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The Politics of Education in Illinois: A Study of Political Action Programs of Major Educational Organizations

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THE POLITICS OF EDUCATION IN ILLINOIS:
A STUDY OF POLITICAL ACTION PROGRAMS
OF MAJOR EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

by

Elaine Sikokis Athas

A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the
Graduate School of Loyola University of Chicago
in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Education

January

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The purpose of this study was to identify five major statewide educational organizations in Illinois (Illinois Association of School Boards; Illinois Association of School Administrators; Illinois Education Association; Illinois Federation of Teachers; Illinois Principals Association) and to research to what degree, if at all, they became involved in the political process on behalf of their membership. The focus was to determine if local educators have a more organized and united approach to influencing state education legislation and state educational policy making through these organizations.

The primary source of data collection was the focused interview process, with predominantly unstructured questions. In addition, written documents of the organizations, such as organization tables, job descriptions, legislative programs and political handbooks, were reviewed. A narrative report on five specific areas was prepared, as well as a report based on formal criteria. An analysis of similarities, differences, weak points and strengths was also made. The study concluded with a response to the originally posed questions, as well as what the implications of political

action programs of organizations were to education and recommendations on why and how an Illinois Educational Coalition should be formed.

CONCLUSIONS:

1. All five organizations are cognizant of and are involved in the political process in Illinois. Although all five organizations would qualify as pressure groups, a wide variation of involvement and sophistication exists between the organizations.

2. Educators do have a more organized and united approach to influencing state education matters through their organizations, but the organizations' effectiveness is dependant upon whether or not the organization accommodates divergent membership demands and whether the organization is willing to fully participate in political activities.

3. In Illinois, the 1970's was an era of intra-professional feuds over roles and control of education. The legislature, rather than the State Board of Education, was the site of resolution of these problems.

4. Political strength does not determine issues, as in other areas; instead, issues determine political strength.

5. All five organizations have reached the level of political sophistication needed to decipher the intent of a piece of legislation.

6. Collective bargaining is the main issue which has forced educators to become more aware of and involved in political techniques. The continued lack of a satisfactory

resolution to this issue will perpetuate and enhance the political astuteness of the organizations as they attempt to support or defeat its passage.

7. In a state milieu of sophisticated politics and complicated political maneuverings, educational organizations are still relatively naive politically.

8. Inasmuch as the future of education may continue to be determined in the legislature, an assessment by the IASB, IASA and IPA as to the feasibility of remaining free of a formal political action program must be considered.

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Modern psychology research indicates that life and career patterns require strong support systems. A woman entering a male dominated career path must look to a support system which is male oriented but willing to understand her needs. The author wishes to gratefully acknowledge the men who made this study possible.

To Dr. Melvin P. Heller, chairperson of her dissertation committee and her professional mentor, the author expresses sincere appreciation for his advice, support and continued encouragement. A special note of thanks and appreciation is due Dr. Robert Monks and Dr. Jasper Valenti for their assistance as members of the dissertation committee and for their assistance and encouragement throughout her studies at Loyola University.

To her father, James Leonidas Sikokis, who provided the author with the fortitude and character to attempt life's challenges based on "PAN METRON ARISTON" and "Do the best you can", the author gratefully says thank you..

To her son James, whose good disposition and timely naps allowed the study to continue, a special thank you.

The author's final but most important thank you goes to her husband, Leo. His patience, understanding, support and sacrifice at every juncture will never be forgotten. Without him, the work would never have been completed. The author humbly says thank you and dedicates this study to him--
Leo James Athas.

VITA

The author, Elaine Sikokis Athas, was born August 9, 1942 in Chicago, Illinois. She is the wife of Leo James Athas and the mother of a son, James.

Her elementary education was obtained in the public schools of Chicago, Illinois and she acquired her secondary education at Carl Schurz High School in Chicago, where she graduated in 1960. From Loyola University of Chicago, she was awarded a Bachelor of Science degree in Education in 1964 and a Masters of Education in Administration in 1975.

Her professional experience includes teaching at the elementary level at Union Ridge School in Harwood Heights, Illinois (1964-1970). She entered administrative work at the state level as Assistant Director of Community Relations in the Office of the State Superintendent of Public Education for Illinois and was promoted to Special Assistant to the Superintendent (1971-1975). She became Director of a Title III ESEA Community Education project for the Cook County Educational Service Region (1975-1977) and was the Associate Director of a federal Teacher Corps project for Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois (1977-1979).

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CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND

Education maintains a very unique place in our American society. The democratic beliefs of our country have been perhaps the most important influence in the creation of the public school system. America's philosophy, or "cult of the common man", was the basis for its stress upon the value of the individual personality, its belief in the improbability of man, and its recognition that the survival of a democratic government depends on a literate citizenry.¹ These ideals all add up to free, public, universal education.

The Constitution of the United States does not mention schools of education. The Tenth Amendment states:

. . . the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States, respectively, or to the people.

Thus, education became a property of the states to develop and to administer. State constitutions mandated general assemblies to pass laws which set up a free, public educational system. Illinois is typical of such practice and in its newly adopted (1970) Constitution, it is stated:

¹Grace Graham, The Public School in the American Community (New York: Harper and Row, 1963), p. 39.

A fundamental goal of the People of the State is the educational development of all persons to the limits of their capacities.

The state shall provide for an efficient system of high quality public educational institutions and services. Education in public schools through the secondary level shall be free. There may be such other free education as the General Assembly provides by law.

The state has the primary responsibility for financing the system of public education

Generally, these laws created a state delivery system with a regulatory arm, possibly an intermediate level of service, and local school boards, which were representatives of the state as well as their localities. The governance of education has been in the hands of these duly elected local public officials.

Although education historically has remained a local prerogative, the state legislature and the state education agency have continued to gain greater control and have attempted to influence education through legislation and regulations. Evidence of this national trend toward centralization of control within the state was cited by Grieder nearly 15 years ago:

Recent biennial surveys of state educational legislation reveal increasing assumption by the state of educational responsibilities. Three tendencies may be noted:

- 1) Increased state centralization of control in such matters as textbook adoption, courses of study, teacher tenure and budgetary control.
- 2) Increased state support of education, reflected in greater appropriations, expanded aid for school plant construction in an increasing number of states, and modification of tax systems.
- 3) More emphasis on efficient management, as shown

by legislation for statewide standards of budgeting and accounting, district organization, and pupil transportation.²

These tendencies are evident in Illinois and are reflected in recent measures embodied in the Illinois School Code.

A multitude of reasons--including probably the most important, fiscal dependency--has brought about greater state involvement in education. The process by which such control has been achieved is a political process of debate, negotiation and compromise. The parties most involved in this process are those who make the decisions and who have something to be gained--the legislators and State Board members. A variety of studies and writings has shown that local administrators, board members and private citizens are becoming more cognizant of the fact that there is a need for their involvement in the political process in order to influence decisions and many have begun to do so.

Yet these very same constituencies of education are banded together in various state organizations or associations representing school board members, administrators, principals, teachers, and a variety of specialist type groups. One of the purposes of such groups is to provide the specialty area with a united and forceful voice in educational matters statewide, thus providing local school districts with a stronger influential base. As Harmon Zeigler has pointed out in Interest

²Calvin Grieder, Truman M. Pierce and Wm. E. Rosenstengel, Public School Administration (New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1961), p. 8.

Groups in American Society:

In the competition among interests, the existence of highly organized pressure groups is a factor of crucial importance. Organization represents a concentration of resources towards the realization of political influence. Organized structures of power can wield a predominant force when confronted by diffuse, unorganized interests. Therefore, if one could equalize all other factors it could be said that interests which are supported by organizations have a better chance of success than interests which do not enjoy the participation of organizations. As Latham (in The Group Basis in Politics) says, "They (organized groups) are structures of power because they concentrate human wit, energy and muscle for the achievement of a given power".³

Thus, it has been necessary to pursue the legitimacy of such a statement as it applies to education in Illinois and to see if its validity holds up.

To understand why such a pursuit is even necessary, it is important to understand education's very slow and hesitant involvement in the politics of education. At the national level, there has been a growing need for education spokespersons. Although, as indicated earlier, education has been protected from federal involvement, such things as

. . . the campus disruptions and disaffections of the 1960's, the skyrocketing costs of all education, exacerbated by general inflation and by the energy crisis; the leveling-off of the birth rate; the patent inefficiencies of schools for many of the nation's minorities and the uncertain effects of compensatory policies; teacher military and strikes; the sullen impact of the busing issue; the alleged drug on the labor market of certain categories of college graduates and higher degree holders; a sense that education's leaders have

³Harmon Zeigler, Interest Groups in American Society (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1965), p. 32.

lost their way . . . ⁴

and many other factors have forced the federal government to take a stronger and more critical look at education. Educational practitioners have traditionally tried to keep education as politically innocent as possible and have only allowed the 250 to 300 education associations, organizations and institutional representatives⁵ to be located in the nation's capital as figureheads or representatives of an interest area which would not engage in political tactics to further its cause. Those organizations have now developed into very effective lobbying groups channeling the federal government's involvement in education into more concrete, substantive and priority items on the national policy making agenda. Proof of this stepped up, more organized and concerted effort has been the escalating federal share of school finance, which is approximately 8.2%, a substantial increase over previous decades.⁶

The local educator's embracement of the politics of education in its newly legitimized form has taken two routes. One has been greater participation in local politics. Traditionally, the responsibilities and functions of

⁴Stephen K. Bailey, Education Interest Groups in the Nation's Capital (Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1975), p. 3.

⁵Ibid, p. 6.

⁶John Ryor, "The Case for a Federal Department of Education", Phi Delta Kappan, April 1977, p. 595.

the school within a community were well understood. The school's philosophy was reflective of the particular community and that community was a very simplistic organism. School people accepted this philosophy and acted accordingly, implementing appropriate educational programs. As communities grew and became more complex, the school became the battleground for a variety of coalitions to exercise their power and say over what is appropriate education. At this juncture, the school person was forced into the public arena. His or her focus was no longer strictly within the educational system, but as arbitrator, director and protector of education outside the system. This necessitated greater and more sophisticated political maneuvering at the community level.

The other route has been the local educator's singular attempts to influence state educational policy. The recognition has slowly come that "constitutional and statutory language, court interpretations and long practice make it clear that the legislature of each state is the 'big school board'".⁷ Various studies in the late 1960's and early 1970's have attempted to investigate how many administrators get involved in state level politics, what type of person this administrator is, what type of district he or she comes from, how effective his or her efforts are and how they are perceived by the state decision makers--legislators and state

⁷Roald F. Campbell, Rivera L. Cunningham and Roderick F. McPhee, The Organization and Control of American Schools (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Books, Inc., 1965), p. 54.

board members. Two recent dissertations are examples of the interest in the local administrator's political involvement at the state level. "A Study of the Local School Superintendent's Political Role in State Level Educational Decision Making", by Jack Moore (1976, University of Northern Colorado), gathers and interprets information from superintendents and legislators that will enable the school superintendent to become more effective in his political role concerning state level educational decision making. A similar study by Kenneth De Pree (1971, Michigan State University), "Michigan Public School Superintendents and the State Legislature: An Analysis of the Superintendent's Understanding of, and Participation in, the Legislative Policy Making Process", also attempts to determine the local superintendent's understanding of and involvement in the political process at the state level. Similar studies have been done in Illinois, all focusing on the individual administrator's role vis-a-vis state politics. Somewhere between the increased organized effort to influence federal policy, the local administrator's greater involvement in local politics and the singular efforts of local administrators' role in state politics, lies the need to study the organized effort to influence state policy, most particularly as it is applied to Illinois. .

PURPOSE & SIGNIFICANCE

The purpose of this study was to identify five major statewide educational organizations in Illinois and to research to what degree, if at all, they become involved in the political process on behalf of their membership. The focus was to determine if local educators have a more organized and united approach to influencing state education legislation and state educational policy making through these organizations. The study investigated:

1. Whether educational organizations get involved in the political process to influence state educational legislation and policy;
2. If these organizations do get involved, how is their political action being executed, as measured according to established criteria;
3. Is this activity translated into planned and organized political action programs;
4. What are those programs; and
5. What aspects of those programs appear to have been the most successful.

If the response to this study were established, it would show a status report of the political science sophistication of Illinois' professional education groups. From such

a report, local educators could gain a concrete and specific perspective of what to expect from their respective organizations in terms of an influential power base in Springfield. After sorting out local needs which can be satisfied by state action or inaction, the local educator could determine if his/her state group has the wherewithal to cope with such a concern or whether a singular or ad hoc group effort may be more effective. In addition, the study would also provide the educator with an in-depth report which may never have been presented before and would allow that person to determine where within his/her organization his/her strengths and energy could be best put to work for the betterment of the organization's political effort. More specifically, and for the benefit of educational administration, administrators would know the capabilities of their group and its strength vis-a-vis other educational interests as each administrator copes with the efficient and beneficial administration of school districts, particularly as they pertain to finance and labor. If education is being influenced by state policy and if organizations are attempting to influence that policy, it is imperative that educators understand their organization's role in the process.

Other educational constituency groups, such as professors of education, could gain knowledge of where and with what organization pertinent information could be obtained to better train their clientele group. Often, this same group

also desires to be more involved in the practical application of educational theory and a statewide organization could provide the vehicle for such practice. Other lobbying groups, as well as other educational groups (of which there are approximately 65 in Illinois), could gain insight as to where and on what issues collaborative efforts would be beneficial for a more concentrated voice for education. Often, the splintering factors of education have hurt themselves and education as they face other pressing state issues.

The report could be most helpful to legislators--most particularly Senate and House Education Committee members--and to State Board members to better understand education's power groups and what they are promulgating. That is not to say that the thrust of such a report would reveal to state decision makers those political strategies which would weaken the organizations' efforts, but rather provide state personnel with a more educated understanding of the organizations' political policies, often explaining away some of their apparent weaknesses or deficiencies.

METHOD

Only Illinois educational organizations were analyzed. From a list of eleven Illinois organizations taken from the Illinois Directory of Schools, the study was narrowed down to focus on five major groups, which represented the most prevalent and important factions of elementary and secondary education as they related to school administration.

These organizations were:

Illinois Association of School Boards (IASB)

Illinois Association of School Administrators (IASA)

Illinois Education Association (IEA)

Illinois Federation of Teachers (IFT)

Illinois Principals Association (IPA)

In order to study the political action programs, each organization was researched to determine:

1. A brief historical background on political activities of each;
2. A statement of the general organizational setup of each, to include:
 - (a) Organization table;
 - (b) Job descriptions;
 - (c) Manpower devoted to political activities and what positions in the organization those are; and
 - (d) Formal communication lines;

3. A review of the priorities and thrusts of each, covering:

(a) Inherent thrusts of each;

(b) How priorities are determined;

(c) Priorities in the last two legislative sessions; and

(d) Positions on two major legislative issues;

4. A review of strategies; and

5. A statement on natural and negotiated coalitions.

The primary source of data collection was the focused interview process, with predominantly unstructured questions. An interview schedule was developed by allowing participants to designate the time, date and place for the 45 to 50 minute interview. The participants were:

IASB Executive Director, Associate Executive Director and Director of Field Services;

IASA Executive Director;

IEA Executive Director;

IFT Executive Director;

IPA Executive Director and Associate Executive Director.

An interview guide was developed to reflect the five designated purposes of the study and encompassed the following:

1. Existence of a political action program;

2. Focus of the program;

3. Manpower/Finance;

4. Procedures; and

5. Success.

Each question was coded in parenthesis to indicate its correlation to one of the designated purposes of the study. The questions were divided into two parts:

1. Core questions, which would provide basic information from all interviews and which acted as a comfortable and safe opening for the interviewees; and

2. Probe questions, which were used to gain further information in a specific area(s).

Since there was such a small sample to be interviewed, the instrument was not field tested, but rather reviewed and refined by professors of Evaluation and Statistics. A copy of the interview format is included in the Appendix.

In addition to the interviews, written documents of the organizations, such as organization tables, job descriptions, legislative programs and political handbooks, were reviewed. If data obtained from the formal interviews and written materials was insufficient, follow up telephone interviews with pertinent staff members were made.

An analysis was done, beginning with a narrative report on the five areas--History, Organizational Setup, Thrusts and Priorities, Strategies and Coalitions. In addition, a report on the following criteria for measuring educational interest groups was made. This criteria was taken from Roald F. Campbell's and Tim L. Mazzoni's State Policy Making for the Public Schools, Chapter V, "Educational Inter-

est Groups and the State Legislature".

1. Basic Resources
 - a. Number of Members
 - b. Money
 - c. Miscellaneous Money Resources
 - d. Status of Members
2. Power
 - a. Professional Staff
 - b. Lobbying Staff
 - c. Research Capabilities
 - d. Political Action Arms
 - e. Sources of Lobbying Strengths

From all of the above data, an analysis of similarities, differences, weak points and strengths of each organization was prepared. The study concludes with a response to the originally posed questions and what the implications of political action programs of organizations are to education.

DEFINITIONS

The following terms are defined so that there will be a common understanding among readers:

1. basic resources: these represent "raw materials" that can be utilized by educational interest groups to "manufacture" power and influence at the state level. They include number of members, amount of money available and prestige of some or all of the members.⁸

2. natural coalitions: an alliance of two or more groups based on issues which are of inherent interest to each.

3. negotiated coalitions: an alliance of two or more groups based on issues which can be arbitrated to the benefit of each.

4. pressure group: an organized aggregate which seeks to influence the content of governmental decisions without attempting to place its members in formation governmental capacities.

5. political action program: a specified or written agenda supported by the organization, both philosoph-

⁸Roald F. Campbell and Tim L. Mazzoni, Jr., State Policy Making for the Public Schools (Berkeley, California: McCutcheon Publishing Corporation, 1976), p. 178.

ically and practically (through manpower and finance) to bring about specific political outcomes in favor of education as viewed by the organization.

6. political process: that action on the part of those interested in influencing governmental decision making most evident through debate, negotiation and compromise.

7. state educational organizations: any organized group with a vested interest in education as listed in the Illinois Directory of Schools.

8. state decision makers: those members of the Illinois legislature and the 17 members of the Illinois State Board of Education.

9. status of organization members: refers to the degree to which individual members of the respective groups command respect and credibility because of the positions they hold.⁹

10. strategies: those planned political activities which are aimed at influencing a state policy decision.

11. success: that level of accomplishment which can be measured according to the norms determined by Campbell and Mazzone for political programs of educational groups.

⁹Ibid, p. 184.

CHAPTER II

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

As stated in Chapter I, the pursuit of this study centered around a central question: "Do Illinois educators have a more organized and united approach to influencing state education legislation and state educational policy making through their professional organizations than they do through singular efforts?" In order to arrive at a response to this question, the five major Illinois educational organizations (Illinois Association of School Administrators; Illinois Association of School Boards; Illinois Education Association; Illinois Federation of Teachers; Illinois Principals Association) were investigated to determine their level of involvement in the political process on behalf of their membership. The study looked at five major points:

1. Whether educational organizations get involved in the political process to influence state educational legislation and policy;
2. If these organizations do get involved, how is their political action being executed, as measured according to established criteria;
3. Is this activity translated into planned and organized political action programs;

4. What are those programs; and

5. What aspects of those programs appear to have been the most successful.

In order to provide a foundation for such a study, the review of the literature centers around two main points: (1) Are educators effective singularly in the state political process; and (2) A need to understand the state organizations' approach to influencing the state political process. This chapter points out the need for an in-depth investigation of Illinois educational organizations.

ARE EDUCATORS EFFECTIVE SINGULARLY IN
THE STATE POLITICAL PROCESS?

A Need to Become Involved

John Gardner, in his now famous and somewhat successful attempt to rally together lay citizens in an organized effort, *Common Cause*, to influence public policy, worked on the premise that citizens must and should get involved in the political process.

If we are to solve these problems, if we are ever to regain command of our situation, we must look first to our political and governmental institutions, for politics and government are the instruments through which we achieve them at all.¹

His concern was with the fact that citizens have only themselves to blame for the decay of the public process, noting that most Americans avoid political action or think of themselves as above politics. Most citizens complain about the inefficiency and corruption of state and local governments, but take no steps to make it better. As Gardner states:

If our Founding Fathers returned today, few things would surprise them more than the citizen's neglect of politics and government, particularly in view of our professed concern for individual freedom. For Jefferson and his contemporaries, the connection was elementary:

¹John Gardner, *In Common Cause* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1972), p. 16.

nothing could be clearer than that liberty and justice for the individual could come only from suitably designed instruments of self-government. In their view, a concern for freedom and an interest in government were inseparable. The first business of free men was governing.²

This same philosophy also applies to educators and their approach to guiding their own realm--education. Just as Mr. Gardner suggests that citizens have given up their right to be involved in the political process because of the vastness, complexity and almost exclusivity of government, so have educators abdicated such a right for many of the same reasons, as well as having allowed to prevail a very provincial attitude about politics in education. This has been confirmed by Bailey,³ Campbell,⁴ Kimbrough⁵ and others. Yet statistics and plain facts show that the state legislature and state education agency have slowly but forcibly taken away many local prerogatives in education. A review of the Illinois School Code shows a 45% increase in delimiting types of legislation in the past ten years.

At the national convention of the National School Boards Association (NSBA) in April of 1976, the theme was:

²Ibid, p. 30

³Stephen K. Bailey, Education Interest Groups in the Nation's Capital (Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1975).

⁴Roald F. Campbell, L. Cunningham Luvern, Roderick McPhee, Raphael O. Nystrand, The Organization and Control of Public Schools (Columbus, Ohio: Charles Merrill Publishing Co., 1970).

⁵R. B. Kimbrough, Political Power and Educational Decision Making (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1964).

"Watch out, school board members. Local lay control is in grave trouble".⁶ Each day the 21,500 conventioners heard warnings about threats to local control at both the state and federal levels. Harold V. Webb, then NSBA Executive Director, cited:

. . . state officials, lured by the magnet of federal funds, [who] daily increase their sway in Washington by pleading that only they have the overview of the state's educational needs, and therefore, should be given the funds for local districts.⁷

The overall concern of school board leaders was to organize at the state and federal levels to protect local control. The recommendation by the then incoming NSBA president was that the solution was a political one and that a political fight had to be fought in the public arena. Subsequent resolutions of the delegate assembly confirmed this need for the NSBA to become more politically active to assist in the preservation of local educational rights.

Zeigler, Tucker and Wilson reviewed the history of school governance and concluded that it has, indeed, been encroached upon. Their analysis pointed to a much slower and longer process. They believe that education has gone through phases to the point of its present disenfranchisement. Those are:

Phase I - Lay control
The period of maximum feasible participation

⁶"Power Seekers Threaten Local Lay Control", Illinois School Board Journal, May-August 1976, p. 26.

⁷Ibid, p. 26

Phase II - Control by local professionals
The period of reform and efficiency

Phase III - The nationalization of education
The period of the school as an agent of social change

Phase IV - Education and the social goal⁸
The period of proving Phase III right or wrong⁸

Educators, in general, have found mandates placed on them which have drastically altered the style and form of teaching beyond their professional judgment. These mandates have come from the federal and state level and include such limiting actions as desegregation orders, sex equality bills, curriculum requirements, programs for the handicapped and governance orders affecting all phases of education. The right of educators to make sound and calculated decisions has been whittled away at the hands of legislators. Educators have come to the point where their concern is more with complying to legislative and state policy intent than with meeting the needs of their students.

Wirt and Kirst foresaw such a trend and concluded:

In short, the era of the hegemony of professional educators supported by the norm of professionally neutral competence is under assault from those who feel that the present mode of educational policymaking is inadequate. Community groups, students, mayors and interest groups, all of whom press for special political values, are now more visible and clamorous. Teachers, repudiating turn-of-the-century doctrine stressing the harmony of the professions, are using collective bargaining to wring concessions from boards and administrators. Controversial

⁸L. Harmon Zeigler, Harvey L. Tucker, L. A. Wilson, "How School Control Was Wrested From the People", Phi Delta Kappan, March 1977, pp. 534-539.

issues, such as the war in Southeast Asia, are finding a place in the curriculum, and many more teachers now participate in political campaigns. One senses that the politicization of school policy making in all its dimensions is becoming much more apparent and is accelerating. The result will be significant changes in the school governance model institutionalized by early reformers. Just as we cannot return to the one-room school house, so we can no longer accept the professional educators' claim that they are apolitical experts.⁹

⁹Frederick Wirt and Michael Kirst, The Political Web of American Politics in Schools (Boston, Massachusetts: Little, Brown & Co., 1972), pp. 10-11.

Policy Makers Seek Information

Regarding Education

In each legislative session, legislators are faced with a multitude of bills on which they must make decisions. They are often inundated with issues that range from farm concerns, such as controlling livestock diseases, to reviewing the state's multi-million dollar budget. In addition, the fact that the legislative session in Illinois is often only two months in length serves to condense the decision making to frantic, last minute homework periods. Therefore, it is difficult for a legislator to keep himself well informed and well abreast of the pertinent information on bills. Even when they do attempt to become well informed on the issues before them, "they are literally swamped with undigested material--and do not have the time, the inclination or the means to assimilate it".¹⁰

Within this complex situation, education is only one issue among many public policies which must be considered and within that issue there are many alternatives. Legislators and state board members must turn to the professionals in the field for pertinent information on which to make a

¹⁰ Stephen K. Bailey, Congress Makes a Law (New York: Columbia Press, 1950), p. 62.

decision. Usually, the information sought is of two types:

. . . technical information regarding the content of the policy proposed; and political information regarding the specific benefits and disadvantages distributed by the proposal to various citizens and groups, as well as the probable reaction of citizens and groups to the proposed distribution.¹¹

It can be assumed that educators are or can be prepared to provide the technical information, but more importantly, is the educator prepared to provide an accurate and reliable political picture? Policy makers have a tendency to turn to those educators from their own geographic area who are familiar to them and only a telephone call away. If that person can provide both the technical information and the political outlook on a proposal, he inevitably has influenced an educational policy decision. As DePree points out:

Even though a decision may be technically correct from the standpoint of educators, it will be unworkable if it does not have favorable public sentiment. At the same time, however, a decision that has only favorable public sentiment and is defective technically will be of little value and may, in fact, have serious consequences.¹²

The educator to whom the policy maker turns must be prepared to provide accurate and comprehensive information. The quality of a legislator's vote or a state policy maker's decision can hardly be better than the quality of information

¹¹Kenneth R. DePree, "Michigan Public School Superintendents and the State Legislature: An Analysis of the Superintendents' Understanding of and Participation in the Legislative Policy Making Process" (Doctoral dissertation, Michigan State University, 1971), p. 26.

¹²Ibid, p. 26.

he or she possesses concerning the issue. This imperative preparedness was confirmed by the Citizens' Conference on State Legislatures.¹³

¹³"Legislatures Move To Improve Their Effectiveness", (Kansas City, Missouri: Citizens' Conference on State Legislatures, 1972).

Nature and Extent of Educators Becoming
Involved in the State Political Process

To gain a more precise perspective on educators' involvement in the state political process, it is necessary to look specifically at one individual group--administrators. In a review of recent studies, the focus has been on the local superintendent. Jack Bryan Moore, in his doctoral dissertation, concludes:

1. School superintendents often do not have a basic understanding of the political climate in the State of Colorado as perceived by state legislators.

2. The political actions of school superintendents concerning state level educational decision making often are not being interpreted by state legislators as school superintendents intended.

3. Both state legislators and school superintendents perceive the way superintendents should perform in state level educational decision making in the same way a majority of the time.

4. School superintendents frequently do not perform their political role in a way they themselves and their peers consider to be effective.

5. State legislators view school superintendents' political efforts as frequently being ineffective to legislators' decisions.¹⁴

Obviously, from these conclusions it can be said that the superintendents' state political involvement has

¹⁴Jack Bryan Moore, "A Study of the Local School Superintendent's Political Role in State Level Educational Decision Making" (Doctoral Dissertation, University of Northern Colorado, 1970), p. 106.

been less than effective.

Kenneth DePree goes on in another study to reconfirm this inadequacy and adds a further dimension on the subject--lack of organization.

Michigan school superintendents are deficient in their understanding of the policy making process in the state legislature. It appears that the superintendents are best informed about those aspects of the process which might be considered "common knowledge" or which are self-evident.

The superintendents were not highly organized or systematic in their efforts to influence educational legislation. Many superintendents made little use of the various methods and tactics available and those used were indirect.

The legislators perceived the superintendents as making little use of the various tactics and techniques in an effort to inform and influence them regarding educational legislation.¹⁵

In Illinois, investigation into the political activities of administrators has been limited. In a review of a recent study, Illinois superintendents are reflective of other states and desirous of improving their political astuteness. Lloyd Lehman concludes:

Superintendents are dissatisfied with the present system for delivery of information regarding proposed educational legislation.

- Superintendents desire training to increase their effectiveness in the state legislative process.
- Superintendents are not participating in organizations to affect educational legislation.
- The superintendent's role now includes respon-

¹⁵DePree, "Michigan School Superintendents and State Legislature", pp. 146-165.

sibilities for awareness of proposed educational legis-²⁹
lation.¹⁶

¹⁶Lloyd W. Lehman, "Educational Legislation in Illinois: An Analysis of the Activities of School Superintendents in Cook County" (Doctoral Dissertation, Loyola University of Chicago, 1978), pp. 187-201.

Educators Must Work Together in
Organizations to Be Effective

Our society is an organizational society. We are brought together in groups to perform tasks which would be humanly impossible to perform as individuals. This gathering of individual strengths to accomplish a common task is not a modern invention but dates back to the pharaohs using organizations to build the pyramids, the emperors of China to construct irrigation systems and the early Popes to create a universal church to serve a world religion. Modern society has refined these organizational attempts and has imposed a high regard on efficiency and effectiveness, taking into consideration the organization's goals and the individual's motives and needs.¹⁷

According to Cartwright and Lippitt:

Groups are the inevitable result of human propensities and are ubiquitous; they mobilize powerful forces which produce effects of utmost importance to individuals; they produce both good and bad consequences; they can be better understood through knowledge of group dynamics and their desired consequences enhanced thereby; and they may generate subgroups.¹⁸

¹⁷Amitai Etzioni, Modern Organizations (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1964), p. 1

¹⁸D. P. Cartwright and R. Lippitt, "Group Dynamics and the Individual", Group Development (Washington, D. C.: National Training Laboratories, 1961), pp. 11-24.

The role of groups in society has been analyzed by sociologists, philosophers, psychologists and political scientists. The central theme in all of these analyses is the importance of groups to an understanding of men in their relations with one another. Sociologists such as Talcott Parsons¹⁹ and Max Weber²⁰ have established classical theories of organizations based on the forms of group structure and behavior and the role and relation of the individual to the group. The philosophy of John Dewey²¹ rejects the abstract individual and asserts that an individual has meaning only in his relations with others. Psychologists, through different routes, come to much the same agreement. Political scientists, beginning with Arthur Bentley²², are concerned with groups as structures of power and their relationship and effect on government. In all cases, the group is regarded as the means by which individuals come to a greater realization of self.

Social units or human groupings which are delib-

¹⁹ William C. Mitchell, Sociological Analysis and Politics: The Theories of Talcott Parsons (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1967).

²⁰ Max Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization (New York, New York: Oxford University Press, 1947).

²¹ Paul Arthur Schilpp, The Philosophy of John Dewey (La Salle, Illinois: Open Court, 1951, 1971).

²² Arthur Bentley, The Process of Government (Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1908).

erately constructed to meet specific goals are more technically referred to as organizations. The formal group or organization is distinguished by the fact that it has specific goals to achieve, an organizational structure to direct individuals toward such goals and a social environment in which to operate. These three aspects, when put into action in a systematic and logical manner, create an organization which is an effective and powerful agent.

Modern civilization depends largely on organization as the most rational and efficient form of social grouping known. By coordinating a large number of human actions, the organization creates a powerful social tool. It combines its personnel with its resources. . . . At the same time it continually evaluates how well it is performing and tries to adjust itself accordingly in order to achieve its goals. . . . All this allows organizations to serve the various needs of society and its citizens more efficiently than smaller and more natural human groupings . . . 23

The implication is not that groups are consistently better than any individual but rather to recognize that "groups exist for the individuals to whom they belong. Groups are devices by which the individual fulfills personal values and felt needs". 24

The role of groups in government, initially, can be broken into two categories; official or public government. 25 Public government is made up of those organizations

23Etzioni, Modern Organizations, p. 1.

24Earl Latham, The Group Basis of Politics (New York, New York: Octagon Books, Inc., 1952), p. 13.

25Ibid, p. 33.

and institutions which create and enforce the formal rules that govern society. These include the legislatures, agencies, courts, departments and other governing bodies. Their officialness comes from the fact that they have been designated as the official groups to regulate society. The private government is those groups working on public government to refine it. This private government is the thrust of this study--interest groups.

Interest groups are reflective of those characteristics defined earlier which describe a formal group or organization--goals, structure and an environment in which to operate. As Holtzman,²⁶ Wootton²⁷ and Zeigler²⁸ have indicated, their uniqueness comes from the fact that inherent in their goals are shared attitudes about what is needed or wanted from government. It is the combined frustration of a particular interest.

In addition to using routine and extraordinary means to communicate their policy desires to public officials, citizens of most countries have set up institutions to aggregate their collective interests and to communicate their policy desires. These institutions are variously known as special interest groups, pressure groups or lobby groups. They provide a quality and intensity of policy representation that cannot be achieved

²⁶ Abraham Holtzman, Interest Groups in American Society (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1965).

²⁷ Graham Wootton, Interest Groups (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970).

²⁸ L. Harmon Zeigler, Interest Groups in American Society.



by political parties or individuals acting separately.²⁹

²⁹Lester W. Milbrath, Political Participation
(Chicago, Illinois: Rand McNally & Co., 1965), p. 108.

Need to Understand the State Educational
Organizations' Approach to Influencing
the State Political Process

Interest groups in American politics

Imperatively when one is studying the role of educational organizations in state level policy making, one must step back and review the place of interest groups in American politics in general. As most of the political science literature indicates, interest groups occupy a very prominent place in the analysis of American politics. As the well established political scientist, K. O. Key, Jr., has stated:

In a regime characterized by official indifference to public opinion and by adherence to the doctrine of freedom of association, private organizations may be regarded as links that connect the citizen and government. . . . Ordinarily, they concern themselves with only a narrow range of politics, those related to the peculiar interests of the group membership. Their aim is primarily to influence the content of public policy rather than the results of elections.³⁰

Yet early in our country's history there was some concern for the conflict which can be created by pressure groups as they relate to the fundamental attributes of demo-

³⁰K. O. Key, Jr., Public Opinion and American Democracy (New York, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1964), p. 500.

cracy. As far back as James Madison, the concern was expressed in his famous tenth essay in The Federalist Papers. Madison acknowledged the inevitability of faction within a country and described it as one of the most serious threats to government, hoping that the proposed new constitution would contain and control the violence of faction. Based on a very narrow conception of democracy, many political scientists and social scientists have proliferated their academic fields with writings on the undemocratic goals of groups which represent only minorities within a government. To date, this same concept is often brought forth by public officials and public policy makers who do not want to bend to demands of pressure groups, stating that it is they who represent the people and not intermediary interest groups.

As Key described earlier, interest groups must be viewed through a broader definition of democracy, which allows minority opinions to be formulated, organized and promulgated. The general public has the right to exercise its opinion by voting in general elections for persons to represent them at the seat of government and yet polls indicate that a substantial percentage of Americans do not do so. Thus, interest groups provide another vehicle for citizen participation, which is more closely in tune with issues specific to the particular citizen. As Harmon Zeigler has stated in Interest Groups in American Society:

The evidence therefore would lead one to conclude that the existence of an abundance of pressure groups is

natural and healthy for a democracy--pressure groups perform services in addition to the stimulation of participation. By engaging in active and intense expression of their demands, pressure groups can operate toward the clarification of issues.³¹

In spite of the importance of interest groups in American politics, Key goes on to say:

Despite the extensive literature on pressure groups, our knowledge of their role and modes of operation in the political system remains inadequate. One source of the unsatisfactory quality of our knowledge may be the muck-raking tendency to magnify the import of political practices that occur outside the formal structure of the regime. Pressure groups can readily be pictured as privileged interests whose shadowy operations determine the course of public policy in a manner contrary to the general interest. Another difficulty in the analysis of pressure groups is that they include a variety of types of institutions. Generalizations about pressure groups often produce observations that correctly describe some groups, but miss the mark with respect to others. "Pressure group" is by no means a homogeneous category. Such groups differ in purpose and vary widely in size of membership. They may or may not be homogeneous in membership. They differ in the faithfulness with which they mirror the preferences of their members, as well as in many other respects.³²

Ironically enough, the political science field acknowledges the importance of interest groups in the game of American politics, but finds itself in a position of not being able to totally categorize and label these groups. Key suggests that size of membership, type of membership, impact of the organization on the general public versus a select group of people and organizational setup are some of the aspects

³¹Zeigler, Interest Groups in American Society, p. 39.

³²Key, Public Opinion and American Democracy, pp. 500-501.

which must be looked at when trying to comprehend the purpose and mission of interest groups.

Another concern in understanding such groups is the interchangeability of descriptive terms. As defined in several basic political science texts:

The term interest group has been used for the purposes of polemics so freely that it has acquired certain emotional connotations which may render it ambiguous when used in analysis. Political, partisan, and even the word politics itself share with interest, vested interest, special interest and interest group, among others, a connotation of impropriety and selfishness that almost denies them the neutral precision requisite to careful discussion.³³

Robert K. Carr, et al., best sums it up by stating:

A pressure group is a formal organization of people who share one or more common objectives or concerns and who try to influence the course of public policy to protect and promote these aims. . . . Members and allies prefer the term "interest groups" to describe their organizations; enemies prefer the pejorative implication of "pressure groups". Since they are typically organized to protect an interest by exerting political pressure, each term is rather accurate . . . ³⁴

To further define such groups, a base of economics can be used. On the national level, the three major areas which are represented are business, labor and agriculture, each area having very influential groups which concern themselves with the simple economic interests in earning a living

³³David B. Truman, "Groups and Society", Issues and Perspectives in American Government (Glenview, Illinois: Scott Foresman and Co., 1971), p. 131.

³⁴Robert K. Carr, Marven H. Berstein, Walter F. Murphy, Michael N. Danielson, Essentials of American Democracy (New York, New York: Holt, Reinhart and Winston, Inc., 1971), p. 136.

and in acquiring, holding and profitably using property. Probably the only other area which can be included in the most effective economic pressure group category is the work of racial organizations whose purpose is the furtherance of a racial group but whose goal is economic equality also. Carr, et al., finds it difficult to enumerate the non-economic groups:

When we move away from the economic area, the organizational loyalties of the American people become so numerous that it is impossible to present an inclusive analysis of the resulting interest groups. Furthermore, since associations that appear to be primarily non-economic in character often show a very strong interest in economic issues. Some idea of the nature and complexity of these groups can be gained by voting their number and activity under such headings as race, religion, the professions and veterans.³⁵

For the purpose of this study, it is beneficial to understand when an organization moves from the interest group to the pressure group state. Zeigler defines pressure groups and makes a distinction as to if and when an organization is or becomes a pressure group:

A pressure group, as the term is used in this book, is an organized aggregate which seeks to influence the content of governmental decisions without attempting to place its members in formal governmental capacities. The definition implies a collection of individuals who consciously band together, amalgamate their strength, consult on questions of organization of strategy and undertake action in pursuit of their goals. Obviously, not all organizations are pressure groups. Since the basic characteristic of the pressure group is its intention to influence governmental decisions, organizations which do not engage in this activity do not qualify. . . . However, all organizations may become pressure

³⁵Ibid, p. 138.

p. 30. ³⁶Zeigler, Interest Groups in American Society,

What is political action?

Since interest groups are such an integral part of the American political scene and since the purpose of some interest groups is to influence governmental decisions through pressure, then it is important to understand the type and form of their political activities. Carr, Bernstein, Murphy and Danielson categorize these activities by saying:

To achieve its goals, an interest group can use three basic techniques. First, it can try to place in public office those persons most favorably disposed toward the interests it seeks to promote. This technique may be labeled electioneering. Second, the interest group can try to persuade public officers, whether they are initially favorably disposed toward it or not, to adopt and enforce the policies that it thinks will prove most beneficial to its interests. This technique may be labeled lobbying. Third, it can try to influence general public opinion and thereby gain an indirect influence over government, since government in a democracy is ultimately--albeit not always quickly--affected by public opinion. This technique may be labeled propagandizing.³⁷

These three categories best sum up all the types of activities that political scientists label as pressure group techniques.

Electioneering, the first category, allows interest groups to align themselves with candidates for public office who are most favorable to the group's causes. The approach is usually one of hearing a candidate's position on a

³⁷Carr, Essentials of American Democracy, p. 138.

particular issue, questioning his understanding of it and gaining his support and commitment to their view of it. If the interest group is satisfied with this scrutinization, the group can bring to bear on the candidate's campaign manpower, votes and oftentimes, money for the campaign fund. The candidate, if elected, has ingratiated himself to the interest group and lends his vote or sometimes even initiates the bill which brings about the interest group's cause. Electioneering places the interest group in a powerful position, but the group must be powerful to mobilize members to be used for manpower and votes and to have the kind of financial base and setup which will allow the group to financially support a candidate. This prerequisite of power precludes many interest groups from becoming involved in electioneering practices.

The second category, lobbying, encompasses the greatest number and variety of activities and allows interest groups the greatest flexibility and ingenuity. Holtzman,³⁸ Truman³⁹ and others have outlined tactics in which an organization as a whole can be involved. These techniques include, but are not limited to, such activities as letter writing, telephone calls, providing information and protests. Most political writers usually refer to lobbying as the activities

³⁸Holtzman, Interest Groups and Lobbying, Ch. 8.

³⁹David Truman, The Governmental Process, (New York, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951).

of the one or more paid lobbyists who take the organization's cause to the legislature or executive branch. Milbrath, in his analysis of the strategies and tactics of lobbyists, concludes that the art of lobbying is persuasion.⁴⁰ Carr⁴¹ confirms this and states that the use of campaign funds, entrē through personal friendship and providing information are the three main instruments of persuasion. Political science literature is replete with descriptions and analyses of lobbying. Suffice it to say, lobbying is the main thrust of organizations engaged in political activities.

Propagandizing is limited to those organizations who can afford to utilize public relations techniques on a large enough scale to influence public opinion, which in turn influences policy makers. An excellent example of this type of technique is the American Medical Association's fight against "Medicare". Stanley Kelly does an analysis of this educational campaign, which included billboards, newspaper ads, commercials and literature.⁴² The continuous public relations blitz prevented "Medicare" for the elderly from being passed until 1965.

⁴⁰Lester W. Milbrath, The Washington Lobbyists (Chicago, Illinois: Rand McNally Co., 1963).

⁴¹Carr, p. 141.

⁴²Stanley Kelly, Jr., Professional Public Relations and Political Power (Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1956), Ch. 3.

Lack of information on state educational organizations' involvement in the political process--generally and in Illinois

The previous sections have shown that interest groups are inevitable products of a pluralistic society that recognizes freedom of speech, petition, assembly and association as constitutionally protected rights. Illinois is no exception and is characteristic of society as a whole. The state has a multitude of interest groups working towards their individual ends. In order to take some account of these groups and to regulate their activities, Illinois joined more than three quarters of the states, as well as the national government, in enacting a registration law. The basis for this regulation was to determine which organizations seek to influence policy and practices. A distinction was made between interest groups and pressure groups and between pressure groups with lobbying agents and those without. The Lobbyist Registration Act (Illinois Revised Statutes, 1977, Chapter 63, Section 171 et seq.) requires: (1) that any person who for compensation or as an employee of another person "undertakes to promote or oppose the passage of any legislation by the General Assembly or any committee thereof, or the approval or veto thereof by the Governor" must register

with the Secretary of State's office, and (2) registrants must file an expenditure report twice a year which details monies spent on specific legislators for the purpose of influencing legislation.

Like many similar laws, the act is vague and its enforcement is weak. Yet, as of 1978, 384 lobbyists were registered with the Secretary of State's office. Taking into consideration that only groups with lobbyists are listed, the number gives an indication of the importance and establishment of interest groups in Illinois. In a recent survey by the Chicago Tribune (April 1978), forty legislators were interviewed to determine who the most effective lobbyists were and thus establishing the most influential interest groups. The outcome was:

American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees
Illinois State Medical Society
Illinois Education Association
Illinois Manufacturers Association
County Clerks Association
County Coroners Association
Illinois Association of Realtors
Illinois State Commerce Commission
Insurance Industry
Illinois Press Association

Interestingly enough, one educational association ranked in this top group--the Illinois Education Association.

Just as interest groups in a multitude of other areas put demands on the policy makers for allocation of resources and power, so do educational interest groups. As Wirt and Kirst, in their book, The Political Web of American Society, state:

Interest groups, intermediate between citizens and political authorities, are involved in the full spectrum of private demands upon the school as a political system. . . . As transfer agents for the political system, interest groups often reformulate the demands so that they are somewhat different from citizens' desires. Moreover, interest groups do not confine their activities just to the input and conversion phases of the political system; they also provide feedback on implementation of school policy. . . . Despite such political activities, however, the tradition that overt politics and schools should be separate has shaped the particular nature of school interest groups.⁴³

They go on to say that educational interest groups can be divided much like other interest groups; e.g., temporary versus permanent, special versus broad interests, large versus limited resources, but it is necessary to go on to make a greater distinction. That distinction is one of seeing education as an end or seeing education as a means to other ends. The first definition describes professional educators and those directly responsible or affected by education and the second definition describes special interests wishing to use schools to serve other purposes. This type of distinction is applicable to the state educational interest groups and the professional category is the one most pertinent to this study.

⁴³Wirt and Kirst, p. 50.

Wirt and Kirst single out the state teachers association--the state affiliate of the National Education Association--as being the most important state educational group. This ranking is based on the fact that teachers are more organized and prepared to become involved in the political process. This was substantiated by Masters, et al., who conducted a study of three large membership state affiliates in the Midwest and concluded:

The groups and individuals who articulate the policy proposals, the innovators, so to speak, are those who have a direct and tangible stake in the outcome of the decisions . . . In each of the states we surveyed the major group was the state affiliate of the National Education Association . . . These groups have a relatively high degree of organization, a principal spokesman, a wealth of information about school needs, and generally favorable access to at least some points in the formal decision making structure.⁴⁴

Although this study is dated, its facts have neither been disputed nor updated and its conclusions can be accepted for today's state political scene.

Another teacher interest group is the American Federation of Teachers, which has grown in large numbers in the cities, but has not substantially concentrated its lobbying and organizational efforts at the state level. Other professional education interest groups include state affiliates of school administrator groups, which were originally offshoots of the National Education Association and now stand

⁴⁴Nicholas Masters, Robert H. Salisbury, Thomas H. Eliot, State Politics and the Public Schools (New York, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1964), p. 265.

as their own separate power group. Although state school board associations are not directly considered professional education groups, they do act as watchdogs over public school legislation and state policy introduced by others, providing support or opposition when necessary and thus must be considered in the professional education interest group category.

A few years after the Masters study, Lawrence Iannaccone conducted one of the most comprehensive studies to decipher and break down the complex state policy making system as it pertains to education and used as his central proposition that the most critical point in any such system is the link between organized state education interest groups and the state legislature. His main concern was with the "organized profession as it actually goes about influencing legislation".⁴⁵ Iannaccone developed what has been labeled as Iannaccone's Typology, which describes four state structural types:

Type I - locally based disparate - the emphasis on local contacts and relationships in the legislature - the most important interaction being between legislators and schoolmen from their respective districts.

Type II - statewide monolithic - the emphasis on unanimity or coalitions among statewide interest groups that speak with a single voice to the legislature.

Type III - statewide fragmented - the presence of statewide organizations but the inability of these groups to agree among themselves about a legislative program.

⁴⁵ Lawrence Iannaccone, Politics in Education (New York, New York: Center for Applied Research, 1967), p. 39.

Type IV - statewide syndical - the emphasis is on a statewide organization under government sponsorship serving as a broker among educational interests and presenting them to the legislature.⁴⁶

Iannaccone was able to make a number of conclusions about those states studied and their level of sophistication in the policy making process. He also indicated that the four types could be considered a developmental construct in that states would pass through them in stages (from Type I through Type IV) and, interestingly enough, in 1967 Illinois was the only state to qualify for a Type IV status because of its School Problems Commission. The study's purpose was to establish a useful baseline for comparative statements on state educational policy making, but in the process also firmly established the role of state educational groups.

The political activities of educational interest groups is a relatively new area and if it is to be understood, there is a need for systematic investigation. To this end, Roald F. Campbell and Tim L. Mazzoni conducted studies under the Educational Governance Project at Ohio State University (1972-74). This study appears to be the only national study which concentrates on the political activities of state educational interest groups. Its focus was on four groups: the teachers association, the teacher federation, the administrator association and the school boards association and their relationship to the legislature in twelve selected states.

⁴⁶Ibid, Chapters 3 and 4.

An interview technique was used to determine (1) basic resources (i.e., number of members, money, miscellaneous money resources, status of members); and (2) power (i.e., professional staff, lobbying staff, political action arms and sources of lobbying strength) of these groups in each state. Campbell and Mazzoni concluded:

1. The teacher associations are generally most effective.
2. Administrator and school board groups are generally most efficient.
3. The teacher federations are inconsistent.
4. Labor/management issues dominate interest group relationships.
5. Coalitions are crippled by labor/management.
6. Teacher organizations emphasize political pressure for political decisions.⁴⁷

The only other study done which concentrated on a specific state and its educational organizations was a doctoral dissertation in the state of New Jersey by Donald Ernest Langlois (Columbia University, 1972), "The Politics of Education in New Jersey: A Study of Legislator Behavior and Four Major Interest Groups". The point of this research was to determine how and by whom decisions were made concerning educational legislation in New Jersey. The focus was on the behavior of twenty legislators and eight spokespersons representing four major educational interest groups as they relate to and influence each other on decisions vis a vis three specific educational issues confronting the New Jersey

⁴⁷Roald F. Campbell and Tim L. Mazzoni, State Policy Making for the Public Schools (Berkeley, California: McCutchan Publishing Corp., 1976), pp. 214-215.

legislature in the 1970-71 session. Among a number of conclusions determined by this study were the following:

1. New Jersey legislators welcome interest groups into the legislative arena because the lawmakers need information and data the organizations are able to provide. Groups that can provide supplementary staff and can be called upon as needed are the ones preferred by the legislators.

2. Because of its largeness, its united and intensely concerned membership, its geographical distribution, its pervasiveness, its considerable financial resources, its electoral influence and its effective leadership, the New Jersey Education Association is the strongest and most influential educational interest group in New Jersey.

3. Lobbyists know which lawmakers are likely to be sympathetic and spend considerable time making sure their objectives are well understood by this group of legislators. Some New Jersey legislators are open-minded and would be attentive to the requests of an interest group but are never contacted by representatives of that group and consequently fail to support the group's position.

Yet these conclusions do not fully explain the involvement of state educational organizations in the political process. In Illinois, the elements exist but no attempt has been made to explore and to analyze the political scene as it pertains to educational organizations. Without such an investigation, a void exists in understanding the future of educational decision making at the state level.

CHAPTER III

PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

Questions to be Answered by the Study

1. Whether educational organizations get involved in the political process to influence state educational legislation and policies;
2. If these organizations do get involved, how is their political action being executed, as measured according to established criteria;
3. Is this activity translated into planned and organized political action programs;
4. What are those programs;
5. What aspects of those programs appear to be the most successful.

These questions are answered by presenting and analyzing the data in the following format:

1. Historical background on each organization's involvement in political activities;
2. A statement on the general organizational set-up of each;
3. A review of priorities and thrusts;
4. A review of strategies and operational level,

as measured by established criteria;

5. A statement on natural and negotiated coalitions.

In Section 3, Priorities and Thrusts, each organization was asked about its position on two major educational issues. In a review of two legislative sessions (spring 1977 and spring 1978), the following issues were chosen for review because they stirred the most controversy and forced the educational groups to become involved in the political process, bringing to bear the organization's skill in political maneuvering.

The two major educational issues were:

1. Senate Joint Resolution/Constitutional Amendment 31

Although it never reached the formal legislation state, this resolution created the greatest controversy in the spring 1978 legislative session. The resolution was approved by the Senate on April 5 and needed to carry the House by a three-fifths vote by May 7 if the proposal were to be placed on the ballot in the November 1978 election as a constitutional amendment. The proposed amendment called for the elimination of the State Board of Education and the appointed Superintendent of Education, and would return the chief state school officer to an elective position. Since the 1970 Illinois Constitution had changed the office to a State Board and since the Board had only assumed its respon-

sibilities as of January 1975, the resolution became a volatile political and educational issue.

2. Collective Bargaining

The history of collective bargaining in Illinois has gone from the informality of the early 1960's to the present structured contractual arrangements in many Illinois school districts. Each year since 1972, a collective bargaining bill has been introduced in the Illinois legislature, with a number of variations but whose basic essence has been bargaining rights for teachers. Although school districts have either willingly or, after teacher strikes, unwillingly entered into contractual agreements with their teachers, there has been no state mandate to dictate or control the collective bargaining process. Teacher unions, which have prepared the pertinent legislation, have argued that absent such a bill, teachers do not have a formal and legitimate say in governing their own profession. Other advocates have argued that a state collective bargaining bill would place safeguards on the collective bargaining process, which would protect everyone involved. The dissenters have fought any bill on the premise that such legislation legally entrenches the process. The collective bargaining debate continues in each legislative session because of its major impact on the future of Illinois education.

Presentation of Operational Grid

In response to the second major question of the study, "If these organizations do get involved in the political process, how is their political action being executed, as measured according to established criteria?"; an operational grid was formulated. The established criteria were taken from a study conducted by J. Alan Aufderheide, "Educational Interest Groups and the State Legislature", as reported in State Policymaking in the Public Schools, by Roald F. Campbell and Tim L. Mazzone, Jr. (Berkeley, California: McCutcheon Publishing Co., 1976). The rationale for each category, as stated by Aufderheide, is as follows:

Basic Resources - represents the raw material that can be utilized by educational interest groups to manufacture power and influence at the state level.

1. Number of members - the most fundamental resource available to any group.

2. Money - number of members generates another important resource--dues--which translates into working cash.

3. Miscellaneous Money Resources - other types of income which could be used for political activities.

4. Status of members - refers to the degree to which individual members of the respective groups command respect and credibility because of the positions they hold.

Power - resources must be manipulated, or at least be capable of being manipulated by interest groups to produce power.

1. Professional staff - staff capabilities, as measured by number of professional staff members employed.
2. Lobbying staff - number of part-time or full-time lobbyists who could engage in political activities.
3. Research capabilities - to provide information on issues and legislation when needed.
4. Political action arms - an indicator of direct and strong political activities.
5. Sources of lobbying strength - types of activities employed in lobbying.

These criteria were cross-referenced with information provided by the organizations. Information for the Illinois Education Association and the Illinois Federation of Teachers is representative of their respective political action arms, as opposed to the Illinois Association of School Administrators, the Illinois Association of School Boards and the Illinois Principals Association information, which represents each organization as a whole. A specific breakdown of data and an analysis are included in each respective section of this chapter.

OPERATIONAL GRID

BASIC RESOURCES	I A S B	I A S A	I E A	I F T	I P A
Number of Members	930 Bds. x 7 Mbrs. <u>6,510 Total</u>	1,100	60,000	45,000	2,300
Money	\$802,000*	\$221,000*	NA**	NA**	\$161,000
Miscellaneous Money Resources	NO	NO	\$321,600	\$12,500	NO
Status of Members	HIGH	AVERAGE	HIGH	AVERAGE	AVERAGE
POWER					
Professional Staff	18	2	6	3	2
Lobbying Staff	1	2	4	3 (+ 4 AFL-CIO)	2 (+ 1 regis.)
Research Capabilities	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Political Action Arm	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO
Sources of Lobbying Strength***	SC, RE, LO, INF, CO, CR, SM, PC	SC, RE, LO, INF, CO, CR, SM, PC	\$, SC, RE, LO, INF, CO, CR, SM, PP, PC	\$, SC, RE, LO, INF, CO, CR, SM, PP, PC	SC, RE, LO, INF, CO, CR, SM, PC

(See Definitions Next Page)

OPERATIONAL GRID DEFINITIONS

* 1978 Total Dues Income

** Not Applicable

*** Key

\$ = campaign money

SC = staff contact

RE = research

LO = local members

INF = information

CO = coalition activity

CR = credibility and respect of organization

SM = status of members

PP = political power

PC = personal contact

PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

Illinois Association of School Boards

Historical background

The Illinois Association of School Boards is a not-for-profit organization whose object is "to aid and assist boards of education in performing their lawful functions and to promote, support and advance the interest of public education in Illinois". (Illinois Association of School Boards Constitution.) Its members consist of Active Members (the boards of education of any legally organized school district in Illinois), Associate Members (any former members of an Illinois board of education), Honorary Members (any individuals who have rendered distinguished service to public education in Illinois, as determined by the Board of Directors) and Service Associate Members (any person, firm or corporation which provides services or products to school districts). For the year 1978, there were 930 member boards, or 6,510 individual active members.

One of the most important priorities of the organization is the preservation of local lay decision making authority. Since 1971, with the advent of militant teacher unions, the IASB has been thrust into a position of protect-

ing and championing the prerogatives of local boards in the legislature. Up until that point, the School Problems Commission, which is a body made up of legislators and representatives of various educational groups, was the important arbitrating agent for education. The IASB had a representative to this Commission and all groups worked together. As unions took their causes directly to the legislature and began whittling away at local board control, the IASB was forced to enter the legislative arena and protect its basic goal. In 1972, the Association hired a person to specifically deal with governmental relations and sought an Executive Director who had experience in that area. That person now spends 30 to 40% of his time assisting the governmental liaison. In addition to keeping a close surveillance on legislative action, the Executive Director maintains a close relationship with the State Board of Education and has monitored its activities closely since the Board's inception. Since there is an affinity between the State Board and the School Board Association, their working relationship has been a very amicable one, but time consuming on the part of the Executive Director.

This state organization is an affiliate of the National School Boards Association and is, therefore, called upon to become involved with issues on the federal level. These are obligatory requests and the state organization responds willingly, for the results are beneficial to Illinois' local boards even though these issues are draining on the or-

ganization.

Individual school boards and their members are the strength of the School Board Association's political activities. The last five years have seen much more increased political involvement of school board members at the state level. Prior to this, state level involvement, if there were any political action by members, was at the local level with not much broader vision than local concerns. The leadership of the State Association has played a prominent role in developing the political astuteness and involvement of the membership. Since board members are only beginning to become involved and the fact that the IASB has a constantly changing membership, the leadership has had to provide continual monitoring and learning opportunities for members in order to maintain a quality control of activities.

The leadership sees in the future a debate over whether or not direct political contributions can be made to candidates for the legislature. Financial candidate endorsement involves the organization's status (not-for-profit) and therefore may dictate the formulation of a political committee which will be able to collect and distribute funds.

Organizational setup

4/1/58
The staff personnel of the School Board Association maintains a formal organizational setup with the Board of Directors as the governing head and the Executive Director as Association and office administrator. The Executive Director has four staff positions (Administrative Assistant, Legal Consultant, Business Manager and Large District Council Consultant) and five line positions (Associate Director-Regional Office, Director of Management Information, Director of Communications, Director of Governmental Relations and Director of Field Services) directly accountable to him. Thirty-one persons constitute the full operating staff.

In a review of written job descriptions for the Executive Director and his line officers, the following duties and responsibilities related to or specifically stated as political activities are described:

1. Executive director [three out of sixteen stated responsibilities]
 - a. Represents and acts as liaison for the Association in its contacts with other statewide organizations, institutions and agencies and the general public.
 - b. Attends and participates in selected meetings of the National School Boards Association and related state and national organizations.
 - c. Performs other duties as may be assigned by the Board of Directors or which are necessary to ensure the proper functioning of the Association and the attainment of the Association's objectives.
2. Associate Executive Director [two out of eleven stated responsibilities]

a. Acts, as requested by the Executive Director, as spokesman and liaison for the Association in its contacts with other statewide organizations, institutions and agencies and the general public.

b. Performs such other duties as may be assigned by the Executive Director.

3. Director of Management Information [one out of eleven stated responsibilities]

a. Assists the Department of Communications and Department of Governmental Relations in communicating school board concerns in personnel and management relationships to the general membership, the legislature and the public.

4. Director of Communications [four out of nineteen stated responsibilities, though seven other responsibilities could be politically related]

a. Researches and writes analyses of critical issues upon assignment by the Executive Director and/or as editorial opinion for Illinois School Board Journal.

b. Advises the Executive Director and other staff members on the effective use of communications techniques in conducting workshops, promoting programs and services, gaining acceptance for ideas and internal coordination.

c. Encourages the news media to view the Association as a reliable and credible source of information.

d. Provides the Executive Director and other staff members with feedback from member school districts, the general public and other selected audiences.

5. Director of Governmental Relations

The job goal for this position is:

To represent and/or have represented the views of the Association before the General Assembly and the U.S. Congress, including related commissions, task forces, committees of the General Assembly and U.S. Congress, and other applicable branches of the state and federal governments. To facilitate, in every way possible, regular communication between local board members and state officials.

The nine out of nine stated responsibilities reflect the above goal. This position is the Association's main link with the legislature. In addition, a full-time Assistant Director to this position assists in the governmental activities.

6. Directors of Field Services [three out of ten

stated responsibilities]

a. Encourages and enhances, in cooperation with the Department of Governmental Relations, the willingness and capability of local school boards to communicate with their legislators in support of IASB legislative goals.

b. Represents the IASB as liaison with such state organizations, task forces, commissions, etc., as may be assigned.

c. Drafts such position statements and analyses of issues critical to IASB and local school boards as may be assigned.

It should be noted that there are four persons filling the position of Director of Field Services.

7. [The Board of Directors also has duties and responsibilities, of which two out of eight stated responsibilities are political-type activities.]

a. To attend, when possible, meetings and workshops conducted by IASB and meetings scheduled by such agencies as the State Board of Education and the School Problems Commission.

b. To keep abreast of trends and developments in 'boardmanship', legislative issues, judicial decisions, etc., in order to develop a sound background for decision making.

The Board of Directors is made up of the elected officers, the immediate past president, one representative (active member) from each division and sub-division and the President of the Chicago Board of Education or his designee, when the Chicago Board is an active member.

Priorities and thrusts

Illinois is an extremely diverse state, with three types of mentalities; the Chicago metropolitan area, the central Illinois area and the southern Illinois area. This breakdown is evident on many statewide issues and the same holds true for education. The School Board Association finds itself with the same type of diversity and must be very careful on its broad statewide stands. Often it is necessary and more beneficial to bring board members together within a region (or a number of regions) to take a stand on a common regional concern. Thus, the Association works often times on two levels--statewide and/or regional--to determine priorities.

The process by which priority issues are determined for a particular year begins with resolutions of individual boards or a collection of boards. These resolutions are referred to the Legislative Committee (made up of lay, non-paid district and regional members) which meets in the summer to sieve through and prioritize all recommendations. The Committee prepares its final recommendations to be presented to the General Assembly of the statewide convention in November. The General Assembly determines the final issue program. A program of issues pertinent to the Association as a whole or its members individually is outlined, rather than a specific

legislative package with bills to be introduced and worked on for passage. Position papers and information are prepared to be used on the influencing of a bill or State Board policy, which encompasses the Association's priorities. In addition to the formal issue process, the Board of Directors can also choose issues. These are issues which usually are not addressed at the state convention and affect school boards in general.

The inherent issues which pertain to school board prerogatives are always underlying the Association's thrust. As stated by the Executive Director, "Our legislative priorities tend to fall in two categories: (1) more dollars with less strings, and (2) preservation of local lay decision making authority".

The Association's priorities in the last two legislative sessions were:

Spring 1977

- State budget for education
- Modifications in school aid formula
- Consolidated elections
- Collective bargaining
- Seniority in reduction of staff
- Teacher union dues check-off
- Minimum salary increases
- Hearing officers in honorable dismissals

Spring 1978

- State budget for education
- Modifications in school aid formula
- Corporate personal property tax
- Compliance legislation for the federal "Education for All the Handicapped Act"
- Minimum competency testing
- Consolidated elections
- Constitutional amendment on selection of state superintendent

Workmen's compensation
Tax levy

Positions on two major bills

1. Returning the State Office of Education to an Elected State Superintendent - Senate Resolution 31

The School Board Association has had a continued history of support for a State Board of Education with the authority to appoint a chief state school officer, starting with an IASB Delegate Assembly resolution to that effect in November of 1969, urging the Constitutional Convention to move in that direction and reaffirming that position in subsequent resolutions by the Board of Directors (November 1970; August 1972; March 1973; April 1977). At the April 15, 1978 meeting of the Board of Directors, a motion was made to continue the Association's support for an appointed State Superintendent in light of Senate Resolution 31. The concern in not unequivocally passing such a resolution was that the issue was a "complicated political and substantive" one and that the membership which had originally supported an appointed superintendent was drastically changed over time. In order to accommodate this change and to involve the present membership, a motion was made and carried that an intensive educational campaign on the issue be prepared and executed for the membership and, if necessary, a specialized Delegate Assembly limited to this issue be called, which would determine the

Association's present position. A constant monitoring of the bill was done by the Director of Governmental Relations and the Executive Director. Activities pursuant to this motion were only partially completed because of the resolution's failure.

2. Collective Bargaining

The School Board Association opposes any bill which will impose on school boards the obligation to collectively bargain with school employees. It does acknowledge that current law neither prohibits nor impedes the process of negotiating contractual relationships with both professional and ancillary personnel and the Association finds this de facto bargaining (in the absence of legislation) satisfactory to both employer and employee.

Criteria have been established which, if met, would constitute an acceptable bill. To date, no legislation has met the criteria and all bills introduced have been opposed by the IASB. The criteria are:

1. Impasse resolution shall be available by mutual consent, with the school board retaining control of the number of attendance days required of students.
2. Binding arbitration of contract disputes shall be opposed.
3. Decisions as to teacher load, curricula and other student-related matters shall be retained for the school board as managerial prerogatives.
4. No requirements shall be made to protect union security.
5. Managerial positions should be excluded from the bargaining unit.
6. A separate statute for teachers is not preferable over an omnibus bill covering all public employees.

These criteria were further refined and qualified in 1975:

. . . the laws:

1. Should prohibit inclusion of managerial and other supervisory positions in an employee bargaining unit, either separately or collectively.
2. Should not permit coercive resolution of impasse by an outside agency without the consent of the school board.
3. Should not limit the school board's right to promote, dismiss and/or transfer employees plus the right to assign all managerial and supervisory positions.
4. Should not diminish the school board's responsibility to develop curricula, to select textbooks, to determine class size and to govern other educational activities.
5. Should protect non-member employees from imposition of organizational security mandates.
6. Should exempt districts whose size and budgets make it unnecessary and/or prohibitive to engage in collective bargaining.
7. If and when collective bargaining legislation is introduced on behalf of employee organizations that is contrary to IASB beliefs and principles, IASB may be required to initiate or support introduction of specific proposals intended to protect human and professional rights of all employees as well as to safeguard and maintain the powers, responsibilities and constitutional prerogatives of boards of education and their administrative staffs.

Strategies

Personal contact by the IASB leadership with the legislature and State Board stands out as the most important strategy of the Association. The constant monitoring of both policy agents by the Executive Director, Director of Governmental Relations and a Director of Field Services keeps the IASB abreast of issues and allows for its position to be heard. The Director of Governmental Relations, with sufficient assistance (30 to 40% time) from the Executive Director, works directly with the legislature providing information, assisting legislators in understanding bills and in general acting as the Association's lobbyist. The Executive Director with assistance from a Director of Field Services attends all state Board meetings, as well as many of the pertinent committee meetings. State Board members are invited to IASB dinner meetings and the leadership meets with the State Superintendent on a regular basis.

The membership and its efforts is the other key strategy utilized by the IASB. As cited earlier in the data by the IASB leadership, school board members are only beginning to realize their potential as lobbyists. School boards locally are very supportive of the Association's positions and want more involvement. They are willing to go to the

state capital and have been used on a selective basis for certain issues.

Getting members to talk to legislators is cited as an extremely important member contribution. They have engaged in letter and telephone campaigns, pursuant to requests in the legislative newsletter. Although mass pleas for this type of assistance have been utilized frequently, a more precise route has been to use an informal web of members who know certain legislators. A list of those members who can be trusted, are willing and are consistent with IASB positions is maintained. Members are also encouraged to get to know their legislators through coffees and formal meetings. Legislators are invited to regional meetings for the benefit of members. Since the organization's status prevents any use of money for political purposes, the only other activity engaged in is the use of the Director of Governmental Relations and some members for committee testimony.

Data reported for comparison
on the operational grid

The size of membership is substantially high. Although membership is determined by full board or institution membership, that number can be multiplied by seven (the Illinois statutory requirement). Thus, out of 1,010 school districts in Illinois, the IASB has 930 school boards as members, or 6,510 individual members. The \$802,000 total dues for 1978 represents money collected from boards as a whole and not individual members. The range for dues is approximately \$300 to \$5,000, based on the size of the district and its assessed valuation. It should be noted that these dues are paid out of public funds as part of the local school district budget. Some money is also generated from miscellaneous money resources, such as the statewide convention, regional workshop and fees for special services (e.g., superintendent search), but these funds cannot be considered as additional income, for they cover the costs of these special meetings and services. The Status of members category is difficult to measure because it does not lend itself to objective measurement. Since this study did not poll legislators, the assumption must be made that legislators' opinion of IASB representatives ranks HIGH because of their use of them for testimony and informa-

tion (as reported by the representatives). Those staff persons interviewed perceived their status as being HIGH based on their access to and working relationships with legislators.

The School Board Association has thirty-one staff members, of which eighteen are professional personnel with varying backgrounds. The Association also hires special consultants when needed. One person is designated as the governmental liaison and is the IASB's officially registered lobbyist. He has a full-time assistant, as well as backup assistance from the Executive Director, a Field Director, Legislative Chairman and the IASB President. The time devoted to lobbying activities by these others varies and no specific time allotment was stated, with the exception of the Executive Director, who devotes 30 to 40% of his time to assist the governmental liaison. Although the IASB does not have a research department, it is capable of preparing research information on an ad hoc basis, as needed. Limited survey research is generally undertaken by the Department of Management Information. The Executive Director, or a designated staff member, coordinates any special research projects. In response to this question, it was stated that there was no research department, but one was needed. At present, there is no political action arm of the IASB. As stated in the Historical background, a future concern of the Association will be whether to establish a political committee.

Out of ten sources of lobbying strengths, the IASB

named eight as being utilized by the Association; staff contact, research, local members, information, coalition activity, credibility and respect of organization, status of members and personal contact.

Natural and negotiated coalitions

The Illinois Association of School Boards cites the Illinois Association of School Administrators as its closest ally. This is a natural coalition, since their concerns are basically the same: the preservation of management prerogatives. This alliance is most evident in a public way by the joint meetings and joint statewide convention. Another strong ally is the Parent Teacher Association. The PTA can be very helpful on money issues because of its large membership and its affinity of membership--both are made up of lay citizens.

Issues determine alliances, and although teacher organizations have become the natural adversary of the IASB, issues such as school finance can often coalesce the two groups. This type of negotiated coalition is instigated by either side and is done by informal discussions by the governmental liaisons. The IASB Executive Director cites the IASB, IASA, IEA, IFT and the State Board as being the top five organizations who come together on such broad educational issues and provide leadership for the educational community. The educational coalition has been expanded even further to include many other educational groups. For example, under Governor Daniel Walker's term (1972-1976), the fight for

school aid brought the AFL-CIO and other unions into the educational coalition.

If the issues have labor/management ramifications (e.g., workmen's compensation, collective bargaining), the IASB is joined by other governmental groups who would be greatly affected by the outcome of this type of legislation. These interested parties include such groups as the Illinois Municipal League and the Illinois Association of Park Districts.

ANALYSIS: Illinois Association of School Boards

Question I - Do state education organizations
get involved in the political process to
influence state educational policies?

The Illinois Association of School Boards was the most responsive of all five organizations researched, in terms of availability of personnel for initial interviews and for subsequent letter requests and/or follow up telephone conversations. According to its constitution, the Association is committed to "promotion, support and advancement of public education" and its willingness to cooperate with this study is an indication of the Association's partial fulfillment of such a commitment. In addition to this willingness to be of service, the openness and consistency of facts between staff members became evident, indicating that an overall theme or direction prevails within the Association and dictates the actions of its staff.

The data show that the IASB was forced to become active in the legislative arena in 1971, which is simultaneous with the growing militancy of teacher unions. The immediate recognition of the IASB that it must enter legislative activities was concretely substantiated by the hiring of its present Executive Director and a governmental liaison. It

was a move which was backed with a realistic understanding of where state educational organizations must stand politically by committing money and personnel. This practical political awareness even preceded the National School Board Association, as indicated in the Review of the Literature. Political involvement generally remains a term open for wide interpretation and often connotes something less than respectable for education. Yet when the IASB staff was notified by the interviewer of the nature of the study, they were comfortable with the topic, knew where the organization stood in the spectrum of defining political involvement and again were consistent with one another.

Political involvement for the Illinois School Board Association can be described as a total organization approach beginning with a general philosophy which is not formally stated, but has become the guide for all its actions. What is written and stated is the aim of the organization to protect the rights of local school boards. To that end, the organization's positions on vital issues in education which affect local school board decision making are stated. Once these guideposts have been established with the input of the entire membership, staff time and energy are committed to influencing legislation and state policy to conform to these positions. The commitment of manpower is done on three levels; the state legislature, the state school board and the United States Congress.

In working with the legislature, the staff does not

initiate any legislation, but rather monitors all bills and state board actions. This action can be described as a caretaker role, rather than an activist role type. Nine staff persons, according to job descriptions stated in the data, work at varying degrees in the legislative process with the Governmental Relations person and his assistant as the prime actors and the Executive Director spending 30 to 40% of his time assisting them. Even though board members are only now beginning to become involved in state level matters, the membership is utilized, both in formal and informal ways, which confirms the total organizational approach. Eight out of ten sources of lobbying strength are cited by the organization as being utilized to influence legislation. The two sources of lobbying strength not employed are money and political power (i.e., a political action arm).

It is conceded by the organization that the Illinois Education Association is much stronger in the legislature because of money and a political action arm--two very effective lobbying techniques. As stated in the data, the IASB must inevitably face the question of forming a political action committee which can generate and expend money if it intends to keep pace with the IEA. The IASB has come to the realization that legislators are not influenced by political donations, but concedes that even if the IASB forms a political action committee, it will never reach the political sophistication of the Illinois Education Association. The diverse

partisan political nature of its membership, which leans neither one way or another, the fact that the membership is made up of duly elected public officials and the question of where the funds would be taken from are the prime considerations which must be faced. If a political action arm were proposed, it is conjectured that it would probably receive good response from members because they are ready for such a move. In addition, a political action arm would also be welcomed by superintendents, who find a lack of large scale movement on the political front from their own organization. The IASB has become stronger politically because of the lack of work of the IASA.

The IASB has monitored the State Board since its inception. The Illinois Association of School Administrators and, to a lesser degree, the Illinois Principals Association, come the closest to the IASB in interaction with the State Board. The IEA and IFT have ignored its action. This is a natural role for the IASB because of the nature of the state education policy agent as a supra board for the state and for the fact that the IASB was instrumental in bringing about the creation of the State Board. The IASB is very influential with the State Board because the IASB can act as a negative force. The State Board recognizes and respects this power and listens to the IASB. This mutual respect is beneficial to local boards, but a future conflict can be predicted-- local boards versus the State Board. What is the real role

of the State Board once it has firmly established itself and wishes to fully exercise its role as a supra board? Another important issue will be: What is the role of the State Board versus the School Problems Commission? The IASB had been a main contributory member to the Commission, but if most matters are resolved with the State Board to the benefit of the IASB, why would it want to maintain its membership to the Commission? Why should the Commission continue to exist if it does not have all interested parties involved?

At the national level, the National School Board Association makes demands on its state affiliates, including Illinois. To influence Congress and the administration, requests for letter writing to Illinois congressmen, Illinois data and the presence of the Illinois Executive Director in Washington for testimony are made and complied with. It was stated by two staff members that these were necessary and beneficial tasks, but it appeared that they were frustrated by the strain such work put on staff time. It is questioned whether a more integrated approach is needed to accommodate state and federal concerns. Another point that became evident by this reactive role to national concerns can only mean that the IASB is not a leader on the national level, even though it is organized and abreast of issues on the state level. If the lack of leadership at the national level is not true, evidence to the contrary did not surface during the interviews.

In summary and in response to the originally posed question, Do state education organizations get involved in the political process to influence state educational policy?; yes, the IASB is politically active, as evidenced by:

1. A general political awareness and philosophy espoused and exercised by the staff.

2. An involvement of staff and membership to a total organizational approach to politics.

3. A realistic and practical understanding of the organization's political role.

4. Overt political activities acted out on three stages:

(1) State legislature

Eight out of ten established lobbying techniques;

(2) State Board

Personal contact and membership influence;

(3) United States Congress

Letter writing, data collection and testimony.

5. A concern for the organization's future role in state politics.

Question II - If these organizations do get involved,
how is their political action being executed, as
measured according to established criteria?

The data for this question are taken from the Operational Grid and are restated in Section III - Strategies. Pertinent information from other sections is utilized for substantiation of prime facts. The two main categories reviewed are Basic Resources and Power.

Basic Resources

Number of members

The Illinois School Board Association has four types of membership, but the one of greatest interest to this study is the Active Member because of its total participatory nature. Active membership for the IASB means a complete seven member local school board. Of Illinois' 1,010 school districts, 92% of the boards are members, which indicates that the IASB represents the interests of an overwhelming majority of boards. When compared to the four other associations in terms of active membership, the IASB is the smallest in size. When the number of active memberships is multiplied by seven (the statutory requirement for members on a school board), the number increases to 6,510 persons, placing the IASB well ahead of the school administrator and principal groups, but well behind the teacher groups.

Number of members is a very strong asset for the IASB and it has been deliberately underutilized. The staff indicated that it was aware of this resource potential, but as shown in the data, board members are only beginning to take an interest in state matters, particularly as they affect local districts (e.g., school finance), and this raw

and undisciplined power could be disastrous to the state association's organized approach. As illustrated by the IASB's handling of Senate Resolution 31, the timely educational process of close monitoring of the membership provided a cohesive stand. The Association's other strategy of controlling the membership by seeking out local and/or regional concerns also keeps the total organizational approach intact. In relation to the other state organizations, the IASB has a very large membership (with the exceptions of the IEA and the IFT, which are notably higher). The reasons why the IASB has made a choice for quality over sheer force of raw numbers are three-fold: (1) the diverse nature of the membership; (2) members' lack of sophistication on state level politics; and (3) its constantly changing membership.

Money

An important aspect of member enrollment is its ability to generate money through association dues. Although the number of individual persons as members allows the IASB to rank well in relation to the other organizations, that number does not inflate dues collection. As stated in the data, active membership is based on the membership of a whole board and dues are based on this institutional status. Whereas the individual dues of teacher groups is much lower, their large membership generates a far greater dues income. The IASB income is from public funds which must be publicly accounted for. Because of its not-for-profit status, dues, as profit margin income, are prevented from being utilized in ways other than the employment of a large staff (thirty-one in number) and all operational costs. The money resource for the IASB provides very adequate working cash. The IASB ranks behind the teacher groups and far ahead of the administrator and principal groups in the money category.

Miscellaneous money resources

The IASB does not have a political arm with which to generate miscellaneous money resources for political activities. Its statewide convention, regional workshops and special services provide income which is beneficial only in the sense that it is a part of a rotating fund and gives the Association cash flow capabilities. In terms of political activities, there is no direct benefit.

Status of members

Even though this category is difficult to measure, the status of IASB members does exist in a very nebulous way. In the scheme of political maneuvering, certain persons or groups have always had greater entrē and influence with decision makers for a variety of reasons. Therefore, it is a very important consideration in evaluating political action. Because school board members are elected officials representing the general public in educational matters, they are looked upon by the legislature as being an accurate source for reading the citizens' point of view on education. For this reason, school board members and IASB staff have HIGH status ranking. Their status is further enhanced by the IASB staff in their dealings with legislators, who continually remind them of this fact. As one staff person described it, "We constantly suggest to legislators that if they want a grass-roots feeling on an educational issue, they should contact those who deal with whole communities--school board members".

Power

Professional staff

The IASB ranks well behind the teacher groups in terms of staff and far exceeds the administrator and principal groups. As stated by Campbell and Mazzoni, "The power section . . . is based on the belief that resources are manipulated, or at least capable of being manipulated, by interest groups to produce the most promising kinds of power". In terms of the IASB's money resource, it is translated into a very capable staff, as measured by size and pertinent staff positions. The focus is on keeping in tune with local boards (Field Directors), providing services (Management Information), educating and communicating with members and the public (Communication) and monitoring school legislation (Governmental Relations). Money is also reserved for special consultants to provide expertise on an as needed basis. A good example is the hiring of a special legal consultant on collective bargaining, even though the Association maintains its own counsel.

Lobbying staff

The Operational Grid and subsequent data in the strategies section show that the IASB has only one lobbyist. In comparison to the other organizations, it stands as the lowest number. The difficulty lies in measuring to what percentage the other staff persons assist in lobbying activities and to what degree those percentages, when added together, would constitute another two to three full-time lobbyists. From the membership, the Legislative Committee chairperson devotes a great percentage of time to lobbying. Another example of non-staff assistance in lobbying is the present IASB President, who is an attorney with a major law firm which encourages and supports time away from the law practice to become involved in the political process on behalf of civic affairs.

Research capabilities

The IASB does not have a research department, but rather has these responsibilities spread out among staff members. At present, this division of research responsibility has been the most efficient and economical way to fulfill research needs. On most survey research projects with enough lead time, the Department of Management Information appears to be able to handle them and is the appropriate department for such activities. The system becomes strained and inefficient when the Executive Director or another staff person has to drop or neglect other responsibilities in order to coordinate a research project. In most other categories on the Operational Grid, the IASB maintains a very strong equal or close second position to its greatest competitors, the teacher organizations. In the research category, the IASB ranks far below the IEA and IFT. Since immediate and appropriate information is a necessary part of working with the legislature, this lack of a research department could weaken the IASB's political capabilities and strength, especially if the staff became overburdened with research.

Political action arm

In terms of power, the strongest asset on the Operational Grid that any organization can have is a political action arm, for almost all other categories can be subsumed under this one and make the organization politically viable. Although the IASB does not have such an arm, it realizes the need and value of such. In spite of the organization's position in regard to the establishment of a political arm, the Executive Director has the foresight and practical approach to politics to be willing to explore the feasibility of a political action arm.

Sources of lobbying strength

Since all ten sources of lobbying strength were given equal status, no differentiation can be made other than number of means used. The IASB named eight out of ten means of lobbying strength, which gives the Association an 80% power base. For a more accurate accounting, it would have to be determined to what degree each means is being used and to what degree the two means not utilized (campaign money and political action arm) constitute a more effective approach.

In response to the originally posed question, If the organizations do get involved, how is their political action being executed, as measured according to established criteria?; it is being executed by:

1. Six thousand five hundred ten individual members, which is a number that is well ahead of the administrator and principal groups and far behind the teacher groups; these members are utilized selectively, rather than by full number;

2. Eight hundred two thousand dollars (\$802,000) for use in personnel, operations and consultants;

3. No miscellaneous money resources;

4. A HIGH status of members ranking because of the nature of its membership, which is made up of locally elected

lay citizens;

5. Nineteen professional staff persons constituting an effective staff by size and pertinent positions;

6. One officially registered lobbyist who is full-time and is backed by one full-time assistant and four part-time persons;

7. No research department, but the ability to provide research when needed;

8. No political action arm;

9. Eight out of ten sources of lobbying strength, constituting an 80% power base.

Question III - Is this activity translated into
planned and organized political action programs?

Question IV - What are those programs?

For the sake of efficiency and internal continuity, these two questions have been grouped. Data from all five sections have been utilized to respond to the two questions. To further clarify the questions, it is necessary to state the definition of a political action program, as defined in Section D - Definitions, Chapter I:

A specified or written agenda supported by the organization, both philosophically and practically (through manpower and finance) to bring about specific political outcomes, as viewed by the organization.

The Illinois Association of School Boards' political activities are a very important aspect of its entire overall functioning and are integrated into its day to day operation. This commitment to political activity is not a haphazard approach. Job descriptions of staff persons indicate, to a degree, each member's role in governmental interaction. The Association has its official lobbyist and he executes the Association's overt political lobbying on a daily basis. Other staff members understand their roles and where they are expected to function in relation to and complementary to the lobbyist. The key orchestrator appears to be the Executive

Director, who keeps in very close communication with the lobbyist, often supplementing his activities. This close communication provides direction for the Executive Director, who can then bring to bear appropriate staff and/or membership input, membership issue education, tailored strategies and negotiated coalitions. As is more often the case in a two month legislative session, the process is crisis oriented, but the IASB functions as a coordinated unit based on fixed roles.

The IASB's political action program is specific in the sense that it formally publishes (i.e., Legislative Newsletter and special publications) its stand on educational issues, which indicates in what direction its political energy will be utilized. Job descriptions are the other written indicator that there is a political action program. Yet neither of these can qualify as the Association's written political action program. The Association has no such written plan.

As indicated in Question I of this study, the IASB has a philosophical base for its political activity. Although this is not a formally stated philosophy, its existence permeates the organization as a whole. There was an early understanding of and need for political involvement (1971). The commitment to political involvement was substantiated by the hiring of an Executive Director who understood the need for a political philosophy and who could organize and execute a pro-

protective political plan. A further concession and a firm indicator that the Association had made a philosophical and practical commitment to political activity was the hiring of an official lobbyist. Since one of the most important priorities of the organization is the preservation of local lay decision making authority and since that authority was being threatened by legislative action, the IASB extended its scope of activities to include those of a political nature.

To define the IASB's political philosophy, it is necessary to refer to its specific political outcomes as the concrete properties of that philosophy. Broadly stated, they are:

1. More money for local school districts, with minimum mandated constraints;
2. Preservation of local school board decision making authority.

All legislative and policy issues are viewed by the IASB in light of these two goals. For example, in reviewing four of the IASB's 1978 legislative priorities, these goals and the Association philosophy become evident.

1. State budget for education;
2. Modifications in the state aid formula.

The IASB worked on these two priorities by:

- a. Urging the Governor to establish education as his number one priority and fund the school aid formula, which reflects both inflated cost and declining state share

of the total cost; and

b. Opposing programs or services mandated by the Illinois General Assembly which encroach upon local and lay control of public schools and which are not fully reimbursable for their additional cost.

As for:

3. Workmen's compensation.

The IASB:

Supported legislation authorizing local boards to levy without a referendum a tax in an amount sufficient to pay Unemployment and Workmen's Compensation insurance premiums.

With regard to:

4. Compliance with Public Law 94-142, the Education for All the Handicapped Act.

The IASB:

a. Prepared a position statement stating that legislation pertaining to the special education of handicapped children by the state and federal government without full funding is discriminatory to the majority of the children by forcing local districts to fund these special education programs at the expense of regular programs.

b. Urged the United States Congress to adequately fund P. L. 94-142 commensurate with the mandates required by the Act.

c. Supported compliance legislation where necessary.

The political action program to implement these specific political outcomes can be described as a personal contact approach. Getting to know the legislators and State Board members on a one to one basis and strongly utilizing the "status of members" resource, the IASB works on the premise that educational reasoning will win in the political arena. The Association bills itself as the public school's non-educator advocate, but whose professional lay citizen educational program represents the will of the people. The message that is propagated is a sound educational position supported by appropriate research and public mandate. This personal contact approach is implemented by (1) a governmental liaison, (2) paid staff, (3) non-paid staff (e.g., Legislative Committee Chairperson, IASB Officers), (4) membership as a whole, and (5) select members. The IASB does not purport to excel in political maneuvering per se, but rather has defined its own scope of political activity within the realm of professional interest groups.

In response to the originally posed questions, Is this activity translated into planned and organized political action programs? and What are those programs?; the Illinois Association of School Boards' political activity is:

1. Planned and organized, as evidenced by fixed roles of staff and tailored strategies when time permits.
2. Not based on a written agenda.
3. Supported by an unwritten philosophy and prac-

tically through a commitment of staff, time and money.

4. Based on specific political outcomes, which are:

a. More money for local school districts with minimum mandated constraints.

b. Preservation of local school board decision making authority.

5. A program of personal contact of all levels of staff and membership emphasizing educational reasoning and public mandate.

Question V - What aspects of those programs
appear to be the most successful?

The Illinois Association of School Boards' political activities include a number of key ingredients which make its approach unique and successful. Its political program is unique in the sense that it is individual to the IASB and its success is measured by the fact that the organization's goals are met by these means. To reiterate, the IASB political action program can be defined as a caretaker role executed by predominantly personal contact of staff and membership.

One prime factor of the political program is the IASB staff--its size, makeup and the background of its members. The Executive Director is a professional educator who has experience as a classroom teacher and building principal and has a Ph. D. in educational administration. He came to Illinois from the New Jersey School Board Association, where he had the responsibility for and gained an expertise in collective bargaining. Both in appearance and in background, he fulfills the IASB's image of a professional educational interest group leader. He has been with the Association for seven years and has built up a staff to include a variety of expertise. His management style includes a planned, organized

approach to the administration of the IASB (as indicated by a formal organizational table and written job descriptions), but allows flexibility in the organization which permits him to reorganize the staff to meet the political problems that arise.

The other key person is the Director of Governmental Relations, whose background includes a business degree and who comes from the Taxpayers Federation as an assistant in lobbying. He brings to the IASB lobbying techniques a business approach and a background and interest in municipal government, which lends itself to local school boards. Each of the other staff members has similar attributes which enhance the functioning and operation of the organization. Further examples can be seen in the Associate Executive Director, whose background lends itself to dealing with the school boards of the northern Illinois and metropolitan Chicago areas, and the Director of Communications, who applies his public relations and writing skills to education. Each of these staff persons functions within these levels of expertise for the smooth running of the IASB in providing services to school districts. As indicated in the job descriptions in the data, each person has his or her own individual responsibilities to governmental interaction. As the Executive Director indicated, "As I have reviewed the job descriptions, I would note that some do not emphasize enough the staff person's responsibilities in government relations". The blending

of these elements related to staff makes the staff a very important factor in the IASB's political action program.

Another important facet of the political program is membership involvement and growth. The IASB approaches membership input as a two-tiered system. On broad issues, the leadership and staff exercise authority in selecting and advancing issues which are generally beneficial to local boards. On regional and local issues, the individual boards make recommendations which are filtered up to the Board of Directors, and often become a part of the legislative program. Local school boards are appeased by the knowledge that they are listened to and backed by their state association. What is not noticed is that this process is begun in the local districts almost a year in advance. This lapse of time allows the Board of Directors greater input than appears on the surface, for issues and needs arise after the membership has made its recommendations. In spite of the control of the Board of Directors, the membership is involved.

Another aspect of membership involvement is the great input of members such as the Legislative Committee chairperson. This is an unpaid position, but the chairperson devotes almost full-time service to IASB legislative concerns. Although she is exceptional, there are many others who work as many as 30 man-hours per week for the IASB legislative program. The movement of women in the 1970's away from social volunteer work to more substantive, civic work has increased female school board membership. This increase has

provided the IASB with added daily assistance.

The membership is involved in political activities, as cited in the data, on a quality control basis. Letter writing and telephone campaigns can be effective with the size of the IASB membership and are utilized on a selective basis. Membership contact with legislators is encouraged. More importantly, it is interesting to note the quality control as it is applied to the informal web of key board members. This group has been selected because they can be trusted and counted on to support IASB legislative positions. They become more important because they must have entrē to key legislators. Whether this group is everchanging based on issues was not clear. Regardless, the fact that the leadership understands the practical necessity of developing a small cadre of trusted members and still making sure that all members feel wanted and needed in the political process, is an astute handling of membership involvement. Both approaches are extremely important and beneficial to the IASB.

Although school board members are duly elected public officials governing a community's educational program, they do not necessarily come to these positions with any required qualifications or expertise in education. One of the responsibilities of the School Board Association is to provide for its members opportunities and means by which to achieve a greater understanding of education and its issues.

The Illinois School Board Journal, the Legislative Newsletter, special publications, regional meetings and the state convention are some of the ways this is done. The educational process is crucial to the IASB's political program. Board members cannot be of assistance if they do not understand the issues and their effect on their community. As stated in the Review of the Literature of this study, the American Medical Association utilized external propogandizing to bring about its political result on "Medicare". The IASB utilizes the same type of propogandizing internally in order to activate its political potential. A good example is the continual educational process and updating of the membership in collective bargaining. As cited in the data, an intensive education program was being prepared and was to be executed on Senate Resolution 31 as a prelude to taking a membership concensus on the IASB's updated position. The implication is not that the eudcational process is a slanted or distorted one, but rather that the internal dissemination of information does exist and is a connecting and necessary link to the organization's political activities.

In a study such as this, it would appear that a lack of a written political action program would place an organization in a politically ineffectual position. The Illinois School Board Association does not have such a written document because such documents are usually outgrowths of the political action arms, something the IASB does not have. The

IASB does, though, engage in political activities, which constitute a political program, albeit unwritten. The advantage that the IASB has in maintaining such an unwritten program is that it can play the political game by its own rules. It can use those techniques which are useful on a given issue, adopt new techniques and discard unnecessary ones. This freedom allows the Association to continue highlighting its role as a professional lay citizen educational group. In the case of the IASB, an unwritten plan is a strength, for it provides flexibility and room for growth.

In response to the originally posed question, What aspects of those programs appear to be the most successful?; those aspects are:

1. A staff which is comprehensive in size and function and which is constituted of persons with appropriate training and experience;
2. Membership involvement in the legislative and political process and educational growth to advance those processes;
3. An unwritten political action program which provides flexibility and enhances the organization's educational advocate role.

Illinois Association of School Administrators

Historical background

The Illinois Association of School Administrators is the professional educational management organization in Illinois. Its membership is predominantly the superintendents and assistant superintendents of local school districts. Other management personnel, such as business managers, principals and special education directors, have also been a part of its active membership. Middle management types such as these have in recent years initiated professional organizations of their own, but many middle managers maintain membership in the IASA as well as their own respective organizations.

The Illinois Education Association had experienced a similar type of split as the IASA. Originally, all administrator groups nationally were a part of the state affiliates of the National Education Association. Administrators during this period were looked upon as particularly competent teachers who had been chosen to serve as leaders of teachers. As teacher militancy gained momentum in the late 1960's and early 1970's, the administrators became alienated from the teacher portion of their respective organizations. Philosophically and managerially, the two groups became farther

and farther apart as the labor/management problems of business and industry seeped into education. In Illinois, the administrators found that the money resources of the Illinois Education Association were being utilized too much to the benefit of teachers. By a vote of each of the association committees (teacher and administrator), it was agreed that the administrators would create their own professional group; they did so in 1971 under the auspices of the University of Illinois. This was typical of what was happening in most states across the country, and with the exception of some states (Missouri and North Carolina, among others), administrators now maintain their own professional organizations.

The IASA has 1,100 paid members out of a possible membership of 1,500 eligible persons. There are three types of membership: Active (any practicing administrator); School Services (administration students, professors, etc.) and Retired.

As early as 1969, the school administrators recognized the fact that there was a need for the Association to become politically active. At that time, the Executive Director's position was filled by the same person who currently serves in that capacity. In addition, the Board of Directors also employed a second person, who had the primary responsibility of lobbying for the Association. However, there were insufficient funds to pay both individuals and the second position had to be dropped.

From 1969 to 1975, the Executive Director functioned as the only lobbyist for the Association, in addition to his administrative responsibilities. In the spring of 1975, a retired superintendent was employed on a half-time basis to aid the Executive Director with the lobbying efforts. By 1976, the need for a full-time lobbyist was evident and the Board of Directors determined that the Association could finance a second full-time position. A second person was hired as Associate Executive Director, with major responsibilities in the lobbying area.

The membership has input through seven functional committees. These are the Board of Directors, Legislative, Illinois Office of Education/State Superintendent Advisory, Membership and Ethics, Resolution, In-Service Platform and Welfare. Each of the 21 IASA regions has a representative to each of these committees, which allows 147 members per year direct involvement in the formulation of the Association's policies.

Organizational setup

Very little can be said about the organizational setup of the paid IASA staff because of its size. The Executive Director acts as the Association's administrative head and maintains the Association's central office in Springfield, executing the directives of the Board of Directors. In terms of political activities, his main responsibility is to monitor the State Board of Education. He attends all State Board meetings and is instrumental in keeping communication lines open between the State Board and administrators across the state. To this second objective, he serves on the Superintendents Advisory Committee to the State Superintendent, which meets periodically. During the legislative session, he strongly (over 50% of his time) backs up the activities of the Associate Executive Director.

The second and only other paid professional staff person is the Associate Executive Director, whose main function is monitoring the legislature. His responsibility is to keep a close surveillance of all legislation which pertains directly to or in some way affects education. He testifies before legislative committees and provides the General Assembly members with information relevant to the appropriate legislation. He is directly accountable to the Executive Director. Both he and the Executive Director are officially

registered IASA lobbyists.

Priorities and thrusts

The Illinois Association of School Administrators State Legislative Committee is made up of 21 members, plus a chairperson and a representative from the Board of Directors. This committee prepares positions on pressing issues based on information prepared in subcommittees in each of the 21 regions of the state. The Legislative Committee does not necessarily prepare formal legislation to be initiated by the Association, but rather develops broad positions on pending bills. The purpose in allowing for such leeway rather than taking a strong pro or con position is to leave room for legislative negotiations. Since the Association monitors all educational bills, it finds it difficult to be all pro or all con on any one particular bill, but often finds only elements of particular bills to be inconsistent with the Association's position. The IASA's efforts can then be put to use negotiating away the unacceptable portions of a bill.

The top priority of the IASA is to maintain management's prerogative in the administration of local districts. The IASA works very closely with the state School Board Association and most of their positions are consistent and compatible. The differentiation lies in the fact that the IASA approaches all state policy and legislation from a day to day

management position, as opposed to the broad governing position of the IASE. Administrators in local school districts must effectuate state policy and legislation through their personnel, which adds a realistic dimension to the IASA's position on pressing education issues. Thus, the practical questions, "Will it work?" and "Is it educationally sound?", underline most IASA decisions on legislation. Two other very important priorities are more money for education and the protection of its members (a goal of most competent professional organizations).

Positions on two major bills

1. Returning the State Office of Education to an Elected State Superintendent - Senate Resolution 31

The IASA has continued to support an appointed superintendent and was at the forefront of bringing about such legislation. The position of the Association on the 1978 resolution was that not ample enough time had passed to evaluate the merits of an appointed superintendent. Its belief was that other issues contributed to the move to return the State Superintendent to an elected position.

2. Collective Bargaining

The IASA to date has opposed all collective bargaining legislation. This position is based on the fact that no legislation has fallen within the parameters formally determined and stated by the IASA. All legislation has been monitored and measured by the following:

The Illinois Association of School Administrators has an adopted position on negotiations which, while recognizing and supporting the legitimacy and value of staff involvement in the decision making process, also protects the rights of children and the citizens of the local school system. It is our belief that any legislation being considered in this area be analyzed with regard to the "do's" and "don'ts" enumerated below.

I. Statement of Position

1. We support the right of teachers to be recognized as an exclusive and sole negotiations unit with a local board of education.
2. The educational profession is sufficiently unique to justify permissive negotiation legislation that deals with it specifically.
3. Legislation dealing with professional negotiations in education should provide a legal basis for the establishment of permissive formal professional negotiation agreements between boards of education and full-time certified, non-supervisory and non-administrative employees.

II. Items Which Should Be Included in Permissive Collective Negotiations

1. Items considered negotiable should be limited to include salaries and fringe benefits which result in direct economic payment, grievance adjustment and negotiation procedures. (Grievance adjustment applies only to items included in formal contractual agreement.)
2. Legislation shall nullify or alter existing professional agreements or union contracts only to the extent that they are contrary to the law.

3. Effective legislation should include a method for determining when impasse is reached; provision for the resolution of impasse.

4. Effective legislation should provide for adequate time limits within which negotiations should be completed.

III. Items To Be Excluded

Negotiations legislation should not:

1. Include fact finding or binding arbitration in the negotiating procedure.

2. Name specific groups to reconcile impasse.

3. Include phrases such as:

a. "conditions of employment"

b. "areas of mutual concern"

c. "related working conditions"

d. "specific reference to curriculum"

e. "involvement of the selection or assignment of administrators"

4. Place school system under N.I.R.B. or similar state agency.

5. Include school systems with other public bodies.

6. Include any provisions for union or agency shop.

Strategies

In the words of the Executive Director, "The IASA is not active politically in the sense that a variety of other organizations are. We do not endorse, support, nor contribute to any candidates for elective office". What the IASA does is to monitor closely all education bills and to keep legislative information flowing. To this end, the organization has initiated Legislative Alert, a brief newsletter which keeps all members informed of important legislation. It is the means by which to activate the membership in letter writing campaigns or contacting their legislators. It should be noted that administrators have double contact with legislators in that they get to know legislators in their school district area as well as the area in which they reside.

For quick and immediate action, a Telephone Tree has been established which lets the word out for assistance via telephone calls, letters and mailgrams. If necessary, members are asked to come to Springfield to testify in committee hearings and to mix with legislators. Often the leadership of the organization can make arrangements for certain administrators to meet with key legislators. The utilization of members for this purpose is limited to a select few. There is great fractionalization among members and many often do

not support the Association's position. Therefore, the staff depends on those favorable to IASA's positions.

Personal contact by the Executive Director with the State Superintendent and State Board members is the means by which state education policy is monitored. In order to influence the direction of policy, the Superintendents Advisory Committee meets with the State Superintendent to discuss pressing issues affecting administrators and to review pertinent policy proposals prior to submission to the State Board.

Lobbying, not only by its members, but more importantly, by its paid, registered lobbyist, is probably the key strategy of the IASA. The Association maintains a full-time lobbyist--who is strongly assisted by the Executive Director--to scrutinize and influence the day to day legislative action. Since the Association does not prepare and promote its own legislation, it requires its lobbyist to negotiate those parts of particular legislation favorable to the IASA. He maintains a close relationship with legislators who are sympathetic to the IASA positions, monitors all educational bills and attempts to coordinate the efforts of IASA members willing to participate in the legislative process.

Data reported for comparison
on the operational grid

Basic Resources

The active membership of the IASA is 1,100 members. This membership donates one half of one percent of their yearly salary with a minimum of \$80 as their dues. These dues, plus money generated by the other types of membership, bring a total of monies collected for 1978 to \$221,000. Miscellaneous money resources exist from conferences and special services, but these funds cover the cost of the services rendered. There is no political action fund. The organization's status allows for the collection process but it has not been done. It was predicted that a dues check off process might be instigated in the near future. The status of members resource for administrators is ranked as HIGH. This assessment was made by the Executive Director, who bases this assessment on the fact that administrators are the professional educational leaders of local communities.

Power

The IASA employs two full-time paid staff members with backup clerical assistance. Consultant money is available for the hiring of special talent when needed. The lobbying staff consists of the two paid staff members. The Associate Executive Director's main function is working with the legislature and the Executive Director assists him. Both are officially registered with the Secretary of State's office as the IASA's lobbyists. The association does not have a research department or division. Research is done either by the Executive Director, a committee of superintendents or individual members on a consultant basis. The IASA does not have a political action arm. Eight out of ten lobbying sources were cited as being utilized by the IASA. They are: staff contact; research; local members; information; coalition activity; credibility and respect of organization; status of members; and personal contact.

Natural and negotiated coalitions

The IASA finds the forming of coalitions to be a very important asset in supporting their interests. Since their active membership numbers around 1,100, the IASA falls well behind other state education organizations in strength of numbers. In addition, the lack of professional paid staff to refine political activities necessitates borrowing on other organizations' abilities.

The coalitions always depend on the issues and as few as one to as many as all five organizations (IASA, IASB, IEA, IFT and IPA) can be involved in a coalition. The IASA can be friendly and cooperative with an organization on one issue and be diametrically opposed on another. Issues such as school finance will often bring together many or all of the organizations. Since the IASA is an offshoot of the IEA, and because management and labor have some common concerns, the IASA and IEA had formed a strong coalition. In the past few years, because of teacher militancy and collective bargaining, the IASA/IEA coalition has rapidly deteriorated. The strongest ally and co-collaborator is the IASB, with which the IASA works together on all bills nearly 99% of the time.

ANALYSIS: Illinois Association of School Administrators

Question I - Do state education organizations
get involved in the political process to
influence state educational policies?

The Illinois Association of School Administrators is the smallest professional organization involved in this study, as measured by number of members and number of staff persons. In direct proportion to this fact lies the status of members. The IASA is the professional organization representing almost all superintendents and their immediate administrative support staff. These persons are the prime educational decision makers in local public education in Illinois. By statute, all administrators have had classroom experience and have moved up to the management level of education. Although school boards govern public education, it is the administrator in each district who guides the governing decisions based on experience and credentials and executes the desires of the local board through professional discretion. The status of members places the IASA in a very predominant and crucial position among professional educational groups, often being compared to the Illinois Medical Society and the Illinois Bar Association for status. Whether this status is a true reality is not a subject of this study. What

is of major importance is how the smallest but possibly the most influential educational organization behaves in the political arena to influence state educational decisions.

Political involvement for the IASA is a qualified activity. As early as 1969, the organization was cognizant of its responsibility to its membership to influence legislation and state policy. Political maneuvering in the educational realm at that time meant no more than carrying on lobbying with legislators. As the data indicates, a commitment was made by the IASA to hire one specific person to conduct such activities, but that commitment had to be rescinded because of budgetary constraints. The IASA felt strongly enough about maintaining an organization lobbyist that it integrated those activities into the Executive Director's job responsibilities. Thus, lobbying became the key and sole IASA contribution to politically influencing educational decisions. This activity has continued until the present in an expanded form (one full-time lobbyist and the Executive Director, who is also an official lobbyist), but no other political activities have been officially initiated.

As the Executive Director indicated, the IASA is not "active politically in the sense that a variety of other organizations are". Overtly, no endorsements, support or contributions are made to local or state political candidates. Yet, on behalf of the organization, the Executive Director spends an overwhelming proportion of his time across the state

working on support for IASA positions. Often he is soliciting the assistance of his own membership, which tends to be independent minded and often works counter to the organization's position. A good example of the membership's fractionalism and independence occurred in 1975 when the then elected State Superintendent approached the IASA at their fall meeting in Springfield for their endorsement to be given to the newly appointed State Board of Education to appoint him State Superintendent. Since this was a non-partisan appointment which affected Illinois education directly, the IASA determined that it could provide such an endorsement. After a preliminary vote and polling of the membership, the Executive Director indicated that the endorsement was forthcoming. At the meeting with the State Superintendent present, a group of administrators spearheaded a vociferous campaign and reversed the Association's endorsement on its official vote.

In terms of the legislature, the two staff persons monitor its activities vis a vis the IASA's position. Members are called upon for testimony when needed and do so willingly. The main responsibility for such activity is with the staff, but members often come on their own, independent of the IASA. These independent visitations and lobbying efforts are often confusing to the legislators, who may interpret such actions as IASA-initiated.

The State Board of Education works closely with the IASA. Many staff positions within the Illinois Office of Ed-

ucation have been filled by recommendations made by the IASA. A specific staff member has been designated by the Office of Education to act as ombudsman to local district administrative problems. The IASA Executive Director attends all State Board meetings and the standing IASA Liaison Committee with the Illinois Office of Education meets regularly to review State Board policy proposals affecting local districts.

In response to the originally posed question, Do state education organizations get involved in the political process to influence state educational policies?; yes, the IASA is politically active, as evidenced by:

1. An official but qualified commitment to political activity.
2. Lobbying in the legislature by two staff persons as the qualified political activity.
3. Independent membership political activity.
4. Influencing of State Board policy through formal and direct routes.

Question II - If these organizations do get involved,
how is their political action being executed, as
measured according to established criteria?

Basic Resources

Number of members

The data indicate that the Illinois Association of School Administrators maintains that 1,100 out of a possible 1,500 administrators make up its active membership. First, from a review of Illinois certification records, it can be shown that the potential administrator membership far exceeds the indicated 1,500 number and that the IASA has not reached out comprehensively and aggressively enough to bolster its membership. Secondly, of the 1,100 active members, the overwhelming majority are local superintendents and aspiring superintendents, which makes one ask why more second level administrative types are not members. The IASA membership is small and select. If there were a reason for this size and selectivity, it was not given. It can only be conjectured that not enough time and effort is being given to diverse and special administrative needs.

The number of members of the IASA ranks the Association as the smallest of the five organizations studied. This ranking is further diluted by the membership's fractionalism,

which often denies the Association a united voice. Although an increased membership and a more cohesive program would not assist in ranking the IASA higher in numbers in relation to the other organizations, these assets, coupled with status of members, would make the IASA a stronger and more viable organization. For example, the Illinois Bar Association represents almost all potential lawyers and accommodates their individual specialties and concerns through association subsections. Thus, it maintains size and cohesiveness.

Money

The Illinois Association of School Administrators was the only group studied which required its membership to pay dues as a percentage of the members' salaries. With salaries escalating at a high rate, individual members are taxed at a high level in order to be a member of the IASA. In spite of this dues structure, the IASA has insufficient numbers to greatly affect dues income. The organization ranks fourth among the study's five organizations. Its dues income just adequately provides for the small staff and operational costs.

Miscellaneous money resources

The IASA does not have a political arm by which to generate miscellaneous money resources for political activities. Its statewide convention and workshops provide income which is beneficial only in the sense that it is a part of a rotating fund and gives the Association cash flow capabilities. An interesting side note on miscellaneous money resources is the fact that one of the splinter groups within the IASA, which formed over the desire to back the Strayer-Haig finance formula, was able to collect a \$15-20 fee per member (through personal or board granted money) to be used for lobbying purposes. This was strictly an ad hoc effort and the money was clearly used for political activity to gain an educational end.

Status of members

The definition of status of members in the Introduction of this chapter stated "the degree to which individual members of the respective groups command respect and credibility because of the positions they hold". Because superintendents are the administrative heads of school systems, they are a valuable source of influence. They can bring to bear on the legislative and policy process first-hand professional knowledge and expertise on public education. For this reason, IASA members and staff have a HIGH status ranking, which they use openly and blatantly to their benefit. This ranking is consistent with Campbell and Maz-zoni's criteria.

Power

Professional staff

The IASA does not rank well in terms of professional staff. It has the lowest number of staff members, as does the Illinois Principals Association. Both organizations rank far behind the two teacher groups and the school board association. In terms of political activities, the two staff positions which do exist are very well utilized. One position is totally devoted to political purposes and the other contributes 50% of his time to such activities.

Lobbying staff

Based on the official Secretary of State's List of Individual Lobbyists, the IASA has two registered lobbyists. Considering the vast differences in staff size and money resources, the Association ranks well against the other organizations. In addition, its active membership, which works through a Telephone Tree to bring superintendents to Springfield for lobbying, greatly increases the Association's lobbying strength.

Research capabilities

The IASA does not have a research department, which is obvious by its staff size. In response to this question, it was noted that research capabilities are available. The Executive Director provides this service as needed. A more efficient and wise use of membership expertise is the committees of superintendents brought together to prepare position papers on a given issue. Individual superintendents are used on a consultant basis. Because of the good use of Association talent, the IASA greatly enhances its political efforts by being able to provide accurate and well defined information to legislators. Research capabilities is a very strong asset for the IASA.

political action arm

Since the IASA is an offshoot of the Illinois Education Association, its legal status remains open for a political action arm, which does not exist at the present time. The establishment of such an arm would provide a dues collection process which would make the IASA politically viable. The Executive Director indicated that a move to establish a political arm might be considered in the future, but no concrete discussions or plans have occurred on the subject. It appears that the establishment of such an arm is not a strong possibility. If the impetus were to come, it would come from those administrators of districts with similar concerns. As stated under miscellaneous resources, administrators have banded together for political purposes. Another good example of these political splinter groups is those who pay a fee to Ed-Red, an educational lobbying firm which acts as a political arm for districts with similar concerns. In the absence of an IASA political arm, administrators have compensated by resolving their needs through these ad hoc efforts. This poses a real question as to which method is more efficient--one collective IASA political arm or ad hoc groups bringing together special interests. This is an area which needs further investigation.

Sources of lobbying strength

As stated earlier, since all ten sources of lobbying strength were given equal status, no differentiation can be made other than number of means used. The IASA named eight out of ten means of lobbying strength, which gives the Association an 80% power base. For a more accurate accounting, it would have to be determined to what degree each means is being used and to what degree the two means not utilized (campaign money and political action arm) constitute a more effective approach.

In response to the originally posed question, If the organizations do get involved, how is their political action being executed, as measured according to established criteria?; it is being executed by:

1. One thousand one hundred (1,100) members, a number that ranks well behind the teacher groups and school board association and that does not meet the full potential for membership because of the apparent selectivity of members;
2. Two hundred twenty one thousand dollars (\$221,000) for use in personnel, operations and consultants;
3. No miscellaneous money resources, except when generated by ad hoc groups;
4. A HIGH status of members ranking because of the nature of its membership, who are administrative heads of

school districts and are used extensively by the Association;

5. Two professional staff positions, which constitutes an exceptionally small staff, but whose responsibilities are mostly geared to political efforts;

6. Two officially registered lobbyists, which ranks the Association well against the other groups and who are strongly backed by members, as needed;

7. No research department, but a strong ability to provide research when needed;

8. No political action arm, but provision of such a service by members through their own ad hoc efforts;

9. Eight out of ten sources of lobbying strength, constituting an 80% power base.

Question III - Is this activity translated into planned and organized political action programs?

Question IV - What are those programs?

The Illinois Association of School Administrators' political program can be characterized as a qualified, moderately organized approach which is loosely executed. The organization comes from the three most powerful groups within the IASA; the Board of Directors, which is the real force, the Legislative Committee and the Illinois Office of Education/State Superintendent Advisory Committee. These three committees give the Association its direction. The Board of Directors provides overall power and impetus by bridging the disparities in political sophistication which exist between members in the various parts of the state and initiating concrete types of political maneuverings such as the Telephone Tree, which involves a good cross-section of members. The Legislative Committee provides an appropriate avenue for membership input into the legislative process and establishes the IASA legislative platform. Its commitment is to sound management practices, protection of administrators and more money for education, as it reviews all educational legislation. The Illinois Office of Education/State Superintendent Advisory Committee closely monitors State Board policy and

each year allows 21 superintendents intimate access to the State Superintendent for frank educational discussions.

Some of the looseness comes from the fact that these committees are constituted of members who have full-time responsibilities of their own. Thus, the execution of the Board's and Committee's directives are left to a staff of two persons. The Executive Director gives a minimum of 50% of his time to assisting in lobbying activities when the legislature is in session. Another good portion of his time is given to the Welfare and Ethics Committee work, which depends on the Director to intercede on behalf of superintendents around the state for such things as superintendents' evaluation, contract settlements and dismissals. Add to this his close work with the Illinois Office of Education/State Superintendent Advisory Committee and it can be determined that there is not much room left for close surveillance or initiation of political activities.

Since the Association cannot afford more staff to give its members direction, it has opened itself up to ad hoc political efforts by its membership. These efforts are fed upon by the egos of the local administrators, who consider themselves educational experts and whose leadership qualities purport to qualify them to do their own political work. In a recent vote of the IASA to support a cabinet position for education at the federal level, several superintendents openly opposed such a move through testimony and lobbying in Washington, thus diluting the state association's

position. Fault may lie with the structure of the IASA, which does not have a formal place for dissenting opinions among superintendents and among the various administrator groups.

The lack of membership cohesiveness and the small paid staff are the two factors which lend to the looseness of the IASA political program. The difficulty lies in evaluating which aspect brings on which. Does the fact that there is not enough paid staff to devote to close monitoring of members on political action bring on the looseness? Or does the status of members who are educational experts and can handle their own political action bring on the looseness? In an informal interview of several IASA members, it was indicated that both factors were contributors and since there was not enough money for more Association political action, the situation would probably continue to exist. The Board of Directors was indicated as the only hope for more planned and organized efforts.

The IASA committed itself to political involvement as early as 1969 when the present Executive Director took on the administration of the administrators portion of the IEA and continued to do so through the transition of the administration group to an association of its own. In spite of its financial inability to concretely support lobbying efforts through a paid staff, the IASA encouraged the Director to pursue such work. As of 1975, a full-time lobbyist was

employed. This commitment to a full-time lobbyist is one of the Association's greatest political strengths. The IASA has someone on the scene (the legislature) as money allocation and state policy are being determined. Considering the size of the staff and the need for tightening of the political program, the hiring of a full-time lobbyist is a relatively progressive and strategic move. Cohesiveness of the membership can be worked on by the Board of Directors, but the lobbying on a full-time basis cannot. If the lobbyist should decide to leave the position (which is presently the case), it will be interesting to note if the IASA will continue such political work.

As stated earlier, membership involvement is part of the IASA's political program. In spite of ad hoc efforts, many members become involved through either the three main committees or through individual efforts in consort with the Association. The Telephone Tree and the newsletter, Legislative Alert, instigate administrators' political action either in their own area (school district and/or home) or in Springfield for testimony and lobbying.

There was no indication that a written political program existed. Possibly, the minutes of the Board of Directors meetings would indicate some written example of a political action program, but this would not constitute a written agenda. The only other written base for political activities is the Legislative Committee's recommendations,

Question V - What aspects of those programs
appear to be the most successful?

The first and most important point that must be reiterated about the Illinois Association of School Administrators is that its political activities are based on a qualified definition of politics. Since it does not have a political action arm which would provide money, manpower and mandates, its activities are limited to what can be done within the confines of its organizational structure and minimum staff. As stated in the data, the IASA is not active politically in what is considered the hard-core and organizationally profitable type of political activity--candidate endorsement. Its early and continued practice of organization lobbying is the mainstay of its political program.

Although the organization has deliberately maintained a relatively weak (in comparison to the other organizations) political program, there are a number of factors which dictate such a deliberate position. The size of its membership and the size of its staff cripple any attempts at grand scale political maneuvering. Although the lack of greater membership was explained in response to Question I as being part of the organization's non-aggressive, select membership drive, the size of staff cannot be faulted based

on the amount of funds available for hiring purposes. The IASA ranks second to last on total dues collected, even though its members pay a fair and substantial amount per member. Size of staff and money available to increase staff can be directly linked to the size of membership. These factors can be altered to the organization's favor if it so desired by attempting to increase membership.

The other factor which, if modified and controlled, could assist in greatly strengthening the IASA's political program, is the independent nature of its members. As stated earlier, the organization does not allow enough room and flexibility within its structure for minority concerns. It appears that the organization is willing to negotiate externally on portions of educational issues and then lend the IASA backing to the issues when satisfied certain trade-offs have been reached, but apparently neglects to do so internally. Coupled with this and lending to the independence of members is the lack of member in-services on governmental and political maneuvering. Confirming and updating earlier data on the subject (Lehman Doctoral Dissertation, Superintendents' Legislative Activities, Loyola University, 1978), a review of in-service offerings for 1978-79 reveals that no serious attempt has been made to assist members to grow and to coalesce in the political process.

In spite of these factors, which perpetuate a limited political program, the IASA maintains a number of suc-

cessful political activities. When administrators were forced to assume a management role in the labor/management context, they immediately adopted the use of a professional lobbyist. Since administrators were not prepared professionally nor psychologically suited for their new roles, the lobbyist was able to sustain the organization and its members' goals through a time which was also earmarked by aggressive political moves of teachers. This lobbying power was increased to two persons and eventually supplemented by members who came to Springfield on an as needed basis. With the inclusion of members in lobbying, the status of administrators began to be utilized. The professional lobbyists now pave the way on a day to day basis for the administrators' professional views to be sought out and listened to. What the IASA lacks in size and political power, it attempts to compensate through lobbying and influence.

Before any organization can become politically active, it must know what it stands for. The IASA has established a process whose annual outcome is a printed document stating the Association's position on a number of broad and specific issues--many of which can be controversial. Some issues cover education in general and others protect the IASA membership. Some examples of these are:

School District Reorganization

A fundamental goal of the Illinois Association of School Administrators is the educational development of

all persons to the limits of their capacity. The Illinois Constitution calls for an efficient system of high quality public educational institutions and services. In striving to fulfill these needs, the Illinois Association of School Administrators:

a. Recognizes that there is no fully conclusive research on the benefits of any particular school district size or organization, and

b. Is committed to local communities being able to determine for themselves the size and nature of their school districts.

Legislation supporting these principles will receive the support of the Association.

Due Process

It is recommended that a bill be drafted and introduced into the General Assembly which will provide some of the elements of due process. The provisions of the bill should include:

a. Notice by February 1 if a superintendent is to be dismissed or not to be re-employed.

b. A written statement of reasons for the dismissal or non re-employment.

c. A private hearing upon request of the Superintendent with the board of education concerning the reasons.

d. A provision which states that the bill does not nullify any contract now in existence.

It was further recommended that other administrators (assistant superintendents, principals, business managers) be included if interest is indicated by their Association.

Not only is such information important as the foundation of the organization and its political activities, but it also provides a basis for further research. This research is most often conducted by members, bringing to bear their expertise and solidifying their involvement on pertinent issues. The organization is then prepared to provide legislators with accurate and professional information.

One of the most important aspects of the IASA as a whole which also affects its political activities is the attempt by the leadership to give the Association greater direction, organization and cohesiveness. This work has come

about only in the last three to four years and is still in its early stages. Superintendents have become more sophisticated in their management roles. Many are leaders of large, heterogeneous districts, which present a variety of educational, financial, legal and public relations challenges. The expertise gained from confronting these challenges, as well as the involvement in local and state politics to resolve such concerns, is being brought to bear on the direction and organization of the administrators' professional association. Members who are more sophisticated in their knowledge of the effects of state level decision making and have a more global vision of state needs are taking leadership roles in the IASA. What is beginning to develop is a cadre of powerful leaders residing in the IASA Board of Directors. It would appear that there could be more fractionalization of the organization because of the disparities in the level of sophistication of members around the state, but the personalities of these emerging leaders are such that they are not offensive. As indicated earlier, the Board of Directors is working on the Association's political program by developing specific avenues and tasks for membership involvement. They are gaining various types of communication linkages with local and state political elites. Their expertise has allowed them to become a repository of information which is readily desired by the legislature. They are beginning to develop a political identity on behalf

of the IASA.

In response to the originally posed question, What aspects of those programs appear to be the most successful?; those aspects are:

1. Lobbying activities through a full-time lobbyist with strong assistance from the Executive Director and backup members who stress their status of members power;
2. Written position statements which form the foundation of political activities and provide the basis for further research, as well as available information for policy makers;
3. An emerging leadership which is giving the organization more concrete direction and greater political astuteness.

Illinois Education Association

Historical background

The Illinois Education Association's political background centers around the establishment of the Association's political action arm. Although the IEA was active politically in the late 1960's, in 1971 its Representative Assembly created an Education Political Action Committee (ED-PAC) to serve as its auxiliary political branch. In 1972, the name of the committee was changed and ED-PAC became IPACE: Illinois Political Action Committee for Education. This committee is the political voice of over 60,000 members of the Illinois Education Association, one of two professional organizations in Illinois serving teachers in general. Its basic purpose is:

To promote politically the cause of education in the State of Illinois. To this end it shall encourage teachers to register and vote, to exercise their full right and responsibilities of citizenship, and to perform their rightful part in the political life of the local, state and national communities.

The IEA's basis for political involvement of its members is best summed up in the Introduction to its Election Handbook:

All decisions, unless made dictatorially, are made politically. Political activity is a responsibility citizens must assume in a democratic society. A goal of education to advance society by fostering an informed and

reasoning citizenry inexorably commits educators to political action.

Practically, the IEA determined that in order for teachers to advance their causes they must deal with those who make the educational decisions and influence them in the manner that is expected. This meant direct lobbying (four lobbyists were hired), campaign contributions to candidates (a dues checkoff system was initiated) and candidate endorsements.

Organizational setup

IPACE is divided into two levels of operation. At the state level it is governed by a fifteen member Executive Committee. The President and Vice President of the IEA serve as the Chairperson and Vice Chairperson of the Committee. Thirteen members of the Association's Board of Directors constitute the remainder of the Committee. There are nine who are elected and four who are appointed to serve three-year staggered terms. All are chosen on the basis of U.S. Congressional Districts. The Committee is responsible for the policies, direction and activities of IPACE.

Its duties are:

1. To encourage the qualification and registration to vote of members of the IEA and of affiliated organizations of the IEA, their families and friends.
2. To insure maximum voting participation on election day.
3. To encourage qualified candidates to seek public office.
4. To educate members, and families and friends, and to develop community educational programs on the political issues of the day through study, discussion and other appropriate means.
5. To recommend endorsements of U.S. Senate and statewide races to the IEA Board of Directors and to review the endorsements of state legislative, U.S. Congressional, judicial and Cook County candidates and before an endorsement is complete to concur with the corresponding committee.

6. To collect, administer and expend contributions to IPACE.

7. To establish subcommittees or departments as it deems desirable and proper, including an administrative committee to carry on the routine duties between meetings of the Executive Committee.

8. To assist in the formation of local and regional PACE units and to provide assistance, direction and coordination to the political education work of such PACE units within the state.

The IPACE administrative staff includes an Executive Secretary, the chief lobbyist who is titled Coordinator, three consultants who are also lobbyists and a Treasurer. Written job descriptions were not available.

The second level of operation is the local PACE units. Each of the 750 chartered local associations has a unit to work with the state Committee in promoting political activity at the local level. Although the units are independent of the local associations, they function as auxilliary bodies of the associations, working for education through political channels. The local association's president is the chairperson of the local PACE. The chairperson usually appoints four to eight local association members to serve on the local PACE committee.

Each local PACE unit may formulate its own rules and procedures, but they may not be inconsistent with those of the state IPACE. The two main commitments to the state committee are endorsements and the collection of political funds. Local PACE units are solely responsible for endorsements of local school board candidates. For larger political

districts, each unit is represented by the unit's chairperson with one vote, plus one additional weighted vote for every \$100 contributed to IPACE.

Members voluntarily contribute \$6.00 each to IPACE. The collection of these monies is done by the local unit, which forwards all money collected to the state organization. If a local unit wishes to fund local political programs, it may request of IPACE a \$1.00 rebate per one local contributing member. An additional \$1.50 rebate per contributing member can be applied for by submitting a special project request.

Priorities and thrusts

Legislative positions of the IEA are determined by the General Assembly at their annual convention. The legislative platform is put together by the Legislative Committee. This Committee is appointed by the IEA President and is composed of nine IEA teachers around the state. Its sources of information for legislative ideas come from the Committee itself, local association members and the IEA Department of Legislation and Political Education staff. The Committee meets in September of each year to review all past legislation and then proceeds to meet with the 43 IEA Regions for updating and input. It meets again in December to codify all legislative stands and recommendations. The legislative package is given to the Board of Directors for review and is then presented to the General Assembly for approval.

The IEA does not formally prioritize its legislative package, but unofficially there are issues which receive greater support. Once the IEA has approved its legislative program, the IPACE Committee begins its political work through the four full-time lobbyists to promote the program.

The IEA's Legislative Platform for spring 1978 was:

- Accountability
- Collective bargaining
- Educational excellence
- Equal rights
- Higher education

Improved state and local tax systems
Lifelong education
Maintenance of standards
Minimum salary and teacher compensation
Non-public school support
Part-timers and aides, paraprofessionals
Professional standards
Support of the electoral process
School district reorganization
School finance
School service personnel
State Board of Education
Retirement systems
Tenure

From this extensive list, the President cited the following as the Association's top priorities:

Collective bargaining
Equal rights
Improved state and local tax systems
Support of the electoral process

Positions on two major bills

1. Returning the State Office of Education to an Elected State Superintendent - Senate Resolution 31

Since the 1960's, the IEA had been consistently in favor of an elected State Superintendent of Education. When the new 1970 state constitution called for an appointed Superintendent, the IEA modified its position by supporting an elected State Board, who would appoint the State Superintendent. When legislation was passed to appoint the Board and the Superintendent, the IEA stated that it would support such a process, but took a formal position that these appointments would have a lack of public accountability. Although the IEA was not an initiator of Senate Resolution 31 because of other pressing legislation, its lobbyists encouraged sponsors of the legislation to proceed and lobbied for its passage.

2. Collective Bargaining

As stated in the IEA Legislative Platform:

The Illinois legislature has repeatedly abdicated its responsibility to teachers in failing to enact meaningful collective bargaining legislation. The Illinois Education Association urges the adoption of legislation which would establish the legal framework to protect the rights of all interested parties and to provide for the resolution of differences. Such legislation should include the right to strike and the provision that all represented employees pay a fair share of the cost of representation.

This issue permeates the Association's political actions and was the instigating force for an aggressive political posture. Since Illinois to date does not have a collective bargaining law, the issue will persist as long as labor unions are without one. A comprehensive, master contract in the hands of every IEA member is the long term goal of the IEA.

Strategies

The IEA uses a multitude of strategies to further its causes in the legislature. The use of four professional lobbyists acts as the focal point for all other strategies. As stated in the section on organizational setup, IPACE has one main lobbyist who is identified as Coordinator and three other official lobbyists who are identified as Consultants. Their responsibility is to work directly with the legislature to promote the IEA legislative package. The IEA lobbyists have as their responsibility a working knowledge of which legislators are sympathetic and supportive of the IEA's causes. Getting to know the legislators and their voting record constitutes the most important function of the lobbyist.

To back up and assist the lobbyists, IPACE has a number of strategies which are overtly explained in a number of its publications. The most important is the selection and support of candidates to public office who are committed to the IEA Legislative Platform. Endorsements are made on all levels of government and include elections of local school boards; cities, villages and special districts; Cook County; county offices; judicial; Illinois House and Senate; U.S. Congress; U.S. Senate; and state offices. Each has its

own individual set of procedures and contributing endorsing committees. The state legislature is the most important political arena for the IEA. Endorsements of these offices are determined by a Legislative District Endorsing Committee, made up of the chairpersons of the local PACE units of the particular legislative district. Candidates are evaluated on the basis of their support of the established IEA Legislative Platform. Incumbents are judged on their past records. "Performance over promise" is the guiding principle. If an incumbent has a good performance record, his opponent will not be considered for endorsement. Candidates are met and questioned at an endorsement meeting. Endorsements are decided by a majority of the weighted vote of those who are present and participate in the endorsement meetings. Votes are allocated on a weighted basis according to the number of contributing PACE members per unit. The IPACE Executive Committee must review and concur on endorsements in order for them to be official.

Support, in the way of monetary assistance, is the complementary procedure to endorsements. Each local PACE member can voluntarily contribute \$6.00 to IPACE and has the option to have the money refunded. Of the \$6.00, \$4.00 (or 50 percent of all monies collected) are used by the state IPACE for legislative, gubernatorial and other statewide races. How much to each candidate and what the distribution formula is was not disclosed.

A program initiated in 1973 allows endorsed legislators to speak directly to teacher IPACE members on educational issues. This is the IPACE breakfast. At least twice a year on designated Saturday mornings, teachers in each legislative district meet for breakfast with endorsed candidates. Those invited include the IPACE endorsed legislators, IPACE and local association legislative leaders, local presidents and spouses, regional council representatives, the IPACE Executive Committee representative, and IEA campaign volunteers. It is an opportunity for members to inform legislators and be informed by them. IPACE pays for all expenses.

Another important strategy makes use of the vast numbers of IEA teachers across the state. Lobbying drives are initiated one week in June (during the legislative session) for the past six years (since 1973). Close to 10,000 teachers go to Springfield to meet with their representatives to promote the IEA legislative package. If certain bills need assistance, the teacher advocates will emphasize them with their representatives. The teachers are provided by IPACE with research materials and evidence to present their case. Events are staged to draw attention to the mass lobbying (e.g., a free beer and hot dog tent on the lawn of the IEA building, which is across the street from the State Capitol).

If IPACE has endorsed legislative candidates, expended energies and contributed financially to their campaigns, it then proceeds to make the legislators accountable.

A written legislative report card is prepared, which measures to what degree legislators have been supportive of IEA goals. Their votes on teacher and educational issues are compared to the previous session to see if there has been an increase in legislative support. These report cards are mailed to the legislators and a response with justification is expected.

Although not pertinent to state politics, IPACE has prepared for local PACE units an Election Handbook for general elections and a School Board Election Training Manual for school board elections. Both publications are designed to incorporate the experience and success of teacher political talent. They are simply but comprehensively written and include directions on the political process, such as (1) Getting to Know the District, (2) Selecting a Candidate, (3) Starting a Campaign, (4) Targeting, (5) Contacting the Voters, (6) Getting Out Your Votes on Election Day, and (7) Maintaining Contact with the Elected Candidate.

Data reported for comparison
on the operational grid

Information for the Operational Grid reflects the Illinois Education Association's political action arm--IPACE. Membership in IPACE is over 60,000, which is approximately 89% of the IEA membership. Each PACE member automatically contributes \$6.00 to IPACE and has the option of having the \$6.00 refunded by checking off a small box on the membership card. Of the \$6.00, \$1.00 is given to the NEA Political Action Committee and \$1.00 is reserved for the local PACE unit. The contributions are broken down as:

- 50% - Campaign contributions and awards
- 14% - Rebates
- 11% - Refunds
- 11% - Special programs and breakfasts
- 7% - Teacher and campaign interns
- 6% - Operating expenses and board

The total collected in 1978 is approximately \$321,000. For the purpose of the Operational Grid, this amount constitutes the Miscellaneous Money Resource. Accurate records are kept of every contribution, the contributor, and all IPACE contributions to campaigns and candidates. Contributions are kept in separate accounts and audited by an outside accounting firm. Based on the rationale described by Campbell and Mazzoni, the IEA membership was given an AVERAGE status of members ranking. Teachers maintain a secondary position and

role in local education.

IPACE has six staff members; the Executive Secretary, Coordinator (lobbyist), three Consultants (lobbyists), and Treasurer. Of this staff, four persons are officially registered lobbyists. Although it does not have a research department per se within the IPACE structure, it is capable of doing research either through its committee or through the IEA standing committees. IPACE is the political action arm of the IEA. It lists the following as its sources of lobbying strength: campaign money, staff contact, research, local members, information, coalition activity, credibility and respect of organization, status of members, political power and personal contact.

Natural and negotiated coalitions

Coalitions are formed on issues. One natural coalition based on teacher needs is with the Illinois Federation of Teachers. It was not cited to what degree this is actively maintained, nor was the IFT mentioned as a strong ally. The IEA is open to other coalitions among educational groups on broad education issues. As the President stated, "Back scratching is done". The IEA actively ties into labor groups outside of education for assistance. This type of coalition works on furthering labor issues such as collective bargaining.

ANALYSIS: Illinois Education Association

Question I - Do state education organizations get involved in the political process to influence state educational policies?

In the Review of the Literature section of this study, Carr, Bernstein, Murphy and Danielson outline three basic techniques that an interest group may use to influence governmental decisions. These are electioneering, lobbying and propagandizing. The Illinois Education Association is the only group in this study which fully utilizes all three political activities, as will be described in ANALYSIS: Questions III and IV.

In the Campbell and Mazzone criteria, a political action arm is given equal weight as the other nine basic resources and power but is acknowledged as the main and crucial power which can subsume the others and provide an organization with the greatest political leverage. In analyzing the Illinois Education Association's political activity, it is necessary to focus solely on the work of its political action arm. This focus makes the IEA unique in this study because of its political work, which is centralized, independent, but coordinated with the main organization. The Illinois Federation of Teachers is similar in this respect, but not as high-

ly developed on the state level. The mere existence of such an arm automatically responds affirmatively to the study's initial question. What is more pertinent to the inquiry in relation to the IEA is an analysis of the factors which provoked the IEA to create a political action arm and its attempt to move educational decision making into a highly political arena.

The elements which created the atmosphere for political action at the state level to achieve success in education goes back as early as 1965. Federal aid under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act stimulated states to analyze more critically the unmet needs of certain elements of the school population, as well as overall deficiencies in school operations. Court cases were beginning to challenge inequities in such areas as school finance and education for the handicapped and minorities. Illinois' financial condition in the late 1960's and early 1970's allowed greater allocation of monies to meet these needs through new educational programs. Task forces were appointed to review the state's finance system and governance structure, a bilingual education bill was signed, monies were approved to advance educational programs for the handicapped, and improved services for early childhood education were encouraged. With these reforms came attention to the use of these monies through accountability programs, statewide planning decisions and cooperative information systems.

The focus of education was moving to the state level,

more particularly to the Illinois legislature. The State Superintendent's office was at the forefront of these educational reforms in the early 1970's because of an energetic, professional educator with political ties holding the position who felt that an aggressive State Education Agency would keep educational decisions with educators and would also move local school districts into action. His young staff maintained ties with classroom needs and teacher associations from which they had recently come. This leadership identified the state's needs, prepared programs through legislation and brought its political contacts to bear on winning legislative success, but in the final analysis, it was the legislature which enacted the programs and appropriated the funds.

With each area where additional funds and administrative support were provided came a more precise delineation of the educational services to be performed. These state actions which modified the scope of the school program had a direct impact on the numbers, responsibilities and compensation of school employees. The welfare of these employees was the responsibility of their professional organization, the Illinois Education Association. Because teacher salaries constitute the largest budget category of the schools, more money for school programs meant more money to hire teachers. Thus, teacher membership in the IEA also increased and the Association's efforts converged on teacher concerns. This preoccupation with teacher welfare provoked the splitting of administrators from teachers, as indicated in the analysis

of the IASA and IPA.

State policy with fiscal implications contemplated by the legislature directly affected IEA members. Concurrently, IEA members were in a position to know educational needs and shortcomings of the state directly from the classroom and this became an important resource for policy making. The IEA at this point determined that it must organize and concentrate its efforts and influence on the legislature to achieve adequate teacher compensation, benefits and security, employee rights such as due process in grievance procedures and collective bargaining. Its increased membership provided manpower and money and a constituency which was willing to expand its professional participation and awareness. Feeding into this scene of action were growing management/labor schisms within other public sector employee groups. Since the legislature was the target group, the IEA would have to function as other interest groups, using organized persuasion and constituent pressure. As political activities increased, the internal workings of the IEA became cumbersome and controversial with some of its members. The logical move was to a separate committee whose work would concentrate on establishing the means for statewide political activity based on designated and controlled grassroots involvement. ED-PAC was created with a negative dues checkoff system, thereby providing funds and allowing members an opportunity to decline involvement.

In summary and in response to the originally posed

question, Do state education organizations get involved in the political process to influence state educational policies?; yes, the IEA is politically involved, as evidenced by a highly active political action arm created to pursue teacher welfare rights in the Illinois state legislature.

Question II - If these organizations do get involved, how is their political action being executed, as measured according to established criteria?

Basic Resources

Number of members

The easiest resource to measure is number of members, and for the IEA, it is a resource which has led to its present day strength. Its escalating numbers in the early 1970's provided grassroot manpower which, once trained and controlled, became a very persuasive bargaining unit, both at the local and state level. Its large number (60,000) is ten times larger than the IASB and one hundred times larger than the IASA. This overwhelming edge over other educational organizations is the mainstay of its political program.

The organizational setup of IPACE provides a formal but open structure for members to be actively involved in political activity. Local IEA units each have their own political arms and are given concrete assistance through regional and state leadership to be active in school board and local political campaigns. Election handbooks and school board election training manuals instruct local units on how to bring their numbers to bear on local elections. Once

trained at the local level, these numbers can be fed into large scale, state level maneuverings. The IEA maintains a strong asset in its membership and utilizes it well.

Money

Since dues income for the IEA was not relative to its political activity, these data were not reported.

Miscellaneous money resources

Coupled with number of members, the other highly significant resource is monies collected for political action. It is approximated that the IEA averaged about \$321,000 in 1978 for use in its political activities, the highest amount collected to date. These monies provide for a very adequate staff (six in number) whose sole function is coordination of all political work. Local political work is supported with an incentive plan which encourages political growth and compensates through more money.

The most outstanding use of these monies is campaign contributions. Campaigning for state offices is a very expensive proposition. Illinois has a campaign regulatory law which outlines who may donate to campaigns without invoking a conflict of interest and over what period of time. This law was part of the contributing circumstances which led the IEA to form a political action arm because the law outlines that dues money of associations cannot be used for political activity. Political committees must be formed with strict accounting systems, which the IEA has done. Since the law does not place ceilings on campaign contributions to candidates, IPACE has given large amounts to crucial state legislative candidates and state office candidates

(e.g., over \$100,000 to the Republican gubernatorial candidate in 1978). The IEA political war chest has risen from \$300 in 1969 to \$180,000 in 1978 and is used as a strong persuasive force with candidates.

Status of members

The IEA's AVERAGE status of members ranking comes from a lack of influence as teachers. If compared to school board members and administrators, teachers would not command as great a respect and credibility because of the secondary positions they hold in the local district. Pertinent to this study is the consideration of who has status in the political arena. As indicated in the Review of the Literature of this study, the IEA is regarded among lawmakers as one of the stronger labor groups, particularly in Chicago suburbs and downstate--areas important to state policy. Thus, among high pressure groups, the IEA would rank well and would be given a HIGH status of members rating, but to apply the study's criteria equitably, the IEA receives an AVERAGE ranking.

Power

Professional staff

The IEA, through IPACE, employs a very adequate staff of six to attend to political activities of the association. This number is three times that of the staff of the administrator groups but is two-thirds smaller than that of the school board association. What must be taken into consideration is that these other organizations' staffs are committed to the work of the organization as a whole as well as political activity. For the IEA, the President and Vice President serve as the Chairperson and Vice Chairperson of IPACE's Executive Committee, whose work is strictly political and adds more paid manpower to IPACE.

The six paid staff positions are well allocated, with an Executive Secretary to administrate all political activities, a Treasurer to keep all funds properly allocated and within state law, and four full-time lobbyists.

Lobbying staff

The IEA has the largest number of lobbyists--four full-time persons. One is titled Coordinator and the other three are titled Consultants. This places the IEA with two times as many as the administrator groups and three times as many as the school board association. Although this places the IEA in a strong political position in this study, when the differences in income for political activities between organizations and the existence of the IEA's political action arm are considered, the differences in size of lobbying staffs do not appear large.

Research capabilities

IPACE itself does not have a research department, but research capabilities are strongly provided through the IPACE Executive Committee or through the IEA staff and standing committees. The research work of the IEA is a strong asset for the Association, for it is relied upon heavily by legislators, particularly in the labor/management issues. Providing information to the legislature is what the IEA has built its political movement around.

Political action arm

Since the analysis of the IEA centers around IPACE, the IEA political action arm, suffice it to say that the IEA wields the greatest political power in this category among the five organizations studied. The administrator groups and school board association cannot compete in this power category because of their lack of such an arm. The IFT has such an arm, but it is not as large nor as active on the state level.

Sources of lobbying strength

The IEA cited all ten sources of lobbying strength to give the association a 100% power base. A political action arm and campaign money gives the IEA a decided edge over the IASA, IASB and the IPA.

In response to the originally posed question, If the organizations do get involved, how is their political action being executed, as measured according to established criteria?; it is being executed by:

1. Sixty thousand (60,000) members, which is a number that is ten times larger than the IASB and one hundred times larger than the IASA and which is fully utilized through specific means;
2. No dues money because of state law;
3. Three hundred twenty one thousand dollars (\$321,000) in miscellaneous money raised through the political action arm for use in personnel, operations and campaign contributions;
4. An AVERAGE status of members ranking because of its high ranking by legislators and in spite of the comparatively low ranking of its members individually at the local level;
5. Six staff positions, whose responsibilities are geared solely to political activities;

6. Four officially registered lobbyists, which ranks the IEA well above the other organizations;
7. No research department, but a strong ability to provide research when needed;
8. A political action arm, which executes all the IEA's political work;
9. Ten out of ten sources of lobbying strength, constituting a 100% power base.

Question III - Is this activity translated into planned and organized political action programs?

Question IV - What are those programs?

The IEA's political action program is a highly planned and organized operation. Its program is a natural outgrowth of IPACE, which was created specifically for that purpose. Based on a specific legislative platform whose main goal is teacher welfare, IPACE develops its premise for political activity on the fact that those responsible for educating persons for society must partake in society's governing process in order to instruct and to be fully participating citizens themselves. A broad philosophy such as this could be left for each individual member or local IEA unit to interpret on their own. IPACE does not leave this interpretation to chance. Written guide books and strong leadership provide the tangible political direction.

Since the IEA's membership is the lifeblood of its organization, its political action program is developed around its effective use of numbers, as individuals and in large groups and at every level of government. From early experience in the political arena evolved a political talent, which became increasingly more sophisticated and with a higher level of expertise. This experience and success led to a

deeper understanding and awareness of the political process. What was not known or unclear was borrowed from other organizations, such as the National Education Association, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the League of Women Voters, the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education, the Democratic National Committee, the Republican National Committee, political consulting firms and other state and national groups whose political experience and reputation are highly regarded.

IPACE utilizes effective and efficient management techniques in its organization of political activities. A hierarchical structure exists with some decision making authority at each level. Both downward and upward formal communication lines are maintained to provide the organization with an openness for new ideas and internal consistency. Final authority is reserved for higher echelon personnel--a point of contention among a number of more ambitious and questioning local units, which has caused a division within IPACE in the last three years. Specific responsibilities are outlined in writing as well as rules and regulations for candidate endorsements and collection/distribution of political funds so that members know what is expected of them. Incentives for political growth are intertwined through educational programs, written materials and monetary assistance.

The IEA political program seeks to place in office candidates who are sympathetic to teacher causes and who must be attractive enough to voters to win. These two criteria--

acceptability and electability--are closely scrutinized through interviews and assessment of candidate and district (or state) information. (Teachers are strongly encouraged to seek political offices, although they, too, must be screened for IEA endorsements.) Along with empathy towards IEA goals and a power base or attractiveness to voters, a willingness to remember friends following the election is a universal characteristic for IEA endorsed candidates. Often, specific commitments are expected of candidates. The two most important jobs IPACE has are selecting and supporting these candidates. The selection process is closely monitored, with particular attention to legal requirements, so that no candidate is disqualified due to a legal technicality. IPACE selects a candidate with consideration to age, residency, citizenship and required experience outlined in the Illinois School Code, state election laws and laws pertaining to a given position.

The IEA's large number provides the support needed to elect candidates. In forming its political action arm, IEA leadership and IPACE staff took formal training at the Alinsky Institute under Saul Alinsky himself, to develop group dynamics techniques and confrontation tactics. IPACE has channelled the force of thousands of organized teachers into many constructive relationships with candidates and elected representatives. It has enlisted the help of over 5,000 teacher volunteers and their family and friends each

year to campaign for endorsed candidates. This help centers around identifying voters favorable to a candidate and getting them out to vote and through door to door or telephone canvassing. The complementary support tactic is campaign contributions, which is why an IEA endorsement is now sought by many candidates.

Lobbying, in its many varied forms, is another very important aspect of the IEA political action program. Its head is the chief lobbyist, backed up by three full-time assistants. Their work centers on the day to day operations of the legislature, committing most of their time to persuasive activities in committee hearings and outside the legislative chambers. The IEA's chief lobbyist's philosophy about the way to lobby Illinois lawmakers is simple: "Reward your friends and hammer your enemies". Money, sharing of personal contacts and accurate information are the means to reward friends and the lobbyist utilizes all three. He believes teachers should not be above strong arming and he utilizes what may be termed very aggressive and combative tactics on their behalf.

Membership involvement in lobbying centers around persuading local legislators in their respective regions or at the state capital. The personal contact utilized is reflective of the same aggressive lobbying attitude, seeking out legislators in their offices, in committee hearings and in public places. Concentrated letter writing, telephone calling and even name calling, reinforced by occasional dem-

onstrations at the state capitol, are the most prominent other means.

The ability to draw on the strengths of other labor organizations who are sympathetic to the IEA and have strong political organizations also contributes to the IEA political program. In addition, cooperative efforts with public employee groups such as the Illinois Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees are pursued, since such employees have been seeking a collective bargaining statute as well. The Illinois teacher organizations and other public sector employee groups have supported singularly or collectively major bargaining laws, to no avail. Further collaborative efforts are thwarted over disagreements on controversial provisions or the means for lobbying. The IEA's aggressive lobbying approach has alienated work with the IFT and yet assistance has come from the umbrella AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education. Educating members in these organizations lends to the collaborative efforts by unleashing large numbers of persons on the legislature and the general public. Although the IEA utilizes the services and techniques of professional public relations firms, it has not reached the highly sophisticated public relations levels of some of its sister state affiliates of the NEA.

In response to the originally posed questions, Is this activity translated into planned and organized political action programs? and What are those programs?; the Illinois Education Association's political activity is:

1. Planned and organized as an outgrowth of its political action arm, which provides political knowledge and appropriate administration;
2. Based on a specific written agenda provided by IPACE;
3. A program of electioneering, lobbying and public relations programs with other labor groups.

Question V - What aspects of those programs
appear to be the most successful?

Of the five organizations studied, the IEA is by far the most overtly political group. As other teacher affiliates nationally have done, the IEA has put together a well organized and strong political action arm based on a large constituency; economic resources for political activity, including campaign contributions; research capabilities; comprehensive, written political strategies; and vigorous lobbying efforts. Its focus is to concentrate on publicly elected offices where overt pressure tactics are acceptable and expected. The administrator and school board groups have worked through the State Office of Education to make educational decisions, going to the legislature when only absolutely necessary and with a collective voice. The IEA has, on the whole, bypassed such collaborative efforts with the other educational organizations and State Office of Education. Since 1973, the IEA has been concentrating its efforts in the legislature--a realm where political clout counts.

Backing up its main political strategies are secondary measures which afford the IEA a potentially successful program. One of these strategies is the close and comprehen-

sive monitoring of candidates once elected through Legislative Report Cards. This practice has been carried to the point where a book is compiled on which legislators have done what and if their campaign promises to the IEA have been kept. As stated in the data, "Performance over promise" is important to the IEA program and one of the most candid and pivotal questions asked of a candidate is what can he or she do for the IEA. The response and deliverance determines the IEA's friends/enemies list, which blends into their lobbying program.

Other measures include being very overt about their main political strategies, but keeping many manipulative tactics quietly internal. In some cases this has been done because some means used have been hard union tactics unbecoming the IEA professional image. The IEA has also created an IEA presence statewide through public relations techniques such as publications, open meetings (locally, regionally and at the capital) and inviting public office holders into local school buildings. At election times and during the legislative session, the IEA maintains a very visible presence. Since political involvement of all IEA members is a high priority, in-service training techniques have been applied to political activities. Money and effort have been put into publications and training sessions, recently using a red, white and blue motif to symbolize the patriotic importance of this work.

The question becomes what aspects of this program are successful and what constitute political success for the IEA. IPACE has developed strong political organizations at the local level, particularly south Cook County, DuPage County, Kane County and downstate Illinois. Its inroads in local and county elective offices has been very successful. It is estimated by the IEA President that 80% of 98% of IEA endorsed candidates have won each year. Important to education are local school boards, which now have members with sympathetic feelings toward teacher concerns. Although the IEA has attempted to take control of the Illinois Teacher Certification Board, it has not done so but has placed enough members on that board to make a difference in its policy making. A long but successful fight has been that of taking enough seats on the Illinois Teachers Retirement Board so that the IEA has control over a vast amount of teacher retirement money and how it will be allocated. The IEA's large campaign contribution to the present Governor has finally netted the appointment of an IEA person to a State School Board position. The thrust has not been to work with such policy agents through political maneuverings, but rather to use political maneuverings to gain control and to become the policy agents.

Yet, the most important issue to the IEA is teacher welfare. Although grievance procedures, salary increases, fringe benefits and de facto bargaining has occurred on the

local level on a district to district basis, the ultimate comprehensive state legislation has not materialized. Contributing to this blatant lack of an IEA sponsored collective bargaining bill for teachers is the embarrassment and competition of other NEA state affiliates who have been successful at influencing passage of favorable state legislation. A federal law which now prohibits a federal collective bargaining bill puts even greater pressure on the IEA to produce a state law to protect teachers. Although the IEA political program is highly organized and sophisticated when compared to the other educational organizations, it has not attained its ultimate goal.

Factors which have contributed to this failure include a state General Assembly that is controlled by Chicago Democrats, particularly the Senate, where strategic committee chairpersons are city elected legislators. Until recently, the son of the former Chicago mayor, who is a state senator, blocked any attempts at a negotiations bill which would eventually cover the vast numbers of public patronage jobs in the city of Chicago. Since the IEA is not politically strong in the city, nor represents Chicago teachers (who are IFT members), the IEA has been unable to convince the politically strong city legislators that a collective bargaining law is necessary.

Another factor in the IEA's failure to effect favorable legislation has been its use of confrontation tactics in

the legislature, which has created some deepset hard feelings against the IEA and has worked against its programs. Most legislators understand and take notice of aggressive lobbying approaches, but many legislators have been negatively oversold by the IEA. What is potentially a very strong asset for the IEA political program is being questioned as an approach which has been overdone and is hurting IEA legislation adoption.

Another important factor is the internal problems of IPACE. As stated earlier in the analysis, final authority for the direction of IPACE rests with the IEA/IPACE executive staff, which borders upon being a strong monothetic leadership. Since the IEA purports to be a member-run organization, local units, through their UniServ Directors (paid regional staff persons) have questioned IPACE's approach and direction. Some of their concerns were that teachers were not getting state legislation passed, that IPACE was wasting money because money spent was ineffective to the amount spent, that complicated dues return procedures were frustrating members who wished to withdraw and that a lack of agreement on overly aggressive lobbying tactics were dividing the organization. What resulted were heated internal battles leading to the withdrawal of some key regions from IPACE, blatantly exposing its weaknesses and drying up money and manpower resources. The IEA is presently in a retrenchment period, concerned with internal reorganization. An out of state Executive Director, at the

recommendation of the NEA, has been brought in to discipline, reorganize and train new personnel to be consistent with each other's and the organization's view on political lobbying approaches and techniques and to concentrate on the IEA's major concern--collective bargaining. The IEA is seeking alternative strategies such as statewide or multilocal bargaining while politically regrouping.

In response to the originally posed question, What aspects of those programs appear to be the most successful?; the IEA political program has:

1. A focused approach on the legislature supported by a large membership, economic resources, available research information, written strategies and strong lobbying efforts;
2. Strong secondary measures which back up the main program;
3. Well developed local units and establishment of IEA persons in key state positions;
4. Been unable to succeed with its main goal--a state collective bargaining law--because of political factors beyond its control, its questioned behavior in the legislature and internal problems.

Illinois Federation of Teachers

Historical background

The Illinois Federation of Teachers is a labor organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO). Its union affiliation has historically involved the organization in political activities. In order to establish local units of the IFT, union practices against local management systems were used. These practices were intertwined with local politics and union (or special interest group) activity became political activity. Since labor unions were most closely associated with larger, more urban areas, IFT local units were established in these areas first. In the late 1950's and early 1960's, the IFT began to expand its political activities to county offices and ran its own candidate in the 1962 primaries for State Superintendent of Education.

Since a collective bargaining law has been the desire of labor unions in Illinois since 1945, the IFT was naturally and willingly drawn into this issue. In the educational realm, the IFT's affiliation with labor unions was considered unprofessional and its practices, unethical conduct. Acceptance was needed to further the bargaining issue in education. The IFT in the 1960's worked on opening com-

munication lines with the State Superintendent, who was an elected official affected by labor unions and who could determine state policy affecting local bargaining.

The IFT continued work on the local level, instigating the first teachers' strike in Illinois in 1966. Such work and other political activities were coordinated on an as needed basis by its executive staff.

With the advent of Chicago teachers being organized by the IFT and its President being the Chicago Teachers Union President, a shift in emphasis to city politics was made by the IFT. Simultaneously, the Illinois Education Association had been establishing itself in local districts as a more professional alternative to the IFT, organizing teachers in suburban Chicago districts and smaller downstate areas. When the 1973 Campaign Disclosure Act became law, it became mandatory for organizations such as the IFT to formalize their political activities. At the direction of its President, the state Committee on Political Education (COPE) was created. Its thrust was to establish a statewide political program so that Chicago would not overshadow other educational needs (the IFT represents unit, elementary and secondary districts and colleges). The review of the IFT's political activities centers around its political action arm--COPE.

The IFT memberships include:

Active - practicing teachers in elementary and secondary schools;

Retired - retired IFT members, both functional and honorary;

Paraprofessional - school personnel connected with classroom teaching;

School Personnel - bus drivers, cafeteria workers, etc.;

University Professors - all public university and some private university professors;

Community Colleges - all Illinois community college instructors.

Local COPE units exist, but run their political activities in somewhat autonomous fashion, collecting additional monies and making their own candidate endorsements. Means for local involvement in state politics are available (explained in the section on organizational setup). Since the IFT is the second largest union in the Illinois AFL-CIO, it works closely with the umbrella union on major labor issues, lending its manpower and borrowing AFL-CIO lobbying direction. Its federated basis brings the teacher associations together to assist sister states and other labor unions. All Illinois COPE members are involved in the national COPE and contribute half of their COPE dues to national political activities.

Organizational setup

The Illinois COPE is governed by an Executive Committee made up of the IFT President, who acts as the Committee's Chairperson, four IFT Executive Board members and a Secretary-Treasurer, who is obligated to keep all political funds in an accurate, separate account and prepare the annual disclosure statement. There are three staff persons who administer the COPE political program; the Assistant to the President, who oversees the day to day operations, the CTU liaison, who oversees Chicago political activities, and the Legislative Director, who oversees state political activities. All three staff persons do COPE lobbying and are directly accountable to the COPE Chairperson. They are former teachers with prior political experience. Their written job descriptions were unavailable.

The formal COPE political activities are executed by the Legislative Coordinators Program, which is directed by the COPE Chairperson. The state is divided into 59 districts and a Legislative Coordinator is designated for each district. Of these Coordinators, 31 are from Chicago and 28 are distributed statewide. Ninety percent are unpaid personnel and the other ten percent are paid as a result of their greater involvement. Their responsibilities include electioneering and lobbying, which are described in Strategies.

Priorities and thrusts

Labor issues, because of the strong union affiliation, predominate the IFT legislative program. Since the IFT covers all types of school personnel and at many levels of education, it focuses on two global issues--better working conditions and more money for school personnel. A Legislative Platform is prepared and approved every year in March at the IFT's annual convention by the Delegate Assembly. The State Legislative Committee (made up of 20 IFT members), using the Legislative Platform, meets each summer to prepare and set ten legislative goals. These goals are not prioritized and are broadly written. The Assistant to the President and the Legislative Director are the staff persons to the Committee, supplying appropriate information, subsequently preparing legislation and seeking out sponsors. Each goal may have a number of points to it and a separate piece of legislation must be prepared for each point--thus, each goal may have several bills. The IFT initiates all its own legislation, but is willing to negotiate if other bills introduced are similar in nature. The entire legislative package (goals and legislation) receives the final approval from the IFT Executive Board.

Some IFT Legislative Platform items are: revenue

and finance; collective bargaining; retirement; certification; child welfare; school welfare; professional welfare; civil rights; curriculum and higher education.

The IFT also goes on record to state those items which it will oppose and are not a part of its Platform:

1. Legislation that would eliminate or weaken present tenure laws;
2. Any attempts to weaken or reduce present student attendance requirements for purposes of computing state school aid;
3. Any attempts to weaken or repeal compulsory school attendance laws;
4. Any effort to eliminate or further decrease funding of summer school programs in public elementary, secondary or higher educational institutions;
5. Legislation that would establish any form of merit rating as the basis for teachers' salaries;
6. Any attempts to certify paraprofessionals and other educational workers as teachers that have not met the educational requirements that are set forth by the State Board of Education and the local municipality to become teachers;
7. Legislation that would impose statewide minimal standards.

Positions on two major bills

1. Returning the State Office of Education to an Elected State Superintendent - Senate Resolution 31

Historically, the IFT opposed the elimination of an elected State Superintendent. The organization had made concerted efforts to work through the State Superintendent and felt that the open, elective process would allow the IFT greater influence on the office. Once the 1970 Illinois Constitution was adopted, which required an appointed Superintendent, the IFT took a fallback position of advocating an elected State Board of Education, which could also be influenced by partisan politics. When the legislation was passed to create an appointed State Board of Education, the IFT lent its support to its establishment. The IFT did not support nor become involved in Senate Joint Resolution 31 on the premise that the system was too new to judge and it was easier to work with a relatively known quantity instead of making another state governance change.

2. Collective Bargaining

The IFT is committed to:

1. Seek legislation to guarantee collective bargaining rights to all Illinois public employees.
2. Seek legislative action to make applicable the Illinois Anti-Injunction Act of 1952 to teachers and other educational workers and prevent the courts' interference by use of injunctions against the process of free collective bargaining.
3. Seek constructive legislation for a state labor relations act for educational employees in Illinois that will incorporate the best features of both the NLR Act and the present IFT collective bargaining legislative platform.
4. Seek legislation to protect teachers and other educational workers in their right to organize and bargain collectively with their employers and protect their right to strike. (Compulsory arbitration is not an acceptable or reasonable alternative to resolve an impasse in negotiations for a contract.)
5. Seek legislation to facilitate collective bargaining by assisting school boards and teacher organizations in holding elections and certifying bargaining agents, and by providing mediation services to help in resolving impasses.
6. Prohibit company unionism by proposing legislation for a conflict of interest bill; to keep administrators from acting in a dual capacity, as agents for the board and as representatives of teacher bargaining agents.
7. Provide legislation to prohibit the use of strikebreakers in disputes between teachers, educational workers and their employers.

Strategies

The IFT concentrates its political activities statewide on the Illinois legislature. Although the State Board of Education technically regulates IFT districts, the Board's largest IFT district is Chicago, which is dealt with preferentially in the Illinois School Code and whose problems are worked out on a one to one basis with the union and Chicago administrations.

The 59 Legislative Coordinators are the main IFT political activists. They work on lobbying in Springfield when needed and work on local campaigns, establishing legislative candidate breakfasts, coffees, get acquainted meetings, etc. They are the IFT force which mobilizes its large membership, cited by the President as its main political power. The IFT computer provides the Coordinators with a member printout by legislative district and these Coordinators learn which members are good political workers. "Legislative Roundup", the IFT newsletter, assists the Coordinators in getting members involved by telling them what bills need support. Letter writing is encouraged at the end of local union meetings and COPE pays for the stamps (e.g., support for the 1975 School Aid Formula was given by 14,000 letters and 5,000 mailgrams). Teachers, selected by the Coordina-

tors, are brought to Springfield to assist in the lobbying process on a personal contact basis.

Getting IFT members involved in campaigns is another responsibility of the Coordinators. Questionnaires are sent to candidates and preliminary decisions are made from candidate positions on IFT issues. The Legislative Committee screens candidates, does a membership survey and tallies results. Its recommendations are given to the COPE Executive Committee, which passes its approval on to the IFT Executive Board for final approval. Endorsed candidates are encouraged to use IFT members in their campaigns and Coordinators will contact members at the request of the candidate.

Money power is the secondary strategy used for political activity. Each COPE member contributes \$2.00 to COPE activities (\$1.00 to the national, \$.35 to the state and \$.65 to the local). This money is used for political educational purposes such as literature and workshops to teach members how to politically lobby. It pays for lobbying trips, stamps, telephones and other support measures. Most importantly, the money is used for IFT endorsed candidate contributions, which range from \$100 to \$500.

Official lobbying in the legislature is done on a number of levels. The Legislative Liaison acts as the IFT lobbyist with assistance from the other two COPE staff persons. This lobbying staff of three has the ability and ad-

vantage of having access to the four Illinois AFL-CIO official lobbyists, who will do the IFT's strong bidding in the legislature.

Data reported for comparison
on the operational grid

Basic Resources

The total number of members of the IFT is 45,000, of which 90% are COPE members. Total dues income was not applicable for the analysis of this organization and was not pursued. Miscellaneous money resources was \$12,500 for state political purposes, based on a \$.35 per member contribution. The status of members ranking for the IFT is AVERAGE, based on its moderate concern and involvement in state affairs.

Power

Three staff persons are devoted to political activities. The IFT's lobbying staff numbers three, but also has the service of four AFL-CIO lobbyists. There is no research department, but research capabilities are available through the staff. The IFT has a political action arm-- Committee on Political Education. The organization cites all ten sources of lobbying strength at its disposal: campaign money, research, local members, information, coalition activity, credibility and respect of organization, status of members, political power and personal contact.

Natural and negotiated coalitions

The IFT utilizes collaborative activities with other educational organizations on a limited basis. Coalitions with the IASA, IASB and the Parent-Teachers Association (PTA) are usually formed over broad issues, but the coalition breaks down on teacher issues. Its natural collaborative partner should be the IEA, but because of the IEA's political techniques and often anti-Chicago stands, the IFT finds it difficult to work with the IEA. Its strongest cooperative efforts are with other unions and city based groups such as Operation PUSH (People United to Save Humanity).

ANALYSIS: Illinois Federation of Teachers

Question I - Do state education organizations get involved in the political process to influence state educational policies?

The Illinois Federation of Teachers, with its strong labor union affiliates, is the one organization of the five studied which has been involved in political activity for the longest period of time (since the mid-1950's) and this activity has been an expected and integral part of its workings. The establishment of its political action arm, COPE, only formalized and better organized a commitment to the political process. As is the case with the IEA, the existence of an IFT political action arm automatically responds to the study's initial question in the affirmative. The concern with the IFT is not why it became involved in the political process, but where its political emphasis has been placed and where it presently resides.

As was indicated in the data, union activity in the public sector automatically became political activity because management in this case was the locally elected school board. Although school board members are not involved in partisan races, the IFT introduced such factors as it worked to organize teachers into local teacher labor unions. Union member-

ship was a very new concept for education and the IFT's union-type activities were particularly offensive and incomprehensible to local boards. IFT political activity was limited at this time to each locality where a teacher union was to be eventually established (in the late 1950's and early 1960's), extending its political work to elected county offices (particularly the then County Superintendent of Education offices) where union endorsements and support could be influential.

As collective bargaining became a more established practice in the private sector, the IFT was immersed in the concept and began to pursue such rights for teachers. In the absence of state law, legal opinions of the State Superintendent dictated how education would deal with local union demands (e.g., local districts could not engage in local bargaining). As indicated in the data, the IFT worked at opening communication lines at the state level. This relationship was established to influence the state's legal opinions and to broaden the state's view on collective bargaining. When the first teachers' strike initiated by the IFT occurred at Thornton Fractional High School in suburban Cook County in 1966, the State Superintendent reversed his legal opinions, based on IFT influence, which allowed each local district to determine if it would engage in collective bargaining. This action was the first activist role in education on the state level on union matters. The IFT can be credited with

paving the way for such action, but two important contributing factors were the fact that the State Superintendent was an elected position and the fact that the IFT could utilize political influence on the elected position with the aid of the state AFL-CIO.

The IFT continued to concentrate its efforts on the State Superintendent's Office as long as it was an elected office. In 1969, the certification of teachers was threatened in strike situations. The IFT urged the State Superintendent to reinterpret certification laws and to determine what constituted minimum school standards. Legal opinions of the State Office told county superintendents not to recognize state aid claims short of a full complement of staff. The IFT also encouraged the State Superintendent to become involved in teacher strikes as a neutral mediator, which constituted another new and very important role for the state. Although the IFT endorsed candidate did not win the State Superintendency in 1970, the activist role of that office in collective bargaining continued. As the IEA began to shift the issue to the legislature, the IFT was asked to join the State Superintendent and the IEA in a collaborative effort for a state collective bargaining law. Although the effort was unsuccessful, the focus for collective bargaining and the IFT was turned to the legislature.

At this point, the Chicago based leadership of the IFT also influenced the direction of the organization's pol-

itical activities. Although a state collective bargaining law would be important to the IFT statewide, the IFT's immediate concerns were to gain concessions for its largest local unit--Chicago--and a state collective bargaining law was not acceptable there. Politics, in the strong Democrat run city, determined all local governmental decisions, including education. The city political maneuverings were highly developed and allowed the IFT to interact and to learn in a strictly political situation. With the establishment of COPE, state politics were continued and refined to concentrate on the state legislature, but a great emphasis remained on Chicago politics. What slowly evolved was the involvement of the IFT in the political process at the state level in concert with Chicago politicians for the benefit of Chicago issues. Although the IFT maintains a statewide legislative program, which takes into account the many types and levels of school personnel it represents, its strong political emphasis is on Chicago legislators. Overtly, IFT legislation is not prioritized and Chicago issues are given equal weight as statewide issues. The IFT's Legislative Coordinator's Program, which executes the IFT's political activity, has more Coordinators from Chicago than it does statewide. The IFT's involvement in the state political process can be characterized as a Chicago influenced approach to state politics.

In summary and in response to the originally posed question, Do state education organizations get involved in

the state political process to influence state educational policies?; the Illinois Federation of Teachers:

1. Has historically been involved in politics at the local and county levels, gradually influencing the elected State Superintendent of Public Instruction's Office as it pertained to collective bargaining;

2. Established a political action arm, which formalized and organized its activities to concentrate on the legislature as influenced by Chicago politics.

Question II - If these organizations do get involved,
how is their political action being executed, as
measured according to established criteria?

Basic Resources

Number of members

The IFT membership is the second largest of the organizations studied. Of its 45,000 members, 90% belong to COPE, which means the IFT has 40,500 persons involved in political activities. This number is strongly utilized through an organized effort--the Legislative Coordinators Program. Members are encouraged to become involved early in campaigning in order to exert their influence. The state COPE organization utilizes members in all of its statewide strategies and encourages candidates to use IFT members as volunteer campaign workers. Their work hours, work year and ability to work with people make them a valuable contribution to campaigns. The IFT has a strong asset in its size of membership and utilizes it well.

Money

Since dues income for the IFT was not relative to its political activity, these data were not reported.

Miscellaneous money resources

The IFT has a dues checkoff system which includes COPE dues. As was the case for the IEA, a negative dues checkoff requires that a member pursue the return of COPE monies, thus discouraging such a return. The bulk of COPE monies (\$1.00 of the \$2.00 collected) goes to the national COPE fund and 65% of the remaining dollar returns to the local unit. The \$.35 per member (or \$12,500 total collected statewide) for state political use places the IFT far behind the IEA in miscellaneous money resources. The IEA has twenty-five times more money for political work than the IFT. Considering the size of the organization, the IFT's miscellaneous monies are exceptionally low, due to the low amount collected (\$2.00 per member).

To substantiate the Analysis in Question I, dues collected in Chicago can combine the local share (\$.65) and the state share (\$.35) to create a large amount of money to work on Chicago gains, but other local districts need their local share for their unique but small local concerns and must count on the remaining \$.35 to cover their statewide concerns. The IFT does not commit a large dollar amount to state politics, but what is collected is utilized for political educational purposes, as well as a strong swaying power, candidate campaign contributions.

Status of members

The status of members ranking for the IFT is difficult to determine. Members do not command a HIGH ranking because of the positions they hold in their school districts. Although, as with IEA members, they do have firsthand information to provide, this characteristic is not as strongly advocated. Coupled with this is the IFT's moderate approach in state matters, as well as being preempted in swaying power by the AFL-CIO as a whole. For these reasons, the IFT membership receives an AVERAGE ranking.

Power

Professional staff

Three full-time persons are employed by the IFT to execute COPE activities. Each has IFT duties which are directly coordinated with political activities so that their positions can be legitimately justified through the IFT budget. In this manner, the IFT commits its staff to political work. The President acts as the leader of such activity and devotes a considerable portion of his time to doing so. The IFT ranks ahead of the two administrator groups by one additional staff person; the IEA and school board association outrank the IFT in staff. Of particular note is the staff of the IEA, which is furthering teacher causes and is twice the size of the IFT staff.

Lobbying staff

In this category, the IFT ranks exceptionally well. It not only has three staff persons who are registered lobbyists, but has the advantage of being able to utilize the four Illinois AFL-CIO lobbyists, who are very proficient in their lobbying techniques. This lobbying strength of seven places the IFT far ahead of the other four organizations, giving it a distinct advantage in the legislature.

Research capabilities

COPE does not have a research department, per se, but the three staff persons do provide research capabilities. They are aided by other IFT staff and have access to the IFT computer system. The AFL-CIO and the American Federation of Teachers also provide research assistance to the IFT when needed. This category gives the IFT a moderately strong asset.

Political action arm

All IFT political activities are coordinated through the organization's political action arm. Its work is tailored to the IFT, but its basic structure and techniques are taken from the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education. In some states, the close affiliation with the AFL-CIO overshadows the teacher group; this is not true in Illinois. The IFT's COPE section maintains its own identity in the political realm and places the IFT with the IEA as the only two organizations in this study with political power stemming from a political action arm.

Sources of lobbying strength

Since the IFT was able to claim campaign money and a political action arm in addition to the other eight sources of lobbying strength, it maintains a 100% power base. The IEA and the IFT were the only two groups studied which possessed this political power advantage.

In summary and in response to the originally posed question, If these organizations do get involved, how is their political action being executed, as measured according to established criteria?; the IFT's political action is being executed by:

1. Forty thousand five hundred (40,500) members in its political action arm, which constitutes the second largest membership in this study;
2. Dues income which is not applicable to this study;
3. Miscellaneous money resources from its political action arm dues which are low but are utilized effectively for political educational purposes and campaign contributions;
4. An AVERAGE status of members ranking, based on the members' positions in their school districts and the IFT's moderate concern for state matters;
5. Three full-time staff persons, who adequately

accommodate the organization's political work;

6. Three staff persons who are the Federation's registered lobbyists, as well as the services of four Illinois AFL-CIO lobbyists;

7.. Research capabilities provided by the COPE staff with assistance from other IFT staff, AFL-CIO staff and AFT staff;

8. A political action arm (COPE) which executes the IFT's political work;

9. Ten out of ten sources of lobbying strength, which constitutes a 100% power base, making the IFT equal to the IEA and both exceeding the other organizations.

Question III - Is this activity translated into planned and organized political action programs?

Question IV - What are those programs?

The Illinois Federation of Teachers' main political activities are electioneering and lobbying. Both activities are executed through a formal two-tiered political program, which begins with the membership for planning, goes up through the formal program for organization and comes back down to the membership for their involvement. At the annual convention, the Delegate Assembly determines the IFT's Legislative Priorities, which constitutes the IFT Legislative Platform. This written document determines the legislative package and the direction of the IFT's political action.

The IFT political program is vested in the political action committee, COPE, which provides the global organization for electioneering and lobbying. A subcommittee of COPE screens candidates, based on their proposed positions or on past voting records. The committee's recommendations are approved by COPE's Executive Committee and final approval comes from the IFT Executive Board. Campaign contributions are then made according to these endorsements. It appears that the President, in this aspect of electioneering,

is the final decision maker on what amounts go to whom. Contributions are based on the organization's endorsements, but even those have discretionary ranks within each endorsement. Members, on behalf of candidates, as well as the candidates themselves, make special pleas to the President for contributions.

From the state COPE's endorsements comes the work of the 59 Legislative Coordinators, who activate the membership to assist in legislative and state campaigns. The Coordinators are the second level of organization and are the intermediaries which bring the IFT electioneering down to the local level. This middle management level allows local COPE units to concentrate on managing their own concerns while still contributing manpower as needed and keeps the state IFT endorsed ticket and strategies consistent.

Lobbying is the strongest asset the IFT has in the political process. The COPE staff of three is the IFT's official lobbyists and work in the legislature as a team. Their lobbyist role demands a complete understanding and involvement in the IFT's legislative process. This understanding and involvement requires working with the Legislative Committee as staff assistants. In order to compensate for the time spent on such work and to gain a level of lobbying expertise otherwise unavailable to the IFT, the organization utilizes the services of the four Illinois AFL-CIO lobbyists. By number and by talent, this lobbying core gives the IFT an

important strength. In addition to these seven, the IFT includes the 59 Coordinators in lobbying efforts in Springfield. Key members of the IFT are also brought to the state capital, but more often are asked to work from home areas by telephoning, mailing or writing to legislators in their home offices.

These two areas--electioneering and lobbying--with the type of organization described indicates that the IFT has a special political agenda and it is supported philosophically and practically with both manpower and finances. Yet, its specific political results are far more nebulous.

Teacher welfare is the IFT's main goal and much of the political work is geared to gaining teacher benefits. A more scrutinized review of the IFT's Legislative Platform reveals the varied types of constituencies and their concerns, which must be cared for: teachers in general, Chicago educational concerns, non-certificated personnel, community colleges, higher education instructors, labor concepts in education. Although the IFT political program is planned and organized, its efforts are spread out and often competing for attention with other legislative concerns.

In summary and in response to the two questions, Is this activity translated into planned and organized political action programs?; and What are those programs?; the Illinois Federation of Teachers' political activity is:

1. Planned and organized, as evidenced by the

existence of its political action arm, COPE;

2. Supported philosophically and practically through a commitment of manpower and money;
3. A program of electioneering and lobbying;
4. Based on specific but varied political outcomes.

Question V - What aspects of this program
appear to be the most successful?

The Illinois Federation of Teachers' political action program has a number of characteristics which make the program a potentially good prototype. Although the IFT's influence on state level politics has not been profound, it has established an organizational structure which could be the basis for a more intense attempt at influencing state politics. The local IFT units are given a great deal of autonomy in their local political dealings by being allowed to determine their own local endorsements. The units make their endorsements without any final approval from the state leadership. They are given a very adequate return on their COPE dues for local work, in addition to being allowed to raise more money through increased dues and fund raisers. Active involvement in national political work (through manpower and money--\$1.00 per members goes to the AFT) gives the Federation a national presence and the ability to call upon the national group and its state affiliates for assistance. Such federal issues as tuition reimbursement and the Fisher amendment for Social Security increases have been real issues to the IFT membership because of their involvement on the federal level. The union affiliation with the AFL-CIO has

given the IFT the ability to call upon strong political assistance and resource strength, but its affiliation has not been so overwhelming that the IFT identity has been lost. Thus, the IFT has established an organization which allows ample room for local governance of local political work, takes an interest and becomes involved on the federal level, which ultimately benefits Illinois IFT members individually and organizationally, and benefits from union affiliation without being stifled by the union.

Its state level structure provides direction and is open enough to address the varied concerns of the IFT membership. Members are allowed input at many levels (the Delegate Assembly determines the Legislative Platform, the Legislative Committee determines legislation, a subcommittee of COPE determines legislative endorsements, 59 Legislative Coordinators manage political activities). The leadership does exercise final authority on these matters, but it usually endorses the membership's opinions and recommendations. The President, particularly, is cognizant of the organization's preoccupation with Chicago matters and is now focusing his attention on a more balanced approach so that his final approval does not favor Chicago or a particular constituency group and thereby cause internal political factions. The elements are there for such an upheaval, but equilibrium has been maintained.

The IFT's slow and circuitous route to state level

politics may be the most successful aspect of its political program. Whether this direction was deliberate is very questionable, but its ultimate benefits could prove to be extremely worthwhile. As stated in the Analysis: Question I, the IFT's work on the state level concentrated on the State Superintendency. Although the organization functioned in the legislature, its success was in manipulating state policy on teacher issues in the Superintendent's office. As the IEA began to champion the collective bargaining cause in the legislature, the IFT lent its support but did not become overly involved nor identified with the IEA political approach. The IFT's attention and efforts were focused on Chicago and its rare type of politics. The IFT worked at establishing itself as a power to be contended with in Chicago political maneuverings. It supported Chicago Democratic Organization candidates--a typical union move--but once in a while endorsed other candidates to prove its own identity. The clout with the Chicago political machine which developed was used to seek state aid assistance for Chicago schools, which meant more money for teachers. The philosophy espoused was what was good for Chicago schools was good for Chicago as a whole. Chicago political strength became IFT political strength as long as the union did not push a collective bargaining bill.

Historically, the IFT has included teachers in a number of large school districts, but the IEA, with its ag-

gressive membership drive, organized many more districts in recent years. For example, the IFT has had no more than 45 out of 145 school districts in suburban Cook County, an area where large districts predominate. As the IEA began to have its internal problems, the IFT has initiated a potent recruitment drive, luring potential members with low dues and a more open structure. The IFT has been able to benefit from the IEA's problems and disillusionment of local members. In Quincy, Illinois (a relatively large district), the IEA UniServ Directors switched over to the IFT, bringing their membership with them. The IFT membership drive is another way the leadership is attempting to balance out their state-wide program.

With increasing districts statewide and with Chicago political ties solidified, the IFT is realizing a shift of the collective bargaining issue back to the IFT. It began the fight for this teacher benefit in the 1960's. The IEA took up the cause, using very hard political tactics which were even somewhat offensive to a union affiliated group and placed the issue in the legislature. Under a new city administration, Chicago is looking to collective bargaining for its public employees. If this becomes reality in the city, Cook County public employees will probably soon follow. Simultaneously, and acting as a contributing influence, the Chicago Catholic School Archdiocese is beginning to bend in its position for collective bargaining for its employees.

The IFT may be placed in a position with its city political ties to be able to successfully gain a state collective bargaining law, which will be needed to regulate such a large segment of Illinois population. If this comes to pass, the IFT will have given Illinois teachers their ultimate goal and the IFT could prove to be the most politically viable of the five organizations studied.

In summary and in response to the question, What aspects of this program appear to be the most successful?; the Illinois Federation of Teachers' political program:

1. Has an organizational structure which accommodates local, federal and union concerns;
2. Has a balanced and open state level organization;
3. Has developed powerful ties with Chicago politicians, which could prove to be beneficial statewide.

Illinois Principals Association

Historical background

The Illinois Principals Association was initiated as its own separate professional group in 1972. Originally, three types of principals maintained separate organizations as affiliates of the Illinois Education Association. These groups were principals of elementary schools, principals of junior high schools and principals of senior high schools. Before 1972, the Illinois Education Association made provisions for its various affiliates. As was the case for the IASA, the three principals groups realized that the focus of the IEA was becoming predominantly in favor of teachers. Although many principals spun off with the IASA, many others realized that there were many issues which affected principals directly and that it would behoove the three principals groups to bring together their own particular concerns and strengths. In 1972, the Illinois Principals Association was formed as a not-for-profit organization, affiliated with the Department of Educational Administration of Illinois State University.

Although the organization's name implies that only principals make up its membership, the definition of its active membership is intentionally broad: "a person who rec-

ommends and administrates employment of school building personnel and/or trains such personnel". This definition leaves ample room for various school building administrative types to be involved. This active membership represents approximately 2,300 elementary, junior high and senior high school administrative personnel, or two-thirds of the state's principals. Many maintain membership in the IASA as well as the IPA. Other types of membership include:

Associate Member - Educational personnel who are not described in an active membership.

Active Student - Any full-time student in education.

Institution Member - Any school building or system who wishes to receive the IPA publications (e.g., a private school).

Professional Services - For professors and other educationally related positions.

Life Members - Membership bestowed by the three organizations to certain of their members prior to initiation of the IPA.

Retired Members - For IPA retirees.

The staff cited the following as the most important purposes and services of the IPA:

1. A single voice for Illinois principals;
2. Regional services such as seminars, drive-in conferences, newsletters, professional assistance and contact with local legislators;
3. An organization devoted to promoting the principalship as a profession through representation on a host of educational committees;

4. A voice in the Illinois legislature;
5. Publications;
6. A statewide fall conference;
7. Legal aid, including the services of an attorney and active state and regional Professional Rights and Responsibilities Committees;
8. Placement services;
9. Salary services and other research of interest to principals;
10. A summer workshop;
11. The services of Education Research Services, Inc., an organization founded by national administrative organizations to provide quick research on needed topics;
12. A conference for Assistant Principals;
13. Availability of IPA staff for information on educational issues;
14. Insurance programs.

The initiation of the IPA came at a time when collective bargaining became the focus of local school district attention. This issue forced school district personnel to take very definitive positions at the bargaining table-- teachers on one side and school boards/superintendents on the other. Middle management personnel such as principals were left in a very difficult position. Principals, by statute, must have classroom experience prior to receiving their administrative certificates and therefore have only recently

come up from the ranks of those they are directing. A multitude of journal articles and seminars debated the role of principals in collective bargaining, giving reasons why they should be on one side or another. The formation of the IPA allowed principals and other middle management personnel to gather their own thoughts on their role in collective bargaining, as well as taking control of defining their role in the school management team. Much of the regulatory legislation has greatly affected school building personnel and the IPA began formulating positions on such legislation to protect that personnel. This united voice made it easier to approach the legislature.

There are two national principals organizations, one for elementary school principals and one for high school principals. Although members of the IPA hold membership in both the state and a national group (National Association of Elementary School Principals or National Association of Secondary School Principals), it is not an automatic result of being a member of the IPA. The state and national groups are not formally linked, although close communication and affiliation is maintained by the state leadership with the national organization. An Illinois IPA member is currently President of the NASSP.

The focus of the IPA political activities is also the lobbying work of two paid staff persons, who are registered lobbyists. Their presence in the legislature has

brought the concerns of principals personally to the attention of the lawmakers. A set program of priorities which defines the role of the principal aids the lobbyists in their efforts. The IPA staff projects an increase in political activities, but predicts that the organization and its members are not ready for a more formal program.

The outgoing President in 1978 outlined some problems and proposed thrusts for the IPA, which gave an insight into the organization's future and its effect on the IPA's political program.

Problems

1. Continued decreasing membership and what to do about it;
2. Inflation and increased costs;
3. How to provide continued and increased services with available resources;
4. How to provide liaison with other associations with similar views and concerns;
5. How to become a positive force for improved legislation for education and the principalship;
6. Improving the image of the principalship;
7. Establishing realistic goals for the association.

Proposed Thrusts

1. Increased membership--perhaps through additional principals and assistants or with other groups;
2. Improving the image of administrators through increased public relation activities;
3. Joining other educational groups, providing a coalition of power toward improvement of education;

4. Improving structure in IPA through staff, Board and Committee goals and objectives;

5. Investigating ways to improve the association, evaluate the association and provide improved services to members;

6. Seeking legislation to improve rights and status for principals.

Organizational setup

The governing body of the IPA is the Executive Committee, made up of the four elected officers (President, President-Elect, Secretary-Treasurer, Past President), an elected Director from each of the nine IPA regions, a Director-Elect from each of the nine regions, eight standing committee chairpersons (Finance, Public Relations, Study and Research, Professional Study and Travel, Membership, Publications, Legislative, Professional Rights and Responsibilities), seven to eight ex-officio members and any ad hoc committee chairperson whose committee's issue is being reviewed (e.g., Professional Development Committee). This large board attempts to accommodate all the divergent views within the organization and gives the association direction.

The paid professional staff consists of the Executive Director and the Associate Executive Director, who is also Editor of the Illinois Principal.

Since the staff is small, there is no formal organizational setup other than to say that the Executive Director is the administrative head and his assistant is directly accountable to him. The Executive Director maintains the administrative responsibilities, is a registered lobbyist and backs up the Assistant, whose main function is

lobbying. All other functions, such as research, public relations and contact with the Illinois Office of Education, are accomplished by a team effort of the two staff persons. Their informal communication lines and the fact that there are only two of them lends itself to teamwork. Since the thrust of the organization is defining the role of the principal as dictated by legislative acts, all political activities are geared to that end and are orchestrated by the two staff members. Their specific responsibilities, set out in written job descriptions, were in the process of being formally prepared.

Priorities and thrusts

The most obvious thrust of the Illinois Principals Association is the promotion of a single voice for Illinois principals. It is a professional organization whose main purpose is to define the role of the principal in the school governance structure and to protect the rights of principals within that structure. The IPA not only monitors legislation which affects building administrators, but has initiated legislation in order to prevent other organizations and agencies from encroaching upon principal rights and responsibilities. Other issues important to the IPA are ones which affect education in general and have a direct bearing on the principal's role in local education. For example, raising the drinking age from 18 back to 21 and corporal punishment are issues which affect the number one perceived school problem--discipline. Building administrators are most involved in the need to attack the discipline problem and must take a position on issues which affect it.

Legislative priorities are determined and developed by the Association's Legislative Committee. Each of the nine regions has a committee made up of three representatives (elementary, junior high and high school). These committees feed information into the Legislative Committee for assess-

ment and prioritization. The Committee often sends out questionnaires to the membership to assist in the development of priorities. After a number of ad hoc meetings, a legislative priority package is presented to the Executive Board for approval. This package not only includes position statements on upcoming pertinent legislation, but recommendations on proposed IPA legislation. Up to the 1977 legislative session, the organization would target one priority bill each year, and has subsequently increased their own legislative package to two or three bills.

The Illinois Principals Association has developed a broad philosophical legislative platform statement which is the basis for its legislative program. Its guiding principals are:

1. Promote local, state and national legislation that will improve quality education in the common schools of Illinois;

2. Promote legislation to adequately finance the common schools;

3. Promote legislation to achieve high standards of professionalism and status of the principalship in the State of Illinois;

4. Promote legislation to improve the welfare of the principals in the State of Illinois;

5. Review legislation proposed by other educational organizations and take appropriate action.

The Illinois Principals Association had the following priorities in the last two legislative sessions:

Spring 1977

1. Status bill which defined the role of principal.

2. Multi-year contract for educators.

3. Demotion bill which prevented the demotion of principals back to the classroom without a hearing and notification in writing before April 1.

Spring 1978

1. Oppose state legislation mandating collective bargaining.

2. Agree with the Illinois Office of Education that local school districts should develop minimal competency testing programs within two years.

3. Support the state physical education requirement as long as it is completely funded, but until it is fully funded, allow it to be on an elective basis.

Positions on two major bills

1. Returning the State Office of Education to an Elected State Superintendent - Senate Resolution 31

The Illinois Principals Association was involved in the development of the legislation which created the State Board of Education and the appointed State Superintendent. In 1973, the IPA prepared a position paper for the Governor's Task Force on School Governance, strongly in favor of an appointed State Superintendent. When Senate Resolution 31 rekindled the controversy, the IPA formally restated its position:

The Illinois Principals Association supports the concept of the appointed State Board of Education and the appointed State Superintendent. We maintain that the members of the State Board and the State Superintendent must be individuals knowledgeable about the needs and organization of the schools of Illinois. Furthermore, the Illinois Principals Association maintains that the State Board of Education must exercise leadership in the development of the educational policies of the State.

2. Collective Bargaining

For the IPA, this issue has created role identity concerns as well as practical administrative concerns. After much debate, the IPA has taken an official stand against collective bargaining. The organization's formal statement on the subject is:

The Illinois Principals Association is opposed to the concept of collective bargaining for school employees. We recognize, however, that in some school systems the Board of Education has elected to bargain with employee groups. Where this situation exists, the principals shall be represented in all work and contractual negotiations with each representative group of employees in the school in order to preserve the necessary authority of the principalship required to fulfill the basic educational responsibilities of the constituents served.

In addition to encompassing the IPA priorities and thrusts is the Official Policy Platform for the Illinois Principals Association. The Professional Development Committee of the IPA has over the past seven years worked toward further emphasis on the development of the principalship as a profession that has prepared a series of position statements to meet that end. Each position has added specificity to the role of the principal and has added to the professional dimension of the principalship. These statements are definite positions on specific issues and they are now embodied in one document. A review of its main sections indicates the priorities of the Association.

1. Equality of Opportunity
2. School Organization and School Governance
3. School Program
4. School Discipline
5. Role of the Illinois Principal
6. Rights and Responsibilities of the Illinois Principal
7. School Legislation
8. School Funding

Strategies

The Illinois Principal Association uses lobbying as its key political strategy. The Executive Director and the Associate Executive are registered lobbyists who share this main responsibility. Their role in the legislature is not only to monitor all educational bills but to closely scrutinize those bills which affect principals directly. Another very important function is to seek out sponsors for IPA endorsed legislation. The IPA is not only a caretaker of educational legislation but a strong initiator of bills.

The officers and Legislative Committee members often provide input to the legislative process regarding the IPA's stand on issues. Examples of such input include testimony regarding improved pension benefits and campaigning to raise the drinking age. To further strengthen the IPA's lobbying efforts, the Executives often work through the Legislative Committee to involve members. Newsletters and flyers notify, alert and keep members abreast of very current IPA legislative concerns. Through these means, local principals are asked to contact their own legislators to reinforce the IPA stand on issues. Telephone calls are often used to bring particular principals to the state capital as quickly as possible.

Because of the IPA's not-for-profit status, it is

unable to develop a process by which financial support could be given to legislators. In response to the question on strategies, the Associate Executive stated that lobbying and membership involvement were the main strategies, but "whatever is needed" to meet the IPA's legislative goals is done. This statement was further explained vis-a-vis membership involvement.

State policy through the Illinois Office of Education is monitored by the IPA through an indirect means. IPA staff do not work directly with the State Board in a formal manner, but rather through the IOE staff. The contact and working relationships are with the staff of the IOE School Approval Section, whose work directly affects school building personnel. The IPA officers and executive staff have given testimony to the State Board on particular issues and only sometimes attend State Board meetings.

Power

The IPA has a small staff of two persons. Each of these staff persons is the Association's officially registered lobbyist. In a review of the Secretary of State's List of Individual Lobbyists, a third person is registered as a lobbyist for the IPA, representing one of its regions, as well as his own particular junior high school. The IPA does not have a research department, but is capable of research through its staff or its Study and Research Committee. The IPA does not have a political action arm. It utilizes eight sources of lobbying strength, which are: staff contact, research, local members, information, coalition activities, credibility, status of members and personal contact.

Natural and negotiated coalitions

As is the case with the other educational organizations studied, the Illinois Principals Association enters coalitions depending upon each issue and its particular focus. Since the IPA is an initiator of legislation, it must seek out other organizations to assist in its lobbying efforts. Its strongest co-collaborators are the Illinois Association of School Administrators and the Illinois Association of School Business Officials. These two groups, along with the IPA, have formed an umbrella group of administrators, the Illinois Council of School Executives, whose purpose is to improve the image of school administrators and act as an administrative coalition. The IPA depends on this group for legislative assistance. The Illinois Principals Association was the only organization which specifically stated that they looked to non-education groups to assist in lobbying efforts and named such groups as the Farm Bureau, the Illinois Taxpayers Association and the Illinois Chamber of Commerce.

ANALYSIS: Illinois Principals Association

Question I - Do state education organizations get involved in the political process to influence state educational policies?

In order to establish itself as a professional organization and in order to obtain its prime goal, that of defining the role of the principal, the Illinois Principals Association has assumed a limited but activist position in state educational politics. Since the middle management's role in schools was the least defined in the early 1970's, the IPA had a choice to make in terms of how this lack of definition would be resolved. As some of the other educational organizations chose to do, it could have become a caretaker of legislation and policy, protecting the basic rights of middle managers/principals. The difference between the IPA and other educational organizations was the complete lack of basics as they pertained to the IPA membership. The organization methodically and slowly developed those basics and then chose to legally establish those definitions and rights through legislation, not allowing others an opportunity to define nor infringe upon its rights. Initiation of legislation necessitated involvement in state politics in order to further such legislation.

One of the primary purposes of the IPA is that of having a voice in the Illinois legislature and that is where almost all of the Association's political activities are centered. Work with the Illinois Office of Education is limited to lower level involvement through the department which deals with issues pertinent to school building personnel. Although the IPA is represented on that department's policy formulation committees and at such meetings, the organization does not have input at the upper and State Board level, where final policy decisions are made. At times, in order to promote the role of the principal, the executive branch of state government is solicited for assistance. A successful effort was made in 1978 by the IPA Public Relations Committee to initiate the first Illinois Principals' Week during the week of February 7-14, 1979 by proclamation of the Governor.

In interviewing both executive staff members, it was apparent that each had a broad perspective on the legislative process and the political influences which make the process work. Each man had previous experience with larger agencies and understood the need for coalitions to further IPA legislation. These coalitions were formed not only with educational organizations, but, as stated in the data, with other lobbying groups as well. These non-education coalitions were noteworthy because of the fact that a middle management group may not have natural and mutual concerns with many lobbying groups (e.g., such as the IASB would have

with the Illinois Municipal League or labor concerns of the IEA with labor unions). These coalitions have been developed by the executive staff, partially attributable to their previous contacts.

Another area of political activity of the executive staff was the seeking out of legislators who would be sponsors of IPA legislation. This activity requires nurturing of personal contacts with legislators. Since the IPA is not a large organization, nor is it tied to a larger union, it must offer assistance to legislators in other ways to gain their willingness to sponsor IPA bills. The staff spends considerable time with prospective sponsors, providing information on proposed legislation and negotiating tradeoffs such as valuable contacts with other organizations and/or lobbyists.

Political activities are the responsibility of the two staff members, with the assistance of the Association of Officers and Legislative Committee members. Membership involvement is utilized, but is mostly centered on contacting legislators in their respective areas. Members' involvement was an ad hoc activity utilized at the discretion of staff and officers.

In summary and in response to the originally posed question, Do state education organizations get involved in the political process to influence state educational policies?; yes, the Illinois Principals Association is involved, as evi-

denced by:

1. The need to be an initiator of state policy in order to meet its prime goal of defining the role of the principal;
2. Limiting its activities primarily to the Illinois legislature;
3. Allowing staff to execute its political activities through coalitions and personal contacts with legislators.

Question II - If these organizations do get involved,
how is it being executed, as measured
according to established criteria?

Basic Resources

Number of members

Although the Illinois Principals Association purposely provides a broad definition of its active membership in order to cater to a more open membership, its activities and focus are limited to issues affecting principals. Thus, the 2,300 members are predominantly principals and these are only two-thirds of the state's eligible principals. Many secondary school and large district principals prefer association with the IASA. Declining enrollments have closed school buildings and thus eliminated principal positions. This has caused a drop in membership for the IPA and has become a concern of its leadership. The IPA ranks second to last in size of membership in comparison to the other organizations studied. Since in numbers its membership is not great, it is not a strong political asset for the association.

Money

Money collected for annual dues is a reasonable fee of \$70 per member. Although the IPA has more members than the IASA, its dues collection provides less money than the IASA, based on its economically outmoded low rate. The IPA ranks the lowest in dues collection of the five organizations studied, but monies are utilized effectively to provide for an executive staff, which is equal to the IASA in number but lower than the other three organizations.

Miscellaneous money resources

As was the case for the IASB and the IASA, the IPA has no miscellaneous money resources because of the lack of a political action arm, which would generate such monies. Cash flow capabilities are provided by conference and convention monies. In terms of political activities, there is no direct benefit to the IPA.

Status of members

This category for the IPA is a contradictory one in terms of its political influence. Since the IPA has a vested interest in defining the role of principal and in those issues which directly affect it and has taken an active role in developing the role and the issues, its status of members could be ranked as HIGH. To enhance this status is the professional lobbying work of its executive staff, who more than adequately promote the IPA position and are respected by legislators. The conflict comes when general educational issues are being considered and the pecking order of management levels begins to influence the status of members ranking. Superintendents and school board members are given credit for a broader and more educated perspective on general issues and thus outrank principals. Teachers outrank principals through their associations because of the political power of money. Thus, on general educational issues and in comparison to the other five organizations studied, the IPA receives an AVERAGE status of members ranking.

Power

Professional staff

As stated under Money Resources, the IPA employs two staff members with clerical assistance on the smallest working budget of all five organizations. This number is equal to that of the IASA, but is far behind the IASB, IEA and IFT. Although the staff has other responsibilities, their prime function is to work with the legislature. Small in terms of numbers, the staff provides the IPA with considerable political power based on the nature and extent of their work.

Lobbying staff

Directly related to the foregoing is lobbying power. Both executive staff members are the IPA's officially registered lobbyists, placing the IPA in a strong position along with the IASA and exceeding the IASB in lobbying strength. Since this category is the backbone of the IPA political program, it is further strengthened by the President and members of the Legislative Committee. As noted in the data, one regional member is also a registered lobbyist. The extent of his involvement was not indicated.

Research capabilities

Although the IPA staff is too small to have a research department, research capabilities are available through its staff and/or its Study and Research Committee. This committee provides a very strong asset for the IPA. It has operated as an ad hoc committee, developing issues as assigned by the Executive Board. The membership of the committee has not changed yearly, as is the case with standing committees, and has continued as a group originally functioning under the Illinois Elementary School Principals Association before the IPA was formed. This committee has worked toward further emphasis on the development of the principalship as a profession. It has prepared publications (e.g., The Role of the Illinois Principal [1974], Code of Ethics--Illinois Principals Association [1975], Evaluation of the Principal [1976]) and position statements which are now embodied in an official Policy Platform of the IPA. The continued dedication and focused work of the committee has provided the IPA with an in-house think tank which is consistent with and complementary to its activist legislative posture.

Political action arm

The IPA has no political action arm and there were no indications that such an arm would be developed. It was stated that the Association's political activities would not be formalized beyond their present extent. Since the Association's lobbyists have developed a good legislative rapport and the ability for collaborative efforts, the IPA could prove to be politically much more successful with the addition of a political arm. The two forces combined could provide a strong asset for the IPA.

Sources of lobbying strength

As is the case for the IASA and IASB, the IPA reports that it utilizes eight out of ten sources of lobbying strength, which provides the Association with an 80% power base. Since all ten sources were given equal status, no differentiation can be made other than number of means used. For a more accurate accounting, it would have to be determined to what degree each means is being utilized and to what degree the two means not utilized (campaign money and political action arm) constitute a more effective approach.

In response to the originally posed question, If the organizations do get involved, how is their political action being executed, as measured according to established criteria?; it is being executed by:

1. Two thousand three hundred (2,300) members, which represents two-thirds of the state's principals;
2. One hundred sixty one thousand dollars (\$161,000) for use in personnel and operations;
3. No miscellaneous money resources;
4. An AVERAGE status of members ranking because principals are outranked by superintendents as educational leaders on general education issues;
5. Two professional staff persons, whose prime

function is lobbying;

6. Two full-time lobbyists who are backed up by the IPA officers, Legislative Committee members and one regional lobbyist;

7. No research department, but the ability to provide research when needed through staff and an ongoing research committee;

8. No political action arm;

9. Eight out of ten sources of lobbying strength, constituting an 80% power base.

Question III - Is this activity translated into planned and organized political action programs?

Question IV - What are those programs?

The Illinois Principals Association was forced into the political arena when it chose to become an initiator of legislation. In this sense, it is an aggressive association, considering its size, staff and money resources. For the same reasons, it is limited in its ability to stimulate and execute extremely sophisticated and complex political strategies. There is no formal planned political action program, but rather a mandate of "whatever is needed" to achieve legislative success within the capabilities of the two staff persons. The informal organization and planning of the IPA political program comes from the teamwork of these two staff persons.

What is specific and planned is the concrete direction of the IPA. A series of position papers over the past seven years has led to a recently published Policy Platform. As stated in the data, this document covers eight Association priorities. These priorities cover two main commitments; (1) to contribute as a professional organization to the betterment of Illinois education, and (2) to provide a "single voice for Illinois principals". From this basis comes a legislative

intent to promote and to review legislation to meet these priorities. Each year specific legislation is either prepared or monitored to meet the organization's goals. As the staff stated,

The IPA acts as a voice in the Illinois legislature through lobbying, dissemination of legislative information, introduction of legislation to improve the role of the principal, and providing members opportunities to meet with local legislators.

Three major pieces of legislation passed in recent years are: (1) the principal's status bill, (2) multi-year contracts for principals, and (3) due process for principals being demoted. To protect Illinois education from being further controlled by state law, the IPA has worked with other educational organizations to demandate the schools.

The political action program of the IPA is the responsibility of the two paid staff persons. Organization and planning is provided by these two persons through a team effort. "Whatever is needed" is done, but the main thrust of their political activities is the personal contact maintained with key legislators and organizations. Lobbying is the prime political tactic used by both team members, singularly or together. Each has his own circle of contacts and liaisons working toward and in coordination with IPA ends. It is difficult to describe a set pattern of strategies, for they are in a unique position of tailoring their action to the particular situation. This is attributable to their small size.

Some general observations which can be made are that

in lobbying, certain key legislators are maintained as strong friends of IPA's causes. If the IPA lobbyists can provide accurate information, these legislators will act as IPA sponsors. In conjunction with and compatible to this strategy is the maintenance of strong collaborative efforts with other organizations. The IPA lobbyists also receive backup assistance from the IPA officers and Legislative Committee members. Members are involved at the discretion of staff through set plans. They are kept abreast of pending legislation, given opportunities to meet with local legislators and asked to make contact with local legislators by telephone and letter, as needed. The officers, executives and Legislative Committee members often provide input to other associations and legislators on educational issues, especially those affecting Illinois principals. Such input has included testimony to the Illinois Office of Education on revisions of their Rules and Regulations Governing Illinois Schools (A-160); testimony to state legislators regarding pension benefits and campaigning to legislators on raising the drinking age; and testimony to the Commission on Children regarding discipline.

In response to the originally posed questions, Is this activity translated into planned and organized political action programs? and What are those programs?; the Illinois Principals Association's political activity is:

1. Informally planned and organized by two executive staff members who act as the Association's lobbyists

and work as a political team;

2. Not based on a written agenda;

3. Supported by a written Policy Platform and a legislative intent (1) to promote education in general, and (2) to protect the rights of principals;

4. Based on an activist role in the legislature;

5. A program of personal contact and collaborative efforts by staff with support from the membership.

Question V - What aspects of those programs
appear to be the most successful?

Considering the number of members, staff and money resources of the Illinois Principals Association, the organization maintains a more than adequate political action program. The three factors which provide strength to the program and help to make it successful are (1) the Association's definitive position on a number of key educational issues and its willingness to continue to define its own role, (2) coalition activity, and (3) enough staff to act as Association lobbyists. The IPA has worked diligently within its internal structure to provide a surety of Association positions. Collective bargaining was the issue which forced the IPA to clarify its own position and to make some concrete determinations as to who and what is a principal. Its Executive Board, which has a broad and representative membership, provides an excellent vehicle for members' input. The work of its committees is not perfunctory, but rather concrete additions to the Association's definitive platform. Each year, the organization works at refining itself through such efforts as written job descriptions for the professional staff, a policy manual, personnel evaluation procedures, written goals and objectives for all committees and constitutional changes.

The most outstanding factor of the IPA's political program is its willingness and ability to join in collaborative efforts with other organizations. As stated in the data, it is the only organization which has actively reached out to other organizations for assistance. Necessity and lack of strength has forced this coalition activity, but the IPA has orchestrated it to its benefit. As is the case for the other organizations studied, the educational issue determines the coalition. Working with the IASA is a natural grouping for the IPA. The IPA has extended this coalition to include the Illinois Association of School Business Officials and has taken an active step to provide leadership in the Illinois Council of School Executives, an umbrella group of administrators (IASA, IPA and IASB). An example of this leadership is the fact that the past IPA President has assumed the presidency of this Council. To further its coalition activity and to give the IPA a presence in other agencies and organizations, it shares resources with organizations such as the Illinois High School Association, provides representatives to Illinois Office of Education committees, and appoints coordinators with the NASSP and NAESP.

The flexibility of staff to devote time and effort to political activities is the final but important factor which allows the IPA to function in the political arena. The Association has wisely chosen to afford its membership two full-time lobbyists who are given the flexibility to coordinate political activities. Although the political program

is relatively nebulous to describe in comparison to the other organizations and is limited in its scope, its success is attributable to the work of these two staff persons.

The future of the IPA political activities, as based on the Association's own outlook, is contingent upon such concerns as an increase in membership, perhaps through additional principals and assistants or with other groups, or formally joining other educational groups, providing a coalition of power. Either or both of these measures would provide the Association with more manpower, money and staff, which would increase its basic resources and power. The IPA is the least recognized for political activities of the five associations studied because of its AVERAGE status of members ranking. Under a closer review, as has been done in this research, it has been shown that the IPA is politically active and has been successful in its political maneuverings. An increase in membership would be beneficial in terms of money and numbers, but would not elevate the Association to a greater degree of political power. The increase in political activities would not be greatly significant. If the expertise that it has developed could be formally joined in an educational coalition, the IPA would gain significant power. Since it already has pursued active leadership in the Illinois Council of School Executives, it may be more beneficial to nurture and develop a strong coalition of school administrators to the benefit of Illinois principals.

In response to the originally posed question, What aspects of those programs appear to be the most successful?; those aspects are:

1. The Association's definitive position on a number of key educational issues and its willingness to continue to define its own role;
2. Coalition activity with educator and non-educator groups;
3. A staff which is small in size but is allowed to function as the Association's main political activists.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Findings of the Study

The purpose of this study has been to identify five major statewide educational organizations in Illinois and to research to what degree, if at all, they become involved in the political process on behalf of their membership. The focus has been to determine if local educators have a more organized and united approach to influencing state education legislation and state educational policy making through these organizations. The five organizations chosen for this study were:

Illinois Association of School Boards (IASB)

Illinois Association of School Administrators (IASA)

Illinois Education Association (IEA)

Illinois Federation of Teachers (IFT)

Illinois Principals Association (IPA)

Through an interview process, the leadership of each organization responded to the five prime questions of the study. The informational data were analyzed and conclusions were drawn from those data.

Question I - Do state education organizations
get involved in the political process
to influence state educational policies?

The Illinois Association of School Boards (IASB) is
politically active, as evidenced by:

1. A general political awareness and philosophy espoused and exercised by the staff;
2. An involvement of staff and membership to a total organizational approach to politics;
3. A realistic and practical understanding of the organization's political role;
4. Overt political activities employed on three stages:
 - (1) State legislature
Eight out of ten established lobbying techniques
 - (2) State Board
Personal contact and membership influence
 - (3) United States Congress
Letter writing, data collection and testimony
5. A concern for the organization's future role in state politics.

The Illinois Association of School Administrators

(IASA) is politically active, as evidenced by:

1. An official but qualified commitment to political activity;
2. Lobbying in the legislature by two staff persons as the qualified political activity;
3. Independent membership political activity;
4. Influencing of State Board policy through formal and direct routes.

The Illinois Education Association (IEA) is politically active, as evidenced by a highly active political action arm created to pursue teacher welfare rights in the Illinois state legislature.

The Illinois Federation of Teachers (IFT) is politically active, as evidenced by:

1. Its historical involvement in politics at the local and county levels, gradually influencing the elected State Superintendent of Public Instruction's office as it pertained to collective bargaining;
2. The establishment of a political action arm, which formalized and organized its activities to concentrate on the legislature, as influenced by Chicago politics.

The Illinois Principals Association (IPA) is politically active, as evidenced by:

1. The need to be an initiator of state policy in order to meet its prime goal of defining the role of the principal;

2. Limiting its activities primarily to the Illinois legislature;
3. Allowing staff to execute its political activities through coalitions and personal contacts with legislators.

Question II - If the organizations do get involved,
how is their political action being executed,
as measured according to established criteria?

Political action is being executed by the Illinois
Association of School Boards (IASB) by:

1. Six thousand five hundred ten (6,510) individual members, which is a number that is well ahead of the administrator and principal groups and far behind the teacher groups; these members are utilized selectively, rather than by full number;

2. Eight hundred two thousand dollars (\$802,000) for use in personnel, operations and consultants;

3. No miscellaneous money resources;

4. A HIGH status of members ranking attributed to the nature of its membership, which is made up of locally elected lay citizens;

5. Nineteen (19) professional staff persons constituting an effective staff by size and pertinent positions;

6. One officially registered lobbyist, who is full-time and is backed up by one full-time assistant and four part-time persons;

7. No research department, but the ability to provide research when needed;

8. No political action arm;
9. Eight out of ten sources of lobbying strength, constituting an 80% power base.

Political action is being executed by the Illinois Association of School Administrators (IASA) by:

1. One thousand one hundred (1,100) members, which is a number that ranks well behind the teacher groups and school board association; that does not meet the full potential membership because of apparent selectivity of members;
2. Two hundred twenty one thousand dollars (\$221,000) for use in personnel, operations and consultants;
3. No miscellaneous money resources, except when generated by ad hoc groups;
4. A HIGH status of members ranking attributed to the nature of its membership, who are administrative heads of school districts and which is used strongly by the Association;
5. Two professional staff positions, which constitutes an exceptionally small staff, but whose responsibilities are mostly geared to political efforts;
6. Two officially registered lobbyists, which ranks the Association well against the other groups; these lobbyists are backed strongly by members, as needed;
7. No research department, but a strong ability to provide research when needed;
8. No political action arm, but members providing such service through their own ad hoc efforts;

9. Eight out of ten sources of lobbying strength, constituting an 80% power base.

Political action is being executed by the Illinois Education Association (IEA) by:

1. Sixty thousand (60,000) members, which is a number that is ten times larger than the IASB and one hundred times larger than the IASA, and which is fully utilized through specific means;

2. No dues money because of state law;

3. Three hundred twenty one thousand dollars (\$321,000) in miscellaneous money raised through the political action arm for use in personnel, operations and campaign contributions;

4. An AVERAGE status of members ranking attributed to the members' secondary position in their school districts;

5. Six staff positions, whose responsibilities are geared solely to political activities;

6. Four officially registered lobbyists, which ranks the IEA well above the other organizations;

7. No research department, but a strong ability to provide research when needed;

8. A political action arm, which executes all the IEA's political work;

9. Ten out of ten sources of lobbying strength, constituting a 100% power base.

Political action is being executed by the Illinois Federation of Teachers (IFT) by:

1. Forty thousand five hundred (40,500) members in their political action arm, which constitutes the second largest membership in this study;
2. Dues income which is not applicable to this study;
3. Miscellaneous money resources from its political action arm dues which are low, but utilized effectively for political educational purposes and campaign contributions;
4. An AVERAGE status of members ranking attributed to the members' positions in their school districts and the IFT's moderate concern for state matters;
5. Three full-time staff persons, who adequately accommodate the organization's political work;
6. Three staff persons who are the Federation's registered lobbyists, as well as the services of four Illinois AFL-CIO lobbyists;
7. Research capabilities provided by the COPE staff, with assistance from other IFT staff, AFL-CIO staff and American Federation of Teachers staff;
8. A political action arm (COPE) which executes the IFT's political work;
9. Ten out of ten sources of lobbying strength, which constitutes a 100% power base, making the IFT equal to the IEA and both exceeding the other organizations.

Political action is being executed by the Illinois Principals Association (IPA) by:

1. Two thousand three hundred (2,300) members, which represents two thirds of the state's principals;
2. One hundred sixty one thousand dollars (\$161,000) for use in personnel and operations;
3. No miscellaneous money resources;
4. An AVERAGE status of members ranking because principals are outranked by superintendents as educational leaders on general education issues;
5. Two professional staff persons, whose prime function is lobbying;
6. Two full-time lobbyists who are backed up by the IPA officers, Legislative Committee members, and one regional lobbyist;
7. No research department, but the ability to provide research when needed through staff and an ongoing research committee;
8. No political action arm;
9. Eight out of ten sources of lobbying strength, constituting an 80% power base.

Question III - Is this activity translated into planned and organized political action programs?

Question IV - What are those programs?

The Illinois Association of School Boards' (IASB's) political activity is:

1. Planned and organized, as evidenced by fixed roles of staff and tailored strategies when time permits;
2. Not based on a written agenda;
3. Supported by an unwritten philosophy and practically through a commitment of staff, time and money;
4. Based on specific political outcomes, which are:
 - a. More money for local school districts with minimum mandated constraints;
 - b. Preservation of local school board decision making authority.
5. A program of personal contact of all levels of staff and membership emphasizing educational reasoning and public mandate.

The Illinois Association of School Administrators' (IASA's) political activity is:

1. Planned and organized by three main internal groups;

2. Loosely executed because of lack of staff and the independent nature of its members;

3. A program of lobbying done mostly by a paid staff person but assisted by members;

4. Not based on a written agenda.

The Illinois Education Association's (IEA's) political activity is:

1. Planned and organized as an outgrowth of its political action arm, which provides political knowledge and appropriate administration;

2. Based on a specific written agenda provided by the Illinois Political Action Committee for Education (IPACE);

3. A program of electioneering, lobbying and public relations programs with other labor groups.

The Illinois Federation of Teachers' (IFT's) political activity is:

1. Planned and organized, as evidenced by the existence of its political action arm, COPE;

2. Supported philosophically and practically through a commitment of manpower and money;

3. A program of electioneering and lobbying;

4. Based on specific but varied political outcomes.

The Illinois Principals Association's (IPA's) political activity is:

1. Informally planned and organized by two executive staff members who act as the Association's lobbyists

and work as a political team;

2. Not based on a written agenda;
3. Supported by a written Policy Platform and a legislative intent (1) to promote education in general, and (2) to protect the rights of principals;
4. Based on an activist role in the legislature;
5. A program of personal contact and collaborative efforts by staff with support from the membership.

Question V - What aspects of those programs
appear to be the most successful?

Illinois Association of School Boards (IASB):

1. A staff which is comprehensive in size and function and which is constituted of persons with appropriate training and experience;
2. Membership involvement in the legislative and political process and educational growth to advance those processes;
3. An unwritten political action program which provides flexibility and enhances the organization's educational advocate role.

Illinois Association of School Administrators (IASA):

1. Lobbying activities through a full-time lobbyist with strong assistance from the Executive Director and backup members who stress their status of members' power;
2. Written position statements which form the foundation of political activities and provide the basis for further research, as well as available information for policy makers;
3. An emerging leadership which is giving the organization more concrete direction and greater political astuteness.

Illinois Education Association (IEA):

1. A focused approach on the legislature supported by large membership, economic resources, available research information, written strategies and strong lobbying efforts;
2. Strong secondary measures which back up the main program;
3. Well developed local units and establishment of IEA persons in key state positions;
4. An inability to succeed with its main goal-- a state collective bargaining law--because of political factors beyond its control, its questioned behavior in the legislature and internal problems.

Illinois Federation of Teachers (IFT):

1. Has an organizational structure which accommodates local, federal and union concerns;
2. Has a balanced and open state level organization;
3. Has developed powerful ties with Chicago politicians, which could prove to be beneficial statewide.

Illinois Principals Association (IPA):

1. The Association's definitive position on a number of key educational issues and its willingness to continue to define its own role;
2. Coalition activity with educator and non-educator groups;
3. A staff which is small in size but is allowed to function as the Association's main political activists.

Generalizations and Implications

In a review of the findings, this study has shown that the five selected organizations are cognizant of and are involved in the political process in Illinois. Drawn from these findings are certain generalizations and implications of the organizations themselves, as well as the Illinois political scene as it pertains to education.

1. The reference in the Review of the Literature by L. Harmon Zeigler indicates that an organization or "organized aggregate which seeks to influence the content of governmental decisions without attempting to place its members in formal governmental capacities" is a pressure group. Although all five organizations studied would qualify as pressure groups, a wide variation of involvement and sophistication exists between the organizations.

2. Educators do have a more organized and united approach to influencing state educational legislation and policy through their respective organizations because of the organizations' more active political roles. The qualifying points for utilizing the professional organization for political effectiveness are whether the organization can accommodate divergent membership demands and whether the organization is willing to fully participate in political activities.

3. In Illinois, the 1970's depict an era of intra-professional feuds over roles and control of education. It has been the labor/management problems of business and industry, rather than educational issues, which have created the era. Currently, the legislature, as opposed to the Illinois Office of Education, is the site of resolution of these problems.

4. Educational issues presented to the General Assembly determine which organization has more political strength, based upon which organization presented the issue or which is called upon to assist in the shaping of the issue. In Illinois education at the present time, political strength does not determine issues, as in other areas; instead, issues determine political strength.

5. All five organizations have reached the level of political sophistication needed to decipher the intent of a piece of legislation, as evidenced by their positions on Senate Joint Resolution 31, which was more of a ploy by the legislature to censure the appointed State Superintendent than a serious attempt to change the state's educational governance structure. Four organizations opposed the resolution and the fifth supported it for practical reasons.

6. Collective bargaining is the main issue which has forced educators to become more aware of and involved in political techniques. The continued lack of a satisfactory resolution of this issue will perpetuate and enhance the political astuteness of the organizations as they attempt to

support or defeat its passage.

7. In a milieu of sophisticated politics and complicated political maneuverings, educational organizations are still relatively naive politically. Chicago and Illinois politics have a national reputation for uniqueness and effectiveness. The educational establishment appears to have refrained from its involvement in this distinction rather than to have learned from it. Other professions encourage their organizations to emulate the process.

8. The Illinois Association of School Boards, Illinois Association of School Administrators and the Illinois Principals Association are hesitant about formalizing their political activities. Inasmuch as the future of education may continue to be determined in the legislature, an assessment by these organizations as to the feasibility of remaining free of a formal political action program must be considered.

Recommendations for an Illinois

Educational Coalition

Education in Illinois is clearly entrenched in the state political process and the disposition of education issues will increasingly depend on decisions made in the political arena. As shown in this study, teacher involvement in state politics and the labor/management issues of education have directed the future of Illinois education to be determined by a highly politicized process. As political leaders continue to take a more aggressive voice in determining statewide policy affecting educational issues, they bring to education the strengths as well as the weaknesses of political life. This context for educational policy making places a burden and responsibility on the major educational organizations to understand, to participate in and to direct statewide decisions. The Illinois Education Association has equipped itself philosophically and practically to participate in this realm. The Illinois Federation of Teachers is prepared to do so, but has chosen not to activate itself fully on the state level. The Illinois School Board Association performs professionally and fully in the political process without the formal mechanics to do so. The Illinois Association of School Administrators and the Illinois Principals Association participate to the best of

their limited, individual capacities. The political abilities of these organizations have grown considerably since 1970, but regrettably they have been pitted against one another.

Aufderheide, in his study of "Educational Interest Groups and the State Legislature", concerns himself with relationships among the educational interest groups. He states that:

Commentators in the 1960's often spoke of an "establishment", at the core of which were alliances of Educational Interest Groups. There is abundant evidence that this "establishment" is no longer as united as it supposedly was a decade ago. Historic forces have shattered many, perhaps most, such coalitions. The aftermath, as interpreted by several scholars, has been a "breakdown of political order" in respect to public education at the state level. The extent of this breakdown, its causes, and the current status of the educational coalitions were of great interest during this study.¹

Aufderheide's conclusions showed that at one point in each of the twelve states studied, nine states could claim a formal, functioning coalition of educational interest groups. This number diminished to two states with active coalitions as of 1975, with collective bargaining as the divisive issue in the other seven states.

In the Review of the Literature, Lawrence Iannaccone's Typology described a state policy making system as it pertained to education. In 1967, Illinois ranked as the only state in the "Type IV - Statewide Syndical" category. This

¹J. Alan Aufderheide, "Educational Interest Groups and the State Legislature", State Policymaking in the Public Schools (Berkeley, California: McCutcheon Publishing Co., 1976), pp. 195-202.

category characterized a state which had a statewide organization under government sponsorship as a broker among educational interests and presenting them to the legislature. The other three categories were:

Type I - Locally based disparate - Local contacts and relationships in the legislature.

Type II - Statewide monolithic - Unanimity among statewide interest groups.

Type III - Statewide fragmented - Presence of statewide organizations, but the inability of these groups to agree among themselves about a legislative program.

Illinois qualified for the Type IV ranking because of its Illinois School Problems Commission. Although first established in 1949 merely as a temporary advisory commission for the legislature, the School Problems Commission as of 1957 acted as Illinois' clearing house for educational legislation. Since there was no State Board of Education and the fact that the State Superintendent of Public Instruction was a partisan elected position, there was no public agency officially responsible for the formulation of a state school program. The School Problems Commission, made up of legislators and representatives of interest groups, was created by the legislature to provide this leadership. Although it possessed no formal powers other than advisory, almost all of its recommendations were incorporated into law.

With the establishment of the State Board of Education, the role of the School Problems Commission became questionable. Some educational groups looked to the Board for

leadership and assistance in resolving their concerns. In addition, the splintering factions of the Commission, such as the Illinois Education Association, have caused the Commission to lose its cohesiveness and effectiveness. Thus, Illinois education has been affected by the deteriorating relationships between organizations, as indicated by Aufderheide, as well as a new state governance structure, thereby dissolving its "Type IV - Statewide Syndical" status. The state's policy making system has regressed to a "Type III - Statewide Fragmented" position.

Illinois' fiscal picture is similar to most other states in the 1979 economic scene. Public services vie with one another to receive an equitable share of a bare bones budget. Illinois education, which is in a period of retrenchment due to the effects of declining enrollments, must prepare a strong and united position in order to compete with other state demands. The future of education in Illinois depends on effective politics, which can only be brought about by new forms of cooperation. Educators, together, must guide the legislature to determine the future of education.

The inclination to cooperate exists between most of the organizations studied, as indicated in the Coalition section of each organization. The vast stumbling block is the lack of a resolution on the collective bargaining issue. Until this concern is resolved, no forward movement can be made on large-scale cooperative efforts. Illinois educators

are at a stalemate on this issue, but it must be met head on and resolved to the satisfaction of all parties involved. It is not an easy task, given the Illinois political scene.

The thrust of this study has been to analyze each organization's political action program and to define what aspects of each program are workable and successful. Generally speaking, the Illinois School Board Association, the Illinois Association of School Administrators and the Illinois Principals Association are politically active but hesitant about formalizing their political activities. The Illinois Education Association and the Illinois Federation of Teachers have established a standard of politics for Illinois education which is consistent with acceptable political practices of success in the Illinois legislature. The need then arises as to how a political working plan may be drawn from the conclusions of this study, utilizing the political strengths and diminishing the political weaknesses of each organization. Such a plan would have to transcend the limitations of all five organizations, would have to appeal to a greater final goal and would have to be developed under a supra-structure to accommodate individual organizational needs.

Based on the findings of this study, a recommendation is made to form an Illinois Educational Coalition, whose purpose would be to coalesce the political and professional strengths of the five major educational organizations to work for the mutual benefit of education in the Illinois legisla-

ture. Some of the major tasks recommended would be:

1. To initiate a structure and form for the Illinois Educational Coalition, possibly utilizing the Illinois State Board of Education as the neutral vehicle;
2. To resolve the School Problems Commission status versus the Illinois Educational Coalition;
3. To determine equitable structures and procedures for collective bargaining;
4. To develop a broader perspective of educational expectations, beyond the specialized interests based on a formal assessment of the public's view of education;
5. To prepare a formal political action program, utilizing the strengths of all five organizations, possibly working on a two-tiered system with the political abilities of the Illinois Education Association and the Illinois Federation of Teachers on one level and the indirect methods of the Illinois Association of School Boards, Illinois Association of School Administrators and the Illinois Principals Association on the other level;
6. To develop an annual legislative program which transcends but takes into account individual interest group concerns and is based on the electorate's concensus of free, appropriate public education;
7. To expand the coalition to other education groups;
8. To seek the support of non-education groups.

As educators continually work to improve and upgrade educational opportunities, they must look beyond their own realm in order to achieve educational change. The change agent with the greatest amount of clout, as a result of its ability to expect mandatory compliance with its rules and regulations, is the Illinois legislature, and its decisions are influenced by debate, negotiation and compromise--namely, the political process. This fact has been documented thoroughly throughout this study. Each of the organizations studied has gradually developed a political ability to compete in this open and public forum, the results of which are individualized approaches to resolving educational improvements. What is needed now is for the five major educational organizations to bring together their diverse points of view and to arrive at a concensus on educational goals for Illinois. Together they must work aggressively in the political arena to achieve positive and progressive educational change.

APPENDIX

INTERVIEW GUIDE

Core Questions

Existence of a Political Action Program

1. What are the political values of the organization (i.e., does it desire to or believe it should become involved in the political process)? (#1)

A. If not, why not? (#1)

B. If so, how does it go about it? (#2, 3 and 4)

(1) Does it have a specific political action program? (#2)

(2) Is it a formal operation (i.e., a concrete written plan of action) or is it an ad hoc effort? (#3)

(3) Describe the political program. (#4)

Focus of the Program

2. What is the main theme of your program? (#3 and 4)

3. Are there consistent issues? (#3 and 4) If so, what are they (e.g., finance, curriculum)?

4. Who chooses the issues? (#4)

A. Is there a formal process by which issues are prioritized and chosen?

B. Is the program reflective of the majority of your membership? Are they contacted for input?

5. Who is the target of your effort? (#2 and 3)

Manpower/Finance

6. Who executes your program? (#2, 3 and 4)

A. How many staff persons are involved? (#2)

B. Do only the designated ones perform such activities or do other members get involved? (#3 and 4)

7. Does this political person/staff have a budget? (#2 and 3)

Procedures

8. Do your procedures include (#2 and 3):

A. letters

B. testimonies at hearings

C. lobbying with key legislators and Board members

D. public relations campaigns, including the media

E. petitions

F. protest marches

G. using key persons (e.g., friends of legislators, major political donors, partisan party leaders) to in-

fluence legislators

9. Do you utilize your membership? (#2 and 3)
 - A. If so, how?
 - B. If not, why not?

Success

10. How do you measure success (e.g., number of legislative enactments, extensiveness of the legislative enactments, benefits to your membership)? (#2)

Probe Questions

Existence of a Political Action Program

1. Are the political values and the program consistent with the organization's goals? (#2)

Focus of the Program

2. Do you collaborate with other organizations on issues? (#2 and 3)

3. Do you try to impact policy of the State Board? (#2)

How? (#4)

Manpower/Finance

4. May the staff call upon other staff as well as your membership for assistance? (#2)

5. Is that understood by all? (#3)

6. How many man hours can be estimated for such activities? (#3 and 4)

7. What is the background of these staff members (e.g., educator, lobbyist, political scientist)? (#3)

8. How much can you estimate is budgeted for such a program? (#2 and 3)

9. If you do not have a budget, why not? (#2)

Procedures

10. What kind of access does your staff have to the legislature and the State Board? (#3)
11. Is your staff available to provide information as needed to the legislators and State Board members? (#2)
12. Is your membership cohesive enough to support a political program? (#2)
13. Does your membership work individually and in small groups counter to the organization's program? (#3)

Success

14. Do you consider a compromise a success? (#3)
15. Is your organization willing to work with other educational organizations for a collective and united voice for education? (#2 and 3)

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