TEACHER STRIKES IN NEW JERSEY: A STATISTICAL AND IMPRESSIONISTIC ANALYSIS

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ABSTRACT

This article provides a thirty year profile of teacher strikes in New Jersey. It demonstrates that the number and severity of teacher strikes has systematically declined. The author suggests that this long term decline in strike activity is at least partially explained by the maturation of the system and its participants. It suggests that surges in strike activity are related to external forces and the strike activity in this state is influenced by location and population density.

Over the past three decades, almost 200 teacher strikes have occurred in New Jersey. These strikes have caused the loss of over a half million teacher days and over three million student days. These job actions have affected hundred of thousands of families and played an important role in determining how public sector collective bargaining is viewed in New Jersey. This article provides a statistical perspective on these strikes and draws some impressionistic conclusions.

Although many strikes of public employees have occurred in New Jersey, all of them are prohibited under the state's common law. The original employer-employee relations statute did not mention the strike and that was one of the reasons why then-Governor Richard Hughes conditionally vetoed the measure [1]. The thinking in the legislature was that there was no need to mention the strike in the law because court decisions had already made it clear that strikes of public employees were prohibited within the state. This thinking was confirmed two years later in *Lullo v. International Association of Firefighters*, where the state's supreme court said it saw "no substance to plaintiff's claim that the broad scope of the 1968 act envisions collective bargaining with all the implications the

term carries in the private employment sector, including the right to strike [2, at 439].

The New Jersey law permits binding arbitration of unresolved contract disputes for public safety employees only. For all other employees, including teachers, the impasse procedures consist of: 1) mediation supplied by the Public Employment Relations Commission (PERC), after one or both parties have informed PERC that an impasse exists; and 2) if mediation fails, the parties select a factfinder from lists supplied by PERC. The factfinder takes testimony and gathers information and is empowered to issue a set of nonbinding recommendations. These recommendations may become the basis for a settlement, but either party may reject them, and the only recourse is return to the bargaining table.

New Jersey has over 800 school districts, each of which negotiates separate collective bargaining agreements. Almost all of the teachers are represented by the New Jersey Education Association (NJEA). At the beginning of the negotiations era in 1968, most teacher associations bargained separately, i.e., the teachers were not combined with other school district employees in a common collective bargaining agreement. By the end of the period, however, most contracts covered a wide assortment of school district employees, ranging from teachers through secretaries to bus drivers. Under the New Jersey law, furthermore, collective negotiation rights are extended to most supervisory employees, but the higher ranking officers in school districts are not permitted to be represented in the same bargaining unit as the teachers.

TEACHER STRIKES IN NEW JERSEY: THE FIGURES

Figure 1 gives a thirty-year profile of the number of teacher strikes in the state, beginning with 1968, the year in which the state's first public sector bargaining law was enacted. Two themes are articulated clearly by this exhibit. First, the overall trend in teacher strikes is declining. The slope of the regression line through the data is negative. To look only at the beginning years and the latest years, New Jersey teachers averaged about ten strikes per year in the first three years of Chapter 303 and about two strikes per year over the past ten years.² Second, the period of peak activity occurred between 1975 and 1981, with the largest number of strikes occurring in the 1979-1980 school year.³

PERC pays for the cost of mediation. The parties share the cost of the factfinder.

Table 1 will show that between the 1992-93 school year and the 1997-98 year, only five strikes took place in the state.

In 1979 and 1980, there were additional strikes of hospital personnel in Hudson County, Kearney, and the Trenton Psychiatric Hospital and a strike of New Jersey Turnpike personnel.

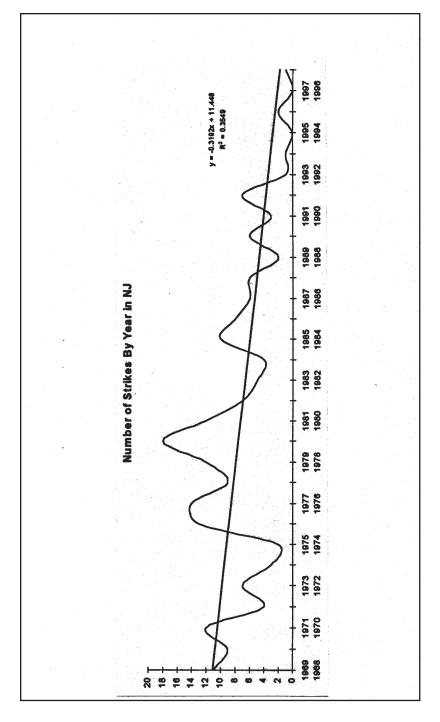


Figure 1. Number of teacher strikes by year in New Jersey: 1968-1998.

Figure 2 shifts the emphasis from the number of strikes to the number of days the strikes lasted. As would be expected, the general trend mirrors that found in Figure 1: The number of strike days experienced a relatively steady decline over the period studied. The largest number of strike days were lost between 1969 and 1971, where the Newark teachers led the way. Between February 2, 1970 and March 27, 1971, they engaged in two strikes—one lasting seventeen days and the other, fifty-five days. During that period of time, Jersey City teachers also engaged in a lengthy work stoppage, and strikes of shorter duration took place in Cranford, Hamilton Township, New Brunswick, Passaic, and Trenton. Some of the significant strikes in the 1977-82 period involved Cherry Hill, Glassboro, Hanover Township, Patterson, Perth Amboy, Pitman, Saddlebrook, Sussex County, Trenton, Willingboro, and Woodbridge [3].

Figure 3 describes the number of teachers on strike during each of the thirty years studied. In addition to depicting, once again, the overall negative trend in strike activity, this figure identifies the peak years as coming in the first three years after the passage of Chapter 303 and in the latter half of the 1970s. As shown in Figure 4, the largest number of teacher days lost in a single year occurred in the 1970-1971 school year, showing the influence of the strikes in Newark and Jersey City. Figure 5 focuses on student days lost, with the data beginning in 1977. Once again, the expected negative trend is evident.

Figure 6 puts all of the aforementioned information together. The key variables from all of the other figures are incorporated into this exhibit. The key variables are number of strikes, number of teachers on strike, number of strike days, number of teacher strike days, and number of student days lost. As expected, all of the variables are closely related, and all of the data show two periods of peak activity in teacher-strikes—1969 through 1971, and 1975 through 1981.

TEACHER STRIKES IN NEW JERSEY: THE TABLES

The tables basically provide the numbers behind the figures, but those tables add a locational dimension—they break the data down by county. Table 1 focuses on the number of strikes by year, as did Figure 1. It shows that northern, highly urban Bergen County is, by far, the leader in teacher strikes. With thirty-four strikes over the thirty-year period, Bergen County has had more teacher strikes than the next two counties combined—the eastern shore county of Monmouth with sixteen and the center-state county of Middlesex with fourteen. The least strike-prone counties tend to be more rural in nature and usually in the southern part of the state. Of the five counties least prone to teacher strikes, four are in the south and only Sussex is from northern New Jersey. They are Cape May and Sussex counties with one strike; Cumberland with two; Atlantic with three; and Ocean County with four.

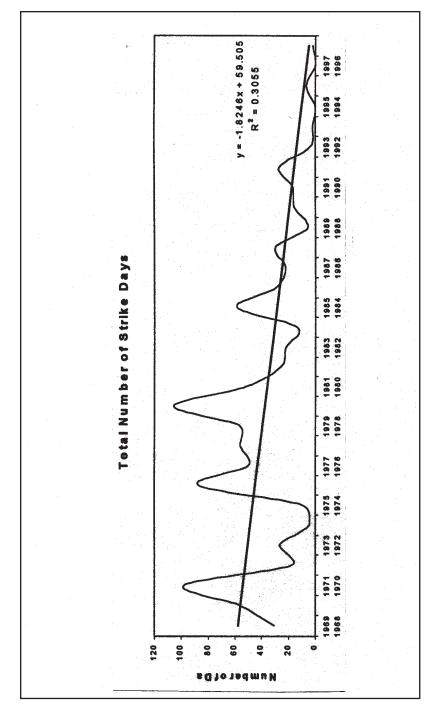


Figure 2. Number of days districts were shut down: 1968-1998.

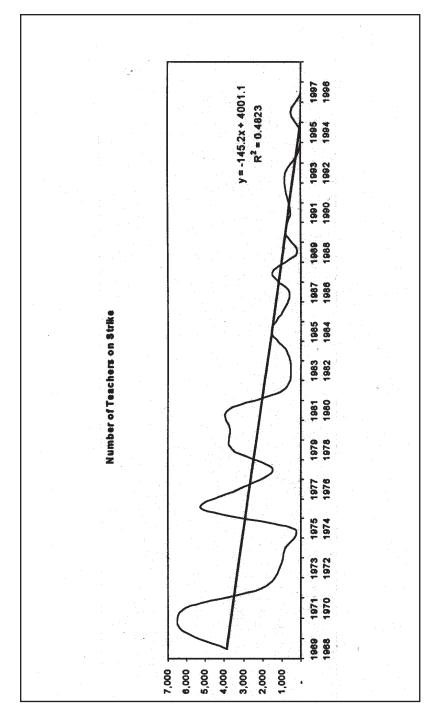


Figure 3. Number of New Jersey teachers on strike: 1968-1998.

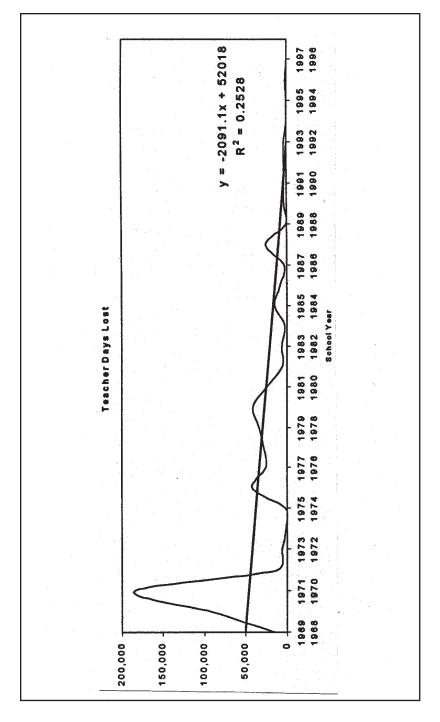


Figure 4. New Jersey teacher days lost: 1968-1998.

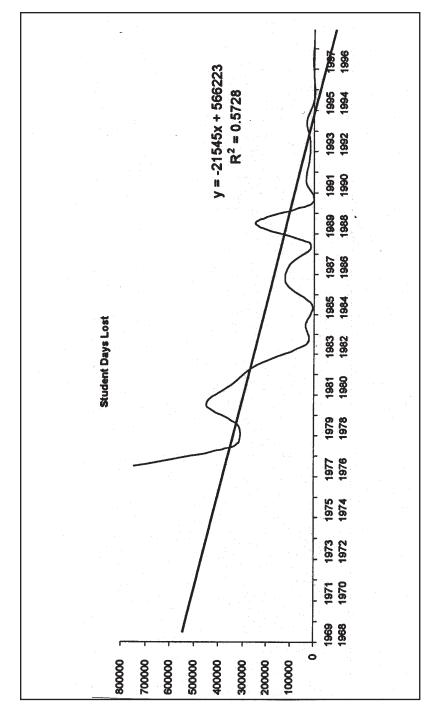


Figure 5. Student days lost: 1969-1998.

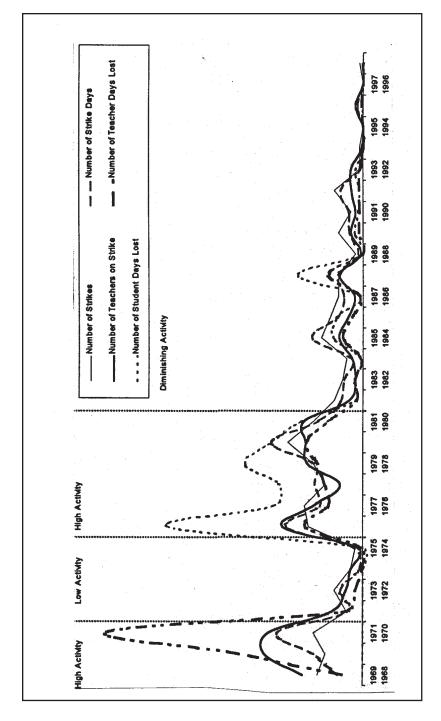


Figure 6. Composite portrait of Figures 1 through 5.

Table 1. Number of Strikes Per County Per Year: 1968-1998

Year	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	
to	1969		1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	
Atlantic	-	0	0	٥	0	0	0	0	-	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Bergen	3	-	4	0				2	4	_	1	1	2	4	3	
Burlington	0	0	0	0	0	0			0	2	0	0	0	0	0	
Camden	-	0	0	0				0	_	0	2	2	0	0	0	
Cape May	_	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Cumberland	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
Essex	0	_	-	-	-	0	0	1	0	0	2	2	2	0	0	
Gloucester	0	0	0	0	0	0	_	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	
Hudson	2	2	-	0	-	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	
Hunterdon	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Mercer	_	-	_	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	2	0	
Middlesex	0	2	_	_	0	0	0	0	-	0	0	4	0	1	0	
Monmouth	0	0	0	2	-	0	_	_	0	2	1	2	2	0	1	
Morris	0	0	-	0	0	-	0	2	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	
Ocean	0	-		0	0	0	0	•	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Passaic	-	-	0	0	0	-	0	2	2	0	0	1	0	1	0	
Salem	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-	0	1	0		0	
Somerset	0	0	-	0	0		0	0	1	2	2	0	-	0	-	
Sussex	0	0	đ	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0	
Union	0	0	-	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	
Warren	-	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	
Totals	+	o ဝ	12	4	7	3.	2	13	14	6	12	18	12	7	5	

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	Totals	3	8	œ	12	1	2	12	80	12	ပ	۵	4	16	12	4	13	4	11	1	G	2	195
1997	1998	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0	0	0	_
1996	1997	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1995	1996	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	-	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
1994	1995	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1993	1994	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-
1992	1993	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	+
1991	1992	0	_	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	_	0	0	0	-	0	0		_	0	0	0	7
1990	1991	0	0	-	0	0	0	_	-	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
1989	1990	0	-	-	2	0	0	0	0	0	-	0	0	0	0	0	-	0	0	0	0	0	9
4988	1989	0	0	0	_	0	0	0	-	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	٥	0	2
1987	1988	0	0	0	0	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	0	0	-	0	0	0	0	0	7	0	9
1086	1987	0	2	2	-	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	_	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9
1985	1986	0	-	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	٥	0	0	2	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	-	8
1084	1985	-	-	0	_	0	0	0	0	-	-	0	2	-	0	0	٥	0	-	0	4-	0	10
1083	1984	0	-	0	0	0	0	٥	0	0	0	0	-	0	0	-	0	0	0	0	-	0	4
		Atlantic	Bergen	Burlington	Camden	Cape May	Cumberland	Essex	Gloucester	Hudson	Hunterdon	Mercer	Middlesex	Monmouth	Morris	Ocean	Passaic	Salem	Somerset	Sussex	Union	Warren	Totals

The total number of strike days per year (Table 2) is based on the number of days a school district was shut down by a strike. According to these data, the peak year for teacher strikes was 1979-80, when school districts in ten counties were closed for more than 100 days. Eighty-eight days were lost in 1975-76 and from 1969 through 1971, 155 days were lost, but the bulk of those days came from the two Newark strikes. In the last ten years, New Jersey school districts were closed for a total of eighty-one days, and in the last five years, the total number of district closure days was eleven.

The trend in the number of strikes does not precisely mirror figures on the number of teachers on strike in a given year. The data suggest that more strikes in the late seventies and early eighties occurred in the smaller school districts, leading to a disproportionately smaller number of teachers on strike and fewer teacher days lost.

The number of teachers on strike per year is obviously influenced by the size of the school district. Table 3 shows that over the past thirty years, slightly more than 50,000 New Jersey teachers engaged in a strike. This averages about 1,700 teachers a year. But the teachers of Essex County alone accounted for fourteen thousand of those teachers, or 27 percent of the total. Table 4 reports the same kind of information. Those tables show that in a typical year, about 19,000 teacher days are lost to teacher strikes. Essex county supplies 44 percent of the lost teacher days. The Essex County information in Tables 3 and 4 is strongly influenced by the aforementioned 1970-71 strikes of Newark teachers.

Table 5 reports on the number of student days lost because their teachers were on strike. We do not have accurate information prior to the 1975-1976 school year because the records listing the number of students in attendance at each of the striking schools is faulty. The data that we have, however, reinforces other information. The overall trend in lost time is negative, and students in the more metropolitan counties lose the most time. The three leading counties for loss of student days are Union, Camden, and Passaic. Essex and Hudson would surely be in that list were data from earlier years available.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

If we were to take the entire thirty years that have passed since the enactment of New Jersey's first public sector bargaining law, we would conclude that a typical year would produce about eight teacher strikes. These strikes would involve about 1700 teachers, last between four and five days, and lead to an average of 135,000 student days lost. However, a closer analysis of the information indicates that the simple computation of thirty-year averages paints a flawed picture. If the last ten years were taken as the database, the typical year would read as follows: about two teacher strikes, involving approximately 350 teachers, lasting less than four days, and costing about 11,500 student days. The first conclusion

drawn from the New Jersey teacher strike data is: in comparison with the past, today we have fewer strikes, involving fewer teachers, and affecting fewer students. While one may argue that even one day lost to an unlawful strike is too many, the data presented here show that if there ever has been a teacher strike problem in New Jersey, that problem has lessened significantly since collective bargaining for teachers came to the state.

A second conclusion can be drawn from Figure 6. The data clearly show that there were two surges in strike activity. The first surge took place between 1968 and 1971. This was followed by a lull and then another swelling in the strike statistics occurred between 1976 and 1981. After 1981, strike activity resembles a diminishing sine wave, declining to the point where recent teacher strike activity has been almost negligible.

We have no definitive answer as to the causes of these surges, but we have some speculations. These surges in strike activity have been influenced by exogenous factors as the rate of inflation, the level of unemployment, "cap" laws, or local or statewide politics. One possible explanation of the 1968-71 surge comes from the timing itself. Strike activity increased in the year after the first public sector collective bargaining statute was passed. Possibly, the members of the local teacher associations looked upon the new law as a means of alleviating their frustration after so many years of being unable to bargain over their terms and conditions of employment. The rise in strike activity, therefore, may have come from a carryover of a desire of the teachers (and perhaps of school boards as well) to flex their muscles, coupled with inexperience in dealing with the negotiations process and the failure to comprehend the personal costs associated with a work stoppage.

The merger of the New Jersey Education Association and the National Education Association may have also contributed to the 1968-71 surge. This merger took place in 1969-70, and it provided the statewide educational association an enriched source of money and lawyers. The availability of new financial resources may have encouraged the local organizations to flex their muscles. The new assistance at the bargaining table may have led the parties into discussions of unfamiliar issues with people who were unfamiliar with one another, making the settlement process more difficult.

The second surge also occurred shortly after New Jersey had adopted a new bargaining law. The modification to the original law took place in 1974, just before this second upwelling in strike activity. And in the middle of this period, the New Jersey Supreme Court rendered a series of decisions that not only limited the scope of bargaining but also made unlawful many agreements that the

The New Jersey "cap" law limits the amount by which a unit of government may increase its operating budget without voter approval.

Table 2. Total Number of Strike Days Per Year

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Year	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977		П	П	Т	1967	
Ş	1	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	
Attentio	'n	٥	c	٥	٥	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Dordon	S.F.	, -	15	0		0	0	6		2	4	4	12	12	19	
Burlington	2 0	. c	 c	0	0	0	0	0	0	27	0	0	0	0	0	
Capaci	-	0 0	0	0	0	0	0	0	60	0	19	12	0	0	0	
Cane May	- 6	0 0	0	0	0	0	0	Γ		0	0	0	0	0	0	
Cumberland	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0	0	0	-	o	
Fasex	0	17	55	-	S	0	0	4	0	0	3	21	89	0		
Gloucester	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	4	0	o		
Hudson	0	18	ည	0	6	0	0	26	6	0	0	0	6			
Hunterdon	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0		
Mercer	-		œ	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	7	7	0	
Middlesex	0	_ග	E	œ	0	0	0	0	14	0	0	27	0	-	0	
Monmouth	٥	0	0	6	2	0	6	9	0	17	-	4.5	7	0	1.2	
Morris	0	0	-	0	0	2	0	12	0	0	3	13	0	0	0	
Ocean	0	3	-	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	o	0	0	
Passaic	4	80	0	0	0	2	0	9	3	0	0	7	0	-	0	
Salem	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-	0	-	0	4	0	
Somerset	0	0	3	0	0	1	0	0	1	8	10.5	0	-	0	2	
Sussex	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	0	0	0	
Union	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	=	1	0	13	0	0	0	0	
Warren	-	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	+	1	3	0	0	0	0	
Total	30.5	57	8	18	27	S S	10	88	20	56	56.5	105.5	51	92	22.2	
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	Total	15	156	45	26	3	3	119	27	93	12.5	8	66	63.7	46	6	47	6	31.5	9	29	7	936.7
1997	1998	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	٥	2
1996	1997	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1995	1996	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	မ	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7
1994	1995	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1993	1994	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
1992	1993	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
1991	1992	0	1 0	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	-	0	0	၉	-	0	0	0	27
1990	1991	0	0	2	0	0	0	7	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	17
1989	1990	0	2	5	3	0	0	0	0	0	9	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	16
1988	1989	0	0	0	9	0	0	٥	က	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9
1987	1988	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	-	0	-	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	24	0	30
1986	1987	0	12.5	4	6	0	٥	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	22.5
1985	1986	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	0	0	Ξ	0	0	0	0	-	30
1984	1985	80	<u></u>	0	3	0	0	0	0	8	0.5	0	20	-	0	0	0	0	4	0	9	0	58.5
1083	1984	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	4
		Atlantic	Berden	Burlington	Camden	Cape May	Cumberland	Fssex	Gloucester	Hudson	Hunterdon	Mercer	Middlesex	Monmouth	Morris	Ocean	Passaic	Salem	Somerset	Sussex	Union	Warren	Total

Table 3. Total Number of Teachers on Strike Per Year

1982	1983		220 306.3											29.16					190				526
1981	1982		220				173					214.5	S				100	189.7					096
1980	1981		32 144.0					2100	149	86		132 997.7		179.7					135				3804
1979	1980		32		100.5			1438 364.7	165	-		132	473.2	28 191.7	200 400.7		1600	128		\$			3688
1978	1979		180		989.3			1438						28	200				159.0		530.7	65	3590
1977	1978		53	662.6										481.1				23	97 212.7			62	1500.
1976	1977	52	159.6		1057					370 1052.			300				135 452.6		97		17	8	3210 1500.
1975	9261		215.5					2800		370	145			200	537.0	2	135				720		5193
1974	1975								180					195.5									376
1973	1974														160		420		260				840
1972	1973		143.2					595		135				250									1123.
1971	1972							589					1080	388.8					· ·				2058 1123.
1970	1971		85 380.4					3000		700		650	450		194	300			09		380		6347 6104.
1969	1970							3200		870 1518.		560	527.7			25	431						
1968	1969	85	148		790	125				870		700					1100					92	3910
Year	c)	Atlantic	Bergen	Burlington	Camden	Cape May	Cumberland	Essex	Gloucester	Hudson	Hunterdon	Mercer	Middlesex	Monmouth	Morris	Ocean	Passaic	Salem	Somerset	Sussex	Union	Warren	Total

	Total	233	2485.	1878.	4113.	125	240	14088	1617	5238.	989	3254.	3665	2264.	1981.	497	4901	383.4	1464.	100	3216.	283	1 52515
1997	1998																1						Ŧ
1996	1997													3 .									0
1995	1996								334				199										533
1994	1995																						0
1993	1994										158												158
1992	1993				810																		810
1991	1992		37	335.7							30				123			36.66	205				548 767.4
1990	1991			242 335.				-	305														
1989	1990		47	486	102 100.6						92						06						816
1988	1989				102	,			104														506
1987	1988						29		280		92				53			~			1042.		1534.
1986	1987		89.76	152	83										263		Ų						587.8 1534.
1985	1986		110											82 238.1	51		571.3					42	1574 1012.
1984	1985	96	44		81					495	68		386	82					155.7		360 166.3		1574
1983	1984		90.28										186			102					360		Total 738.3
		Atlantic	Bergen 90.28	Burlington	Camden	Cape May	Cumperland	Essex	Gloucester	Hudson	Hunterdon	Mercer	Middlesex	Monmouth	Morris	Ocean	Passaic	Salem	Somerset	Sussex	Union	Warren	Total

1982 1983 16574 9065 18461 1272 6266 1420 1940 4164 2548 2797 3322 4109 2492 6237 6236 63 759 7659 1260 1978 1975 1976 1976 1977 \$ 1973 1974 1974 1975 1973 4950 4750 7830 2733 962 Essex Gloucester Bergen Sussex Union Atlantic Mercer Morris Ocean Salem Total Burlington Camden Cape May Hudson Middlesex Monmouth Passaic Somerset Warren Cumberland Hunterdon

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Table 4. Total Number of Teacher/Days Lost Per Year

Table 5. Total Number of Student/Days Lost Per Year

_							_																	
1982	1983		35460											0					0				35460	
1981	1982		17800				863					8850	1047				1200	5092					34852	
1980	1981		20145					114434	15200	6300		68929		10273					1600				236881	
1979	1980		n/a		18920			49200	4406			8000	56896	5265	35395		160910	290		7407			346689	
1978	1979		7000		292444			57861						0	9300				21150		59868	2760	450383	
1977	1978		401	240000										59641				0	18780			0	318822	
1976	1977	2058	23245		99536					131460			55580				21520		1919		231	40	745810 335589 318822 450383 346689 236881 34852	
1975	1976		51450					250400		160500	n/a			9240	115000	3020	13200				143000		745810	
1974	1975	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
1973	1974	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
1972	1973	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
1971	1972	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
1970	1971	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
1969	1970	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
1968	1969	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	E/U	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Year	\$	Atlantic	Bergen	Burlington	Camden	Cape May	Cumberland	Essex	Gloucester	Hudson	Hunterdon	Mercer	Middlesex	Monmouth	Morris	Ocean	Passaic	Salem	Somerset	Sussex	Union	Warren		
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	Total	7309	175070	277524	453849	0	2471	471895	49356	322740	3031	85779	189757	96617	167722	3020	282970	7102	45296	7407	460280	3030	3112225
1997	1998																n/a						0
1996	1997																						0
1995	1996			-					4600				n/a									_	4600
1994	1995																						0
1993	1994										0												0
1992	1993				30000																		30000
1991	1992		7500	4340							243				1060			1720	006				15763
1990	1991			484				r/a	20800														21284
1989	1990		8	27200	2674						2061						1500					-	34335
1988	1989				4500				4350	3													8850
1987	1988						1608		0		727				502						246101		248938
1986	1987		4820	5500	2925										2859								1610
1985	1986		2058											12138	3606		84640					230	10267
1984	1985	5251	696		2850					24480	0		72188	09					947		8980		9468 11572 10267 1610 248938 8850 34335
1983	1984		3322										4046			0					2100		9468
		Atlantic	Bergen	Burlington	Camden	Cape May	Cumberland	Essex	Gloucester	Hudson	Hunterdon	Mercer	Middlesex	Monmouth	Morris	Ocean	Passaic	Salem	Somerset	Sussex	Union	Warren	

parties had negotiated in earlier contracts. These changes undoubtedly put more pressure on the bargaining process.⁵ Furthermore, this was also a time of rapidly rising costs of living. Inflationary rates were moving toward the double digits during most of this time, and the teachers may have been much more conscious of this than were their school board counterparts at the bargaining table.

The last set of impressions that we draw from the data are:

- Teacher strikes in New Jersey have never represented a serious, statewide threat to the citizenry. Despite the fact that New Jersey has over eight hundred school districts, only three times in the past thirty years did the annual number of teacher strikes exceed a dozen. And in the last fifteen years, only once did the number of teacher strikes enter double digits (ten strikes in 1984-85). Furthermore, strikes have usually been settled quickly—an average of about four days.
- The number and severity of strikes has diminished over time. This suggests
 that as school boards and teacher organizations become more familiar with
 each other and with the bargaining process, they become more willing and
 able to reach agreements without resorting to violent acts.⁶
- Teacher strikes in this state tend to be affected by location and metropolitan status. The strike problem lessens as we move from the densely populated, industrial, northern counties to the more rural, southern counties.

This paper has presented much information on teacher strikes in New Jersey and has drawn some impressionistic conclusions. We do not answer the question, "What causes teacher strikes?" and we have not attempted to suggest how to curb them. What we have suggested, no matter how tentatively, is that the problem of teacher strikes does not appear to be too severe in this state, and it has lessened with the passage of time. Further research is needed to examine the causes of teacher strikes and to make interstate comparison.

* * *

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The key decisions were [4-5].

This is not to downplay the influence of the courts on strike activity. The courts have made it clear that they will not tolerate strikes and will fine teachers and teaching associations heavily if they do defy a court order to return to work.

Although we cannot ignore the fact that there are more school districts in the north, and, therefore, a greater possibility for strikes to occur in that part of the state.

REFERENCES

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- 2. Lullo v. International Association of Firefighters, 55 N.J. 409 (1970).
- 3. Monique Lilly and David J. Morgan, *Thirty Years of Collective Bargaining in the New Jersey Public Sector*, Public Sector Collective Bargaining in New Jersey, New Brunswick, N.J., Rutgers University, 1998. Unpublished paper available from the Editor.
- 4. State v. State Supervisory Employees Assn., 78 NJ 54 (1978).
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