problem with the teachers union, which of course is a very powerful

organization in Chicago.

Mr. Steiger. There is also the basic problem not only were there more Negro teachers in the Negro schools but those teachers white and Negro in the Negro schools were generally less qualified or less experienced by the board's own standards than were the white and Negro teachers in the more desirable schools. So it was not just a problem of racial segregation of teachers as it was a problem of the experience and competence and background of the teachers.

Is the policy in Chicago at this point, do you know, to allow rather complete freedom of the teacher to transfer where he wants to go?

Mrs. Martin. It is based on experience. A teacher with experience has the right to a vacancy in a prestige-type school as opposed to someone newly coming into the school system.

It is really very complicated. Just take the examination itself, the national teacher exam. If you place very high on that in Chicago you have first chance at choosing which school you want to go to.

The people with the lowest score on the exam or the people who are going into the worst type teaching situations, that is just a brandnew teacher, so you can imagine what rights teachers already in the system have.

If you have a year's experience you have rights over and beyond people new coming in to get reassigned to a prestige-type school.

Mr. Steiger. Is the policy at this point of the Chicago school sys-

tem to make an arbitrary assignment of those who do not score as well or who do not have the background and experience to assign them to a Negro school?

Mrs. Martin. That is usually all that is left. The people who score highest have the first choice of where they want to go and they usually go to the best teaching situations, which is usually the prestige

school or the predominantly white school.

As you go down the list with the people with lower scores, their selection is limited by what has already gone ahead of them so usually the only thing left for them would be the school in the ghetto-type school, the predominantly Negro, or all Negro school.

Mr. Steiger. In your judgment is there a method by which we can attack this problem of faculty assignments? Do you foresee that it is

possible to overcome this?

Mrs. Martin. Certainly the assignment of faculty or teachers is a responsibility of the school board. The fact that there is a strong teachers association in Chicago certainly complicates the problem.

In the South we have encouraged school districts to make racial assignments—nonracial assignments and we have encouraged them to have combat pay, for example. You might want to pay these teachers \$200 extra, or you might want to give them some additional credits, whatever it is, some incentives for going into a different kind of situa-

If there was not a teachers union in Chicago, a strong one which we do not have in the South generally—we don't have a strong teachers union-if there was not one in Chicago then the school board could do pretty much what it wanted to do in assigning teachers. The fact that there is a teachers union complicates the problem but the school