

MASS MEDIA USE PATTERNS AND ATTITUDE TOWARD
THE STRIKE AMONG UAW WORKERS: A STUDY
OF UAW LOCAL 602 MEMBERS AFTER
THE 1970 GM STRIKE

Thesis for the Degree of M. A.
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
CHARLES JOSEPH NAMIT
1971

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ABSTRACT

MASS MEDIA USE PATTERNS AND ATTITUDE TOWARD THE STRIKE AMONG UAW WORKERS: A STUDY OF UAW LOCAL 602 MEMBERS AFTER THE 1970 GM STRIKE

By

Charles Joseph Namit

The study investigated Lansing's UAW members' media use patterns, their perception of media credibility, their attitudes toward the strike, and the predictors of media use.

A stratified random sample of UAW workers was drawn from the membership of UAW Local 602. Interviews conducted with 204 respondents resulted in a completion rate of 75 per cent. Forty-two per cent of the respondents had completed 11 years or less of formal schooling while 58 per cent had completed 12 years or more of formal schooling. Ninety per cent of the respondents were members of at least one social group.

Media use among respondents was high as expected. Ninety-six per cent of the respondents read newspapers daily. Three-fifths of the respondents read magazines. Ninety-eight per cent of the respondents watched television with some degree of frequency while 96 per cent

listened to radio. Eighty-three per cent of the respondents reported other people as sources of strike news.

With regard to media credibility, 41 per cent of the respondents trusted UAW leaders while 29 per cent perceived the local labor newspaper as credible. Only 19 per cent of the respondents trusted television. Newspaper and radio each were perceived trustworthy by five per cent of the respondents.

The hypothesized relationship between education and media use held only for newspapers and magazines. Group membership was a predictor only of radio listening.

Questions raised hold promise for additional data analyses. Specifically, the hypothesized relationships between media use and labor's attitudes toward the strike are being tested.

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Charles Joseph Namit

A THESIS

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CHARLES JOSEPH NAMIT

1971

To Annette,
"Only where love and need are one,
And the work is play for mortal stakes,
Is the deed ever really done
For Heaven and the future's sakes."

Frost

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V. M. Mishra
Director of Thesis

CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM AND DESIGN OF THE STUDY

Introduction

Labor conflict in industry usually has a negative connotation. In most cases, it tends to be associated with a strike. For management, striking workers, and consumers, a strike is an obvious inconvenience. Above all, they view a strike with disdain.¹ Such was the case when the United Automobile Workers (UAW) struck General Motors Corporation (GM) on September 15, 1970. The strike lasted for 59 days, one of the longest on record in the automobile industry.

The media of mass communication tend to play some important roles in such a conflict situation. It is assumed that they may help resolve the conflict by disseminating information about issues among the members of groups in conflict. For example, McPhee has noted that the tremendous availability of news has apparently created in some people "an addiction" or hunger which is only satisfied by the "five-minute newscast" despite its

¹Robert Dubin, "Constructive Aspects of Industrial Conflict," in Industrial Conflict, ed. by Arthur Kornhauser, Robert Dubin, and Arthur M. Ross (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1954), p. 37.

lack of detail or irrelevance to the individual's life and interests.² It is further assumed that in a labor-management conflict situation, the striking workers and their leaders would rely on the media for: (1) seeking information on issues in question, (2) interacting with their fellow strikers, (3) reinforcing attitudes toward the strike, and (4) legitimatizing their involvement in the strike.

The crucial question, then, relates to the effects of mass media. The research evidence, collated by Klapper, suggests that mass media function to reinforce rather than change attitudes and beliefs, unless a set of mediating factors are inoperative or are themselves directed toward change.³ The mediating factors include groups and group norms. Katz and Lazarsfeld (1955) provide supportive evidence by stating that groups provide standards and meanings for their members. Consequently, individuals depend on group members for a definition of "social reality." Furthermore, the "interaction among individuals operates to produce shared standards of judgment, opinions,

²Joseph T. Klapper, "The Effects of Mass Communication," in Information, Influence, and Communication: A Reader in Public Relations, ed. by Otto Lerbinger and Albert J. Sullivan (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1965), p. 327.

³Joseph T. Klapper, The Effects of Mass Communication (New York: The Free Press, 1960), p. 8.

and ways of behaving."⁴ Groups, then, tend to facilitate reinforcement in various ways. People tend to selectively expose themselves to those communications which are congenial with their existing opinions, attitudes and beliefs. Consciously or unconsciously, they avoid uncongenial communication. If, by chance, an individual is exposed to uncongenial communication, the unsympathetic material is either not perceived or recast to fit existing views, a case of selective perception; or the unsympathetic communication is more easily forgotten than is congenial information, a case of selective retention.⁵

Persuasive communications, then, are not themselves a sufficient condition to produce attitude change. Instead, they function in and through mediating factors such as an individual's predispositions, a network of selective exposure, selective perception, and selective retention, interpersonal relations, group pressures, and personal influence. These mediating factors function as contributory agents rather than sole causes of attitude change. And, as such, they must be viewed in terms of their psychological and group dynamics.⁶

⁴Elihu Katz and Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Personal Influence (New York: The Free Press, 1955), p. 63.

⁵Klapper, Effects of Mass Communication, p. 19.

⁶Arthur R. Cohen, Attitude Change and Social Influence (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1964), pp. 119-120.

Hence it appears that the UAW strike in 1970 against GM presents itself as a testing ground for the foregoing assumptions. Specifically, the study proposes to determine the role of communication media in the resolution of the conflict or polarizing of the attitudes of UAW members and GM management on the following issues: (1) an increase of 61.5 cents in monthly wages in the first year and an unspecified amount after that period; (2) unlimited cost-of-living increases; (3) thirty-and-out--a plan for improved pensions for future and past retirees and \$500 monthly benefits after thirty years; and (4) greater Supplement Unemployment Benefits (SUB) funding and more restrictions on the company's use of funds.

The hunch is that the two parties' attitudes on these issues were highly polarized because both union and management appeared unwilling to budge from their positions. Also, communication among GM management and UAW leaders as separate entities was going on, but not with one another.⁷ Therefore, the mass communication perspective of the UAW strike against GM was axiomatic.

⁷Broom and Selznick in their book Sociology: A Text with Adapted Readings (New York: Harper and Row, 1957), p. 33, have found that "Communication between conflicting groups tends to be suspended. The sense of threat and the increased concern for internal solidarity leads to a blocking of communication channels." They cite labor-management conflict as an example. Union leaders, they say, tend to avoid all but the most "official and circumscribed contact with the employers," fearing criticism from their own members.

The Problem

Therefore, the study proposes: (1) to investigate the patterns of mass media and interpersonal communication channel use among UAW strikers; (2) to examine the workers' perception of credibility of these channels; (3) to determine the roles played by the communication channels in shaping the attitudes of the workers toward the strike; and (4) to suggest the predictors of the communication channels use patterns, the credibility perception of these channels, and media's roles in affecting the workers' attitudes toward the strike.

Katz and Lazarsfeld have described interpersonal relationships as "'anchorage' points for individual opinions, attitudes, habits and values." Thus, interacting individuals collectively generate and maintain ideas and patterns of behavior which they are reluctant to give up. Moreover, these interpersonal relationships form informal "networks of interpersonal communication" and have two important implications for understanding the mass communication process: (1) person-to-person sharing of opinions and attitudes; and (2) an interpersonal communication network that may play the role of intervening variable in the mass communication process.⁸

⁸Katz and Lazarsfeld, Personal Influence, pp. 44-45.

Theoretical Considerations

It is assumed here that labor's attitude toward the UAW strike will be affected by the media of genuine communication. Various scholars have examined the role of communication in the process of attitude formation and change.⁹ The research evidence indicates that media

⁹See: Hovland, Lumsdaine, and Sheffield, Experiments on Mass Communication (1949), Hovland, Janis, and Kelley, Communication and Persuasion (1953), Lumsdaine and Janis, "Resistance to 'counter-propaganda' produced by one-sided and two-sided 'propaganda' presentations," Public Opinion Quarterly (1953), Thistlethwaite and Kamenestsky, "Attitude change through refutation and elaboration of audience counter-arguments," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology (1955), and Katz and Lazarsfeld, Personal Influence (1955), Hovland and Mandell, "An experimental comparison of conclusion-drawing by the communicator and by the audience," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology (1952), Festinger, "Social psychology and group processes," in C. P. Stone and Quinn McNemar, ed., Annual Review of Psychology (1955), Tannenbaum, "Attitudes toward source and concept as factors in attitude change through communications," unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Illinois (1953), Osgood, "Cognitive dynamics in the conduct of human affairs," Public Opinion Quarterly (1960), Heider, The Psychology of Interpersonal Relations (1958), Rosenberg, "Cognitive structure and attitudinal affect," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology (1956), Carlson, "Attitude change through modification of attitude structure," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology (1956), Rosenberg and Abelson, "An analysis of cognitive balancing," in C. I. Hovland and M. J. Rosenberg, eds., Attitude Organization and Change (1960), Cohen, "Communication discrepancy and attitude change: a dissonance theory approach," Journal of Personality (1956), Zimbardo, "Role playing: improvisation or dissonance?", Unpublished paper, New York University (1963), Cohen, Terry, and Jones, "Attitudinal effects of choice in exposure to counter-propaganda," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology (1959), Adams, "Reduction of cognitive dissonance by seeking consonant information," Journal of Abnormal Psychology (1961).

generally function as agents of reinforcement rather than of attitude change. However, planners of attitude change may work with mediating factors such as reference groups, group relationships, opinion leaders, and other sources of personal influence for modification of attitude toward the strike. Also, it is useful to remember that "media do tend to extend human environment and human capacity to cope with such needs generally associated with attitude change such as, consensus, cohesion, achievement motivation, and social identification."¹⁰ Such variables are associated with the media's effects on labor's attitude toward the strike.

Scholars have described group attitudes in such terms as "systems of belief" or as "general ideological consensus."¹¹ Though it is difficult to find agreement on a definition, most scholars would agree that groups influence the behavior of their members by setting and enforcing standards or norms of behavior. By contrast, when group support of an individual's beliefs, attitudes or opinions is withdrawn, he is in a form of social isolation. Therefore, he is prevented from validating his

¹⁰Vishwa M. Mishra, "Mass Media Use and Modernization in Greater Delhi Basties," Journalism Quarterly, XLVII (Summer, 1970), 332.

¹¹David E. Truman, "Groups and Society," in Public Opinion and Public Policy: Models of Political Linkage, ed. by Norman R. Luttbeg (Homewood, Ill.: The Dorsey Press, 1968), p. 134.

beliefs through meaningful interaction with others. This example points to the importance of social interaction on a person's attitudes.¹²

There are two sets of motives for acceding to a group--"normative" or "motivational" determinants and "informational" or "uncertainty" determinants. Normative situations occur when a person's "self-picture" is compared with others and with rewards and punishments that may be gained from them. The informational situation occurs when a person accepts others as sources of influence by which to evaluate the world. In other words, a function of influence is the establishment of standards for perceiving the world.¹³ Leon Festinger (1954) has formulated a psychological theory of social influence based on informational and normative components. Festinger's theory of cognitive dissonance begins with the basic assumption that there exists in humans a drive to evaluate one's abilities and opinions in the direction of increased consonance.¹⁴

A logical extension of this theory can be seen in the presence of social identification and cohesion during

¹²Cohen, Attitude Change and Social Influence, p. 105.

¹³Ibid., pp. 106-108.

¹⁴See Leon Festinger, A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1962).

a strike. Knowles says, "Unrest finds expression in strikes only if workers have some social cohesion and tradition of common action. . . . The form of expression is determined by a complex mechanism of economic, political, technical, and psychological factors."¹⁵

Yet another psychological variable associated with labor's attitude toward the strike is David C. McClelland's achievement motivation. McClelland raises an interesting question: "What peculiar conditions account for the acquisition of this motive as opposed to other motives?"¹⁶ By borrowing Weber's thesis on the Protestant work ethic, McClelland says that children of higher socio-economic status have greater achievement motivation than those of lower socio-economic status.¹⁷

The central proposition for this study, based upon Mishra's model, is that the media are a necessary component for determining labor's attitude toward the strike, but the strike also contributes to media use.

¹⁵Kenneth Guy Jack Charles Knowles, "'Strike-Prone' and Its Determinants," in Labor and Trade Unionism: An Interdisciplinary Reader, ed. by Walter Galenson and Seymour Martin Lipset (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1960), p. 301.

¹⁶David C. McClelland, "Some Social Consequences of Achievement Motivation," in Nebraska Symposium on Motivation, ed. by M. R. Jones (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1955), p. 41.

¹⁷Ibid., pp. 49-50.

Therefore the relationships between media use and attitudes toward the strike are concomitant, mutual, and reciprocal.¹⁸

Concerns of the Study

The study examines the following questions:

1. To what extent is education associated with the frequency of mass media use by the UAW strikers?
2. To what extent is education associated with the perception of media credibility by the UAW strikers?
3. To what extent is group membership associated with the frequency of mass media use by the UAW strikers?
4. How are mass media exposure and selected variables such as group membership and education associated with the attitude toward the strike? Furthermore, how are these variables predictors of selected indices of attitudes toward the strike?

Definition of Terms Used

A. Communication media refer to the formal channels of communication used by the union members. These include newspapers, radio, television, magazines, trade publications and union publications, and such informal channels of communication as strike schools and interpersonal information networks.

¹⁸Mishra, "Media Use in Delhi Basties," p. 332.

B. Empathy has been operationally defined as the ability of an individual to imagine or project himself into another person's role or situation.

C. Family dependence has been operationally defined as agreement with the statements concerning dependence on members of extended family for decision making that affect the self and society.

D. Achievement motivation refers to a higher degree of agreement with statements espousing the value of accomplishing tasks for the satisfaction of accomplishment.

E. Political participation suggests articulation of political demands through group voting behavior.

F. Tenure factor has been operationally defined as the number of years of union membership over an extended period of time.

G. "Other-orientation" refers to a value system stressing group conformity and adaptation to the social environment on a trust-distrust continuum.

Hypotheses

Insofar as predictors of media use are concerned, scholars have suggested that education is associated with the use of print media.¹⁹ Still others have attempted to

¹⁹Bruce H. Westley and Werner J. Severin, "A Profile of Daily Newspaper Non-Readers," Journalism Quarterly, XLI (Winter, 1964), 47-48.

show a relationship between education and use of electronic media.²⁰ Therefore, the hypothesis was drawn that those UAW members with more formal education will report more frequent newspaper and magazine reading, television viewing and radio listening than those respondents with less formal education.

Again, Westley, Severin and others have reported a significant association between group membership and media exposure. Groups tend to facilitate communication with others. Therefore, it was hypothesized that those union members who belong to civic and social groups will report more frequent newspaper and magazine reading, television viewing, and radio listening than those who do not belong to civic or social groups.

Mishra has reported that media use and attitudes are concomitant and reciprocal.²¹ Therefore, the following four hypotheses were formulated:

1. Union members with more formal education will report a greater degree of agreement with statements concerning collective bargaining, defined here as the process by which wages, hours, rules, and working conditions are

²⁰Merrill Samuelson, Richard F. Carter, and Lee Ruggels, "Education, Available Time, and the Use of the Mass Media," Journalism Quarterly, XL (Autumn, 1963), 491-496.

²¹Mishra, "Media Use in Delhi Basties," p. 332.

negotiated by union and management, than those with less formal education.

2. Union members who belong to civic or social groups will report a greater degree of agreement with statements concerning political participation, defined here as articulation of political demands through frequency of voting, than those not belonging to civic or social groups.

3. Union members who make more frequent use of various media of mass communication, defined here as more frequent reading of newspapers and magazines, viewing of television, and listening to radio, will report a greater degree of agreement with statements concerning the right-to-work, defined here as articulation of demands for adjusting to rationalization in the industry, than those who less frequently read newspapers and magazines, view television, and listen to radio.

4. Union members with more formal education will report a greater degree of agreement with statements concerning achievement motivation, defined here as accomplishing tasks for the satisfaction of accomplishment, than those with less formal education.

Methodological Considerations

A. Methods. Survey research techniques were used in the execution of this study.

B. Interview Schedule and Interviewing. A structured interview schedule was constructed to gather data for the objectives of this study. The schedule was pre-tested and revised and is appended to this report.

A corps of interviewers--members of a graduate class at Michigan State University and trained by the author as part of a class project--conducted the interviewing.

C. Sampling. A stratified random sample of 270 respondents was drawn from the membership of Fisher Body UAW Local 602.

Fisher Body management and UAW Local 602 divide their workers into three work related categories: (1) Non-production workers; (2) Production workers; and (3) Skilled tradesmen. For the purposes of the study, a fourth stratum, designated as union leadership, was included in the sample.

The interview completion rate was 75 per cent. The individual completion rate for each stratum was as follows: Production, 67 per cent; Skilled trades, 81 per cent; Non-production, 91 per cent; and union leadership, 66 per cent.

Review of Literature

Little research has been undertaken concerning media use patterns among union members. Such scholars as Garver, Rosen and Rosen, suggest that union communication

is aimed at politically socializing the membership.²² In a study of communication patterns among union members, Lyons found that the union newspaper provided a competitive political news service for its members.²³

Insofar as union members' perception of media credibility is concerned, Westley and Severin have provided some evidence on correlates of media credibility.²⁴ They suggest that media credibility is a function of socio-economic status and education.

Hagburg found that attitudes of union members are modified to the extent that these three interrelated factors are present: (1) introduction of new information; (2) relevance of new information; and (3) source of new information.²⁵

No research evidence on union members' attitude toward a strike was found. However, Mishra supports the proposition that the relationship between media use and

²²See Garver, "The Labor Press as a Leadership Tool," Journalism Quarterly (Summer, 1958); Hjalmar Rosen and R. A. Hudson Rosen, The Union Member Speaks (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1955).

²³Schley R. Lyons, "The Labor Press and Its Audiences: The Case of the Toledo Union Journal," Journalism Quarterly, XLVII (Autumn, 1969), 558-564.

²⁴Westley and Severin, "Some Correlates of Media Credibility."

²⁵Eugene C. Hagburg, "The Relevance of Attitude Change and Stability to Union Organization," Labor Today, V, No. 4 (1967), 30.

attitudes among labor union workers living in slums are concomitant, mutual and reciprocal.²⁶

²⁶Mishra, "Media Use in Delhi Basties," p. 332.

CHAPTER II

THE SETTING OF THE STUDY

This chapter examines the setting in which the study was conducted. The UAW strike is examined from two standpoints--the union and the worker. First, a brief history of the UAW is given, primarily dealing with national union politics from its beginning. It attempts to bridge the gap between the death of a charismatic leader such as Walter P. Reuther, prior to the 1970 strike, to the ascendancy of Leonard Woodcock. Second, the workers are examined from three points of view: the workers' social milieu, their social classes, and their patterns of residence.

A Brief History of the UAW: From AFL to Reuther's Death

Prior to the founding of the UAW in 1935, the automobile industry was in severe economic stress. Worker-militancy was the keynote of union activity during these early years. The problem of leadership revolved around political struggles, in which power and recognition were linked to union mobilization.

After the union achieved its initial goal--recognition by the automobile industry--the older methods of "direct strike action, associated with a class-struggle" became inappropriate. A movement away from militancy and toward collective bargaining followed.¹

Fearful that some other independent unions might organize the auto workers, the American Federation of Labor (AFL) reluctantly chartered the automobile workers.²

On August 26, 1935, the first constitutional convention of the UAW was held in Detroit. AFL President William Green appointed representatives to organize the automobile industry.³

The local leaders failed to achieve their two objectives in calling the convention--election of a slate of their own officers and the extension of the union's jurisdiction over the entire automobile industry. Green, however, appointed a former personal representative, Francis J. Dillon, as probationary president of the newly formed UAW. Homer Martin was appointed vice-president, and Ed Hall, secretary-treasurer.⁴

¹Philip Selznick, Leadership in Administration (New York: Harper and Row, 1957), pp. 108-109.

²Walter Galenson, The CIO Challenge to the AFL: A History of the American Labor Movement 1935-41 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960), pp. 124-126.

³Jack Stieber, Governing the UAW (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1962), pp. 1-2.

⁴Ibid.

From the beginning, the union was split between two factions: one, headed by Dillon, had a craft orientation, and the other, headed by Martin and Hall, consisted of former automobile workers. Nine months after the first convention, the automobile workers held a second convention in South Bend, Indiana, in April, 1936. Homer Martin ousted Dillon as president and was elevated to that post by a unanimous vote at the convention.

Wyndham Mortemer, Ed Hall, and Walter Wells were elected vice-presidents; George Addes was elected secretary-treasurer. Also, Walter P. Reuther, a little known president from a small Detroit local, was elevated to the International Executive Board.⁵

The following year in July, 1936, the UAW bolted the AFL and joined the newly formed Congress of Industrial Organization (CIO). The CIO was led by John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers of America.⁶

Late in 1936, sit-down strikes closed seventeen GM plants. These methods helped increase UAW membership dramatically. But with success, internal strife also increased.⁷

One author has characterized Homer Martin's presidency as a feudal lordship. Martin was surrounded

⁵Ibid.

⁶Ibid., p. 3.

⁷Ibid.

by semi-independent lords whose allegiance to him was minimal and whose efforts to unseat him were tempered only by the fear of splintering the organization and leaving it at the mercy of outside foes.⁸ The factional struggle came to a head when Martin suspended four of five UAW vice-presidents who had helped defeat a group insurance plan which he had proposed. Other Executive Board members walked out in support of the suspended officials. As a result, Martin lost majority support of the Executive Board. In 1939, Martin was stripped of his power over communications in the union, which left him with virtually no real decision making power.⁹

Martin responded by suspending fifteen of twenty-four members of the Executive Board. The board members, in turn, declared themselves the official Executive Board and named Vice-president R. J. Thomas as acting president.¹⁰

The subsequent political struggle between Martin and the anti-Martin CIO faction ended in the convening of separate UAW conventions. Martin called for the UAW to rejoin the AFL. His plea, however, was largely unsuccessful and ended in his complete defeat. The anti-Martin group held its own convention which was aimed at

⁸Galenson, CIO Challenge to the AFL, pp. 151-152.

⁹Stieber, Governing the UAW, pp. 4-5.

¹⁰Ibid.

making constitutional changes to reduce factionalism. The convention, however, produced new factions among Communist supporters and the Reuther Socialists. Thomas and Addes, both politically neutral, were elected president and secretary-treasurer.¹¹

During the Thomas years, two forces influenced the UAW: World War II and continual internal strife. In May, 1941, Ford Motor Company was organized, giving the UAW representation of nearly all the automobile and aircraft industries' workers. Numerous strikes were called as competition grew for control of union leadership. Each group attempted to elevate its position by greater gains at the bargaining table or in organizing workers.¹²

Wartime UAW conventions were marked by bitter struggles between the Addes-Frankenstein faction, generally supported by the Communists, and the Reuther faction. R. J. Thomas refused to align himself with either of the factions, preferring to split his support among the factions. He did so according to the merits of the issue.¹³

¹¹Galenson, CIO Challenge to the AFL, pp. 160-172.

¹²Stieber, Governing the UAW, p. 7. See also: Jack William Skeels, The Development of Political Stability Within the United Automobile Workers Union (Ann Arbor: University Microfilm, Inc., 1957), pp. 150-151.

¹³Ibid., p. 8.

As bargaining head of the GM Department, Reuther proposed a plan for a strike that would close GM plants in 1939. A strike was called. It lasted over a month before GM agreed to a contract covering skilled trades. Reuther's strategy achieved the first corporation-wide wage increase, double time for Sundays and holidays, and bargaining rights in a large number of plants.¹⁴ Moreover, Reuther earned the title of "labor's bright young man." Following the war, Reuther's reputation assured his ascendancy to the presidency and the defeat of R. J. Thomas.¹⁵

In 1946 Reuther was elected President of the UAW by a narrow margin. He worked to consolidate his power. By the 1947 UAW convention, Reuther had support from a majority of delegates, as evidenced by his overwhelming re-election. More importantly, Reuther's opposition on the twenty-four-member Executive Board had been reduced to only four.¹⁶ The "Reuther legend" and his absolute control of the UAW continued until his death in a plane accident in May, 1970.

With Reuther's demise, there were serious questions about the future of the automobile union.

¹⁴Skeels, Political Stability Within UAW, pp. 93-95.

¹⁵Stieber, Governing the UAW, p. 9.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 13.

Leadership fights could have weakened UAW solidarity. Moreover, bargaining could have suffered.¹⁷

There were several who wanted the UAW presidency. Shortly, the contest narrowed to two strong vice-presidents, Leonard Woodcock and Douglas Frazier, considered by many as Reuther's personal choice. Woodcock won the low-keyed contest by a small majority--thirteen to twelve.¹⁸ Within this historical context, the workers and their social milieu will now be examined.

The Social Milieu of the UAW Workers

In The Urban Villagers, Gans has introduced a useful concept, the "peer group society," which may have some relevance to the social milieu of the sample UAW workers. In describing the life style of the Italian-American community in the West End of Boston, Gans breaks down their social structure into three sections: the primary group, the secondary group, and the out-group.¹⁹

Gans' concept of the "peer group society" is analogous to the UAW worker's social milieu with one

¹⁷The Christian Science Monitor, June, 1971, p. 7.

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹Herbert J. Gans, The Urban Villagers: Group and Class in the Life of Italian-Americans (New York: The Free Press, 1962), pp. 36-37.

important exception: there is no secondary group.²⁰ For the industrial worker, there are two main groups: (1) the primary or informal peer group, and (2) the formal work group composed of the company and its adversary the union. In the same vein, Floyd Dotson's study on patterns of voluntary association among urban working-class families suggests that formal voluntary associations are relatively unimportant as a source of social contact for most workers. This assertion becomes all the more inescapable when one considers not only membership but also actual participation in the activities of the organization.²¹

Additional support for this can be found in a study of the "'Central Life Interests' of Industrial Workers" by Robert Dubin. He found that 90 per cent of the workers surveyed preferred primary interactions with fellow workers away from the job; whereas, 10 per cent perceived their important primary relationships taking

²⁰A possible explanation for the lack of a secondary group in the UAW worker's social milieu is that Gans is describing a relatively stable ethnic ghetto with extended family ties; whereas, the UAW is a diversified population, with a portion of the sample population living in what might be described as a Black ghetto. Moreover, this ghetto population is more transient than other segments of the sample population as was shown by the greater frequency in change of address.

²¹Floyd Dotson, "Patterns of Voluntary Association Among Urban Working-Class Families," American Sociological Review, XVI (October, 1951), 689.

place at work.²² The workers, however, were quick to point out that the most significant formal organization, when judged in terms of standard and typical organizational ties and bonds, is the employing one, the industrial company.²³ The industrial worker views work as a means to an end--a way of acquiring income for life in the community.

When observations by Gans, Dotson, and Dubin are collated, they portray a worker as the one who values informal relations of the peer group society away from the job, but who understands the significance of his need to work.

Also, workers are described as aggressive and authoritarian, yet fettered persons. Miller and Riessman, however, have raised some serious questions about the propensity of sociologists to classify workers as lower class. The authors argue for a more realistic picture of workers.²⁴ They define "working class" as regular members of the non-agricultural labor force in manual occupations. Conversely, they define "lower

²²Robert Dubin, "Industrial Workers' Worlds: A Study of the 'Central Life Interests' of Industrial Workers," Social Problems, III (January, 1956), 132.

²³Ibid., p. 137.

²⁴S. M. Miller and Frank Riessman, "The Working Class Subculture: A New View," Social Problems, IX (Summer, 1961), 87-88.

class" as irregular working people. Moreover, they assert that many of the difficulties in understanding non-upper and non-middle class behavior stem from the omnibus category of lower class that social scientists use to describe the fairly high income skilled worker, the semi-skilled factory worker, and the unskilled worker.²⁵

Further support for a differentiation between the working and lower classes comes from Kahl.²⁶ Also, Hollingshead and Mishler, in their examination of social classes and the occurrence of mental illness, found that the working class is closer to the upper and middle classes than to the lower class.²⁷

Thus, there are three levels within the working class: unskilled, semi-skilled, and skilled. The central determinant in the working class is a striving for stability and security. Moreover, the chief components of stability and security are factors such as education and training, economic gains, income levels, and job satisfaction. Therefore, those workers with higher skills and greater stability and security are closer to

²⁵Ibid., p. 88.

²⁶Joseph A. Kahl, The American Class Structure (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Co., 1959), pp. 205 ff.

²⁷S. M. Miller and Elliot G. Mishler, "Social Class, Mental Illness, and American Psychiatry," Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, XXXVII (April, 1959), 174-199.

a middle class orientation, while those workers with less skills or who are unskilled and have less stability and security are closer to a lower class orientation.

Against the preceding backdrop of characterization of working class, the social milieu of the sample UAW union workers will be presented here. Fisher Body management, a division of General Motors, divides its workers into three skill-related categories: (1) Non-production or unskilled workers, (2) Production or semi-skilled workers, and (3) Skilled tradesmen. Non-production workers are unskilled laborers and the lowest paid plant employees. They are subdivided into two categories: (1) Sanitation Maintenance and (2) Material Control. Sanitation Maintenance personnel are the lowest of the unskilled categories. Their chief function is to care for and maintain the plant and surrounding grounds. Their jobs are characterized by management as being farthest from and most unrelated to the finished product. Material Control personnel are considered one step higher in skill and pay. Their chief responsibility is the delivery of parts and material to the assembly line. Management characterize Material Control personnel as having higher job satisfaction because they are closer to the finished product.

Non-production jobs, such as Sanitation Maintenance and Material Control, require less training and

education. Their general educational level is lower than other plant employees. The Non-production worker lacks education; consequently, he feels alienated from institutions. This, however, does not dampen his desire for an education for his children. Moreover, Non-production workers receive proportionately less economic gains in the new contract, negotiated during the strike, than did other job classifications. As a result of these factors, his life style is closer to the lower class.

The Production worker's job is characterized by semi-skilled assembly line operations. Production workers are considered to be more highly skilled than are Non-production workers, and their rate of pay increases with their levels of skill. They comprise the largest segment of the work force. Moreover, job satisfaction is considered higher because of closer involvement with the final product. While Production workers desire a good standard of living, they are not attracted to the middle class style of life with its accompanying concern for status and prestige.²⁸

The Skilled tradesmen's job ranges from highly skilled electricians to less skilled painters. Their pay is commensurate with their level of skill. They are

²⁸S. M. Miller and Frank Riessman, "Are Workers Middle Class?" Dissent, VIII (Autumn, 1961), 507-513.

considered to have the highest job satisfaction because of higher wages, greater skills, and greater pride in accomplishment of their jobs; that is, by virtue of their skill, they are given status and prestige within the plant by less skilled workers. In general, education has given them an opportunity to advance themselves, and so it is valued by them. As a result, they have a closer orientation to the middle class than do unskilled or semi-skilled workers.

Two-thirds of the sample lived in the Lansing area. Some respondents, however, prefer the rural environment of small towns that surround the Lansing area. In some cases, industry has drawn them like a magnet to the city. The migration has helped them provide a better life for themselves or their families.

Briefly, the residential pattern rings the Fisher Body plant, located in the Western part of Lansing. Workers of all occupational strata live in the Waverly district which is to the west and northwest of the plant. In general, the further from the plant a worker lives, the higher the skill level or the greater the seniority he is likely to have. This section of the city, predominantly white, has relatively new housing developments interspersed with older homes. Moreover, it is advantageous to workers because of its close proximity to the plant.

To the north and northeast of the plant extending to the Lansing city limits are primarily older residential areas of moderate to low income levels. All occupational strata live in these interracial neighborhoods. One particular area in the northeast section of Lansing constitutes a Mexican-American ghetto called Christo Rey. This community has as its focal point a Catholic church. Christo Rey is bound on the north by McKinley Street, on the east by New York Street, on the south by Porter Street, and on the west by industry and the railroad tracks. Mexican-American workers are primarily unskilled or semi-skilled laborers, fettered by a lack of education and language barriers.

Directly to the east of the plant is Lansing's Black ghetto. The ghetto is bound on the east by the State Capitol, on the north by Shiawassee Street, on the south by Olds Avenue, and on the west by Jenison Avenue. The residents in this area are primarily Blacks who live in sub-standard housing. Moreover, they are unskilled or semi-skilled workers with low seniority and little stability. As they gain seniority and stability, most Blacks move to the outer fringes of the ghetto, where better housing can be found.

Even so, more affluent Blacks have escaped the inner-city ghetto to an interracial neighborhood known as Churchill Downs. This lower middle-class suburb is

located in the southwestern section of the city. It is bound on the north by Holmes Road, on the east by Pleasant Grove Road, on the south by Jolly Road, and on the west by Waverly Road. Churchill Downs offers many advantages to Blacks such as new homes of moderate income level. Moreover, schools in the area have a favorable racial balance and afford Black children a chance for a better education than would be available in the Black ghetto.

Media Availability

The UAW Union members in the greater Lansing area have an abundance of media from which to choose. With regard to print media, workers receive the Lansing Labor News by mail. They also have the opportunity to subscribe to Lansing's State Journal, Detroit Free Press and Detroit News. Also, national and international news magazines are available.

With regard to the electronic media, the choice is even greater. Six AM and FM radio stations serve the area. Also, four television stations broadcast in the area: WJIM, Lansing; WJRT, Flint; WILX, Onondaga; and WOOD, Grand Rapids. Furthermore, the workers' choice of stations is dramatically increased if he subscribes to one of the two community antenna systems (CATV) operative in the area.

An Overview

Following the death of long time UAW President Walter P. Reuther, Leonard Woodcock won a low-keyed contest for the presidency; and union leadership closed ranks to face GM in a strike. Within this historical context, the workers and their social milieu were examined.

The industrial workers' social structure was divided into two main groups: (1) the primary or informal peer group, and (2) the formal work group composed of the company and the union. In this context, various studies have portrayed a worker who values informal relations of the peer group society outside of the work place, but who understands the significance of his need to work.

Many authors, however, have argued against grouping all workers in the lower class. Therefore, the author has identified three levels within the social class known as the working class: unskilled, semi-skilled, and skilled. The central determinant in the working class was a striving for stability and security. The chief components of stability and security were education and training, economic gains, level of income, and job satisfaction. In general, those workers with more skills and greater stability and security were closer to a middle class orientation, while those workers with less skills or

who were unskilled and had less stability and security were closer to a lower class orientation.

One index of stability and security was the pattern of residence; that is, the further from the plant a worker lived the higher the skill level or the greater the seniority. As a result, the patterns of residence closely reflected the occupational strata (unskilled, semi-skilled, and skilled workers). This general pattern held true in the west and southwestern sections of the city, where newer housing developments have drawn highly skilled or tenured workers. By contrast, Lansing's two ghettos are located in the northeast and eastern sections of the city, where ethnic and racial minorities congregate in older, decaying neighborhoods, close to the inner city. Characteristically, these were unskilled or semi-skilled workers with little tenure.

CHAPTER III

THE UAW MEMBER'S MEDIA USE PATTERNS AND ATTITUDES TOWARD STRIKE: THE FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

Findings of the field study are reported in the following parts: (1) an examination of characteristics of the respondents as they emerged from the interview schedule; (2) patterns of mass media use among UAW members; (3) patterns of attitudes toward the GM strike; and (4) the indicators of media use and UAW member's attitude toward the strike.

Characteristics of Respondents

The findings indicated that 66 per cent of the respondents lived in the metropolitan Lansing area, while 34 per cent lived in non-metropolitan areas.¹ In comparison, the national average was 64.9 per cent and 35.1 per cent respectively.² (See Appendix A, Demographic Characteristics of Respondents, pp. 76-77.)

¹All of the percentages that are used in this chapter have been rounded off for the convenience of presentation.

²U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-23, No. 37 (1971), p. 1.

The sample was comparable with other sample populations in a number of ways. For example, nearly two-thirds (63 per cent) of the sample were 35 years of age or older. By comparison, the Kraft survey reported that 75 per cent of AFL-CIO members were 30 years or older.³ By comparison, 41.7 per cent of the national population was 35 years of age or older.⁴

The racial composition of the sample consisted of 78 per cent Caucasian, 15 per cent Blacks, and 7 per cent Mexican-American. This compares favorably with the Kraft survey which reported that 83 per cent of union members were Caucasian; 13 per cent Black; and 4 per cent Mexican-American, Oriental, or others belonging to minority groups.⁵

With regard to religious preferences, 77 per cent of the respondents were Protestant and 19 per cent Catholic. Most of the respondents, however, were not regular church goers. In general, this follows a national trend of reduced church attendance. For example, George Gallup found that weekly church attendance among upper economic status

³Alexander E. Barkan, "The Union Member: Profile and Attitudes," AFL-CIO American Federationist (August, 1967), p. 1.

⁴U.S., Census, Current Population Report, p. 17. Census data includes all ages; whereas, sample data begins at age 18 and ends at age 65.

⁵Barkan, "AFL-CIO Union Member," p. 1.

groups dropped from a high of 48 per cent in 1964 to a low of 46 per cent in 1967. During the same period, church attendance among lower economic groups decreased at approximately the same rate.⁶

The level of educational attainment for the sample compared favorably with the national population. For example, 43 per cent of the sample completed high school, while 14 per cent completed some college. Nationally, 44 per cent of the population received four years of high school, and 14.9 per cent completed one to three years of college. The two populations were not comparable with regard to the completion of 11 years or less of schooling. Forty-one per cent of the respondents completed 11 years or less of schooling, while only 24.6 per cent of the national population completed the same number of years of schooling.⁷

The sample was divided into four occupational levels. Semi-skilled Production workers comprised 77 per cent of the respondents, while 13 per cent were unskilled Non-production workers. An additional 14 per cent were skilled tradesmen. One per cent of the union membership was classified as union leadership. (See

⁶Hazel Erskine, "The Polls: Negro Philosophies of Life," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXXIII (Spring, 1969), 155.

⁷U.S., Census, Current Population Reports, p. 52.

Appendix B, Socio-Economic Characteristics of Respondents, pp. 79-80.)

The marital status for the sample and the national population was comparable for only the separated, widowed, or divorced, with a total of six per cent of each population in these categories. Over four-fifths (88 per cent) of the respondents were married, while only five per cent were single. By contrast, 64.2 per cent of the national male population were married, while 28 per cent were single.⁸

A majority of the sample (70 per cent) had at least one child 15 years of age or younger. Closely related to the number of children in a family is the family income. Forty-one per cent of the sample earned between \$6,000-8,999 a year.⁹ Only 21 per cent of the national population, however, was in the same income bracket. Moreover, 33.7 per cent of the national population earned \$9,000-14,999 a year.¹⁰ A comparable percentage of the respondents (39 per cent) had the same income. Undoubtedly, the loss of income during the

⁸Ibid., p. 29. With regard to marital status, census data is reported separately for males and females. Nevertheless, the data for the marital status of males was used.

⁹The sample figures embrace family income of the respondent's, including working wives and/or offspring.

¹⁰U.S., Census, Current Population Reports, p. 37.

UAW-GM strike created an additional financial burden on the respondents. The findings indicate possible dissatisfaction with the length of the strike. Fifty-two per cent of the respondents judged the UAW's performance at the bargaining table as only satisfactory.

Insofar as the length of union membership of the respondents was concerned, 56 per cent reported belonging to the union for 12 years or more. Seventy per cent of the respondents reported attending UAW local meetings either "seldom" or "rarely." Another 28 per cent of the sample attended these meetings "frequently" or "occasionally." In comparison, the Kraft survey reported that 54 per cent of AFL-CIO members belonged to their union for 10 years or more. However, some 36 per cent of the AFL-CIO membership attended union meetings "rarely."¹¹

In terms of political affiliation, 61 per cent of the respondents identified themselves as Democrats, and 10 per cent as Republicans. Twenty-five per cent classified themselves as Independents, and one per cent as members of the American Independent Party. In comparison, the Kraft survey reported that 58 per cent of AFL-CIO members identified themselves as Democrats, 16 per cent as Republicans, 17 per cent as Independents, and 9 per cent undecided.¹² The high percentage of Independents in both

¹¹Barkan, "AFL-CIO Union Member," p. 5.

¹²Ibid., p. 2.

studies may reflect a national trend. Wolfe has reported that voting decisions of union members are not an automatic response to the fact of their union membership. In fact, union voters are more affluent, less working-class conscious, and less likely to see a financial advantage to voting straight Democratic slates.¹³ This erosion of the Democratic Party preference among labor voters seemed to be reflected in the preference of more respondents identifying themselves as Independents. (See Appendix C, Political Behavior of Respondents, pp. 82-83.)

With regard to group membership, 36 per cent of respondents belonged to one or more civic or social groups, while 63 per cent belonged only to the UAW. Moreover, about 25 per cent of the respondents perceived themselves as opinion leaders. It must be remembered that groups are important channels of communication; they are also a necessary ingredient in shaping labor's attitude toward the strike. Westley, Severin and others have found a significant association between group membership and media exposure.¹⁴ Also, scholars agree that groups

¹³Arthur C. Wolfe, "Trends in Labor Union Voting Behavior, 1948-68," Industrial Relations, IX (October, 1969), 1-9.

¹⁴Bruce H. Westley and Werner J. Severin, "A Profile of the Daily Newspaper Non-Readers," Journalism Quarterly, XLI (Winter, 1964), 47-48.

influence the behavior of their members through such variables as consensus and cohesiveness, which are generally associated with the media's effects on labor's attitudes toward the strike.¹⁵ (See Appendix D, Group Membership of Respondents, p. 85.)

In rating the job that union and management did during the strike, 84 per cent of the respondents reported the performance of UAW President Leonard Woodcock as "excellent" or "pretty good." By contrast, 55 per cent of the respondents rated the performance of chief GM negotiator Earl Bramlett as the same. As expected, the findings seem to suggest that the UAW was perceived as representing the respondents' interests satisfactorily. In this context, 49 per cent of the sample reported their union membership as "very valuable." Another 43 per cent of the sample reported their union membership as "pretty valuable."

In regard to strike issues, 54 per cent of the respondents chose "30-and-out" as the most important strike issue. In this context, it must be remembered that 63 per cent of the respondents were 35 years of age or older, and 56 per cent of the sample had 12 years or more of

¹⁵Edith Bennett Pelz, "Some Factors in 'Group Decision'" and Kurt W. Back, "Influence Through Social Communication," in Readings in Social Psychology, ed. by Eleanor E. Maccoby, Theodore M. Newcomb and Eugene L. Hartley (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1958), pp. 216, 218, 196-197.

union membership. The findings seem to indicate that a majority of the sample valued their union seniority and preferred issues dealing with early retirement. Furthermore, 75 per cent of the respondents chose benefits as their first priority among strike issues. As a result, respondents seemed to value benefits over wage increases.

Patterns of Mass Media Use Among Striking Members

Media use among respondents was found to be high as expected. For example, 96 per cent of the respondents read newspapers. Eighty-five per cent of the sample regularly read the State Journal, 69 per cent read the Detroit Free Press, and 19 per cent read the Detroit News. Ninety per cent of the sample reported reading strike news in newspapers. These findings indicate multiple exposure to the print media among respondents. Also, the findings indicate that print media are making important penetration among the respondents. (See Appendix F, Media Use Characteristics of Respondents, pp. 89-90.)

Approximately 96 per cent of the sample reported receiving the local union newspaper, the Lansing Labor News, and 88 per cent of the respondents reported reading strike news in that paper. Moreover, 30 per cent reported reading it one hour or more a week.

Magazines had a comparatively low usage (60 per cent) among the print media. Forty-five per cent reported reading strike news in magazines. Only 20 per cent of respondents reported reading magazines one hour or more a week.

Television appeared to be the most popular of all media among the respondents, since 98 per cent reported viewing television for various purposes. Ninety per cent of the sample reported television as their source of strike news. However, only 48 per cent reported viewing television frequently. In comparison, the Kraft survey found that 58 per cent of AFL-CIO members were frequent television viewers.¹⁶

Another popular medium was radio, evidenced by the 96 per cent who reported listening to it with some frequency. However, only 79 per cent of the respondents cited radio as a source of strike news. Many respondents reported listening to strike news on the radio while on picket duty or in their car. In this respect, radio was a kind of "mobile medium." Forty-nine per cent of the respondents described themselves as frequent listeners.

Strike posters and hand bills were found to be a widely used media for strike news. For example, 94 per cent of the respondents reported reading posters or

¹⁶Barkan, "AFL-CIO Union Member," p. 5.

handbills. Moreover, 59 per cent of the sample reported this medium as a source of strike news. It appears that this was especially valuable as an inexpensive source of strike instruction.

Another informal communication channel was strike duty, which was divided into picket duty and strike school. Originally, members were to be evenly divided between the two by the last two digits of their social security number. However, complications developed and members were arbitrarily assigned to one or the other duty. As a result, 85 per cent of the respondents performed picket duty once a week. A smaller percentage (22 per cent) took part in educational classes known as strike school. March, Simon, and Guetzkow have noted that participation in union functions tends to pull a member more strongly into union life.¹⁷ Also, Hovland has found that when subjects indicated publicly their commitment on an issue after only a single side had been presented, they were less apt to take the other side into account when it was subsequently discussed.¹⁸ It is

¹⁷James G. March, Herbert A. Simon, and Harold Guetzkow, Organization (New York: Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1958), pp. 72-73.

¹⁸Carl I. Hovland, "The Role of Primacy and Recency in Persuasive Communication," in Readings in Social Psychology, ed. by Maccoby, Newcomb, and Hartley, p. 149.

assumed, therefore, that this was the main purpose behind strike duty.

Finally, in terms of informal communication channels, 77 per cent of the respondents identified co-workers as a source of strike news. Local union leaders were a source of strike news for 66 per cent of the sample.

The entire area of the perception of media credibility emerged as one of the most interesting sections of the findings. Though a high percentage of respondents read newspapers and listened to radio, they appeared to consider UAW leaders, Lansing Labor News, and television, respectively, as more trustworthy sources for strike news. In fact, 41 per cent of the respondents reported UAW leaders as most trustworthy for strike news, while 29 per cent looked to the Lansing Labor News. Another 19 per cent of the respondents trusted television, 5 per cent trusted newspapers, and 5 per cent trusted radio.¹⁹ In general, it is assumed that respondents embraced many media but trusted their own leaders and union newspaper for strike news more than the media.

¹⁹For example, Schley R. Lyons in "The Labor Press and Its Audiences: the Case of the Toledo Union Journal," Journalism Quarterly, XLVII (Autumn, 1969), 559, reported that 32 per cent trusted local television and 21 per cent trusted the daily newspaper.

Attitudes Toward the Strike

One of the concerns of the study was the determination of the respondents' attitude toward the strike. The respondents were asked to identify the group that was most responsible for the strike. Twenty-eight per cent of the respondents strongly agreed that GM was most responsible for the strike, while 49 per cent just agreed with that statement. By contrast, only 9 per cent strongly agreed that the UAW was most responsible for the strike, and 36 per cent merely agreed with that statement. Finally, 12 per cent strongly agreed that the United State's economy was most responsible for the strike, while 22 per cent just agreed. The findings suggest that the respondents placed equal responsibility for the strike on all three parties--the union, management, and the U.S. economy.

Insofar as labor's attitude toward personal gain accruing from the strike was concerned, 45 per cent of the sample either strongly agreed or agreed that a strike was financially beneficial. Also, 53 per cent of the respondents either strongly agreed or agreed with statements that the strike gave union members a chance of advancement. Moreover, it must be remembered that 56 per cent of the sample had 12 years or more of union experience. It may be inferred, therefore, that some respondents may have committed themselves to the union and the strike

as a means of obtaining a better life for themselves and their families.

The next set of attitudinal statements dealt with dependence of members on their extended family for decision making. Seventy-two per cent of the respondents either strongly agreed or just agreed that union members should consult with family members before making a decision. Moreover, 12 per cent of the sample strongly agreed that members should consult elders in the family about various matters, while 45 per cent agreed with the statement.

With regard to economic well-being of the nation, eight per cent of the respondents strongly agreed that a strike was temporarily harmful to the U.S. economy, while half (51 per cent) of the sample agreed with the statement. An even greater percentage agreed that full employment should be the goal of the U.S. economy. Thirty per cent strongly agreed with the goal of full employment, whereas 60 per cent only agreed. The sample findings indicate a concern over the effects of a strike on the U.S. economy.

In regard to articulation of political demands through frequency of voting, 39 per cent of the sample strongly agreed that members ought to vote in national elections, while 54 per cent agreed with this statement. Fewer respondents, however, strongly agreed (12 per cent)

that indifferent citizens should not vote, and 47 per cent only agreed with the statement.

Concerning government regulation of industries, 21 per cent of the respondents strongly disagreed and 54 per cent disagreed. Twelve per cent strongly disagreed with the statement that government has the obligation to settle a strike. Another 54 per cent of the sample disagreed. In general, respondents supported the belief in unfettered collective bargaining between union and management.

Insofar as the rationalization in industry was concerned, 12 per cent of the respondents strongly agreed and 64 per cent agreed that technological changes should allow men the right-to-work. In a related issue, 28 per cent of the sample strongly agreed while 65 per cent agreed that early retirement makes more jobs available. The previous attitude statement is closely related to the strike issue "30-and-out." It should be remembered that 54 per cent of the sample reported "30-and-out" as their first choice among strike issues.

With regard to achievement motivation, eight per cent of the respondents strongly agreed that hard work is good for man while 55 per cent agreed. Moreover, 10 per cent of the respondents strongly agreed that hard work gives man a sense of accomplishment, whereas 63 per cent agreed.

Finally, with regard to statements concerning other orientation, nine per cent of the respondents strongly agreed that individuals should look out for others' interests, while 56 per cent only agreed with the statement. With respect to whether one could trust others these days, the sample's response was split almost evenly--43 per cent of the respondents agreed, whereas 42 per cent disagreed. In other words, the respondents seemed to indicate that there is a difference between theory and practice. An individual may hold an ideal, but may not practice it.

In review, the respondents generally agreed with attitudinal statements concerning economic benefits and personal gain accruing from a strike, increased family dependence, concern for the nation's economic well-being, and political participation through voting. The respondents also agreed with statements concerning the right-to-work and achievement motivation. However, the respondents demonstrated their belief in collective bargaining by opposing government intervention in a strike situation. The sample split evenly with respect to statements concerning other orientation--half the sample agreed that you could trust other people while the other half disagreed.

Indicators of Media Use and Attitudes
Toward the Strike

Concerning predictors of media use, scholars have suggested that education is associated with the use of print media.²⁰ Still others have attempted to show a relationship between education and use of electronic media.²¹ Therefore, the hypothesis was drawn that those UAW members with more formal education will report more frequent newspaper and magazine reading, television viewing, and radio listening than those respondents reporting less formal education. The hypothesis held only for frequency of newspaper and magazine reading, as indicated in Tables 1 and 2. These significant associations are, in part, due to the drive for information by those respondents who have a higher level of education. Education tends to extend human environment to cope with a strike situation and thereby expose the respondents to the frequent use of the two media.

The findings contained in Table 1 indicate that the percentage of non-readers was relatively constant for those respondents who had completed grades four through six, those who had completed high school, and those who

²⁰Westley and Severin, "Daily Newspaper Non-Readers," pp. 47-48.

²¹Merrill Samuelson, Richard F. Carter, and Lee Ruggels, "Education, Available Time, and the Use of the Mass Media," Journalism Quarterly, XL (Autumn, 1963), 491-496.

TABLE 1.--Education and newspaper reading.

Level of Education	No Reading	Newspaper Reading		
		Reading Less Than One Hr. Daily	Reading One-Two Hrs. Daily	Reading Three Hrs. Daily
	(N= 9)	(N=97)	(N=96)	(N= 9)
One-Three Grades	0.0%	2.1%	0.0%	0.0%
Four-Six Grades	11.1	4.1	1.0	0.0
Seven-Eight Grades	44.4	15.5	6.3	0.0
Some High School	22.3	25.8	26.0	0.0
Completed High School	11.1	43.3	45.8	0.0
Some College	11.1	8.2	18.8	100.0
Completed College	0.0	1.0	2.1	0.0
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
$\chi^2=30.071$; $P<.05$; $C=.359$				

had some college education. The frequency of newspaper use shows a gradual increase with education, reaching a peak with the completion of high school, and slowly drops off with the completion of some college. Other scholars tend to support these findings.

The findings in Table 2 indicate a significant association between the level of education and the amount of time spent reading magazines. This association may be

TABLE 2.--Education and magazine reading.

Level of Education	No Reading	Magazine Reading		
		Reading Less Than One Hr. Daily	Reading One-Two Hrs. Daily	Reading Three Hrs. Daily
	(N=82)	(N=67)	(N=40)	(N=13)
One-Three Grades	2.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Four-Six Grades	2.4	6.0	0.0	0.0
Seven-Eight Grades	17.1	7.5	10.0	15.3
Some High School	34.1	17.9	22.5	23.1
Completed High School	36.6	53.7	45.0	15.4
Some College	7.4	13.4	20.0	38.5
Completed College	0.0	1.5	2.5	7.7
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
$\chi^2=32.836$; $P<.02$; $C=.373$				

attributed to the rising affluence of laborers. The worker's socio-economic status approaches a middle-class orientation. With this new orientation, there emerges among workers a specialized information-seeking which finds its expression in increased magazine reading. Consequently, workers have a broadening interest in a number of areas. Magazines, therefore, seem to serve the laborer's new found interests by digesting news and

by putting the news in perspective. As a result, the respondent's readership among various news magazines was found to be quite high. For example, 24 per cent of respondents regularly read Time magazine, 21 per cent read Newsweek, and 11 per cent read U.S. News and World Report.

The hypothesized relationship between the level of education and television viewing was in the predicted direction but not significant. The lack of significant association between a higher level of education and television viewing can be explained, in part, by the homogenizing effect which television has produced among mass media audiences. For example, television has replaced newspapers and magazines as the primary source of news for most people. Also, individuals with a higher level of education may depend on television as a first source of news. In other words, there are other factors, such as available time,²² which may predict television viewing more accurately than the level of education. Additionally, media do tend to supplement and complement one another.

A higher level of education as a predictor of radio listening, too, did not hold. The lack of significant association between a higher level of education and radio listening may largely be due to the respondents'

²²Ibid.

use of radio for entertainment purposes. The hunch is that radio is relied on by less educated individuals. Moreover, the primary orientation of the lower educated respondents is toward electronic media.²³ This means that individuals with a lower level of education use radio and television as an inexpensive and effortless entertainment medium.

Again, Westley, Severin²⁴ and others have reported a significant association between group membership and media exposure. Groups tend to facilitate communication with others. Therefore, it was hypothesized that those union members who report belonging to civic and social groups will report more frequent newspaper and magazine reading, television viewing and radio listening than those who do not belong to such groups. The hypothesis was tenable only in the case of frequency of radio listening as indicated in Table 3.

The positive association between group membership and the frequency of radio listening may be explained, in part, by the fact that radio listening is better suited than other media to the shared experience of group activities. It was found, for example, that 88 per cent of respondents listened to music or entertainment programs

²³Ibid., p. 493.

²⁴Westley and Severin, "Daily Newspaper Non-Readers," pp. 47-48.

TABLE 3.--Group membership and radio listening.

Group Membership	Seldom	Occasionally	Frequently
	(N=36)	(N=59)	(N=100)
No Group Membership	72.2%	49.2%	69.0%
Membership in 1 Group	16.7	37.3	23.0
Membership in 2 Groups	2.8	13.5	6.0
Membership in 3 Groups	5.5	0.0	1.0
Membership in 4 Groups	2.8	0.0	1.0
	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>
	$\chi^2=17.930$; $P<.05$; $C=.290$		

on radio. By contrast, only 34 per cent of the respondents listened to talk shows, and 47 per cent listened to political broadcasts. In effect, respondents may not be listening intently to the radio but using it as background noise in the group situation. By contrast, in the case of other media--such as newspapers, magazines, or television--an individual's visual attention is centered on the media itself.

Mishra, for example, has reported that people in the Asian and Latin American settings with a lower level of education tend to believe in the magical power of the

spoken word.²⁵ Certainly, this author would suggest a cautious comparison between the somewhat more sophisticated North American worker and their Asian and Latin American counterparts. The hunch is, however, that the spoken word--whether oral or interpersonal communication--may hold somewhat the same trustworthiness for the respondents as it does for Asians. For example, a majority of respondents (83 per cent) received news of the strike from interpersonal channels of communication. Moreover, UAW leaders were the most trusted source of strike news, since 41 per cent of respondents reported trusting this source.

The association between group membership and the frequency of magazine use was in the predicted direction but not significant. No association, however, was found between group membership and the frequency of newspaper reading and television viewing. The absence of these relationships may be explained, in part, by an over-reliance on radio.

Therefore, it is assumed that workers with a lower level of education, occupational level, and socioeconomic status tend to rely on oral or interpersonal communication more than those workers with a higher level.

²⁵Vishwa M. Mishra, "Mass Media Use and Modernization in Greater Delhi Basties," Journalism Quarterly, XLVII (Summer, 1970), 334.

Independent variables such as the frequency of media use, education, and group membership may also affect labor's attitude toward the strike. Mishra, for example, has reported that media use and attitudes are concomitant and reciprocal.²⁶ Therefore, the following four hypotheses were formulated: (1) Union members with more formal education will report a greater degree of agreement with statements concerning collective bargaining, defined here as the process by which wages, hours, rules, and working conditions are negotiated by union and management, than those with less formal education. (2) Union members who belong to groups, defined here as belonging to civic or social groups, will report a greater degree of agreement with statements concerning political participation, defined here as articulation of political demands through frequency of voting, than those who do not belong to groups. (3) Union members who make more frequent use of various media of mass communication, defined here as more frequent reading of newspapers and magazines, viewing of television, and listening to radio, will report a greater degree of agreement with statements concerning the right-to-work, defined here as articulation of demands for adjusting to rationalization in industry, than those who less frequently read newspapers and

²⁶Ibid., p. 332.

magazines, view television, and listen to radio. (4) Union members with more formal education will report a greater degree of agreement with statements concerning achievement motivation, defined here as accomplishing tasks for the satisfaction of accomplishment, than those with less formal education. The hypotheses were not supported by the data. Additional work is being done by the author with the attitude items and a selected set of their predictors.

A possible explanation for the lack of association between the predictor variables and attitude items--collective bargaining, political participation, right-to-work, and achievement motivation--may include the operation of "response set" among workers with a predominantly low level of education. Landsberger and Saavedra, for example, demonstrated in a Latin American setting that an "acquiescence set was significantly more present" among social strata with less educated respondents than in other strata. The authors caution that extreme care should be exercised in the interpretation of data obtained from lower educated groups that might be subject to ambiguity.²⁷ In this context, many of the attitude items used in this study may have been ambiguous.

²⁷ Henry A. Landsberger and Antonio Saavedra, "Response Set in Developing Countries," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXXI (Summer, 1967), 229.

As a result, many of the items may not have been valid. Another possible explanation emerges from the effects of group pressure upon the modification and distortion of judgments. Asch has found in his experimental groups that, despite the stress in a given situation, a substantial proportion of individuals retained their independence throughout. However, a substantial minority yielded, modifying their judgments in accordance with the majority. Social pressure is a joint function of three factors: (1) With variation of the stimulus situation, such as diminishing clarity of the stimulus conditions, the majority effect increases. (2) The majority effect is a function of the size of group opposition. (3) The majority effect is a function of the character of the individual.²⁸ In other words, some individuals are more persuadable than others. Adjunct to Asch's findings is a possible polarization which took place in the sample. It is assumed, because of the close proximity of the study to the strike, that respondents had an ingrained response set to the attitude items. Still another possible explanation emerges from Chu's discussion of difficulties in cross-cultural communication

²⁸S. E. Asch, "Effects of Group Pressure Upon the Modification and Distortion of Judgment," in Readings in Social Psychology, ed. by Maccoby, Newcomb, and Hartley, pp. 182-183; and Carl Hovland, Irving Janis, and Harold Kelley, Communication and Persuasion (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953), pp. 276-277.

research and attitude measurement. Chu identifies two of these difficulties: First, attitudes are abstract concepts which the respondents may not be able to grasp. This difficulty may have relevance to this study. Secondly, Chu suggests that the respondents probably have not clearly formed their attitudes--even if they have such attitudes--and are therefore unable to verbalize them.²⁹ Moreover, a type of cross-cultural communication, with its resulting difficulties, may have been operating within the sample, since nearly 22 per cent of the sample represented minorities--15 per cent Blacks and seven per cent Mexican-American. Both these minority groups represent sub-cultures within our society. The author intends to explore this possibility in a future study.

An Overview

The sample closely approximated census data with respect to place of residence and moderate income ranges. Also, the sample compared favorably with regard to the completion of high school and some college. Persons with 12-15 years of education comprised 57 per cent of the sample while the comparable census figure was 58.9 per

²⁹Godwin C. Chu, "Problems of Cross-Cultural Research," Journalism Quarterly, XLI (Autumn, 1964), 562.

cent. The sample, however, over-represented the low education groups when compared with census data.

Other comparisons made with the Kraft survey reported the findings of a sample survey of AFL-CIO members. The sample compared favorably with the Kraft findings with respect to age, race, party preference, and length of union membership. The respondents held less group membership than was expected; about 90 per cent of the respondents belonged to at least one civic or social group.

Print media use among respondents was high as expected. For example, 96 per cent of the respondents read newspapers daily and three-fifths of the sample read magazines weekly. Electronic media use among respondents was also high. Ninety-eight per cent of the respondents reported watching television and 96 per cent listened to radio. A majority of the respondents (83 per cent) reported interpersonal communication channels as a source of strike news.

With respect to attitudinal statements concerning the strike, the respondents were generally in agreement concerning economic benefits and personal gain accruing from a strike, increased family dependence, concern for the nation's economic well-being, political participation through voting, the right-to-work, and achievement motivation. However, the respondents disagreed with statements

concerning government intervention in a strike. Also, the sample was evenly split regarding trustworthiness of other people.

Concerning predictors of media behavior, the hypothesized relationship between education and media use held only for newspapers and magazines. Moreover, group membership was a predictor of radio listening only. Also, the hypothesized relationships between media use and labor's attitudes toward the strike were not supported by the data.

CHAPTER IV

GENERALIZATIONS AND SPECULATIONS

Generalizations

This study reports the results of survey research in Greater Lansing in 1970: (1) to investigate the patterns of mass media and interpersonal communication channel use among UAW workers; (2) to examine the workers' perception of media credibility; (3) to suggest the predictors of media use patterns; and (4) the relationship between media use and labor's attitudes toward the strike. The central proposition, based on Mishra's model, was that media are a necessary condition for determining labor's attitudes toward the strike, but the strike also contributed to media use. Therefore, the relationship between media use and attitudes toward the strike are concomitant, mutual, and reciprocal.¹

A stratified random sample of UAW workers was drawn from the membership of Fisher Body Local 602. Interviews were conducted with 204 respondents, resulting in a completion rate of 75 per cent. Sixteen per cent of the respondents had an eighth grade education or less,

¹Vishwa M. Mishra, "Mass Media Use and Modernization in Greater Delhi Basties," Journalism Quarterly, XLVII (Summer, 1970), 332.

while 26 per cent of the sample had completed at least 11 years of education. By contrast, 58 per cent of the sample had completed 12 years or more of formal schooling. The respondents belonged to fewer groups than expected. About 90 per cent of the respondents belonged to at least one civic or social groups.

As expected, media use among respondents was found to be high. Ninety-six per cent of the respondents read newspapers daily. Three-fifths of the sample reported reading magazines. About 98 per cent of the respondents reported watching television with some degree of frequency. Ninety-six per cent of the respondents reported other people as one of their sources of strike news.

With respect to media credibility, UAW leaders were perceived as the most trustworthy source of strike news by 41 per cent of the respondents, while 29 per cent of the respondents trusted the local labor newspaper. Another 19 per cent trusted television, while newspaper and radio each were perceived trustworthy by five per cent of the respondents. Although the respondents attended to many media, this finding indicates that they trusted their leaders and labor newspaper more than other media for strike news.

The hypothesized relationship between education and media use held only for newspapers and magazines.

The association between education and the frequency of television viewing was in the predicted direction but not significant. No association was found between frequency of radio listening and education. The hypothesized relationship between group membership and more frequent media use was tenable only in the case of frequency of radio listening. The association between group membership and the frequency of magazine use was in the predicted direction but not significant. No association was found between group membership and the frequency of newspaper reading or television viewing. The most important pattern of relationship emerging from the study was that education appeared to be a better predictor of media use than group membership.

The data did not support the central hypothesis. Questions, however, were raised that hold promise for additional data analyses.

Recommendations

The following recommendations, based largely on the findings of the study, are cautiously advanced here:

1. In future strike situations, education classes known as "strike school" should be interspersed with picket duty. Strike school would provide strikers with reinforcement for the strike. Picket duty would provide active participation that would tend to draw the strikers more actively into union life.

2. During a strike situation, union leaders should combine face-to-face or interpersonal communication channels with the use of formal media. For example, 83 per cent of the respondents mentioned other people as a source of strike news. Furthermore, 41 per cent of the respondents trusted UAW leaders as a source of strike news. Media use among the respondents was also high.

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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS

<u>Age Categories</u>	<u>Per Cent of Sample</u>	<u>n</u>
18-20	1.0	2
21-34	36.3	74
35-50	41.2	84
51-58	14.7	30
59-64	6.8	14
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	100.0	204

<u>Respondent's Sex</u>	<u>Per Cent of Sample</u>	<u>n</u>
Men	87.3	178
Women	12.7	26
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	100.0	204

<u>Racial Composition</u>	<u>Per Cent of Sample</u>	<u>n</u>
White	77.9	159
Black	15.2	31
Mexican-American	6.9	14
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	100.0	204

<u>Place of Residence</u>	<u>Per Cent of Sample</u>	<u>n</u>
Nonmetropolitan Area	33.8	69
Metropolitan Area	66.2	135
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	100.0	204

<u>Religious Preference</u>	<u>Per Cent of Sample</u>	<u>n</u>
Protestant	76.9	157
Catholic	19.1	39
Other	2.5	5
None	1.0	2
No Response	.5	1
	<hr/> 100.0	<hr/> 204

APPENDIX B

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

OF RESPONDENTS

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS
OF RESPONDENTS

<u>Skill-Occupation Level</u>	<u>Per cent of Sample</u>	<u>n</u>
Unskilled-Non-production	14.7	30
Semi-skilled-Production	77.4	158
Skilled-Skilled Tradesmen	6.9	14
Union Leadership	1.0	2
	<hr/> 100.0	<hr/> 204

<u>Respondent's Education</u>	<u>Per Cent of Sample</u>	<u>n</u>
One-Three Grades	1.0	2
Four-Six Grades	2.9	6
Seven-Eight Grades	12.3	25
Some High School	25.5	52
Completed High School	42.6	87
Some College	13.7	28
Completed College	1.5	3
Some Grad School	.5	1
	<hr/> 100.0	<hr/> 204

<u>Subjective Social Class</u>	<u>Per Cent of Sample</u>	<u>n</u>
Upper Class	1.0	2
Middle Class	25.0	51
Working Class	67.6	138
None of These	4.4	9
No Response	.5	1
Don't Know	1.5	3
	<u>100.0</u>	<u>204</u>

<u>Income Categories, 1970*</u>	<u>Per Cent of Sample</u>	<u>n</u>
\$3,000-5,999	6.8	14
\$6,000-8,999	40.7	83
\$9,000-11,999	21.6	44
\$12,000-14,999	17.2	35
\$15,000-17,999	4.4	9
\$18,000-20,999	2.9	6
\$21,000-23,000	.5	1
\$24,000 and over	.5	1
No Response	2.9	6
Don't Know	2.5	5
	<u>100.0</u>	<u>204</u>

*The sample figures embrace family income of the respondent's, including working wives and/or offspring.

APPENDIX C

POLITICAL BEHAVIOR OF RESPONDENTS

POLITICAL BEHAVIOR OF RESPONDENTS

<u>Political Preference</u>	<u>Per Cent of Sample</u>	<u>n</u>
Democrat	61.2	125
Republican	9.8	20
American Independent	1.5	3
Independent	25.0	51
None	1.5	3
No Response	1.0	2
	<hr/> 100.0	<hr/> 204

<u>Voting Behavior</u>		<u>Per Cent of Sample</u>	<u>n</u>
Voted in Last Presidential Election:	Yes	66.7	136
	No	32.8	67
	No Response	.5	1
		<hr/> 100.0	<hr/> 204
Voted in Last General Election:	Yes	57.8	118
	No	41.2	84
	No Response	.5	1
	Don't Know	.5	1
		<hr/> 100.0	<hr/> 204
Voted in Last Local Election:	Yes	61.7	126
	No	37.3	76
	No Response	1.0	2
		<hr/> 100.0	<hr/> 204

<u>Political Attitude</u>	<u>Per Cent of Sample</u>	<u>n</u>
Very Liberal	8.8	18
Somewhat Liberal	18.6	38
Middle of the Roader	36.8	75
Somewhat Conservative	20.6	42
Very Conservative	10.8	22
Don't Know	4.4	9
	<u>100.0</u>	<u>204</u>

APPENDIX D

GROUP MEMBERSHIP OF RESPONDENTS

GROUP MEMBERSHIP OF RESPONDENTS

<u>Number of Formal Associations</u>	<u>Per Cent of Sample</u>	<u>n</u>
Four or More Groups	1.0	2
Three Groups	1.9	4
Two Groups	7.4	15
One Group	26.5	54
None	63.2	129
	<u>100.0</u>	<u>204</u>

APPENDIX E

CHURCH ATTENDANCE OF RESPONDENTS

CHURCH ATTENDANCE OF RESPONDENTS

<u>Frequency of Church Attendance</u>	<u>Per Cent of Sample</u>	<u>n</u>
Regularly	24.6	50
Often	9.8	20
Seldom	53.4	109
Never	11.7	24
No Response	.5	1
	<u>100.0</u>	<u>204</u>

APPENDIX F

MEDIA USE CHARACTERISTICS

OF RESPONDENTS

MEDIA USE CHARACTERISTICS
OF RESPONDENTS

<u>Time Spent Reading Newspaper Daily</u>	<u>Per Cent of Sample</u>	<u>n</u>
Less Than an Hour	47.6	97
1-to-2 Hours	47.0	96
3 Hours or More	1.0	2
Do Not Read At All	4.4	9
	<hr/> 100.0	<hr/> 204

<u>Time Spent Reading Magazine Weekly</u>	<u>Per Cent of Sample</u>	<u>n</u>
Less Than an Hour	32.8	67
1-to-2 Hours	19.6	40
3 Hours or More	6.9	14
Do Not Read At All	40.7	83
	<hr/> 100.0	<hr/> 204

<u>Time Spent Reading Lansing Labor News</u>	<u>Per Cent of Sample</u>	<u>n</u>
Less Than an Hour	63.2	129
1-to-2 Hours	29.4	60
3 Hours or More	1.0	2
Do Not Read At All	2.5	5
Not Asked	3.9	8
	<hr/> 100.0	<hr/> 204

<u>Frequency of Television Viewing</u>	<u>Per Cent of Sample</u>	<u>n</u>
Frequently	48.0	98
Occasionally	30.9	63
Seldom	18.6	38
Not Asked	2.0	4
Don't Know	.5	1
	<hr/> 100.0	<hr/> 204

<u>Frequency of Radio Listening</u>	<u>Per Cent of Sample</u>	<u>n</u>
Frequently	49.0	100
Occasionally	28.9	59
Seldom	17.7	36
Not Asked	3.9	8
Don't Know	.5	1
	<hr/> 100.0	<hr/> 204

APPENDIX G

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

SCHEDULE NO.

C1-3 ()

UAW UNION MEMBERS MASS MEDIA USAGE AND ATTITUDE TOWARD THE STRIKE

INTRODUCTION: Hello! I'm John Doe/Mary Jane. I'm working on a Master's thesis in conjunction with the UAW Local 602. We are conducting research to determine mass media usage and the relationship of media usage with your attitude toward the strike. You have been especially chosen and your opinion counts.

This is, of course, a completely confidential interview. Your name and responses will not be identified publicly, and only the summary results will be presented.

DECK NO.

C4 (1)

C5 () Q.1. How much time do you spend in reading newspapers daily?

1. __ Less than hour 2. __ 1-to-2 hours 3. __ 3 hours or more

4. __ Do not read at all 8. __ No response 9. __ Don't know

C6 () Q.2. (IF ANSWER DO NOT READ, SKIP TO Q.4.) How much do you

read in any average issue?

1. __ All of it 2. __ Most of it 3. __ About half

4. __ Skim lightly 5. __ Hardly any 7. __ Not asked

8. __ No response 9. __ Don't know

Q.3. What do you read in the daily newspapers?

1-Yes 2-No 7-Not asked 8-No res. 9-Dt kn

C7 () General News

C8 () Labor News

C9 () Editorials

C10 () Sports

C11 () Strike News

C12 () News of Auto Industry

C13 () Opinion Columnist

C14 () News of Unemployment

C15 () Letters to the Editor

C16 () Financial News

C17 () Funnies or Cartoons

C18 () Others (SPECIFY) _____

C19 () Q.4. How much time do you spend in reading magazines?

1. __ Less than hour 2. __ 1-to-2 hours 3. __ 3 hours or more
 4. __ Don't read at all 7. __ Not asked 8. __ No response
 9. __ Don't know

C20 () Q.5. (IF ANSWER DON'T READ, SKIP TO Q.7.) How much do you read in any average issue?

1. __ All of it 2. __ Most of it 3. __ About half
 4. __ Skim lightly 5. __ Hardly any 7. __ Not asked
 8. __ No response 9. __ Don't know

Q.6. What do you read in the magazines?

	1-Yes	2-No	7-Not ask	8-No res.	9-Dt kn
C21 () Labor News					
C22 () General News					
C23 () Short Articles on labor					
C24 () Labor Strike Photo's					
C25 () Opinion Columns					
C26 () Others (SPECIFY) ____					

C27 () Q.7. Do you receive the Lansing Labor News?

1. __ Yes 2. __ No 8. __ No response 9. __ Don't know

C28 () Q.8. (IF NO, SKIP TO Q.10.) How much time do you spend in reading the Lansing Labor News?

1. __ Less than hour 2. __ 1-to-2 hours 3. __ 3 hours or more
 4. __ Do not read at all 7. __ Not asked 8. __ No response
 9. __ Don't know

Q.9. What do you read in the Lansing Labor News?

1-Yes 2-No 7-Not ask 8-No res. 9-Dt kn

C29 () General Labor News					
C30 () UAW Labor News					
C31 () Local 602 Column					
C32 () Strike News					
C33 () Strike Instructions					
C34 () Editorials					
C35 () Other (SPECIFY) _____					

C36 () Q.10. Do you watch television?

1. __Yes 2. __No 8. __No response 9. __Don't know

C37 () Q.11. (IF NO, SKIP TO Q.13.) How much time do you spend watching television?

1. __Frequently 2. __Occasionally 3. __Seldom 7. __Not asked
8. __No response 9. __Don't know

Q.12. What do you watch on television?

1-Yes 2-No 7-No ask 8-No res. 9-Dt kn

C38 () General News					
C39 () Labor News					
C40 () Labor Crisis Documentaries					
C41 () Sports					
C42 () Entertainment					
C43 () Series, Films					
C44 () Soap Operas					
C45 () Cartoons					
C46 () Variety Specials					
C47 () Political Braodcasts					
C48 () Strike News					

1-Yes 2-No 7-Not ask 8-No res. 9-Dt kn

C49 () Other (SPECIFY) _____

--	--	--	--	--

C50 () Q.13. Do you listen to radio?

1.__Yes 2.__No 8.__No response 9.__Don't know

C51 () Q.14. (IF NO, SKIP TO Q.16.) How much time do you spend
listening to radio?

1.__Frequently 2.__Occasionally 3.__Seldom

7.__Not asked 8.__No response 9.__Don't know

Q.15. What do you listen to on the radio?

1-Yes 2-No 7-Not ask 8-No res. 9-Dt kn

C52 () General News					
C53 () Special Programs on the strike					
C54 () Political Broadcasts					
C55 () Sports					
C56 () Talk Shows					
C57 () Music					
C58 () Entertainment Prog.					
C59 () Strike News					
C60 () Other (SPECIFY) _____					

Q.16. Do you read any of the following newspapers or magazines?

1-Yes 2-No 7-Not ask 8-No res. 9-Dt kn

C61 () Detroit News					
C62 () Detroit Free Press					
C63 () State Journal					
C64 () U.S. News and World Report					
C65 () Look					
C66 () Life					
C67 () Time					

1-Yes 2-No 7-Not ask 8-No res. 9-Dt kn

C68 () Newsweek

C69 () Other (SPECIFY) _____

C70 () Q.17. (LET ME CHANGE OUR QUESTIONING FOR A MOMENT) Did you
also get the news of the strike from other people?

1. __Yes 2. __No 8. __No response 9. __Don't know

C71 () Q.18. (IF NO, SKIP TO Q.20.) How frequently did you get strike
news from other people?

1. __Frequently 2. __Occasionally 3. __Rarely

7. __Not asked 8. __No response 9. __Don't know

Q.19. Which of the following people were a source of
strike news?

1-Yes 2-No 7-Not ask 8-No res. 9-Dt kn

C72 () Immediate Family
member(s)

C73 () Neighborhood Friend

C74 () Minister, Rabbi, or
Priest

C75 () Work Supervisor

C76 () Co-worker

C77 () National Political
Leader

C78 () Local Pol. Leader

C79 () National Union Leader

C80 () Local Union Leader

SCHEDULE NO.

C1-3 ()

DECK NO.

C4 (2)

1-Yes 2-No 7-Not ask 8-No res. 9-Dt kn

C5 () Other (SPECIFY) _____

--	--	--	--	--

C6 () Q.20. How valuable do you feel the UAW is for you?

1. __Very valuable 2. __Pretty valuable 3. __Not much value
4. __No value at all 8. __No res. 9. __Don't know

C7 () Q.21. Which of the following media for strike news did you consider the most trustworthy?

1. __Television 2. __Newspapers 3. __Lansing Labor News
4. __Radio 5. __News magazine 6. __Other people
7. __UAW Leaders 8. __No response 9. __Don't know

C8 () Q.22. Which of the following media for strike news did you consider the next most trustworthy?

1. __Television 2. __Newspapers 3. __Lansing Labor News
4. __Radio 5. __News magazines 6. __Other people
7. __UAW Leaders 8. __No response 9. __Don't know

C9 () Q.23. Did you read strike posters (hand bills)?

1. __Yes 2. __No 8. __No response 9. __Don't know

C10 () Q.24. (IF NO, SKIP TO Q.25.) How frequently did you read strike posters?

1. __Frequently 2. __Occasionally 3. __Rarely
7. __Not asked 8. __No response 9. __Don't know

C11 () Q.25. Did you attend strike schools?

1. __Yes 2. __No 8. __No response 9. __Don't know

C12 () Q.26. (IF NO, SKIP TO Q.27.) How frequently did you attend strike school?

1. __Frequently 2. __Occasionally 3. __Rarely
7. __Not asked 8. __No response 9. __Don't know

C13 () Q.27. Did you perform strike duty?

1. __Yes 2. __No 8. __No response 9. __Don't know

C14 () Q.28. (IF NO, SKIP TO Q.29.) How frequently did you perform strike duty?

1. __Frequently 2. __Occasionally 3. __Rarely

7. __Not asked 8. __No response 9. __Don't know

C15 () Q.29. What effect do you think the auto strike had on the nation's economy?

1. __Great effect 2. __Some effect 3. __Little effect

8. __No response 9. __Don't know

C16 () Q.30. Did the UAW represent your interests at the bargaining table?

1. __Very well 2. __Satisfactory 3. __Not so well

8. __No response 9. __Don't know

C17 () Q.31. How much influence did the union exert (have) over you regarding the choosing of important issues (COLA, SUB, etc.)?

1. __Great influence 2. __Some influence 3. __Little

influence 4. __No influence at all 8. __No response

9. __Don't know

C18 () Q.32. How would you rate your chances of changing the union's position?

1. Great chance of change 2. __Some chance of change

3. __Little chance of change 4. __Don't need change

8. __No response 9. __Don't know

(NOW WE ARE GOING TO CHANGE THE TYPE OF QUESTION) [SHOW CARD]

	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
	SA	A	NO	DA	SD	NR	DK*
C19 () Q.33. How strongly do you agree or disagree with the statement that GM was responsible for the strike?							
C20 () Q.34. How strongly do you agree or disagree with the statement that UAW was responsible for the strike?							
C21 () Q.35. How strongly do you agree or disagree with the statement that the U.S. economy was responsible for the strike?							

C22 () Q.36. Who benefited most from the auto strike?

1. __Union 2. __Worker 3. __Other (SPECIFY) _____

8. __No response 9. __Don't know

Q.37. Please rank each of the following major strike issues in order of importance to you.

	1	2	3	4	None 5	No res. 8	Dt kn 9
C23 () -----COLA							
C24 () ----- SUB							
C25 () ---- WAGES							
C26 () 30-and-Out							

C27 () Q.38. Did you seek other employment during the strike?

1. __Yes 2. __No 8. __No response 9. __Don't know

C28 () Q.39. How long have you been a member of the UAW?

1. __Less than a year 2. __1-2 years 3. __3-5 years

4. __6-11 years 5. __12-20 years 6. __21 or more

8. __No response 9. __Don't know

*SA-strongly agree; A-agree; NO-no opinion; DA-disagree; SD-strongly disagree; NR-no response; DK-don't know.

C29 () Q.40. How frequently do you attend UAW local meetings?

1. __Frequently 2. __Occasionally 3. __Seldom
4. __Rarely 8. __No response 9. __Don't know

C30 () Q.41. What civic or social groups do you belong to (Lions, Flks, PTA, Church groups, etc.? [JUST COUNT THE NUMBER OF GROUPS FOR CODING]

1. __One group 2. __Two groups 3. __Three groups
4. __Four groups or more 5. __None 8. __No res. 9. __Dt kn

C31 () Q.42. Which of the following political parties do you belong to?

1. __Democrat 2. __Republican 3. __American Independent
4. __Independent 5. __Other (SPECIFY) _____
6. __None 8. __No response 9. __Don't know

C32 () Q.43. Did you vote in the last local election?

1. __Yes 2. __No 8. __No response 9. __Don't know

C33 () Q.44. Did you vote in the last presidential election?

1. __Yes 2. __No 8. __No response 9. __Don't know

C34 () Q.45. Did you vote in the last state elections?

1. __Yes 2. __No 8. __No response 9. __Don't know

C35 () Q.46. Did you vote in the last general election in November?

1. __Yes 2. __No 8. __No response 9. __Don't know

C36 () Q.47. How generally would you rate your political views or beliefs?

1. __Very liberal 2. __Somewhat liberal 3. __Middle of the roader
4. __Somewhat conservative 5. __Very conservative
8. __No response 9. __Don't know

C37 () Q.48. What is your religion?

1. __Protestant 2. __Catholic 3. __Jewish 4. __Other
- (SPECIFY) _____ 6. __None 8. __No response 9. __Don't know

C38 () Q.49. Would you say you attend church or synagogue?

1. Regularly 2. Often 3. Seldom 4. Never

8. No response 9. Don't know

C39 () Q.50. Do people seek you out for opinions or information?

1. Yes 3. No 8. No response 9. Don't know

C40 () Q.51. (IF NO, SKIP TO Q.52.) How frequently do people seek

you out for your opinion or information?

1. Frequently 2. Occasionally 3. Rarely 4. Never

7. Not asked 8. No response 9. Don't know

Q.52. Whose opinion do you most respect or value?

[SHOW CARD]

1	2	3	4	6	8	9
		not	not			
very	pretty	so	at		no	don't
much	much	much	all	none	res.	know

C41 () Immediate family member(s)

C42 () Neighborhood friend

C43 () Minister, Rabbi, or
Priest

C44 () Work Supervisor

C45 () Co-worker

C46 () Local political leader

C47 () Commentator (T.V./
Radio)

C48 () National union leader

C49 () Local union leader

C50 () National pol. leader

C51 () GM management

C52 () Other (SPECIFY)

Q.53. Here are a few statements about the strike. Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each statement: [SHOW CARD]

	1 SA	2 A	3 NO	4 D	5 SD	8 NR	9 DK*
C53 () A strike is financially beneficial for union members.							
C54 () A strike gives a chance of advancement for union members.							
C55 () One should consult family members before making a decision.							
C56 () One should seek advice from elders in the family.							
C57 () The strike is harmful to the U.S. economy.							
C58 () Full employment ought to be the goal of U.S. economy.							
C59 () One ought to vote in national elections.							
C60 () A person who doesn't care how an election comes out shouldn't vote in it.							
C61 () Government should regulate industries.							
C62 () Government has the obligation to settle a strike.							
C63 () Technological changes in the industry should allow men the right to work.							
C64 () Early retirement makes more jobs available.							
C65 () Hard work is good for man.							
C66 () Hard work gives man a sense of accomplishment.							

*SA-strongly agree; A-agree; NO-no opinion; D-disagree; SD-strongly disagree; NR-no response; DK-don't know.

	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
	SA	A	NO	D	SD	NR	DK*
C67 () A person should look out for other people's interests.							
C68 () One cannot trust others these days.							

Q.54. I will now list groups and people who have been concerned with the auto strike. For each I would like you to rate the kind of job this person or group has done--excellent, pretty good, only fair, or poor. [SHOW CARD]

	1	2	3	4	8	9
	E	PG	OF	P	NR	DK**
C69 () Gov. Milliken						
C70 () Leonard Woodcock						
C71 () Earl Bramlett						
C72 () GM						
C73 () UAW						
C74 () Fisher Body						
C75 () Lansing Labor News						
C76 () Local 602						

C77 () Q.55. Which age category best represents your age? [SHOW CARD]

1. __18-20 2. __21-34 3. __35-50 4. __51-58
 5. __59-64 6. __65 or more years 8. __No response
 9. __Don't know

C78 () Q.56. What is your current marital status?

1. __Single 2. __Married 3. __Separated 4. __Divorced
 5. __Widowed 8. __No response 9. __Don't know

*SA-strongly agree; A-agree; NO-no opinion; D-disagree; SD-strongly disagree; NR-no response; DK-don't know.

**E-excellent; PG-pretty good; OF-only fair; P-poor; NR-no response; DK-don't know.

C79 () Q.57. (IF ANSWER 1,8,9, SKIP TO Q.61) Do you have children?

1. __Yes 2. __No 7. __Not asked 8. __No res. 9. __Don't know

C80 () Q.58. How many children do you have 18 years or younger?

1. __One 2. __Two 3. __Three 4. __Four 5. __Five or more

6. __None 7. __Not asked 8. __No response 9. __Don't know

SCHEDULE NO.

C1-3()

DECK NO

C4 (3)

Q.59. How many of your children are in each category?
[SHOW CARD]

	1	2	3	4	5	None 6	Not asked 7	No res. 8	Don't know 9
C5 () 2 or Under									
C6 () 3-5 yrs.									
C7 () 6-10 yrs.									
C8 () 11-15 yrs.									
C9 () 16-18 yrs.									

C10 () Q.60. How many in your family work, other than yourself?

1. __One 2. __Two 3. __Three 4. __Four 5. __Five or more

6. __None 8. __No response 9. __Don't know

C11-() Q.61. What level of education have you completed?
12 [SHOW CARD]

01. __1-3 grades 02. __4-6 grades 03. __7-8 grades

04. __Some high school 05. __Completed high school

06. __Some college 07. __Completed college

08. __Some graduate work 18. __No response

19. __Don't know

C13-() Q.62. Would you please tell me what is your family's total
14

income for 1969 before taxes? [SHOW CARD]

01. __ Less than \$3,000 02. __ \$3,000-5,999 03. __ \$6,000-

8,999 04. __ \$9,000-11,999 05. __ \$12,000-14,999

06. __ \$15,000-17,999 07. __ \$18,000-20,999 09. __ \$21,000-

23,000 10. __ \$24,000 and over 18. __ No res. 19. __ Dt Kn

C15 () Q.63. Which of the following classes do you consider
yourself a member of?

1. __ Upper class 2. __ Middle class 3. __ Working class

4. __ None of these 8. __ No response 9. __ Don't know

(RECORD THE FOLLOWING OBSERVATIONS)

C16 () Q.64. Sex of respondent?

1. __ Male 2. __ Female

C17 () Q.65. Race of the respondent?

1. __ White 2. __ Black 3. __ Mexican-American

4. __ Indian 5. __ Oriental 6. __ Other (SPECIFY) _____

C18 () Q.66. Respondent's place of residence?

1. __ Nonmetropolitan 2. __ Metropolitan

Interviewer's Name _____

Interviewee's Name _____

Interviewee's Address and Telephone No. _____

Date of Interview _____

Length of interview (in minutes) _____

Your interview number _____

Interviewer's comments _____

APPENDIX H

LETTER OF IDENTIFICATION



March 25, 1971

Dear Local 602 Member:

This is to introduce Charles Namit (and/or his associates) who is working on his master's thesis in conjunction with UAW Local 602. He is conducting research to determine mass media usage and the relationship of media usage with your attitude toward the 1970 UAW-GM strike.

I would appreciate your cooperation with Mr. Namit or his associates. You have been especially chosen and your opinion counts. This is, of course, a completely confidential interview. Your name and responses will not be identified publicly, and only the summary results will be presented.

The membership of UAW Local 602 has approved his study.

Fraternally ,

Richard C. Sandborn

Richard C. Sandborn
President, Local 602, UAW

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opeiu42af1-cio

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