the support from the school community as many parents agreed they would pay higher tuition rates in order to end the strike. In fact, after CTU’s presentation, the parents even brainstormed about what they could do to influence the diocese, including withholding tuition and appealing to powerful church leaders for help. After the bulk of the group had left, the remaining parents, about 75 people, decided that they would picket the diocesan office the following day at noon as a show of their support for the teachers.

While the St. Vincent Palloti parental meeting established a positive relationship between the union and parents, this was not the case at all schools. The warm reception from parents at Paul VI and the other, larger and generally more affluent schools, differed from those in the more southern and smaller schools such as Sacred Heart, where Farrow taught and was the dean of students. The union held a meeting for Sacred Heart parents on Friday the 26th, the day after the St. Vincent Palloti meeting, at the Vineland Fire Hall in Cumberland County where union representatives met a more hostile crowd. Farrow remembers,

“Cumberland County is a depressed county and the parents were not impressed with our salary scale charts like they were at Paul VI. They looked at them and thought, ‘hey you’re doing better than me” (Personal Interview, 3/8/08).

Farrow explained that some of these schools were in less affluent areas where working class parents were not as sympathetic to the teacher's plight. Additionally, she noted that the tension at Sacred Heart High School was also escalated by a split in the teachers themselves as unity was weaker at the school. She pointed out the *Vineland Times Journal* cover image on the morning after the meeting (April 26, 1985) that featured a Sacred Heart teacher and a Sacred Heart guidance counselor screaming at each other, which was taken at this parent meeting. The article accompanying this picture echoed Farrow's memory, complete with quotations from frustrated parents who threatened to stop contributing to the parish collection plate and/or to pull their children out of the Catholic schools. While the Vineland parents did not support the teachers the same way their more affluent counterparts had, they also did not side with the diocese. Furthermore, Farrow and the article both noted that the Sacred Heart parents were grateful that the union was willing to meet with them, as the Diocese again did not appear to speak at the gathering. While the emotions ran high at the meeting itself, the anti-union sentiment seemed small in comparison to the union support at the larger, more affluent schools. Despite the trying times teachers at the smaller schools faced, most of the parents who took an active role in the strike had time and money to devote to the teacher's plight. The impact of this parental support and involvement is the focus of Chapter 6.

Support Increases

The same day as the parental meeting at St. Vincent Palloti, newspapers also captured images of hundreds of parents and students joining teachers on the picket lines for the 11th day of the strike. While the bulk of the support again occurred at the larger northern schools, a number of parents and students also joined teachers at Wildwood

Catholic, the southernmost high school in the diocese. The students seemed most concerned with ending the strike so it did not interfere with sports matches-which the schools had been forced to forfeit-but newspaper articles portrayed parents as genuine supporters of the union. *The Philadelphia Inquirer* quoted Kathryn Kelley, whose daughter was attending a diocesan elementary school with plans of attending Paul VI High School, who noted, "Somebody has to give them (the teachers) all their help" (*Philadelphia Inquirer* 4/26/95).

Parents were not the only community members who were showed their support for the teachers as diocesan clergy members also took pro-labor actions. Teachers gained a boost in morale from two nuns who refused to cross the picket line to hold class for Camden Catholic seniors on April 25th. The nuns, two of the twelve sisters the diocese had hired to teach 500 students, were not vocal about their action, but their quiet support ensured the teachers that they were acting according to Catholic ideals. Another burst of clergy support came from Monsignor Adamo, the pastor who welcomed the first parental meeting to his parish, as he wrote an Op-Ed for the *Courier Post*, titled, "The Church as employer should heed its precepts." In the piece, the Monsignor cited several pieces of pro-labor church doctrine and even compared the striking teachers to Jesus. In light of the increase in religious and parental support, the union again informed the diocese of their standing offer for Binding Arbitration by Philadelphia auxiliary Bishop Schulte and awaited a response.

The diocese also had experienced increased interaction with the parents, as a parent-student group of 200 picketed the diocesan office on April 26th, and others sent letters and left phone messages accusing Bishop Gulifoyle of 'ignoring his flock'

(*Courier Post* 4/27/85). The same day as the picket, parents of Camden Catholic students sent a petition, signed by 95 people, to Bishop Guilfoyle stating,

“We the families and friends of the students at Camden Catholic High School believe that the Catholic Church’s teachings on social justice apply not only to ourselves and others but to the Diocese of Camden as well. Accordingly, we support the secondary school teachers and the Secondary Contracted Teachers Organization in their negotiations for a just wage and contract. We urge Bishop Guilfoyle and the Diocesan Offices of Education to consider the demands of teachers in the light of the Church’s teachings on justice and the economy before irreparable harm is done to our high school students and the Catholic school system in the diocese” (reprinted *Courier Post* 4/30/85).

Greatly due to parental pressure, the diocese agreed to allow Bishop Schulte to participate in the negotiations, but as a mediator, not an arbitrator.²⁶ This distinction is important because it meant that when Bishop Schulte wrote up what he saw as a just contract, either side could then refuse the contract. In the Binding Arbitration that the union proposed, both sides would have to accept Bishop Schulte’s contract, without any changes being made. The union voted to turn down the diocese’s offer for mediation as they worried that mediation would not be effective. In a *Courier Post* article, Blumenstein explained that the teachers were concerned that the union would accept the mediation, the teachers would return to work, and the diocese would then reject Schulte’s recommendations, therefore bringing the negotiations back to a stalemate. With the diocese rejecting Binding Arbitration, and the teachers rejecting mediation, the strike continued. However, when Blumenstein and Superintendent McIntyre (and his assistant) met to discuss Bishop Schulte’s role, it marked the first time that the Superintendent met directly with the union since the strike began (*Philadelphia Inquirer* 4/27/85). While the

²⁶ The diocese continued to insist that their April 23rd offer was their best and final offer. According to Blumenstein, this struck the teachers as odd as the diocese was claiming this was their final offer at the same time as they agreed to Schulte’s mediation.

two sides could not agree on Schulte's role, the meeting did result in the Superintendent agreeing to take over as the diocese's representative in negotiations, therefore replacing the diocese's paid attorney.

After the press released information that the diocese and the union were in an impasse over arbitration/mediation, several parents at Camden Catholic set up a closed door 'parent-only' meeting. Approximately 400 parents attended the meeting on Monday April 29th, where they voted unanimously that they would be willing to pay higher tuition if the teachers would return to the classroom and be flexible about the Binding Arbitration. Harry Neidig, a father who acted as the spokesman for the Camden Catholic parents said that the parents fully supported the teachers and would even join them on the picket line if the teachers would drop the arbitration demand. He insisted that the parents would not allow the teachers to be mistreated and promised to help raise money if that was necessary to meet teacher salary increases. Neidig also told the diocese that the parents did not support the hiring of substitutes to cover for the striking teachers and would rather keep the schools closed than bring in substitutes to 'baby-sit' their children. This was in response to a letter that the diocese spokesman Rev. McGrath sent to teachers on Saturday April 27, alerting them that that the diocese was taking the step to hire substitutes, who could become permanent replacements.²⁷

Camden Catholic High School students also addressed the diocese. On May 1, 1985 over two-hundred Camden Catholic High School seniors sent their own petition to the Superintendent asking the church leader to share students' 'concern and respect' for their teachers. The petition stated,

²⁷ The NLRA protects the jobs of striking workers covered under the law but the *Chicago Bishop* decision determined that church employees did not necessarily enjoy this right.

“Although we must physically cross the picket line to meet academic requirements for our fast approaching graduation, our hearts and loyalty are with the teachers. We support their efforts for a fair settlement” (reprinted Courier Post, 5/1/85).

The diocese did not offer a response to the parent and student petitions except to reiterate that they had presented the union with their ‘best and final offer.’ While the parent and student declarations did not seem to weigh heavily on the diocese, the teachers were vocal about the emotional toll the strike was having on them. Camden Catholic teacher Pamela Palazzo, a twenty-four year veteran of Catholic Schools (eight as a teacher, sixteen as a student), told the *Philadelphia Inquirer* that she felt deceived, because she had thought of the church as a family that took care of its members. Palazzo’s colleague Phil Petite resonated her sentiment and explained,

“Catholic teachers chose this vocation because they have high morals they want to pass along...But by refusing to pay higher salaries, the diocese is forcing experienced teachers to leave” (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 4/30/85).

In addition to the emotional anguish, the teachers were also hit financially as they missed their first paycheck since the strike began on April 30th. In the same newspaper article that quoted Palazzo and Petite, diocese spokesman Rev. McGrath told the *Inquirer*, “The teachers (under the previous system)...were sheltered from realities of tough labor negotiations” (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 4/30/85).

The Strike Ends

On May 1st, after 15 days on the picket line, CTU teachers agreed to utilize federal mediation but would remain on strike until talks were well underway. The union issued a statement expressing that the two sides first petitioned Bishop Schulte for the job, as they had previously discussed, but that the Bishop declined the request claiming

schedule demands. After Schulte's decline, union executive board member Lou Piotti said the diocese and the union exhausted all other mediation options and then agreed to turn to federal mediation. According to a May 2nd *Courier Post* article, William R. Marlowe, district director for Federal Mediation and Conciliation services in Philadelphia said that the union and the diocese jointly requested the mediation. Many teachers felt as if the union had made a big concession by agreeing to mediation but others believed they didn't lose anything as they stayed on strike during the mediation process. Still, upon agreeing to federal mediation, the teachers gave up the hope of binding arbitration, which the Federal mediators did not facilitate.

The first mediation session, run by appointed arbitrator Commissioner John McDermott, began on May 2nd at 10 a.m. in Philadelphia. The union and the diocese had utilized Federal Mediation twice over the course of the contract negotiations, first for union recognition and then for the contract itself. As the previous federal contract mediation had failed, it seemed that the union was backed into the process when Bishop Schulte declined their request. Union members explained that they believed the teachers cared more for their students than the diocese did as they genuinely wanted to return to the classroom. According to Farrow the strike ended for two reasons; first, because parents began to pull their children out of the schools and second, because the union settled.

Negotiation team member Checcio remembered the negotiations being 'a waiting game.' Checcio said that the union leaders tried to keep their spirits up while passing the time,

"I remember teaching Ro to pitch pennies, and I remember casting ourselves in a movie. One time we met together with the diocese reps too,

but that went nowhere. So, then we stayed separate. It was just a lot of waiting” (Personal Interview, 8/20/08).

In twenty hours over two days the negotiation teams for the union and the diocese met separately with the mediator, who would travel back and forth between the two groups. Checcio said that at one point, the mediator came to him, Bill Blumenstein, and Ro Farrow with the diocese’s proposal and said, “This is the best you’re gonna get.” He said he then called a fellow teacher at Holy Spirit High School to ask him what to do about the offer. His friend said, “If you accept it, people will go along with it. They won’t like it, but they will go along with it.” With this, Checcio, and rest of the negotiation team agreed that they would propose the contract to the members for a vote. They announced this to the diocese at 8:30 p.m. on May 4, 1985.

While the leaders agreed to present the offer to the union, union leaders quoted in the media were consistent in their dissatisfaction with the contract. Blumenstein said, “We are rather disappointed. But as a whole it is not that bad. We are not unhappy considering we are dealing with a diocese that is not interested in fairness and justice” Lou Piotti agreed, telling the Atlantic City Press, “As a total package, it’s a very good agreement. But we’re very disappointed in some of the economic areas.” Farrow told the Courier Post that the union was moved more by a desire to return to the classroom than by satisfaction of the contract offer. “If we hadn’t moved, I’m convinced the schools would still be closed” (Farrow 5/6/85) Speaking over twenty years after the contract negotiations, Bill Checcio remembers one huge reason the teachers agreed to the contract, stating, “We couldn’t do it anymore, the school year was in jeopardy-you can only bang your head for so long. I was just so relieved.”

Though leaders were displeased with the contract offer they also were worn down by the strike and were concerned for their students, so they presented the proposal to the teachers on May 5, 1985. The members agreed, through a voice vote, to return to school while the negotiators finalized the wording of the contract and then vote for ratification. With this, the teachers returned to school on Monday, May 6th, ending the 17 day strike. CTU member and spokesperson Wayne Nystrom said, “it was a matter of diminishing returns and staying out longer wouldn’t have helped us (the union) at the bargaining table” (*Philadelphia Inquirer* 5/6/85). After they had been back in the classroom for five days, the negotiating team brought the contract to members for a vote on Friday May 10, 1985. In the Washington Township Community Activity Center, the 205 union members in attendance cast their votes for one of three choices: 1) reject 2) ratify 3) unjust, but ratify. The final vote was 165 members voting “unjust, but ratify” and 40 voting “reject”, and with this majority, the teachers ratified their first union-negotiated contract.

The First Contract

While the union members overwhelmingly found the contract ‘unjust’, they made some significant gains with the contract. First the new contract gave the teachers a salary increase of 8-9% over three years. While Checcio remembered the union pushing for the biggest increase upfront-so they would then see increases on that base-the ratified salary gave the teachers a 8 ¼ increase retroactive for the 1984-1985 school year, a 8 ¾ increase for the 1985-1986 school year, and a 9 percent increase for the last year of the contract. The contract also increased the teachers’ starting salary to \$11, 200 and adapted the

salary scale to allow veteran teachers to reach the top salary at twenty-five years, despite their original starting salary.

In addition to the salary considerations, the new contract guaranteed certain worker's rights to the teachers that they had never been allowed to negotiate under this Council system. First, they secured binding arbitration as the last step of their grievance procedure. Before this contract, the diocese was able to make the final decision on teacher grievances without any review by an outside party. The union also won the right to limit teacher course loads to five classes per day with one "duty period." This was a huge gain for the teachers as it unified policy in all the schools and took scheduling control out of the individual principals' discretion.

The union leaders were most vocal about their disappointment in the economic factors of the contract, but teachers also faced losses in regards to health benefits. The new contract added a ceiling of \$500 or \$750 (depending on years of service) to the teachers' prescription plan and also raised the teachers' co-payments from \$1 to \$3 per prescription. Additionally, the contract did not set up a pay scale based on years of service rather than starting salary nor were they able to limit the number of classes a teacher had in a row. While there was obvious frustration with aspects of the agreement, the teachers also realized what a huge step they had taken in securing their first union contract. In regards to the ratification, Blumenstein noted, "This is just the beginning. We've shown that we are a force with which to be reckoned" (*Philadelphia Inquirer* 5/6/85).

The beginnings of the CTU and the negotiation of their first contract set the standard for how the union would operate and the negotiation tactics it would employ. Of

the first contract Farrow proudly said, “They thought they could break us.” Evidently, they could not. While the teachers did not receive every contract demand, they established themselves as a strong group that was willing to fight for worker rights and enlist the help of parents and religious members to achieve those rights. Their gumption on the picket lines forced the diocese to recognize and deal with what they had labeled as a ‘fledgling’ union and showed the teachers that they had a strong weapon available to them through striking and threatening to strike. While the end result of the strike was in many ways positive for the union, the 15 day picket also deeply affected the teachers and diocese and remained on their minds’ as the contract set to expire in 1987. The strike had been emotionally draining and created high tensions between the diocese and the teachers union and both sides expressed their great desire to avoid another strike.

Chapter 3: Frame Analysis & Moral Framing

Did we deliberately emphasize the relationship between the union and church teaching? Absolutely, we emphasized it! We throw it in their faces as much as we can!

-Chris Ehrmann, CTU Vice-President

From the first stirrings of union conversation, CTU leaders expressed the connection between their desire to organize and bargain collectively and Catholic doctrine supporting organized labor movements. During the first strike, teachers purposely carried signs stating pro-labor church teachings, referenced Catholic Social Teachings in newspaper interviews, and spoke to parents about Pope’s and Bishops’ extensive history of supporting labor movements. By connecting their struggle to larger moral teachings about unions and workers rights, CTU leaders were able to tap into a master frame—a belief system that was well established among their potential supporters. By linking their frame to this master frame the union utilized what I call moral framing. I

define moral framing as: emphasizing the connections of a movement's moral message to a moral outlook or value shared with (and considered important by) the frame's target audience. I believe that the union was able to gain support from its target audience and mobilize their membership by utilizing moral framing. The study of this process and the steps the union took to connect their message to Catholic teachings reflects the theory of Framing and Frame Analysis.

Frame Analysis

In 1884, William James first explained the theory of Frame Analysis in terms of emotion and perceptions of reality. James used the term to identify under what conditions people think something is real. James identifies selective attention, intimate involvement, and non-contradiction of what is otherwise known as important factors in determining realness (Goffman 1974, p.2). Furthermore, James influences current frame analysis theories with his idea that different "worlds" exist in the mind and that individual uses these to process different beliefs, subjects, and forms of information. Alfred Schutz expanded this concept with his "On Multiple Realities" (1945), which considers how the different "worlds" work and whether one reality is given preferred status. While Schutz determined that the "working world", based on common sense, was most often at the forefront of reality interpretation, he also explained that individuals are constantly negotiating meaning.

In 1955 Gregory Bateson began to turn these theories into a methodological tool as he defined a "frame" in terms of communication, outlining two parts of the concept. *First, a frame is a cognitive model that allows individuals to identify and process a message.* In this way frames can be culturally defined and culturally relative as a

collection of individuals may share the same cognitive model and evaluation process. *Second, Bateson defined frames as metamessages, or messages about messages.* With this definition, framing also became *a tool that audiences can use to interpret a message.* According to this, frames outline what is important in a text and ignore or de-emphasize what is less important, by employing existing cognitive models to provide a focus for the audience.

Erving Goffman introduced the concept of framing to sociological research in his book *Frame Analysis* (1974),

“I assume that definitions of a situation are built up in accordance with principals of organization which govern events [sic...] and our subjective involvement in them; frame is the word I use to refer to such of these basic elements as I am able to identify” (Goffman 1974, p.10f).

Therefore, in addition to Bateson and Schutz’s emphasis on Metamessages, Goffman, a social psychologist, incorporates James’ idea about framing and emotion to consider how individuals make meaning of their experiences and organize them in their minds.

Goffman explained that individuals are constantly making meaning out of their encounters, with time they create an internal classification system. Goffman believed that individuals use this schema in conjunction with culturally based cognitive models to interpret and classify their experiences. Furthermore Goffman believed individuals would act based on these interpretations.

Bateson and Goffman’s interpretation of framing invites its usage as a methodological tool, and frame analysis has found a place in many disciplines including sociology, psychology, communications- especially media studies-, public relations, marketing and linguistics. The broad application of this concept has led it to be criticized

by some (Entman, 1993) as a fractured method but others (Benford; Gamson, 1992) have worked to solidify and construct a transposable method.

William Gamson was one of the pioneers to evaluate the use of frame analysis as a methodological tool. Along with Murray A. Davis, Gamson (1975) reviewed Goffman's *Frame Analysis* and questioned the applicability of this method to empirical research. From this point Gamson became the leader of one school of frame analysis use in sociology, focusing on how particular frames influence individuals' meaning-making. Gamson's research can be placed in the social-psychological realm with an emphasis on how individuals interpret and process frames and how this influences their actions. In particular Gamson questions how an individual's meaning making affects their involvement in and understanding of collective action. This is evident in his *Talking Politics* (1992) where Gamson led focus groups of 188 "working people", inviting them to discuss four "hot" topics including Nuclear Power, Affirmative Action, American Industry, and the Arab-Israeli conflict. Gamson evaluated their responses as either cultural, those relying on media frames and popular opinion, or personal, those relying on personal experience and popular opinion, but not media frames. He found that while discussants occasionally used the cultural strategy, they overwhelmingly relied on their own experiences, the personal strategy. From this Gamson concluded that successful collective action frames could mobilize members by recognizing the power of their personal experiences in meaning making. He also found that his respondents reacted positively to injustice frames of social movements by asking the questions "who is to blame?" and "who is the victim?" This process involves boundary framing and

adversarial framing and created a collective “us vs. them” that appealed to the discussants.

Robert A. Benford (often with colleague David Snow) represents another arm of Frame Analysis in American sociology concerning the study of social movements. Benford and Snow (1986) refer to frames as “schemas of interpretation.” These authors look at the framing process and how frames can be used to mobilize individuals to join and/or support social movements. Benford and Snow argue that Collective Action frames are action-oriented beliefs that inspire and legitimate social movement activities. Like Gamson, they believe that framing involves meaning-making, but Benford and Snow also explain the process in terms of negotiation and shared meaning. Their interpretation is less focused on the social-psychological processes than Gamson’s and concentrates instead on the connection between collective action frames and possible constituents. An example of this is Benford’s research on Frame Alignment, or the linking of the potential member’s everyday life to the Collective Action frame. Benford explains that making the frame reflect an aspect of the individual’s reality will increase the chances of them supporting a movement. Using this argument, the authors claim that the success or failure of a social movement is based in part on the success or failure of the frame to attract members and/or support.

Benford and Snow (1986) also set out the schema for studying and evaluating the framing process in social movements. They suggest that studying Collective Action Frames involves a) conceptualization of the frames, b) identifying the framing process, specification of social/cultural factors that constrain or facilitate the movement, and c) the elaboration of consequences of framing/implications. Furthermore they delineate two

characteristics of framing: 1) Core Framing Tasks and 2) Discursive Processes. Core Framing tasks involve diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational tasks. The diagnostic tasks are mobilization and consensus forming. Prognostic processes articulate a proposed (and reasonable) solution and plan of attack, taking the various audiences (media, bystanders, opponents) into consideration. This is one way that Benford and Snow believe social movements differ from each other. Motivational tasks or the “call to arms” involve the creation of a vocabulary of agency to push the movement to action.

Criticizing other authors for defining frames in over-generalized terms, Benford and Snow (1986) further outline a detailed set of framing tasks including; Frame Bridging, Frame Amplification, Frame Extension, and Frame Transformation. Frame bridging is the link between two congruent but unconnected frames. Frame amplification involves a) value amplification and b) belief amplification and intends to clarify and invigorate the frame. Frame extension creates links to everyday life in order to mobilize constituents. Frame Transformation involves re-grouping and possibly adjusting the frame to stay on track. Many authors have used Benford and Snow’s schema to evaluate the framing of social movements as successes or failures and their contributions remain extremely important in the study of social movements.

Morris and Staggenborg (2004) look specifically at Benford’s concept of frame bridging and argue that social movement leaders often are successful in lifting frames from traditional, especially religious, beliefs. They give the example of Civil Rights movement, whose leaders appropriated traditional frames about equality from Christianity and the Bible. These linkages created support for the movement from those who subscribed Christian messages and belief systems and invited the frame receivers to

view the movement as being in line with Christian beliefs. I will show this frame bridging was especially important in the CTU history from the fight for union recognition and the first strike in 1985. These events set up the basis of the frame that CTU continues to carry out and is shown by the great deal of referencing to the church doctrine and Catholic Social Teaching.

Several other writers (Entman, 1993; Scheufele, 1999; Hallan, 1999) have more recently contributed their own framing schemes but the methods used by Gamson and Benford and Snow remain at the forefront of frame analysis research in sociology. From a Communication studies standpoint, Entman (1993) called frame analysis fractured and argued for a more central framing method rather than a 'laundry list' of frames examples. Echoing Bateson's concept of frames as cognitive models, Entman notes that culture is a collection of common (stock) frames that people have interpreted over time as reality. Simplifying Benford and Snow's outlines, Entman emphasizes the goals of framing are "selection" and "salience" and that the purpose of a frame is to select an aspect of perceived reality and make it more salient than others. He claims that frames (1) define problems (2) diagnose causes, (3) make moral judgments, and (4) suggest remedies. Entman also notes that frames work best when the information is made meaningful to the receiver by means of symbols, key terms, and the matching of the frame to existing beliefs and cultural norms. In this, Entman supports Benford's claim for Frame Alignment. For the purposes of this study, Entman's theory remains particularly helpful in discussions of media frames and conscious framing.

In the field of Public Relations, Hallan (1999) suggests seven aspects of frames including; Situations, Attributes, Choices, Action, Issues, Responsibility, and News. As

Hallan's focus is on the usefulness of frames in public relations he also suggests that successful frames appropriately apply two mechanisms, what he calls contextual cues and priming, which is similar to Bateson's (1955) idea of cognitive schemas and unconscious association. Hallan's research reflects the use of frames in advertising and branding work, but the concepts can also apply to social movements.

Johnston and Noakes (2002) expand on and clarify Benford's and Snow's (1986) work with their own method to evaluate Frame Resonance. Agreeing with Benford and Snow, these authors define Frame Resonance as "the relationship between a collective action frame, the aggrieved community that is the target of mobilization efforts, and the broader culture. A Frame is said to 'resonate' if potential supporters find identify with the message and are persuaded to take action. Frame Resonance strongly influences the success of a collective action frame, as it can mobilize members and possible supporters, who then help the movement to achieve its goals. Johnston and Noakes reference Valocchi (2002) who writes of the importance of Frame Resonance,

"The key to framing is finding evocative cultural symbols that resonate with potential constituents and are capable of motivating them to collective action" (Valocchi, 2002, p.54)

Frame resonance is crucial to the success of a frame as it drums support from potential constituents (the target audience) and also inspires members to participate in collective action. I chose to apply Johnston & Noakes model (Table 1) to this research as it captures important aspects of Benford's theory and also updates the schema to include broader community variables. This method involves three categories of variables that affect Frame Resonance. These are:

Table 1 (Johnston & Noakes, 2002)

Makers of a Frame- movement entrepreneurs	Receivers of a frame- Target audience	Frame qualities-a frame schema's content
<p>*Credibility of Promoters- their organizational and professional credentials and expertise</p> <p>*Charismatic Authority- rare and unique personal qualities of a movement leader</p> <p>*Strategic/Marketing Orientation or Cynicism- how do makers use marketing & consumerism context</p>	<p>*Ideological orientations (the target of frame bridging)</p> <p>*Demographic, attitudinal, and moral orientations (the intent of frame extension and frame transformation)</p>	<p>*Cultural Compatibility-the frame's valuational centrality, its narrative fidelity, and slogans (amplification)</p> <p>*Frame Consistency- (Are its components logically complementary?)</p> <p>*Relevance-including <i>Empirical Credibility</i> and <i>Experiential Commensurability</i> (does it match how the audience sees the world & their everyday experiences?)</p>

In their schema, Johnston and Noakes include a variable of demographic, attitudinal and moral orientations, extending the question of frame alignment to include societal factors such as race, class, income, and gender of audiences. This speaks to Gamson's (1988) argument that all collective actions occur within a historical, political, and social context that may directly affect the frame resonance and success of a movement. Using the case of nuclear power, Gamson points out that collective action must address the 'legitimate' frames put forth by those in power and consider how they are intertwined with cultural factors and contemporary politics. In this, Gamson argues that successful frames consider the larger popular outlook and are harmonious with societal values and norms. This also relates to Johnston and Noakes' evaluation of demographic, attitudinal and moral orientations as well as their focus on cultural compatibility. Therefore, by "packaging" an issue in a way that resonates with values

familiar to the community or potential constituents, the collective action frame has greater success.

Johnston and Noakes also expand on earlier theories by looking for empirical and experiential commensurability within a frame. This speaks to Babb's (1996) finding on social movement ideologies and frame resonance. Babb tackles the question of why some social movements are able to use movement ideologies to gain support for their cause while others cannot. Specifically, Babb investigated the case of the American Federation of Labor and the debates over "Green-backism."²⁸

Babb argues that social movement ideologies can be both constraining and enabling depending on how the movement utilizes frames to publicize their philosophies. Referencing Snow et al (1986) and Benford and Snow (1992), Babb defines collective action frames as, "ideological tools that organize experience, diagnose problems, and prescribe solutions for the constituents of social movements" (1996, p. 1033). She explains that these frames help the audience to interpret messages by highlighting what a movement deems meaningful and important. She writes that these frames can be useful to social movements when they resonate with potential constituents' experiences, or in the case she researched, can deter support when they contradict the experiences of the desired constituents. When a frame resonates with the everyday lives of the potential constituents, that is the events and beliefs a frame highlights mimic the things the constituents consider important, they are more likely to support the frame and the movement. In addition to individuals' experiences, Babb notes the importance of

²⁸ Babb explains, "'Green-backism,' a financial scheme designed to benefit debtors by ensuring an ample money supply at low interest rates, gained support among small businessmen, farmers, and even industrialists."

“Master Frames” or overarching ideologies that guide a social movement. She explains that if a collective action frame draws on one or more aspects of the master frames, and tries to link the guiding ideology to these common beliefs, it will attract more potential supporters. Babb concludes that the success of a collective action frame, or how much support it musters for the movement, depends on how well the ideology fits with the constituents’ everyday ideas and cultural norms. Babb explains that social movements can tailor old ideologies, to a new desired constituency using specific strategies, including focusing on a different aspect of the master frame, but if this fails then the audience are likely to abandon the social movement to support frames that fit more closely with their personal experiences.

In the case of “Green-backism”, Babb analyzed two-hundred and forty five articles from labor movement newspapers and concluded that that the frames the Knights of Labor put forth did not match the everyday experiences of workers and union members. She found that workers more closely identified with the “Producerist” master frame which supported Green-backism on the basis that soft money would support those who were engaged in productive behavior, like workers and farmers. While the labor newspaper articles opposed Green-backism on the basis that it would heighten interest rates for workers and help the upper classes, workers felt that they had no savings to invest so the rates would not immediately affect their well-being. The Knights of Labor was thinking about the long term effects of the soft money, but the workers were personally more focused on the possibility of having additional liquid assets. Babb explained that while the labor movement was steadfast in their anti-Greenback approach, the Greenback party varied their platforms and speeches to different audiences depending

on if they were speaking to farmers, laborers, or mercantilists. This frame extension and flexibility made it possible for the Greenback party to appeal to a wide range of constituents unlike the labor movement's fixed 'high interest rate' frame. Babb explains that this experiential commensurability or the ability to relate collective frames to potential constituents' everyday lives is central to the success of a frame. While the influence of the Greenback party faded by 1884, the Knights of Labor also lost the support of many potential and active members because it was unable to create a collective action frame that matched its constituents' experiences and beliefs.

As Babb discusses the distance between the Labor Movement's framing of Greenbackism and the working class' identification with a competing framework in the late 19th century, there are have other historical lapses in labor movement-worker frame resonance. In its early days, the US labor movement was strongly tied a larger moral message that people deserve fair pay, safe working conditions, and a strong quality of life. According to Cornfield & Fletcher (1998) the guiding principle of the American Federation of Labor (AFL) was "to improve members' livelihoods by distributing wealth" (p. 1307). This mission, especially the idea of improving livelihoods, lends itself to the idea of 'life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," as promised by *The Declaration of Independence* end central to "The American Dream."

As this message involves the guiding principles of U.S. government Cornfield and Fletcher explain that the labor movement need to involve the government in its message. As organized labor supported a redistribution of wealth through and expansion of the welfare state, the AFL had a specific legislative agenda spanning labor law, full employment proposals, social welfare programs, civil liberties, and defense and foreign

policy initiatives. Cornfield and Fletcher argue that a working class mentality grew out of this campaign and that labor gained alliances in a multi-organizational field by aligning itself with other movements on particular common issues. However, the authors explain that the AFL changed its legislative agenda as it faced changes in industrial productivity. These changes distanced the AFL from other organizations as they appeared to be a special interest group lobbying only for their own members rather than for the welfare of all working people.

With changes in the U.S. economy, specifically the move from a manufacturing focus to a service industry focus, the labor movement has moved further away from its original objective (Fantasia & Voss, 2004). By the era of Regan economics in the 1980s many labor critics characterized unions as a special interest groups that only looked out for the greed of its own members. This overarching ideology negatively influenced potential union supporters who identified with Regan's economic philosophies. As political and economic spheres of power shifted, the Democratic Party moved away from its pro-labor traditions to appeal to the middle class (Ebbinghaus & Visser, 1998) and the labor movement had less to latch onto at the national level. Stuck at a crossroads, Jeremy Brecher, author of *Strike!* (1997), argues the Labor Movement hurt itself by moving further away from its former allies and its historic message of fair wages and good jobs for all workers. Brecher references labor historian David Montgomery's characterization of the labor movement in the 1970s, "like a great snapping turtle, 'hiding within its shell to shield the working class from contamination' and 'snapping out' at those outside forces who ventured too close" (Brecher, 1997, 319).

Stanley Aronowitz, in his canonical work *False Promises* (1973), also discusses how the labor movement has lost its original connection with working class consciousness as early as the 1960s. Aronowitz agrees that the labor movement was originally tied to a very specific working class culture, which was identifiable by a working class language, leisure, and style. Aronowitz explains that there was a time when the labor movement related its mission and message directly to the culture and beliefs of the American worker. Through the first half of the twentieth century, the common union member was white, male, voted Democrat and made a good salary working in a manufacturing plant or as a skilled tradesman. This characterization of the typical union member made it easier for unions to shape their movement and message around the shared belief system of these workers. However, as the economy changed, the portrait of the American worker changed, and the labor movement became further separated from the traditional working class culture, morals, and beliefs.²⁹ Aronowitz argues that working class consciousness has become weaker because of divisions in race, gender, and skill among the working class. He says it would benefit labor to embrace this new culture and use new messages to mobilize and motivate these groups, but Brecher argues that the Labor Movement has not been able to do this.

Instead of adapting its message to speak to a new working class, Brecher (1997) says that labor leaders utilized top-down control created a deeper schism between leaders and rank and file members (p.315). He says leaders have neglected moral messages on worker's rights and justice and have implemented an individualistic corporate unionism

²⁹ This relates to Durkheim's theory regarding the change from a homogenous mechanical society with a strong shared belief system, lifestyle and collective conscience to a diversified organic solidarity. Durkheim suggests that this later type of society has a weaker collective conscience and must be held together by interdependence rather than a shared belief system (Durkheim, 1893).

practice. Brecher writes that the lack of worker action in 1970s and 1980s meant that many members felt their only role was to pay dues and then wait for their leaders to take action. Brecher argues this led to an apathetic membership and leaders who depended heavily on the Democratic Party. When these relationships failed as Democratic politicians did not wish to push for labor rights that would upset other potential supporters, opponents characterized Organized Labor as a 'special interest group' out to protect only their own members.

The label of 'special interest group' also seeped down into the labor movement as it became a collection of individual associations looking out for their own local or own international unions rather than for all workers. Brecher points to the AFL-CIO's abandonment of striking PATCO workers in 1981 as an example of this separation (P.316). While legislation such as the Taft-Hartley Act³⁰ banned sympathy strikes by other unions, Brecher felt that the broader labor movement deserted striking PATCO workers instead of creating national support for the union. Brecher also points to the Pittston strike of 1989 when AFL-CIO leaders sent a letter instructing unions to help Pittston workers by donating food or encouraging their local papers to cover the strike, but not to do anything illegal, including engaging in sympathy strikes (p. 333).

Brecher agrees with Aronowitz that there is still great potential to mobilize and motivate the community in support of the labor movement, and he sees this capability

³⁰ The Taft Hartley Act of 1947 overturned many aspects of the earlier National Labor relations Act and outlawed 'closed shops' where employers can only hire union members. Instead, Taft-Hartley (which is widely regarded as anti-union legislation) gave states the right to choose between agency (union) shop and open shop regulation. In an agency (union) shop, if a workplace is unionized, an employee is required to pay union dues as part of their employment but does not have to already be a union member in order to be hired. In an open shop, an employee can choose whether or not to pay dues and join the union, even though she/he still benefits from the union negotiations and contract. This therefore is seen as an anti-union policy. There are currently 22 open-shop states (mostly in the Southern and Western U.S.), and 28 states, including New Jersey that practice agency (union) shop policies.

playing out in mass strikes and demonstrations. Brecher explains that the period of mass strikes and demonstrations that brought American workers & American people together throughout history have been in decline since the end of the Vietnam War. He sees people turning towards more individual solutions (“Looking Out for Number One”) or looking at smaller group solutions based on demographics of gender, race, ethnicity, and location. Brecher explains that it is common for there to be a ‘cooling-off’ period after a wave of mass strikes, but he adds that changes in the economy and pro-employer legislation during the recent cool-off have significantly decreased workers’ power. He believes that international organizations such as the World Trade Organization, trade agreements such as NAFTA, and trends of outsourcing and globalization have rendered American workers powerless in many regards (1997, p308). As such, Brecher sees an opportunity for the workers to bind together and erupt in another period of mass strikes. In his theory, Brecher alludes to a broader moral message-based framework possibly influencing collective action and bringing people together in protest as it did during the Vietnam War. He concludes that it is essential for a movement to have a message that draws the support of constituents outside of the movement who identify with the moral framework.

Labor activists Rick Fantasia and Kim Voss pick up where Aronowitz and Brecher left off in an evaluation of the American Labor movement in their 2004 book *Hard Work*. Fantasia and Voss identify corporate power and anti-labor legislation as the main contributors to Labor’s decline. They see promise in the future of the labor movement if leaders can get past bureaucracy and abandon the recently popular top-down models of bargaining to organize (contracts that allow non-union workers to more easily

organize) and corporate campaigns (focusing money and efforts on research to predict management's bargaining points). Fantasia and Voss argue that these models are successful in the short run but are not effective for long term success. Instead the authors suggest that organizers focus on putting the 'Movement' back in 'Labor Movement' and mobilizing the working class base. These authors also agree that it is important to create a message that appeals to a broad community of potential supporters, especially college students. Fantasia and Voss note that some union leaders are skeptical of increased college student participation in the labor movement for fear that the volunteers will be seen as elitist and discourage member action. However, they argue that these college students provide a highly motivated base for organized labor due to their dedication to other frames and moral causes that overlap with organized labor's mission. Fantasia and Voss explain,

“Until now there has been no institutional or political base for furnishing the framework for a critique of the ‘normal’ routine exploitation of workers, but that has become increasingly possible as the anti-sweatshop movement pushes economic practices onto the moral radar of middle class students” (Fantasia & Voss, 2004, p. 173-74).

By emphasizing the connection between the 'moral radar' of middle class students and issues important to the labor movement, Fantasia and Voss are exploring one possibility for bridging between union frames, master frames, and other moral causes. This idea speaks directly to my concept of moral framing and pinpoints a particular value-issue (anti-sweatshop labor) that is important to organized labor as well as to these middle class students. By latching onto this moral issue and framing their struggle around anti-sweatshop labor, union leaders, especially those in the textile and manufacturing sectors, could draw support from these groups.

Moral Framing is not a completely new concept to the labor movement, and individual unions have historically latched onto moral-based messages. Beginning with the International Workers of the World's (IWW) emphasis on 'one big union,' organized labor has attempted to utilize Marx's prescription for working class consciousness to generate support for unionism. IWW worked to organize based on the principle that 'an injury to one is an injury to all' and that workers have more in common with each other than with the employing class. While the IWW worked to organize on a message of working class consciousness, their practices were often seen as revolutionary and anti-government, which was not in-line with the audience's everyday lives. Though the union tried to utilize morals in one aspect of their framework, this was not consistent throughout the frame.

Utilizing a more religious-based framework Cesar Chavez famously tugged on moral heartstrings across the country as he characterized his fellow farm laborers as hardworking religious men who were trying to support their families and save themselves from harmful pesticides. Even with an anti-immigrant bias Chavez was able to use a sort of moral framing to persuade million of Americans to boycott grapes in support of these workers, because people recognized the moral connection and moral imperative present in the situation. Among the workers, Chavez was able to mobilize and draw support from workers by connecting the farm workers' struggles to Catholic beliefs, similar to CTU's efforts. In both cases Chavez used morals to persuade workers and consumers to support the union effort.

Similarly, workers in the *Solidarność* (Solidarity) labor movement in Poland drew on moral frames around anti-communism values. As many Poles felt their cherished

values were being threatened by communism, the Solidarity movement used this to draw support for their own anti-communist labor union. While the laborers might have many differences from those who supported them, they shared a feeling that communism was threatening morals and values they held dear. With the help of the Catholic Church and Pope John Paul II, and the *Solidarność* movement emphasized these moral connections and gained enough support to overcome the Communist government's attempts to destroy the union. Pope John Paul II provided further moral cause for the Catholics in Poland to support the union by referencing Catholic Social thought and relating the movement to Gospel teachings on solidarity with the poor and marginalized. After years of tough government opposition to its message the *Solidarność* movement famously saw its leader Lech Wałęsa elected president of Poland in 1990.

Both Chavez and the leaders of the *Solidarność* movement in Poland were able to utilize connections to a moral framework and cherished values to gain support for their unions. By engaging the public in a value driven framework, these leaders emphasized the connections between the unions and the public based on moral sensibilities, which contributed directly to the successes of these groups. Reflecting on the success of these groups, Fantasia and Voss, Brecher, and Aronowitz, all speak to a need for a the labor movement to put forth a broad message that appeals to the community base. I argue that this broad message can be most effective if it is connected to cherished values and a moral framework. This recommendation relates to Frame analysis, specifically frame bridging, and experiential commensurability.

Frame Analysis and CTU

In my analysis of CTU, I have found that the union engaged in moral framing techniques as they connected pro-labor Catholic beliefs and culture to the message of their union. Their ability to link their struggle with a larger moral message allowed them to motivate their members and mobilize a base of community supporters which directly contributed to frame resonance and to the union’s success Drawing on Babb (1996), Gamson (1988), and Benford and Snow (1986) I used the concepts of frame bridging, experiential commensurability, cultural compatibility, and frame resonance to analyze the impact movement framing had on the parental, teacher, and community support of the union. Specifically, I utilized Johnston & Noakes schema (Table 1) because this updated version of Snow and Benford’s original schema allowed me to investigate CTU’s frames as well as the role of the frame-makers in this process. I have adapted this table to reflect CTU’s framework in Table 2.

Table 2 Johnston and Noakes applied to CTU

Makers of a Frame -Bill Blumenstein, Ro Farrow,	Receivers of a Frame -school parents	Frame Qualities -a frame schema’s content
<p>*Credibility of Promoters- Veteran teachers, well liked, also Catholic school parents, parishioners</p> <p>*Charismatic Authority- characterization of Bill and Ro as union leaders</p> <p>*Strategic/Marketing Orientation-rather than tailoring message to each group, union was loyal to one slogan, one message</p>	<p>*Ideological orientations- Frame Bridging between Catholic social thought, Catholicism, and unionism</p> <p>*Demographic, attitudinal, and moral orientations- Camden diocese residents are historically working class and generally pro union</p>	<p>*Cultural Compatibility- Unionism follows Catholic values & goes along with pro-union sentiment of the area. Slogans are at work.</p> <p>*Frame Consistency- Components all follow CST. Members note, ‘we never asked for too much.’</p> <p>*Relevance-<i>Empirical Credibility</i> (salaries), <i>Experiential Credibility</i> (pro-worker, anti-church climate)</p>

First, I look at the makers of a frame, specifically twenty-five year CTU president Bill Blumenstein. I analyze Blumenstein's role in framing the union's struggles as well as evaluate his role according to Johnston and Noakes' criteria of credibility of promoters, charismatic authority, and strategic orientation. Second, I look at Frame Resonance as related to the receivers of the frame, which in the case of CTU are the parents and community members in the diocese. I look at their ideological orientations in relationship to Frame Bridging between CTU's collective action frame and the master frames of Catholic Social Thought. I also look at the demographic, attitudinal and moral orientations of people in the Camden diocese and South Jersey area. Lastly I look at the Frame Qualities, focusing specifically on cultural compatibility, frame consistency, and empirical credibility. Through this analysis, I argue that CTU has gained the support of parents and realized success in negotiations due to their 'moral framing' and frame bridging techniques. I believe that other labor unions can use this case as a guide of how to link their message to a broader moral framework and adopt some of CTU's strategies to mobilize their support base and increase their success.

In order to analyze the makers, receivers, and content of the CTU's frame, I first must analyze the frame as it presented to potential supporters. The media's in-depth coverage of the first strike as well as the following five negotiations is a crucial element to the story of this union and their characterization. I now turn to the media, particularly to local newspapers, and their coverage of the labor union.

Chapter 4-The Media & CTU: A content analysis

*People shouldn't fear the press-you should relish it and you should try to get your goal across.
When you can't do that, people become suspect.*

-Ro Farrow

“It’s news.” This was union President Blumenstein’s reaction to the question of why he thought the media was so involved in covering the CTU strikes. Blumenstein is right, as news outlets almost always, though perhaps increasingly less often, cover labor union negotiations and activities. It seems that the media cannot resist photograph opportunities of picket signs and strikers, generally depicted marching with their mouth open, assumingly yelling a ‘pro-union, anti-establishment’ rhyme. Job actions can provide rich stories for newspaper reporters, involving opposition, demonstrations, and emotions. Media, however, does not always return the favor. Several researchers have studied the media’s portrayal of unions and strikes and have found that newspapers, television news shows, and movies paint a negative picture of organized labor.

In the most complex study of this topic, Puette (1992) investigated the depiction of labor unions in various media sources including movies, television news shows, newspapers and political cartoons. Puette found that the media’s depiction of labor unions "has been both unrepresentative and virulently negative" (Puette, 1992, p. 31). He found that movies about labor unions were based on three dominant themes: the linkages between unions and organized crime, the prevalence of corruption and violence, and the exploitation of workers to benefit union representatives. Puette argues that this negative portrayal on the silver screen may taint the way the public views modern labor unions and their willingness to support these organizations. In Images 1-4 are examples of anti-union political cartoons, such as those Puette points out.

Image 1- Anti-Union Political Cartoon

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Image 2- Anti-Union Political Cartoon

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"You only want me to let your people go? Thank goodness! — I was afraid you were from the *Teamsters!*"

Image 3- Anti-Union Political Cartoon



"Individuals can and do make a difference, but it takes teamwork to really mess things up."

Image 4- Anti-Union Political Cartoon



More trouble from United Supermodels of America Local 1006.

Puette also looked at newspaper coverage of organized labor paying particular attention to historical issues, strike coverage, the reporters covering the labor beat, and the location and headlines of labor stories. He discovered that newspaper reporting on labor unions again emphasized 'greed, corruption, union self-interest, violence, and links to organized crime' (Chermak, 1995, p.124). Puette uses the example of media coverage of the United Mine Workers during their 1989-1990 strike to show, "selectivity in coverage, disproportionate access of sources to media, and exclusion of events supportive of pro-union positions" (Chermak, 1995, p.124). Puette's research asks why even historically liberal media outlets are critical of organized labor, a friend of the Left wing. Puette argues that one reason may be that labor stories are now being covered by business reporters with little experience in or knowledge of labor history and labor concerns. He believes that the reporters lack a strong background in labor movement issues, which leads them to rely on stereotypes of labor unions. He emphasizes that this is particularly true in the portrayal of organized labor in political cartoons, where cartoonists depict organized labor as fat, greedy communist sympathizers.

Freelance San Francisco columnist Dick Meisner (2004) agrees with Puette's suggestion that unions get 'rotten coverage' in papers and on television news broadcasts because reporters are no longer trained to cover a labor beat. Meisner, a forty-year veteran of the news industry, adds that readers should consider that news outlets are increasingly owned by large corporations who would not benefit from a positive portrayal of organized labor. Similar to Puette and Meisner, Daley (1994) found that newspaper reporting in a case study of Cincinnati, OH newspapers during the Teamsters strike was sparse, terse and was located in back sections of the paper. She also found that "the

majority of the articles portrayed labor in a negative or biased manner, making no attempt to maintain a neutral tone” (1994, ERIC abstract). From her research on the Teamsters, Daley also concluded that labor unions, particularly the Teamsters union, get what media relations experts call ‘bad press.’

Martin (2004) takes some blame off of the media and argues that media framing is often unintentional and seen as commonsense by reporters who are (unknowingly) limiting details and providing a specific view of organized labor. Like previous researchers, he notes that media coverage of unions increases during work stoppages and militant activity, which leads to a particular depiction of labor unions. Martin points to five frames that media outlets and reporters have used in recent history to characterize labor struggles:

- 1) Consumer is King
- 2) Process of Production is none of the public’s business
- 3) The economy is driven by great business leaders and entrepreneurs (not workers)
- 4) The workplace is a meritocracy
- 5) Collective economic action is bad (it will upset U.S. economy)

Martin says that reporters’ reliance on these frames have publicized an anti-union, pro-business message that further portrays labor as a special interest group. He notes that pro-consumer and unregulated business messages resonated better with the American public during recent history as consumerism has been on the rise. He writes that reporters used these frames more frequently throughout the 1990s, which further contributed to organized labor’s negative image. Despite this ‘bad press,’ Martin argues that organized labor can reverse these negative frames and can utilize the media to garner support for the union, but need to engage in advanced planning and active frame-making.

Previous researchers have argued that media coverage of unions has focused mainly on strike and protests, creating a sporadic and episodic character to this reporting. Additionally, it seems that even when the media does give attention to these more militant events, they separate them from larger social, economic, and labor questions therefore ‘divorcing’ union issues from the moral concept of workers’ rights. This has typically led to the negative portrayal of the unions as a greedy special interest group looking for an extra buck for their members.

Considering this past research on this topic, what is most interesting about the reporting of CTU is not that it mimics the episodic style of coverage, as media coverage of the union has historically skyrocketed during strikes, but that every member and leader interviewed agreed that the depiction of the union was neutral if not positive! Instead of the negative portrayal that Puette, Daily, Meisner and Martin describe, every CTU member and leader I spoke with said that they thought newspapers were sympathetic to the union and was helpful in getting their message out to the public. However, reporters and union leaders agreed that this positive depiction involved hard work on the part of CTU. The union has been actively involved in the framing their struggle, from the first strike for recognition to the most recent contract negotiations.

While the media portrayal of the Bishop and the Camden diocese was considered ‘neutral’ by almost all members, most agree and news archives show, that the union was depicted in a positive light. Local newspapers, particularly *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, *The Courier Post*, *The Philadelphia Daily News*, *The Vineland Times Journal*, and *The Atlantic City Press*, characterized the union as teachers who were struggling on low salaries to do service to the Catholic church and their students. These articles contributed

to the context at the focus of the third column of Johnston and Noakes (2002) schema as related to Cultural Compatibility, Frame Consistency, and Frame Relevance. I found that the newspapers provided overwhelming support to the leaders and the union by propelling the same ideologies the union was trying to express in statements, letters, and parental meetings. Newspapers did this on a larger scale and reached a broader audience, therefore aiding CTU in creating a favorable context and environment for their struggles.

Method

My first step in determining the role of media framing in the case of CTU involved a detailed analysis of the newspaper articles written on and about the union over its twenty-five year tenure. For this content analysis I reviewed one hundred and twenty-five (125) newspaper articles that covered the Catholic Teachers Union from 1984 to 2008. I drew these articles from five Camden area local newspapers including *The Courier Post*, *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, *The Philadelphia Daily News*, *The Atlantic City Press*, *The Vineland Times Journal*, as well as *The New York Times*. Additionally I reviewed articles in *The National Catholic Reporter*, an independent newspaper reporting on a wide range of Catholic issues, and *The Camden Catholic Star Herald*, a daily newsletter published by the diocese of Camden.

In developing framing codes for my content analysis, I analyzed the articles according to the format utilized by Delaney & Eckstein (2007) in their analysis of media coverage on sports stadium initiatives. In their research, Delaney and Eckstein reviewed media articles in 16 cities that have been involved in public funding initiatives for professional sports stadiums. The researchers rely on Luke (1974) to argue that media representations can impact policy outcomes on three dimensions:

- 1) *Representations provide information to readers on a passive, unbiased level*
- 2) *Representations actively shape news by utilizing identifiable description patterns*
- 3) *Representation contribute to and gives support to dominant ideologies*

First, Delaney and Eckstein explain that the news operates in Luke's first dimension of power where it reports the news in a neutral and passive manner. In this dimension a reporter informs the reader on the situation without imparting her own opinion or 'spin' on the article. In the second dimension of power, the media takes a more active role as reporters and editors have the power to choose what details are newsworthy and choose exactly what they will report. Delaney and Eckstein argue that this is indicated by the identifiable patterns where articles repeatedly cover a story in the same way, such as touting or opposing economic benefits of stadium construction. In the third dimension of power, the media has the ability to contribute to dominant cultural ideologies, or to challenge these ideologies. In the case of sports stadiums, the researchers found that reporters tended to support the dominant ideology that the majority of people are sports fans and are supportive of their sports teams. This contributed to the ideology that cities which were struggling financially could draw high powered executives and tourists to their town by constructing new stadiums, since it assumed the execs and tourists would be sports fans. Delaney and Eckstein explain that media has the power to counter these dominant ideologies and introduce alternatives, but that this is not common as media executives and owners are usually linked into what the author's call a Local Growth Coalition. This Coalition is composed of local business people, politicians, and media members who work together, out of the public's eye, to get their proposals approved.

Using Luke's theory, Delaney and Eckstein characterized the media coverage on stadium proposals in each of the 16 cities as either Uncritical, for those in line with

stadium proponents, Critical, for those that included criticism of the initiatives and the proponents' claims, or Hybrid, where there was a mixture of the two or when the opinion was unclear or unbiased. Next, the researchers conducted a more detailed content analysis of newspaper articles for one city in each category; Indianapolis in the Uncritical group, New York in the Critical group, and Kansas City in the Hybrid group. Delaney and Eckstein chose these cities because they all three have recently been involved in public funding stadium initiatives and none were completed as of the 2007 publication. In these cities, the researchers looked at every article written on the proposals in the two to four years leading up to the research rather than taking a random sample of these articles.

Delaney and Eckstein rated each article in terms of how critical or uncritical it was of the stadium initiative on a scale of 1-5, including .5 fractions, they assigned a 1 to articles that were least critical of stadium initiatives and a 5 to articles that were most critical of the proposals. They used three indicators to determine the level of criticalness of each article: information for/against stadiums, mention of groups for/against stadium initiatives, and quotations of stadium proponents and opponents. Based on these indicators, the authors found that articles in averaged scores of 4.3 (most Critical) in Indianapolis, 1.4 (least critical) in New York, and 3.2 (hybrid) in Kansas City.

Additionally, the researchers found that editorial pieces were overall more critical of stadium initiatives than news articles were. Through the use of this method, Delaney and Eckstein concluded that media coverage can impact the outcome of stadium initiatives, but that outcomes are determined more by the strength of the Local Growth Coalition. The researchers conclude that media coverage and framing are important to the outcome,

but there is an interaction effect as the impact of the media depends on the strength of the local growth coalition.

Following Delaney and Eckstein's (2007) model, I rated each of the 125 articles on a scale of 0-5, where 0 represented the most anti-union articles, and 5 represented the most pro-union articles. Like Delaney and Eckstein I also used .5 fractions and allowed for hybrid models. While these researchers used three indicators to rate each article, I used nineteen indicators focused on quotations from parents, the union, and diocesan representatives on the union and the diocese. These indicators were:

- Positive words used to Describe the Union
- Negative words used to Describe the Union
- Positive words used to describe Diocese/Bishop
- Negative words used to describe Diocese/Bishop
- Mention of Parental support of the teachers and/or the union
- Mention of Teacher's Unions as a 'special interest group'
- Positive Quotation about Diocese/Bishop from a CTU representative
- Negative Quotation about Diocese/Bishop from a CTU representative
- Positive Quotation about CTU from the Diocese/Bishop
- Negative Quotation about CTU from the Diocese/Bishop
- Positive Quotation about CTU from a Parent
- Negative Quotation about CTU from a Parent
- Positive Quotation about Diocese/Bishop from a Parent
- Negative Quotation about Diocese/Bishop from a Parent³¹
- Positive Quotation about CTU from student
- Negative Quotation about CTU from student
- Mention of union upsetting the Identity/Culture of Catholic Schools
- Citation of comparing CTU salaries and public teacher/other Catholic teacher salaries
- Mention of Catholic Doctrine/CST supporting unions

I developed this coding frame through an inductive method of surveying and studying newspaper articles about CTU. I examined each of the 125 articles two to four times with

³¹ Originally, I planned an indicator for positive and negative quotations from non-parent community members (such as other parishioners, public school teachers, public school board members, business owners) on both the union and the diocese. However, there were 1 or less instances in each category as the reporters rarely if ever printed quotes from non-parent community members

three examinations being standard, two for shorter articles (less than 100 words) and four for longer articles (more than 600 words). The findings in each round of content analysis were extremely similar with only five articles having one additional indicator and two articles having two additional indicators in the second analysis. As such the results appear reliable.

I also analyzed the topics and points in each article to see if there was a trend in the facts and events the papers reported. In addition to coverage of the union being episodic, as all but three articles focused on strikes and negotiations, the coverage also followed a pattern of reporting specific figures and aspects of each situation. This speaks to Delaney and Eckstein's argument that media reporters have the power to choose what is newsworthy in which details they report. They explain that it is possible to gauge this through patterns that emerge when certain details are repeatedly covered and emphasized. Though an inductive method, I also developed a set of 'newsworthy detail' indicators including;

Mention of other Unions

Mention of Bishop & Morality

Mention of Strike/Past Strikes

Mention of Salaries of CTU members³²

Mention of Fringe Benefits of CTU members

Mention of Working Conditions (tenure, class size, hours, etc.) of CTU members

Mention of Due Process/Disciplinary Process for CTU members

The presence of these newsworthy indicators demonstrates how reporters help to create frameworks based on what they consistently include in their articles. By choosing to repeat certain details, figures, and messages, reporters have a role in shaping a framework

³² This indicator is similar to the last indicator under the analysis codes, but differs as it includes all mentions of CTU teacher salaries while the former only includes content that mentions specific salaries.

and telling an audience which facts are important. In the case of CTU reporters covered specific issues repeatedly, deeming them significant to the frame.

Results

The results from the content analysis give a clear view of how the union was presenting its message to the public through the mass media. Unlike previous research on unions and episodic framing, local newspapers overwhelmingly portrayed the union in a positive light, most often due to the CTU leaders' quotations and salary figures the union provided to the reporters. Almost half (49.6%) of the articles used positive words to describe the union while only 14.4% spoke positively about the diocese. Similarly there were more articles including negative words about the diocese (40%) than there were that included negative words about the union (19.2%). One example of a negative quotation about the diocese was, "...people were dumbfounded to hear the smooth-talking diocesan spokesman say that 'it's a matter of principle'" (Adamo). Another was, "Too often though church authorities seem more eager to be combative and punitive" (*National Catholic Reporter*, 9/23/94). As reporters and editors determine which quotations to record and publish, it is important to note their role in shaping the frame and creating a more positive image for the union.

Table 3: Frequencies of Analysis Indicators

Indicator	Frequency (Percentage of articles)
Citation of comparing CTU salaries to other teacher salaries	76 (60.8%)
Positive words used to Describe the Union	62 (49.6)
Negative words used to describe Diocese/Bishop	50 (40.0)
Negative Quotation about Diocese/Bishop from a CTU rep.	37 (29.6)
Negative words used to Describe the Union	24 (19.2)
Mention of Parental support of union/teachers	23 (18.4)
Mention of Catholic Doctrine/CST supporting unions	20 (16.0)
Positive words used to describe Diocese/Bishop	18 (14.4)
Positive Quotation about CTU from a Parent	17(13.6)

Positive Quotation about CTU from student	16 (12.8)
Negative Quotation about CTU from the Diocese/Bishop	15 (12.0)
Mention of union upsetting Catholic School Identity/Culture	15 (12.0)
Positive Quotation about CTU from the Diocese/Bishop	13 (10.4)
Positive Quotation about Diocese/Bishop from a CTU rep.	12 (9.6)
Negative Quotation about Diocese/Bishop from a Parent	8 (6.4)
Negative Quotation about CTU from student	4 (3.2)
Mention of Teacher's Unions as a 'special interest group'	3 (2.4)
Negative Quotation about CTU from a Parent	3 (2.4)
Positive Quotation about Diocese/Bishop from a Parent	0 (0.0)

There were negative quotations from representatives on each side about the other as well. While these diatribes may have been meant to negatively characterize the opposition, they may have come back to make the provider of the quotation seem negative. Such negative campaign tactics have hurt politicians who are then accused of slander. One example of this was Bill Checcio's quotation to *The Atlantic City Press* during the 1985 strike, "They didn't even have the courtesy of returning our phone call" (Gunther, 4/16/85). While there were more negative quotations from CTU representatives about the diocese than vice-versa (29.6% to 12%), the diocese still engaged in negative campaigning against the union.

As Table 3 shows, there were also 17 articles including positive quotations from parents about the union (13.6%), but none where parents were quoted speaking positively about the diocese or the bishop. This may be due to a lack of positive quotations from parents in reference to the diocese, or might reflect the media interjecting their support for the union and imparting a more positive image of the union on readers. Reporters Kristen Graham and Diana Marder, both of *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, reported on the union in 2005 and 1985 (respectively) and explained that they tried to seek out quotations and reactions from parents supporting both sides in these struggles. Marder noted, however, that this was not always easy as parents seemed to be more supportive of the

union. She noted that parents were more willing to speak positively about the union than negatively about the diocese, but she also could not recall any parents openly criticizing the teachers in her reports (Personal Interview, 11/13/08). One quotation that reflects this is, “I can withhold my children. I won't send them to a school filled with turmoil, acrimony, and anger”, given by a parent explaining her decision to support the teachers by keeping her kids out of school during the 1985 strike (Marder, 4/26/1985). While this quotation does not directly criticize the diocese, it alludes to the parent’s distaste for diocesan practices. Another supportive quotation of the union was from Camden Catholic parent Kathleen McGovern who stated, “I can’t believe how little these people (the teachers) are paid” (Marder, 4/26/1985). By including such quotations, the newspapers portrayed the parents as generally supportive of the teachers’ efforts.

Students also spoke out in favor of the teachers by providing supportive quotations to newspapers such as, “We don't mean to offend those teachers who have crossed the picket line to come to school to teach us, but we think our teachers deserve better” (Stillwell, 4/25/85) from a student during the 1985 strike, and, "I'm glad they walked out. It's not fair for them to have to sign a contract they don't agree with,” from one student during the 1994 strike (Baehr & Zimmer, 9/20/1994). Like the statements from the parents, these positive quotations from students also may have tipped the scale in favor of the union and frightened diocesan administrators into wondering if parents and children would boycott the schools in support of their teachers.

The papers also had a role in spreading the moral message of the union as 16% of the articles also mentioned the connection between Catholic doctrine or Catholic social thought and unionism. While this may seem like a small number, as these are public

newspapers, it is important that the papers made mention of this dogma at all.

Additionally, there were several editorial pieces in *The Courier Post* and in the *National Catholic Reporter* that focused solely and completely on these connections. While, these were not included in this content analysis due to their editorial nature, if I were to score these editorials, they would receive a definite score of 5. Camden Diocese Monsignor Adamo wrote an editorial in *The Courier Post* (discussed in chapter 2), which compared the union members to Jesus during the 1985 strike. Adamo outlined the Church's historic support of organized labor and publicized the union's 'moral framing' without any help or nudging from union leaders. In 1997, *The National Catholic Reporter* also ran an editorial piece called "In Camden, what is the Church teaching on labor?" This was also very critical of the diocese of Camden when it announced it would hire replacements for teachers during the 1997 strike. The editorial states,

"Somewhere in the curriculum of Catholic high schools in Camden, N.J., we presume there is a course that covers the church's teachings on labor, on the dignity of work, on workers' right to organize and even strike for a living wage" (*NCR*, 9/26/97).

These editorials allowed for the 'moral framing' to come out more strongly and clearly in the newspapers because it was coming from respected Catholic voices rather than just from the teachers. As these faith leaders were spreading the same moral frame as the teachers, their authority also gave credibility to this message and may have led readers to question which side-the teachers or the diocese- was really following Catholic doctrine.

As Table 3 demonstrates, the most frequent indicator in present in the articles was comparison between CTU teacher salaries and public school or other private school teacher salaries (61%). These salary comparisons were present in the majority of the articles and lent empirical credibility to the union's message. Not only did the union have

the media helping to spread its moral frame, but it also was involved in frame extension to the salary issue (discussed below and at length in Chapter 7). The consistent inclusion of these statistics also reflects the reporter’s role in determining what details are newsworthy, which I discuss below.

I also scored each article and averaged these scores based on year and on newspaper to determine if there was a difference in positive portrayal of the union in various years (Table 4). Overall, the average score for all years of 3.37 demonstrates that the papers were sympathetic to the union’s message as this score is significantly greater than the average or ‘neutral’ score for an article which is 2.5. This finding shows that the papers generally presented a positive portrayal of the union.

Table 4: Average Score of articles by year

Average score 3.37 overall

1984	3.47
1985	3.53
1991	3.25
1994	3.13
1997	3.24
2005	3.21

These average scores show that the newspapers were most supportive of the union during 1985, the year of the first strike. In the beginning of the union, the leaders intentionally reached out to the media and were candid about their salaries, their working conditions and the church’s historic support of labor unions. The media responded to this candidness and also perhaps to the ‘newness’ of the situation, and provided in depth coverage of the strike. After the initial boost from papers in 1985, positive coverage of the union decreased in the 1991 negotiations, where teachers had first promised not to

strike and then voted to strike, but settled before the pickets began. This recanting may have led to the more negative portrayal of the union during these negotiations but it is also possible that the union had lost contact with some reporters as coverage of the group was missing from 1985 to 1991.

In between the 1985 strike and the 1991 negotiations, the union and the Diocese had twice utilized “Win-Win Bargaining” (Chapter 8) in collective bargaining meetings in 1987 and 1990. After great success in the 1987 negotiations, the 1990 negotiations were described as “contentious” and “wrought with power struggles” between the diocese and then president Ro Farrow. Several union members argue that this had to do with Ro’s gender and the patriarchal structure of the diocese while other interviewees deny that accusation. Either way, newspapers did not cover either of the Win-Win bargaining sessions, leading to a lull in coverage from 1985 to 1991 and then a less positive portrayal of the union during the 1991 negotiations.

The favorable media depiction continued to wane slightly to its lowest point in 1994 when teachers struck over the Bishop’s insistence that they agree to a moral code giving him ‘absolute authority.’ While preparing a new contract in the summer of 1994, the diocese threw a curveball at the union when Bishop James McHugh³³ proposed contract changes that would give the bishop “absolute authority in dismissing teachers, regardless of ability or tenure” (Bole, 1994). The bishop insisted that the teacher’s union sign this ‘minimum standards’ agreement before he would allow union elections, but the union claimed that signing such a statement would give the diocese the power to fire a

³³ Bishop McHugh was most known for his leadership in the Pro-life movement within the Catholic Church. McHugh served as Bishop of the Camden Diocese from 1989 to 1999 when he was appointed Bishop of Rockville Centre, NY.

teacher at any time. Newspapers heavily covered this battle and included quotations from diocesan leaders about the Bishop's need to have authority in his schools. The papers also quoted union members speaking negatively about the bishop and the code, which created a more negative portrayal of the union as secular and not interested in upholding the morals and values of the Church. This faltering contributed to less support from parents during the 1994 strike because the union was less able to utilize moral framing, and this came through in newspaper coverage.

The average scores for newspaper articles increased again for 1997 when the strike again focused on the gap between pay for CTU members and public school as well as Philadelphia Catholic school teachers. The scores in 1997 were also influenced by articles pertaining to the Supreme Court case (*South Jersey Catholic School Teachers Organization v. St. Teresa of the Infant Jesus Church Elementary School, et al.*) between the union and the diocese over representation of the elementary school diocesan teachers. This case, in which the union won collective bargaining rights for teachers in the diocesan elementary schools caused a great deal of tension between the union and the diocese and led to negative press for the diocese.

While the Justices ruled in favor of the union, citing that the State's constitution spelled out the right of public and private employees to organize (Gaul, 2007), the diocese was reluctant to settle and repeatedly turned down union contract offers without presenting viable counter agreements. Negotiations for the elementary schoolteachers continued throughout 1998 and 1999 but the diocese and the union did not reach an agreement. Newspapers reported the results of the case as well as the negative diocesan reaction to the ruling. These articles portrayed the bishop as stubborn and uncooperative

during this time. When the teachers struck in the fall of 1997, the problems between the elementary teachers and the diocese were looming in the background of newspaper coverage. News articles included salary comparisons for elementary level teachers in the diocese as well, which were much lower than their public school counterparts.

Additionally as the diocesan attorney had argued that the union would be detrimental to the unique culture of the elementary schools, reporters were able to again emphasize the disconnect between the diocese's claims and Catholic doctrine about providing church workers with benefits including the right to organize. This contributed to the positive portrayal of the union.

In addition to separating scores by year, I also averaged the scores based on the individual local newspapers. These results were less noteworthy as the three largest local newspapers, *The Courier Post*, *The Atlantic City Press*, and *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, averaged very similar scores. It is interesting to note that *The Courier Post*, which was classified by several interviewees as 'most critical of the diocese' averaged the lowest score of these three, but that this score was not significantly different from the other two large papers. Additionally, it is of note that every paper presented a positive (over 2.5 neutral) portrayal of the union in spite of perceptions that the coverage of the union was 'neutral.' Also interesting is that the National Catholic Reporter, a Catholic news-source, and the Vineland Times journal, housed in the economically depressed and more anti-union Cumberland County, received equal average scores. As discussed in chapter 2, Ro Farrow recalled that the parents from Cumberland County were the least supportive of the union and I argue that the frame resonated with least with this group. The more critical media framing of the union by this area's local newspaper may have contributed

to this negative viewpoint of parents in Cumberland County. Also interesting is that *The New York Times*, which is considered a left-leaning paper, had the lowest score of the papers covering CTU. It is possible that this is due to the fact that the other newspapers are local and have more consistent dealing with the diocese, the schools, and the union while the *Times* is a national newspaper. Due to their lack of interaction with the area and the union *The New York Times* articles also sought quotations from union and diocesan members rather than the established leaders and media point people. This also might have led to a less positive portrayal.

<i>Atlantic City Press</i>	3.47
<i>Philadelphia Inquirer</i>	3.45
<i>Courier Post</i>	3.40
<i>Vineland Times Journal</i>	3.25
<i>National Catholic Reporter</i>	3.25
<i>New York Times</i>	3.13

Third, I also looked particularly at the presence of other ‘newsworthy indicators’ (Table 6) as Delaney and Eckstein (2007) suggest that reporters have the power to decide what details are most important. They explain that by doing this, reporters are holding the power to frame the story in a particular way by choosing which facts are newsworthy and which are not. Delaney and Eckstein conclude that certain patterns emerge overtime as particular details become repeated points of emphasis. In this case the salaries of school teachers and the union’s history of striking were central to the media coverage with frequencies of 70% and 61%, respectively. The emphasis on salaries is important in terms of empirical credibility focused on salary and income issues, discussed at length in Chapter 7.

Table 6: Frequencies for “Newsworthy Indicators”

Indicator	Frequency
Salaries of Lay Catholic School Teachers (SCST)	85
Strike/Past Strikes (STK)	76
Bishop’s Morality Clause (BM)	30
Working Conditions (WCST)	28
Fringe Benefits (BCST)	27
Due Process/Disciplinary Process (DCST)	27
Other Unions (OU)	16

The constant pattern of mentioning strikes in these articles reflects the episodic framing of the group around their work stoppages, which is common in union media coverage.

The other contract issues of benefits, working conditions, and disciplinary processes were included much less frequently in reports- each averaging around 22%. While members emphasized the importance of these factors, reporters did not consider them ‘newsworthy. Mentioning these factors might have led to more frame resonance as receivers felt connected to the union on issues of health care and family benefits. While CTU fostered connections based on the salary gap, I suggest is possible for other unions without an extreme salary differential to include fringe benefit issues in their frame extension. CTU did not emphasize their benefits as much as salaries in their framework, but this is one aspect other unions might stress in order to extend their moral message to also reflect issues about health care and supporting a family.

This content analysis leads to two major conclusions about the media reports that were being presented to reader audience. First, the papers presented the union in a positive light. While the portrayal of the diocese was mostly neutral, as interviewees predicted, rather than negative, it was overshadowed by an emphasis on the union and the teachers. Second, this positive portrayal was amplified by connections to the ‘moral

framing' the union presented and which Monsignor Adamo and the editor of *The National Catholic Reporter* emphasized as well as by the constant salary comparisons. These editorials were far more supportive of the union than any other articles and came with the added authority of being written by revered church leaders. While the public papers may not have focused as much on the issues of Catholic dogma based on their lack of credibility or authority on the issues they deemed the salary issue 'newsworthy' from the first strike to the most recent negotiation. This emphasis was helpful to the union when they dealt with frame extension and transformation in their later negotiations.

As noted above, it is common that frames around organized labor only involve episodic framing, that is, coverage of the strike rather than the organization over a period of time. Consequently, Puette and Meisner, Daley, and Martin have argued that this phenomenon depicts unions in a negative light. While the media coverage of CTU focused on their work stoppages and negotiations, reporters very rarely portrayed the union in a negative light. Kristen Graham, reporter for *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, covered the union during the 2005 negotiations and offered this reflection,

"Smaller organizations that do not have a set media point person need to point out one person or two people. And have that person be accessible to the media. Groups are sometimes scared of the media, so they don't return phone calls. Instead they should be accessible, give their cell phone numbers and home phone numbers so we can get reactions from them. They should not be fearful of the media if they are trying to get their message out" (Personal Interview, 11/11/08).

Graham suggests that through the strict designation of accessible media spokespeople, an organization like can establish a strong relationship with local media. Diana Marder, another *Philadelphia Inquirer* reporter who covered CTU during the 1985 strike, recalled that the union was extremely accessible to the media and even identified two media point

people, Bill Blumenstein and Rosemarie Farrow, who provided quotations and reactions to local reporters (Personal Interview 11/13/08). By deliberately contacting reporters and being honest about their salaries, working conditions, and contract demands Blumenstein (and Farrow to a lesser extent) were able to help create a positive image of the union in the local newspapers. These ‘Makers of a Frame’, as Johnston and Noakes dub them, made it clear to the members and the reporters that they would be the only media point-people. This allowed them to control the quotations given by the union, the quotations given about the strikes, and in turn the characterization of the union. Their leadership role was essential to the moral framing of CTU’s message and the frame resonance.

Chapter 5-Makers of the Frame

“I fear that when it comes time for the old guard to retire it will all go by the wayside. I feel we really built something up here and I have this negative opinion that it will all go by the wayside.”

-Maureen Sizmak, CTU Secretary

In their schema for analyzing frame resonance, Johnston and Noakes (2002) lay out three criteria to judge the Makers of a Frame. The first of these is Credibility of the Promoters or public opinion of the frame makers. In this case, the promoters of CTU’s frame are the union members and especially the vocal leaders of the union. Over its 25 year history, the Catholic Teachers Union has only had two presidents, who have also acted as the union’s spokespeople. This fact has led to Blumenstein and Farrow becoming consistent media point people as well as the faces and voices representing the teachers in media portrayals. While some members fear that this consistency could cause trouble for the union in the future, Blumenstein and Farrow’s effort and actions have directly influenced the success of the union.

According to the one of CTU's founding members, the initial contact between the union and the local media came almost by accident. Wayne Nystrom, a forty year veteran of the math department at Camden Catholic High School, was the acting bowling coach at the school when the 1984 recognition strike began. Nystrom had connections with the media through his coaching job and contacted several local newspaper reporters, who he usually called to relay the bowling match scores. He told the reporters that the secondary teachers in the Camden diocese were fighting for union recognition and that they would be picketing the diocesan offices on November 19th. Nystrom said that the reporters' response was disbelief, and that they told him, "But Catholic teachers here have never gone on strike." When the teachers walked out that Monday, Nystrom's "phone rang off the hook" as he received many calls from these reporters. As Nystrom was the first union member to contact the newspaper, reporters at *The Courier Post* dubbed him the 'media spokesperson' and he unintentionally became the front line of media-union communications. However, according to Nystrom, "That didn't last long!" He explained,

"Unfortunately, I don't always know how to guide my words. One time I said something, I offered a way around class size or something, and the other board members got mad. From then on, I told people, you'll have to call Bill or Ro. It was because of me we weren't allowed to speak to the media, we referred them to Bill or Ro" (Personal Interview, 9/15/08).

After the initial scramble to establish media relations, union leaders Bill Blumenstein and Ro Farrow took the important step to identify themselves as the *only* media point people. Farrow explained that she and Blumenstein made it clear to the press that they should speak only with them about the strike. As Nystrom positively noted, other members 'weren't allowed' to speak to the media so Ro and Bill had complete control over the

sound bytes and quotations the media received. Though neither Bill nor Ro claimed that they were engaged in deliberate framing during the union's earliest days, their actions to control media coverage meant this was exactly what they were doing. Maureen Sizmak, long-time union Secretary and twenty-nine year Paul VI English teacher commented on Bill's position as media spokesperson,

"We try not to talk publicly, I let Bill do that. We let him be the spokesperson. I had one reporter friend and I would always tell him, you have to talk to Bill, call Bill, talk to Bill. That way no one said too much or too little" (Personal Interview, 10/22/08).

Since Farrow left the diocese for a public school position after the 1997 school year, Blumenstein has been the main union spokesperson, with occasional help from Vice President Chris Ehrmann. While Ehrmann admits he 'can't keep quiet' at times, Blumenstein remains the main newspaper contact. According to union members, all of the reporters know Bill and his home phone number since he has been the president and the media contact for the entire history of the union. This specific characteristic allowed Bill to become not only familiar to the media, but also familiar to parents and community members who send their children to the Catholic High Schools and read about Blumenstein in the local newspaper. This access and reputation speak directly to Johnston and Noakes discussion of Makers of a Movement, especially in regards to Credibility of the Promoters and Charismatic Authority of the Frame Makers.

Credibility of Promoters

In their work on social movement (SMO) leaders, Morris and Staggenborg (2002) define SMO leaders as, 'strategic decision-makers who inspire and organize others to participate in social movements' (p.5). They go on to explain,

Leaders are critical to social movements: they inspire commitment, mobilize resources, create and recognize opportunities, devise strategies, frame demands, and influence outcomes (2002, p. 6).

Morris and Staggenborg (2002) outline the specific tasks that SMO leaders take on and exemplify their importance to the success of any movement. Reviewing earlier research on this topic (Brinton, 1952; Flacks 1971; Oberschall, 1973), Morris and Staggenborg create a portrait of the typical/average/common social movement leader. They explain that SMO leaders tend to be educated males who come from the middle or upper classes and who share the race and/or ethnicity of their supporters. The researchers argue that this specific background lends itself easily to SMO leadership roles because it tends to supply leaders with social networks, economic resources, and intellectual skills that are important to SMOs. They note that this is especially important because SMOs tend to help the ‘resource-poor.’

Morris and Staggenborg explain that education is important to SMO leaders because many of the leadership tasks within the movement require a great intellect. Of the twenty tasks the researchers outline for a SMO leader, the first is “framing grievances and formulating ideologies” (p. 9). In this, Morris and Staggenborg agree with Johnston and Noakes that SMO leaders drive the framing process. Therefore leaders must make decisions about framing in terms of how the movement presents itself and how it communicates this image. As in the case of Blumenstein and Farrow, the researchers argue that controlling the framing process means that leaders will also often act as spokespeople who relay this frame to the media. Drawing on previous researchers (Gamson and Wolfsfeld 1993; Gitlin 1980; Motlotch 1979; Ryan 1991), Morris and Staggenborg outline these multiple framing roles,

Social movement leaders, as the actors most centrally engaged in movement framing, devise media strategy, make judgments regarding information provided to media, conduct press conferences, and are usually sought out by media to serve as movement spokespersons (2002, p. 32).

The authors explain that when movements fail to appoint spokespeople, the media creates its own “leaders” and often seeks out the most colorful members to represent the group. To avoid this, effective leaders need to make the decision if they will speak directly to the media or delegate a qualified media point person. According to Nystrom and the other early CTU members, Blumenstein and Farrow chose to become the leaders, framers, and spokespeople therefore preventing any media depiction that was not in line with their desired message. As Blumenstein and Farrow were the face and voice of the union’s message, their personal credibility directly contributed to the audience’s interpretation of the union framework and message.

William J. “Bill” Blumenstein began his teaching career at Paul VI high school in September, 1971. He had graduated from Villanova University in Villanova, PA in May of the same year with a Bachelor’s of Science in Mechanical Engineering, but was unsure what he wanted to do with his degree. As Bill was originally from South Jersey, he heard through the rumor mill that Paul VI High School was hiring teachers, and he applied and obtained a position teaching Algebra and Mechanical drawing. The next year Bill left Paul VI for another job ‘more in tune’ with his engineering degree. However, he quickly realized that was not happy at that job and that he missed teaching. The next school year, Bill went back to work for the Camden Diocese, teaching half of the day at Paul VI and half the day at Camden Catholic. This position bouncing between the two schools allowed him to meet a number of teachers, students, parents and administrators. The following year a full time position opened at Paul VI and Bill resumed teaching solely at

that school, and has been there ever since, resulting in 34 years of service to Catholic Schools.

When Bill returned to Paul VI as a full time teacher for the 1973 school year, the president of the Lay Faculty Council asked Bill if he would serve on the council, representing the Paul VI teachers. Larry White, who also served on the council representing St. James, said that these positions were given on a basis of flexibility, so younger teachers, without children or other responsibilities, were often asked to take on these roles. Bill was only 25 at the time and agreed to join the council. The following year, the president of the Lay Faculty Council was promoted to an administration position and recommended Bill take over his post. The rest of the Council voted and agreed that Bill should take over as President.

The transition from Lay Faculty Council to Teachers Union is discussed at length in Chapter 2 but the story behind Bill becoming President of the union is much less detailed. Larry White and Wayne Nystrom remember that the union pioneers met informally at teachers' homes in fall 1984 to discuss how they would form the union. Leaders from the Philadelphia Union 1776, including Rita Schwartz³⁴, travelled to New Jersey to assist the group in their formation. White remembered a meeting, at Ro Farrow's home, where one member from the Philadelphia union said, "Well someone needs to be the leader." According to White, everyone agreed, "We said, Bill, you're the guy. He was already leading the lay council, so it seemed to make sense." Bill remained president until 1989 when he stepped down, asking his vice president Ro Farrow to take over, due to constraints of having two young children and another baby on the way. Ro

³⁴ Rita Schwartz is the current president of the National Association of Catholic School Teachers and a longtime advocate of unionism rights for lay Catholic school teachers.

served from 1989 until 1991, presiding over the 1990 contract negotiations, when Bill resumed the presidential role. Ro informed Bill that she would be stepping down and another member was planning to run for president. He and Bill disagreed on some particular union issues, so Bill decided to run against him and won. Bill has remained president since that election, running unopposed all but one term.

Bill's long tenure reflects Johnston and Noakes emphasis on the credibility of framers in the process of Frame Resonance. In newspaper articles with quotations from the union, Bill is the individual quoted in more than 90% of these articles. Because of this his name became recognizable, the audience, particularly parents, could consider him a steady player in the union-diocesan struggles. While the diocese has had five different bishops over the tenure of the union as well as several superintendants, the union has had only two presidents, with one serving for over 20 years.

In addition to Bill's long stay as CTU president, Bill is a veteran teacher at Paul VI. As a teacher, Bill has more interaction with and access to parents and students than the administration and the bishop. Additionally, since Bill has a reputation as a well-liked and effective teacher (according to parents and fellow teachers), this strengthens the possibility that parents will have a positive opinion of the union leader. According to CTU vice president Chris Ehrmann this characteristic is another reasons the parents want to side with the union,

"It doesn't hurt that we all happen to be pretty good teachers. We all have really good reputations, and when parents see us they say, 'you are committed to our kids, so we stand behind you'" (Personal Interview, 10/11/08).

While I am not aware of specific student or parent evaluation processes for the teachers in these schools, each teacher I spoke with discussed their dedication to teaching, always

without my prompting. Like Ehrmann explains, the teachers who are also the leaders of CTU are dedicated to their profession and even more so to their students. Also, several of the union leaders teach upper level, honors, and Advanced Placement courses at the high schools, which must pass College Board criteria. This means the teachers must earn the right to teach AP courses through syllabus evaluation, providing evidence of their quality teaching. Several of these teachers also hold or have held positions of department chair and even dean of students, which also suggests they are well respected by students and colleagues.

Farrow's story differs from Blumenstein's as she began teaching at an elementary school in the diocese while working to earn her certification. Farrow was respected and well liked by teachers, students, and parents and quickly obtained a position at Sacred Heart High School in Vineland where she also acted as chair of the History Department and Dean of Students. While fellow teachers praised Farrow for her efforts with the union, administrators at Sacred Heart did not share this sentiment and according to one teacher, "did everything they could to break her (Ro) down" (Personal Interview, 5/6/08). Farrow remembers being reprimanded for her union action by the Sacred Heart Principal who gave Farrow extra classes and moved her office into a broom closet.

After the 1985 strike, it was clear to Farrow that she could not stay at Sacred Heart and she requested and received a transfer to Camden Catholic High School. Diocesan administrators warned Camden Catholic's then principal, Monsignor Martin that Ro was a troublemaker, but her reputation as a quality teacher, leader, and person led him to give Farrow a chance. Martin was the same former St. James principal (then Father Martin) whom Larry White praised for his collaborative efforts with teachers in

the years leading up to the first strike. Farrow remained at Camden Catholic for thirteen years as she took on various union leadership roles, including one term as president, until leaving for the public schools after the 1997 school year. She again established herself as a quality teacher in her new position, moving from interim assistant principal to full time head principal of the largest high school in New Jersey over the course of three years.

While a few teachers I spoke with regret not leaving Catholic school sector for the public sector or regret not leaving sooner, every member I spoke with emphasized that they worked so hard for the union because they really liked teaching. One member explained how he wanted so badly to stay teaching in the Catholic schools because of the sense of community present there but that he could not afford to stay in the private sector. Even when he knew he was leaving for a public school teaching job, he worked for the union in order to increase salaries and benefits so other quality teachers could stay in the Catholic school system. This dedication to Catholic education, especially when parents saw how little the teachers were making despite rising tuition costs, increased the union's credibility among the parents.

In addition to their roles as veteran teachers, several CTU leaders have the role of also being a Catholic school parent. Blumenstein is the father of three Paul VI graduates and Farrow also sent three children through the diocesan high schools. Since Bill and Ro sent their respective children through these schools, they were also able to socialize with parents on another level. Bill's children were all active in school and especially in athletics at Paul VI which invited another arena for personal interaction between him and other parents-the union's target audience. The role of Catholic school parent adds to the credibility of the CTU leaders whose names parents could recognize from sports teams,

school fundraisers, and other parental events in addition to their roles as teachers.

Because these teachers chose to send their children to Paul VI high school, they were even more familiar to parents and this provided evidence for their belief in the Catholic school system. This allows the leaders to be further embedded in the parental community and provides additional ties to draw on in terms of audience support.

Charismatic Authority

In order to generate credibility for a movement, leadership does not end with the formation of the movement frame or with the completion of the first contract, especially not in the cases of Bill Blumenstein and Ro Farrow. Social movement leaders are asked to change and adapt themselves and their leadership as the movement grows, changes, and faces new challenges. Morris and Staggenborg explain,

Over the course of a social movement, leaders continue to influence movements by setting goals and developing strategies, creating movement organizations and shaping their structures, and forging connections among activists, organizations, and levels of action (p. 20).

Not only do a leader's conscious actions and decisions impact the success of a social movement, but her individual character and personality also affects a movement's achievements. While strategy and goal setting techniques may be easier to identify, Johnston and Noakes emphasize the importance of the leaders' personalities, especially their charisma on the outcome. A leader's character and qualities can improve their ability to lead, inspire members and encourage possible constituents to join a movement. The most famous sociological theory on the influence of a leader's personality on authority is Weber's theory of charismatic leadership.

Max Weber's theory of Charismatic Authority

Max Weber defined charismatic authority as “power legitimized on the basis of a leader's exceptional personal qualities or the demonstration of extraordinary insight and accomplishment, which inspire loyalty and obedience from followers” (Kendall, D. et al, 2000). Weber argued that charismatic authority was one of three types of authority (the other two being traditional authority and legal-rational authority)³⁵. This form of authority rests on the leader's personality and on the qualities and powers that set the individual apart. Weber explains that these traits are often deemed ‘God-given’ or lead others to characterize a person as ‘blessed.’ Shamans, sorcerers, leaders of religious sects and cults and glorified heroes are all examples of charismatic leaders. Weber first emphasizes that it is up to the leader to demonstrate her talents and influence and inspire others to follow her and to continue their devotion to her. Weber explains that charismatic authority differs from legal-rational or bureaucratic authority as it is not based on an occupation or specific training, but emerges, gains, and maintains power based on his ability to prove ‘his strength in life” (p. 248).

As charismatic authority is dependent on a leader's ability to maintain a following, it is usually unstable and often not long lasting. Weber explains that charismatic leaders emerge in times of distress and chaos and may lose their authority if they cannot continue to convince their followers of the legitimacy of their power (Gerth & Mills, 1967, p. 245-46). This form of authority depends on others believing in the abilities and gifts of the charismatic leader, so when this devotion wanes and the leader can no longer prove her unique worth to her followers, she may lose her power. In the

³⁵ While the three forms of authority are ‘ideal types’ according to Weber, sociologists have often used Roman Catholicism to provide examples for each form: Priests are traditional leaders, Jesus was a charismatic leader, and the Roman Catholic ‘Church’ is a legal-rational leader.

case of Blumenstein, union founders gave him power because they believed that no one else had the ability to do the job. Their belief in Bill's personal ability and their dedication to following him through the union recognition and the first strike reflects Weber's theory of charisma.

While Blumenstein and other CTU leaders recognize that their power now depends on member elections, for the first six months of the union's existence this was not the case. When Bill, along with other early CTU leaders, decided that the faculty council was not an effective negotiation tool for the teachers, he took the lead on forming the lay teachers union. Other building representatives, including Bill Checcio and Larry White, said it just seemed natural for Bill to serve as the union's original president and they gave him this title without an election or official vote. When asked if he felt he had "a calling" to become the union president in the fall of 1984 Blumenstein responded,

"After the fact, looking back, yes, I thought so...but I wasn't just a caretaker. I wanted to work within the system, but all I saw was the breakdown. With the help of Ro and others, they gave me the courage to move forward" (*Personal Interview* December 22, 2008).

This statement reflects Weber's description that Charismatic leaders often feel that they are called to lead. Blumenstein explained that his decision to take the unofficial role of president months before any official election (this happened in June 1985, after the first contract was ratified) was deeply based in a "gut feeling." This call to leadership fulfills Weber's one criterion of charismatic leadership.

The second measure of Weber's theory is that the leader must overcome seemingly insurmountable odds or triumph after nearly certain defeat (Weber, 1997 [1922]). Reflecting this, Blumenstein stated that he repeatedly thought that the union

would never actually be recognized and then when it was recognized that they would never reach a contract agreement. He said,

“I certainly thought that were going to lose. That was the thing that tore at me the most, during those beginning months-I was asking other people to do this, we would fail, and they would suffer consequences” (*Personal Interview*, December 22, 2008).

Blumenstein expressed that the teachers had to overcome ever increasing opposition from diocesan representatives, administrators, and principals who did not want the union in the Catholic schools. He repeated that he was concerned he was leading the teachers to defeat because it often seemed there was no way that they would win. This was especially true in the union’s earliest days when they were fighting for recognition and for the first contract and they faced strong opposition from the Bishop.

Weber’s next characteristic of a charismatic leader is that he/she is a compelling speaker and is personally magnetic. This trait, most recently attributed to President Barak Obama, deals with the leaders ability to compel people to follow and believe in them based on their public discourse and persona. Blumenstein said that he believed his ability to attract teachers to the union in its earliest days had a great deal to do with the talks he gave. He said,

“I have been told often what brought a lot of people along was the way I spoke, how I articulated the position. People said they signed on because of listening to me speak” (*Personal Interview*, December 22, 2008).

Blumenstein directly states that he fulfills this aspect of Weber’s theory as he believes, and members agreed, that he drew supporters based on how he spoke about the union and his vision for the union. Blumenstein also realizes that his personality contributed to the dedication and trust members put in him as a leader,

“I never thought of it as charismatic, but I guess that is what it is. I always thought of it in terms as ‘rule by personality.’ Not that I rule, but lead by this way. That is the downside for people involved in the future- you get a different person in that same job and it might not be the same thing”
(*Personal Interview*, December 22, 2008).

Blumenstein, who has shown himself to be a humble person, struggled at first to admit that his personality may have attracted teachers to the union, but eventually acknowledged this truth. Over two-hundred teachers followed Blumenstein and the other leaders and willingly put their jobs and their livelihoods in their hands. This trust depended on Bill’s ability to convince them he warranted this trust and that he would succeed against the odds.

Weber argues that a final criterion for Charismatic leaders is that they tend to possess some type of supernatural powers. For example, Jesus Christ, the quintessential example of this type of leader was able to cure the ill and walk on water. In regard to the Catholic Teachers Union, Bill Blumenstein admits that the does not have any supernatural powers, but many of the teachers who have worked with Bill would argue he is an extraordinary individual. Bill has led CTU through almost twenty-five years, eight negotiations, three strikes, one work stoppage, one New Jersey Supreme Court Case, and one law suit against the 41st largest diocese in the United States.³⁶ Blumenstein has completed this while teaching full time, raising three children and earning the respect of his colleagues and community. While Bill is the first to admit he has had the help and support of other union leaders, such as Ro Farrow and Chris Ehrmann, as well as his wife, Ellen Blumenstein, his accomplishments, if not superhuman, are at the very least, admirable.

³⁶ The diocese of Camden has 1,347,648 official members, according to www.catholic-hierarchy.org. The diocese is larger than 152 other dioceses, including Portland, OR, Orlando, FL, and Denver, CO.

Utilizing Weber's theory on authority, Conger & Kanungo (1998) have more recently developed a list of traits describing a charismatic leader:

- 1) Vision & Articulation
- 2) Sensitivity to Environment
- 3) Sensitivity to members' needs
- 4) Personal risk taking
- 5) Performing unconventional behavior

These traits reflect Weber's theory and articulate how researchers can identify charismatic authority in modern social movements. The idea of vision and articulation can be seen in how a leader guides a social movement as well as how a leader articulates the union's message to the media and to the potential supporters. Sensitivities to the environment as well as to members' needs reflect a charismatic leader's ability to effortlessly make members feel included in an important struggle despite environmental and personal sacrifice. The charismatic social movement leader shows the sacrifices she is making through risk-taking and unconventional behavior, which matches Weber's idea that a charismatic leader must act to convince others of the legitimacy of her power. These characteristics exemplify how Weber's theory can be applied to modern day movement leaders and frame makers including the leaders of CTU.

In order to analyze the concept of charismatic leadership in regard to this union, I asked the interviewees to describe the CTU leadership in three words. A clear trend emerged as members, parents, and community members familiar with the union in their depiction of Bill Blumenstein and Ro Farrow. The most common responses (repeated at least once) were:

Easy Going
Intelligent
Tenacious

Honest
Responsible
Good Communicators
Passionate
Assertive
Professional
Gutsy

These descriptions relate directly to Conger & Kanungo's list of characteristics of a charismatic leader as well as Weber's own description of the concept. Passionate and Tenacious in particular were repeated with a sense of admiration by each member who used these descriptors. Respondents said they saw Bill continuing to fight for the teachers and continue his leadership role with dedication and fervor. Another common response (though not fitting into "3 words") was the description of the leadership as "good communicators." Respondents said that the leadership was well-spoken and paid careful attention to keeping members and parents up to date on union happenings. This characteristic speaks directly to Weber's definition of a charismatic leader who can stir support and inspire others through their profound speech and communication.

Blumenstein and Farrow both spoke to parents at strike-time meetings as well as to members, administrators and lawyers representing the diocese during negotiations. The ability to convince teachers to follow their leadership over the diocese and to convince administrators to recognize some union contract demands requires a strong communicator. Blumenstein has effectively filled this role with help from Farrow, Ehrmann, and others for almost 25 years.

The characteristic 'Gutsy' also relates to Conger & Kanungo's descriptor 'willingness to take risks.' One member who spoke about the leadership in the beginning of the union discussed how the teachers were 'willing to follow Bill into battle' and strike

because he had convinced them it was necessary. Others emphasized the Bill was a responsible leader who never encouraged the teachers to strike unless it was absolutely necessary and kept the interests of the teachers *and* their students in the front of his mind. This characteristic relates to the ‘sensitivity to members’ needs’ including not only their need for better salaries and benefits, but their emotional and psychological need to be in the classroom with their students.

While their membership and audience saw Bill (and Ro, and other members of the executive board) as charismatic leaders, Blumenstein described his own leadership style as “Blunt and Brash with a Tendency for Sarcasm.” Perhaps this reflects the adage that we are always our own toughest critic. Members say Blumenstein’s bluntness as ‘honesty,’ his brashness as ‘assertive’ and ‘passionate,’ and his tendency for sarcasm as ‘intelligent’ and ‘good communication.’ While Blumenstein may not recognize himself as charismatic and may not intentionally act to fill the role of a charismatic leader, something about his personality inspired other teachers to follow him from the beginning of the union and to never question that he is the best (perhaps the only) person who can fill this role today. These characteristics directly contributed to the credibility of the frame and increased the chance of frame resonance.

In addition to the descriptive terms about the CTU leadership members were happy to talk about further about Ro Farrow and Bill Blumenstein. Those who knew Ro well went on and on about her personality, her charisma, and her kindness. Members, parents, and community leaders discussed Ro’s ability to lead with grace and unanimously smiled when I mentioned her name. Similarly members in particular had

great respect and admiration for Bill Blumenstein and his role in the creation and success of the union.

Weber writes that “Pure charisma is contrary to all patriarchal domination” (p.248). This exclamation echoes members’ depictions of the leaders fighting for the teachers against the patriarchy and patriarchal church leadership. Farrow experienced this especially because of her experiences as a female leader in against a male dominated administration. While a few did not see any difference in the diocese’s treatment of Ro and Bill during their respective presidencies, most of the male and female teachers and CTU members I interviewed noted a disparity. Sizmak noted, “When Ro was president, she didn’t get the same level of respect from the diocese,” but also was quick to say that male union leaders and CTU members never questioned whether Ro’s gender impacted her ability to lead (Personal Interview 10/22/08). While the topic of the disparity in the diocesan treatment of Blumenstein and Farrow is too broad to fully address here (and should be the work of future research), her role fulfils Weber’s demand that charismatic leadership should counter ideas of patriarchal authority.

Bill Blumenstein has maintained his leadership role for the past twenty-five years because according to Maureen Sizmak, “Bill did such a good job and no one is as competent. We have been lulled into having him” (Personal Interview 10/22/08). While the Bill’s authority now depends more on the legal election and is a paid position, this follows Weber’s prediction of the routinization of power. As Weber explains, charismatic leaders like Blumenstein, who emerge as in times of distress and dissension, often see their authority became routinized after the chaos declines. Weber explains this change using the example of kings and emperors. He writes that while not all kings are

charismatic leaders their predecessors were usually military leaders or warlords who did have charismatic authority. As the society becomes more rationalized it is possible that charismatic and legal rational authority, which Weber deems polar opposites, may bleed into one and other. While a leader might first gain authority based on her personal traits, she then might keep power by transferring her authority into a more legal-rational realm. This transfer into a structure based on occupation, office, and payment for leadership services reflects Weber's theory on the rationalization and bureaucratization of society.

While the union members officially elect every two years, this did not occur until June 1985, six months after the union's inception. Blumenstein has won every election he entered and he has run unopposed in all but one instance. This suggests that while his authority has been routinized and now falls in the legal-rational realm, his personal qualities and abilities continue to convince members that he is the 'only man for the job.' Bill has proven repeatedly his ability to mobilize members to support union strike efforts, as the vast majority of union members participated in the 1994 and 1997 strikes and the majority voted to strike again in 2005. During the 1991 negotiations, when the members had voted to strike Bill sent a letter to all members announcing the strike plans and schedule. In this letter Blumenstein wrote,

"The future is now.

Seven years ago, the teachers of the Camden Diocese went on strike. The end result of that strike was the formation and recognition of SCTO (CTU) as your bargaining representative. We spoke as one then-we must speak as one again."

Such inspirational writing by Bill Blumenstein has led members to follow him onto the picket lines three times and agree to go on strike an additional two times. This type of leadership, while cemented through legal means, is still reflective of Weber's description

of charismatic authority as it was during the union's first six months. Blumenstein has been able to inspire members to mobilize and take action while maintaining a working relationship with the union through the court system and legal based means. This blend of leadership has directly led to the union's success.

Johnston and Noakes write that charismatic leaders can, "amplify frames and attract followers by the force of their commitment and personality" (2002, p.13). They use the example of civil rights leaders who deliberately presented themselves as 'cool-headed' and 'reasonable' to appeal to federal authorities. While Farrow and Blumenstein do not believe they were actively engaged in a framing process, their personalities and individual qualities affected the union's frame. As Farrow and Blumenstein were the main frame promoters the positive opinion others held of them amplified the union's message and further legitimized the frame. Their personal charisma, which I witnessed and confirmed with members, parents, and community members, as well as their reputations as well-like quality teachers, inspired members and drew respect and support from parents, reporters, and community members. According to Johnston and Noakes' theory, without such strong and credible frame promoters, a moral framework will not resonate with the target audience.

Strategic Marketing & Orientation

The third aspect of Johnston and Noakes' schema under "Makers of a Frame" deals with the marketing and cynicism leaders utilize to promote their frame. Johnston and Noakes argue that frame makers often use marketing strategies and ideologies of consumerism and consumer society to sell their frame. The authors demonstrate this with

the example of the Transcendental Meditation (TM) movement, which used celebrity endorsements to promote their frame. They explain that the TM movement also used different strategies and marketing techniques to appeal to different groups such as students versus professionals. Johnston and Noakes say that some have criticized the TM leaders and other movements that use marketing techniques, calling them manipulative and cynical. Others have argued that these techniques apply an 'ends justify the means' mentality to collective action framing. This second argument emphasizes that SMO leaders are dedicated and willing to adopt any strategy to gain support for their cause.

CTU leaders did not engage heavily in this tactic of appealing to celebrities to support their movement or utilizing different marketing plans to appeal to different groups. While the union was aided by the backing of credible diocesan clergy members, such as Monsignor Adamo (described in chapter 2), this was the Monsignor's choice and was in not connected to the frame makers actions. Additionally, rather than using different marketing strategies when dealing with various groups, the union relied on the same two aspects of their frame when speaking with the media, diocese representatives, and parents. In each instance, the union focused heavily on their low salaries and especially on the connections between unions and Catholic social teaching. The union leaders deliberately chose to emphasize the CST aspect of the frame and developed their frame, and their marketing strategy around this connection. Instead of varying their message, the union leaders stuck to slogans and narratives centered on the idea that the diocese did not 'practice what it preached.' While CTU did not follow the oriental marketing strategies to the extent that Johnston and Noakes describe in the case of the TM movement, union leaders were open about their deliberate emphasis of Catholic

doctrines' support of organized labor. I analyze this technique, particularly as it relates to the receivers of the frame and narrative fidelity of the frame, in the following two chapters.

Based on the preceding analysis, it is clear that Blumenstein, and Farrow, have successfully fulfilled Johnston and Noake's criteria for frame resonance in the makers of the frame category. They have proven themselves to be credible and charismatic leaders who took an early active role in creating, shaping, and maintaining their message and linking this frame to the Catholic social teachings. The U.S. labor movement can learn from this strategy by similarly electing credible leaders who inspire hope in members and possible constituents. Organized labor in the U.S. has been plagued with corrupt leaders who create a negative public image of unionism instead of a positive working-person's social movement. If unions are to successfully adopt a moral framing strategy, they will need credible, preferably charismatic, leaders to represent this framework. The labor movement might also look specifically for celebrity endorsements for their cause and seek to present themselves as level-headed and respectable. It is possible that a charismatic leader will emerge to in the labor movement, but it is important for leaders to first present themselves as credible and reliable. If the leaders themselves cannot fill this role, I suggest that they train members who reflect the moral message to be media point people. I address this in depth in the last chapter. The labor movement has a public image of being a self interest group with greedy and corrupt leaders. The movement must first establish and advertise credible and respected leaders before it can move away from this characterization.

Chapter 6-Recievers of a Frame: Ideological and Demographic Orientations

“Today’s Catholic School . . . is a center in which parents and teachers, guided by the Holy Spirit, collaborate in giving children a complete Catholic education.”

-U.S. States Catholic Conference (1972)

The second aspect of Johnston and Noakes schema of frame resonance involves the receivers of the frame. In the case of CTU, the receivers of the frame are the parents of school children whose support the union is trying to gain. The above quotation suggests, Catholic schools characterize their relationship with parents as collaborative and encourage parental involvement more than most public schools. This makes the role of parents especially important to the union’s story. Johnston and Noakes emphasize the importance of a frame appealing to both Ideological and Demographic orientations of the target audience, the parents, in order for the frame to resonate. They incorporate Benford and Snow’s concepts of frame bridging, frame extension, and frame transformation into these two categories. I argue the CTU was able to successfully reach the school parents by bridging their message with the frame of Catholic social teaching and Catholic doctrine as well as by extending their frame to include a working class sentiment that matched demographic orientations of the diocese.

Ideological Orientations

While it was a parent (Gorman) who set up the parental meeting during CTU’s first strike, the union quickly realized the effectiveness of this tool and began planning the meetings themselves. In addition to the meetings they scheduled around strike votes and negotiations, the union expanded its communication to parents and began sending them newsletters each summer starting in 1991. Ehrmann explained that these summer letters commenced when parents asked the union to inform them of union-diocesan

relations before contract negotiations broke down. He said that parents wanted to be informed so they could help avoid a strike, if possible. As such the union, through Ehrmann's efforts, sent letters to parents each summer and additional letters during negotiation periods updating them on the negotiations. The union also continued to hold parental meetings following strike votes in order to inform the parents of their decision to strike as well as their contract demands.

While the content in each of the letters and meetings differed in terms of specific demands and issues, there was one common thread in the union's communication with their target audience; the constant emphasis of Catholic doctrine supporting labor unions. In particular, the union utilized what Ehrmann referred to as "Number 351." Number 351, refers to a point in the Bishops Pastoral Letter (1986), titled *Economic Justice for All*, which instructs all church institutions to work towards economic justice for all workers, including church employees.³⁷ The letter told church institutions that they must support unions and organizing efforts in their own workplace as well as in businesses outside of the church and must firmly oppose any anti-union efforts. The Bishops' letter outlines 365 points that related to living the message of Catholic social thought and doctrine. In this letter, the Bishops also reiterated Pope John Paul's statement that workers rights were directly related to human rights and that all people had a right to fair pay and a certain quality of life. In number 351, which Ehrmann referenced, the Bishops write,

"We-bishops commit ourselves to the principle that those who serve the Church-laity, clergy, and religious-should receive a sufficient livelihood and the social benefits provided by responsible employers in our nation...These dedicated women and men have not always asked for or received the stipends and pensions that would have assured their future. It would be a breach of our obligations to them to let them or their communities face retirement without adequate funds."

³⁷ This letter, and point 353 in particular, are discussed in chapter 2

Here the Bishops explain that Catholic doctrine and tradition implore Catholics to take care of the employees who work in Catholic institutions such as schools, hospitals, and cemeteries. Specifically, the letter pronounced that Catholic institutions should provide employees with benefits and sufficient wages to allow them to live and retire comfortably. Point 351 also notes that this obligation to provide for church employees falls on increased contributions from all church members, not just those who utilize it, like the parents of these school children. The Bishops write that it is the responsibility of every Catholic to contribute as members of the community to these employees.

CTU vice president Ehrmann and secretary Sizmak were both clear about the intentional references CTU made to Catholic doctrine, especially “Number 351,” in parental letters, meetings, and quotations given to the press. In one letter CTU sent to parents during the 1985 strike, provided to me by Ehrmann, the union places an excerpt from their letter to the bishop at the top of the page. This excerpt lays out doctrine from *Gaudium et Spes*, *Rerum Novarum*, and *Quadregesimo Anno* that supports organized labor and worker’s rights. The letter itself also references Catholic doctrine supporting the union’s efforts,

“We (The union) have come to our present situation having weighed the teachings of the Catholic Church through its Popes and encyclicals throughout the last century. The new pastoral letter on Catholic Social Teaching and U.S. Economy recently released by a Committee of U.S. Bishops acknowledges that the Church—a substantial property owner and employer—could itself do better that it has in matters of economic fairness” (CTU parental letter, April 1985).

This direct reference to Catholic doctrine in a letter from the union to parents immediately links the union’s viewpoint with Catholic Social Thought and Pastoral teachings. This connects Catholic ideology with the union’s struggle, not the diocese’s

side of the negotiations. The letter continues to spell out negotiation and salary issues the union is facing as well as provides address for the Bishop if parents wish to contact him about the union and the strike. CTU sent this type of letter during every negotiation period, varying the transparency on negotiation demands but never the emphasis on church teaching. A letter the union sent to parents leading up to the 1997 strike quotes the entire Number 351 passage and then argues that the diocese's 'best and final' contract offer to the union left that mandate unfulfilled. The union also sent the same quotation from Number 351 to the media in their press brief, allowing another way to communicate this message on those who did not read their parental letters. This emphasis on the diocese acting against church doctrine while the union acted in accordance with it was central to the union's framing and to their gaining parental support.

By utilizing Catholic doctrine to support their message, CTU is engaging in what Benford and Snow call frame bridging. Frame bridging involves social movement leaders taking the ideologies of one revered frame and make connections to their own movement's frame. The union did this by utilizing Catholic doctrine in their framing and comparing their efforts to other respected labor movements, such the Solidarity movement in Poland. NACST president Rita Schwartz provided an example of this during the 1994 strike when she told *National Catholic Reporter's* William Bole,

"The church is very good at championing the rights of workers in places like Poland. But it is patently anti-union when it comes to its own employees." (Bole, 9/23/94).

These linkages created support for the labor union and invited the frame receivers to view the movement as being in line with church doctrine and Catholic beliefs. Morris and Staggenborg (2004) argue that social movement leaders often are successful in lifting

frames from traditional, especially religious, beliefs such as Catholic doctrine. Just as Civil Rights leaders appropriated traditional frames about equality from Christianity, CTU leaders took ideas about workers rights and justice that are central to Roman Catholic teachings and applied it to their own struggles.

This frame bridging was especially important in the fight for union recognition and the first strike in 1985. These events set up the basis of the frame that CTU continues to carry out and is shown by the great deal of referencing to the church doctrine and the Bible. In a November 20, 1984 Philadelphia Inquirer article, reporter Eric Harrison cites a passage from a telegram the union sent to the Bishop following his rejection of the union,

“This stance is difficult for us to accept in light of the church's consistent policy. Pope John Paul II's 1981 encyclical, *Laborum Exercens*, states that, 'every able bodied person should have the opportunity to work at a job that offers a just wage and decent working conditions'” (Harrison, 1984, November 20).

By referencing Pope John Paul II, perhaps the most popular Pope ever and the incumbent Pope during that time, the union was able to make a connection between something Catholics revered and the union's own struggle for recognition. They provided evidence of doctrine that supported their cause and therefore verified that it was ok, even morally correct, for parents and other Catholics in the diocese to support the teachers rather than the Bishop. By utilizing the press to convey this message, the union was broadening the base they were reaching as well as reemphasizing these connections to parents who might also be reading the news articles.

Again appealing to the Catholic ideological orientation, Bill Checcio struck a similar chord when the Robert Gunther of *The Atlantic City Press* quoted Checcio during the 1985 strike saying, “When you work for the church, you expect better treatment”

(Gunther, April 17, 1985). This again references to the idea that the church should be a 'good' employer that is morally just and treats its employees with respect. Checcio's remark speaks to 'Number 351' and to the Church's preaching on labor and the diocese's treatment of these teachers. This indication may have invited Catholic parishioners and parents in the diocese to consider the contradiction and whether the teachers or the administrators were acting more closely in line with Catholic ideology.

Other articles also provide proof that the union's Frame Bridging garnered support for their side in the 1985 strike. Eileen Stillwell, writing for *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, quotes a parent saying in reference to the union pickets, "Jesus wouldn't ignore his flock the way the Bishop is" (Stillwell, April 27, 1985). This quotation shows a member of the targeted frame audience adopting the union's frame and including Jesus to criticize the bishop in addition to supporting the union. This frame bridging is evident in the media articles, parental letters and meetings, and in the picket sandwich boards and chants. In all but one occasion, the union was able to appeal to the Catholic ideological orientation and point that it was in line with their message, not the Bishop's message.

The exception to success of using Frame Bridging between Catholic doctrine and the union's struggles to gain parental support is the strike of 1994. This strike dealt in particular with a 'moral code' that the bishop wished to include in the teachers' contract. In September 1994 Bishop McHugh insisted that the teacher's union sign this 'minimum standards' agreement before he would allow union elections, but the union claimed that signing such a statement would give the diocese the power to fire a teacher at any time. The document stated that the Bishop "Shall be the ultimate judge in matters that concern serious and/or public immorality and/or public rejection of official doctrine and/or

policies of the Diocese of Camden as stated by the Bishop." According to CTU leaders, the problem involved the code's vague wording, especially as to how far the bishop could or would act on its premises. The teachers refused to sign the agreement, calling it 'absurd' and detrimental to the worker's rights and presented the bishop with a revised code, which he immediately rejected. Following the Bishop's rejection, the union voted to strike.

In this case, the union had less success in bridging their frame to Catholic doctrine because some diocesan leaders accused the teachers of questioning the Bishop's ecclesiastical authority. Parents who previously were in support of the union because of the doctrine supporting organized labor and church employees now had to decide between that ideology and the patriarchal tradition of the church. The union attempted to extend the frame to include ideas of free speech and suggest that the vague wording of the code could allow the bishop to fire a teacher for dyeing her hair. Some parents and students did latch on to this frame extension, as Debbie Snell, mother of two Camden Catholic students told *The Courier Post*,

"Snell doesn't think the issue is as much one of Catholic schools imparting morality as it is teachers being stripped of freedom of speech and thought. 'I raised my children to believe that everybody is entitled to their opinion and everybody's opinion is valued'" (John-Hall, A., 1994).

A Camden Catholic student felt similarly and told the newspaper how the Bishop's actions were not in line with all of her school's teachings, even if they reflected Catholic ideas of authority,

"'The class teaches us how to be our own person and make our own choices,' she said. 'The teachers can't be hypocrites. How can they teach us that and not have their own opinions?'" (John-Hall, A., 1994).

Unfortunately for the union, the opinions this parent and student expressed were not very common among parents and Catholic parishioners who questioned whether the teachers were acting out against the Bishop's granted authority. While this did not resonate as well with all parents and community members who noted the personnel policies at their own jobs, the Bishop helped the union when he took an untimely trip to Cairo, Egypt during the teachers strike. This led some newspaper articles to repeatedly note the Bishop's absence during the turmoil which made him seem somewhat unconcerned with the situation³⁸. This may have led some parents to wonder who was most concerned with getting their children back in the classroom, therefore generating support for the union. Upon the Bishop's return from Cairo he was more willing to negotiate with the union on the moral code and presented the teachers with an amended moral code (which Blumenstein said was near identical to the one the union offered a week earlier). Though the diocese and the union were able to agree on this code and a new contract, the union was unsuccessful in trying to extend and transform their frame from Catholic doctrine to personal liberties. While they were unable to utilize frame transformation and extension in the 1994 negotiations, CTU executed this more successfully in other negotiations by appealing to the audience's demographic orientations.

Demographic, Attitudinal & Moral Orientations

While it was important that the Bishops' letter emphasized the need to pay church workers fairly and adequately, the parents and community members have other orientations outside of the religious realm that affect their viewpoints. Johnston and Noakes (2002) understand this context and emphasize the need for a frame to address

³⁸ One example of this was, "None of this can be resolved until Thursday at earliest, when Bishop McHugh is scheduled to return from the United Nations population conference in Cairo" (Peterson, 9/15/94).

demographic orientations in addition to ideological ones. They argue that appealing to these additional demographic orientations often involves frame extension and/or frame transformation. Benford and Snow identified these concepts as tools that, respectively, create link connections to constituents' everyday lives and adjust frames to attract and maintain the attention of the target audience.

The union carefully utilized frame extension by expanding their message and emphasizing the low salaries teachers working for the Camden diocese received. South Jersey residents have historically been considered 'working class' with a history of working in manufacturing plants and shipyards in Philadelphia, Camden, and smaller towns like nearby Gloucester City. The residents of the Camden diocese average salaries in the lower to middle quintile of the U.S. income population, tend to vote democratic, and are overwhelmingly white, with a growing Hispanic population in the city of Camden and bordering towns. I believe that this demographic orientation and pro-union attitude affected the context of the union's struggles and provided the union with another message to send to the target audience involving wages and union solidarity. Even parents who were successful non-union professionals were likely to have relatives, especially older generations, who were involved in the area's labor unions. CTU leaders used the pro-union and working class sentiment to relate their mission to the everyday lives of the parents and community members they were trying to influence. In doing this they were able to appeal to the target audience on the mission of adequate wages as well as church doctrine. For those who did not react to the contradictions in church practices, the union was able to attract their attention by being blunt about the low salaries the teachers were earning.

The union has used salary-focused frame extension since the spring of 1985 to influence parents to support the teachers. Union members presented their actual salaries to parents from the first parental meeting and also gave quotations to the newspapers comparing the starting and average salaries of CTU teachers to public school teachers and teachers in the Philadelphia Diocese schools. Bill Checcio, the representative at Holy Spirit High School, led the 1985 parental meeting in Atlantic City, where the school was then located. He recalled,

I remember especially the meeting we held in Atlantic City. We had a whole panel of experienced teachers from Holy Spirit. I mean these people were icons-the basketball coach, teachers who had been there forever. And we stood up there and I said, 'Here is 237 years of teaching experience...and here is what we are making.' People were shocked. (Personal Interview 8/20/08).

Checcio's sentiment was expressed by teachers in all locations except, as noted above, in the economically depressed Cumberland County. Parents were surprised to see that teachers, who are considered professionals and middle class were making so little. At these meetings and in parental mailings, CTU laid out the facts of their salaries for their target audience. Providing these numbers to the parents contributed to the relevance, particularly the Empirical Credibility of the frame, which I discuss in depth in the next chapter.

Community Unionism & Parents

The second aspect of frame extension was the connections that the union was able to make between their position as a union and the audience's pro-union past. While a representative for the diocesan schools said she did not believe there was a 'pro-union' sentiment in the South Jersey area, several parents and union members whom I spoke with discussed growing up in union families and being taught that unionism was the

champion of the working class. New Jersey remains a highly unionized state as approximately 20%³⁹ of the workforce is union members, despite the closing of manufacturing plants in the Trenton and Camden areas. The union sentiment extended to many parents, especially those who were in the larger schools, who had grown up with fathers who were tradesmen and union members. Many of these parents supported CTU by keeping their children out of school during the strike. An example of this in *The Philadelphia Inquirer*,

For parents like Bill and Margaret Metzler, the strike has been a time of conflicting feelings. Both are staunch union supporters, so they chose to keep their 14-year-old son, Jonathan, out of class. ‘It’s against our beliefs to cross a picket line,’ Margaret Metzler said. (Rhor, 9/18/97).

This expression of union support and linking ‘beliefs’ to supporting organized labor, rings the same as the ‘beliefs’ other parents expressed about church teachings. By extending CTU’s frame to involve pro-union values and morals as well as church doctrine and fair salaries, the union leaders were able to further increase support for the movement. Parents and community members who supported unions based on their past experiences and their families’ union participation were given another reason to support these teachers and work with them to realize their contract demands. This, along with the church doctrine and salary issues, inspired parents to fight on behalf of the union with actions reminiscent of what is dubbed “Community Unionism.”

Lipsig-Mumme (2003) defines community unionism as “trade unions working with communities and community groups” and links the definition to examples such as Janitors for Justice in California and UNITE in Canada. Lipsig-Mumme explains that

³⁹ This statistic is from Kohl, M. (2008). “UNION MEMBERSHIP IN NEW YORK AND NEW JERSEY, 2007,” The Bureau of Labor Statistics. Nationally, approximately 12% of the workforce is unionized, placing New Jersey above the average.

community unionism coalitions may be initiated either by the trade union or the community organization and make be long term, such as an ongoing Living Wage campaign or short term such as support of a specific strike or boycott. Tattersall and Reynolds suggest that “Community Unionism” may involve members of the clergy, local grassroots organizations, and local politicians, but is often most effective when it involves the potential constituents or audience of a message or the consumers. In the case of CTU, the consumers are the parents who pay tuition to send their children to Catholic high schools. Their involvement and the coalition between these consumer-parents and the union were crucial to helping to union meet its organizing and bargaining goals.

One example of this was the most recent CTU negotiations in 2002 and the role parents took in that process. Through the 2008-2009 school year CTU-represented teachers are working under a contract that the union negotiated and signed in 2005. Like earlier negotiations, the union and the diocese did not come to this contract easily as they differed on contract demands involving salary, benefits, and working conditions. The union and the diocese began contract talks in late spring of 2005 but had not reached an agreement in late August when they extended the previous contract to cover teachers through September 30th, so teachers could begin the school year. The union had twice rejected the diocese’s “best and final offer” during the bargaining period due to a dispute over salary increases (Burney, 10/4/05). While the union did not call for a strike at the start of the school year, two weeks later, on Sunday, October 2, 2005 union members then voted 141-18 in favor of a strike.

According to president Blumenstein, the teachers delayed the beginning of the strike to October 17th so that union leaders would have the opportunity to meet with

parents and discuss their contract demands and to ask parents not to send their children to school during a strike. The union held a meeting on October 11 to address parents' questions and concerns. As mid-October is the middle of fall sport and football season as well the homecoming game and festivities for these high schools, there were concerns over how the strike would affect these activities. Both the union and the diocese also sent letters to parents informing of them of the union's decision and the diocese's plan to keep the schools open.

Despite the vote to strike, this work stoppage never went into effect. While the union voted to begin the strike on October 17, the union and the diocesan negotiation teams met and reached a tentative agreement on October 13. While the diocese had been less willing to meet salary demands in order to avoid strikes in 1994 and 1997, they were willing to do so in 2005. President Blumenstein points directly to pressure that parents placed on the diocese as the reason the diocese folded before the strike ever took place. He explained that after the union held their 'parents' meeting' to communicate their contract demands, parents responded by flooding the diocesan phone lines and e-mail boxes with messages in support of the union. On October 4, the union sent a letter to parents explaining the teachers' position and demands and also asking teachers to e-mail Bishop Galante in support of the union. The letter even included a 'sample e-mail' the parents might send to the bishop that read,

Dear Bishop Galante,

As a parent of a child attending [name of school], I urge you to reach a settlement without further delay with the CTU. The teachers' salary position is not excessive. Funding the 6% increase can easily be handled by the money generated from the past few years' tuition increases.

If a strike is called by the teachers I will not send my child to school. My child will return to the classroom only when the regular teachers return. I expect my tuition

dollars to be used for full-day complete classroom instruction with regular teachers. I do not want my tuition used to warehouse my child in large settings with 'replacements.'

I fully support the teachers' position and expect that you will do everything possible to resolve the current labor dispute.

Thank You,

The union sent this sample letter with their negotiation updates to parents and also posted these on the CTU website. This simple measure generated an incredible amount of support from the parents which led to the diocese settling with the union before the strike ever began.

The union also provided several sample letters that parents sent to the diocese during the 2005 strike and offered copies to CTU for their archives. These letters were addressed directly to Sister Dawn Gear, then superintendant of Camden Diocese schools, and pointed out discrepancies in a letter the diocese sent out regarding the contract negotiations. These letters accused the diocese of overestimating the average pay of the lay teachers and making purposeful misprints changing the teachers request for a 1.4% salary increase into a 14% salary increase. One letter also explained the parents' fear that a continuation of the diocesan anti-union practices would put Catholic education at risk.

This parent writes,

But the issue is not so much about the long term tenured teachers, it's about social justice, respecting your educators, and preserving Catholic education. They younger teachers are getting a few years of experience here and then leaving to work at the public schools because they can't live on their own and support a family with such inadequate compensation. I fear for the future of Catholic education (2005 Parental letter #2).

This letter is representative of others where parents demonstrated their support for the teachers and asked the diocese to honor the teachers' contract demands. In one letter a parent even asked for a refund of the \$30.30 daily tuition cost if the diocese was to "force

the teachers to go on strike” (2005 Parental letter #3). According to union representatives, this pro-union communication between the parents and the diocese forced the administration to make an offer to the union more in line with their contract demands. Due to the parental influence on the diocesan schools and their pro-union standpoint, the union settled in 2005 without ever going on strike.

Blumenstein also noted that technology also greatly aided communication between parents and the union during the 2005 negotiations. He said that CTU was able to contact parents over e-mail, inform them of meeting locations and time, and post updates on message boards that invited parent and student comments. Students also hosted their own web-based bulletin boards and threads on sites such as MySpace.com where they could discuss their feelings about the threat of a strike. By the union inviting parental and community participation in their struggle, they offered a voice to their target audience, something that the diocese did not do.

In relation to community unionism, CTU was able to gain and utilize the support of their target community, their consumers in a sense, by engaging them in the union’s struggle. By gaining the support of parents, whether it was due to a desire to help teachers or a desire to save the football season, CTU mobilized the community in favor of their cause. This support was so powerful because it came from a group outside the union who had the monetary pressure to force the diocese to meet some of the union’s contract demands. Additionally, having the parents behind the union influenced the teachers to also take action with the union. As with the earliest strike, the administration was afraid that parents could pull their children out of schools in support of the teachers, stop paying tuition and supporting the schools and in essence, ‘vote with their feet.’ As the parents

are the consumers of these schools, by inviting them into the process, the union also gave a voice to their consumer population. This was effective because the union was able to show that their stance was in line with the ideology and demography of these parents. By appealing to them on these two aspects and fostering community unionism with parental participation, the union utilized another successful organizing technique.

Coleman's social network theory

In addition to the ideological and demographic orientations of the frame receivers, I believe the union was able to utilize their social connections to this group to generate community unionism on an even deeper level. While Johnston and Noakes do not point to this as an important factor in frame resonance, I argue that these connections were crucial to personifying the union and personalizing their moral framing. These connections deepened the impact of community unionism by adding a personal dimension that pressured parents to want to support the teacher's union. I think this union provides an example of how social connections can be utilized to generate support.

In asking parents why they chose to send their children to Catholic schools, I heard overwhelmingly that they believed there was a stronger community present in Catholic schools. Parents said this community fostered two things 1) moral principles and 2) a sense of personal discipline and responsibility. While some teachers laughed at the thought of the Catholic schools being more disciplined ("maybe in the 1950s!" one said) all but two agreed that there was a stronger sense of community in Catholic schools than in public schools. Additionally, I found that some teachers did not realize the depth of their connections with parents in the Catholic schools, telling me stories of e-mails and

communication over the website that seemed normal to them, but are far more common than in public schools⁴⁰. Paul VI religion teacher and building union representative, Mary Kay Rossi, noted,

There is this mentality that they (the parents) are paying good money. They send a check every month, so they should be involved. They should see where their money is going (Personal Interview, 9/24/08).

The idea that parents have a right and an obligation to make a connection to these teachers and to witness the outcome of their tuition payments relates consumerism to Catholic education. These parents are, in a way, purchasing a specific form of education for their children and involve themselves to ensure that they are “getting what they pay for.” In this light, parents as consumers are taking responsibility for their purchases and are intent on seeing that their money reflects their morals and beliefs. Their involvement in the schools also reflects Coleman and Hoffer (1987)’s work, which points to strong social connections in Catholic high schools. I argue that the union used these connections over and over again to help their case and we can expand Coleman and Hoffer’s theory to include parent and teacher connections.

In their seminal work in the sociology of education, *Public and Private High Schools: The Impact of Communities*, Coleman and Hoffer (1987) offer evidence concerning the differences in dropout rates between private high schools, both religious and independent, and public ones. Through analysis of the National Longitudinal Survey the authors find that Catholic Schools have lower dropout rates than public schools and independent private schools. Coleman and Hoffer argue that this difference is caused by the strong intergenerational ties present in Catholic High schools and the operating of

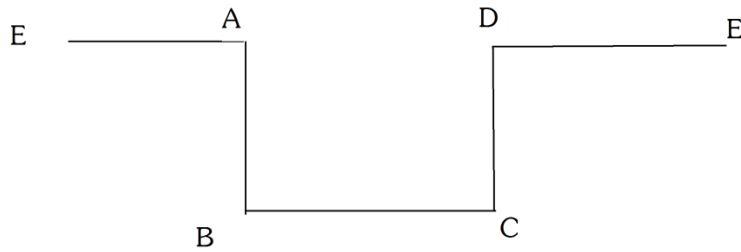
⁴⁰ This is based on personal communication with public school teachers and school board members who are live in the diocese of Camden but do not work nor send their children to the Catholic schools.

these schools as “Functional Communities.”⁴¹ The researchers explain that parents are linked because their children attend the same school, but are also connected as members of the broader Catholic Church community. Coleman and Hoffer claim that these ‘value-based’ connections between students and between their parents strengthen students’ ties to the community and encourage the reinforcement of norms. Both of these consequences make students less likely to drop out. Coleman and Hoffer label these connections between parents of the schoolchildren “intergenerational closure”, a concept central to Functional Communities.

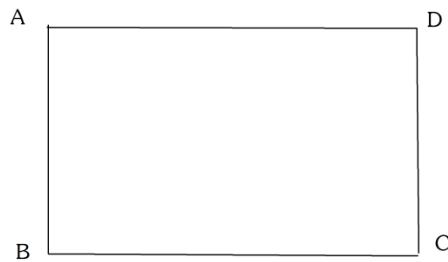
In their explanation of intergenerational closure, Coleman and Hoffer specify differences between two communities, one without intergenerational closure, where they classify most public schools, and one with intergenerational closure, where they classify Catholic schools. The two communities differ in the connections between parents in these schools. As Figure 1 shows, parents in school communities without intergenerational closure (a) do not have direct contact with one another. On the other hand, the researchers argue that parents in school communities with intergenerational closure (b) have direct contact with each other, such as through the Catholic Church.

Figure 1: Network involving parents (A, D) and children (B, C) without (a) and with (b) intergenerational culture (Coleman, 1988, p. 25)

⁴¹ Coleman and Hoffer reflect on Emile Durkheim’s emphasis on integration as a key to social solidarity. According to Durkheim, Integration was one of two facets (the other being regulation) that affected individuals connections to a society or community. Integration is based in the everyday activities and collective rituals that reinforce social ties, shared beliefs, norms, and values, therefore strengthening attachment to the group. Because Catholic schools and Catholic churches present the same set of values, students will likely be more experience more integration.



(a)



(b)

Coleman and Hoffer argue that the consequence of intergenerational closure is a set of effective sanctions that can monitor and guide behavior in a community. Therefore, assuming that these parents share a number of Catholic-based morals and values, they can reinforce these morals to their children as well as their children's schoolmates. The study notes that this closure also exemplifies social capital⁴² because it serves the purpose of enforcing accepted norms as well as encouraging trustworthiness in obligations, such as completing homework, and enforces sanctions if obligations are not met. Therefore, the existence of intergenerational closure provides social capital to each parent that aids in raising his/her children-not only in matters related to school but in other matters as well.

While Coleman and Hoffer also recognize the importance of social capital within the family on a child's academic success, they focus on how this non-familial social

⁴² Coleman defines social capital as "a variety of entities with two elements in common: they all consist of some aspect of social structure, and they facilitate certain actions of actors...within the structure" (Coleman, 1988, p.588)

capital can also make up for family deficiencies. They explain that the amount of social capital being transferred through families is decreasing as the society becomes more focused on work than on family. This mirrors Durkheim's ideas about social solidarity and organic society (1893). While in the past the small, close knit local community took a role in child rearing the highly specialized and modern community no longer tends to perform this function. Therefore, instead of geographical circumstances forming this functional community, the value-driven system that works in the Catholic School community takes on this task. As quoted in *The New York Times*, Coleman explains,

We concluded that the community surrounding the Catholic school, in effect this church-and-school-community with its social networks and its norms about what teen-agers should or should not do and its attention to and interest in children and youth, constituted 'social capital' beyond the family that aided both family and school in the education of the family's children (Carmondy, 1988).

In a later work Coleman also found that parents of children in Catholic schools are very involved in school life through extensive volunteer work & class visits (Coleman and Schiller, 1992). The private nature of a Catholic school means parents are often asked to participate in fundraising activities and/or Catholic-driven service initiatives. Due to this, Coleman found that parents in the Catholic schools spent more time volunteering in the classrooms than in the public schools. This again reinforces the intergenerational closure and strengthens the relationship between parents of the schoolchildren as well as between parents and school employees, including teachers.

Furthering support for this argument, Coleman (1988) found that dropout rates remained smaller for students in Catholic schools even when he controlled for financial and human capital. Moreover, he found that Catholic students in public high schools were no less likely to dropout than their non-Catholic peers, suggesting Catholicism alone did

not lead to this difference. Following this, Coleman discovered that the dropout rate at small, homogeneous, and highly integrated public schools were more similar to those at Catholic Schools than at large, heterogeneous public schools. This evidence supports the argument that social capital is generated in Catholic schools due to the overlapping networks of a community of parents with children in the schools and a community of church memberships. Rather than the Catholic nature of the school itself, it is the tight knit social systems that impact dropout rates.⁴³

In the case of CTU, I believe the intergenerational closure expands to include teachers and to impact the union's success. As noted in Chapter 5, many of the union members and teachers also sent their children to these high schools so they filled the dual roles of teachers and parents. Additionally, as a number of CTU members are Catholic, they may attend the same church as students and their parents or at the very least uphold Catholic norms and values in the school. These connections, coupled with Coleman's findings about the increased time Catholic school parents spend volunteering in their children's schools (described above), suggest that the connections between parents and teachers in Catholic school will also be stronger. Teachers, parents, and students in the Catholic schools also share certain rituals together in the schools such as Christmas and Easter-time masses and a welcome-back mass celebration. Additionally, any practicing Catholic teachers may also celebrate religious holidays together outside of school and

⁴³ It is important to note that these studies have been criticized, particularly with regard to 1) the measure of social capital and 2) the interpretation of the empirical evidence. Several researchers than tested Coleman and Hoffer's theory empirically, and have been unable to find any effect (neither positive or negative) of intergenerational closure. Still others who used the same data set as Coleman and Hoffer found a connection between community social capital and college attendance. While reliability has varied, Coleman and Hoffer's findings and resulting theory continue to warrant attention in the sociology of education.

possibly, share in masses at the same parish, meaning they see each other outside of the work environment.

Being able to engage in Catholic Mass together supports Emile Durkheim's classic theory regarding social solidarity and integration. In *The Division of Labor in Society* (1893), Durkheim argued that society was based on two concepts, 1) regulation, or the formally established and communicated rules, and 2) integration or the everyday socialization and collective group activity that enforce social ties, shared beliefs, norms and values. The rituals involved in mass and the opportunity to share these rituals relate to Durkheim's integration and therefore have the ability to increase cohesion and unity among the members. Additionally, the union leaders could mobilize Catholic teachers on the basis of the Catholic Church doctrine and unions and workers rights. Members who were also Catholic could partake in the union mission knowing that their actions were reflecting the ideological teachings of their faith. It is likely that this orientation will rally members who otherwise would question standing up to the patriarchal leaders of the Church.

In addition to sharing rituals and Catholic teaching, many teachers in the Camden Diocese are bound together as parents of children within a diocesan school. Like Farrow and Blumenstein, lay teachers in the Camden diocese can send their children to Catholic schools within the diocese for free. Many of CTU members with whom I spoke utilized this benefit and sent their children to the high school where they taught, or sometimes another school in the diocese. This is not always true of public school teachers who may teach in a different district than where they live, and therefore do not teach at their own children's schools. This added interaction creates a social network of lay teachers who

are also parents of their pupils, perhaps strengthening the social connection between themselves and between the union members and other parents. This interaction between receivers of the frame, union members and leaders increased the chance that this target audience would give support due to these social ties, interactions, and friendships. I believe that this social aspect also influenced the parents to engage in community unionism and affect the union's success.

The broader labor movement can expand their usage of community unionism from previous campaigns to appeal to community members as well as consumers. Union members do not live as in a bubble separate from their consumers, their neighbors who are their potential supporters. I believe that if unions can show the connections between their message and cherished values of a society then they can use their social ties to draw support for their struggles. Drawing support first at a local level by tapping into these established morals through framing can inspire supporters who already believe in these morals but do not yet see how they connect to organized labor. I explain further and expand this argument in Chapter 9.

The target audience of CTU's frame, the parents and community members supported the union because they saw their morality, demographic identity, and ideological beliefs in the union's message. The union's deliberate emphasis on Catholic doctrine and teaching as well as the frame extension to salaries and worker solidarity led to frame resonance with the audience. This frame resonance inspired parents to stand up and take action for the union as a group, participating in pickets, writing letters, and making phone calls on behalf of the union. These efforts, a type of community unionism,

can be spread and realized throughout the labor movement with the implementation of moral framing.

Chapter 7- Frame Qualities

The thing that made it work was it was the right thing to do-if you do the right thing for the right reason it is going to work, and then it will be accepted.

-Patti Hughes, former CTU member

The final component of Johnston and Noakes schema of Frame Resonance involve the actual qualities of the frame itself. The researchers write that the ever-changing contents of a frame are important to the success of a frame, particularly cultural compatibility, frame consistency, and relevance. In predicting and analyzing Frame Resonance, Johnston and Noakes emphasize that the elements composing the frame are as important as those people making and receiving the frame. These elements are products of the frame makers' efforts as well as effects of the environment surrounding the collective action frame. The components help determine how well the frame will resonate with the audience based not only on the receivers' demographics but also on how well a frame is constructed when standing on its own. A well composed frame is consistent throughout, is clear in its message, and is relevant to the cultural environment and everyday lives of its recipients. These aspects go past the personal characteristics of movements' leaders and ask if the frame, as an independent variable, is as strong as the frame makers.

Cultural Compatibility

The first 'frame content' item in Johnston and Noakes schema is **Cultural Compatibility**, or "the frame's valuational centrality, its narrative fidelity, and slogans" (p. 15). This aspect points to a frame's ability to communicate a fundamental message

representing that movement's mission. Valuational centrality asks whether one can pinpoint an idea as being the central message of a movement, a notion that others can locate as soon as they are introduced to the framework. In the case of CTU, the valuational centrality was the connection between unionism and Catholic doctrine. This moral message was at the core of the union's frame and the essential message of the movement's struggles. The union included this theme in every newspaper quotation they gave, parental letter they mailed, and picket sign they carried, therefore making it easily identifiable as CTU's core position.

Valuational Centrality is most easily confirmed by whether a movement has an identifiable slogan. Slogans are short catchy and often rhyming phrases which communicate a movement's central message to their members and to the public. Johnston and Noakes (2005, p.13) suggest that a movement can utilize slogans to amplify its frame, which is to make it more powerful and far reaching. In the case of CTU, the union was loyal to their slogans "Give us Hope, Obey the Pope" and the similar "Practice what you Preach." Members carried signs and wore sandwich boards with these slogans while on the picket lines and thereby emphasizing the pro-labor stance of Papal Encyclicals, pastoral letters and church doctrine. Union leaders gave quotes to the newspaper discussing the moral connection between the union's mission, workers' right to organize and to fair pay. Even the letters sent out to parents every summer made reference to Number 351 and the union's message. Utilizing a slogan reiterates and sells the message of the union and provides a short statement summing up their position and their relationship to these cherished values. Just as advertisers use slogans to sell products, social movements can use slogans to amplify their frames and sell their cause. CTU's

slogans ‘Give us Hope Obey the Pope’ and ‘Practice What You Preach’ were effective in selling the union’s stance to those who already believed in the Catholic morals and values. At times the union also utilized the slogan “Teachers Care, Diocese Unfair,” selling the idea that the teachers, not the diocese administrators, were also the ones concerned for their students. This speaks to the social connections between the teachers, the students, and their parents as well as the moral associations.

The broader labor movement has also used slogans throughout history such as, “An injury to one is an injury to all,” “Look for the Union Label,” and “The Labor Movement: The Folks who brought you the weekend.” However, these have not been consistently effective in summing up the frame of the movement or in recruiting supporters. Unlike CTU, the labor movement and other individual unions have been unable to connect their message and their slogans to morals and values. Additionally, the traditional labor slogans may be witty but do not always explain what the union is trying to accomplish. As mentioned in chapter 3, Cesar Chavez was able to utilize the slogan “Don’t buy Grapes” to spread the message of the farm workers because he had already established the moral connection. This simple phrase garnered support for his union because it was in the context of a deeper moral struggle. While “Look for the Union Label” is a similar sentiment, it does not have a deeper publicized and established value-based story to back it up. I believe that the labor movement can utilize slogans to amplify their framework, but first need to construct a moral-based frame. I offer some possibilities for this framework and slogans in the following chapter.

Third, Johnston and Noakes emphasize the importance of a frame’s narrative fidelity. An analysis of the frame’s narrative fidelity speaks to the union’s ability to stick

to this slogan and this message over a long period of time. While the students and parents involved in the school have changed and the union has experienced some teacher turnover (which Blumenstein and Schwartz say is common in Catholic schools), the union has stayed loyal to the moral-driven framework. While the union employed the technique of frame extension when they added elements around salaries it never fully employed frame transformation. Benford and Snow explain the possibility for Frame Transformation, which involves extensive renovation of a frame when it is not resonating with the target audience. This may be done by overtly changing the movement's message when addressing certain target groups or on a larger scale. Babb (1996) notes that movements might attempt Frame Transformation when they sense their message is failing, but this does not always result in an increase of community and member support. Therefore, Frame Transformation is often seen as a last effort to gain or regain support of potential followers.

As CTU's frame mobilized members and garnered parental support, the union has been loyal to the moral frame of Catholic doctrine supporting union and worker rights for over twenty-five years. While they extended the frame to also focus on low salaries, they still utilized Catholic doctrine, number 351, to support this extension. The union never abandoned or transformed their value-driven message, demonstrating the frame's narrative fidelity and the success of the framework.

Frame Consistency

The second 'frame content' category of **Frame Consistency** deals with whether the different components of the frame complement each other and work together to drive

a movement. The two main components of CTU's frame involved salary issues and the moral framing around the church's support of labor. An important aspect of Frame Consistency is the link between "number 351" and "number 353." Both of these refer to numbers of items the Council of U.S. Catholic Bishops laid out in their 1985 Pastoral Letter titled *Economic Justice for All*. The first point (number 351) speaks to the need for the Church to provide all employees with sufficient wages and benefits and emphasizes the role of all Catholics to financially support church institutions. The second (number 353) instructs all church institutions, such as schools, hospitals, and nursing homes, to allow their employees to unionize and for church employers to support any labor organization efforts.

These points demonstrate that CTU's two frame components were both rooted in Catholic doctrine and complemented each other as dictates of the Bishops' letter. This connection added to the credibility of a value-driven union message on both frame issues. Additionally, the leaders creating and proclaiming this frame had a deep knowledge of Catholic doctrine and with some, including Chris Ehrmann and Mary Kay Rossi, serving as theology teachers. These union leaders only added to the consistency of the frame components and the credibility of those who were representing the union's message. If, for instance, parents asked leaders to explain the connections between Catholic Social Teaching, unionization, and the union's contract demands, Ehrmann in particular had the position of speaking as union Vice president and respected theology teacher. This may have quelled any fears that the union's actions were anti-Catholic because the debate was coming from a seasoned theologian. If there had been no moral-doctrine background for

the salary issue, and no theologian to communicate the background, there may have been less frame consistency between these components.

In addition to the relationship between Catholic dogma and frame elements, the issue of Frame Consistency also comes forth in Ehrmann's exclamation, "We never asked for too much." Ehrmann emphasized that the lay teachers always communicated that they did not expect to earn as much as public school teachers and never asked for public school teacher salaries. Union leaders instead advertised the historical trends between their salaries and public schoolteacher salaries and showed how this gap had drastically widened over time. The deliberate choice to never ask for public teacher level salaries meant that CTU could consistently utilize the moral framing of Catholic Social Thought. If they had instead asked for more money, they could be characterized as greedy and materialistic, both of which are in opposition to Catholic values. By always asking for less, and explaining this when making their salary comparisons, the union members still seemed to be the philanthropists of the schools, giving more than they were asking for or taking. This led to consistency between the Catholic doctrine aspect of the frame and the salary aspect on a more macro level. The low salary demands and transparency in their wages also allowed the teachers to compare their salaries with what the parents themselves were earning. This second set of gaps drew support for the union's mission as it resonated with the target audience's everyday experiences and gave the frame Relevance.

Relevance

The third, and arguably the most important, category of Frame Content is **Relevance**, namely if the frame has *Empirical Credibility* and *Experiential Credibility*.

Empirical Credibility and Experiential Credibility involve whether a frame reflects the everyday experiences of the target audience, in this case members and parents.

As discussed in Chapter 3, Experiential Credibility, or Commensurability, is central to Babb's (1996) research on Labor's anti-Greenback stance and union members' rejection of that message. Babb found that the frame the Knights of Labor presented did not match the everyday experiences of union members and potential members as well as did alternate frames. She concluded that potential members and supporters will abandon a frame if it does not match their experiences and the way they see the world, as they did in the case of organized labor. Since an alternative 'Producerist' master frame better matched workers' everyday experiences, it has more Experiential Credibility and resonated more strongly with the target audience.

Unlike the Knights of Labor frame, CTU was able to provide great Experiential Credibility in their moral framing by drawing on the moral narrative of the Catholic beliefs system. Johnston and Noakes (2002) define Experiential Credibility as to what degree a frame matches the way the frame recipients' everyday experiences and worldview. This is crucial to frame resonance in light of Babb's conclusions. In regard to CTU, the union's frame had experiential credibility on two levels. First, it was more in line with the parents' perception of Catholicism than was the diocesan stance and second, the teachers' salaries seemed low and unfair to an economically equal or slightly higher class of parent-consumers.

As noted in Chapter 6, parents with whom I spoke explained that they sent their children to Catholic schools because the schools included the teaching of moral principles. One of these that Mary Kay Rossi (CTU teacher and Catholic school parent)

noted was that many Catholic parents see the church and church leaders as providers for its flock. Bill Checcio reflected this sentiment in a newspaper quotation during the first strike when he said, “when you work for the church, you expect better treatment” (Gunther & Watson, 1985). Rossi and Checcio, as well as former CTU member Patti Hughes, said they were all raised Catholic and explained that they were taught, by the church, that Catholic leaders in the church were supposed to treat everyone fairly and justly based on church teachings on compassion and community. Hughes in particular found this troubling as she witnessed a great deal of unfairness in the diocesan school system that did not align with what she had learned about the Catholic faith as a child (Personal Interview, 5/6/08).

Starting with the union’s struggles for formation, parents saw that the church was not always acting based on the moral principles teachers were projecting in the schools and priests were proclaiming on Sunday mornings. CTU secretary Maureen Sizmak explained that parents and church community members realized that their weekly experience with priests did not match the way these same pastors were treating the teachers. Sizmak said her friends and neighbors would say, “That priest is so nice on Sundays” but then they would see how poorly the same priest dealt with the teachers with whom their children have far more interaction (Personal Interview 10/22/08). Teachers emphasized this contradiction in their own message and diocesan leaders discussed repeatedly told newspapers of the distaste for unions in their schools. In addition to their negative reaction to the 1997 Supreme Court case, one diocesan school representative told me, “I wish we didn’t have to have them (unions), but they do” (Personal Interview 11/18/08). Newspapers publicized this sentiment in statements such the one

Superintendent McGrath made during the 1985 strike when he said, “The teachers (under the previous system)...were sheltered from realities of tough labor negotiations” (Marder, 4/30/85) and Bishop McHugh’s response to the elementary school teachers’ request to join CTU, “The union will create an adversarial environment in schools” (Bole, 9/23/94). Such statements led parents to see the teachers, rather than the diocese leaders, as the representatives and practitioners of Catholic morals. The importance of this is especially obvious when parental and media support of the union waned during the 1994 strike that involved the Bishop’s authority. This suggests that historically, the parents have sided with the group they feel is best representing the Catholic morals and principles they hear on Sundays, believe in, and want their children to learn in the diocesan schools.

Diana Marder, who covered the 1985 strike for *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, also noted that parents related the strikes to everyday news they read or saw about Catholic schools closing. As Catholic school enrollment dropped in the 1980s and 1990s, due mainly to urban flight, better public schools, and a decrease in Catholic religious orders, parents who were committed to these schools feared the closure of their own institutions. Marder believed that parents supported the union because they wanted to keep these schools open and needed the teachers to make that happen. Marder recalled parents saying that they had seen other schools closed and that knew it could happen to their schools if the teachers and the diocese did not reach an agreement. Marder noted that the union teachers were kind and non-aggressive while the diocese was often stand-offish and did not address the concerns of parents and the community with the media the same way the union did. Marder believes that this link to the parents’ fear of school closure and

the teachers' kindness and willingness to communicate on these concerns helped them (Personal Interview 11/13/08).

With Experiential Credibility, the teachers provided Empirical Credibility, Johnston and Noakes' second aspect of Relevance, to support Frame Resonance. Empirical Credibility involves providing the facts and figures to back up a movement's message and giving evidence to support a movement's claims. In the case of CTU, the teachers were open about their salaries at parental meetings and in newspaper articles and the gaps between their salaries and public school teacher earnings. Union leaders deliberately provided concrete information on starting and average salaries for the diocesan teachers and public school teachers to advertise this gap. These salary numbers, both in newspapers and in meetings, gave credibility to the union's message by providing empirical evidence that the teachers were struggling to make ends meet in an occupation that the majority of people consider 'professional'. Below is an actual fact sheet the union sent to parents and presented in parental meetings during the 1991 negotiations:



SCTO (CTU) NEGOTIATIONS

Fact Sheet

Fact

The Diocese wants you to finance the Diocesan Secondary Schools

- Fact The average salary increase for teachers in New Jersey public schools for 1991/1992 is 8.9% and \$3351.
- Fact The average salary increase for 1991/1992 with the Diocese is 5% offer is \$1330.
- Fact Average salaries for teachers in the Camden Diocese are presently \$7000 behind the public schools in our geographic areas.
- Fact In three years, with a 5% settlement, the average salaries for teachers in the Camden Diocese will be over \$13,000 behind the public schools in our geographic areas.
- Fact The Diocese 5% offer is less than the increase in the cost of living which was 5.9% in 1990.
- Fact The Diocese will save over \$350,000 in salaries and benefits for the 91/92 school year as a result of the 18.5 constrictions.
- Fact The cost difference between the Diocese offer of 5% and the SCTO's last position of 8.5% is less than \$250,000.
- Fact The Diocese wants you to finance the Diocesan Secondary Schools.

The union distributed this sheet to parents at a meeting during the 1991 negotiations to give empirical evidence to back their argument. Through this, union leaders appealed to parents on the basis of salary issues and were bluntly honest with parents about the money they were (or were not) making. As parents were the ones funding schools through their tuition payments, many believed they should have a voice in how this money impacted teacher salaries. At the same meeting in 1991, the union handed out another sheet that listed average salaries for every public school districts in the area. This included information on the maximum and minimum teacher salaries for each district as well as the differentials between these numbers and diocesan minimums and maximums. It also noted the differences based on the contract proposals the diocese and

the union had both made and emphasized that the union was not asking for the same salaries as public school teachers. While the average minimum for the public school teachers in the area was \$25,192 for the 1990/91 school year, the union's proposal asked only for \$19,440 and the diocese offered \$18, 720. These comparisons showed parents exactly what each group had proposed and engaged the parents in the negotiation numbers.

In addition to these concrete numbers, the union's information sheet also provided salary differentials for popular teachers who left teaching positions in the diocese to make larger salaries in local public schools. This section read:

<p style="text-align: center;">Lou Piotti Taught at St. Joseph-presently at Clearview Regional If he had remained at St. Joseph Lou's salary for 1990/91 would have been \$23,400. Lou's salary for 1990/91 at Clearview was \$29,500-a difference of \$6,100. Lou's salary for 1991/92 is \$31,400</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">Bob Goldschmidt Taught at Paul VI-presently at Egg Harbor Regional (Oakcrest) If he had remained at Paul VI Bob's salary for 1990/91 would have been \$25,000. Bob's salary for 1990/91 at Oakcrest was \$29,700-a difference of \$4,700. Bob's salary for 1991/92 is \$33, 200</p>

Piotti and Goldschmidt were respected teachers who parents learned had left the diocese because (among other reasons) they were not making enough money. Emphasizing this difference by utilizing real people allowed the union to connect the empirical salary issues to the personal social ties between the parents, students, and teachers at these schools. It also personalized the numbers to show that real people were being affected by the diocese's low salary offerings. While the union voted to strike during the 1991 negotiations they settled on a contract before striking because parents vocally supported a

salary increase for teachers. The presentation of these empirical numbers contributed to the parents' offer to pay higher tuition costs in order to give the teachers a raise.

The union realized they had appealed to their audience on another lever and emphasized the salary issue even more in future negotiations. While parents were less supportive of 1994 strike over the Bishop's moral code, they were again vocal in the 1997 negotiations, according to Vice-president Chris Ehrmann. Ehrmann explained, "There were more complaints (to the union) in 1994 than 1997-because it was about money then (1997). It was like what do we (the parents) need to give you to make this work?" (Personal Interview 10/11/08). Ehrmann explained that by showing the parents "hard evidence," on the meager teacher salaries, the union appealed to parents and gained their support on a numbers-based issue. While the diocese, as many interviewees attested, was reluctant to provide evidence on church budgets, deficits, and funding or answer questions about administrative salaries and benefits, the union was happy to advertise its members' own wages. This reluctance crossed into media relations as multiple reporters noted the diocese's hesitancy to speak with the newspapers about the union-diocesan issues (Personal Interview 11/13/08). By doing this, the diocese let the union control the information the media was receiving and made it more difficult for the papers to tell both empirically-based sides of the story as well.

The union's transparency regarding their salaries gained the respect from parents who had proof that the teachers were struggling to make ends meet. This was particularly effective because of the income demographics of the various counties composing the Camden diocese. As Table 7 shows, the median incomes for these counties were, and still are, lower than the median income for New Jersey. Average CTU teacher salaries were

still below these median numbers. As parents and community members saw their teachers earning so little, they were more likely to relate to the teachers’ struggles and support their efforts.

Table 7: Median Household Incomes for Camden Diocese areas (U.S. Census Bureau)*:

	2005	2000	1990	1980
Atlantic County	\$44, 782	\$43, 933	\$33, 716	\$15, 752
Camden County	\$48, 748	\$48, 097	\$36, 190	\$18, 056
Cape May County	\$44, 528	\$41, 591	\$30, 435	\$14, 048
Cumberland County	\$39, 335	\$39,150	\$29, 985	\$15, 378
Salem County	\$49, 231	\$45, 573	\$33, 155	\$18, 017
New Jersey (state)	\$57, 338	\$55, 146	\$40, 927	\$19, 800
CTU teacher (average)	40,000	\$35, 225	\$26,000	\$16,000 (1985)

*Accessed via www.wnjin.net and <http://factfinder.census.gov>

Table 7 illustrates that the median household income for these counties was either greater than or equal to the salaries CTU teachers averaged with only one exception in 2005. As the census years are not an exact match for the strike years (when salary was publicized) and the union provided average and starting, rather than median salaries, these conclusions are based on approximate comparisons. Therefore while the average teacher income for 1985 appears to be larger than the median income for 1980 in three counties, in 1985 the median income would be higher. Additionally, while the teacher incomes may be supplemented with additional spousal earnings, I present household income because that is how the union framed this evidence and how parents responded to it. Teachers, especially the male teachers, were characterized as professional employees who were ‘breadwinners’ working to support their families. Checcio, Farrow, and Ehrmann all recalled parents reacting to the salary information saying, “Wow, how can you live on that?” without considering if there was supplemental income. As mentioned

in chapter 2, female union members also responded in this way, telling newspapers and repeating in my interviews that they joined the union out of support for their breadwinning male colleagues.

Considering this salary information, it is interesting to point out that the county which was least supportive of the union, Cumberland County, (where Sacred Heart High School is located) is also where the median income was the lowest and the county most supportive of the union, Camden County, (where Paul VI High School and Camden Catholic High School are located) is where income was the highest. In this sense, parental support of the union also depended on the income of parents in different schools themselves. The union message was received differently by parents at different income levels, again illustrating the impact of demographic orientations. Additionally, it is of note that the teachers' salaries have not increased at the same rate as the median income. For example, while teacher salaries were close to the median income in the 1980s, in 2005 the teacher salary was only greater than the median salary in Cumberland County. According to the American Federation of Teachers (AFT), the average salary for public school teachers in New Jersey was \$56,635 in 2007, the third highest average teacher salary in the United States⁴⁴. If CTU chooses to publicize this empirical information in their 2009 negotiations they can also point to this empirical gap as well as to the teacher turnover rate.

These demographics suggest that parents were sympathetic to the teachers not only because they had social ties to them as parents and church members, but also because they sympathized with their financial struggles. The salary information proved that the union was not greedy and in many cases teachers, considered white-collar

⁴⁴ <http://www.employmentspot.com/employment-articles/teacher-salaries-by-state/>

educated professionals, were struggling to provide for their families on low wages. This evidence, combined with the pro-union sentiment of the area, added depth to the union's moral frame and gave the message empirical credibility.

Issue Culture

Related to Experiential and Empirical Credibility is Gamson's idea of issue culture. As noted in Chapter 3, Gamson, a pioneer in Frame Analysis in sociology, discusses the importance of the culture of an environment surrounding a social movement. Gamson explained the context outside the movement and the culture of the area where the movement is attempting to draw support directly affects Frame Resonance. For example, it was more difficult for CTU to draw support based on salary issues from parents in Vineland, Cumberland County than it was for them to draw support from parents in Haddonfield, a much wealthier area in Camden County. Also, it was easier for the union to speak to a constituency that had a pro-union past whether it was in their own employment history or their parents' (the students' grandparents).

In addition to the context of salaries and unionism, the issue climate involving Catholic Church as a larger institution also affected how audiences received the frame. Several CTU members said that this worked to the union's advantage, especially during the most recent contract negotiations which took place during Catholic Church's 2002 'sex scandal.' Almost all union members and leaders noted the reputation of area newspapers, especially *The Courier Post* as being tough on the Catholic Church. Kristen Graham, of *The Philadelphia Inquirer* denied this and said all reporters did their best to tell both sides of the union story (Personal Interview 11/11/08). Diana Marder (also of *The Philadelphia Inquirer*) noted that the Diocese may have contributed to any anti-

church framing by being especially stand-offish and skeptical of the media and only speaking through a diocesan press person. She said the union allowed more access, returned phone calls, and offered more contexts which led to a more favorable view of that group (Personal Interview 11/13/08). With the Church relying on terse prepared statements and press releases readers were forced to utilize the surrounding framework on the Catholic Church, which was not always favorable. A diocesan administration leader said she believed that the media tries to “make bigger headlines in general to elevate story to higher level which may lead them to sensationalize. She agreed, “Employers are generally quieter, and therefore media portrayal is not always fair” (Personal Interview 11/18/08). While the union presented a detailed view of their organization, members, and message, the church let readers develop their own opinion based on an uncontrolled environment.

The concept of issue culture became particularly important to this story when, in 2005, *The Philadelphia Inquirer* named twenty-five (25) priests in the Camden diocese that were accused of sexually abusing children and teenagers from 1950 to 2000 (Phillips & McCoy, 2005). The Diocese itself, as part of a Catholic Church survey, said it received ‘substantial allegations’ against thirty-three (33) priests. One case that got a significant amount of press involved a priest in the Camden diocese, Rev. Gary Hayes, who said that he had been molested by a group of priests in that diocese when he was a teenager. Hayes’ made a complaint to the diocese, but it was ignored because Rev. Joseph Perrault, the director of the diocesan vocation office, said he did not believe that Hayes’ accusations were valid. Hayes’ story made headlines not only because he was an

outspoken advocate for victims' rights but also because the Camden diocese refused to ordain Hayes' after his accusation. (Hayes was later ordained in Kentucky).

In addition to these scandals, there were many articles written in regard to the former Camden bishops' treatment of the accused priests. *The Philadelphia Inquirer* uncovered church evidence that Bishop Guilfoyle, who lead the diocese during the union's recognition and first strike, arranged for an arrested child molester in the diocese to be hidden in the Pittsburgh diocese and transferred a monsignor who had admitted to abusing two children rather than turning them in. Bishop McHugh, who led the diocese during the 1994 moral code incident and through the elementary school Supreme Court case, was also accused of trying to block another priest from testifying on behalf of the victims. Both of these stories led to so-called 'bad press' for the diocese and painted the church leaders in a negative light.

Following these articles, the current Bishop Joseph Galante sat for an interview with *The Philadelphia Inquirer* reporter Nancy Phillips, titled 'Bishop: Sorry for Institutional Sin' (Phillips, October 16, 2005). While the Bishop apologized for the abuse and condemned the accused priests, this was one article in the context of a sea of anti-church evidence and allegations. Though his statement may have moved some Catholics in the diocese, the overwhelming reporting on the sex scandal took a pro-victim, anti-church stance, mimicking news coverage and reactions across the country. These stories provided a backdrop for all church dealings from 2002 forward and strengthened any "Practice What You Preach" framework the union (or anyone else) presented against the church. This issue culture demonized the Catholic Church and made the teachers the more favored group just on the basis of the church having so much negative press. The

union did not ever discuss the scandal with the press or utilize it as leverage in negotiations, but they also did not *need* to actively do anything.⁴⁵ The anti-diocese sentiment was strong without the union ever bringing it up.

Union members commented on the scandal and noted how much it affected Catholics in the diocese. According to Ro Farrow, the sex scandal was tough on parishioners because, “it was another example of the church going against what it preaches.” “It crushes people,” Farrow said (Personal Interview 5/6/08). Ehrmann also noted that the sex scandal increased any interest by media reporters in stories involving the Catholic Church. He said that more media people contacted him in 1997 when rumblings of the first round of sex scandal accusations surfaced than in previous negotiations. This increased media coverage of the union in 1997, 2002, and 2005 created a different context surrounding the union framework and a different reference point and characterization of the church leaders. Just as the union had been saying the church does not “practice what it preaches” in regard to employee organization and bargaining, the media used this frame to characterize the diocesan involvement with the sex scandal. When the union first began Maureen Sizmack remembers her friends and family saying, “But that priest is so nice in church on Sunday!” It is likely that this sentiment would be drastically altered in light of the sex scandal.

This issue culture and surrounding context of the Church sex scandal affected the decision of parents, community members, teachers and media reporters to support the union. If lay teachers tried to organize and negotiate the same way in a different era or a different environment, their framework could have been received very differently. In a

⁴⁵ This was my finding based on all of the articles I utilized in the content analysis and from discussions with union leaders.

strictly conservative diocese that was not impacted by the sex scandal, parental support may not have been as affected as deeply by the “practice what you preach” message. Due to the connections between that slogan, Catholic dogma supporting unions, and the Camden diocese’s involvement with the sex scandal, the issue culture worked in the union’s favor. Demonstrating this, 2002 was the only year that the union and the diocese settled before in the middle of the summer out of the media’s eye. This may reflect the desire of the diocese to avoid media attention so close in time to the church sex scandal.

Expanding this argument of issue culture to other labor unions and the broader labor movement involves consideration of the current issue climate around work and workers. In light of public anger over current economic collapse, I argue that there is currently an anti-Wall Street sentiment and anti-corporate issue climate. In the next chapter I expand on this to explain how labor unions might make use of this anti-corporate greed environment.

Johnston and Noakes’ (2005) third category of Frame content asks if a framework has cultural compatibility, experiential and empirical credibility, and relevance in itself. CTU successfully navigated these issues to create a cohesive and relevant frame with experiential and empirical evidence to support its moral message.

Chapter 8: Win-Win Bargaining and CTU’s Moral Framework

“It was the best contract we ever got.”

-Bill Blumenstein on 1987 CTU contract

As noted in Chapter 3, after the initial strike in 1985, CTU leaders took a different approach to contract negotiations in 1987 and invited administrators and leaders from the Camden diocese to participate in a process called Win-Win Bargaining.

President Blumenstein recalled that Bruno Scuglia, then president of Pittsburgh Federation of Diocesan Teachers, suggested this method to both CTU and the Association of Catholic Teachers (ACT1776) in Philadelphia after the Pittsburgh diocese and their lay teachers found it successful (Personal Interview 5/5/08). This Win-Win method was an example of moral framework in action, as the Win-Win process is an example of the cooperative, justice-based, and collaborative that CTU and the Council of Bishops call for in church-lay employee negotiations. In bringing this method to the diocese after the contentious 1985 strike, the union showed that they were dedicated to their moral message of workers' rights through collective negotiation in theory and in practice.

According to Blumenstein, "Win-Win" is a negotiation method in which all parties work together to find a "Win-Win" solution. Roger Fisher and William Ury, director and associate director of the Harvard Negotiation Project, developed this method in their book, *Getting to Yes: Negotiating agreement without giving in* (1981). The system, also called the principled negotiation or negotiation on the merits strategy, established a new means of conflict negotiation based on maximizing mutual satisfaction. The authors developed the Win-Win method as an alternative to positional bargaining, the more traditional technique that is based on each disputant holding fast to their specific position. Fisher and Ury use the example of haggling between a merchant and a potential customer over the price of an item to describe positional bargaining, where each disputant takes and then gives up a series of positions (1981, p.4). The authors explain that while this type of bargaining may produce an agreement, it does not fulfill their definition of a 'wise agreement.' Fisher and Ury explain,

‘A wise agreement can be defined as one that meets the legitimate interests of each side to the extent possible, resolving conflicting interests fairly, is durable, and takes community interests into account’ (1981, p.4).

The authors argue that positional bargaining does not produce a wise agreement because disputants become rigid in their position as it is linked to their ego. With this they become less open to hearing another’s position and less likely to negotiate amicably. In positional bargaining it is more difficult for each side to see how there can be a common solution. As such, if positional bargaining results in an agreement, Fisher and Ury argue that the agreement will be less satisfactory to both sides than it could have been (1981, p.5). Additionally, the authors claim that positional bargaining creates adversarial relationships between the parties, making future negotiations more difficult.

Fisher and Ury suggest an alternative process based on maximizing the interests of both parties and creating joint value out of a conflict situation. The authors break the method down into four elements (p.11):

People- Separate the People from the Problem

Interests- Focus on Interests, not positions

Options- Generate a variety of possibilities before deciding what to do

Criteria- Insist that the result be based on some objective standard

First, the authors point out that disputants are **People**, meaning that they have emotions and egos that often get involved in conflict negotiations. Fisher and Ury stress that disputants must separate their personal feelings from the negotiation so that they are facing the conflict rather than each other (1981, p.11). Open communication is central to this process as well as empathy, or putting oneself in the other person’s shoes.

Additionally, the authors stress the importance of each side speaking about themselves rather than about the other disputant, and listening to the other side's claims.

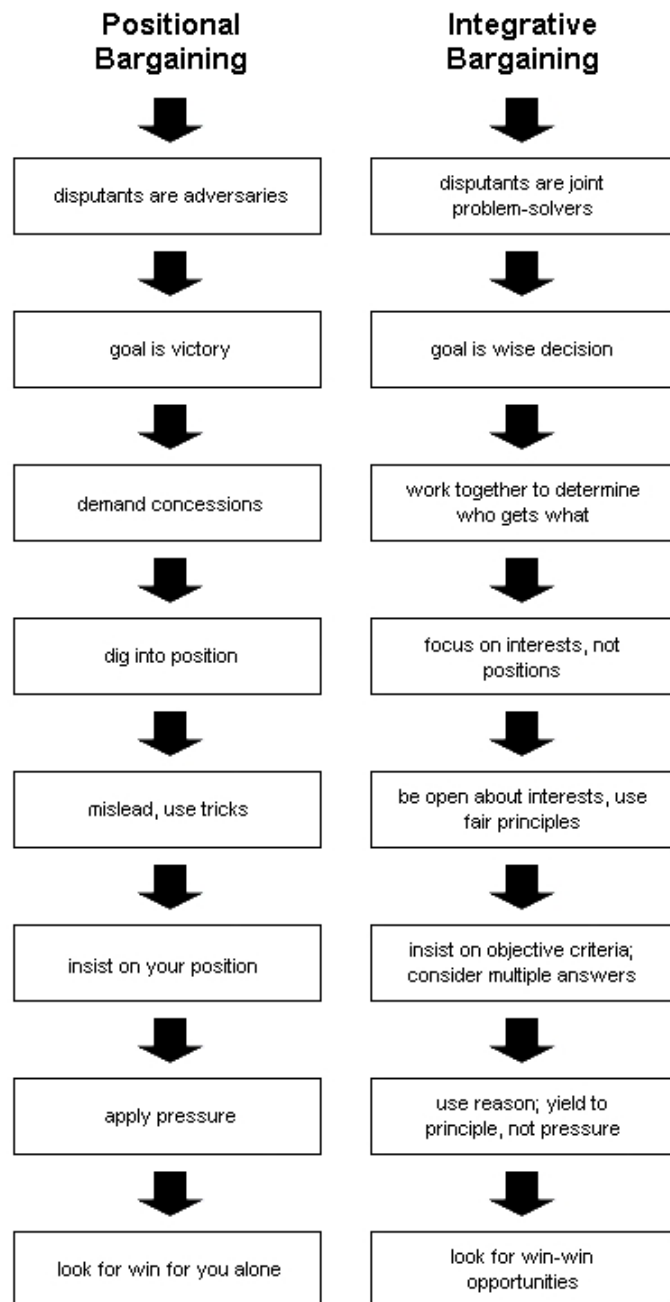
The second element, **Interests**, reflects the authors' criticism of positional bargaining for masking 'true interests' by focusing on specific rigid positions. Fisher and Ury describe interests as needs, desires, concerns or fears that are important to each disputant. They believe that these interests are the cause of many conflicts between negotiating parties and suggest that both sides should clearly communicate their own interests as well as listen and understand each other's interests. Fisher and Ury believe that being open about interests will help parties reach commonly beneficial solutions.

Third, the authors look at **Options** which involves brainstorming a wide range of solutions rather than zeroing in on one pre-determined result. They note that attaching oneself to a single solution limits creativity and creates an adversarial environment while inventing a broad spectrum of options allows for flexibility. Fisher and Ury explain that disputants should try to identify their shared interests as well as separate 'deciding' from 'brainstorming' (p.11). With this they explain that the brainstorming process should welcome all suggestions rather than criticizing a proposal as unrealistic or silly.

Lastly, Fisher and Ury point to the importance of **Criteria** in regards to evaluating agreements based on a fair outside standard. For example, rather than accepting an accord that only one disputant judges as fair, Fisher and Ury suggest using a market value, expert opinion, or law as the determinant (p.12). The authors also suggest bringing in a third party or arbitrator to help create a fair and mutually satisfying agreement. The authors note that this is vital to creating a 'wise agreement' which will be most durable.

Spangler (2003), in a review of *Getting to Yes*, points to an example that the authors provide to illustrate the differences between Positional and Win-Win bargaining. He summarizes the authors' depiction of a mother who is involved in a dispute between her two daughters, as both are fighting over a single orange. The mother, basing her actions on the belief that both daughters want the whole orange, cuts the orange in half and gives a piece to each daughter. While the mother believes this is an effective compromise, the daughters remain unhappy. The authors explain that if the mother had asked the daughters why they wanted the oranges, she would have learned that one wanted to eat the flesh of the fruit while the other wanted to use the peel for a recipe. Fisher and Ury contend that if the mother had known the 'needs' and 'interests' of each daughter, therefore practicing the first step of "Win-Win" bargaining, each daughter could have gotten what they wanted, instead of compromising with the halves.

Spangler (2003) adapts a chart from Fisher and Ury to lay out the differences between Positional and Win-Win (which he calls Integrative) bargaining. In this comparison, he points out that the "Win-Win" method frames the disputants as 'joint problem solvers' rather than pinning the sides against each other. He emphasizes the "Win-Win" focus on the two sides working together and using clear and open communication to express needs and interests. Spangler believes that this method helps disputants reach a wise and fair agreement where both sides leave the table satisfied.



In addition to maximizing the results for each disputant, Spangler says that Win-Win bargaining engages each side in collaborative processes so that there is less ill-will after the negotiations. The open communication and lack of pressure invites each group to

focus on mutual interests rather than oppositional stances. This allows the two sides to maintain favorable dispositions towards each other that will aid in future relations.

Lastly, Fisher and Ury (1981) also emphasize the importance of what they call the Best Alternative to a Negotiated Agreement, or BATNA. The BATNA is a plan that each party develops before the negotiations begin that spells out what each disputant will do if the Win-Win negotiations do not produce an agreement or contract. The purpose of the BATNA is to relieve uneasiness over the fate of the negotiations as well as to provide the parties with some awareness about what the next step would be if the negotiations fail. Win-Win proponents argue that Fisher and Ury's steps, along with a well developed BATNA, allow disputants to efficiently and amicably reach a 'wise agreement' rather than an unsatisfactory compromise.

The Labor Movement and the Win-Win Method

While Ury and Fisher's introduced Win-Win Bargaining in their 1981 work, the process did not gain popularity with the labor movement until the early 1990s. Up to this point labor leaders (Lobel & Walden, 1994) argued over the usefulness of the win-win strategy as some, including federal mediator Ira Lobel, claimed that it was an old concept with a new name rather than a genuinely innovative technique. Lobel explained his feeling that win-win was simply a new title for what labor mediators had long considered 'sound bargaining practices' and that the win-win technique created a negative image of 'traditional' forms of bargaining and masked positions as 'interests.' Lobel also countered the argument that traditional bargaining stifled creativity with his stance that creativity is only stalled when negotiators are inflexible. As the counter to Lobel, Center for Collaborative Services president Janet Walden argued that while win-win is not

'brand new' in all of its aspects it is an inventive technique which is more inclusive and allows disputants to reach more mutually satisfying results. She disagrees with Lobel in saying that stating an interest, done in win-win bargaining, is *very* different than stating a position, done in traditional bargaining and that stating interests, "set the stage for a better and more comprehensive agreement" (Walden, 1994, 3). Finally, Walden emphasized the importance on Fisher and Ury's concept of BATNA. She says that by having the alternative laid out before the negotiations begin, which is rare in the traditional process, both parties enter the bargaining with more awareness. While many labor leaders echoed Lobel's criticisms rather than Walden's support for the Win-Win method, several unions, particularly public sector organizations including teachers unions (AFSCME Council 8 and Council 4, Wisconsin Education Association Council-Waukesha, Wisconsin Education Association Council-LaCrosse), have utilized this technique.

CTU and Win-Win Bargaining

After Pittsburgh leader Scuglia spoke highly of the Win-Win method, both ACT1776 and CTU offered the alternative bargaining method to their respective dioceses. President Blumenstein and the executive board members approached Superintendent McIntyre with information about the Win-Win method. The union's only stipulation was that each group would come to the bargaining table without lawyers. As mentioned, the union had struggled with the diocese's lawyers from its conception, and hoped that by dealing with the diocese themselves and keeping 'outsiders' away from the table they would have more successful negotiations. The Camden diocese administration agreed to try the Win-Win bargaining, after also speaking with the Pittsburgh and Philadelphia dioceses about their experiences.

The next step was for the union to contact Irving Goldaber, a sociologist and former hostage negotiator who was running a program that facilitated Win-Win Bargaining negotiations. Goldaber, (whom Blumenstein referred to as Gold 'labor'), was the same facilitator the Pittsburgh Diocese had employed. At the time Goldaber, a former associate professor of sociology at Brooklyn College, and the deputy director of the New York City Commission on Human Rights, was a nationally recognized Win-Win labor consultant. Goldaber took the Fisher and Ury's principles and adapted them specifically to union contract negotiations. He traveled across the U.S. facilitating labor negotiations utilizing his 'win-win' method and directed negotiations for public and private sector unions, including school teachers. In October 1987, the U.S. Catholic Conference recognized Goldaber as they acknowledged the need for more cooperation between diocesan administrators and lay teachers in Catholic schools and noted that several dioceses had successfully utilized his services. Goldaber's reputation and experience, as well as his direct recommendation from Pittsburgh, made him an ideal negotiator for CTU and the diocese of Camden.

Moriarty (1984), in a chronicle of Goldaber's thirty-day facilitation of Chicago school district contract notes two central parts of Goldaber's method. First, Goldaber insists that both parties agree a strict schedule and a set of values, and second, a neutral facilitator must lead the negotiations. Goldaber would be the neutral facilitator for the CTU negotiations, therefore satisfying the second criterion. Before setting the schedule for the contract talks in Camden, Goldaber asked both the diocese and CTU to choose a nine-person team to represent them. As agreed upon, neither side could choose their lawyers as part of their team. CTU chose their team based on the union's six executive

board members and three additional members representing schools not covered by board members. One former executive board member noted that their team also chose ‘level-headed’ teachers whose personalities and demeanors would lend most easily to a collaborative bargaining environment.

While the CTU team consisted of the union’s ‘usual lineup’, the union was surprised by the people the diocese chose for their team. Blumenstein explained that he felt that the people that the diocese selected to represent them “said a lot about who was making decisions in the diocese.” He noted that out of nine team members, there were only two principals, even though they would probably be most affected by contract negotiations. Instead, the diocese chose ‘pastor consultants’ who Blumenstein described as intelligent and shrewd priests not involved in any day to day activities of the schools to represent their interests. Several CTU team members recalled one pastor consultant in particular, Father Harron. Harron was known to be economically astute and math oriented, often challenging the union members who admittedly struggled as spreadsheet and Microsoft excel novices. Blumenstein said Harron was, “as sharp as a tack”, but also that he had very little to do with the day to day operation of diocesan schools. Ro Farrow added, “The choice of their team told us a lot about who was making decisions.”

After each side selected their teams, Goldaber explained the ‘Win-Win’ schedule. The negotiations would begin with the first of two “bookend weekends”, where the teams would be ‘cloistered’ (Blumenstein) at a hotel and would remain there for all discussions, negotiations, and meals. Furthermore, while they would be separated into their sides for much of the weekend, they would ‘mix’ during meals and eat with members of the other team. Before the weekend began, Goldaber asked each group to come up with a list of

“issues’ in the form of questions, per the Win-Win definition. Blumenstein recalls Goldaber telling him, “You are going to have fifty and they are going to have five.” Bill says this was an exaggeration, but not by much.

On a Friday night the two teams traveled to a hotel in Cherry Hill, NJ where all team members and Goldaber, as well as a number of non-participating observers would stay for the next two days.⁴⁶ Early Saturday morning CTU team and the diocesan team wrote all of their “issues” on newsprint and Goldabor instructed them to hang the sheets on the wall behind where they were seated. After the newsprint was on the walls, both sides realized that Goldaber was correct- the union had many more ‘issues’ than the diocese. As they sat in what Blumenstein called a ‘football shape’ with CTU members on one side and the Diocese on the other, Goldaber facilitated as two groups went over the issues and discussed each one. This process followed Fisher & Ury’s (1981) first and second elements (people and interests) and ensured that both groups understood the other’s view and to settle any issues that could be resolved at this point. Rather than speaking about the other groups’ issues and questioning them, the union presented their issues and the diocese presented their issues, therefore following Fisher and Ury’s suggestion to separate the people from the problem. Farrow remembers that the process was designed so that each side would come out of the negotiations feeling ‘less wounded’, and the open expression of feelings and interests helped to make this happen. While this process took Friday evening and all day Saturday to complete, both the diocese and the union were given the opportunity to express their wants and needs without pressure to legitimize or prove the worth of their concerns.

⁴⁶ Each side was also allowed to invite two non-participating observers. While these people did not speak during the process, they were allowed to act as secretaries and attended all weekend events. Current CTU vice-president Chris Ehrmann acted as secretary for the union.

After Goldaber addressed each issue, the teams worked together to classify the remaining questions into three groups: 1) Financial-covering issues such as salaries, benefits and stipends, 2) Working Conditions-including concerns over the number of classes in a row a teacher would be required to teach, as well as the total number each day, and 3) Miscellaneous, involving all other issues such as who belonged to the bargaining unit and how teachers would pay union dues. After assigning each issue to one of these three categories, the teams broke off into three committees, each based on one of these groups. There were three members from each side on the ‘Financial’ committee, three from each on the ‘Working Conditions Committee’, and three from each on the “Miscellaneous Committee.” After conducting short initial committee meetings on Saturday night, the first of the two bookend weekends ended.

Over the next four weeks, the individual committees met and discussed ways to most successfully address the issues in their category. These meetings addressed Fisher and Ury’s third criteria of brainstorming options to come up with as many solutions as possible. In the small committees group members invented new ways to look at the issues in their category and came up with a number of solutions that could address these issues. Goldaber again proved to be clairvoyant or at least well-practiced with his prediction that economics, or the Financial Issues, would be the ‘biggest hang-up.’, This group struggled the most during the brainstorming process, but still was successful in coming up with a number of possible solutions. During the four weeks each committee did their best to resolve the issues at hand and then the entire group of 18 traveled again to the hotel for the second book-end weekend.

During the second bookend weekend, the groups, under Goldaber's guidance, resolved all remaining issues and settled on a three-year contract. Having Goldaber facilitate the weekend fulfilled Fisher and Ury's fourth element of utilizing an objective standard to evaluate the agreement. As Goldaber was well respected by Catholic Church leaders and by public and private school teacher unions, his facilitation led to a contract that each side could accept as a 'wise agreement.' The entire win-win bargaining process took just over thirty days and remains the fastest negotiations in CTU history. The union quickly brought the contract to the union members for a vote after the second weekend. While some teachers asked, 'If you can get this in 30 days, what can you get in 60?' the majority were happy to avoid the picket line and were sold, voting yes for the contract.

In addition to being their fastest contract negotiations, CTU members and leaders overwhelmingly consider the 1987 agreement to be their best contract. One reason for this is that this contract gave the union "Agency Shop", meaning that every teacher employed at a CTU represented school would have dues automatically taken out of her/his paycheck. This was a huge step for the union as the diocese could have only agreed to mandatory but not automatic dues. In this case all teachers would have to pay as union dues as New Jersey is a union-shop state⁴⁷, but it would be up to the union to track down these dues. For example without Agency Shop, if a teacher chose not to pay union dues, the only option the union had was to approach the diocese and ask them to fire the teacher for breaking New Jersey labor law. Based on New Jersey's status as a union-shop state, the diocese would have to do fire the teacher. This, obviously, was not in the interest of union solidarity. By receiving Agency Shop, CTU could avoid such problems. Additionally, Blumenstein said that the language of the contract made this

system 'iron-clad' so that the Diocese or a new bishop could never retract the Agency Shop agreement.

The contract also gave the union a generous economic package including an 8% salary increase, caps on class size, and regulations on how many periods a teacher would be obligated to teach in a row. Blumenstein explained that they were able to get the 8% increase because of the historical context of this time. As mentioned in chapter 2, during the late 1980s, the newly elected Governor Kean gave large salary increases to New Jersey public school teachers, putting their starting salary at \$18,500. As public school teachers had received substantial salary increases of 12-14%, CTU could ask for the 8% without it seeming preposterous. The 1987 contract also spelled out a more concrete grievance procedure which required the usage of a true independent arbitrator for all teacher suspension and dismissal cases. Blumenstein proudly noted that since this grievance system was enacted with the 1987 contract, no teacher has ever needed to utilize it.

While the Win-Win negotiations cost the union around \$10,000, Farrow and Blumenstein agree that they "got more than they ever could have under the traditional bargaining" and "Goldaber was worth every dime."

1990 Win-Win

As the first Win-Win negotiations ended in the signing of a three-year contract, the teachers were due for a new contract in 1990. Since the Win-Win method had been so successful, the union and the diocese agreed, under the leadership of new CTU President Ro Farrow, to use the process again.

Unfortunately, Goldaber had passed away between 1987 and 1990 so they needed to find another facilitator. They again looked to Scuglia who directed them towards a priest in the Pittsburgh diocese who was facilitated Win-Win negotiations for much less money than Goldaber had charged. CTU took advantage of the opportunity to save money and the Diocese jumped at the chance to work with the priest facilitator and the negotiations began again in winter 1990.

Unfortunately, this time around, the diocese was less willing to meet certain stipulations. First, they insisted on involving their lawyer as a team member as well as more school principals, who had complained about their lack of earlier representation. Following the 1987 contract, these principals faced new agreements that created struggles, such as reduced teacher course-load but no funding to hire new teachers. Therefore, due to their vocal disapproval and resentment of the 1987 contract, the principals filled four of nine team member slots in the 1990 negotiations. Additionally, according to Ro Farrow, other diocese leaders not involved in the 1987 negotiations accused team members of 'giving the shop away.' One of these leaders was newly appointed Bishop James McHugh. As Bishop Guilfoyle retired in May of 1989, Bishop McHugh took over in December of that year, as contract negotiations were getting underway. While McHugh was not as involved in the 1990 negotiations as subsequent ones, the new leader caused uneasiness as union members were unsure how he would handle the situation. Farrow believes that these changes, especially the negative feedback from the principals, caused the diocese to enter the 1990 negotiations with a set on negating some of the benefits the union had won three years earlier.

While CTU leaders were perplexed by the choices for the 1987 team, they realized that the behind-the-scenes priests who made up the earlier team were the ones actually making decisions in the diocese. In this round of negotiations CTU met instead with people who were had much less power and whose purpose was to relay the information back to those in command. This chain of communication destroyed Win-Win's basic principles about hearing and understanding the issues of each side firsthand and instead turned the bargaining into a game of 'he-said' 'she-said.' Negotiations at the first bookend weekend were more adversarial as the diocese was steadfast in regaining some power over teachers' working conditions. Talks broke down to the point where the diocesan lawyer, who CTU leaders were so opposed to having as part of the negotiations, actually approached union leaders at the end of the first bookend weekend and told them, "You are dealing with people who are not being honest." CTU members and leaders involved in these negotiations remember this being a 'red-flag' warning that these negotiations would not pan out.

There was no second bookend weekend in 1990 because the Win-Win negotiations failed. After the first bookend weekend ended, the individual committees attempted to meet to resolve the issues at hand but found their efforts ineffective. Three weeks after the teams left the opening weekend, the union and the diocese collectively decided to abandon the Win-Win model. After three additional months of negotiations, the union and the diocese used the traditional Positional Bargaining method to agree on a 1 year contract. Then CTU president Ro Farrow reflected,

The intention then (1987) was for both sides to feel less wounded and to have a smaller sense of defeat. The second time (1990), the determination to be positive was gone-that was when we took the one year contract. We were back to square one.

Union leaders and members speak about this being a very difficult time for the union. In addition to the financial backward steps resulting from the 1990 contract, CTU leaders mark these negotiations as the beginning of a real divide between teachers at different diocesan high schools. The 1990 talks were tense and contentious, and some union members believe the diocese took advantage of the situation to create a schism within the union. Specifically, administrators approached teachers at Gloucester Catholic High School, who already had separated themselves by not participating in the November 1984 work stoppage, and attempted to draw them away from the union. Both Blumenstein and Farrow, on separate occasions, pointed to the 1990 contract negotiations as the time when the diocese ‘planted the seed’ for two of the diocesan high schools, St. Joseph’s and Gloucester Catholic, to break away from the union.

Farrow also reflected that the 1990 negotiations demonstrate a fundamental problem between Catholic Church and church employee unions that revolves around the issue of power. She guesses that the diocese must have felt as if they lost some power due to the 1987 contract, and she notes, “If you can’t accrue wealth and you can’t have sex, then power is all you have. Power is all they (the church leaders) have, so they can’t collaborate.” Along with Farrow, several other CTU members I spoke with agreed that there was a power struggle at the center of the 1990 contract talks stemming from the great strides the union made in the 1987 negotiations. The rights that the union gained in 1987 gave the teachers unprecedented power over their working conditions in the Catholic high schools. It seemed that the diocese entered the 1990 negotiations with the intention to rescind these gains.

One CTU member also pointed to an important a gender aspect of the 1990 negotiations. As Farrow took over the presidency in 1989, she was met with more disrespect from the church leaders, male clergy members and priests in particular, than Blumenstein had ever encountered. That member noted,

They looked at her and they saw a woman. Everyone recognizes the patriarchy that exists in the church, but she experienced it firsthand. They just didn't want to deal with a woman in power. They weren't used to it.

Farrow herself remembers moments when fellow executive board members would turn to her during the 1990 negotiations and say how the administration treated her very differently than they had treated Bill. She says she felt, and still feels, that she got no respect from these priests, not because she was a union leader, but because she was a woman. As 58% of all Catholic secondary school teachers are women⁴⁸, the issue of gender relations between schoolteachers and administrators in Catholic schools is worth the attention of further research.

What went wrong?

Using Fisher and Ury's model to analyze what went wrong with the 1990 negotiations, it seems that the first problem involves the lack of trust felt on both sides due to the addition of the lawyer and the principal to the diocesan team. As the union and the diocese had struggled over the issue of lawyers representing them in negotiations, the union was concerned with the inclusion of a lawyer on the 1990 diocesan negotiation team. As the principals had a strong negative reaction to the 1987 contract, their presence made the negotiations tenser and made it more difficult for disputants to follow Fisher and Ury's advice to separate the people from the problem.

⁴⁸ 2006 Annual Fall Survey and Office of Catholic Schools personnel database

In addition to the strain brought on by the new diocesan team, Farrow's position as leader of the union's team created an additional level of gender-relation based tension. This also may have caused the teams to be less flexible and less creative in their options. As each team harbored resentments towards certain members it made the negotiations more difficult, on the first weekend as well as when they broke into smaller committees.

While participants agreed that the 1987 original Win-Win negotiations had tense moments, they saw that it was based in respect and cooperation on both sides. Additionally, the end result of the 1987 Win-Win process was what Blumenstein called, 'The best contract we ever got.' On the other hand, CTU leaders and members describe the 1990 contract bargaining as 'rancorous.' The two sides were caught up in emotions about who made up the negotiation teams and this clouded the 'issues-rather-than-people' focus the win-win process. Moreover, the union and the Diocese faced the realization that the 1990 negotiations only resulted in a one year contract, which meant they had to deal with those issues again very soon after. The success of Win-Win bargaining in the 1987 negotiations was a glimmer of hope for the union that both they and the diocese were dedicated to the moral driven message of the church involving workers' rights. While the 1990 negotiations demonstrated that the union members, rather than the diocesan leaders, were the main proponents of this message, the Win-Win method helped CTU to make significant union policy gains and provided another example of their dedication to the church's stance on labor relations with lay employees.

Chapter 9: Moral Framing & the Labor Movement: What can CTU teach other Unions?

Lay people must receive an adequate salary, guaranteed by a well defined contract, for the work they do in the school: a salary that will permit them to live in dignity, without excessive work or a need for additional employment that will interfere with the duties of an educator.

-The Sacred Congregation for Catholic Education

The above quotation, from the Vatican document titled *Lay Catholics in Schools: Witnesses to Faith* is a direct statement on the future employment of Catholic school teachers. In 1950 10% of teachers in Catholic Secondary Schools were laypeople, and by 2006, this number had jumped to over 90%. As discussed in the Introduction, religious teaching faculty has rapidly declined in the second half of the twentieth century which has forced Diocese and school leaders to hire lay teachers or face school closures. Lay teachers have brought with them a set of fair labor and fair pay issues that the Church did not face with a religious teaching staff. Despite opposition from *Chicago Bishop* and other court cases denying organization rights, lay teachers across the country have fought for union recognition and collective bargaining in Catholic dioceses and archdioceses. As existing unions win more rights for the lay teachers, it is likely that they will attract more teachers and expand their organizations. If the future of Catholic education is to include a majority of lay, rather than religious, teachers, is more likely than ever that issues of unionism and collective bargaining will come to the forefront.

Rita Schwartz, president of the National Association of Catholic Schoolteachers (NACST) and president of local 1776 in Philadelphia estimates that 10,000 of the 120,000 lay teachers nationwide belong to unions. She said about half of these teachers are also affiliated with the national union and that many others belong to organizations similar to the pre-CTU Lay-Faculty Council. Schwartz provided several reasons that only

8.3% percent of these lay teachers were members of labor or collective bargaining organizations. First, she said that most lay teacher unions are very young as the first lay teacher union, Philadelphia's #1776, was not recognized until the late 1960s. This suggests that more lay unions will form in dioceses where state constitutions counter the *Chicago Bishop* precedent. Second, Swartz points to the geographical clustering of Catholics and Catholic schools on the East and West Coast as an organizational obstacle. She explained that NACST has members in Missouri, Ohio, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, but has more difficulty reaching lay teachers in Washington and Oregon. Schwarz said that the coastal separation and clustering of schools made it more difficult to organize lay teachers in disjointed schools. Thirdly, Schwartz clearly stated her belief that organization efforts are thwarted by the Church itself, in spite of pro-union Catholic teachings. She noted,

The central message of Catholicism is Love. But the central message of union dealings with Catholic Church is Fear. The church threatens teachers who try to organize, saying the schools will close if they join the union or the national... You can't say it is ok to march with Cesar Chavez or the textile workers and then deny your own people. Teachings are one thing, and hypocrisy is another (Personal Interview 12/3/08).

In this statement, Swartz agreed with the many CTU members and leaders who felt the Church was acting against its own doctrine and moral preaching in their dealings with lay teachers. Though she saw obstacles facing lay teacher organization at the national level, Swartz agreed that CTU had done remarkable things through their drawing on support of parents, utilization of Catholic doctrine, and perseverance to bring their case to the New Jersey Supreme Court. She also noted that the union's story already had impacted and

influenced other lay teacher unions who were struggling for recognition and negotiation rights.

Swartz also discussed an alarming recent trend as lay teachers such as those in the Boston, MA and Scranton, PA dioceses have faced anti-worker setbacks years after diocesan-union recognition. While each of these situations is separate and includes its own story and details, in each of these dioceses the archbishop or bishop similarly broke up or ‘rearranged’ diocesan high schools and then refused to recognize an already established lay teachers’ union. This action is illegal in states, like New Jersey, where State Supreme Court Decisions, such as in the case *Catholic School Teachers Organization v. St. Teresa of the Infant Jesus Church Elementary School, et al*, secure the right of these lay teachers to organize and bargain collectively. Unfortunately, this is not true in every state and there is no statute of limitations forcing a bishop to recognize and negotiate with a union recognition once it has existed for a certain amount of time. In the case of Boston, MA, for instance, the teacher’s union had negotiated as one contract unit for 36 years when Bishop Sean O’Malley decided he would no longer recognize this collective bargaining group. Similarly, in Scranton Bishop Joseph Martino has refused to recognize or bargain with the lay teachers union that has been negotiating contracts for diocesan lay teachers for thirty years since he reorganized the schools in 2006 (Guydish, 2008).

Along with the struggles in Scranton and Boston, unionized lay teachers in New York City made national headlines when they recently struggled through eight months of contract negotiations that coincided with Pope Benedict XVI’s visit to the United States. During this time, union leaders in New York pointed to the mismatch between Catholic

teaching on unions and their treatment by the Archdiocese of New York City. These negotiations received national attention when the teachers threatened to strike during the Pope's visit to New York City in April, 2008. The teachers in New York utilized many CTU style techniques when they gave quotations to media outlets asking whether the Pope cared about worker's rights (Bonavoglia, April 14, 2008). News articles covering the strike pointed to Church doctrine supporting unionism juxtaposed with numerous bishops' anti-union treatment of lay teachers. According to Bonavoglia, writing for *The Nation*,

Some bishops defend their actions by accusing teachers of blatant self-interest, an unseemly focus on money and endangering the financial health of the schools. This is a shocking and unfair charge to make, considering the fact that the priest pedophilia crisis alone has already cost the American church over \$2 billion. These Bishops hope to pit teachers against parents--a strategy that is failing in Scranton, where both parents and students are joining the picket lines (Bonavoglia, 4/14/08).

The story of the recent negotiations in New York City are similar to the history of CTU as bishops and archbishops worked to gain parents support, but parents, seeing the Church teachings in the union's mission, side with the teachers. Bonavoglia references the issue culture of the current Catholic Church whose message about greed and self interest was seen as particularly hypocritical in light of the sex scandal. The lay teachers in New York City used the Pope's visit to point to the contradictions between Church preaching and practice, leading media outlets to accuse Cardinal Egan (Archbishop of the Archdiocese of New York, NY) as well as the Pope of being anti-worker rights. In this instance the lay teachers mimicked CTU's utilization of moral framing to demonstrate the mismatch between the values of the Catholic Church and how church leaders treat their lay employees. As in Camden, this message has resonated with Catholic school parents

nationwide because of the parents' repeated feeling that Catholic education should teach certain values and morals-both through lessons and through example.

Recent articles on Catholic school enrollment also exemplify parental support of moral teaching. Contemporary studies have found that Catholic High School enrollment is increasing in many areas, including Camden, as parents look for an alternative to increasing secularism in public schools (Colimore, 1996). In response to this finding, former superintendant of the Camden Diocese schools David Coghlan said, "More parents are looking to pass along moral values and religious faith" (Colimore, 1996). Coghlan's statement matches the sentiments of parents in the Camden diocese who choose to send their children to these schools. However, what Coghlan, and the Bishops who try to gain support from parents in Scranton and NYC, seem not to realize is that their anti-union actions go against this moral-driven culture. Parents' desire for their children to learn morals in Catholic schools suggests that a 'moral framing' technique would speak to the majority of Catholic school parents. Many of these parents already subscribe to and follow the values at the center of the unions' frameworks, therefore increasing the chance of frame resonance. Especially in a climate when the church is still highly criticized for the pedophilia abuse scandal, this research suggests that lay teachers looking to unionize or gain support in negotiations should utilize this value-message based technique.

Through deliberate focus on Catholic social teaching and pro-labor doctrine, CTU was able to characterize itself as the group acting with Catholic values and the Bishop and Church leaders as the group acting against the same teachings. Other lay teacher unions, such in New York City, have successfully utilized the same technique and gained

support of parents against the Archbishop's best efforts. By proclaiming a moral based message, these unions gained the crucial support of parents and students that led directly to their success. I believe that CTU and their technique of 'moral framing' can inform other lay teachers in Catholic schools and help these workers gain the consumer and community support they need to succeed. By following the framework laid out in previous chapters, and/or paying close attention to CTU's practice of moral framing I believe other lay teachers can realize similar success. This research, as well as the Rita Schwartz's statements, suggests that the current time is especially favorable for lay teachers to organize in Catholic schools. In the wake of the pedophilia scandal, the return to the desire for moral-driven Catholic education, and an increase in nationwide pro-labor sentiment (discussed below), it seems that parents and lay teachers will be more receptive to organizing efforts and stronger unions. Lay teacher efforts may also influence other lay workers nationwide and encourage them to form unions within their Catholic Church-run workplaces. These efforts could affect hospital workers, cemetery workers, church administrative assistants, and others who have been denied union rights due to their status as Church employees. The story of the Catholic Teachers Union of New Jersey can inform these lay teachers and workers and inspire them to work towards justice in their own schools and institutions, and in turn inspire other non-church employees to do the same at their workplaces.

I was curious to know what the early leaders thought the union might have done differently over the past 25 years, in order to inform other social movements. I asked this question, in personal interviews to current and former CTU leaders. Their responses were:

- In hindsight, we might have waited and gone out (on strike) in early fall, during football season. That would have gotten them to talk with us sooner. If we went public earlier,

may have forced diocese hand-we tried to play by their rules, we didn't want to hurt the kids. We were doing this in good faith, but then we had to play hardball because they forced us to. (Larry White 8/22/08)

-Maybe we did too good of a job of leading. No one wants to run anymore, they are content to have the current leadership. But they also don't know it used to be another way. (Wayne Nystrom 9/15/08)

- I don't know. In my gut, I always ask could we have gotten more? But we did the best we could. We were tired. But could we have gotten more? (Bill Checcio 8/20/08)

- Maybe we could have had more unity or broadened the scope of representation to cover more people. I don't know that we could have, but that's really it. (Ro Farrow 3/8/08)

-Nothing. No...Nothing. (Bill Blumenstein 1/26/08)

Moral Framing & Organized Labor

In addition to guiding other lay teacher unions, I believe that CTU's story can and should also inform secular unions outside of the realm of Catholic education. However, while it seems logical that an audience paying to send their children to Catholic school would support a message directly pulled for Catholic doctrine, it is more difficult to uncover what moral frames secular-based unions can utilize. Still, as noted in the introduction, several unions such as the IWW, Cesar Chavez and the California farm workers, and the members of Poland's Solidarity movement have incorporated moral and religious themes into their movement. Although these movements succeeded to different degrees, I argue it is possible for secular labor unions to rally support and mobilize their membership by framing their struggle around particular moral issues.

In order to predict what moral frames will resonate most strongly with potential union supporters, it is important to identify which cherished values (Mills, 1959) union members and potential constituents share. In the case of CTU and the parent-consumers,

the groups shared the cherished value of Catholic doctrine supporting unionization and fair wages. The union members and parents who supported CTU may have based their allegiance to this frame on individual dedication to Catholicism and faith-based morals, on a pro-labor personal history, and/or on personal connection to these teachers. Though the union also was aided by a pro-worker climate, union leaders were able to base the salary issue in additional Catholic doctrine and utilize their social capital to gain community support. CTU's frame-makers were able to draw on each of these aspects to strengthen their value-based frame and tie their negotiations and bargaining into a public issue involving the church and all parishioners. In making these connections, the union showed potential supporters that if these Catholic values were threatened for the lay teachers, they may also possibly be threatened for the parents and other parishioners. Parents identified with the union's message on Catholic teaching and these connections inspired them to support the union and take action on their behalf, which led to the union's success.

While it was somewhat easy for the union to find Catholic doctrine and moral teachings that supported their cause, it is more difficult to uncover these moral connections for secular unions. To extend the case of CTU to other unions and to the broader labor movement we must identify which common cherished values unions and potential supporters share and which of these values coincide with union principles and actions. Additionally, these values must be more specific than broad ideals of 'workers' rights' that organized labor has tried to peddle in the past. For instance, the labor movement has utilized moral slogans such as "an injury to one is an injury to all" but this type of statement is too broad and has not resonated with many potential supporters. Such

vague ideas about justice are not clear enough to be useful and are not forthrightly connected to the everyday lives of potential supporters. The success of CTU's framing depended on this *Experiential Credibility* as well as *Empirical Credibility* of their framework, meaning that they had specific documents and numbers they could point to that supported their cause. Secular labor unions must also have a specific and familiar value-driven messages and empirical evidence to support these messages for moral framing to work.

In order for their 'moral frames' to resonate with potential union supporters, the labor movement must draw on specific cherished values that possible supporters see in the union mission and/or recognize as being threatened by anti-union efforts. I have outlined three cherished values I see filling this role: Right to Support a Family, Right to Health, and Consumer Responsibilities. These three values can be the basis for a moral framework that secular unions can utilize to garner support for their movements. As numerous polls and surveys point to these three values as being central to the moral conscience of the majority of Americans, I argue that messages framed around these morals will be most successful in an application of this technique.

Right to Support a Family

The first of these three cherished values is based on several surveys that ask a sample of Americans to rank "Which (of the following) things matter most to you?" In *The Overworked American*, Juliet Schor references a Gallup Poll survey asking this question and notes that the top three answers are family life, betterment of society, strict morals. Schor notes that "having a nice car and nice things" comes in dead last (Schor, 1993, 126). These results suggest that the most important value for the respondents is

family life and also that morals and the concept of morality is also important in and of itself. Supporting the Gallup Poll findings, The World Values Survey (1999) data results show that Family ranks as the most important life value for respondents from the United States. Specifically, The World Values Survey (1999) asks respondents to indicate how important a particular aspect is in their lives by choosing 1) very important 2) rather important 3) not very important, and 4) not all important. In regards to Family, 95.3% of all respondents answered 1) very important. Of the other values (Leisure Time, Politics, Work, Service to others, and Religion) the highest percentage answering Very Important was 56.9% for Religion⁴⁹. This again suggests that family or at least the ideal of family is valued by the majority of Americans, which would make it a suitable issue for a moral-based union framework.

In addition to the value of Family, I believe is important that unions emphasize the value of ‘Supporting a Family’ in their message to tie their mission to this cherished ideal. Offering evidence that Americans also cherish this dimension of Family, the World Values Survey asks a question on the importance of making your child’s life better than your own. The question asks:

Which of the following statements best describes your views about parents' responsibilities to their children?

A. Parents' duty is to do their best for their children even at the expense of their own well-being

⁴⁹ The findings for these aspects (in percentages) were:

Leisure Time: 42.5 Very Important, 48.2 Rather Important, 8.8 Not Very Important
Politics 15.7 Very Important, 41 Rather Important, 35.1, Not Very Important
Work 53.6 Very Important, 35.8 Rather Important, 7 Not Very Important
Service to others 51.0 Very Important, 42.4 Rather Important, 5.1 Not Very Important
Religion- 56.9 Very Important, 25.5 Rather Important, 12.4 Not Very Important

B. Parents have a life of their own and should not be asked to sacrifice their own well-being for the sake of their children

In response to this question 85.0% of American respondents chose response A, while only 9.9% chose B, and 4.5% said neither.⁵⁰ The results for this question show that Americans not only value family, but also the ability to support their family and make their children's lives better than their own. Therefore it seems that American parents are willing to make sacrifices to provide for their children, whether it means working overtime or taking a second job or buying new clothes for their children before themselves. Not only are parents willing to do this, but according to the World Values Survey, it seems the overwhelming majority of Americans think it is the duty of a parent to make these sacrifices. I believe that unions can frame the duty of supporting a family as a moral cause central to the union's message. This frame can then attract potential supporters who may believe in the importance of supporting a family and also may have an unrealistic view of all union worker pay scales and family situations. I believe that this message will resonate in particular with those Americans with family responsibilities, just as it did with parents in the Camden diocese when they realized teachers were trying to raise children on meager wages.

Some might argue that the labor movement is currently engaged in this type of campaign through their relationship with The Working Families Party (WFP) in New York. This self-described progressive political party publicizes "Voting Working Families means voting your values." A coalition of grassroots organizations, including labor unions, formed the party with the hope of representing working people and their

⁵⁰ 0.5 % of respondents (6/1200) answered "Don't know"

principles. The Working Families Party “cross endorses” Democratic, Independent, and Republican Candidates that support working family issues, but also runs its own candidates⁵¹. While this party has gained some support in New York and has extended to Connecticut since its 1998 founding, it may also be alienating potential supporters who share the same values. The title itself has a blue-collar or working class connotation, therefore alienating middle class families who may share the moral sentiment that a worker should be able to support his or her family. Instead of focusing its attention solely on working-class families, such as the WFP has done, I believe labor unions can extend the reach of a moral message about The Right to Support a Family to potential supporters in other income groups who share this moral value. Union locals can use a moral-based message about providing for one’s children to attract union support and mobilize union members themselves. I also believe that this moral message could speak to family advocacy groups and lobbyists who argue for family-work-life balance. Utilizing messages based in this value could therefore increase support from community groups dedicated to this principle as well as community members who already subscribe to this belief.

Right to Health and Health Care

The second cherished value that I think would benefit a union framework is the Right to Health and Health Care. This moral issue again reflects results in surveys done by The Center for American Values in Public Life and The Gallup Poll where respondents say that Health Care is a very high priority. According to a November 2008 Gallup Poll 79% of Americans believe that health care is an important issue. Similarly,

⁵¹ The Working Families party has seen several of their own candidates elected including Albany, NY county legislator Luci McKnight, and Suffolk, NY county legislator Kate Browning.

The Center for American Values in Public life surveys leading up to the 2008 presidential election showed that the majority of Americans (of 5 major religious backgrounds) placed health care as a top election concern over other value-driven issues including gay marriage and abortion (Jones & Cox, 2006). Exit polls from the 2008 presidential election mimicked the pre-election polls, finding that “Health Care” was a major concern for Americans, ranking behind only to “The Economy”, and “The War in Iraq” (Kuhn, 2008). These polls also placed Health Care above other pressing moral issues such as abortion, gay marriage, and education, and at the same level as terrorism.

In addition to being a central value issue for Americans, survey respondents have also expressed growing concern about their ability to access health care. A December 2008 Gallup Poll concluded that in response to the question, “What would you say is the most urgent health care problem facing the country at this time”, the responses “Access” and “Cost” topped the list for the seventh year in a row (<http://www.gallup.com/poll/112516/Healthcare-Access-Cost-Top-Health-Concerns.aspx>). This suggests that not only is Health Care important to Americans but also they see problems with the system, and/or sense some threatening of this cherished value.

Providing additional evidence, a 2008 survey by the Marist College Institute for Public Opinion found that 23% of households earning greater than \$50,000 a year claim to have experienced gaps in coverage of trouble with health insurance coverage in the past year. This survey shows that this is not just a ‘working class’ or union issue and is shared by potential supporters in the middle class. According to the same survey 59% of respondents say they are ‘extremely worried or worried’ about affording health care in the future. Even more extreme results from the AFL-CIO sponsored Health Care for

America Survey⁵² show that 95% of respondents said they were somewhat or very concerned about affording healthcare in upcoming years. This is an issue that is central to union members, but is also a concern and value of non-union members across class lines. By sponsoring this survey, it seems that the AFL-CIO recognizes the importance of health care to union workers and all workers but they are not advertising this moral message to its fullest extent.

While the AFL-CIO has taken a wise step in commissioning a survey on health care issues, individual labor unions need to make the connection between union struggles and health care/health insurance initiatives. By publicizing this moral driven message, unions can coordinate their efforts with health rights advocates, including physician groups such as the American Medical Association (AMA) and retiree groups such as American Association of Retired Persons (AARP) who currently are engaged in health care lobbying efforts. Unions must work especially hard to show their connection to health care reform because of an overriding belief, fueled by media coverage, that all union workers enjoy cushy health insurance and retiree health benefits. While this is true for some union workers, especially those in historically strong unions such as many United Auto Worker members, this is not the case for all union workers or all employees that unions are trying to attract. By making it clear that the right to Health is at the center of the Labor Movement's message and Frame, unions will be able to make allies that can support their other efforts as well as attract community members who already support health care initiatives.

Consumer Responsibilities

⁵² <http://www.aflcio.org/issues/healthcare/survey> Marist College Institute for Public Opinion

The third cherished value, Consumer Responsibilities, reflects Fantasia and Voss' (2004) above mentioned attention to the connections between anti-sweatshop crusaders and the labor movement mission. Fantasia and Voss suggest that groups protesting against sweatshops, college students in particular, already consider the moral aspect of this issue important. I suggest, in concurrence with these researchers, that the same moral radar can be tuned to support labor unions, especially when prompted by a moral framework.

Over the past decade, the idea of consumer responsibility became 'hip' as celebrities have touted environmentally friendly bags and former Vice President Al Gore told all of us that it is our responsibility to stop global warming. Consumer Studies scholars, such as Twitchell (2001) have noted the increased interest in recycling, Voluntary Simplicity movements, and downsizing and have argued that this may be a reaction to an increasingly consumption-based society. Providing evidence for this, an April 2008 Gallup Poll ⁵³ found that 55% of Americans say they had made minor eco-friendly changes in their lifestyles and 28% said they had made a major change to protect the environment. The same poll found that 40% of Americans worry 'a great deal' about the environment, ranking only behind the availability of affordable health care at 58% and the economy at 60%. Twitchell (2001) argues that these 'green' actions reflect a need for consumers to combat the guilt they may feel from their consumption practices and how they affect the environment. In this way, 'buying green' still allows people to participate in consumer society, but also lets them *feel better* about their purchases and about themselves. An April 2008 study by ICOM, a Toronto based marketing company,

⁵³Gallup Poll "Americans Report Taking Steps to Go Green" (2008, April 18) accessed via <http://www.gallup.com/video/106636/Americans-Report-Taking-Steps-Green.aspx>

looked at consumption of “green” house hold products and found that 61.9% of American respondents said they bought “green” products. Of this group, the study found that a leading 33% of the respondents said they buy environmentally friendly products because “it makes me feel good about myself.” This finding suggests that buying green has become associated with being a good person, which makes consuming environmentally products a moral issue. Environmental and buying green organizations have take advantage of this and have utilized it to publicize their movement, through products such as canvas shopping bags, t-shirts and infant-sized onesies with value driven green-related messages (Images 5 and 6). I believe that the union movement can use this same technique of moral framing to tap into the moral radar of consumers. In this way value-driven consumption can extend past buying “green,” to also include also “buying union.”

Image 5: Moral & peace-related message on eco friendly bags





Image 6- Moral Eco-Friendly” Infant Bib & Onesie



This basic idea of “buying union” is familiar as the labor movement has tried a “Look for the Union Label” campaign, but this has not been as successful as it could be because it is not connected to a moral message. Unlike the moral imperative to buy Green, consumers do not always see the connections between their purchases and the workers behind these goods. For example, recent CNBC Poll on the topic of sweatshops and consumer responsibility asked respondents “When shopping for clothes do you ever

consider whether the clothing was made in a sweatshop?” 25% Yes, consider it 49% said No, not considered, 5% don’t know. These results are surprising considering the number of Americans who explain that they are anti-sweatshop. Americans have become increasingly willing to spend more money on eco-friendly products because it makes them feel better. I argue that the labor movement could use this same template to reframe the idea of “union label” to be the moral, “feel good” choice. By including this initiative in their moral framework, unions can point out similarities between values driving anti-sweatshop efforts and the union message.

In the case of CTU, the parents were consumers who were choosing to buy their children a Catholic education, therefore rejecting other cheaper (public and private) options. Repeatedly, the parents explained that they chose Catholic education because it was the moral and principle-based option. Several said they “felt good” that they could provide this environment to their children and feared what would happen if the schools closed. These parents showed so much support for the union that they offered to pay higher prices for this service, because this seemed in line with their Catholic beliefs and moral consciences. Just as CTU appealed to their consumer base on a moral level, I argue that other labor unions can use the same tactic in regard to consumer responsibility.

In his work *Framed!*, Martin (2004), argues that the labor movement must relate their frames to the idea of consumer power in addition to consumer responsibility. Martin claims that frame resonance of a union message depends on how the frame receivers believe they will be affected in the consumer sphere. Martin says that the audience no longer relates labor-management struggles as an independent power struggle in the political sphere but receivers instead look to the consumer sphere. Whereas people may

have historically asked, “Do unions mean higher taxes?” Martin believes an audience now asks, “Do unions mean higher consumer prices?” As such, he writes that unions must acknowledge consumer power in their frame have and recognize the master frame that “Consumer is King.” Unions should point out the connections between consumer power and moral-based consumer responsibility, thereby pointing out the important impact of consumer support on unions and all workers. By making consumer power a moral question about consumer responsibility, unions can tap into potential source of support in a morally conscience consumer base.

There is the question of whether these three value-driven moral frames, Right to Support a Family, Right to Health, and Consumer Responsibilities, can compete with anti-union ideas of individualism, free markets, and meritocracy as well as anti-union frames in the “Right to Work States” located mostly in the Bible Belt, the Southern part of the United States and the “Red States.” As discussed in Chapter 3, The Taft-Hartley Act (1947) gave states the right to choose between agency (union) shop and open shop regulation. As workers employed in unionized workplaces in “Right to Work” states will receive union wages whether or not they are dues paying union members, this policy weakens union membership and strength. In addition to the struggle of organizing in “Open Shop” states due to Taft-Hartley regulations, unions will also be competing with a set of “Red State” morals that most often favor private employer-employee regulations over collective bargaining and union tactics. While this will be a challenge for unions, the suggested moral frameworks are equally applicable to the “Red State” culture. The moral of providing for one’s family has been historically popular with more conservative states and Biblical connections to worker’s rights and justice may also be used to gain support

in typically anti-union areas. Just as CTU was able to use similar messages to gain support of Catholic parent-consumers, a politically and morally conservative group, other unions can focus on the union's mission to support families and uphold traditional values to attract working class employees in the "Red States." Additionally, as discussed below, the current economic crisis lends a window of opportunity to the labor movement who can capitalize on the problems that strict adherence to Free Markets, Individualism, and Meritocracy have caused for working men and women. By connecting these anti-union frames to the negativities of the economic crisis, unions can further bolster support for their moral message and characterize anti-union legislators and business owners as the out-of-touch immoral perpetrators. This is discussed below in more detail.

Unions have historically tried to gain support on the message of good work deserves good pay, but this has not always been effective. Efforts by unions to point out the ability and strength of the American worker have been countered with media images of fat, corrupt, and overpaid union leaders. While 88.9% of Americans surveyed said "a good job" is one that provides good pay (World Values Survey, 1999), unions who publicize their seeking of pay increases only play into media depictions of greedy labor leaders. A crucial aspect of CTU's successful frame was that they were always able to root their raise requests in a moral message. I believe if other unions can utilize these cherished values to show the connections between their contract demands, their message and the morals held by potential frame supporters, their movement will be more successful. To provide some guidance on how they might employ this framework, I now turn to how moral framing of secular unions fits into Johnston and Noakes' schema.

Applying Johnston and Noakes to Union Moral Framing

As in the case of CTU, Johnston and Noakes schema for collective action framing can also be a guide to secular unions for rooting and publicizing their message in a moral framework. As Table 8 (below) demonstrates, for a secular union to utilize CTU's technique of moral framing, it must relate to the ideological and demographic orientations of its audience, develop credible leaders to preach the message, and construct a frame that communicates this message succinctly and cohesively.

First the union must consider the receivers of their frame that is their target audience of potential supporters. For secular unions, this would be community members, especially those already active in activities involving Supporting a Family, Health Care and Health Insurance, and Consumer Responsibility. These three moral issues relate directly to the ideological and moral, attitudinal, and demographic orientations of the frame receivers. The connections between the union's message and the frame receivers' ideological and moral orientations relate frame bridging between messages on these three issues and the union's goals. For example, frames by AARP, AMA, or other Affordable Health Care advocacy groups claim that "Health Care is a Right, not a Privilege." Labor unions can bridge this frame message to their own to gain the support of these groups and others who already subscribe to this moral message.

Secondly, the union must appeal to the demographic orientations of their target audience, which relates directly to the strategic marketing aspect under "Makers of a Frame" category. The demographic orientation of the frame receivers is especially important to the first moral issue of 'Supporting a Family' as this message will resonate better with parents and other who have this same role. In addition to bridging their frame

with the messages of other Family First-type groups, unions should appeal to those who provide for their children and work to fulfill this moral task and promise. As the above-mentioned surveys show, Americans believe that it is a parent’s responsibility to make sacrifices in order to provide for their children. This finding suggests that unions should strategically market this moral message towards groups who are sympathetic to the importance of supporting a family. While the frame of providing for one’s children would likely appeal to middle class parents working to support their own family, it may not resonate as well with the college-aged population. As Fantasia and Voss suggest, unions could again employ strategic marketing here and place their focus on the Consumer Responsibility message when petitioning this group for their support. Because college-aged students make up a bulk of anti-sweatshop campaigns, the consumer responsibility message is more likely to resonate with them than is the supporting a family frame. Similarly, unions would need to take their audience into account when focusing on the affordable health care message as this might resonate better with health care providers, nurses, and household heads than it would wealthy conservative executives or dependent college aged students.

Table 8: Moral Framing and Secular Unions

Makers of a Frame -labor union leaders, labor union member-media and advertising representatives	Receivers of a Frame -community members, consumers, potential union members	Frame Qualities -a frame schema’s content
*Credibility of Promoters -Workers should be the face of unions, not someone separate from rank and file.	*Ideological orientations -Frame Bridging between unionism and the three moral issues	*Cultural Compatibility -new slogans representing the idea, a central movement in addition to strong locals
*Charismatic Authority -chose workers who represent	*Demographic, attitudinal, and moral	*Frame Consistency -Components follow morals.

<p>the union and are well spoken but not inaccessible</p> <p>*Strategic/Marketing Orientation- tailor message to each group focusing on cherished values</p>	<p>orientations- let union message reflect value-driven connections between union members and orientations of potential supporters</p>	<p>No greed-don't ask for too much, including leaders</p> <p>*Relevance-Empirical Credibility (compare salaries and inflation, health care), <i>Experiential Credibility</i> (connect as family men/women trying to raise children)</p>
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Next, other unions would need to ensure that they have credible frame promoters and charismatic leaders amplifying and publicizing their message. First, unions need to shed the media image that they are greedy and lazy bureaucrats by showcasing actual union members when promoting their frame. The AFL-CIO and several international unions (OPEIU, SEIU) have begun to do this by highlighting certain member stories on their websites, but this is only reaching those who choose to visit the websites. These stories are losing some of their power to promote a framework because they are only seen by those people who are already visiting these websites. These stories are powerful and could add a great deal of credibility to the moral framework and to the claims that these unions are putting forth. Unions need to utilize these individual member stories to reach out to potential supporters in the communities where they live and work. Secular union locals should canvass the neighborhoods with letters telling these personal local member stories (focusing on the three moral issues) and including pictures so readers can read a firsthand account of a union member's struggles. Many secular unions could benefit from holding community/consumer meetings similar to those the union held with parents before each strike. These meetings could follow the letters sent to neighbors and community members.

In addition to the credible member-promoters, union leaders will also need to be more visible and accessible to the local media. Using Blumenstein as a model, these leaders need to be well spoken and media savvy but they also need to be more accessible to everyday workers. A major criticism of the labor movement (Aronowitz) has been the increasing separation between union leaders and rank and file members. For a union leader to utilize moral framing, she must also be able to mobilize union members to follow her in the struggle. This means that union leaders also need to employ strategic marketing when speaking to members, potential members, media reporters, and management/administration. Union leaders must be trained in how to present the empirical and experiential contents of their frame to the media, but also must know how to censor themselves and their members so that one united framework comes through. CTU was particularly skilled at doing this by naming Blumenstein the media point person and informing media reporters as well as union members of this decision. Rita Schwartz, president of the National Association of Catholic Schoolteachers, explained,

I urge the unions to become more media savvy, to contact them, send them background so when there is something newsworthy, the media already has the background (Personal Interview 12/3/08)

Repeating what reporters Diana Marder and Kristen Graham (see Chapters 3 and 7) suggested to labor unions and other smaller social movements, Schwartz explains that union leaders must have some media know-how. While larger unions might have a designated press worker, smaller unions need to designate one person to deal with the media and train this leader on how to focus on the moral message and the empirical support of this message. This media point person could be a very credible and involved member but above all things must be representative of the moral message the union is

putting forth and must know how to successfully and succinctly communicate this framework.

In terms of funding for this leadership and media training, the AFL-CIO can include a moral-framing initiative at their convention and train a pilot group of local union leaders and delegates in this technique. The AFL-CIO already offers a number of workshops daily at its convention and could include this training as one of the larger and more focused sessions. Funding at the local level, for letter mailings and community meetings, could come from decreasing the political lobbying and endorsing budget of these unions. As Brecher suggests, the labor movement needs to move away from its historic dependence on lobbying to the Democratic Party and also include local community outreach to gain support for the union cause. It is possible that pro-union legislation could come more easily if other community groups and members were on board instead of solely labor movement ‘special interest groups.’

Charismatic leaders for a secular union might not fit Weber’s direct definition of charisma in regards to having a calling to take on this task or having power sent from a higher source. However, Weber still applies to secular unions in terms of having leaders that are able to amplify the moral framework through their own actions and words. This is especially important for union leaders who have been characterized as corrupt, greedy, lazy, bureaucrats. This label has directly hurt union representation in the media (Puette, 1994) as well as community perception of union leaders. According to Howard Becker’s (1963) Labeling Theory, society provides a label to a person (or group of people) after an act of primary deviance, and then the person/group of people begin to internalize the label so it becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy, called secondary deviance. While some

labor leaders, such as Walter Reuther and George Meany, condemned organized crime, other union heads have been notorious partners with mafia bosses and corrupt politicians (Jacobs, 2006). This primary deviance has led to many people also granting the “corrupt” label to labor leaders across the board. If secular unions are to successfully utilize a moral framework, they must work to remove this label and present themselves in a better light.

Labor leaders utilizing moral framing need to first present themselves as credible frame promoters who believe in the message they are sending and living that moral message. Once this has been established, through social networks and a precedent of community service (described below), then it is possible for unions to involve high-profile and respected union members to speak on behalf of the labor movement. High profile union members such as actors and athletes can promote the message that they belong to unions and so do other Americans in all facets of their profession and many others. For example, an AFL-CIO advertisement could include famous actors and athletes along with everyday union members, saying why they are part of a union. While it might take some effort to get actors and athletes to participate in this without much compensation, calls for a Screen Actors Guild strike beginning in February 2009 (Levin, December 16, 2008) might influence actors to participate. These high-profile union members could also impact the image of the union in concert with more a traditional member, such as a Teamster and the newer face of unions, service workers, such as a janitor. This combination would add to the “cool factor” of union membership and point out that unions are not just for stereotypical workers but for all working people.

In addition to showcasing union members who represent these moral values and asking high profile members to speak on behalf of unionism, the leaders themselves will

need to make a connection with their local community. In case of CTU, Blumenstein, Farrow, and others were instrumental in making these social ties which made their moral message more credible as well as amplified their frame through their personal interactions with parent-consumers, members, and media people. These personal ties increased the support of the union as well as the credibility of the frame itself.

Moral Framing and Community Unionism

In the case of CTU, leaders were able to garner support through moral messages as well as through personal ties that leaders and members had with community members. If these messages are to work for secular unions as well, they will first increase the exposure of the community to union struggles and encourage community involvement in union events. This will require unions to open their doors and their organization to help from other groups. Unions, which have traditionally been characterized as closed door members-only special interest groups, will need to engage with the public and the community to get their support. This means the unions will need to first use their social capital connections as CTU parent-teachers did in their relationships with other parents. Second, these unions will need to engage in community service with the public to negate their label of “special interest group.” Many unions have taken on this label by separating themselves from the community as well as other union locals. Union members must visibly engage in community service *as a group* in order to re-characterize their organizations and begin to make ties with other community members and groups. These groups will then help them in their unionization efforts because of their new label as well as the social ties they create through these volunteer activities. This study can be especially effective if union members match their work skills to their community service.

For instance, while it would benefit the image of the Building Trades workers (Laborers, Carpenters, Painters, etc.) to volunteer at a school read-a-thon, I think it would be more effective if the group engaged in building-related volunteer activities such as building homes with Habitat for Humanity. Not only might the members themselves find more pleasure in this type of activity, but it would also make for a more cohesive story, probably with more media appeal. Similarly, teacher unions could volunteer as tutors, and State employees could volunteer in schools sharing their specific work, whether it is engineering, accounting, or environmental science, with high school students and their parents. These bonds will be helpful to unions especially during negotiations and strikes when community members can appeal to employers on behalf of the unions and provide a support base for rallies, letter writing campaigns, and pickets.

Providing an example of this approach, Martin (2004) documented that part-time UPS workers used their social ties to gain community support during their 1997 strike. Martin explains that consumers were surprisingly supportive of union efforts despite the general anti-union sentiment because they felt personally connected to the UPS workers. Instead of seeing the strikers as faceless individuals, Martin found that consumers felt it was “*their* UPS delivery men/women” fighting for fair wages and benefits. This friendly sentiment helped the striking workers because consumers appealed to the company on the side of the union and threatened to boycott the company if it did not settle with the workers.

Union-community alliances can be with religious groups (as was common during the Civil Rights era) but can also occur with groups such as The Red Cross, that may also share the union’s health care concerns, and/or local PTAs and school groups, that are in

line with the union's pro-family efforts. Capitalizing on these commonalities will provide an arena for the union to re-frame its image as well as make social ties it can call on for support. Just as CTU drew on social ties in addition to moral messages to get support from community members and parents, other unions can also increase and make use of their social capital.

Lastly, the union locals will also need to address the Frame Qualities and demonstrate empirical and experiential evidence as well as provide cultural compatibility for their moral claim. In regards to cultural compatibility, CTU was skilled at repeatedly emphasizing the value of the message they were putting forth. Just as the union was loyal to a message about Catholic doctrine, secular unions should stick to these three moral messages. Rather than changing their framework quickly if they believe the frame is not resonating, union locals can try to place more emphasis on one moral issue versus another depending on the demographic and ideological orientation of their target audience. Unions can emphasize the valuational component of their framework by repeatedly pointing to the links between the cherished values, the work of the larger labor movement, and the union local itself.

Union slogans and messages also impact the frame's cultural compatibility by broadcasting the connections between moral issues and the union movement. In the past the labor movement has utilized a number of slogans to present their message but have neglected to bridge these slogans with a deliberately moral framework. These traditional slogans have sometimes hinted that that labor movement fights for unity among working people and for rights for all workers but is not specific enough to attract non-union and non-working class potential supporters. Table 9 presents some of these traditional union

slogans as well as suggestions for how new slogans might be bridge the union message to these moral issues.

Table 9: Union Slogans

<p><u>Traditional/Historic Slogans</u> The Labor Movement: The folks who brought you the weekend An injury to one is an injury to all Look for the Union Label Workers of the World Unite!</p> <p><u>New Slogans</u> My mom/dad and her/his Union work hard for me (in kids' handwriting) Unions and Parents-working together to Support our Families</p> <p>Unions are Working for affordable Health Care Unions fight for affordable Health Care rights!</p> <p>Buying Union-made products is the right thing to do I buy anti-sweatshop and pro-union Supporting union workers is the right thing to do I am anti-sweatshop and pro-union.</p>

Unions should generate new slogans based on the three moral issues of Supporting a Family, Affordable Health Care, and Consumer Responsibilities. Just as CTU utilized the phrase “Give us Hope, Obey the Pope” to draw the connections between their struggle and Catholic doctrine, other unions can use slogans to link their struggle to certain cherished values. In Table 9, shows several new slogans that unions might consider when using moral framing. These slogans reflect the connections between union initiatives and cherished values and succinctly publicize the commonalities to the community. The first set references the moral issue of supporting a family and links the parental role with union membership. The second deals with the issue of health care and union efforts to secure affordable healthcare for all workers. The last two (and their variations) speak to consumer responsibilities and the moral imperative to support labor

unions. These slogans, when used in mailings, in media reports, on picket signs and placards, and on consumer goods such as t-shirts, bags, and bumper stickers strengthen the moral based connections. Being consistent in the usage of a small number of slogans will more easily publicize the union's moral framework and make these connections well known. Union leaders should also work to get high-profile union members, specifically the Screen Actors Guild members mentioned above to wear these products and promote these messages. This strategy will influence the "hip" factor of the message and the consumer products proclaiming these slogans.

All aspects of union organization and their framework should speak to the same moral issues to create a united message and a positive public image of the union. This means there must be consistency in the quotations leaders give to the media, the contract demands the union makes, slogans on union mailings and picket signs, and the characterization of the leaders and the organization. For instance, if the union is campaigning for support based on consumer responsibilities, it then makes sense that the union must promote better working conditions in their shops but also that leaders should buy union-made cars and wear union-made products themselves. This frame consistency will prevent a number of contradictions that media reporters can use to negatively characterize the union. Consistency will also allow local unions to repeatedly emphasize their dedication to cherished-value issues, such as CTU did with "Number 351." A consistent message can help to re-characterize the union by exposing a new frame to the target audience in different media methods.

The last aspect of Frame Content is Frame Relevance, specifically whether a frame has experiential and empirical credibility. These two dimensions ask, respectively,

“Does a frame relate to receivers’ everyday lives?” and “Do the frame promoters have evidence to back up their claims?” CTU utilized salary comparisons between themselves and other teachers to provide empirical evidence that their salary demands were in line with Catholic doctrine of a “just wage.” Similarly, the union demonstrated that their message was relevant to the audience’s everyday experience by drawing on parents’ desire for their children to learn moral principles. In the case of secular unions, the three moral issues I suggest for moral framing are already drawn directly from the everyday experiences of these workers and their potential supporters. Because of this, value-driven frames already have a great potential to relate to the receivers’ lives, with each of the three relating best to particular sub-audiences. The message of union’s working with members to support their families speaks directly to the everyday experience of other non-union members and potential members who share the same struggle. Making this a moral issue and a union issue should particularly resonate with other parents who support their own families and may be unaware of a union’s dedication to this effort. Similarly, the moral message around health care may most closely relate to the lives of those who do not have health insurance and/or those who struggle to finance health costs for themselves and those in their care. The third message of consumer responsibility may resonate with consumers who are attracted to the Green campaign, and already buy products that make them “feel good” , but also could resonate with religious groups and community associations that already are involved in anti-sweatshop efforts abroad and may not realize the seriousness of domestic conditions. There will of course be overlap as well between these groups which would only add to the experiential compatibility.

In regard to empirical credibility, unions may gain more by providing empirical statistics on health care rather than on salaries, as union workers tend to earn more than non-union workers⁵⁴. Since union members have been a history of higher wages than non-union workers and union leaders have been depicted as greedy, it might be difficult to gain support of non-union members by publicizing salaries and salary demands. Therefore, unions would need to take caution in providing salary information for empirical evidence of their moral framework. One way they might connect this to a moral message is to compare average worker pay today as to averages in the past and show how inflation has raised the cost of living, but not worker wages. This evidence could support the common struggles of union members and potential supporters to provide for their families as the cost of living increases. It might also be helpful for unions to compare worker pay to CEO salaries and demonstrate the massive differences between these numbers. This, coupled with the anti-corporate climate described below, could bring individuals and groups who are anti-corporate greed to the side of workers. This also could bring support of those who back Living Wage campaigns. This would obviously not work for unions where workers are paid a higher wage than the majority of the community where they live and work and thus would also require the unions to take demographic orientation and strategic marketing into account.

While it may be somewhat challenging to make a moral-empirical argument based on salaries, the unions can provide credibility to their frame by pointing to the increasing costs of health care and the benefit cuts that workers are facing. While union

⁵⁴Currently, there have been numbers thrown around about the cost of a UAW worker to the Big Three automakers. This number (\$106,000) is compared to non-union auto-workers for foreign car companies in the Southern U.S. States who make less than UAW workers in the Rust Belt. This number, which many have called overstated and inaccurate, has led to some criticism of the union workers and their salaries.

workers are more likely to have health insurance than non-union workers, even workers with a history of comprehensive health benefits, such as UAW workers, are now faced with fewer benefits and increasing costs (Pitt-Catsouphes, Sano, & Matz-Costa, 2009). Additionally, even though union members are more likely to have health benefits from their employer, union organizations, including the AFL-CIO are engaged in affordable health care campaigns (www.afl-cio.org). A moral-based framework should publicize this campaign as well as give voice to the union members, especially in service industries, who gained health insurance through their union campaigns. These success stories, as well as ongoing efforts, will provide empirical evidence of the labor movement's dedication to this issue. Of the three moral issues, the right to affordable health care has the ability to draw support for union struggles from a larger non-member audience based on empirical facts. As such a large number of workers relate to increasing health care costs and/or lack health insurance, this is one area where labor unions can bridge their message with the moral message that health care is a right, not a "benefit" or a privilege.

In regard to empirical evidence for the third moral issue of consumer responsibility, unions could provide evidence of sweatshop-like conditions that characterize the production of many consumer products. The Union Label division of the AFL-CIO compiles a "Don't Buy List" of boycotted companies, but does not go to great lengths to publicize it. Unions could utilize this information, as well as empirical evidence on companies that have been charged with sweatshop violations, such as Nike. While this information is public, if consumers do not seek it out (or come across it in a sociology class), they may not know the shoes/shirt/carpet they buy was produced by

sweatshop labor. Even those who do know might not know there are union-made alternatives that support good working conditions and provide jobs for U.S. workers.

In addition to the empirical evidence in health benefits and possible salary issues in regard to “supporting a family,” secular unions can also gain support by projecting their message in the context of an anti-corporate climate. This anti-corporate atmosphere, described below, will add to the experiential credibility of the union’s framework.

Issue Climate

As explained in Chapter 7, CTU was greatly aided by a somewhat anti-church issue climate, especially in the most recent 2005 negotiations. I believe that secular unions can take advantage of a similar anti-Wall Street and anti-Corporate culture that has been present since the subprime-mortgage economic collapse of 2008. Following the announcement of the Wall Street Bailout plan, protestors across the country gathered to express their disgust with corporate America. Everyday Americans carried signs reading “I can’t afford to bail out Wall Street” and chanted “I Pay, They Owe, Foreclose Wall Street, not my home” outside the Capitol Building in Washington D.C. Exit polls from the 2008 presidential election echoed this sentiment as a majority of Americans listed the economy as their number one concern (www.CNBC.com). This, along with the election of Barack Obama (and his pronounced corporate regulation plans) is a sign that the current issue climate is more Anti-Wall Street and pro-worker than it has been in over 25 years. Obama’s declarations for increased regulation of markets and plans to clean up corporate greed, speak to the country’s readiness for a changing of tides away from a Reaganomics culture, and perhaps towards a pro-worker and even a pro-union climate.

Gallup Polls have also provided reasons to believe that the current climate is ripe to garner support for labor unions. A 2008 Gallup Poll showed that 35% of survey respondents would like labor unions to have more power while only 32% would like them to have less power (Jones, 2008, December 1). This finding is a reversal from the 2004 survey when 29% of respondents said unions should have more power and 36% said they should have less power. Additionally, although this questions has not been asked on more recent surveys, a 2005 Gallup Poll asked “In the labor disputes of the last two or three years, have your sympathies, in general been on the side of unions (or) on the side of the companies?” 52% of respondents answered that they had been on the side of the unions⁵⁵, again pointing to the possibility for increased community support of organized labor. Further evidence of an anti-corporate environment came when media outlets ridiculed the leaders of Ford Motor Company, Chrysler, and General Motors for flying to Washington D.C. in private jets to ask for their own government bailout. Newspapers across the country quoted Ford CEO, Alan Mullaly who said “I think I’m ok where I am” when asked if he would consider a \$1 salary in 2009 rather than his \$22 million compensation in exchange for federal aid for the Big Three (All Things Considered, November 25, 2008). This statement, among other enraged Americans who characterized the leaders as greedy and blamed poor management for the economic collapse of their companies.

The current anti-Wall Street climate coupled with seemingly positive sentiment about labor unions demonstrates that the time is right for unions to make a push for public support. Just as an anti-Church sentiment, independent of CTU’s story, helped the

⁵⁵ 34% answered that they sided with the companies, 6% answered neither, 3% answered both, and 5% answered no opinion on this question

union to gain the backing of potential supporters, union locals can take advantage of an anti-Wall Street sentiment to garner support for their cause. With the culture turning to support worker-efforts, unions can utilize moral framing to connect their organizations to their communities and ask them to work with the union instead of quietly supporting their efforts.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have made suggestions for how secular unions can implement moral framing based on Johnston and Noakes' framework and on the case study of the Catholic Teachers Union. These suggestions formulate a plan the unions might use to connect their mission to a moral message. First, union leaders and union locals as a whole must become more involved in their communities. This may be through community volunteering and outreach to other community activist groups as well as through letters and mailings to neighborhoods where the union members work and live. This will foster social capital between the union and other organizations as well as personal connections between members and their neighbors, which unions can utilize during negotiations, strikes, and rallies. Union leaders should make themselves more accessible to the community, to their members and to the public. They, along with certain members, need to demonstrate their integrity to ensure the credibility of the moral message they are promoting. Leaders can do this, as CTU did, by assigning a set media point person who is constantly in touch with the media during union negotiations and strikes. If possible, the AFL-CIO or other larger labor organization should also provide training these media point people on how best to utilize the media outlets and on how to best publicize the union's moral framework. This will help the union to send a consistent message based on

these three moral issues, therefore repeatedly promoting the connections between union work and the cherished values. The media coverage will also be bolstered by ads and slogans filled with credible promoters, succinct messages, and empirical and experiential support relating the union's message to the audiences' everyday lives. These steps can help unions put the technique of moral framing into place and increase community support of union efforts while energizing their member base around important moral issues. Additionally, the current anti- Wall Street and anti- corporate greed climate suggests the time is ripe for the frame receivers to be open to this kind of pro-union moral framework. Unions should take advantage of the anti-corporate after-math of the 2008 stock market decline to reach out to the public and to ask for union and worker support.

Labor union membership in the U.S. has been declining steadily since 1981 to a current rate of around 11%. Jobs have been outsourced, plants have been closed, and potential union supporters sit at the wayside. Gallup Polls show that 60% of Americans surveyed answered that they approve of unions.⁵⁶ This number has been steady over the past few years, after increasing from a low point of only 55% of respondents in approval of unions in 1981. This finding adds to the mounting evidence which suggests that there is potential for more community members to support unions and organized labor efforts. It may be that potential union advocates do not see the connections between their daily experiences and the labor movement and if unions can bring these to light, using the case study of the Catholic Teachers Union as a guide, they can increase community support and then increase their success.

⁵⁶ The Gallup 2007 Work and Education Annual survey found that 60% of respondents answered that they approve of unions, 32% disapprove, and 8 percent are undecided.

Because they do not see these connections between union work and cherished values, many Americans see unions only as a special interest group. Many unions themselves have taken on this label and have become a series of separate and disjointed worker groups. Labor Unions have an opportunity to increase their support by broadening their base to include consumers and community members who share the cherished values that are already at the basis of the labor movement. The Catholic Teachers Union of New Jersey made a stand for unions by repeatedly pointing out that Bishops and church leaders were threatening the cherished values that the lay teachers-and the parent-consumers- held dear. Secular unions and the broader labor movement can utilize this technique to re-label themselves, return to public life, and to its mission of helping ALL workers.

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Appendix A: The Negotiations and Strikes of CTU 1991-2005

Earlier versions of this manuscript included a detailed look at each of the five negotiations and strikes CTU engaged in after the initial three contracts. While some of this information is highlighted in Chapter 4 when discussing the newspaper coverage of these events, I offer a more detailed look at these negotiations, as well as insight into strike theory in Appendix A.

“One method used by unions in pursuing the just rights of their members is the strike or work stoppage. This method is recognized by Catholic Social Teaching as legitimate in the proper conditions and within just limits.”

-Pope John Paul II, Laborem Exercens (1981)

While the union was able to bargain using the Win-Win method in 1987 and then sign a contract in 1990 despite the Win-Win negotiation breakdown, they did not repeat this bargaining technique. Instead, the tactic of striking and the utilization of the threat of striking became central to CTU’s negotiation process.

Strikes and work stoppages have been central to the history of the labor movement in the United States and around the world. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, a strike is, “a temporary stoppage of work by a group of workers (not necessarily union members) to express a grievance or enforce a demand” (<http://www.bls.gov/wsp/wspfaq.htm>). U.S. labor history is rich with well-known strikes including the Homestead steelworkers strike in 1892, the railroad workers’ Pullman strike

in 1893-94, the Auto Workers' Flint Sit-down of 1936-37, the PATCO strike in 1981, the UPS workers' strike in 1997 and most recently the Writer's Guild strike of 2007-08.⁵⁷

While legislation including Labor-Management Relations Act (also known as the Taft-Hartley Act) and state laws such as New York's Public Employees Fair Employment Act (commonly known as the Taylor Law) have decreased the ability for workers, especially public employees, to engage in strikes, many unionized employees continue to utilize this tactic.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) collects data on the number of major work stoppages each year (limited to those involving more than 1,000 workers) as well as the number of days lost to the work stoppages and the number of employees involved. However, as the BLS defines work stoppages as both strikes and employer-initiated lock-outs, it is difficult to gauge the percentage of this number that represents strikes. In 2007, the BLS reported the incidence of 21 work major stoppages involving 189,000 workers and a loss of 1.3 million workdays. This number is up from 20 major work stoppages involving 70,000 workers in 2006, but reflects a decrease in the number of workdays lost, down from 2.7 million in 2006. As the BLS only records strike data for actions involving more than 1,000 workers, the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Services (FMCS) handles data for work stoppages involving fewer than 1,000 workers, such as the CTU actions. According to FMCS there were 162 work stoppages involving less than 1,000 employees each that began in 2007. This is down from 247 in 2006 and 289 in 2005.

These numbers represent many different union groups, but the overwhelming majority of them fall within the private sector, as public sector employees usually are prohibited from striking. As of July 2008, Hawaii and Pennsylvania are the only two

⁵⁷ See Brecher (1997) for a thorough history of strikes in U.S. labor history.

states without any laws or statutes limiting the right of public employees, including public school teachers, from striking. Thirty-seven states completely deny public employees the ability to strike, and the remaining eleven states have statutes limiting and ruling on teachers' right to strike (Weaver, 2007).

Collective Bargaining rights for public employees also vary between states. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, 35.9% of public employees are unionized, with the highest percentage found in local government employees (including teachers, police officers, and firefighters). Despite these numbers, the AFL-CIO estimates that almost 40% of public employees in the United States do not have the right to unionize or to bargain collectively. The majority of these employees live in Southeastern and Western non-coastal states that prohibit public employees from organizing. Additionally, there is an industry dedicated to preventing public sector employees from organizing. One of these companies, the Council on Education in Management, even offers courses on "Techniques for avoiding unionization in public sector organizations." Public legislation and private industry opposition both contribute to the difficulties of public sector unionization.

While New Jersey now ranks sixth in terms of union membership, the state constitution (Article I, section 19) does not provide collective bargaining rights to all public employees. Instead, the constitution states that public employees may organize and present their grievances to management and authorities but does not guarantee them specific collective bargaining rights. Public employees in New Jersey gained collective bargaining rights from the NJ Superior Court case *New Jersey Turnpike Auth v. AFSCME* in 1964, which forced the Turnpike authority and other public sector employers to

bargain with employee unions. Four years later, this decision was put into law as part of the New Jersey Employer-Employee Relations Act, commonly called Chapter 13A.

The New Jersey Employer-Employee Relations Act (1968) laid out specific labor-relations legislation for New Jersey public and private sector employees including union formation, union dues policies, arbitration, strikes, and grievance procedures. The Act also established the New Jersey Public Employees Relations Commission (PERC), which oversees labor and mediation procedures and practices for the public sector, and denoted how PERC would supervise union negotiations. The Act granted Binding Arbitration for public safety employees only, and specified impasse procedures for other public employees, including teachers. The Act laid out two impasse steps, 1) PERC will provide mediation after they are alerted of the impasse and 2) If mediation fails, the parties will select a fact-finder from PERC-provided lists, who will take testimony and create non-binding recommendations. While the either side can reject PERC's contract recommendations, the hope is that the system will prevent the impasse from turning into an illegal work stoppage or strike. In section 13A-8, the Act addresses strikes, but not in regards to public employees,

'Nothing in this act shall be construed to interfere with, impede or diminish in any way the right of *private* (italics added) employees to strike or engage in other lawful concerted activities' (Chapter 13A-8).

While this right is cemented for *private* employees, including Catholic school teachers, the Act does not make specific mention of public employees strike rights, except to deny them to public safety workers including police officers and firefighters. Then-NJ Governor Richard Hughes conditionally vetoed the measure based on his wish for a no-strike clause for public employees, but the Legislature claimed that that earlier NJ

Superior Court cases already declared this ban (Morgan, 1999). The earliest of these court cases *Donevero v. Jersey City Incinerator Authority* (1962) asserted that striking was illegal for all public employees. Two years later, *New Jersey Turnpike Auth v. AFSCME* (1964) upheld this decision. Three years after that, the Superior Court decreed that sickouts and mass resignations were also illegal for public employees in *Board of Education v. New Jersey Education Association* (1967).

Although these decisions have repeatedly outlawed public employee strikes in New Jersey, public school teachers have continued to partake in work stoppages over the past four decades. Morgan (1999) chronicled NJ public school teachers' strikes from 1968 (signifying the passage of the Chapter 13) to 1998 and found that there were more than 200 illegal strikes during that time. He estimated that these strikes accounted for the loss of 1.5 million teacher days and 3 million student days. Morgan also noted the number of strikes by county, noting that Bergen County in the northern part of the state had the most strikes (34) during the three decades and Camden County had the most student days lost due to the high student-teacher ratio.

Additionally, Morgan looked at the trend of teacher strikes and found that the number of strikes, as well as the duration of the strikes, has decreased over the thirty year period. He also concluded that there were two strike surges during these decades, first from 1968 to 1971 and again from 1975 to 1981. Morgan believes that the first surge was a reaction to the Employer-Employee Relations Act in 1968 and that the second was a reaction to the 1974 modification of the Act that overturned previous collective bargaining agreements in favor of the employer (based on a number of NJ Supreme Court

decisions). Morgan notes that the last time teacher strikes in New Jersey reached double digits was the 1984-85 school year.

The most recent large scale public teachers' union strike in New Jersey occurred in Middletown, a middle class suburban district in Ocean County, in 2001. Middletown teachers, represented by the Middletown Education Association, NEA affiliate, were working without a contract for three months and went on strike three months when the school district demanded that the teachers pay a greater portion of their health care costs (Light & Johnson, 2001). On the first day of the strike, the school district appealed to their district court, claiming that the teachers' actions were illegal based on earlier court decisions. Judge Clarkson S. Fisher agreed that earlier decisions favored the board's stance and ordered the teachers to cease their strike or face punishment. When the teachers refused, the judge began arresting them, starting with all teachers whose last names began with the letter A. He announced that he would continue to issue arrest warrants for the teachers, moving to the next letter each day, until they called off the strike (Hanley, 2001). The strike gained national media attention when teachers continued to strike despite over 200 arrests.

Why do teachers choose, or choose not to, strike?

While public school teachers unions sometimes choose to strike despite its prohibition in their state, private and Catholic school teachers unions who actually enjoy this right do not always engage in this collective action. Additionally, while the majority of union members may vote to strike, individual members may disagree and therefore vote 'no' and or refuse to participate. This suggests that certain circumstances and variables determine an individual's support of a strike as well as a union's decision to

strike. Several researchers (Dixon, Roscigno, & Hodson, 2004; McClendon & Klaas, 1993) have investigated these questions and have found two main determinants that influence both the individual's and the union's decisions to strike: 1) Strong presence of and with the union, and 2) Social support of/by co-workers, also called mutual solidarity or normative influence.

In a study of 133 work place ethnographies, Dixon, Roscigno, and Hodson (2004) found that the combination of union presence and worker solidarity was the strongest determinant of whether union would vote to strike. The researchers defined union presence not only as a union's physical existence but also as a union's established and often oppositional relationship with management. Dixon, Roscigno, and Hodson argue that unions that are more visible and active in the workplace are more likely to strike than those that are undetectable or absent. The combination of a strong physical presence and observable action creates the highest chance of the union voting to strike. They note earlier case studies (Fantasia 1988; Roscigno & Danaher 2001) that support this finding.

Dixon, Roscigno, and Hodson also point to classic studies (McCarthy & Zald 1973, 1977) which claim that formally organized social movements, such as labor unions, lend themselves more easily to militant actions, such as strikes, than informal or unorganized groups. They explain that the leadership and infrastructure of a labor union has the ability to coordinate workers, funds, and details that are needed to engage in collective action. While the organization of an individual union may vary, the vast majority have an elected leadership board and a division of labor policy that allows the groups to more easily organize collective actions.

Tying together their description of union presence, Dixon, Roscigno, and Hodson also reference Hodson et al. (1993), who concluded that an organized union has the ability to create a particular identity and culture that is separate from the employer and is influenced by interaction with the employer. Dixon, Roscigno, and Hodson note that creating this identity, especially if it is oppositional to the employer, increases the chances of militant collective action. That is, the chance of a strike increases when workers have allegiance to the union and are supportive of its efforts. Babb (1996) supports this with her finding that allegiance to a union is greater when members feel that the union's image closely matches their internal idea and understanding of what a union should be.

While establishing the union presence and identity is important, it will not lead to a strike by itself. Dixon, Roscigno, and Hodson (2004) argue that it must be coupled with worker solidarity. This second aspect of Social Support, also called normative influence, refers to both the dedication to stand by fellow workers and the social pressure to 'jump on the bandwagon.' Dixon, Roscigno, and Hodson (2004) provide the example of co-workers striking in support of a colleague who was fired after a confrontation with management. The authors found that employees were more likely to support a strike when the struggle had a personal aspect. If employees connected a struggle with an individual, they were more likely to vote for a strike. The authors determined that union members also felt pressure to support militant action when their co-workers were in support of the action due to a type of normative pressure. That is, as the numbers of union members who speak out in support of a strike increases, the more likely an individual

union member is to support the action. This concept, referred to as normative influence mimics a bandwagon effect that encourages members to follow the group.

A third factor in determining whether a union will strike is their history and whether they have engaged in a work stoppage in the past. Dixon, Roscigno, and Hodson (2004) explain that past militant action establishes social networks and connections with media and other supporting labor organizations (they note Kimeldorf 1985; Wellman 1995) which increase the chances that a union will strike. Additionally, having a collective action history may give the workers a sense of comfort to 'know what to expect', especially if a strike positively influenced previous contract negotiations.

Once the union has made the decision to strike, the question becomes what makes the strike successful, or how does it have a positive influence (from the union's viewpoint) on negotiations? McClendon and Klaas (1993) addressed this question and determined that that worker support of the strike, in terms of picket participation and visibility, is central to the success of the collective action. The researchers found that the more workers who supported and participated in the strike, the more likely the union viewed that strike as a success. Like Dixon, Roscigno, and Hodson (2004), McClendon and Klaas point out that worker support of a strike is strongly linked to normative influence. Therefore, workers are more likely to participate in a strike if they feel they are supporting a wronged co-worker and/or if they feel pressure from their fellow members.

In addition to normative influence, McClendon & Klaas also considered 'attitude towards work' as a determinant of strike participation. While Bacharach et al. (1990) found that teachers were more likely to have militant attitudes if they were dissatisfied with their supervisor and if they felt that they had little influence over their job,

McClendon and Klaas did not repeat these findings. McClendon and Klaas also tested whether an individual's general approval or disapproval of militant behavior affected their choice to participate in a strike and again found it was not significant. Lastly, McClendon & Klaas developed a 'utilitarian measure' which gauged an individual's perceived usefulness of the strike and tested how this perception influenced their decision to vote for and participate in a strike. While the researchers concluded that this measure explained some shared variance of workers' decisions to participate in the action, they argued that it was not as meaningful as co-worker support or loyalty to the union.

The case of CTU supports these findings that social influence and union presence are the most important factors which influence workers to vote to strike as well as actively involve themselves in strike activities, such as picket lines. First, in regards to establishing a union presence, from its onset, CTU had active union representatives at each school as well as a union newsletter, begun by Wayne Nystrom, the union sent to all members. Additionally, the union identity was often seen as oppositional to the diocese due to the diocesan resistance to recognize and bargain with the union. From the first strike in 1985, CTU leaders saw themselves in many ways as the underdog to a bigger force, with one former member describing the union as "David to the Diocese's Goliath." As Dixon, Roscigno, and Hodson (2004) suggest, this oppositional identity continued throughout history of the union, though maybe never as strong as during the first strike. The 1984 recognition and the 1985 strike set the tone for an adversarial relationship with between the two sides as they were locked in a stalemate of negotiations for over four months and then locked in the strike standoff for three weeks. Newspaper quotations (discussed at length in Chapter 4) repeatedly printed the union's feeling that the diocese

was not 'bargaining in good faith' and diocese belief that a union would be 'more contentious' than the lay council. While some of this dissention may have been dissipated by the 1987 win-win negotiations, this congeniality lost in the breakdown of the 1990 bargaining talks. From that point forward, the union and the diocese butted heads on contract issues, resulting in strikes in 1994, and 1997, as well as votes to strike in 1991 and 2005. Further, two law suits over the representation of diocesan elementary teachers and the withdrawal of two high schools from the bargaining unit added to the often adversarial relationship between the two sides.

In addition to union identity, Dixon, Roscigno, and Hodson (2004) note that particular interactions between administration and employees contribute to union presence, and normative influence. Like in public schools, diocesan principals act as school administrators and play important roles in employer-employee relations. Larry White, who worked as a social studies teacher and multi-sport coach at St. James High School until the fall of 1985, spoke of the close relationship he and other teachers at St. James shared with their principal Father Andrew Martin. White said that for many years Father Martin made the environment at St. James, one of the smaller schools, very familial and non-confrontational. White remembered that he was able to speak freely with Martin about teacher grievances and the two would settle problems with open-door office discussions. However, Father Martin was replaced in the fall of 1984 by a new principal who did not establish the same type of relationship with White and the other St. James teachers, especially after they established the union. White said Father Martin's replacement was more adversarial, which speaks to Dixon, Roscigno, and Hodson's (2004) argument that members will be more supportive of union action if they view their

employer or superior as adversarial. Other union members remember that multiple administrators at the smaller schools (St. James, Sacred Heart, Gloucester Catholic) put a great deal of pressure on their teachers not to join the union. One member even noted the clandestine meetings teachers at these smaller schools held at bars and members' homes to discuss the union in order to avoid pressure from the principals.

Just as union members bind together against a seemingly adversarial employer, Dixon, Roscigno, and Hodson (2004) also argue that workers are most willing to strike in support of a wronged co-worker. While their study focuses on industrial workers who strike in support of coworkers who have been fired, demoted, or have had verbal confrontations with management, this variable can easily be transferred to CTU members. One member in particular, Bill Checcio, illustrates this concept as he was fired in 1984 from his position as English teacher after serving at Holy Spirit High School for 16 years. Checcio, an English teacher and head of the English department, set himself apart from other lay teachers when he took on the role of Holy Spirit union representative when the union was first formed. As a well liked and respected teacher, Checcio drew the support of many Holy Spirit parents who became interested in the union's struggles through their association with Bill and other teachers. Shortly after the union formed, even before formal recognition, Checcio received a letter in his school mailbox that he would be terminated at the end of the school year. The diocese explained that Checcio had violated school policy by re-marrying without ever getting his first marriage annulled. Checcio, who was raised Catholic but no longer practices due to his 'deep anger at the diocese and the Church', then applied for an annulment through the diocese of Camden. After waiting a few weeks, as he busied himself with the November 1984 union

activities, Checcio visited the Camden diocesan office to find out the status of his annulment. He said, “The secretary there (at the Diocesan offices) looked at me with a shocked look on her face and said, ‘I’m sorry, I’ve never seen this happen, but your annulment was denied.’” Checcio said he felt the diocese was ‘mean-spirited’ to do this, and since he was determined to keep his job at Holy Spirit, he appealed the denial through the Archdiocese of Newark. While Checcio did not publicize his story to the entire union, those members who knew his situation may have been even more willing to strike in support of their wronged colleague, as Dixon, Roscigno, and Hodson (2004) argue.

In addition to the individual story of Checcio’s dismissal, some teachers, particularly single male and married female teachers, said that they supported the union and the strikes because of the married male teachers who were trying to support a family on the Catholic teacher’s salary. As mentioned above, both Ro Farrow (in personal communication) and Pamela Pallozzi (in a *Courier Post* article) declared their dedication to male teachers who were the breadwinners in their families that could not provide for their families on Catholic school salaries. This sentiment was not limited to females as Larry White also expressed his dedication to other teachers. White, who was single at the time of his union involvement, explained that he was part of a group of 20-somethings who needed money, but he also recognized that he had much greater flexibility than teachers who were supporting a family. Current Paul VI representative Mary Kay Rossi agreed,

I am lucky enough that this job is a second income. If I lose my job I am not going to be out of my house. But what about the people who really do need to go out on strike to get this raise or these benefits? Evil prevails when good people sit back and do nothing.

The mutual solidarity and social support these teachers showed for coworkers whom they thought were deserving of a pay raise to support their family again illustrates Dixon, Roscigno, and Hodson (2004) findings on mutual solidarity. The factors of union presence and social support were central to the decision to strike in 1985 as well as the success of the strike. Echoing CTU president Blumenstein's statement that, the strike, or the threat of a strike is 'the ultimate tool' for a union, NACST president Rita Schwartz (Education Week) noted, "The only weapon Catholic teachers have is to go on strike." After the original 1985 strike, CTU has engaged in two strikes (1994 and 1997) and narrowly avoided two additional strikes (1991 and 2005) after voting for the work stoppages. Strikes, and threat of strikes, are the main tool lay Catholic teacher unions have and CTU provides interesting insight into how one union successfully utilized this tool.

1991 Return of the Three Year Contract

As the Win-Win bargaining attempt in 1990 failed and resulted in only a one year contract, the teachers were due for another round of contract negotiations in 1991. As the diocese had welcomed a new bishop, James McHugh at the end of 1989, he was not especially involved in the previous contract negotiations. As the 1-year contract ran out, the union was eager to negotiate another three year contract with the diocese as it had done in the past, but the diocese was slow to schedule negotiations. According to Bob Keeler, writing for *Newsday*, the new Bishop said he needed time to inform himself about on the teachers' concerns. Blumenstein responded, "We gave him time, we gave him

time, we gave him time” (Keeler, 1999). With the contract set to expire on September 30, the diocese offered the union a contract with a 5 to 5 ½ percent increase over three years, which the teachers voted down 96-88 on Sunday September 29, 1991. Feeling that the diocese was deaf to their demands and unresponsive to their negotiation efforts, members also voted to approve a strike, if necessary.

Following the Sunday night meeting, the executive board informed the bishop and the diocese that the members had authorized a strike. The bishop, whom the media had criticized as being sluggish in his response to the teachers’ demands, was forced to react to the news. In hopes of avoiding a strike, the diocese lawyer contacted the union negotiation team with an offer at the eleventh hour on September 30th. According to an October 2, 1991 *The Philadelphia Inquirer* article, the union held a meeting the next day and voted 106-79 to accept the new contract proposal which included wage increases of 17.4% over the contract’s three years. While this raise still did not approach public school teachers’ salaries, the boost was significant for CTU teachers who were happy to avoid a strike despite approving a job action a few days earlier. The diocese and the new bishop were also pleased to narrowly avoid the pickets and to sign a three year contract with the union.

In this case, the union successfully used what President Blumenstein called, “the threat of striking.” Blumenstein explained that the union’s utilization of strikes in contract negotiations is a powerful tool, but he also added the threat of striking the conception of this weapon. Paul VI religion teacher and union representative Mary Kay Rossi agreed with Blumenstein noting, “Without strikes, we wouldn’t have any leverage at all.” The threat of striking helped the union to reach their contract demands in 1991

and again in 2005 (described below). In both instances the ability to authorize a strike, which is not granted to New Jersey public school teachers, has proven to be a powerful tool for CTU. Memories of the three week strike in 1985 implored the diocese to meet some of the union's demands to avoid the picket lines, particularly at the very beginning of the school year. Larry White, former CTU-representative and teacher at St. James High school explained that the diocese wanted to especially avoid strikes in the fall because of the connection to high school athletics. White, now employed by New Jersey State Interscholastic Athletic Association, discussed the importance of fall athletics in regards to the 1985 strike,

In hindsight, we might have waited and gone out (on strike) in early fall during football season. That would have gotten them to talk with us a lot sooner.

White, reflecting on the 1985 strike spoke to the importance of the 1991 negotiations being during the school's fall sport season. High school sports are particularly important to the larger diocesan schools with Camden Catholic having a perennially competitive football team, and Paul VI boasting nationally recognized cross country teams. By voting to strike in late September 1991, the union threatened to go out on strike during the high schools' football and cross country seasons. If the coaches of these teams were also teachers on strike, the by-laws of the school athletic conferences require the teams to forfeit their games. Though the diocese never spoke directly about the impact of the football season on their decision to negotiate and avoid a strike, several parents and community members agreed with White's theory about the role of these sports.

When the 1991 contract ran out in 1994 the union had grown, as it had welcomed Special Education teachers into the bargaining unit, but it was also facing serious

problems with the diocese over another issue. Lay teachers at several elementary schools in the diocese saw the gains that CTU was making for diocesan teachers and wanted to join the union. The diocese and the bishop, however, were not giving in to this request easily and were also struggling to reach a contract with already represented secondary and special education teachers. This became particularly difficult when the diocese and the union came to a standoff over the wording of the Bishop's 'moral code.'

1994 Negotiations & the Moral Code

Following the 1991 eleventh hour contract approval, the union and the diocese were due for new contract on September 1, 1994. While preparing a new contract in the summer of 1994, the diocese threw a curveball at the union when Bishop James McHugh⁵⁸ proposed contract changes that would give the bishop "absolute authority in dismissing teachers, regardless of ability or tenure" (Bole, 1994). The bishop insisted that the teacher's union sign this 'minimum standards' agreement before he would allow union elections, but the union claimed that signing such a statement would give the diocese the power to fire a teacher at any time. The document stated that the Bishop "Shall be the ultimate judge in matters that concern serious and/or public immorality and/or public rejection of official doctrine and/or policies of the Diocese of Camden as stated by the Bishop." The teachers refused to sign the agreement, calling it 'absurd' and detrimental to the worker's rights.

⁵⁸ Bishop McHugh was most known for his leadership in the Pro-life movement within the Catholic Church. McHugh served as Bishop of the Camden Diocese from 1989 to 1999 when he was appointed Bishop of Rockville Centre, NY.

According to CTU leaders, the problem involved the code's vague wording, especially as to how far the bishop could or would act on its premises. They also argued that the union had gained very specific due process and disciplinary rights from the 1985 and 1987 contracts that should have protected them against such actions. As noted above, the 1987 contract in particular, negotiated with the 'win-win' technique guaranteed CTU members a specific grievance arbitration procedure. Agreeing to this moral code would essentially erase these gains.

In response to the Bishop's proposal, the union leaders submitted a revised code to the diocesan leader. Bishop McHugh immediately rejected this proposal and again insisted that the teachers agree to the original wording he presented. CTU leaders remembered feeling that the code was a direct challenge to the benefits the union had secured in earlier contracts as well as an affront to the ongoing contract negotiations. Following the bishop's refusal of their code revisions, CTU leaders called a member meeting on Sunday, September 11, 1994 to alert them of the situation. At this meeting, members voted 140-28 in favor of a strike to begin the next day (Interview 1/25/08).

As the vote received a great deal of press, union leaders openly publicized that they were not challenging the Bishop's ecclesiastical authority to run their schools, but they were concerned that the statement was too vague and could be interpreted too broadly. As the teachers prepared to strike, the Bishop set off with for the United Nations Population Conference in Cairo, Egypt and was therefore inaccessible for talks and negotiations. *The New York Times*, *The Courier Post*, and *The Philadelphia Inquirer* newspapers, as well as Catholic news source *The Catholic Star Herald* criticized McHugh for remaining in Egypt while the teachers in his diocese were striking and

accused him of ignoring the situation (explained in Chapter 6). Also of note is the strong participation by more than half of the teachers at Gloucester Catholic high school in the strike despite their reluctance to picket in other years. Gloucester Catholic chemistry teacher Bob Nark told *The Philadelphia Inquirer* that he missed teaching and that the picket was not fun but that “the issues this time are more important” (John-Hall, September 14, 1994).

The 1994 strike lasted five days and ended when the Bishop returned to the diocese (after his conference ended) and invited union members to a meeting where he would personally explain the moral code which he felt was a ‘terrible misunderstanding.’ *The Philadelphia Inquirer* said that McHugh told the teachers that they were ‘pushing this beyond the limits of reason’ and the paper made a connection between the Bishop’s proposed code and the mistrust between the diocese and the teachers over the elementary school representation struggle (John-Hall & Macklin, September 17, 1994). Following the member meeting, which newspapers called ‘contentious’, Bishop McHugh met with President Blumenstein and two members of the union negotiating team. At this smaller meeting, the bishop and the union representatives spoke specifically about the language of the proposed code and the teachers’ concern over the vagueness of the wording. The next day, the Bishop presented the union with a revised statement concerning his power. The amendment gave the bishop power ‘related thereto’ Catholic doctrine and ecclesiastical matters but not over secular issues or public activity. According to union leaders, Bishop McHugh’s new statement was *near identical* to the revision they had proposed one week earlier. With the wording of the moral code reconciled, it was easier to negotiate the rest of the contract. At a ratification meeting held at Moose Hall in

Vineland, NJ, the teachers voted 117 to 22 for the contract, which also included a 10.6 percent salary increase over the contract's three years. CTU members and the Camden Diocese ratified their fifth contract on September 18, 1994. While the union and the Diocese were able to settle this contract, they were still at odds over the unionization of diocesan elementary school teachers.

CTU & Camden Diocese Elementary Schools

As the union grew stronger in the early 1990s, teachers in diocesan elementary schools recognized the gains CTU was making and expressed their desire to join the union. Up to this point, lay teachers in the Camden diocese elementary were not represented by a union and were working as 'employees at will.' However, the Diocese denied the ability of the elementary school teachers to be part of a collective bargaining unit as based on the Religious Clauses of the First Amendment. The union filed a lawsuit against the diocese in 1993 claiming that the precedence was not supported by New Jersey's state constitution. The lawsuit progressed through the Superior and Appellate Courts and was heard before the New Jersey Supreme Court in 1997 (*South Jersey Catholic School Teachers Organization v. St. Teresa of the Infant Jesus Church Elementary School, et al.*) when judges ruled in favor of the union. The Court cited that the State's constitution spells out the right of public and private employees to organize and concluded that "requiring a parochial school to bargain collectively with its lay teachers pursuant to the state's constitution did not violate the school's federal rights under the Religion Clauses" (Gaul, 2007). Additionally, while the diocese lawyers argued that elementary schools were more focused on teaching church doctrine and that a

union mandate could encroach on the separation of church and state, the union lawyers pointed out the direct support of organized labor in Catholic doctrine. After ruling in favor of the union, the Supreme Court of New Jersey then ordered the Superior Court to oversee elections for a collective bargaining representative in the schools.

The seventy teachers at the six primary schools, namely St. Joseph's Pro-Cathedral and St. Bartholomew in Camden, St. Teresa's of the Infant Jesus in Runnemede, St. Joseph's elementary in Hammonton; St. Jude's in Blackwood; and Sacred Heart elementary in Vineland, elected CTU as their collective bargaining representative. While the union was overjoyed by the decision and the sense of solidarity among diocesan teachers, the diocese was vocal about their disappointment in the ruling. Immediately following their appeal loss, Bishop McHugh told *The Philadelphia Inquirer*,

"This will have a highly negative effect on the parishes and elementary school administrators, creating tensions and frictions that will only distract from the schools' religious and educational mission" (Rhor, July 25, 1997).

Despite the Supreme Court ruling, the diocese was reluctant to allow the primary teachers to bargain collectively and repeatedly turned down union contract offers without presenting viable counter agreements. Negotiations for the elementary schoolteachers continued throughout 1998 and 1999 but the diocese and the union did not reach an agreement. According to union leaders (Interview 3/6/08), the pastors who served as principals in these elementary schools put a great deal of pressure on teachers to leave the union. One former union leader and teacher claimed that Church leaders told the elementary school teachers that the union would take away the 'Catholic Character' of the schools and would hurt parents and parishes who could not keep up with costs that a

union demanded. The Church's union busting campaign was successful as two years of contract negotiations never came to fruition. Although CTU was able to gain the right to represent elementary school teachers in the Camden diocese, they never were able to cement a contract for this group. The elementary school teachers in the diocese remain 'employees at will,' a status that became very clear following the diocese's June 2008 announcement that it would close half of the elementary schools in the diocese, leaving over one hundred teachers unemployed and without pensions.

1997 Strike

Tensions between the diocese and the union ran high after the New Jersey Supreme Court ruling and the diocese's resistance to the decision. Past and present CTU members argued that this court verdict was the background for the struggle that ensued in the secondary and special education teacher contract negotiations in 1997. One former CTU member claimed that the diocese was struggling at this point to maintain some power over the teachers that they felt they had lost in the elementary school decision. Several members gave this tussle as the reason that contract talks between the union and administrators broke down in late August 1997.

As the teachers' contract ran out on September 1, 1997, the main issue separating the two sides was the percentage of a salary increase the teachers would see over the three years of the contract. The diocese offered the teachers 3 and 3.5 percent increases over the contracts three years while the union requested 6.5 and 6.75 percent increases. The union also proposed a new health plan for its members. While CTU explained that the new plan would save the diocese twenty-five percent, the administration rejected the plan, saying it wanted only one health plan for all diocesan employees. The diocese then

presented their last proposal to union members on August 28, 1997, which the teachers rejected by a vote of 156-25. In response to the diocese's final offer Blumestein, in a *Philadelphia Inquirer* article said, "When the response to an overwhelming rejection vote is to raise the proposal by a mere half-percent over three years, it's not taking teachers seriously" (Rhor, September 5, 1997).

As the administration refused to negotiate on the health plan and the pay increases, the union members proposed the two sides utilize Binding Arbitration. Though the two sides had used Binding Arbitration in 1985 and 1991 the diocese refused this offer. Their direct opposition to Arbitration and their refusal to negotiate on salaries and benefits again characterized the diocese as antagonistic to the union's stance, reflecting Dixon, Roscigno, and Hodson's (2004) theory. Following the diocese's refusal of binding arbitration, members authorized the executive board to take any necessary actions, including calling a strike, to reach a contract settlement. Two days after the authorization, on Thursday, September 4, 1997, the CTU executive board voted to strike beginning on Tuesday, September 9th, the first official day of school.

An important factor in this decision may have been the fact that lay teachers in the Philadelphia Diocese, located directly across the Delaware River from Camden, were also on strike. Like CTU's 1994 'moral code' matter, the Philadelphia debate included non-financial as well as salary issues that raised emotions in both dioceses. While the Taft-Hartley Act outlaws (sympathy) strikes, engaging in work action only five miles apart from each other further increased the connection between these two teachers unions. Additionally, the fact that the union had struck in the past may have contributed to the teachers' approval of the work action. As Dixon, Roscigno, and Hodson (2004)

suggest, this third factor of strike history meant members knew ‘what to expect’ on the pickets and also provided an already established network of media and labor connections.

The union immediately informed the diocese of the decision to strike but received no response from the administration. CTU teachers held a rally on Monday, September 8th to bolster community support and began their picket at 8 a.m. on September 9, 1997. In response to the strike, then Superintendent Dr. David Coglan and Bishop James McHugh told school administrators to keep the schools open during the strike, using priests and nuns and hiring substitutes if necessary. CTU and its supporters immediately called this a ‘union-busting’ effort. Adding to this, Father James Checchio⁵⁹, the vice-chancellor of the Camden Diocese schools, said that diocese hadn’t “ruled out anything” in response to the question of whether they would make teacher substitutions permanent. This media also emphasized this point, producing several stories focused on the substitutes and the union’s reaction to the diocese’s efforts to keep the schools open. As in earlier strikes teachers and parents questioned the quality of education their students and children were receiving, and the diocese admitted that parents were keeping their children at home or refusing to pay tuition during the strike.

According to Catholic news outlet *National Catholic Reporter (NCR)*, the main debate over salary increases reflected another disagreement about how these increases would affect tuition costs. According to the *NCR* article, the diocese claimed that the union’s proposed increase would increase tuition by \$355 per year, but the union said it would only increase \$125 per year. *NCR* reporter Allen quoted President Blumenstein’s reaction to the diocesan estimate,

⁵⁹ Father James Checchio is of no relation to founding union member Bill Checchio.

"It doesn't take a genius" to grasp that the diocesan figures are misleading, Blumenstein said. "If you multiply \$355 a year by 4,500 students, then divide that amount by the 255 teachers we represent, it comes to more than \$7,000 per teacher -- a 22 percent increase [per year] in our average salary," Blumenstein said. "That's patently absurd, and not at all what we're suggesting" (Allen, 1997).

As numbers continued to fly back and forth between the union and the diocese, the teachers remained on strike. The diocese would not agree to mediation with the union and began to speak of fiscal crisis within the Church as the reason it could not meet salary increases. Father Checchio claimed that the diocese did not want to 'price parents out' of being able to send their children to Catholic School, to which Blumenstein had an interesting response, "Here's the Catholic Church, in the vanguard of the vouchers movement, asking for taxpayer dollars for our schools, and they won't go to the Catholic community to ask for support? It's hypocritical" (Allen, 1997).

The strike continued for over a week with no direct communication between the union and the diocese. As the three largest diocesan high schools, Paul VI, Holy Spirit, and Camden Catholic, were barely operating on what the bishop called a 'skeleton staff,' the diocese finally agreed to resume negotiations with the union on September 15, 1997. The marathon negotiations continued for three days and ended when the bargaining teams approved a tentative contract on September 17, 1997 and presented it to the union the following day. Members in attendance voted 108-27 in favor of ratifying the contract and returning to their classrooms. While teachers did not receive their desired pay increase, the union still viewed the agreement and the strike as successful. From the contract teachers received salary increases of up to 4.1 percent as well as their first long-term disability insurance. Members also won medical coverage for dependents ages 19 to 23 that were still in school and saw the removal of a cap on the union's prescription plan.

Also, the union and the diocese agreed to change the final step of the union grievance procedure from a panel hearing to a professional arbitrator. Blumenstein said he had mixed feelings over the contract, but that ‘relief is a better word’ (Rhor, September 19, 1997).

This new contract, however, only applied to lay teachers at six of the eight CTU represented schools. To the shock of CTU leaders and members Superintendent Coglan met the union at the bargaining table with the news that teachers at St. Joseph’s High School and Gloucester Catholic High School were no longer part of the CTU bargaining unit. According to one union member, in the middle of the 1997 strike, groups of teachers from St. Joseph’s and Gloucester Catholic High Schools met to discuss the possibility of leaving the Catholic Teachers Union. Just as Gloucester Catholic teachers had done during the 1985 strike about 20 teachers from these schools chose to cross the union lines while fellow members picketed outside. CTU members and leaders remember this time with a bit of melancholy explaining how the scabbing teachers’ actions broke the morale of picketing teachers who were strongly dedicated to negotiating a just contract.

While the union was extremely hurt by the teachers that crossed, it was also invigorated by the handful of teachers at St. Joseph’s that chose to stay with the union despite their deserting colleagues. Their loyalty inspired the rest of the union, speaking to Dixon, Roscigno, and Hodson’s (2004) argument on strike participation related to support of wronged co-workers. Teachers at Gloucester Catholic, who were often characterized as second-income earners, did not share many of the needs of their breadwinning colleagues or engage in actions to support their ‘wronged’ colleagues. According to Dixon, Roscigno, and Hodson’s theory, the lack of pressure on those

teachers made it more likely that they would not participate in the strike. Likewise, the loyalty of several St. Joseph's teachers, whom from the union standpoint had been wronged by their co-workers and by the diocese, inspired teachers at the six other high schools to remain on strike and negotiate a fair contract for these teachers as well as for themselves.

Despite controversy over the withdrawal of St. Joseph's and Gloucester Catholic teachers, the union and the diocese reached an agreement over the three days of negotiations. The remaining CTU members (at Paul VI, Sacred Heart, Wildwood Catholic, Camden Catholic, St. James, and Holy Spirit) ratified and signed their sixth contract with the diocese on September 18, 1997. As noted above, the teachers gained a small salary raise as well as a number of fringe benefits, but many also felt disheartened after the strike ended. Former CTU president and founding member Ro Farrow recalls,

That strike was draining. It got to be too much. I remember leaving the table and wishing we had gotten more. I just always wanted to accomplish more for them (the teachers). It was emotionally wrenching.

Farrow left the Catholic school system and the union shortly after the 1997 strike. She took a position as temporary assistant principal at the high school in Washington Township, NJ-the largest public high school in the state. Ten months later, she was promoted to a permanent assistant principal position and less than a year after that she was again promoted to her current position- Head Principal of Washington Township High School. Speaking of Farrow's success after leaving the union, another former CTU member noted, "I told Ro, see, look at you! The Catholic schools just don't realize the leaders they have. They don't recognize or reward the good people they have."

South Jersey Catholic Teachers Organization, et al. v. Diocese of Camden, et al.

Three months after the contract ratification, CTU sued the diocese over the situation with St. Joseph's and Gloucester Catholic High Schools, claiming that the deserting teachers and the diocese had violated the state constitution. The Superior Court of New Jersey-Atlantic County heard the case and decided against the union on March 23, 2000. While CTU claimed that the Diocese and the schools illegally created the two new unions, the Court found that the CTU could not provide sufficient evidence or provide clear precedent to support this argument.

According to the New Jersey Superior Court Decision in a 2000 lawsuit concerning this situation, "For some time prior to 1997 many, if not most, of the lay teachers at Gloucester Catholic and St. Joseph's High School were dissatisfied with the manner in which they were being represented by the SCTO (CTU)." The court documents list examples of CTU disregarding the representative that Gloucester Catholic teachers chose to speak for their school as well as their disapproval of the decision to strike after the 1994-1997 contract expired. The majority of teachers at St. Joseph's and Gloucester Catholic had voted against the strike. The court decision also noted that many teachers at these two schools were unhappy with the way they claimed that CTU leaders spoke about the bishop, calling him untrustworthy among other more vulgar names. Many teachers saw the bishop as the spiritual leader of the diocese and said they were offended by these remarks. Finally, these teachers said they were especially upset when CTU contacted local Teamster's unions leading up to the 1997 strike, who threatened to use sound trucks and horns along with the picket lines, which would disrupt any classes being held.

Due to their documented disapproval of union tactics, several teachers at St. Joseph's and Gloucester Catholic handed out petitions in early September asking teachers at their schools to leave CTU and form a new union. Elections for the new unions were held in during the strike, which CTU supporters boycotted. Despite the boycott, the majority of teachers voted to form new unions and asked the diocese for recognition. The diocese granted the two groups (St. Joseph's Lay Faculty Association and Gloucester Catholic Lay Faculty Association) recognition, regardless of CTU's argument that the formation of the unions was unlawful since CTU officers were not made privy to the elections or situation. At this point the CTU strike had ended and the diocese had already negotiated two separate contracts with teachers at St. Joseph's and Gloucester Catholic high school. During the CTU bargaining talks, the union claimed they still represented teachers at all eight high schools and that the agreements with the two new Lay Associations were void. In hopes of speeding up the contract negotiations and settling the strike, both the union and the Diocese agreed to settle the matter in court.

Although teachers at St. Joseph's High school formed their own Lay Faculty Association and negotiated a contract during the 1997 strike, they soon called again on CTU. In the fall of 1999, teachers at St. Joseph's contracted CTU President Blumenstein and asked the union to negotiate for St. Joseph's teachers when their contract expired at the end of that school year. As some of the teachers at St. Joseph's high school maintained their CTU membership after the breakaway, the union was able to hold representation elections at the school and the majority of twenty-one teachers chose CTU as their collective bargaining representative. After a drawn out season of elections and negotiations, the union signed a four year (retroactive to 2000) contract with the Diocese

in July 2001 and continued to represent some of the teachers at St. Joseph's through 2003. After the July 2001 contract was ratified, union membership among St. Joseph's teachers waned until only there was only one member left at the school in the fall of 2003. At that time, CTU was preparing to begin new contract negotiations for the St. Joseph's teachers but decided they could not represent the teachers unless a majority of them again joined the union. By January of 2004, the CTU executive board decided they would no longer be able to represent or bargain for the teachers at St. Joseph's. In March, 2004 the board sent a formal letter to St. Joseph's principal declaring that they had withdrawn their representation and would not negotiate the 2004 contract. This matter has recently taken another turn as teachers from St. Joseph's contacted President Blumenstein in April 2008 asking if he would come speak to teachers about re-joining the union. In May 2008, the majority of lay teachers at St. Joseph's voted to again join CTU and have the union bargain again on their behalf.

Unlike at St. Joseph's, the teachers at Gloucester Catholic have not contacted CTU to request representation since the split during the 1997 strike. However, the diocese announced in July 2008 that it would be closing Gloucester Catholic High School and opening a new regional high school. While there is no promise that CTU will represent teachers at the new school, the superintendant has defined the high school as a 'Diocesan High School,' to which CTU has representation rights according to the 2000 NJ Superior Court decision.

2002 Contract Negotiations

The contract derived from the 1997 strike and negotiations lasted until August 31, 2002. That year, 2002, was the only negotiation year when the CTU-represented teachers

began school in September with a contract. Blumenstein recalls that both union leaders and the diocese wished to avoid another strike and that the two sides were able to settle contract demands (without excessive negotiations) over the phone in July of that year. In September union members ratified a three year contract for teachers at the so-called “Big Unit” schools, meaning Camden Catholic, Holy Spirit, Paul VI. The contract also covered teachers at the smaller Sacred Heart High School. Teachers at Wildwood Catholic High School signed a separate CTU-negotiated contract as a result of a 2001 agreement between the Diocese and the union. The diocese closed St. James of Carneys Point at the end of the 1999-2000 school year due to a decline in enrollment.

Prior to the 2002 negotiations, in October 2001, the Diocese and CTU signed a Settlement and Release Agreement. This Agreement stated that teachers or school representative at Wildwood Catholic and Sacred Heart High Schools could withdraw from “Big Unit” negotiations and choose to bargain as an individual building. The union could also choose to withdraw their representation of a school, as they did with St. Joseph’s in 2003, at anytime. In the spring of 2002, the Wildwood Catholic principal (representing the school) withdrew the school from “Big Unit” negotiations and those teachers, still represented by CTU, signed a separate contract. While Sacred Heart High School chose to bargain as part of the “Big Unit” for the 2002 contract, they would not be required to do so in 2005, when the contract expired. At that point, the school, the union or the Sacred Heart Teachers could opt out of the “Big Unit” negotiations. The larger schools-Paul VI High School, Camden Catholic High School, and Holy Spirit High School-along with all represented Special Education teachers, would still be required to bargain as one “Big Unit” for the 2005 contract.

The October 2001 agreement also stated that if teachers bargained as individual schools, they would negotiate with the school's Board of Trustees rather than the Diocese. CTU worried that the Boards could offer higher salaries to their individual teachers and create an incentives race between the schools. The union was also concerned that small schools like Sacred Heart would lose teachers to the larger, wealthier schools who offered better contracts. In 2005, Sacred Heart initially chose to remain part of the larger bargaining unit but broke away when the union voted to strike. At that time the union negotiated a separate contract for teachers at Sacred Heart who have the option to again join the "Big Unit" for the 2009 bargaining talks.

2005 & the threat of a strike

Through June 2009 CTU-represented teachers are working under a contract that the union negotiated and signed in 2005. Like earlier negotiations, the union and the diocese did not come to this contract easily as they differed on contract demands involving salary, benefits, and working conditions. The union and the diocese began contract talks in late spring of 2005 but had not reached an agreement in late August when they extended the previous contract to cover teachers through September 30th, so teachers could begin the school year. The union had twice rejected the diocese's "best and final offer" during the bargaining period due to a dispute over salary increases (Burney, 2005 October 4). While the diocese offered teachers a 4 percent rise for the first two years of the four year contract and a 4.25 increase for the last two years, the union asked for a 6 percent bump. Teachers had agreed to the diocese's proposal to switch their health plan to an HMO carrier but held strong on their desire for the salary increase. Despite the disagreement both President Blumenstein and diocese spokesperson Andy

Walton noted their hope in early September 2005 that they could negotiate a contract without a strike. Blumenstein in particular told the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, "We didn't want to put that threat (of a strike) out there" (Burney, 2005 September 7).

While the union did not call for a strike at the start of the school year, members at the "Big Unit" schools voted 112 to 9 against the diocese's second 'best and final offer' on September 18. At the same meeting, members voted 102 to 19 to give the union executive board the power to call as strike, as they had done in the 1984-1985 negotiations. Two weeks later, on Sunday, October 2, 2005, the executive board left this decision up to union members who then voted 141-18 in favor of a strike. According to president Blumenstein, the teachers delayed the beginning of the strike to October 17th so that union leaders would have the opportunity to meet with parents and discuss their contract demands and to ask parents not to send their children to school during a strike. The union held a meeting on October 11 to address parents' questions and concerns. As mid-October is the middle of fall sport and football season as well the homecoming game and festivities for these high schools, there were concerns over how the strike would affect these activities. Both the union and the diocese also sent letters to parents informing of them of the union's decision and the diocese's plan to keep the schools open.

Despite the vote to strike, this work stoppage never went into effect. While the union voted to begin the strike on October 17, the union and the diocesan negotiation teams met and reached a tentative agreement on October 13. One union member explained that the union negotiation team had contacted the diocese with a final 'bottom line' offer and told the diocese that if it could meet this proposal, specifically regarding

salary issues, then the teachers would not go on strike. The diocese responded with their own proposal, which was almost identical except for a 1/8th percent cut in the salaries that CTU proposed. One executive board member explained,

Their offer still had to be less than ours, of course, but we couldn't make the teachers stay out (on strike) for 1/8th of 1 percent. If we did go on strike, the best we were ever going to get was our 'bottom line' which was only 1/8th of a percent more than their offer. We couldn't ask the teachers to go out for that.

According to a *Philadelphia Inquirer* article, the tentative contract agreement included raises to the teachers totaling 17.75 percent over four years and no premiums on teacher health care benefits. The lay teachers averted the strike and attended classes as usual during the final negotiations. Union members present at an October 19, 2005 meeting voted 69 to 3 in favor of ratifying the four year contract, the eighth contract in the union's history.

As evidenced by the small number of members present at the ratification meeting, some members were displeased by the outcome of the 2005 negotiations. One union leader said that a number of teachers questioned whether the negotiation team should have accepted the diocese's offer or if the union should have gone through with the strike. Despite initial opposition, union members explained that as time went on, the teachers realized that the contract was "still an achievement, and still a good deal." Additionally, it is important to note that almost every union member I spoke with emphasized that the teachers never 'want' to go on strike especially because they do not want to negatively affect their students.

While the diocese had been less willing to meet salary demands in order to avoid strikes in 1994 and 1997, they were willing to do so in 2005. President Blumenstein points directly to pressure that parents placed on the diocese as the reason the diocese folded before the strike ever took place. He explained that after the union held their ‘parents’ meeting’ to communicate their contract demands, parents responded by flooding the diocesan phone lines and e-mail boxes with messages in support of the union. Blumenstein noted that the parental support was most instrumental in the 2005 contract struggle and that technology greatly aided communication between parents and the union. He said that CTU was able to contact parents over e-mail, inform them of meeting locations and time, and post updates on message boards that invited parent and student comments. Students also hosted their own web-based bulletin boards and threads on sites such as MySpace.com where they could discuss their feelings about the threat of a strike.

As CTU members currently work under the 2005 contract, 2009 is again a contract year for the teachers union. Some leaders noted the union’s desire to extend the 2005 contract for another three years, but the diocese has denied this request. While some principals have told teachers they are in favor of extending the contract, the administration informed the union in September 2008 that they would not extend or renew the current contract. As such, CTU is in the process of choosing their negotiation team and preparing for talks to begin in winter 2009.

Based on the outcomes of three strikes and two additional “yes” strike votes during CTU’s history, it is clear that the union mobilized their membership, improved the teachers’ working conditions, and garnered the support of parents by going out on the

picket lines. While the issues leading to strikes ranged from salary & benefits to questions over the wording of a moral code, CTU was able to effectively utilize the tactic of striking and the threat of striking to reach their goals. Reflecting Dixon, Roscigno, and Hodson's (2004) theory, the union created a strong presence in six of the eight diocesan high schools and garnered support for the job actions through normative influence and mutual solidarity. Additionally, the teachers also played on the culture of the schools and their dedication to high school sports by threatening to strike during the fall sports seasons. Though this did not work for the 1997 negotiations (perhaps the teams looked less promising that year), they seemed to impact the diocese's willingness to make concessions to avoid strikes in 1991 and 2005. Like other unions throughout history, CTU was able to use the tactic of striking and threatening to strike to affect their contract negotiations and impact the success of the movement.

Appendix B: Sample Interview Questions

Personal/Background Questions

- 1.) How long have you been a teacher? What subject/grade do you teach?
- 2.) How did you come to teach at a Catholic School?
- 3.) How long have you been a member of the Catholic Teachers Union (CTU)?
- 4.) Why did you join CTU?
- 5.) What issues are important to you in terms of your union contract?
- 6.) How effectively do you think your union addresses these issues?

Union/Organization Questions

- 7.) What three words would you use to describe the union? The union leaders?
- 8.) What do you see as the mission of the union?
- 9.) How do you think the community perceives your union?
- 10.) Do you think their perception of your union has changed over time?
- 11.) What three words do you think the community would use to describe your union?
- 12.) Does CTU local organize (participate in) any volunteer or community service work? Examples might be (tutoring, community clean-up, school fundraisers?)
- 13a.) (If yes) Do you think this influences the way the community sees your union?
- 13b.) (If no) Do you think volunteering would influence the way the community sees your union?

Framing Questions

- 14.) How do you think the media (Local Newspapers & TV news) portrays the union?
- 15.) Does your union have a specific person or group of people who are designated to deal with local newspapers? Local TV news stations? Local radio stations?
- 16a.) (If yes) What does that person/group of people do in particular?
- 16b.) (If no) Do you think your union should have a specific person or group of people who are designated to deal with the media?
- 17.) One of the things I am exploring through this research is something called “framing.”(Hand them a sheet and/or read a definition of framing) Do you think your union is actively engaged in “framing?”
- 18a.) (if yes) How do you think your union is engaged in framing? Are there certain things the union does or techniques your union uses?
- 18b.) (if no) Do you think your union should be more involved in framing? Why?
- 19.) Do you think being active in framing could help the union have more successes in contract negotiations?

Negotiation/Strike Questions

- 20.) Were you a member of this organization during any of the three strikes?
- 21.) Please describe the strike/s to me.
- 22.) What was your role in the strike/s?
- 23.) What do you think was the community’s reaction to the negotiation/strike?
- 24.) Did you sense support from the community? How?
- 25.) Do you think the community reacted more positively to some contract issues (such as teacher salary, benefits, work hours) than to others? Why?

- 26.) How do you feel the local media portrayed the strike/s?
- 27.) How do you think the media portrayed the union leaders in particular?
- 28.) Do you feel your union had a say in how the media portrayed these events and leaders?
- 29.) Do you think that the way the media portrays the union influences how the community sees the union?
- 30.) Do you think that the way the media portrays the negotiations/strike influences how the community reacts to the negotiations/strike?

Parents

- 31.) How do you think parents perceive the union?
- 32.) Do you feel parents were supportive/unsupportive of the union?
- 32b.) Why do you feel they were supportive/unsupportive?
- 33.) How do you think parents felt about the strikes that took place?
- 34a.) Have you ever attended any of the parental meetings?
- 34b.) If yes, please describe the meeting to me.

Catholic Schools & Catholic Social Teaching

- 35.) What do you think Parents send their children to Catholic schools?
- 36.) Do you know what the Catholic Church teaches about labor unions?
- 37.) Has the union ever used the Church teachings to support their message? How?

Broader Labor Movement/Future

- 38.) Is there anything you think CTU should do differently/anything you would change?
- 39.) Do you think CTU can teach anything to the Broader Labor movement? If so, what?
- 40.) Is there anything else you would like to say about what we have talked about? Do you have any questions for me?