SKILL LEVEL, SOCIAL INVOLVEMENTS AND IDEOLOGY: A STUDY OF AUTOMOBILE WORKERS

Thesis for the Degree of Ph. D.

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

Steven E. Deutsch

1964

This is to certify that the

thesis entitled

Skill Level, Social Involvements and Ideology:
A Study of Automobile Workers

presented by

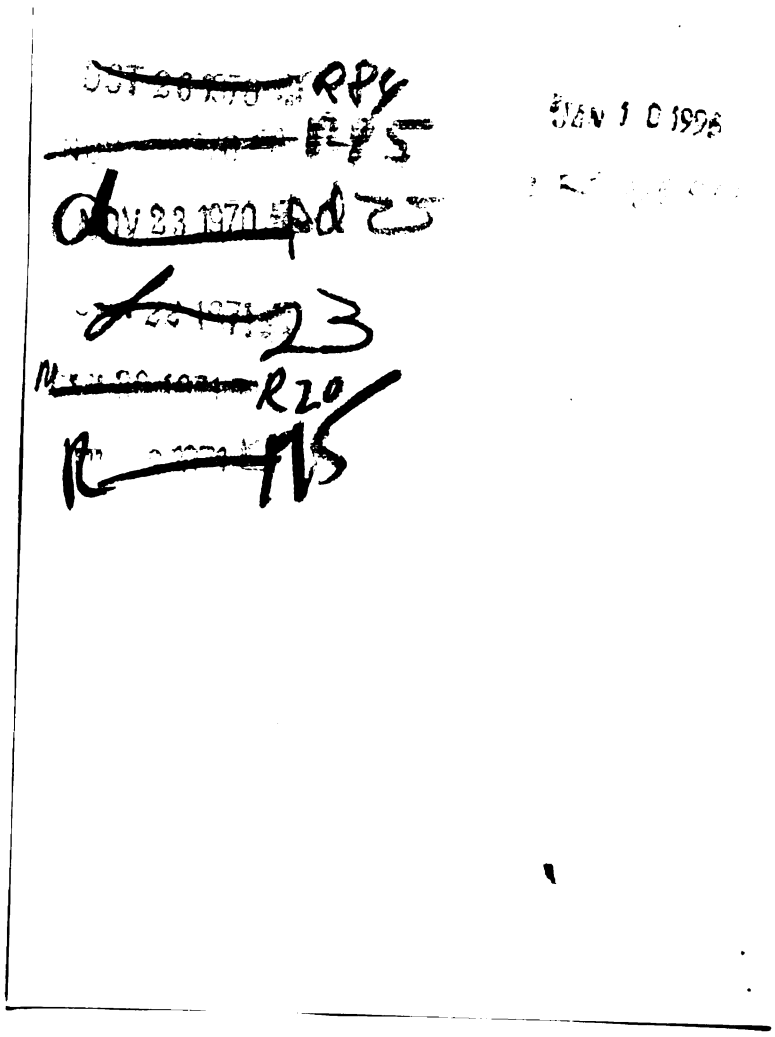
Steven E. Deutsch

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

Ph.D. degree in Sociology

William H. Form
Major professor

Date November 25, 1964



ABSTRACT

SKILL LEVEL, SOCIAL INVOLVEMENTS AND IDEOLOGY:
A STUDY OF AUTOMOBILE WORKERS

by Steven E. Deutsch

This study attempts to examine the occupational skill level differences among manual workers in the following areas: relations with others in the plant, involvement in work, job attitudes, occupational aspirations and interests, involvement in the union, political attitudes and behavior, involvement in the neighborhood and community.

Data for the study was provided from interviews with automobile workers in 1962. A stratified sample of 306 workers in Lansing, Michigan was selected from among skilled tradesmen, machine operators and assembly workers--constituting three levels of skill within the range of manual industrial occupations.

The findings demonstrate that it is hazardous to generalize about industrial workers as a homogeneous category. Skilled tradesmen (in contrast to production workers) are older, have more seniority, are better educated if younger, manifest greater social interaction on the job, evidence more satisfaction with the industrial sector, exhibit greater occupational fulfillment and lower occupational aspirations. Furthermore, they tend to have greater union interest and participation, tend to be less supportive of union political action, are more conservative politically, less alienated along the powerlessness

and normlessness dimensions, ideologically less intense and more involved in the community.

A two-fold typology is suggested. Skilled workers show a higher degree of work satisfaction and higher degree of participation in the union and community. Production workers in both assemblyand non-assembly jobs are more dissatisfied with work related areas and participate less in union and community activities. The data suggest that for those less involved in their work, union or community the family is the major source of involvement. The pattern of low involvement and feelings of political powerlessness may point under favorable conditions to strong support of the union and its political ideology. The pattern of high social involvement suggests an adjustment for skilled workers who participate more in a union which they see as extending their economic gains. They are more involved in their communities, and are less ideologically committed and politically liberal. What is suggested is a true paradox. The union activists are conservative job-conscious workers, and the non-activists are the more liberal (politically) and dissatisfied workers whose ideological sensitivities have not been activated. The conclusion is that the American working class is not a homogeneous mass but a heterogeneous occupational hierarchy with distinct orientations toward their work, the union movement and the broader society.

SKILL LEVEL, SOCIAL INVOLVEMENTS AND IDEOLOGY: A STUDY OF AUTOMOBILE WORKERS

By

Steven E. Deutsch

A THESIS

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Sociology and Anthropology

1964

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Since the doctoral dissertation represents the culmination of one's formal academic apprenticeship, it is indeed an appropriate time to acknowledge one's indebtedness. First, to my parents I am grateful for the support and encouragement of academic training: and to my father I shall always be grateful for the lesson of scholarly relevance and honesty. To my first teachers of sociology, Professors Richard R. Myers and George F. Simpson of Oberlin College I express my appreciation for initial stimulation and for acquiring the perspectives of the social sciences.

To my major mentor, inspiring teacher and friend, Professor William H. Form, I extend my sincerest gratitude for offering a scholarly ideal by example and for helping me to develop the critical and humanistic perspectives that are essential ingredients for our field. I am grateful to my many teachers for their inspiration as well as their friendship and acknowledge with appreciation the members of my committee: Professors Jay Artis, William Faunce, Eugene Jacobson, and Hans Toch. I have benefited greatly from the stimulation and assistance of my good friend, Paolo Ammassari. To John Sonquist of the University of Michigan I am indebted for methodological help in this research and for the lessons of patience and rigor in social research.

My wife and children have learned a lesson of patience of their own in putting up with me and with my absence during the period of time I was engaged in this research. Happily, they have also been my staunchest supporters.

Many persons helped materially in the execution of this study. I would like to single out Mr. Roy Rammacher, President of Local 652, United Auto Workers; Professor Jack Stieber and Professor Einar Hardin of the School of Labor and Industrial Relations. I am also grateful to the many others without whose help this study could not have been done. And finally, I am most sincerely grateful to the more than three hundred men who graciously gave the time to answer questions, and in most cases, expressed their support of the research endeavor.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

It has been 120 years since Karl Marx wrote about the alienating effects of industrial work and almost two centuries since the industrial revolution began in the West. And yet the controversy still goes on as to whether modern industrial man is, indeed, alienated. This study begins with the assumption that certain historical changes in the structure and technology of industry have produced different forms of production, social structure and work relationships. The study does not focus directly on the discussion of alienation per se: but, rather on the satisfaction of the manual worker with his occupational life and the degree to which he is involved with his union, neighborhood, and community. This research suggests that there are important differences among manual workers in their work and non-work lives, and that these are manifest in different attitudes, social relations and behavior. Moreover, the critical question no longer may be whether industrial workers are alienated, but how they relate to others in the union, neighborhood, communities, and other social systems.

Discussion about the concept alienation was initiated by Marx in his Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844.

> The alienation of the object of labor merely summarizes the alienation in the work activity itself. What constitutes the alienation of labor? First, that the work is external to the worker, that it is not part of his nature; and that, consequently, he does not fulfill himself in his work but denies himself, has a feeling of misery rather than well being, does not develop freely his mental and physical energies but is physically exhausted and mentally debased. The worker therefore feels himself at home only during his leisure time, whereas at work he feels homeless. His work is not voluntary but imposed, forced labor. It is not the satisfaction of a need, but only a means for satisfying other needs. Its alien character is clearly shown by the fact that as soon as there is not physical or other compulsion it is avoided like the plague.[1]

While Marx attributed the alienation of the worker to his relationship to the owners of the means of production, and thus linked alienation to the capitalist order, more recent writers such as Feuer have pointed out that, "This alienation of man from the machine, which stands against him, imposing its rhythm on him so that he is a satellite to its motions, is something which is common to all industrial societies, whether they be capitalist or socialist."[2] Furthermore, Blauner has suggested that work alienation of the modern worker may be abating in automated industries, and that a curvilinear relationship exists between amount of alienation and more advanced forms of technology.[3]

---

[1]Karl Marx, Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts (1844) in Erich Fromm, Marx's Concept of Man (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Company, 1961), pp. 98-99.

[2]Lewis Feuer, "What is Alienation? The Career of a Concept," in Maurice Stein and Arthur Vidich (editors), Sociology on Trial (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1963), p. 138.

[3]Robert Blauner, Alienation and Freedom: The Factory Worker and His Industry (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), pp. 178-186.

The problem posed originally by Marx and developed by social theorists and philosophers is historical. Although this research is placed in an historical context, it is an empirical inquiry into the relationships between skill level of manual workers and their patterns of satisfaction, participation and ideology. This study will probe the areas of occupational involvement of industrial workers who perform unskilled work on the assembly line, production work, highly skilled work within the same industry and plant. If the behavior of modern industrial man does not satisfy him, does he find some satisfaction in non-work spheres--or is work dissatisfaction sufficient to produce a generalized feeling of estrangement from self, others and society? As Wilensky recently said, "This is perhaps the central problem of the sociology of work--the effect of the division of labor on social integration, or more precisely the conditions under which work role, occupational association, and career are most and least effective as bonds of solidarity either within workplace or between workplace and larger units or both."[4]

This study focuses on automobile workers--the very Marxian model of alienated man entrapped by technology and capitalistic economic structure. Blauner concludes his discussion of auto workers as follows:

---

[4]Harold L. Wilensky, "Orderly Careers and Social Participation: The Impact of Work History on Social Integration in the Middle Mass," American Sociological Review, Vol. 26 (August, 1961), p. 523.

> With his alienated relation to his work and his emphasis upon leisure and consumption, the automobile worker is, in a sense, the blue-collar prototype of the mass man in mass society. His work is unfree and unfulfilling and exemplifies the bureaucratic combination of the highly rational organization and the restricted specialist. In relation to the two giant bureaucracies which dominate his life, he is relatively powerless, atomized, depersonalized, and anonymous. Yet, as the producer of motor vehicles, he is a vital factor in an automobile civilization, as well as a ready consumer of its mass culture and mass leisure.[5]

The implications of the skill level of the industrial worker have not been systematically analyzed in the broad dimensions of his social life. While it is known that level of job satisfaction varies with skill[6], this finding has not been exploited sufficiently in relation to a host of associated variables such as union and political orientations. Blauner's study quoted above, which used 1947 Roper poll data did consider differences among industrial workers but he slighted the problem of differences in skill level. Moreover, though he traced the forms of alienation outlined by Melvin Seeman and examined the technological and social work environments in four industries, noting various degrees of meaningless, powerlessness, social alienation and self-estrangement,[7] he did not relate work

---

[5]Blauner, op. cit., p. 122.

[6]See S. Wyatt and R. Marriott, A Study of Attitudes to Factory Work (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1956).

[7]Melvin Seeman, "On the Meaning of Alienation," American Sociological Review, Vol. 24 (December, 1959) pp. 783-791. Seeman said that alienation has been used to portray: meaninglessness, normlessness, powerlessness, social isolation, and self-estrangement.

alienation with non-work areas such as the union, neighborhood, community, voluntary associations, and political ideology. He concluded that industrial workers are alienated, some more than others. But we are still left with the question of how industrial workers integrate themselves into a society in which they suffer one or the other forms of work alienation.

The question posed here is whether there is a shifting relationship between work and non-work as one moves from high to low occupational skill. If less skilled workers manifest less job satisfaction, does work then take on less meaning and other pursuits more meaning? For example, will the less skilled worker be less satisfied with his job and become more active in the union than the more skilled worker who presumably is more satisfied with his job, or will another pattern emerge? In a study of the Typographical Union, Lipset, Trow and Coleman found a consistently high pattern of job satisfaction related to a high degree of occupational and community participation.[8] According to Blauner, such occupational communities rarely exist among urban factory workers.[9] It is hypothesized that skilled workers in industrial manufacturing approximate traditional craftsmen, manifest

---

[8]Seymour Martin Lipset, Martin Trow and James S. Coleman, Union Democracy (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1956).

[9]Robert Blauner, "Work Satisfaction and Industrial Trends in Modern Society," in Walter Galenson and Seymour Martin Lipset (editors) Labor and Trade Unionism (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1960).

a higher level of job satisfaction, and are more involved in the broader community. On the other hand, the unskilled worker is less satisfied with his work, is less involved in social organizations but perhaps is more involved in the union and expresses a greater desire to change the social-political structure. This is a re-test of a form of Marx's theory: the less skilled industrial worker is less satisfied with his work, participates less in his local community, is more involved in the union, is more supportive of the union's political role, and is more liberal politically.

One of the research realities which has been considered a paradox is that industrial workers, while less happy with their jobs than those in high prestige occupations, have generally manifested relatively high job satisfaction.[10] Blauner, in fact, condemned intellectuals for cloaking industrial workers with Marxian work alienation, when in fact, they are satisfied with their jobs. Bennett Berger also criticized Chinoy and others for similarly imputing alienation to manual workers.[11] In the current fascination with alienation, the concept is often equated to job dissatisfaction--a distortion of Marx's conceptualization as C. Wright Mills has pointed out.[12] In fairness to

---

[10]Blauner, op. cit., 1960.

[11]Bennett M. Berger, Working-Class Suburb: A Study of Auto Workers in Suburbia (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1960), Chapter 6.

[12]C. Wright Mills, The Marxists (New York: Dell Publishing Company, 1962), p. 86.

Blauner, he did reverse himself in his recent book in which he stated that, ". . . the typical worker in modern industrial society is probably satisfied and self-estranged."[13] He then proceeded to examine relative alientation in four industrial settings.

This study attempts to examine the relevance of job skills on the worker's relations with others in the plant, his involvement in his work and job attitudes, his occupational aspirations and interests; his involvement in the union; his political attitudes and behavior; and his involvement in the neighborhood and community. The relations among these variables are clarified in theory and in terms of specific hypotheses in the next chapter.

---

[13]Blauner, op. cit., 1964, p. 29.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND HYPOTHESES

The procedure in this chapter is to examine briefly the theory and literature for the several interrelated hypotheses which are proposed. These hypotheses deal with the following major areas: job satisfaction, occupational satisfaction, union attitudes and participation, union political action and political ideology, and neighborhood and community involvement.

Work Life and Job Satisfaction

Marxian theory patently argues that work no longer is meaningful for the industrial worker whose only benefit from his job is the inadequate remuneration. Work as such has no meaning in the sense of craftsmanlike accomplishment or in terms of meaningful social relationships. Herzberg and his collaborators traced historical changes in patterns of work and concluded in the others that significant changes in technology have fostered various types of social changes.[1] One such

[1]Frederick Herzberg, Bernard Mausner, Barbara Block Snyderman, The Motivation to Work (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1959), Chapter 13; Charles R. Walker (editor), Modern Technology and Civilization (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1962).

change is that work is no longer of central importance in a society which increasingly emphasizes non-work activity.

Similarly, Dubin concluded that, ". . .for almost three out of four industrial workers studied, work and the workplace are not central life interests."[2] Furthermore, only ten percent of the workers see their primary social relationships taking place at work and for nine out of ten persons, primary relationships were unrelated to work. If work has become less meaningful in terms of self-fulfillment, social interaction and basic satisfaction, then where and how do men relate to one another? Bell stated that,

> Few auto workers today have a future beyond their job. Few have a chance of social advancement. But they are not radical. What has happened is that old goals have been displaced, and the American Dream has been given a new gloss. Success at one's job becomes less important than success in one's style of life.[3]

C. Wright Mills coined the phrase, "the big split," to distinguish between the world of work and the world of non-work, noting that there is an increasing tendency for non-work activities to be compensatory for the dissatisfactions in the work arena.[4] However, Nosow and Form stressed that work remains the major link between man and society.

---

[2]Robert Dubin, "Industrial Worker's Worlds: A Study of the 'Central Life Interests' of Industrial Workers," Social Problems, Vol. 3 (January, 1956), p. 131.

[3]Daniel Bell, The End of Ideology (New York: Collier Books, 1961), p. 255.

[4]C. Wright Mills, White Collar (New York: Oxford University Press, 1951), pp. 235-238.

> The separation of work from other realms of life has been erroneously interpreted by some as indicating that work is no longer a central life interest of modern man. The available evidence does not confirm this, for work continues to be the driving force giving direction and meaning to contemporary living. While it is true that work satisfaction tends to decrease with level of occupational skill, work still occupies a central role in the lives of most people. The primary reason for this is that there is no other activity which provides as much social continuity to life as does work. Certainly leisure has not yet replaced work as a central organizing principle of life. It is work, not leisure, that gives status to the individual and his family.[5] (Emphasis added)

Weighing the evidence in the literature, one may reasonably conclude that work is still important in contemporary society in terms of production, status assignment and as a major channel for human relatedness. While some current theoreticians have proposed revising our thinking on this subject as a result of the cybernetic advance,[6] the importance of work to most people today is clearly established by many studies. Although the conflicting positions on the centrality of work cannot be reconciled here, the range of sociological findings may be outlined briefly. First, there are differences by occupational levels in terms of job attitudes and job satisfaction.[7] Second, there are occupational differences in the perceived functions and meaning of work.[8] Third, there are occupational differences in

---

[5]Sigmund Nosow and William H. Form (editors) Man, Work and Society (New York: Basic Books, 1962), p. 11.

[6]W. H. Ferry, et. al., The Triple Revolution (Santa Barbara, California: Privately printed, 1964).

[7]Gladys L. Palmer, "Attitudes Toward Work in an Industrial Community," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 63 (July, 1957), pp. 17-26.

[8]Nancy C. Morse and Robert S. Weiss, "The Function and Meaning of Work and the Job," American Sociological Review, Vol. 20 (April, 1955, pp. 191-198; Elizabeth L. Lyman, "Occupational Differences in /

adjustment and mental health.[9] That is, unskilled workers are likely to view work as something to do and may prefer other occupations. They manifest greater occupational and job dissatisfaction than skilled workers, and have greater problems maintaining a healthy personality. Yet, these conclusions can be exaggerated. Thus, while professionals and white-collar workers are less dissatisfied than manual workers, all respondents are overwhelmingly satisfied with their jobs.[10] Interpretations of this finding are variable. Thus, most people may in fact be satisfied with their work or they may have adjusted themselves to their work and become satisfied; or that weaknesses exist in the techniques of studying work attitudes, or that all dimensions of work have not been explored sufficiently. This study will pursue the last alternative and probe several areas of occupational life. Occupational attachment is the concept which shall be used to portray this larger area of work life. It shall be used a composite index consisting of occupational fulfillment, occupational satisfaction, sector satisfaction, job satisfaction, work environment and satisfaction with interaction at work. Thus, it is hypothesized that: occupational involvement and all factors comprising it are positively correlated with skill level.

---

the Value Attached to Work," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 61 (September, 1955), pp. 138-144; Eugene A. Friedmann and Robert J. Havighurst, The Meaning of Work and Retirement (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954).

[9]Aaron Levenstein, Why People Work (New York: The Crowell-Collier Press, 1962), p. 246.

[10]Robert Blauner, 'Work Satisfaction and Industrial Trends in Modern Society in Walter Galenson and Seymour Martin Lipset (editors), Labor and Trade Unionism (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1960); Herzberg, et. al., op. cit. In addition, for a review of job satisfaction studies see Thomas B. Scott et. al., A Definition of Work Adjustment (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Industrial Relations Center, 1960), especially Chapter Two; Victor H. Vroom, Work and Motivation (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1964).

Closely related to the dimensions of occupational involvement is the matter of occupational aspirations or the desire to change occupations. There are considerable occupational differences on questions concerning the desirability of continuing in present employment and particularly on choosing the same occupation all over again. Among manual workers there are large differences by skill level: forty-one percent of skilled and sixteen percent of unskilled autoworkers would choose the same career again.[11] Guest studied automobile worker's careers and aspirations, noting that one out of five men desires to remain at his present job with the remainder having different aspirations. He traced the process of adjustment made by the individual worker as he resolves the ever-apparent contradictions and dilemma between the American Dream and the realities of factory work. He put it this way,

> In the long range picture, assembly line workers entertain hopes, on the verbal level at least, which are in keeping with the deeply rooted American tradition of opportunity. They want to quit the present altogether and strike out on their own. Yet to leave means facing the unknown. The present imperatives of security and a reasonable steady income outweigh the attractions of the job world outside. A few workers are not troubled by this dilemma. They look to the immediate advantage they now enjoy of high wages and security. Some resolve the dilemma by building up hopes for their children's future. Others appear to resolve it simply by daydreaming about "getting into an independent business of my own," knowing full well the idea is out of reach. But to the majority the dilemma is a persistent source of dissatisfaction.[12]

However, Chinoy stated that, "Both security and small goals in the factory are essentially defensive in character . . . As goals, therefore,

---

[11]Blauner, op. cit.

[12]Robert H. Guest, Work Careers and Aspirations of Automobile Workers," American Sociological Review, Vol. 19 (April, 1954), p. 163.

they constitute patterns of avoidance rather than creative activity. Once gained, they offer workers no positive gratifications, no meaningful experience."[13] Chinoy argued that workers' interests in leaving the factory develop from dissatisfaction in the plant not in inherent interest in out-of-shop goals.

Several writers have presented evidence that automobile workers on production assembly lines are far from happy with the repetitive nature of their tasks. Furthermore, a discrepancy exists between expected rewards and aspirations and the realities of factory life. Recently Form and Geschwender pointed out that social structural features determine manual workers' job satisfaction, which is seen as a product of the perceived social and occupational hierarchy and the individual's place in that structure.[14] If mobility and job satisfaction depend upon the worker's position in the plant structure and his real expectation of advancement, then different degrees of job satisfaction should be expected as one goes from low to high skill jobs.

---

[13]Ely Chinoy, Automobile Workers and the American Dream (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1955), p. 130.

[14]William H. Form and James A. Geschwender, "Social Reference Basis of Job Satisfaction: The Case of Manual Workers," American Sociological Review, Vol. 27 (April, 1962) pp. 228-237. For an analysis of job satisfaction factors including occupational status adjustment, see Thomas M. Lodahl, "Patterns of Job Attitudes in Two Assembly Technologies," Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol. 8 (March, 1964) pp. 528-533.

Union Attitudes and Participation

The second area of concern of this study is the workers' attitudes toward the labor union and their involvement with it.

A hypothesis guiding this research is that unskilled and semi-skilled workers are more active in the union and have more favorable attitudes toward it than skilled workers. The rationale for this runs as follows: the less skilled workers are frustrated by the perceived discrepancy between their occupational aspirations and their actual achievements. They are not satisfied with their jobs and their work environment, and they do not identify with their work. Being less satisfied with their work they see the union as an alternate channel of collective relatedness.

A number of studies examined participation in the union by rank and file members. Tannenbaum and Kahn, Kornhauser, Rose, Dean, Kyllonen,[15] and others noted that factors such as urban residence, family history of union membership, seniority and age, and other factors are associated with attitudes of union support and active participation. Spinard concluded that, ". . . union activists . . . are disproportionately drawn from those of relatively higher pay and job status."[16]

---

[15]Arnold S. Tannenbaum and Robert L. Kahn, Participation in Union Locals (Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson & Company, 1958); Ruth Kornhauser, "Some Social Determinants and Consequences of Union Membership," Labor History, Vol. 2 (Winter, 1961), pp. 30-61; Arnold M. Rose, Union Solidarity (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1952); Lois R. Dean, Social Integration, Attitudes and Union Activity, Industrial and Labor Relations Review, Vol. 8 (October, 1954) pp. 48-58; Toimi E. Kyllonen, "Social Characteristics of Active Unionists," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 56 (May, 1951) pp. 528-533.

[16]William Spinrad, "Correlates of Trade Union Participation: A Summary of the Literature," American Sociological Review, Vol. 25 (April, 1960) pp. 237-244.

Some contradictions exist in the literature about whether the less skilled worker is more or less active in the union, a question which is empirically explored in this research.

Kovner and Lahne[17] suggest that formal indexes of participation are misleading and that informal shop involvement is more meaningful for the worker. However, in this study, participation is measured by actual behavior: attendance at meeting, voting in union elections, and holding union office.[18] Sayles and Strauss support this position. They state, "By participation we mean expenditure of time on union affairs. Participation is more than emotional involvement in unionism: it is doing."[19] This study is not only concerned with actual union participation, it also is concerned with workers' evaluation of union functions and activities. As will be shown later, the theoretical perspective adopted suggests that assembly and semi-automatic machine operators are less satisfied with their work than skilled workers and they engage in few activities in their neighborhoods or community.

---

[17]Joseph Kovner and Herbert J. Lahne, "Shop Society and the Union," Industrial and Labor Relations Review, Vol. 7 (October, 1953) pp. 3-14.

[18]A word of caution in light of Dean's finding that twenty-six percent of workers she studied over-reported union attendance when she compared their reports with observational data. She concluded that integration into the union may be founded upon personal involvement and ideological support, but not actual participation. See Lois R. Dean, "Interaction, Reported and Observed: The Case of One Local Union," Human Organization, Vol. 17 (Fall, 1958) pp. 36-44.

[19]Leonard R. Sayles and George Strauss, The Local Union (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1953).

Since the union offers them collective recognition and means to change the work situation, these workers will more likely endorse all union goals including union political action. To repeat our hypothesis:

Union involvement (as measured by participation and approval of unions) is negatively correlated with skill level.

Union Political Action and Political Ideology

Since the union has many goals (economic, social, and political) obviously the workers can have different attitudes toward each of these goals and how the union pursues them. This study is especially concerned with the worker's position on union political goals and activities.

Kornhauser, Sheppard, Wilensky, Rose, Kampelman,[20] and others have examined union political action and the support for such activity on the part of the membership. Various typologies have emerged from these studies which classified members on their political ideologies, union ideologies and attitudes toward the union in politics. As yet, no effort has been made to link worker's evaluations of their work situation with political behaviors, ideologies and attitudes.

---

[20]Arthur Kornhauser, Harold L. Sheppard and Albert J. Mayer, When Labor Votes (New York: University Books, 1956); Harold L. Sheppard and Nicholas Masters,"Union Political Action and Opinion Polls in a Democratic Society," Social Problems, Vol. 5 (July, 1957) pp. 14-21; "The Political Attitudes and Preferences of Union Members: The Case of Detroit Autoworkers," American Political Science Review, Vol. 53 (June, 1959) pp. 437-447; Harold L. Wilensky, "The Labor Vote: A Local Union's Impact on the Political Conduct of Its Members," Social Forces, Vol. 35 (December, 1956) pp. 111-120; Rose, op. cit.; Max M. Kampelman, "Labor in Politics," in Industrial Relations Research Association, Interpreting the Labor Movement, December, 1952.

This is rather surprising since the common tie for trade unionists is their employment. As Blauner said, ". . . it is striking that the human relations school had concerned itself so little with the job itself, with the relations between the worker and his work, rather than the relation between the worker and his mates."[21] It would seem important, therefore, if not obvious, to examine the worker and his work environment in its broadest context and see how this might be related to his political ideas. Specifically, the question posed here is, What impact does the work situation have upon the industrial worker's support for union political action and political-social change?

Several empirical studies have indicated that union members are ambivalent about the political role played by the union. Barbash, for example, states that the union member, ". . . accepts the political functions of the union, but he wants the union's politics kept close to the union's economic role."[22] Seidman, et. al. state that support for political action comes mostly from union activists and not from the inactives.[23] And yet, a number of recent studies indicate a significant

---

[21]Blauner, op. cit., 1960, p. 350.

[22]Jack Barbash, Labor's Grass Roots (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1961), p. 211.

[23]Joel Seidman, Jack London and Bernard Karsh, "Political Consciousness in a Local Union," Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. 15 (Winter, 1951) pp. 692-702.

degree of class consciousness among American manual workers who generally support union political action.[24]

What emerges from this cursory review of the literature is an inconsistent picture of the manual worker's attitudes toward union political behavior. The more active members tend to support union political action, many workers do not support such behavior, and some workers manifest a degree of class consciousness which may carry over into the political arena. The model proposed in this research suggests that the work situation, objectively and subjectively perceived is highly related to union attitudes, participation, and political ideology. It is suggested that the worker who is less satisfied with his work and occupation will manifest feelings of powerlessness, meaninglessness, and normlessness. Conversely, the skilled worker will have greater confidence in himself since he has achieved more occupationally, will feel more political power, will be more politically conservative (perpetuating the American ideology of personal destiny and limited government role), and will not be highly

---

[24]See, for example, Jerome G. Manis and Bernard N. Meltzer, "Some Correlates of Class Consciousness Among Textile Workers," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 69 (September, 1963) pp. 177-185; John C. Leggett, "Working-Class Consciousness, Race and Political Choice," Ibid., pp. 171-176 and "Economic Insecurity and Working-Class Consciousness," American Sociological Review, Vol. 29 (April, 1964) pp. 226-234.

involved in the union nor will he support its political action. On the other hand, given the American ideology which stresses personal achievement and responsibility for personal success, the unskilled industrial worker who is dissatisfied with his job and occupation may feel politically powerless. It is predicted that this feeling will be associated with greater political liberalism and greater endorsement of union political action.

A balance theory has already been implied in the discussion of discrepancy between worker's aspirations and perceived status. If a worker's situation is incongruent, that is, there is a gap between his occupational aspirations and his achievements, he will sense a general loss of control over his life which may affect his attitudes toward social control and government. The frustrated worker may feel a lack of control over his destiny, resent his condition, and project his feelings into attitudes of political futility and powerlessness. This syndrome was revealed in a study of Detroit autoworkers which showed that the alienated tended to be less satisfied with life and viewed politics as futile.[25] In this study we expect workers in

---

[25]Arthur Kornhauser, et. al., op. cit., particularly Chapter 5.

assembly jobs compared with more skilled workers, to manifest low occupational involvement, job satisfaction, neighborhood-community participation, but higher involvement in the union, more liberal political attitudes and greater support of union political action. It is suggested that feelings of powerlessness are not necessarily translated into apathetic lethargy as Dean suggested,[26] but rather that the unskilled worker becomes more involved in the union and supports its collective political action and the extended role of the government.

To conclude, it is hypothesized that:

Unskilled and semi-skilled workers are more supportive of union political action than are skilled workers.

Occupational skill level is positively correlated with political conservatism.

Skill level is negatively correlated with feelings of powerlessness.

Skill level is negatively correlated with feelings of normlessness.

Neighborhood-Community Involvement

Many people argue that Americans are joiners in voluntary organizations and that they often meet under organizational sponsorship.[27]

---

[26] Dwight G. Dean, "Alienation and Political Apathy," Social Forces, Vol. 38.

[27] Daniel Bell, The End of Ideology (New York: Collier Books, 1961) p. 38.

Number of memberships in voluntary associations correlates positively with occupational prestige, income, education and other variables. Manual workers tend to be low participators. Komarovsky and Dotson found that about two-thirds of working class persons in their respective samples belonged to no associations.[28] In this study there are no reasons to expect a deviation from this general pattern.

In addition to enumerating the organizational membership of the workers in the sample, measures of neighborhood and community involvement were used including newspaper readership, community issue awareness, social interaction with neighbors,and evaluation of neighborhood. These are not discrete factors but are generally linked into a total configurational pattern. It is expected that the more skilled worker in the automobile plant will have more formal education and will, as suggested by other research, participate to a greater degree in voluntary organizations and will be more involved in his neighborhood and community. Specifically, it is hypothesized that:

---

[28]Mirra Komarovsky, "The Voluntary Associations of Urban Dwellers," American Sociological Review, Vol. 11 (December, 1946) pp. 686-697; Floyd Dotson, "Patterns of Voluntary Association Among Urban Working-Class Families," American Sociological Review, Vol. 16 (October, 1951) pp. 676-693. For an excellent literature summary see Harold L. Wilensky, "Life Cycle, Work Situation, and Participation in Formal Associations," in Robert Kleemeier (editor) Aging and Leisure (New York: Oxford University Press, 1961).

Occupational skill level is positively correlated with neighborhood and community involvement.

Summary

Most sociological research has assumed a high degree of homogeneity among blue-collar workers in their work and occupational satisfaction, attitudes toward the union, membership in voluntary organizations, degree of involvement in neighborhood and community life, and political attitudes and behavior. This study seeks to examine differences along these dimensions for manual workers with different levels of skill.[29] It is assumed that the ecology of the work situation, the nature of the job tasks, the type and amount of interaction on the job, and other occupational components significantly affect the non-work life of the worker.

An over-all theoretical model is here being proposed. The broad guiding hypothesis is that different patterns of behavior are exhibited by industrial workers at various occupational skill levels. Occupational skill level relates to measures of job satisfaction, control over job, work environment, and so on. This, in turn correlates positively with some dependent variables--neighborhood-community

---

[29]A lead in this direction is offered by Leonard R. Sayles, Behavior of Industrial Work Groups (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1958).

involvement and negatively with others such as attitudes toward union political activity, political conservatism and feelings of powerlessness. The specific hypotheses are:

First: job satisfaction is positively related to occupational skill level.

Second: indexes of occupational involvement are positively correlated with skill.

Third: union involvement and skill level are negatively correlated.

Fourth: skill level and support for union political action are negatively correlated.

Fifth: skill level and political liberalsim are negatively correlated.

Sixth: skill level and powerlessness and normlessness are negatively correlated.

Seventh: skill level and participation in voluntary associations are positively correlated.

Eighth: skill level and neighborhood and community involvement are positively correlated.

A discussion of the research setting, sample,and data gathering follows.

CHAPTER III

STUDY DESIGN

The Research Setting

The automobile industry plays a major role in the economy of the United States and apparently is coming to occupy a similar position in the structure of industrializing nations in other parts of the world. Automobile production involves various types of job tasks, including engineering and design, experimental model-making, parts production, assembly, maintenance, and so on. These jobs are all industrial but require different types and amounts of training, permit different degrees of job control, involve different physical tasks, and occur in various work environments. Automobile production is so diversified that it typifies modern industrial economy.

This study is based on interview data obtained from personal interviews with a non-random sample of automobile workers in a middle-sized American city. Lansing, Michigan is the state capitol with a population of 120,000. It has a large proportion of its working force in manufacturing, especially in the automobile industry. It is a rather diversified middle-sized city with a state university and various industries complementing government and manufacturing. Lansing contains an unusually small proportion of foreign-born and Negro residents

and has been a rather stable community. Half of the working force lives outside the city, and the proportion of Oldsmobile workers outside of Lansing is even larger. Interviews were conducted in worker's homes--some being sixty or more miles away from the plant. As Form and Sauer pointed out, the city contains a conservative, native-born working class, many of whom belong to the United Auto Workers, a rather ideologically oriented union.[1] While not a major metropolitan area, Lansing is sufficiently large and industrial so that findings from this research should apply to American urban industrial workers in similar types of communities.

The Sample

While the findings of this research are of general significance, it was not undertaken as a study of blue-collar workers or autoworkers in particular. The research was designed to examine the relationships between job skills and other behavioral and attitudinal variables. Since skill level was the basic independent variable, a stratified rather than a random sample was selected.

---

[1]William H. Form and Warren L. Sauer, "Organized Labor's Image of Community Power Structure," Social Forces, Vol. 38 (May, 1959) pp. 332-341.

The skill level of automobile workers in the sample was determined by job tasks, wage level, and job training requirements. The sample was trichotomized into skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled jobs. These categories are exemplified by the following job tasks: a) skilled occupation - machining (tool and die, experimental design) which requires an apprenticeship and journeyman status; b) semi-skilled - machine operation (semi-automatic stamping and fashioning machines which make standard automobile parts) which requires some training but not an apprenticeship; c) unskilled - assembly-line work which requires very little training--as little as one-half hour.[2] Wage corresponds to the skill level, and, in the Oldsmobile plant, skilled trades even have separate bargaining units.

A sample was randomly selected from departments chosen as typical of the three levels of skill--skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled.

Membership in the Oldsmobile Local 652 of the UAW totals about 9,100 workers, with 1,700 in skilled trades and 7,400 classified as

---

[2]Blauner determined skill level in the Roper sample by length of time respondents indicated it took to be trained and experienced to handle the specific job. He classified as unskilled those which required less than thirty days training, low skilled those with between one and three month's training, medium skilled those with between three months and two years training, and skilled those requiring more than two years training. Robert Blauner, Alienation and Freedom: The Factory Worker and His Industry (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964) pp. 67-68.

unskilled production workers. A further breakdown may be made of the production workers between those in assembly and non-assembly jobs. The designation of unskilled corresponds to assembly workers and semi-skilled corresponds to non-assembly production workers which follows a break in wage level among production workers, those in assembly and above-assembly wage rate. The sample included a random number in each skill category, after which women workers and those with less than one year's plant seniority were eliminated. The remaining sample were contacted by letter with follow-up interviews in their homes. The refusal rate was about seven percent, but a check revealed no discriminating characteristics of this group. The final sample of completed interviews included eighty-two skilled workers, eighty-two semi-skilled workers and 142 unskilled workers--for a total of 306 completed interviews. The sample, then, is overly representative of skilled tradesmen and under-represents production assembly workers. However, for the objectives of this research the sample is most adequate.

The Interview Schedule

The interviews were conducted in the worker's homes in most cases and lasted from just over one to almost three hours, with a mean about one and one-half hours per interview. All interviewing was done in a two-month period during the late summer of 1962, a period of change-over and temporary layoffs in the auto industry and a period of relative national economic prosperity and high automobile sales.

The interview questions ranged from general occupational questions and career history to specific items relating to current job and work situations, worker interaction both on the job and off, social interaction with family, friends and neighbors, other indicators of neighborhood and community involvement, leisure activities and participation in voluntary associations, union attitudes and participation, political attitudes and behavior, and a number of background variables.

Procedural Problems

The initial effort was to secure the cooperation of both the United Auto Workers union - locally and nationally, and the Oldsmobile Division of the General Motors Corporation. While full support was offered by the union, the company was unwilling to lend formal support, although representatives were interested in the nature of the study and its company implications. Union officials were the major source of information and assistance in determining departments for selection and other questions dealing with technical facets of plant operation and job performance. The final sampling was taken from seniority lists provided by the company and given to the union for its records. Workers were assured of union support for the study, and they were told that the union and company were both fully informed as to the nature of the study.

As suggested earlier, about half the working force in Lansing lives outside the central city. The proportion of Oldsmobile workers residing outside the city is over sixty percent. Being aware of the weaknesses of other sociological studies which have eliminated persons living far away or without telephones, efforts were made to interview all of the selected sample, and ninety-three percent of those contacted were successfully interviewed.

Methodological Problems

The interview schedules were coded and data from them were put onto IBM cards. Data were then processed on tabulating equipment and the IBM 7090 computer.

A standard procedure was used in the computation of mean scores of summed items constituting indexes. The computer program calculated a mean of the scores on individual items, calculating all cases with three-fifths or more of the data available. That is, if the respondent only answered four out of five items in a given index, the computer was still able to calculate the average or mean score.[3] Such means were computed for the indexes and measures made up from individual items in the interview. Each of these mean score distributions were trichotomized into high, medium and low.[4] Thus, for example, each respondent's scores on the items making up the occupational satisfaction index were categorized as high, medium or low.

---

[3] In a very few cases the index total is reduced by one, indicating a respondent for whom data was consistently missing.

[4] Collapsed into high and low in some cases.

Where relationships between variables were tested statistically the chi-square test was used, and the five percent level was accepted as evidencing statistical significance. In the multi-variate tables the trichotomous classifications of mean index scores were, in some cases, collapsed to reduce cells having very small frequencies before computing chi-squares. This was sometimes done for the bi-variate tables. The specific construction of indexes will be outlined in the data presentation sections.

The first substantive area of research - work factors and attitudes and occupational integration - will be examined next. Later chapters will proceed to review each level studied: the union, ideology and political alienation, the neighborhood and community.

CHAPTER IV

THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER, THE WORLD OF WORK AND OCCUPATIONAL INVOLVEMENT

This chapter will examine the differences among manual workers in their occupational satisfactions and involvements. As Sayles has stated, occupational distinctions tend to be blurred in the literature and all factory workers have been treated as one broad group of semi-skilled workers.[1] The objective in this analysis is to probe for expected differences by skill levels. The concept of occupational involvement is a summary measure of three areas of satisfaction: job, occupation, and the industrial sector of employment. Traditional job satisfaction studies have focused primarily on satisfaction with job tasks and in-plant work environment. The dimensions added here are satisfaction with the occupation and industrial sector. These components were viewed as necessary since the sample of workers in this study included those holding jobs and trades. The former are workers who hold highly routinized jobs of low skill, and the latter are workers who have skills (e.g. electrician, tool and die maker) which go beyond specific job tasks.

---

[1]Leonard R. Sayles, Behavior of Industrial Work Groups (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1958), p. 165.

Before reviewing the findings in the analysis, it will be helpful to view the interrelationships between variables which were theoretically proposed as controls. While skill level, which correlates directly with wage rate, was the major independent variable in the analysis, age, education and seniority were important controls. The high intercorrelations among these variables are shown in Table 1. In general, age and seniority were used as logical controls in measuring occupational factors, although in the case of occupational aspirations, the literature suggested that educational level is important. Education was used as a control in later analyses of union, ideological and community variables.

TABLE 1. Relationships Between Age, Education, Seniority and Skill (Wage Rate)

	X^2	P	df	$\bar{C}$
Education and Seniority	12.9	<.01	2	.29
Education and Skill (Wage Rate)	3.68	<.20	2	.16
Education and Age	22.69	<.001	3	.36
Seniority and Skill (Wage Rate)	32.44	<.001	4	.42
Seniority and Age	219.33	<.001	6	.82
Skill (Wage Rate) and Age	38.84	<.001	6	.43

Satisfaction with Industrial Sector

Satisfaction with the industrial sector suggests categories in the total industrial-occupational structure as distinct from the occupation itself. The questions used in the Index of Satisfaction With Industrial Sector were:

> "With the same hourly pay, would you prefer to work on a farm machine, an office machine, or on a machine in a factory?"
>
> "Which occupation gives the most satisfaction: skilled factory worker, office worker, independent farmer?"

Table 2 presents the relationship between industrial sector satisfaction and occupational skill level. The more skilled worker in the automobile plant expresses greater satisfaction with this sector of work and prefers it to non-factory work. The semi-skilled and unskilled workers are less satisfied, and they manifest greater preferences for non-factory work. This is probably due to the greater prestige given by factory workers to white-collar occupations and also to the glorification of the independent farmer who is his own boss and works out-of-doors. It should be recalled that sixty percent of Oldsmobile workers live outside of Lansing where the plant is located. A sizeable number are what the census classifies as rural non-farm; that is, a family living on a farm or in a farm area but primarily employed in non-farm occupations. There were a number of cases of men who just were unable to"make it" on their farms but kept them and farmed on weekends while holding a job at Oldsmobile, as one man put it, "Just to pay the bills." These men mostly had low seniority and were in less

skilled jobs in the plant. For them, the non-factory occupations have greater appeal. However, the evidence suggests that it is the occupational experience itself which makes skilled workers more satisfied with and have greater preference for their industrial sector.[2]

TABLE 2. Satisfaction with Industrial Sector and Skill Level*

Index of Satisfaction with Industrial Sector	Occupational Skill Level			
	Unskilled	Semi-Skilled	Skilled	Total
Low	47	50	32	44
Medium	42	38	30	38
High	11	12	38	18
Totals	100	100	100	100
Number of Cases	142	82	82	306

$X^2 = 29.09$ $P < .001$ $df = 4$ $\overline{C} = .40$

*In this, and in subsequent tables, figures are rounded percentages unless otherwise indicated.

[2]An additional and relevant question used asked, "Which occupation is the most monotonous: skilled factory worker, office worker, independent farmer?" Skilled workers are much more likely to see their industrial sector least monotonous: $X^2 = 82$, $P < .001$, $df = 2$, $\overline{C} = .35$.

Occupational Satisfaction

The first measure demonstrated that skilled autoworkers are more likely to be satisfied with and prefer skilled industrial work than is true for the unskilled workers who are more in favor of office and agricultural work. A second dimension tapped the worker's satisfaction with his present particular occupation. The Index of Occupational Satisfaction was made up of the following two questions:

> "Have you ever thought of having an occupation different than your present one?"
>
> "On the whole, how do you feel about your present occupation: very satisfied, satisfied, neither satisfied or dissatisfied, dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied?"

The relationship again is significant in the hypothesized direction: higher occupational skill correlates with greater occupational satisfaction, as shown in Table 3. Commenting on fellow worker's feelings about their occupation, eighteen unskilled men said, "dissatisfied" or "very dissatisfied," while only one skilled worker gave this response. When asked for their family's rating of their occupation, over nine-tenths of the skilled tradesmen said "good" or "very good," for semi-skilled workers it was seven-tenths, and for unskilled workers it was almost six-tenths.

Clearly, there is a relationship between occupational skill level in the industrial plant and the degree of satisfaction felt by workers at given levels. That is, the higher satisfaction among skilled workers is seen consistently by all--both within the work group and outside the plant.

TABLE 3. Occupational Satisfaction and Skill Level

Index of Occupational Satisfaction	Occupational Skill Level			
	Unskilled	Semi-Skilled	Skilled	Total
Low	15	7	2	10
Medium	60	62	50	58
High	25	31	48	32
Totals	100	100	100	100
Number of Cases	142	82	82	306

$X^2 = 18.1$ $P < .01$ $df = 4$ $\overline{C} = .32$

Occupational Aspirations--The Desire to Change Occupations

Since skilled workers manifest greater occupational satisfaction than semi-skilled and skilled workers, it would be expected that they would aspire less to other occupations. Data from the sample of Oldsmobile workers in Table 4 corroborates this assumption. Unskilled and semi-skilled workers think about and plan to change occupations more frequently than skilled tradesmen. This measure shows greater differences and a stronger relationship than does the measure of job satisfaction discussed later in the chapter. Less skilled workers are somewhat more dissatisfied but aspire to other occupations considerably more than do skilled tradesmen.

Further insights may be gained by looking at how these aspiring workers view their chances of obtaining their desired occupations. Thirty-six percent of unskilled workers view their chances as being "very good" or "good" in contrast to twenty-one percent of the skilled workers. This is explained in large part by the fact that the production assembly workers are younger and have less seniority. As Chinoy suggested,

these workers are more youthful and optimistic about the possibilities of getting out of their present factory employment and "going into their own business."[3]

TABLE 4. Occupational Aspirations - Desire to Change Occupations and Skill Level

Measure of Occupational Aspirations	Occupational Skill Level			
	Unskilled	Semi-Skilled	Skilled	Total
Doesn't think about changing	32	32	51	36
Thinks about and doesn't plan change	52	55	44	40
Thinks about and plans change	15	13	5	24
Totals	99	100	100	100
Number of Cases	142	82	82	306

$X^2 = 14.52$ $P < .01$ $df = 4$ $\overline{C} = .29$

Tables 5, 6 and 7 show the effect that age, seniority and education have on the relationships between skill level and occupational aspirations. It should be pointed out that collapses were made in multivariate tables as necessary to calculate statistics. The amount of education (low is nine years of schooling or less; high is ten years or more) tends to be related to occupational aspirations, but this is particularly evident among highly skilled and highly educated workers

[3]Ely Chinoy, Automotive Workers and the American Dream (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, 1955), Chapter 7. Also see Gladys L. Palmer, et. al., The Reluctant Job Changer: Studies in Work Attachment and Aspirations (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1962), especially Chapter 5.

TABLE 5. Occupational Aspirations - Desire to Change Occupations, Age and Skill Level

Measure of Occupational Aspirations	Young				Old			
	Unskilled	Semi-Skilled	Skilled	Total	Unskilled	Semi-Skilled	Skilled	Total
Doesn't think about changing	21	28	57	27	37	33	50	40
Thinks about and doesn't plan change	52	50	43	51	52	57	44	51
Thinks about and plans change	27	22	0	22	11	10	6	9
Totals	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	67	18	14	99	75	64	68	207

(Young) Occupational Aspirations and Skill Level: $X^2 = 5.26$ $P < .10$ $df = 2$ $\overline{C} = .33$
(Semi-Skilled and Skilled collapsed for calculation)
(Old) Occupational Aspirations and Skill Level: $X^2 = 4.59$ $P < .50$ $df = 4$ $\overline{C} = .20$
Occupational Aspirations and Age: $X^2 = 12.37$ $P < .01$ $df = 2$ $\overline{C} = .29$

TABLE 6. Occupational Aspirations - Desire to Change Occupations, Seniority and Skill Level

Measure of Occupational Aspirations	Low Seniority				High Seniority			
	Unskilled	Semi-Skilled	Skilled	Total	Unskilled	Semi-Skilled	Skilled	Total
Doesn't think about changing	27	23	45	29	39	41	57	46
Thinks about and doesn't plan change	51	61	50	53	55	49	39	46
Thinks about and plans change	22	16	5	18	6	10	4	8
Totals	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	109	43	38	190	33	39	44	106

(Low Seniority) Occupational Aspirations and Skill Level: $X^2 = 9.05$ $P < .10$ $df = 4$ $\overline{C} = .29$
(High Seniority) Occupational Aspirations and Skill Level: $X^2 = 3.05$ $P < .30$ $df = 2$ $\overline{C} = .23$
(Medium and High Occupational Aspirations collapsed for calculation)
Occupational Aspirations and Seniority: $X^2 = 12.31$ $P < .01$ $df = 2$ $\overline{C} = .29$

TABLE 7. Occupational Aspirations - Desire to Change Occupations, Education and Skill Level

Measure of Occupational Aspirations	Low Education				High Education			
	Unskilled	Semi-Skilled	Skilled	Total	Unskilled	Semi-Skilled	Skilled	Total
Doesn't think about changing	37	39	50	40	25	25	52	33
Thinks about and doesn't plan change	51	53	42	50	53	57	45	51
Thinks about and plans change	12	8	8	10	22	18	3	16
Totals	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	55	38	26	119	87	44	56	187

(Low Education) Occupational Aspirations and Skill Level: $X^2 = 1.37$ $P \cdot .70$ $df = 2$ $\overline{C} = .16$
(Medium and High Occupational Aspirations collapsed for calculation)
(High Education) Occupational Aspirations and Skill Level: $X^2 = 16.69$ $P < .01$ $df = 4$ $\overline{C} = .39$
Occupational Aspirations and Education: $X^2 = 2.64$ $P < .30$ $df = 2$ $\overline{C} = .13$

who aspire rather little for other occupations. Although age and seniority are highly associated as shown in Table 1, the factor of seniority seems more critical. Younger workers (thirty-five years or younger) aspire for other occupations; yet virtually no workers with high seniority (fifteen years or more) hold high aspirations. This strongly substantiates Chinoy's notion of the withering of the American Dream and a shift in orientation over time.[4] There has been for the past decade an institutionalized unacceptable rate of unemployment in this country, and the automobile industry's prosperity is very closely tied to the national economy. Auto workers are employed in an erratic industry with job security a tenuous question. For the man employed in Oldsmobile, as in most manufacturing plants, security in employment is an important part of the work picture and the reality of life includes personal experiences as an unemployed worker, and an awareness of the impact of recession such as in 1957-1958.[5] The conclusion is that a man's skill level does influence his occupational aspirations, but that these feelings are tempered for the more aspiring by age, seniority and education.

---

[4]Chinoy, op. cit., Chapters 9 and 10. Selznick and Vollmer demonstrate that low seniority workers are more occupation and company oriented; workers with more seniority are also more job security oriented. Philip Selznick and Howard Vollmer, "Rule of Law in Industry: Seniority Rights," Industrial Relations, Vol. 1 (May, 1962) pp. 97-116.

[5]The data reveal the following: 55 percent of the men are over forty years of age (old enough to have personally suffered unemployment during the Great Depression); one out of seven for whom information was obtained had personally been unemployed for longer than six months--the majority having been unemployed between one and two years.

Occupational Interest

In addition to the measures of satisfaction and desire to change occupations, the workers were asked the following question:

> "If without working, you were guaranteed an income equal to your present total wages, would you continue to work at your present occupation?"

It was expected that skilled tradesmen would manifest a greater interest in continuing than machine operators or assembly workers. Yet, no statistically significant relationship between occupational interest and skill level obtained. The question touches upon a commitment to work itself, and the raw data are interesting. For skilled tradesmen, who differed only slightly from production workers on this question, about one-third would not continue to work, six percent would continue because they liked their work or had a social orientation to it, and the remainder would continue for other reasons. In summary, the total number with a work-interest orientation is small, while the number of those desiring to work is large. Why then work? The answers suggest some real reinforcement for the Puritan Ethic of the moral basis for work.[6] Yet, the predominant theme (almost one-half of all workers) was that the man needed some work activity. This unwillingness to discontinue working is a significant finding which supports other researches.[7]

---

[6]One out of twenty men answering the question affirmatively gave a moral-oriented reason. For a recent examination of this theme, see Robert C. Brooks, Jr., "Why Work? A Christian Answer," Christian Herald, September, 1962.

[7]For similar findings see Nancy C. Morse and Robert S. Weiss, "The Function and Meaning of Work and the Job," American Sociological Review, Vol. 20 (April, 1955) pp. 191-198 .

Occupational Fulfillment

One further dimension that was conceptualized as being related to occupational satisfaction, occupational aspirations and occupational interest was occupational fulfillment. This was seen as a measure of the extent to which the respondent's present occupation is what he wants, or whether his present occupation is most desired. The Index of Occupational Fulfillment was based on two questions:

> "Of these occupations (respondent's occupational career history) which one did you like the most?"
>
> "What occupation (have you ever thought about changing to)?"

The less skilled worker tends to be less satisfied with his occupation, and holds greater occupational mobility aspirations. Table 8 reveals a positive significant correlation between higher skill level and higher occupational fulfillment. Once again employing the earlier-stated logic, this relationship is controlled by seniority and age in Tables 9 and 10. It is clearly seen that skilled tradesmen are more fulfilled in their occupations than are less skilled auto workers regardless of age and seniority.

TABLE 8. Occupational Fulfillment and Skill Level

Index of Occupational Fulfillment	Occupational Skill Level			
	Unskilled	Semi-Skilled	Skilled	Total
Low	32	27	10	25
Medium	42	40	44	42
High	26	33	46	33
Totals	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	142	82	82	306

$X^2 = 17.02$ $P < .01$ $df = 4$ $\overline{C} = .31$

TABLE 9. Occupational Fulfillment, Seniority and Skill Level

Occupational Fulfillment	Low Seniority				High Seniority			
	Unskilled	Semi-Skilled	Skilled	Total	Unskilled	Semi-Skilled	Skilled	Total
Low	34	30	13	29	24	23	7	17
Medium	41	42	45	42	45	38	43	42
High	25	28	42	29	30	39	50	41
Totals	100	100	100	100	99	100	100	100
Number of cases	109	43	38	190	33	39	44	116

(Low Seniority) Occupational Fulfillment and Skill Level: $X^2 = 7.26$ P $< .20$ df = 4 $\overline{C} = .26$
(High Seniority) Occupational Fulfillment and Skill Level: $X^2 = 6.63$ P $< .20$ df = 4 $\overline{C} = .31$
Occupational Fulfillment and Seniority: $X^2 = 6.86$ P $< .05$ df = 2 $\overline{C} = .20$

TABLE 10. Occupational Fulfillment, Age and Skill Level

Occupational Fulfillment	Young				Old			
	Unskilled	Semi-Skilled	Skilled	Total	Unskilled	Semi-Skilled	Skilled	Total
Low	28	33	7	26	35	25	10	24
Medium	43	28	21	37	41	44	49	44
High	28	39	71	36	24	31	41	32
Totals	99	100	99	99	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	67	18	14	99	75	64	68	207

(Young) Occupational Fulfillment and Skill Level: $X^2 = 9.34$ $P < .01$ df = 2 $\overline{C} = .43$
(Low and Medium Occupational Fulfillment collapsed for calculation)
(Old) Occupational Fulfillment and Skill Level: $X^2 = 12.81$ $P < .02$ df = 4 $\overline{C} = .33$
Occupational Fulfillment and Age: $X^2 = 1.36$ $P < .70$ df = 2 $\overline{C} = .10$

Job Satisfaction

Several characteristics of the job were examined in this research: the nature of the job tasks, the physical work environment, and the social interactional work setting. These dimensions will be examined in turn.

The few studies which have examined the differences among manual workers performing jobs at various levels of skill have documented that those workers possessing greater control over their jobs, working at jobs requiring more training and higher skills, do, indeed, manifest less job dissatisfaction.[8]

The Index of Job Satisfaction was composed of two questions:

> "On the whole, how do you feel about the operations you actually perform on your job, the work you are actually doing: very satisfied, satisfied, neither satisfied or dissatisfied, dissatisfied, very dissatisfied?"
>
> "Would you like, without a change in pay, to change type of work activity once in a while?"

Table 11 presents the data on the relationship between occupational skill level and job satisfaction. While not significant at the five percent level, the trend is pronounced and supports the direction of the hypothesis. The controls of age and seniority may be applied to these data since it is well known that older workers and those with accumulated seniority tend to be less dissatisfied. Tables 12 and 13 suggest the mode of acceptance that Chinoy and Guest speak about: the young unskilled auto worker aspires toward the American Dream, but as he

---

[8] Robert Blauner, Alienation and Freedom: The Factory Worker and His Industry (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964); S. Wyatt and R. Marriot, A Study of Attitudes Toward Factory Work (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1956).

accumulates seniority he gradually comes more to accept the reality of his occupational station and makes the adjustment by becoming less dissatisfied with his job.[9]

TABLE 11. Job Satisfaction and Skill Level

Index of Job Satisfaction	Occupational Skill Level			
	Unskilled	Semi-Skilled	Skilled	Total
Low	56	58	42	53
High	44	42	58	47
Totals	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	142	82	82	306

$X^2 = 5.75$ $P < .10$ $df = 2$ $\overline{C} = .21$

The nature of the differences in job attitudes held by workers at various skill levels is clarified by looking at additional data. For example, indicating which were the most disliked factors in their present job, pace of work or other physical aspects of work (hard, heavy) were mentioned by four percent of the skilled tradesmen, eight percent of the semi-skilled men, and thirteen percent of the unskilled workers.

---

[9]Chinoy, op. cit.,; Robert H. Guest, "Work Careers and Aspirations of Automobile Workers," American Sociological Review, Vol. 19 (April, 1954) pp. 155-163. Wilensky says job satisfaction is a function of the disparity between rewards and aspirations but both are, in turn, related to family life cycle and work history. Harold L. Wilensky, "Work, Careers and Social Integration," International Social Science Journal, Vol. 12 (Fall, 1960) pp. 543-560.

TABLE 12. Job Satisfaction, Age and Skill Level

Job Satisfaction	Young				Old			
	Unskilled	Semi-Skilled	Skilled	Total	Unskilled	Semi-Skilled	Skilled	Total
Low	70	67	64	69	43	56	37	45
High	30	33	36	31	57	44	63	55
Totals	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	67	18	14	99	75	64	68	207

(Young) Job Satisfaction and Skill Level: $X^2 = .23$ $P < .90$ $df = 2$ $\overline{C} = .07$
(Old) Job Satisfaction and Skill Level: $X^2 = 4.91$ $P < .10$ $df = 2$ $\overline{C} = .22$
Job Satisfaction and Age: $X^2 = 6.55$ $P < .02$ $df = 1$ $\overline{C} = .23$

TABLE 13. Job Satisfaction, Seniority and Skill Level

Job Satisfaction	Low Seniority				High Seniority			
	Unskilled	Semi-Skilled	Skilled	Total	Unskilled	Semi-Skilled	Skilled	Total
Low	62	61	53	60	33	56	32	40
High	38	39	47	40	67	44	68	60
Totals	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	109	43	38	190	33	39	44	116

(Low Seniority) Job Satisfaction and Skill Level: $X^2 = 1.12$ $P < .70$ $df = 2$ $\overline{C} = .11$
(High Seniority) Job Satisfaction and Skill Level: $X^2 = 6.18$ $P < .05$ $df = 2$ $\overline{C} = .36$
Job Satisfaction and Seniority: $X^2 = 10.85$ $P < .001$ $df = 1$ $\overline{C} = .29$

One of the characteristics distinguishing manual occupations in an industrial plant is the extent of control they have over the environment and the work situation. Jasinski has shown how work on an assembly line restricts conversation and how this frustrates workers.[10] The occupational differences are borne out in the analysis of the relationships between skill level, possible interaction on the job, and actual interaction on the job.[11] There is a positive statistically significant correlation between social interaction in the plant and the degree of occupational skill. To measure both the social and the physical environment of work, an Index of Work Environment Satisfaction was constructed with the following questions:

> "On the whole, do you like the actual place or location where you work or not?"
>
> "How do you feel about daily contacts with fellow workers--very satisfied, satisfied, neither satisfied or dissatisfied, dissatisfied, very dissatisfied?"

The relationship between the second question and skill level approaches statistical significance; however, the skill categories are not differentiated to a significant degree in the first item. The majority of workers are satisfied with their workplace, but skilled tradesmen are more satisfied than production workers with their work contacts. As already indicated, they have greater opportunity for social interaction at work and have greater control over their work pace.

---

[10] Frank J. Jasinski, "Technological Delimitation of Reciprocal Relationships: A Study of Interaction Patterns in Industry," Human Organization, Vol. 15 (Summer 1956) pp. 24-28, Also, Pearlin has shown that work alienation is a function of group norms of work tasks and performances. See Leonard I. Pearlin, "Alienation From Work: A Study of Nursing Personnel," American Sociological Review, Vol. 27 (June, 1962) pp. 314-326.

[11] Skill level and possible interaction on the job: $X^2 = 20.21$, $P < .001$, $df = 4$, $\overline{C} = .36$. Skill level and actual interaction on the job: $X^2 = 16.05$, $P < .01$, $df = 4$, $\overline{C} = .32$

While none of the workers complained much about their wages, supervision is another matter entirely.[12] Given the technology of a large mass-production industry employing thousands of workers in one concentrated plant, supervision would be expected to be a critical factor in the work environment. The autonomy of the skilled tradesmen is inherent in their jobs--working at individual workbenches or moving about between jobs. On the other hand, the assembly worker is tied to the line. Unskilled workers mentioned supervision as a factor they disliked in their present work more than three times as frequently as non-assembly production workers and more than five times as often as skilled workers.

In summary, the skilled tradesmen are more satisfied with their job tasks, opportunity for interaction, and lack of supervision. Conversely, production workers were less satisfied with their inherent job tasks, more anxious to rotate jobs and more dissatisfied with interaction opportunities and supervision.

Summary Index of Occupational Involvement

This analysis began by pointing out that traditional researches have approached the study of job satisfaction rather parochially, i.e., by considering only the worker's response to the question of the extent

---

[12]Although wages were not mentioned frequently as a source of job satisfaction, the holding of a second job appears somewhat a function of skill level (and wage rate), for more than four times as many unskilled as skilled workers admitted having a second paid job.

to which he was happy with his job. A larger range of attitudes and behaviors have been examined here. The analysis has sought to determine (a) the worker's satisfaction with his occupational sector, (b) his satisfaction with being a factory worker, (c) the extent to which he aspires to other occupations, (d) the degree to which he is occupationally fulfilled, and (e) his satisfaction with his particular job and in-plant environment.

The picture that emerges shows that skilled workers, in contrast to less skilled manual workers, project greater occupational sector satisfaction, greater occupational satisfaction and fulfillment, lower occupational aspirations, and greater job and job environment satisfaction. This is only partly due to the fact that skilled workers are older and have longer seniority.

All of these various measures discriminate by skill. A comprehensive measure of the extent of the occupational involvement of the worker is obtained by combining the three areas of industrial sector, occupation, and job into a total Index of Occupational Involvement.[13] The conclusion of this analysis which is presented in Table 14 confirms previous research and supports the hypothesis that occupational skill level and occupational involvement are positively correlated. Now while this does not contradict the findings of Blauner

---

[13]The Index of Occupational Involvement was constructed by summing Index of Satisfaction with Occupational Sector, Index of Occupational Satisfaction, Index of Occupational Fulfillment, Measure of Occupational Interest, Index of Job Satisfaction and Index of Work Environment Satisfaction.

TABLE 14. Index of Occupational Involvement and Skill Level

Index of Occupational Involvement	Occupational Skill Level			
	Unskilled	Semi-Skilled	Skilled	Total
Low	28	25	8	22
Medium	44	40	33	40
High	28	35	59	38
Totals	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	142	82	82	306

$X^2 = 23.7$ $P < .001$ $df = 4$ $\overline{C} = .36$

for example,[14] an additional interpretation is needed. This is, that the various levels of occupational involvement are positively related to skill level in varying degrees.[15] While workers at one skill level are more highly involved with their occupations because of its prestige and rewards, others may be highly involved because of the social interactional rewards. Workers at various skill levels differ in degree of total occupational involvement but the meaning of this varies according to the dimension under observation.

---

[14]Blauner, op. cit., 1964.

[15]Lodahl broke down technological job satisfaction variables into those dealing mainly with monotony or variety, and those which he called the assembly-line syndrome: mechanical pacing, physical strain. Thomas M. Lodahl,"Patterns of Job Attitudes in Assembly Technologies," Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol. 8 (March, 1964) pp. 482-519): Ely Chinoy, "Manning the Machines--The Assembly-Line Worker," in Peter L. Berger (editor), The Human Shape of Work (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1964).

The significance of the measure of involvement in occupational life is based on the overall theoretical perspective of this research. It is that the pattern of responses to occupational life finds parallels in other phases of the worker's life: the union, neighborhood and the broader community. Together they form a general configuration by skill level. It is these non-occupational areas to which we shall now direct our attention.

CHAPTER V

THE WORKER AND HIS UNION

> Many of the members have been underdogs for whom the union has served as a vehicle of socialization. The auto worker who is an ex-miner, or the son of a miner, for example, has experienced a great release as he goes from a closed community into a great industrial area. His frustrations and rejections have been channeled into the union; inside its generous industrial framework he has found acceptance.[1]

Mills' commentary suggests that the industrial order produces occupational structures, such as the industrial union, for the purpose of socially integrating the individual. This follows Durkheim's thesis that the occupational group takes over the functions--economic and social--formerly served by the family.[2] The model depicts industrial man's identity with his occupational colleagues, his sharing a common value system, and his integration into society channeled through his work association. The focus in this chapter is on this question.

---

[1]C. Wright Mills, The New Men of Power (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1948) pp. 268-269.

[2]Emile Durkheim, The Division of Labor in Society, translated by George Simpson, (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1947) preface to the Second Edition.

It is hypothesized that the degree of union involvement is related to occupational skill and related variables.

Skill Level and Union Interest

Assembly-line workers and non-assembly production workers receive lower wages, have less control over their work situation, are more critical about working conditions and presumably manifest greater class consciousness. That is, less skilled workers should be more sensitive to their collective discontent and more interested in collective action.[3] Although the younger worker frequently dreams about escaping out of the plant as shown earlier, most of them place great interest in the union to improve working conditions, wages, and provide them greater job security.[4]

To test the relationship between skill level and interest in the union, the sample of Oldsmobile workers were asked the following question:

---

[3]For a vivid description of this collective and universalistic response, see the work of Harvey Swados: On the Line (New York: Bantam Books, 1960); "The Myth of the Happy Worker," in Eric and Mary Josephson (editors) Man Alone: Alienation in Modern Society (New York: Dell Publishing Company, 1962).

[4]In his study of grievance committeemen, Sidney Peck found that they viewed the union as the most effective organizational structure for improving the lot of the working class. See his The Rank and File Leader (New Haven, Connecticut: College and University Press, 1963) pp. 352-353.

"How interested are you in union problems: very much, average, little, not at all?"

Three-fourths of unskilled workers indicated "average" or "little" interest, seventeen percent were "very much" interested in union problems, and eight percent "not at all" interested. Semi-skilled and skilled workers differed rather little so that there were no statistically significant differences among the skill levels in interest, although the trend is for unskilled workers to have higher proportions in the high and low interest categories, and for the skilled tradesmen to have a smaller percentage of low interest workers.[5] The relationship between union interest and age is also not statistically significant, but there is a tendency for younger workers to be more interested.[6] An interpretation of this is that younger workers need job security and hence manifest greater interest in the union.

The conclusion is that there is a suggestion of a curvilinear relationship between skill level and union interest: assembly workers are both less interested and more interested, while few skilled tradesmen are uninterested in union problems. Seniority and age are not critical in altering the relationship, yet younger workers are somewhat more interested, and young, unskilled and low seniority men are less interested. Additional items measuring union evaluation and union participation were examined.

---

[5]Skill level and union interest: $X^2 = 6.11$, $P < .20$, $df = 4$, $\overline{C} = .19$.

[6]Union interest and age: $X^2 = 4.33$, $P < .20$, $df = 2$, $\overline{C} = 17$.

Skill Level and Union Evaluation

Although many workers may be uninterested in the union, the overwhelming majority are favorable toward unions and recognize the necessity for their existence. An Index of Union Evaluation was constructed with the following two questions:

> "What is your opinion about unions in general: favorable, indifferent, unfavorable?"
>
> "Wanting to give an overall judgment on unions, in general, would you consider them to be: necessary, neither one or the other, unnecessary?"

Although eighty-three percent of those responding indicated "favorable" to the first question and ninety-five percent answered "necessary" to the second item, there were significant differences by skill level as shown in Table 15. Skilled workers manifested higher or more positive evaluations of unions than the two levels of production workers.

Skilled tradesmen tend to be older and should be expected to be more positive in their union evaluations since they experienced conditions in non-union shops or witnessed long periods of union gains. This interpretation suggests that a worker in evaluating the union does not react primarily to the unpleasantries of his current work situation but to a situation which represents an improvement over earlier work environments. It also implies that he has accommodated to strains in his work life and perhaps has lowered his aspirations. This interpretation will be examined later in the chapter.

TABLE 15. Union Evaluation and Skill Level

Index of Union Evaluation	Occupational Skill Level			
	Unskilled	Semi-Skilled	Skilled	Total
Low	23	27	7	20
High	77	73	93	80
Totals	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	142	82	82	306

$X^2 = 11.09$ $P < .01$ $df = 2$ $\overline{C} = .29$

Skill Level and Union Participation

Participation in union affairs has been heavily researched because of the recent interest in union democracy and government.[7] Some inconsistent findings exist in the literature, although Spinard's summary of thirty-five studies suggested some patterns.[8] Union activists tend to be more class conscious and emphasize collective action for improvement. Inactive members tend to have higher occupational aspirations and have experienced more occupational mobility.[9] This is not confirmed since low union participators tended to have low occupational aspirations, although the relationship is not statistically significant.[10]

---

[7]See, for example, Jack Stieber, Governing the UAW (New York; John Wiley & Sons, 1962), one of a series of studies on union government sponsored by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions.

[8]William Spinrad, "Correlates of Trade Union Participation: A Summary of the Literature," American Sociological Review, Vol. 25 (April, 1960) pp. 237-244.

[9]Arnold S. Tannenbaum and Robert L. Kahn, Participation in Union Locals (Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson and Company, 1958) pp. 142-148.

[10]Occupational aspirations and union participation: $X^2 = 5.55$, $P < .30$, $df = 4$, $\overline{C} = .18$.

According to Spinrad, most studies find that union participation is highest among skilled workers; yet some exceptions are found.[11] A study by Form and Dansereau is most relevant, since they concluded that high plant integration usually meant high union integration, but that a cleavage was found to exist between work activities and non-work life.[12] In this study it was proposed that production workers tend to be less integrated into their work situation but more integrated into the union since it was expected that they would be more class conscious, collective in their orientations, and more militant on the union front.

The Index of Union Participation was constructed with five questions in the interview:

> "How frequently do you attend union meetings: half the time or more often, once in a while, never?"
>
> "Do you now hold any office in the union?"
>
> "Do you participate in union activities?"
>
> "Do you know the names of the current local union officers?"
>
> "Did you vote in the last election of local union officers?"

A clear relationship between skill level and participation is noted in Table 16. The hypothesis must be rejected and the conclusion which others have drawn accepted: the higher skilled worker participates to a greater extent in the union than does the worker in less skilled manual occupations.

---

[11] Spinrad, op. cit.

[12] William H. Form and H. Kirk Dansereau, "Union Member Orientations and Patterns of Social Integration," Industrial and Labor Relations Review, Vol. 11 (October, 1957) pp. 3-12.

TABLE 16. Union Participation and Skill Level

Index of Union Participation	Occupational Skill Level			
	Unskilled	Semi-Skilled	Skilled	Total
Low	45	39	18	37
Medium	47	44	66	51
High	8	17	16	12
Totals	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	142	82	82	306

$X^2 = 20.25$ $P < .001$ $df = 4$ $\overline{C} = .34$

As data in Table 17 show, there is a tendency for participation and education to be related, so that the relationship between skill level and participation is strengthened for those with more education where skilled workers are considerably more likely to be active compared to the unskilled.

One of the factors listed by Sayles and Strauss as contributing to participation in the union is the informal group identity in the shop.[13] This reinforces Kovner and Lahne's argument that researchers are too parochial in their measures of union participation by focusing only on actual formal participation. Yet, in a number of studies the relationship between union participation and social integration into the life of the plant (largely a social interactional measure) has been

[13] Leonard R. Sayles and George Strauss, The Local Union: Its Place in the Industrial Plant (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1953) pp. 197-207.

TABLE 17. Union Participation, Education and Skill Level

Union Participation	Low Education				High Education			
	Unskilled	Semi-Skilled	Skilled	Total	Unskilled	Semi-Skilled	Skilled	Total
Low	47	47	19	41	45	32	18	34
Medium	45	39	77	50	47	48	61	51
High	8	14	4	9	8	20	21	15
Totals	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	55	38	26	119	87	44	56	187

(Low Education) Union Participation and Skill Level: $X^2 = 6.65$ $P < .05$ $df = 2$ $\bar{C} = .25$
(Medium and High union participation collapsed for calculation)
(High Education) Union Participation and Skill Level: $X^2 = 14.03$ $P < .01$ $df = 4$ $\bar{C} = .36$
Union Participation and Education: $X^2 = 3.66$ $P < .10$ $df = 1$ $\bar{C} = .16$

consistent.[14] In fact, Dean suggested that a worker's participation in the union may be predicted by the extent of his social integration in the plant and his social interaction with fellow-workers away from the factory.[15] Kyllonen, Seidman, et. al., Sayles and Strauss, Rose, Tannenbaum and Kahn all saw union activity as a social activity and related to worker social cohesion or social activity.[16] This may be the major factor upsetting the hypothesized relationship between skill level and union participation, since skilled tradesmen do have more in-plant social interaction, greater occupational identification, and are more active participators in voluntary organizations.

Before leaving the matter of union participation, an additional question should be raised. The participation measure in this research as most others, included voting in union elections. The data suggest over-reporting on this measure as witnessed by the fact that forty-nine percent of the unskilled workers, sixty-five percent of the semi-skilled workers, and seventy-eight percent of the skilled tradesmen stated that they had voted in the last election of union officers. Yet, in the most recent elections

[14] Joseph Kovner and Herbert J. Lahne, "Shop Society and the Union," Industrial and Labor Relations Review, Vol. 7 (October, 1953) pp. 3-14.

[15] Lois R. Dean, "Social Integration, Attitudes and Union Activity," Industrial and Labor Relations Review, Vol. 8 (October, 1954) pp. 48-58.

[16] Toimi E. Kyllonen, "Social Characteristics of Active Unionists," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 56 (May, 1951) pp. 528-533; Joel Seidman, et. al., The Worker Views His Union (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958); Sayles and Strauss, op. cit.; Arnold M. Rose, Union Solidarity (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1952), Chapters 3 and 6; Tannenbaum and Kahn, op. cit., Chapters 5 and 6.

only 1,980 out of more than 9,100 workers actually voted.[17] This seems to follow the pattern which Lois Dean found.[18] Moreover, while an estimated eighty percent of attenders at union meetings are regular in their attendance, most meetings are attended by only about one hundred men.[19] Yet, fifty-seven percent of those workers interviewed stated that they attended meetings, at least once in a while.[20] The critical question is: are skilled tradesmen more likely to be over-reporters? If they are, the relationship between skill level and union

---

[17] The State Journal, Lansing, Michigan, May 26, 1963.

[18] Lois R. Dean, "Interaction, Reported and Observed: The Case of One Local Union," Human Organization, Vol. 17 (Fall, 1958) pp. 36-44. She found twenty-six percent of workers over-reported on union meeting attendance.

[19] Information obtained from personal interview with Roy Rammacher, President, Local 652, U.A.W., Lansing, Michigan.

[20] Skill level and attendance at union meetings: $X^2 = 15.44$, $P < .01$, $df = 4$, $\overline{C} = .30$. There is a comparative answer to the question of accuracy of reporting union attendance in this study. In several researches the proportion of union membership attending local meetings has been noted. Sayles and Strauss, op. cit., p. 173, for example, found six percent in an automobile assembly plant attended meetings. There are bound to be variations, based on factors such as size of local union; proportion of ethnic group members in the local; the economic conditions of the industry, the community, and the country; the labor-management relations in a particular plant; tradition of union activity in a given local, plant and community; and a host of other factors. For a number of reasons, one might expect higher levels of membership participation in other automobile cities in Michigan, such as Flint or Detroit. In one recent study of UAW members in Detroit, only nineteen percent of the more than four hundred workers interviewed said that they did not attend meetings--an incredibly small number. (Donald Stokes, "Political Communication to the Union Worker," unpublished study, University of Michigan) In this study of Oldsmobile workers forty-seven percent stated that they did not attend union meetings. Even with the differences in the two samples and communities, the data reported in this study appear more reliable. Thus, while accepting the serious possibility of over-reporting, it is suggested that the data seem to indicate less over-reporting than in some other studies.

participation is spurious. While Dean did not shed any light on this particular question, she found that over-reporters tended to be lower in social integration, more critical of the local union, and less favorable to factory occupations. This suggests that over-reporters are more likely to be lower skilled workers, and if this is the case, the relationship between skill level and union participation must be accepted. Dean came close to answering the dilemma of interpreting the discrepancy from the hypothesis in this study.

> The positive dissemblers (over-reporters), then, appear to represent a sort of committed-but-disgrunted proletariat; pro-union in ideology but upwardly mobile in aspirations; cognitively identified with working-class institutions but reluctant to accept the facts of working-class existence. This is, in short, the well-known "cross-pressures" situation and something--in this case, the strict truth about attendance at union meetings--has got to give.[21]

Skill Level and Union Involvement

Based on the fact that assembly and other production workers in the automobile plant hold less desirable jobs, lower paid jobs, jobs which are more monotonous, require less training, permit less control and responsibility, it was hypothesized that they would also be less satisfied with their jobs than the skilled tradesmen. Furthermore, it was predicted that a broader measure of occupational satisfaction would reveal the same situation. Moreover, it was suggested that the dissatisfaction of the less skilled would lead them to place more importance on the union as the spokesman of their discontent. Contrary, the more satisfied skilled workers would be lower on the measures of union involvement and endorsement.

---

[21]Dean, op. cit., 1958.

Analysis of the data has shown that less skilled workers are more dissatisfied with their jobs and show lower levels of occupational involvement. At the same time, they are more upwardly mobile in their aspirations, interact less at work, and very probably over-report their participation in the union. The less skilled industrial workers project the image of social isolation, powerlessness or fatalism which is conceptualized in the sociological literature.[22] But at the same time, they aspire to occupational advancement and possess some of the raw ingredients for active commitment to collective action. As Dean suggested, this produces a multiplicity of pressures, and projects an idealized but inaccurate union role as one way out.[23] Other solutions, unhappy as they may be, are for the gradual dissipation of the worker's aspirations, and the withering of the American Dream.[24]

An Index of Union Involvement was constructed by summing the Index of Union Evaluation and Index of Union Participation. Table 18 presents the data and reveals a positive association to skill level. The initial hypothesis must be rejected, and the opposite conclusion must be accepted that skilled workers tend to show higher integration into the union than semi-skilled and unskilled workers.

---

[22]Melvin Seeman, "On the Meaning of Alienation," American Sociological Review, Vol. 24 (December, 1959) pp. 783-791.

[23]Dean, op. cit., 1958.

[24]Robert H. Guest, "Work Careers and Aspirations of Automobile Workers," American Sociological Review, Vol. 19 (April, 1954) pp. 155-163: Ely Chinoy, "The Tradition of Opportunity and the Aspirations of Automobile Workers," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 57 (March, 1952), pp. 453-459.

TABLE 18. Union Involvement and Skill Level

Index of Union Involvement	Occupational Skill Level			
	Unskilled	Semi-Skilled	Skilled	Total
Low	30	32	11	25
Medium	44	34	37	40
High	26	34	52	35
Totals	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	142	82	82	306

$X^2 = 20.90$ $P < .001$ $df = 4$ $\overline{C} = .34$

While interested in the union, the less skilled workers are not activists to the same extent as the skilled tradesmen. Since the measure of union involvement included a dimension on evaluation of unions in general, which discriminated between skill categories, a similar expectation might be warranted when asking Oldsmobile workers to evaluate their local union. There was, in fact, a weak tendency for skilled workers to evaluate the local union more positively.[25] A related consideration might be the perception of union functions which will be taken up in the next chapter.

[25]Skill level and local union evaluation: $X^2 = 5.54$, $P < .30$, $df = 4$, $\overline{C} = .18$.

CHAPTER VI

UNION FUNCTIONS AND UNION POLITICAL ACTION

Skill Level and Union Functions

Although the assembly workers and production machine tenders at Oldsmobile apparently are less active in the union, it was expected that they would project a more class-conscious perspective when asked to select from a list of the most important union functions. There were, in fact, virtually no differences among the three skill categories on whether the primary union function should be improving wages and work conditions or increasing worker unity and promoting social-political change, as seen in Table 19. There is general support for the so-called Perlman thesis of job-conscious unionism: the worker confines the function of the trade union to those activities relevant to the job in a very particular and restricted sense.[1]

The respondents were asked to select from a prepared list one of the characteristics which they felt best described union behavior. As seen from the reduced total, a larger number of workers said, "don't know" on this question than on other items. However, Table 20 reveals

---

[1]Selig Perlman, A Theory of Labor Movement (New York: Macmillan Company, 1928).

TABLE 19. Union Functions and Skill Level

Union Functions	Unskilled	Semi-Skilled	Skilled	Total
Wages, working conditions	81	85	83	83
Worker unity, social-political change	19	15	17	17
Totals	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	139	80	80	299

TABLE 20. Union Behavior and Skill Level

Union Behavior	Unskilled	Semi-Skilled	Skilled	Total
Fights militantly	25	36	27	29
Works with determination	31	27	18	26
Bargains freely, cooperates with management	44	37	55	45
Totals	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	123	78	74	275

$X^2 = 8.04$ $P < .10$ $df = 4$ $\overline{C} = .23$

that there are some differences according to skill level. There is no projection of union militancy among unskilled workers (those most dissatisfied with their occupations), although more unskilled than skilled workers characterized typical union behavior as "determined." It is the semi-skilled workers who are the most militant. This perhaps is the case because machine operators are most subject to technological displacement and most concerned with winning job security.

Workers were asked to indicate which union problems in a prepared list were the most important. Their responses are found in Table 21 which shows that machine operators were less concerned with seniority and transfer than other workers. This refutes the interpretation concerning their militancy. Actually the unskilled are more concerned with seniority since they have the least of it. For the total sample, fringe benefits are the most important, wages and payment the least important. However, internal differences do exist. The problem second most pressing for all groups is speed-ups, but this is selected relatively more often by the semi-skilled, in accord with expectation. Most of these men operate machines whose pace is automatically set, and it is a difficult task to keep up -- particularly since these are mostly single-operation machines and the full responsibility is on the one worker. The assembly workers are most concerned about reducing the amount of time they have to work at their jobs since they selected shorter workweek and workday as a problem more than the others.[2] In contrast, the skilled tradesmen are more pre-occupied with enhancing their already achieved plant status and securing more fringe benefits..

To conclude this discussion, although it is already known that skill level and participation in the union are positively correlated, it was suggested that the production workers who were more occupationally dissatisfied might be more militant in their perceptions of

---

[2]Absenteeism has been shown to be higher among workers high on the mass production score (assembly jobs). See Charles R. Walker and Robert H. Guest, The Man on the Assembly Line (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952), Chapter 10.

TABLE 21. Union Problems and Skill Level

Union Problems	Unskilled	Semi-Skilled	Skilled	Total
Shorter workweek and day	18	16	9	15
Wages and payment	9	5	6	7
Speedups	23	28	18	23
Fringe benefits	29	37	48	36
Seniority and transfers	22	14	19	19
Totals	101	100	100	100
Number of cases	133	76	79	288

$X^2 = 12.23$ $P < .20$ $df = 8$ $\bar{C} = .25$

union functions and behavior. The data do not lend firm support to this conceptualization. A fuller test comes in the examination of union political action.

Union Political Action

There exists a rich literature from political economy, sociology and political philosophy dealing with the political activities of workingmen's groups and trade unions in particular. In contrast to the later job conscious orientation of Selig Perlman and other American labor economists, the Webbs earlier in England developed theories of industrial democracy, stressing both the political and economic roles

of trade unions.[3] This perspective differed from Marx's, since the main objective of the Webbs was to resolve class conflict by developing the workers' power through collective bargaining. The tradition of the Fabian Socialists in England who followed the Webbs, has lingered and characterizes much of Europe today. However, the American situation developed differently. For example, there has never been a successful labor party. Mills' research shortly before the Progressive Party polled over 1,500,000 votes in 1948 with substantial labor support, indicated a small proportion of politically militant union leaders--measured by their support for a labor party as one of several variables.[4]

Before reviewing some of the empirical studies, an important historical note should be made. As Goetz Briefs has pointed out in his review of Sombart's study, "Why Is There No Socialism in the United States?" organized labor in America represented an upper stratum of labor.[5] As the large-scale industrial development occurred there was a slow but corresponding growth in industrial unions--but they did not take on the characteristics of a genuine proletarian movement. Seidman, et. al. have also pointed out that,

---

[3]Sidney and Beatrice Webb, Industrial Democracy (New York: Longmans, Green, and Company, 1920). See also, Adolph Sturmthal, "Some Thoughts on Labor and Political Action," Reprint 119, Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, University of Illinois, 1962, for an examination of labor political action in various societies.

[4]C. Wright Mills, The New Men of Power (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1948) p. 288-290.

[5]Goetz Briefs, The Proletariat (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1937) Chapter 12.

> The heterogeneity of the population, the internal divisions within the ranks of workers, the relatively high degree of social mobility, and a widespread psychology of individualism have all contributed to make union political action more difficult to achieve in this country.[6]

There is another consideration. With the development of industrial unionism and industry-wide bargaining, the autonomy and political control of the local union is lessened, and the rank-and-file became less involved in the union as a movement with the waning of decision-making at the local level.[7]

Clearly, American trade unionists do not follow the classical pattern of projecting their work- induced dissatisfaction and union militancy into a proletarian movement with strong socialist and political underpinnings. Yet, several empirical studies reveal a considerable degree of support for union political action. Hudson and Rosen found only one-fifth of their respondents felt that their union should not take an active part in politics, while better than four-fifths always or usually felt that the union should support political candidates.[8] And Rose found a good deal of sympathetic support among Teamsters not only for union support of candidates, but a surprising proportion--forty-five percent--who believed that the union should help to start a Labor Party sometime in the future.[9] However, the American

---

[6]Joel Seidman, et. al., The Worker View His Union (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958) p. 234.

[7]Ibid., p. 197.

[8]Ruth Alice Hudson and Hjalmar Rosen, "Union Political Action: The Member Speaks," Industrial and Labor Relations Review, Vol. 7 (April, 1954) pp. 404-418.

[9]Arnold M. Rose, Union Solidarity (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1952) p. 84.

situation still more generally follows the Perlman model, for rank-and-filers support political action by the union insofar as they see such activity linked to economic ends. Justification for political action depends on such activity being kept close to the union's primary economic role.[10]

Other studies demonstrate that supporters of union political action tend to be more politically active themselves.[11] Wilensky showed that activity in the union is associated with a labor-liberal political viewpoint, including the endorsement of union political action.[12] Seidman, London and Karsh also found that inactive members of the union were much less supportive of political action as did Tannenbaum and Kahn.[13] And Sheppard and Masters found that less educated and low wage union members were more political.[14] It may be inferred from this fact

---

[10]Jack Barbash, Labor's Grass Roots (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1961) pp. 210-211; Doris E. Mersdorff, "Local 222: A Study of Factors Associated with the Willingness of its Members to Define Political Action as a Union Function," (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Chicago, 1953) pp. 74-75.

[11]Richard W. Dodge, "Some Aspects of the Political Behavior of Labor Union Members in the Detroit Metropolitan Area," (unpublished Ph.d. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1953).

[12]Harold L. Wilensky, "The Labor Vote: A Local Union's Impact on the Political Conduct of Its Members," Social Forces, Vol. 35 (December, 1956) pp. 111-120.

[13]Joel Seidman, Jack London and Bernard Karsh, "Political Consciousness in a Local Union," Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. 15 (Winter, 1951) pp. 692-702; Arnold S. Tannenbaum and Robert Kahn, Participation in Union Locals, (Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson & Company, 1958) pp. 122-123.

[14]Harold L. Sheppard and Nicholas A. Masters, "The Political Attitudes and Preferences of Union Members: The Case of the Detroit Auto Workers," American Political Science Review, Vol. 53 (June, 1959) pp. 437-447.

that unskilled workers, who are paid a lower hourly rate, are less politically conscious and supportive of the union's political role. Rose's study also found that support for union political action increases as one has more education.[15]

The picture might be summarized as follows: the American scene has not witnessed the emergence of a politically oriented or socialistic labor movement and no classical proletarian strains have characterized the union movement. American workers tend to support political action by their unions when it is clearly tied to the economic functions of the union. The sociological literature suggests that workers who are more in favor of union political action are better educated, more active in the union, more informed about the union, and better paid.

Skill Level and Support for Union Political Action

The initial hypothesis was that production workers would be more involved in their union and more supportive of union political action than the skilled manual workers. Since the first part of this hypothesis was reversed by the data, one might be inclined to reverse the second part in keeping with hints from the literature. However, the original hypothesis was retained and tested.

The Index of Support for Union Political Action was made up of several questions:

---

[5]Rose, op. cit., p. 177.

"Union dues should be spent on political action: agree or disagree?"

"Unions should endorse political candidates: agree or disagree?"

"Do you go along with union political recommendations?"

"Would you say that the union's political influence today is: too little, about right, too much?"

"Did you contribute to COPE (Committee on Political Education) in the last election?"

Table 22 presents the data for the relationship between skill level and support for union political action, revealing that unskilled workers are disproportionately high on the index. Although there is no statistically significant relationship between skill level and support for union political action, there is a trend in the hypothesized direction.

TABLE 22. Support for Union Political Action and Skill Level

Index of Support for Union Political Action	Occupational Skill Level			
	Unskilled	Semi-Skilled	Skilled	Total
Low	26	34	38	31
Medium	45	46	39	44
High	29	20	23	25
Totals	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	142	82	82	306

$X^2 = 5.13$ $P < .30$ $df = 4$ $\bar{C} = .17$

The responses to the items listed above making up the index are themselves quite interesting--although it is important to recognize that the sample is over represented by skilled tradesmen. About one-third believe unions should endorse political candidates; a little over one-third follow union political recommendation; fifteen percent support dues being spent for political action; somewhat over one-quarter contributed to COPE -- the political education and political action union program supported by voluntary contributions.[16] In all, there is a moderate degree of willingness to support union political action. However, there is not a statistically significant discrimination among the workers of varying levels of occupational skill.

Taking the lead from studies cited earlier, this relationship was controlled by education. Table 23 reveals a curious phenomenon: for those with low education, skill level and union political action support appear to be negatively correlated as originally hypothesized; however, no such relationship obtains for those with high education. The interpretation is not clear. While education and skill level are generally related, there is one anomalous category: the older skilled tradesmen who have had little education. This is a historical phenomenon borne out by the data. Relatively uneducated men were hired into the automobile industry during the tight labor market of the war years and trained to become skilled tradesmen. Today young men newly hired must come with these skills or very likely remain in unskilled jobs. The

---

[16]An additional item not in the index revealed that ten percent of the sample believe that the union movement should have its own third party.

TABLE 23. Support for Union Political Action, Education and Skill Level

Support for Union Political Action	Low Education				High Education			
	Unskilled	Semi-Skilled	Skilled	Total	Unskilled	Semi-Skilled	Skilled	Total
Low	9	34	50	26	37	34	32	35
Medium	53	42	35	45	40	50	41	43
High	38	24	15	29	23	16	27	22
Totals	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	55	38	26	119	87	44	56	187

(Low Education) Support for Union Political Action and Skill Level: $X^2 = 16.73$ $P < .01$ df = 4 $\overline{C} = .49$
(High Education) Support for Union Political Action and Skill Level: $X^2 = 2.26$ $P < .70$ df = 4 $\overline{C} = .15$
Support for Union Political Action and Education: $X^2 = 2.98$ $P < .30$ df = 2 $\overline{C} = .17$

situation suggests that the high skilled low-educated group are those who do not support union political action. The reasons for this are not entirely clear. The historical record shows that skilled tradesmen in the A.F. of L. were less politically conscious than the industrial unionists in the C.I.O.[17] Journeymen in the automobile industry are clearly industrial workers, although they are at the same time skilled craftsmen to a considerable extent. They form separate occupational categories as reflected by their higher rate of pay, their separate bargaining units within the plant, their separate seniority scale in the company, and so on.

What may be concluded from the data is that skilled tradesmen, particularly those with less education, tend to be less supportive of union political action. However, the hypothesized negative relationship between occupational skill level and support for union political action cannot be accepted since a significantly larger proportion of production workers compared to skilled tradesmen do not endorse union political action.

Several studies have shown that support for union political action correlates with personal political activity.[18] This relationship as it bears to skill level and other factors will be examined in the next chapter.

---

[17]Seidman, et. al., 1958, op. cit., pp. 227-240: Max M. Kampelman, "Labor inPolitics," in Industrial Relations Research Association, Interpreting the Labor Movement (Madison, Wisconsin: December, 1962).

[18]For example, see Dodge, op. cit.

CHAPTER VII

POLITICAL IDEOLOGY, BEHAVIOR AND ALIENATION

The initial hypotheses included the expectation that skill level is negatively to political activity, political liberalism, feelings of powerlessness and feelings of normlessness. Unskilled and semi-skilled production workers were expected to be more politically active, more liberal in their political ideology, and more alienated on the powerlessness and normlessness dimensions. These relationships will be examined in this chapter and related to union involvement, support for union political action, and ideological intensity.

The Meaning of Ideology

Numerous definitions have been offered for the concept of ideology. In this study the focus was particularly on those values and beliefs that pertain to the basic political and value structures

of society.[1] While a number of studies have examined the ideology of blue-collar workers in industrial societies,[2] they have not focused on differences expected among workers at varying skill levels.

Lipset argued that there is a propensity for industrial workers to be authoritarian in their ideology and potential behavior.[3] This modifies Marxian theory which does call for the strong leadership of the proletariat--coming largely from the educated intellectuals--but assumes as a basic pre-condition, the liberalized outlook of the working class who want to evolve a socialistic state. The dictatorship of the proletariat is a temporary phenomenon of transition into full communism where the emancipated workers would find fulfillment, or what has come to be called self-actualization.[4]

However, the evidence running contrary to the working-class authoritarianism thesis is considerable. The Srole anomie scale and the California F-scale have been shown to be of questionable validity

---

[1]For a lengthy discussion of the meaning of ideology and some insightful analysis of depth interview data, see Robert E. Lane, Political Ideology (New York: The Free Press, 1962).

[2]For example, Seymour Martin Lipset and Reinhard Bendix, Social Mobility in Industrial Society (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1959); Seymour Martin Lipset, Political Man (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, 1960).

[3]Ibid., Chapter 4.

[4]See Erich Fromm, Marx's Concept of Man (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Company, 1961), Chapter 6. A basic work in contemporary psychological theory working on the assumptions of self-actualization is Abraham H. Maslow, Motivation and Personality (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1954).

in studying persons with limited education[5] and lower class derivation.[6] Furthermore, Miller and Riessman challenged the underlying assumptions which Lipset made about working-class child-rearing and civil liberties disavowals.[7] The overall picture presents some divergent perspectives, but it is clear that most efforts to examine working-class ideology have assumed homogeneity--an assumption which is challenged.

The basic ideological component used in this study is what is conventionally defined as a liberal-conservative political measure. In addition, worker's feelings of powerlessness and other measures of alienation are used. The assumption is that differences will obtain between skilled tradesmen who are satisfied with their occupational worlds and production workers who are dissatisfied with their monotonous or repetitive jobs and who are frustrated by blocked aspirations to upward mobility. Differences are also expected in the degree of political liberalism or support for greater governmental intervention in the economy.

---

[5]A. Lewis Rhodes,"Authoritarianism and Alienation: The F-Scale and the Srole Scale as Predictors of Prejudice," Sociological Quarterly, Vol. 2 (July, 1961) pp. 193-202.

[6]Gerhard E. Lenski and John C. Leggett, "Caste, Class and Deference in the Research Interview," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 55 (March, 1950).

[7]S. M. Miller and Frank Riessman,"Working-Class Authoritarianism; A Critique of Lipset," British Journal of Sociology, Vol. 13 (September, 1961) pp. 263-276.

Skill Level and Political Liberalism

The Index of Political Liberalism was based on nine questions:

"There should be a government-sponsored health program: agree or disagree?"

"There is too much government regulation of private enterprise and business generally: agree or disagree?"

"The working man today has enough influence in Congress: agree or disagree?"

"The working man today has enough influence in the state: agree or disagree?"

"Any increase in taxes should come mostly from business: agree or disagree?"

"The federal government should do more to solve the problem of unemployment: agree or disagree?"

"Do you think that the Democratic Party is too conservative or too liberal?"

"Do you classify yourself as a liberal or a conservative?"

"Do you generally vote for the Republican Party, Democratic Party or other political party?"

The hypothesis expected skilled workers to be more conservative and less skilled workers to be more politically liberal. Data in Table 24 show that rather few workers fall into either extreme on the liberalism measure. Yet, the hypothesis may be accepted since there is a statistically significant relationship in the predicted direction.

Suggestions from the literature might have promoted an expectation of a negative relationship between education and political liberalism, but this is not the case as seen in Table 25.[8] The negative

[8]It should be pointed out again that collapses were made in multivariate tables only as necessary to calculate statistical tests.

TABLE 24. Political Liberalism and Skill Level

Index of Political Liberalism	Occupational Skill Level			
	Unskilled	Semi-Skilled	Skilled	Total
Low	5	15	18	11
Medium	85	78	72	80
High	10	7	10	9
Totals	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	142	82	82	306

$X^2 = 11.28$ $P < .05$ $df = 4$ $\overline{C} = .26$

relationship between skill level and liberalism is still obtained when controlled by education. One somewhat deviant category are the less educated skilled workers who are more politically liberal. Perhaps this is due to the presence of some older men who are products of the depression and early organization drives in the union with the stronger liberal ideological orientations.

In reviewing the relationships already examined, an apparently anomalous configuration is found: unskilled workers are less involved into the union, less supportive of union political action, and yet they hold more liberal political attitudes than the skilled workers. It might have been expected that those more active in the union would be more politically liberal, but the data show that this is not confirmed--although high participators are under-represented among the less politically liberal workers.[9] Skilled workers are more active in the union

[9]Union participation and political liberalism: $X^2 = 1.96$, $P < .80$, $df = 4$, $\overline{C} = .10$.

TABLE 25. Political Liberalism, Education and Skill Level

Index of Political Liberalism	Low Education				High Education			
	Unskilled	Semi-Skilled	Skilled	Total	Unskilled	Semi-Skilled	Skilled	Total
Low	4	16	15	10	6	14	20	12
Medium	85	79	69	80	85	77	73	80
High	11	5	15	12	9	9	7	8
Totals	100	100	99	102	99	100	100	100
Number of cases	55	38	26	119	87	44	56	187

(Low Education) Political Liberalism and Skill Level: $X^2 = 4.60$ $P < .10$ $df = 2$ $\bar{C} = .28$
(Semi-skilled and Skilled workers collapsed for calculation)

(High Education) Political Liberalism and Skill Level: $X^2 = 6.47$ $P < .05$ $df = 2$ $\bar{C} = .27$
(Medium and High Political Liberalism collapsed for calculation)

Political Liberalism and Education: $X^2 = .36$ $P < .90$ $df = 2$ $\bar{C} = .05$

and there are suggestions in the literature that personal political activity correlates with support for union political action. The relationship between occupational skill level and extent of political activity must be examined.

Skill Level and Political Activity

Other studies of automobile workers have shown a very high degree of political activity--exceeding the national average, for example, in voting. Although the problem of over-reporting existed, Sheppard and Masters found eighty-seven percent of their sample voted in the 1956 national elections--which is a higher percentage than that recorded nationally.[10] In the Oldsmobile sample, just over ninety percent of those eligible claimed that they had voted in the preceeding national election. Yet, in response to an open-end item, one-third of the sample indicated that they were not interested in politics. The Lansing sample was less Democratic than in the Detroit samples, and Lansing has gone Republican in most elections probably because the labor force is drawn from small-towns and is rural oriented and conservative.

The Index of Political Activity was comprised of five questions:

> "How interested are you in politics: very interested, moderately, not very interested, not at all?"
>
> "Did you vote in the last community election?"

---

[10] Harold L. Sheppard and Nicholas A. Masters, "The Political Attitudes and Preferences of Union Members: The Case of Detroit Auto Workers," American Political Science Review, Vol. 53 (June, 1959) pp. 437-447.

"Did you vote in the last state elections?"

"Did you vote in the last national election?"

"Did you wear a campaign button or have a car sticker in the last election campaign?"

It will be recalled that the initial hypothesis was based on the premise that unskilled workers would manifest greater union militancy which would lead them to support union political action, be more liberal in political ideology and be more active politically. Data in Table 26 refute the hypothesis since there is a moderate and significant positive correlation between skill level and extent of political activity. The relationship is stronger among those with more education.[11]

Additional consideration of the findings do not make the observed relationship inconsistent. It was expected that occupationally dissatisfied and more politically liberal unskilled workers would be activists, both in terms of the union and individual political activity. In the case of highly self-conscious workers, such as Negroes and ethnic groups with strong group identity, the hypothesized relationships may well obtain. However, the worker who is somewhat more liberal but is

---

[11](Low Education) Political Activity and Skill Level: $X^2 = 5.72$, $P < .10$, df = 2, $\overline{C} = .31$. (High Education) Political Activity and Skill Level: $X^2 = 13.19$, $P < .01$, df = 2, $\overline{C} = .38$.

not highly militant, might be expected, in keeping with other studies, to be neither more active in the union nor politically active.[12]

The general implications of alienation will be considered next as the hypothesized differences among skill categories is further tested.

TABLE 26. Political Activity and Skill Level

Index of Political Activity	Occupational Skill Level			
	Unskilled	Semi-Skilled	Skilled	Total
Low	63	49	33	51
High	37	51	67	49
Totals	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	142	82	81	305

$X^2 = 18.97$ $P < .001$ $df = 2$ $\overline{C} = .38$

On the Meaning of Alienation

In an often-quoted article, Melvin Seeman attempted to delineate five modes of alienation which have been developed in the literature: powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, isolation, and self

---

[12]Several studies have examined alienation and political apathy. For example, see Dwight G. Dean,"Alienation and Political," Social Forces, Vol. 38 (March, 1960) pp. 185-189. Rosenberg sees both political futility feelings and perceived threats to occupational success as determinative of apathy. Morris Rosenberg,"Some Determinants of Political Apathy," Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. 18 (Winter, 1954) pp. 349-366. Sidney Belanoff also found political integration and political activity to be related; "The Relationship Between Political Participation and Socio-Political Integration in the Detroit Metropolitan Area," (unpublished Ph.d. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1954). Kornhauser, et. al. found that of the prolabor-apoliticals, ninety-three percent were unskilled or semi-skilled, while only seven percent were skilled--a finding consistent with our data which reveals that less skilled workers are positive in their attitudes toward the union and quite supportive of union political action and yet are not politically active. See Arthur Kornhauser, Harold L. Sheppard, and Albert J. Mayer, When Labor Votes (New York: University Books, 1956) p. 223.

estrangement.[13] These are not conceptually distinct in the writings of Marx and others who developed the concept to include all of these dimensions. Seeman tried to distinguish the dimensions and has, along with his students operationalized them in a number of studies.[14] Others, such as Feuer, are unhappy with the concept altogether, and claim that, ". . . (it) remains too much a concept of political theology which bewilders rather than clarifies the direction for political action.[15] While not in sympathy with Feuer and believing that the concept is useful to understand man's condition, it is agreed that writers have employed alienation as an omnibus concept.[16] It seems that most contemporary writers have missed the critical point made by Marx: labor is alienating for the mass production worker who is chained to the technology and is only motivated to work so that he can survive. At the same time, there is a societal condition which is a function of the capitalist order and which is a manifestation of self-estrangement, estrangement from others and from the society.[17]

---

[13]Melvin Seeman, "On the Meaning of Alienation," American Sociological Review, Vol. 24 (December, 1959) pp. 783-791.

[14]See, for example, Arthur G. Neal and Salomon Rettig,"Dimension of Alienation Among Manual and Non-Manual Workers," American Sociological Review, Vol. 28 (August, 1963) pp. 599-608.

[15]Lewis Feuer, "What is Alienation? The Career of a Concept," in Maurice Stein and Arthur Vidich (editors) Sociology on Trial (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1963) p. 146.

[16]See, for example, the broad range of topics included in Eric and Mary Josephson (editors) Man Alone: Alienation in Modern Society (New York: Dell Publishing Company, 1962).

[17]See the first manuscript on alienated labor in the Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844, reprinted in Erich Fromm, Marx's Concept of Man (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1961).

Thus, he speaks neither to the industrial researchers who are concerned with job morale and satisfaction, nor to the romanticists who view with alarm the breakdown of idealized society. Marx's concept of alienation includes aspects of work disaffection which is very germane to the question of the historical direction of modern society. However, it is a concept which has specific referents, and Seeman's effort is commendable since it has forced sociologists to operationalize different dimensions of the phenomenon.

Marvin Scott suggested that the social sources of alienation are a lack of value commitment, role responsibility, norm conformity, and control of facilities.[18] Although these correspond to several of the dimensions which Seeman outlined, Scott pointed out that powerlessness may come from one of several social sources. The point worth stressing is that alienation is conceptualized as a measure of the degree to which persons are normatively and behaviorally integrated into a social system. Blauner employed the powerlessness, meaninglessness, self-estrangement, and social alienation measures in his comparative study of workers in different industries.[19] Now while Marx did suggest, as Pappenheim has said, that man can no longer express himself in his work, there is a fallacy in this direction of thought:

---

[18]Marvin B. Scott, "The Social Sources of Alienation," in Irving L. Horowitz (editor) The New Sociology: Essays in Social Science and Social Theory in Honor of C. Wright Mills (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964).

[19]Robert Blauner, Alienation and Freedom: The Factory Workers and His Industry (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964).

"These indictments culminate in the accusation that man in the technological age has become alienated from his work, from himself, and from the reality of society and nature."[20] It assumes that in the contemporary United States, the industrial worker is rationally aware of the passing of traditional craftwork and that he suffers the effects of alienating labor. Yet, today most manual workers do not experience craftwork, and thus cannot grieve over its passing. There is also the question of the result of alienated work on industrial man--that is, how serious or significant is it for him to be unfulfilled in his work and what happens when he is?

Seeman's paper is a summary of the use of a key sociological concept, but he does not fully develop the title of his paper, "On The Meaning of Alienation." The meaning of alienation warrants more than a historical survey of its conceptualization. It merits behavioral research. Leo Srole began by modifying Durkheim's concept of anomie or normlessness (a societal state) and developed a measure of anomia, or individual malintegration which is one of the conditions of alienation. He found this to correlate with out-group rejection or authoritarianism.[21] Meier and Bell suggested that anomia is a result of the individual's lack of access to means to achieve life goals.[22] This is of significance to the Marxian concept of aroused

---

[20]Fritz Pappenheim, The Alienation of Modern Man (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1959) p. 43.

[21]Leo Srole, "Social Integration and Certain Correlaries," American Sociological Review, Vol. 21 (December, 1956), pp. 706-716.

[22]Dorothy L. Meier and Wendell Bell,"Anomia and Differential Access to the Achievement of Life Goals," American Sociological Review, Vol. 24 (April, 1959) pp. 189-202.

class-consciousness or collective recognition of blocs to the fulfillment of the needs and wants of the proletariat. And, indeed, Leggett found economic insecurity to increase feelings of class-consciousness.[23] Thus, the unskilled production workers who experience insecure employment in a society with a rapidly changing technology which is displacing workers at their level, will manifest greater class-consciousness, frustration at lack of means of obtaining their life goals, and will presumably be more anomic.[24] Such workers will probably show less normative integration, be more self-estranged, feel less control over events,rank high on a measure of powerlessness, and be more socially isolated. Normlessness and powerlessness dimensions of alienation have been operationally developed by Neal and Rettig who found that their measures did tap a dimension not revealed by Srole's anomia scale.[25] In this study measures were developed on two of Seeman's categories--powerlessness and normlessness--and an additional measure which is referred to as ideological intensity. The data on these dimensions will be examined next.

Skill Level, Powerlessness and Political Alienation

As already suggested, the feeling of the individual that he cannot control events (powerlessness) is one dimension of alienation.

---

[23]John C. Leggett, "Economic Insecurity and Working-Class Consciousness," American Sociological Review, Vol. 29 (April, 1964) pp. 226-234.

[24]In their study of the Packard plant close-down, Sheppard, et.al found that unskilled workers suffered considerably longer unemployment and with this they projected a greater degree of anomie. Harold L. Sheppard, Louis A. Ferman and Seymour Faber, Too Old to Work, Too Young to Retire: A Case Study of a Permanent Plant Shutdown. Special Committee on Unemployment Problems, U.S. Senate (Washington, D.C.:U.S. Government Printing Office, 1960) pp. 20, 51.

It is hypothesized that the less skilled workers will more likely perceive failure in their own achievements and will feel more impotent in a hostile world. They should score higher on an index which is made up of items measuring the respondent's feelings of control over life and events. The Index of Powerlessness consisted of three questions or statements with which the worker was asked to agree or disagree:

> "With a few exceptions, all Americans have an equal opportunity to make their own way in life. Agree or disagree?"
>
> "An individual's vote really doesn't change things or affect what's happening in the country. Agree or disagree?"
>
> "It doesn't matter which party wins the election, the interests of the little man don't count."

Data in Table 27 show that there is a negative but non-significant relationship between skill level and powerlessness. When education is taken into account, as in Table 28, it, too, is negatively related to powerlessness, and the unskilled workers with low education score higher on powerlessness. This is in keeping with the hypothesized set of relationships and with suggestions in the literature. For example, Horton and Thompson found alienation and social class membership to be related: persons in low socio-economic position reflected several themes, ". . . the feeling that the world is a threatening place inhabited by the powerful and the powerless; suspicion of outsiders and people in general; pessimism about the future; despair; and the tendency to debunk education and other values necessary for success in a competitive society."[26]

---

[26]John E. Horton and Wayne E. Thompson, "Powerlessness and Political Negativism: A Study of Defeated Local Referendums," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 67 (March, 1962) pp. 485-493.

TABLE 27. Powerlessness and Skill Level

Index of Powerlessness	Occupational Skill Level			
	Unskilled	Semi-Skilled	Skilled	Total
Low	51	61	56	55
Medium	26	24	33	27
High	23	15	11	18
Totals	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	142	82	82	306

$X^2 = 7.39$ $P < .20$ $df = 4$ $\overline{C} = .21$

Powerlessness focuses on the extent of power the individual feels in the social-political structure. It taps his feelings about the futility or purpose in voting or in political participation at all. This is what several researchers have considered political alienation. According to Levin, "Political alienation is the feeling that he is not part of the political process."[27] There is a general theme in the literature which states that in modern industrial mass society some persons feel estranged from the politics and the government of their society. Lane explains lower levels of political participation among lower-class individuals by their presumed feelings of political impotence.[28] Rosenberg examined the meaning of politics in mass society and concluded that feelings of psychological inadequacy and political alienation are responsible for the avoidance of politics.[29] In their study

[27]Murray L. Levin, The Alienated Voter (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1960), p. 61.

[28]Robert E. Lane, Political Life (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1959), pp. 233-234; Political Ideology (New York: The Free Press, 1962), particularly Chapter 11.

[29]Morris Rosenberg, "The Meaning of Politics in Mass Society," Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. 15 (Spring, 1951) pp. 5-15; "Some Determinants of Political Apathy," Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. 18 (Winter, 1954) pp. 349-366. See also David Riesman and Nathan Glazer, "Criteria for Political Apathy," in Alvin W. Gouldner (editor) Studies in Leadership (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950).

TABLE 28. Powerlessness, Education and Skill Level

Index of Powerlessness	Low Education				High Education			
	Unskilled	Semi-Skilled	Skilled	Total	Unskilled	Semi-Skilled	Skilled	Total
Low	45	50	38	45	54	70	64	61
Medium	25	34	42	32	26	16	29	25
High	29	16	19	23	19	14	7	14
Totals	99	100	99	100	99	100	100	100
Number of cases	55	38	26	119	87	44	56	187

(Low Education) Powerlessness and Skill Level: $X^2 = 4.06$ $P < .50$ df = 4 $\overline{C} = .25$
(High Education) Powerlessness and Skill Level: $X^2 = 6.89$ $P < .20$ df = 4 $\overline{C} = .26$
Powerlessness and Education: $X^2 = 7.43$ $P < .05$ df = 2 $\overline{C} = .22$

of Detroit auto workers, Kornhauser, Sheppard and Mayer found that alienated workers tended to be less satisfied with life and saw politics as futile.[30]

There is a rich tradition of literature on the social-psychological factors underlying particular political behavior. Cantril's study illustrated the dissatisfaction of the Italian and French workers voting for the Communist Party.[31] Others have examined the implications of mass society upon political structures and have traced the historical changes in Western society which have produced a current milieu in which totalitarian movements can build upon the latent disaffection of mass man.[32]

There are several perspectives in the literature. Some scholars are concerned about the apathetic response of mass man to mass society; others have examined the activist and protest political behavior of alienated man. Levin pointed out that, "Feelings of political

---

[30]Kornhauser, Sheppard, Mayer, op. cit., Chapter 5.

[31]Hadley Cantril, The Politics of Despair (New York: Basic Books, 1958).

[32]See, for example, Scott Greer and Peter Orleans, "The Mass Society and the Para-Political Structure," American Sociological Review Vol. 26 (October, 1962) pp. 634-646; Joseph R. Gusfield,"Mass Society and Extremist Politics," American Sociological Review, Vol. 27 (February, 1962) pp. 19-30; William Kornhauser, The Politics of Mass Society (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1959).

alienation may be expressed through rational activism, withdrawal, projection or identification with a charismatic leader."[33] In other words, there may be different response patterns depending on a host of variables. It was initially hypothesized that skill level and political alienation or powerlessness were negatively related and the data confirmed this relationship. However, the less skilled workers who are more politically alienated are less politically active--which is explained only partially by their low educational attainment. This illustrates one pattern of response: political alienation or feeling of powerlessness seems to elicit a withdrawal or non-activist response from the sample of automobile production workers. The next chapter examines further the question of withdrawal and of social participation in the broader community and society.[34] Other dimensions of alienation will be reviewed first.

Skill Level and Normlessness

Seeman developed normlessness from Durkheim's concept of anomie--a societal condition in which there is a breakdown of the normative structure.[35] Another perspective that would seem to bear more

---

[33]Levin, op. cit., p. 66.

[34]See, for a review of the literature on social participation and political behavior, William Erbe, "Social Involvement and Political Activity: A Replication and Elaboration," American Sociological Review, Vol. 29 (April, 1964), pp. 198-215.

[35]Seeman, op. cit.

sociological fruit is to exaime the extent to which members of a society are normatively integrated; to see what extent to which they see the presence or absence and operation of universal norms in the society. It is hypothesized that less skilled workers who are disillusioned by a social system in which they have failed to achieve their own goals will tend to see the world as less normatively integrated.

An Index of Normlessness was used based on seven statements with which the workers were asked to agree or disagree:

> "In everyday problems of life it is easy to know which is the right path to choose. Agree or disagree?"
>
> "It is hard to rear children nowadays because what is right today is wrong tomorrow. Agree or disagree?"
>
> "It seems that nobody agrees on what is right or wrong because everybody is following his own ideas. Agree or disagree?"
>
> "There are so many organizations with different goals that it is impossible to trust any of them. Agree or disagree?"
>
> "The world of today is changing so fast that it is difficult to be sure that we are making the right decisions in the problems we face everyday. Agree or disagree?"
>
> "The man with morals and scruples is better able to get ahead in this world than the immoral and unscrupulous person. Agree or disagree?"

Table 29 reveals a statistically significant negative correlation between occupational skill level and normlessness. As predicted, skilled workers are more normatively integrated. However, the sociological research literature cautions against accepting this finding without controlling for education, which was done in Table 30.

TABLE 29. Normlessness and Skill Level

Index of Normlessness	Occupational Skill Level			
	Unskilled	Semi-Skilled	Skilled	Total
Low	8	11	20	12
Medium	57	60	67	60
High	35	29	13	28
Totals	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	142	82	82	306

$X^2 = 16.15$ $P < .01$ $df = 4$ $\overline{C} = .30$

The result is striking. Workers at all skill levels are much lower on the normlessness alienation measure if they have had more education; or to put it differently, for the less educated workers the differences among skill groups are still considerable, but the number who are well integrated on this normative dimension is small.[36] Robin Williams said, "If individuals feel that the normative structure upon which their psychological security depends is threatened by forces they cannot identify or understand, they frequently exhibit an increased intolerance of

[36]Several studies have found alienation and education to be correlated, but there is a further argument that challenges the validity of some of the measures for less educated respondents. See Rhodes op. cit., Lenski and Leggett, op. cit.

TABLE 30. Normlessness, Education and Skill Level

Index of Normlessness	Low Education				High Education			
	Unskilled	Semi-Skilled	Skilled	Total	Unskilled	Semi-Skilled	Skilled	Total
Low	4	5	8	5	10	16	25	16
Medium	54	61	77	61	59	59	63	60
High	42	34	15	34	31	25	12	24
Totals	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	55	38	26	119	87	44	56	187

(Low Education) Normlessness and Skill Level: $X^2 = 5.47$ $P < .10$ $df = 2$ $\overline{|C|} = .31$
(High Education) Normlessness and Skill Level: $X^2 = 9.59$ $P < .05$ $df = 4$ $\overline{|C|} = .30$
Normlessness and Education: $X^2 = 9.95$ $P < .01$ $df = 2$ $\overline{|C|} = .26$

ambiguity of differences in social relations."[37] Williams seems to be saying that less educated persons tend to rank high on meaninglessness alienation, and will tend to be poorly integrated into the normative structure--a statement which the data appear to support.

Skill Level and Ideological Intensity

This chapter began with a discussion of ideology and the theoretical antecedents for the hypothesized relationships between occupational skill level of manual workers and their political ideology, behavior and alienation. In operationalizing the concept of alienation there was developed a measure of the extent to which the worker accepts the prevalent value structures and the extent to which he feels a lack of power or is politically alienated. Another component which links both of these is a measure of the individual's degree of adherence to a set of beliefs, or what was called "ideological intensity." This is not a measure of political liberalism nor of adherence to societal norms. It stems from the latter but is conceptually distinct.

Three statements with which the respondents were asked to agree or disagree made up the Index of Ideological Sensitivity:

> "It is better to take the position of live and let live than to insist on a point of view even if one is sure it is really right. Agree or disagree?"
>
> "Once one makes a really important decision, one musn't pay any attention to other points of view no matter how convincing they may seem. Agree or disagree?"
>
> "One shouldn't let his family suffer because he believes in an ideal which can be realized only in the distant future. Agree or disagree?"

---

[37] Robin M. Williams, American Society (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Second Edition, 1961), p. 565.

The hypothesis was that skill level and ideological intensity are negatively correlated--less skilled blue-collar workers will be more intense in ideological adherence. Data in Table 31 confirm the hypothesis. This finding strengthens the entire theoretical model which elaborates a politically liberal, ideologically sensitive, politically alienated group of unskilled and semi-skilled production workers who vary on these dimensions from the skilled tradesmen in the same industry.

TABLE 31. Ideological Intensity and Skill Level

Index of Ideological Intensity	Occupational Skill Level			
	Unskilled	Semi-Skilled	Skilled	Total
Low	46	55	63	53
High	54	45	37	47
Totals	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	142	81	82	305

$X^2 = 13.64$ $P < .01$ $df = 2$ $\overline{C} = .28$

An Overview

The findings of this chapter are as follows: skilled workers, in contrast to manual workers of lesser skill, are more politically conservative, more politically active, less politically alienated, more normatively integrated, and less ideologically intense in their attitudes. This fits the predicted model quite accurately with the exception of the reversed relationship between skill and political activity.

One interpretation of this total pattern is an extension of Olsen's distinction between "feelings of incapability" and "feelings of dissatisfaction."[38] The less skilled worker is dissatisfied with his life and thus is alienated and politically liberal--suggesting a desire for social-political-economic changes. But at the same time, he feels incapable to make meaning out of his situation and he feels little power in a world without norms. Hence, he manifests the propensity for social-political action but, in fact, is a non-activist-retreatist or apathetic. While the sample of Oldsmobile workers clearly have internatlized some of the basic American values, such as a belief in personal opportunity,[39] their own work experience and occupationally related characteristics seem to influence their ideology and ideologically based behavior. This shall be examined in the community arena in the light of mass behavior theory in the next chapter.

---

[38]Marvin E. Olsen, "The Concept of Alienation," paper read at the Michigan Sociological Society meetings, Kalamazoo, Michigan, March 22, 1963. In their study of Detroit auto workers, Kornhauser, et. al., found that political futility, social alienation, and life satisfaction were related. They also found prolabor-apolitical workers to be the most alienated and the least satisfied with life. Kornhauser, et. al., op. cit., Chapter 5 and p. 254.

[39]In the sample, only fourteen percent disagreed or were not sure about the equal opportunity of Americans to make their own way in life. This figure is probably lower than it would be in many other communities because the sample reflects the very small proportion of Negroes in the Lansing area working force. However, a recent Harris Poll showed that in a national sample only two-thirds believe that "most people make their own breaks" and the rest feel differently or don't know. Reported in the Cleveland, Ohio Plain-Dealer, June 22, 1964.

CHAPTER VIII

THE WORKER, SOCIAL PARTICIPATION AND NEIGHBORHOOD-COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

The Meaning of Mass Society

A common theme in the historical literature on the West stresses that a historical process of atomization is occurring which leads to the massification of society. Nisbet traced the changes which have isolated man in primary groups from the societal elite. The intermediate relationships are vanishing, he claimed, producing a mass society.

> Our present crisis lies in the fact that whereas the small traditional associations, founded upon kinship, faith, or locality, are still expected to communicate to individuals the principal moral ends and psychological gratifications of society, they have manifestly become detached from positions of functional relevance to the larger economic and political decisions of our society. Family, local community, church and the whole network of informal inter-personal relationships have ceased to play a determining role in our institutional systems of mutual aid, welfare, education, recreation and economic production and distribution. Yet despite the loss of these manifest institutional functions, and the failure of most of these groups to develop any new institutional functions, we continue to expect them to perform adequately the implicit psychological or symbolic functions in the life of the individual.[1]

---

[1]Robert A. Nisbet, The Quest for Community (New York: Oxford University Press, 1952), p. 54.

This lack of intermediate relationship produces the quest for community or readiness to embrace new ideologies, and is a factor in the strong propensity for totalitarianism in mass society.[2] On the one side, Levin espouses mass theory and sees the alienative effects of democratic political theory.[3] On the other hand, Gusfield has recently criticized much of mass theory in its attribution of extreme political behavior to an undifferentiated society which is alienative.[4]

Many sociologists have argued that ours is a non-pluralist or mass society in which democratic institutions are threatened and members of the society become undifferentiated, but contradictions exist as to the political implications and the associational implications of the current societal condition. Daniel Bell argues that, ". . . the theory of the mass society no longer serves as a description of Western society but as an ideology of romantic protest against contemporary life."[5] He states that the United States is a nation of joiners with at least 200,000 voluntary associations[6] and claims that while the United States is undergoing more rapid change than probably any other country, the assumption that this will inevitably produce social disorder and anomie is not borne out.[7]

---

[2]William Kornhauser, The Politics of Mass Society (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1959).

[3]Murray B. Levin, The Alienated Voter (New York: Rinehart and Winston, 1960) p. 73.

[4]Joseph R. Gusfield,"Mass Society and Extremist Politics," American Sociological Review, Vol. 27 (February, 1962) pp. 19-30.

[5]Daniel Bell, The End of Ideology (New York: Collier Books, 1961) p. 38.

[6]Ibid., p. 32; also see Bernard Barber, "Participation and Mass Apathy in Associations" in Alvin W. Gouldner (editor) Studies in Leadership (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950) pp. 481-484.

[7]Bell, op. cit., p. 37.

Bell does not explain why mass theorists are protesting, although he dismisses their analyses as being inapplicable. His case rests, in large part, on a refutation of the socially isolated urban industrial man. While associational involvement is an important part of the theory advanced by Nisbet, Kornhauser and others, it is not in itself a full measure of the mass condition of society.[8] The basic question which Nisbet poses appears to be the lack of integration of modern man into neighborhood or community structures. "The point is that with the decline in the significance of kinship and locality, and the failure of new social relationships to assume influences of equivalent intensity, a profound change has occurred in the very psychological structure of society."[9] Man is attempting to escape from isolation caused not by the disintegration of organizations, but by the changes in his primary relations.

But even if Bell is correct in his conclusion about associational involvement, and the research evidence shall be examined shortly, there is a qualitative factor which Selznick pointed out. He conceptualized segmental participation to refer to the mass society

---

[8]Maccoby, however, found political activity to be related to participation in a voluntary association, and concluded that greater associational involvement will produce greater political involvement which may counteract the effects of massified society. Herbert Maccoby, "The Differential Activity of Participants in a Voluntary Association," American Sociological Review, Vol. 23 (October, 1958) pp. 524-532. Also relevant, William Erbe, "Social Involvement and Political Activity, American Sociological Review, Vol. 29 (April, 1964) pp. 198-215.

[9]Nisbet, op. cit., p. 69.

member's shallow involvement in groups in which primary-group relationships do not develop. "It is only with general alienation that the population--where and to the extent that it does not retreat into apathy and isolation--will turn for sustenance to what are usually impersonal structures."[10] These groups Selznick predicted,may be manipulated and mobilized, which is characteristic of modern mass society.

The objective of this study is not to test any assumptions about mass society. Rather, it is to examine the modes of social integration of manual workers and explore the relationships between the world of work and non-work components. Thus, it is important to investigate the extent of voluntary organizational involvement and the extent of neighborhood and community involvement. It is hypothesized that these correlate positively with occupational skill level.

Skill Level and Associational Involvement

The sociological literature is replete with researches of participation in voluntary organizations. Some studies such as Scott and Axelrod,[11] indicate that about two-thirds of Americans belong to some voluntary association; while other inquiries show almost a reverse

---

[10]Philip Selznick, "Institutional Vulnerability in Mass Society," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 56 (January, 1951) pp. 320-331.

[11]John C. Scott,Jr., "Membership and Participation in Voluntary Associations," American Sociological Review, Vol. 22 (June, 1957) pp. 315-326; Morris Axelrod, "Urban Structure and Social Participation," American Sociological Review, Vol. 21 (February, 1956) pp. 13-18.

pattern.[12] In studies of working-class persons, the results are more consistent. Komarovsky found about sixty percent did not belong to voluntary associations, and Dotson found in his sample of blue-collar workers that about two-thirds were non-participants.[13] Kornhauser found that union members were slightly more likely to belong to other voluntary associations than non-members; yet, in both cases about sixty percent did not belong.[14] In his study of autoworkers, Stokes found that sixty-nine percent did not belong to any associations.[15] Thus, there is a strong expectation for the level of participation among Oldsmobile workers to be low.

---

[12]Murray Hausknecht, The Joiners: A Sociological Description of Voluntary Association Membership in the United States (New York: Bedminster Press, 1962) p. 23, James E. Teele, "Measures of Social Participation," Social Problems, Vol. 10 (Summer, 1962) pp. 31-39.

[13]Mirra Komarovsky, "The Voluntary Associations of Urban Dwellers," American Sociological Review, Vol. 11 (December, 1946) pp. 686-697; Floyd Dotson, "Patterns of Voluntary Association Among Urban Working-Class Families," American Sociological Review, Vol. 16 (October, 1951) pp. 687-693.

[14]Ruth Kornhauser, "Some Social Determinants and Consequences of Union Membership," Labor History, Vol. 2 (Winter, 1961) pp. 30-61.

[15]Donald Stokes, "Political Communication to the Union Workers," (unpublished study, University of Michigan).

In addition to the general findings just reviewed, there is research evidence that participation in voluntary organizations is a function of certain demographic and related variables: occupational level, income level, neighborhood status, and level of education.[16] Therefore, manual workers may be less active in voluntary associations than professionals or white-collar workers; but skilled workers should manifest higher levels of participation. The measure of voluntary association participation was a composite of membership, attendance, and office-holding for up to three organizations, scored as follows:

Membership and participation in voluntary associations

3 member and officer
2 member, attends always or often
1 member, doesn't attend or rarely
0 not member of any organization

The possible score range was 0-9; actual range was 0-8. Fifty-four percent of the total sample are not members of voluntary organizations. Table 32 shows a highly significant positive correlation between occupational skill level and participation in voluntary associations. Table 33 controls for education and it is apparent that the level of participation is lower for the less educated, although the correlation between skill and participation is still evident.

---

[16]See, for example, Charles R. Wright and Herbert H. Hyman, "Voluntary Association Memberships of American Adults: Evidence From National Sample Surveys," American Sociological Review, Vol. 23 (June, 1958) pp. 284-294; Howard E. Freeman, Edwin Novak, and Leo G. Reeder, "Correlates of Membership in Voluntary Associations," American Sociological Review, Vol. 22 (October, 1957) pp. 528-533; Leonard Reissman, "Class Leisure, and Social Participation," American Sociological Review, Vol. 19 (February, 1954) pp. 76-84; Wendell Bell and Maryanne T. Force, "Urban Neighborhood Types and Participation in Formal Associations," American Sociological Review, Vol. 21 (February, 1956) pp. 25-34.

TABLE 32. Participation in Voluntary Organizations and Skill Level

Measure of Organizational Participation	Occupational Skill Level			
	Unskilled	Semi-Skilled	Skilled	Total
Low	68	53	32	54
Medium	21	33	41	30
High	11	14	27	16
Totals	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	142	81	82	305

$X^2 = 26.85$ $P < .001$ $df = 4$ $\overline{C} = .39$

While many studies have explored the differential participation patterns of Americans and factors accounting for it, few studies have examined the relationships between work situations and participation in voluntary associations.[17] Wilensky has shown that career patterns shape men's associational lives: those with chaotic work experiences tend to retreat from work and communal life, while men with orderly careers tend better to integrate their work and non-work roles and are more socially involved with their workmates away from the job.[18]

---

[17]For an excellent review of the literature and discussion of work and associational participation, see Harold L. Wilensky, "Life Cycle, Work Situation, and Participation in Formal Associations," in Robert Kleemeier (editor) Aging and Leisure (New York: Oxford University Press, 1961).

[18]Harold L. Wilensky, "Orderly Careers and Social Participation: The Impact of Work History on Social Integration in the Middle Mass," American Sociological Review, Vol. 26 (August, 1961) pp. 521-539.

TABLE 33. Participation in Voluntary Organizations, Education and Skill Level

Participation in Voluntary Organizations	Low Education				High Education			
	Unskilled	Semi-Skilled	Skilled	Total	Unskilled	Semi-Skilled	Skilled	Total
Low	74	61	42	63	64	46	27	49
Medium	15	26	35	23	24	40	44	34
High	11	13	23	14	12	14	29	17
Totals	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	55	38	26	119	87	44	56	187

(Low Education) Participation in Voluntary Organizations and Skill Level: χ^2 =8.35 P<.10 df=4 $\bar{C}$=.35

(High Education) Participation in Voluntary Organizations and Skill Level: χ^2 =20.81 P<.001 df=4 $\bar{C}$=.43

Participation in Voluntary Organizations and Education: χ^2 = 6.08 P<.05 df=2 $\bar{C}$=.20

Skill Level and Neighborhood-Community Involvement

In their study of manual workers, Form and Dansereau found that only about ten percent scored high on their measure of neighborhood integration and only one-sixth of their sample showed a high degree of community participation and interest.[19] Dubin found that while industrial workers identified with the technical and organizational aspects of their plant life, work was not a central life interest for a significant majority.[20] He stressed the importance of non-work life but did not indicate in empirical terms the extent to which industrial workers in his sample were involved in the neighborhood, community, or associational life outside the work environment.

Form and Dansereau studied the link between plant life and community integration and found continuities for some workers, but breaks for others, which related to their union orientation.[21] There is a widespread assumption that workers are oriented to their jobs for the social interaction benefits derived.[22] Stokes found that about

---

[19]William H. Form and H. Kirk Dansereau, "Union Member Orientations and Patterns of Social Integration," Industrial and Labor Relations Review, Vol. 11 (October, 1957) pp. 3-12.

[20]Robert Dubin, "Industrial Worker's Worlds: A Study of the 'Central Life Interests' of Industrial Workers," Social Problems, Vol. 3 (January, 1956) pp. 131-142.

[21]Form and Dansereau, Op. cit.

[22]See, for example, Charles R. Walker and Robert H.Guest, The Man on the Assembly Line (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1952), Chapter 5; Robert Dubin, The World of Work: Industrial Society and Hunan Relations(Englewood Cliffs,New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1958) Chapter 6.

one-fourth of his sample spent time away from work with men in their work group.[23] A sizeable number of workers at Oldsmobile see fellow workers away from the plant, but this includes chance meetings on the street. Nevertheless, three-quarters of the sample indicated that they did meet with fellow workers outside the plant. However, an interesting phenomenon developed when the ecological nature of social relationships was examined. Less than ten percent of those interviewed stated that the friends they get together with live in their neighborhoods and just over half get together mostly with friends in their towns. About one-third meet socially with friends who live in other towns. This is explained in large part by the fact that Oldsmobile workers live in a radius of sixty miles from the factory in a large number of hamlets and towns. The important conclusion is that neighborhood and community involvement will be significantly affected by the residence of one's friends, and most of the automobile workers interviewed do not have friends with whom they visit socially living in their neighborhoods.

It was predicted that skilled workers would show greater neighborhood and community involvement, reflecting a higher degree of occupational satisfaction into the broader community. Two separate measures were developed for neighborhood and community involvement.

---

[23]Stokes, op. cit.

The Index of Neighborhood Involvement consisted of six questions:

"If you could choose, would you continue to live in the neighborhood or move?"

"About how many friends or acquaintances live in your neighborhood?"

"Would you be disposed to attend some meeting to discuss problems of your neighborhood: yes or no?"

"Do you have relatives or in-laws who live in the neighborhood, but not with you: yes (number?) or no?"

"Do you exchange visits with neighborhood friends: yes (how often?) or no?"

"What are the problems of your neighborhood (known or not known)?"

The Index of Community Involvement consisted of four questions:

"Do you like living in your community: yes or no?"

"Are you more interested in local or national news?"

"Do you belong to any voluntary organizations: yes or no?"

'What are the problems of your community (known or not known)?"

There was no significant relationship between skill level and neighborhood involvement.[24] Only one item in this index showed a relationship with skill level, and that is whether or not the worker has family and relatives living in his neighborhood.[25] Unskilled workers who have kin in their immediate residential areas interact more frequently with them than do skilled workers. A tentative

---

[24]Skill level and neighborhood involvement: $X^2=1.94$, $P<.80$, $df=4$, $\bar{C}=.11$.

[25]Skill levels and relatives in neighborhood: $X^2=13.05$, $P<.05$, $df=4$, $\bar{C}=.28$.

conclusion, or at least suggestion, is that for unskilled workers, family involvement substitutes for neighborhood involvement. The index apparently tapped another dimension, suggesting that familial residential location should be seen as distinct from the worker's involvement in the neighborhood and neighborhood interaction.

Table 34 shows a significant positive relationship between skill level and community involvement. While there is a suggestion in the several items making up the index that skilled workers are generally more involved in the community, the relationship is highly dependent upon their greater associational activity. Although participation in community voluntary associations is legitimately seen as a component of community involvement;[26] other measures used--such as interest in local newspaper material--are less potent in discriminating among workers at varying skill levels.[27]

To summarize, it appears that there is some relationship between skill level and community involvement. Skilled workers are more involved, particularly in formal organizations. However, they do not appear to be more involved in the neighborhood[28] nor do they recognize neighborhood and community problems more than do less skilled

---

[26]Litwak suggests that the large-scale industrial organizations encourage local community participation. Eugene Litwak, "Voluntary Associations and Neighborhood Cohesion," American Sociological Review, Vol. 26 (April, 1961) pp. 258-271.

[27]Skill level and participation in voluntary associations: $X^2=26.95$, $P<.001$, df=2, $\overline{C}=.41$. Skill level and local versus national news interest: $X^2=7.26$, $P<.10$, df=4, $\overline{C}=.21$.

[28]The proportion of workers who do interact with neighbors by skill groups is: unskilled workers-87 percent; semi-skilled and skilled workers-84 percent. For those who recognize neighborhood problems the proportion by skill groups is: unskilled workers-93 percent, semi-skilled workers-94 percent, skilled workers-91 percent.

TABLE 34. Community Involvement and Skill Level

Index of Community Involvement	Occupational Skill Level			
	Unskilled	Semi-Skilled	Skilled	Total
Low	82	65	55	70
High	18	35	45	30
Totals	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	142	82	82	306

$X^2 = 19.17$ $P < .001$ $df = 2$ $\overline{C} = .38$

workers. Workers in less skilled manual occupations appear to be more involved with relatives living in their neighborhods, but they participate considerably less in formal community organizations. Thus, the hypothesized relationships between occupational skill level and community involvement will very cautiously be accepted but the degree of family integration will be proposed as an important additional variable. One of the recent empirical findings in the sociological literature is that urban familism is a significant characteristic of contemporary American society, in contrast to the stereotypic image of the anomic and isolated urban family.[29] This suggests that family structures are commonly the means by which the individual relates

[29]Marvin B. Sussman, "The Isolated Nuclear Family: Fact or Fiction," Social Problems, Vol. 6 (Spring, 1959) pp. 333-340; Marvin B. Sussman and Lee Burchinal, "Kin Family Networks: Unheralded Structure in Current Conceptualizations of Family Functioning," Marriage and Family Living, Vol. 24 (August, 1962) pp. 231-240. See also Lee Rainwater, Richard P. Coleman, and Gerald Handel, Workingman's Wife (New York: Oceana Publications, 1959) Chapter 6.

himself to his non-work environment. This is not independent from the various channels of community involvement, but poses an important variable for further consideration. While Sussman and Slater did not find occupation to be a predictive factor in their study of urban kin networks,[30] the present study suggests that variations among those with manual occupations do exist in terms of family variables.

---

[30] Marvin B. Sussman and Sherwood B. Slater, "A Reappraisal of Urban Kin Networks: Empirical Evidence," paper read at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, Los Angeles, California, August 28, 1962.

CHAPTER IX

OCCUPATIONAL SKILL LEVEL AND PATTERNS OF SOCIAL INTEGRATION

Occupational Skill as a Critical Variable

As suggested in the title of this work, the major concern has been to view the patterns of social integration and the ideology of automobile workers at varying levels of skill. The sample of three hundred and six Oldsmobile workers were all manual workers, but were selected randomly from departments which represent the varying occupational categories in the plant: assembly workers,non-assembly production workers--mostly semi-automatic machine operators, and skilled tradesmen.

Since skill level was the major independent variable throughout the analysis, it may be well to review the characteristics of the categories of workers compared to production workers. Skilled tradesmen tend to be older, have more seniority, and tend to have more education if younger. Their major work tasks are performed at individual benches and they are usually assigned a complete job, such as making an entire die for a particular stamping machine. They have received a substantial amount of specialized training, usually an apprenticeship which has qualified them as journeymen in their skilled trade. They are paid the highest wage of all hourly-paid workers, hold the highest prestige in the plant,have the greatest control over their work environment and experience the least superivision.

Assembly-line workers differ in all personal or demographic characteristics and perform quite different tasks. They are generally untrained before entering the plant and learn their jobs quickly--in as little as one-half hour. They receive the lowest wage and hold the least prestigous position in the factory. Moreover, they have very little control over the conditions, pace,routine, or tasks of work. They stand and perform the same tasks all day, every day. The motor vehicle being produced moves along on a conveyor operation with hundreds of hands performing different functions on each car, but the same function on every car.

The semi-automatic machine operators approximate the assembly workers more than they do the skilled tradesmen. They are older and paid more than assembly workers, but possess little more education, training, and in some cases little more skill. However, they are more independent while on the job--as, for example, the man whose job it is to check camshaft tooling machines in an area probably one hundred or more square feet. Others operate a foot lever on one single machine all day long, or measure the parts fed out of a grinding machine all day long. The semi-skilled automobile workers are most affected at this time in history by technological change; and with only moderate job seniority, large numbers of these men are concerned about holding their jobs. Assembly line workers are more threatened by the state of the economy than by changes in plant technology.

There are, then, significant differences in the nature of diverse manual occupations. A major objective in this study was to demonstrate that these differences make it hazardous to generalize about industrial workers as a homogeneous category. In the sociological literature there are many such commentaries about the manual workers' life style or attitudes or specific behaviors. This study has shown that there are significant measurable differences in ideology and in the patterns of social integration among workers in varying manual occupational skill levels.

The Concept of Social Integration

A number of attempts to conceptualize the historical changes in societal structure--social, normative and technological--have been advanced. Durkheim's treatise on the change from mechanical to organic solidarity and the emergent conditions of societal anomie has been a key work in this area.[1] The concept of alienation has been discussed. Seeman distinguished five types: powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, isolation and self-estrangement.[2] It was noted that some sociologists have treated alienation as an omnibus concept,[3] and that

---

[1]Emile Durkheim, The Division of Labor in Society, translated by George Simpson, (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1947).

[2]Melvin Seeman, "On the Meaning of Alienation," American Sociological Review, Vol. 24 (December, 1959) pp. 783-791.

[3]Eric and Mary Josephson (editors), Man Alone: Alienation in Modern Society (New York: Dell Publishing Company, 1962).

others have attacked the ideological bias of writers on mass society and alienation.[4] There is a more significant limitation in the approach of most writers on alienation. They do not discuss what is characteristic of social relationships but focus only on the estranged condition of modern man and conclude that he is a product of an alienating society. In their historical overview of the societal changes resulting from industrialism, they emphasize only the alienating features of modern society. In some cases, they leap from a broad theoretical perspective to a study of specific communities,[5] and the integrational mechanisms are either ignored or distorted.

The fact remains that large portions of the world today are industrialized to a high degree and the process is now rather quickly spreading. The United States has undergone very rapid change in the past few generations, and the increasing rationalization of technology and labor will see great changes in the next few generations.[6] There is no doubt that these changes are real, can be measured, and may be dysfunctional for a number of reasons. It may quite accurately be concluded from a large amount of empirical research that industrial

---

[4]Daniel Bell, The End of Ideology (New York: Collier Books, 1961) Chapters 1, 15.

[5]An illustration of this is Robert B. Kanpp, Social Integration in Urban Communities: A Guide for Educational Planning (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1960).

[6]For an international perspective on technological change, work and changing work relations see George Friedmann, Anatomy of Work, translated by Wyatt Rawson, (New York: The Free Press, 1961).

workers are alienated in the sense of being unfulfilled in their work. But the critical question then becomes: how does the industrial worker relate or integrate himself into his social world? The measure of social relatedness or integration includes the acceptance of or subscription to values, social interaction with others, and participation in various institutions. To comment that workers cannot express themselves in their work and hence are alienated is not to secure an understanding of functioning social structures, but to raise a question about them. The question has been central in this research in seeking to examine occupational satisfaction, union involvement, neighborhood and community involvement, and political behavior. The initial assumption was that there would be consistent relationships between work and non-work for those at various skill levels. This research has strongly supported the proposed theoretical model which predicted that skill level is an important variable, unfolding real differences in the patterns of social involvement and integration.

Summary of Findings

It is traditional sociological practice to examine the relationships between social phenomena by subjecting the data to various significance tests. An important perspective was offered in Hanan Selvin's cogent critique of the use of significance testing in survey research.[7]

---

[7]Hanan C. Selvin, "A Critique of Tests of Significance in Survey Research," American Sociological Review, Vol. 22 (October, 1957) pp. 591-527.

If the ultimate objective is to both interpret and explain social structures, attitudes and behaviors,[8] then the statistical tests of significance are of only partial value. This perspective is offered before presenting the findings of this study, since it is believed that the data reveal more than some statistically significant or insignificant relationships. While there is, indeed, a need for cautious interpretation to avoid"going beyond the data," in the overview of the findings, projections will go beyond the data presented in tabular form.

The overall findings document the differences between unskilled, semi-skilled and skilled workers in terms of work satisfaction, union involvement, political liberalism and alienation, community involvement and other specific variables probed. The hypotheses underlying this study and the substance of the findings which determine the acceptance of the hypotheses shall be reviewed.

First: Job satisfaction is positively related to occupational skill level. The data clearly establishes this.

Second: Occupational involvement is positively related to skill. While some of the sub-index measures are not supportive in the hypothesized direction, the overall index of occupational involvement and skill level are positively related. Thus, the hypothesis is accepted as stated.

---

[8]For the distinction between interpretation and explanation, see Herbert Hyman, Survey Design and Analysis (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1955) p. 287.

Third: Union involvement and skill level are negatively related. The findings compel the rejection of the original hypothesis in favor of the reverse relationship: skill level is positively related with union involvement, particularly union participation.

Fourth: Skill level and support for union political action are negatively related. Although this hypothesis cannot be accepted, there is a trend suggesting that skilled workers are less supportive of union political action than less skilled workers.

Fifth: Skill level and political liberalism are negatively related. This relationship is confirmed.

Sixth: Skill level is negatively related to powerlessness, and normlessness. This, too, was substantiated.

Seventh: Skill level and participation in voluntary associations are positively related. This hypothesis is confirmed.

Eighth: Skill level and neighborhood and community involvement are positively related. The data are only suggestive here. Skilled workers appear to be more involved in their communities. However, the unskilled and semi-skilled workers are not less involved in their neighborhoods and are more family integrated.

Five of these sets of hypothesized relationships are accepted as originally stated. One is advanced with qualifications. Another is reversed. One is not really accepted, although the trend suggests a relationship. Thus, the data support the initial assumptions about internal variations among manual workers. The differences noted are critical in substance as well as significant in a statistical sense.

If these results are generalized, then it becomes very apparent that most sociological observations concerning blue-collar workers have glossed over very meaningful distinctions. Industrial skilled craftsmen, production and assembly workers are inaccurately lumped together in most of the literature, and a conclusion is that this is as sociologically illogical as treating all non-manufacturing categories as one white-collar group.

There is another important finding, that the components studied hang together into total patterns of integration and these suggest a distinct typology. Skilled workers are older, have more seniority, are better educated if younger, manifest greater potential and actual interaction on the job; show greater occupational satisfaction, industrial sector satisfaction, job satisfaction, occupational fulfillment, total occupational involvement; and lower occupational aspirations. Furthermore, they tend to have greater union interest and participate in the union to a greater extent; tend to be less supportive of union political action; are more politically conservative; less alienated along the powerlessness and normlessness dimensions, and are ideologically less intense.

On the other hand, the less skilled autoworkers are more dissatisfied with their jobs and less involved in their occupational world. They are less active in the union than the more skilled workers. Unskilled and semi-skilled workers are more politically liberal and alienated, more supportive of union political action. They are less involved in the community, but apparently more involved in family life.

Implications of the Findings and Conclusions

It is not surprising to learn of the real differences in job satisfaction and occupational variables among a sample of workers whose task, training, and wage differentials are considerable. While the less skilled workers manifest greater feelings of political powerlessness and are more liberal in their orientations, they are at the same time less active in the union and more aspiring in terms of upward mobility. Lipset suggests that, ". . . in the United States, for individuals or groups of individuals to seek to better themselves at the expense of others tends to be encouraged by the dominant achievement orientation."[9] He then discusses the wage differentials and intra-union competition along skill lines. Informal discussion with several of the Oldsmobile workers interviewed as well as several union officers makes it apparent that while many workers are seeking their own solutions to either adjusting to or leaving the factory, most are not hostile to the union nor do they lack a collective consciousness. Rather, there is an apathy and lack of stimulated involvement. Sidney Peck makes the following comment in regard to the working-class potential and the necessary stimulus for collective action:

---

[9]Seymour Martin Lipset, The First New Nation (New York: Basic Books, 1963), p. 185.

> Class-consciousness arises spontaneously out of the very conditions of the industrial workshop. In this sense, it is possible to suggest that on occasions the political interests of working people are spontaneously expressed by ideologically uncommitted workers. If the anarchic concern of class-conscious workers is to have any staying power, it must link up with intellect and organization. Otherwise it will dissipate in heroic and romantic assaults against entrenched rule and become transformed into feelings of resentment and despair. In a word, it will lead to cynicism. The absence of intellect and organization which can appeal to the spontaneous concerns of class-conscious underdogs in the industrial workshops is the most serious void in American politics today.[10]

This study seems to suggest that less skilled workers display disaffection which may, under some circumstances, be activated for collective political action. They are alienated and politically liberal; yet, they are not union activists. This may very well be a function of mass society as several writers have hinted. Mass production workers are retreatists and non-participators in the bureaucratized organizations which surround them.[11] They are employed in a bureaucracy but elect to play no part in the work-related or community organizations. The family remains the major social network of involvement, and thus becomes increasingly important as a channel of expressed relatedness.

---

[10]Sidney Peck, The Rank-and-File Leader (New Haven, Connecticut; College and University Press, 1963) pp. 348-350.

[11]It should be recalled that interaction at work is closely related to occupational skill level. Skill level and possible interaction on the job: $X^2=20.21$, $P < .001$, $df=4$, $\overline{C}=.36$. Skill level and actual interaction on the job: $X^2=16.05$, $P < .01$, $df=4$, $\overline{C}=.32$.

Several studies on the economic, social and psychological consequences of automation have indicated the changing attitudes and behaviors which accompany technical innovations.[12] Recently workers with very long seniority as well as some skilled workers have been technologically displaced. This may promote some further collective response and action via the union. Assembly and non-assembly production workers are more alienated and politically liberal and are less occupationally involved: however, they are not active in the union. One interpretation is that they are supportive of the government role, particularly in times of economic recession or in the face of automation, and do not believe the union is performing as it should to offer them protection.[13] Another interpretation is that of retreatism and non-activity. This is a rejection of any form of collective action both because of dominant value orientations and as a symbolic syndrome of mass society. The interpretation cannot be verified from the data. However, the potential for increased union participation is clear, as is the apparent ideological and attitudinal base for a movement to serve collective needs of dissatisfied workers.

---

[12]For example, see Robert Blauner, Alienation and Freedom: The Factory Worker and His Industry (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964). For a review of the literature see Einar Hardin, William B. Eddy and Steven E. Deutsch, Economic and Social Implications of Automation: An Annotated Bibliography (East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University School of Labor and Industrial Relations, 1961).

[13]Such, in fact, is one type of response offered by auto workers facing imminent layoff, in an on-going study by Professor Mark Lefton at Western Reserve University, in Cleveland.

The findings modify both the studies on social integration by Dean, Form and Dansereau.[14] There is a degree of consistency or continuity for workers at each skill level in the areas of occupation, union, neighborhood, and community integration. At the same time there is some support for the typology Form and Dansereau suggest between a working-class life style, an indivdualistic life style, and an isolated life style.[15] The skilled workers are more satisfied with their occupational world; yet they do not manifest the working-class-consciousness orientation implied in the first of the typologies At the same time, skilled tradesmen at Oldsmobile are more involved in voluntary associations and in the community. Production workers, on the other hand, appear to be no less involved in their neighborhoods, but are particularly more family-involved. The typology suggests something like the following: a high level of integration which is characteristic of the skilled workers and which is consistently high in work, the union, and the community; a moderate and low level of integration which is characteristic of production workers both in assembly and non-assembly jobs and which is rather consistently low in work, the union, and the community. However, the low pattern of integration is the more potentially militant in terms of union support, political ideology, and degree of alienation.

---

[14] These studies conceptualized integration to include job satisfaction and participation, as used here.

. See Lois R. Dean, "Social Integration, Attitudes and Union Activity," Industrial and Labor Relations Review, Vol. 8 (October, 1954) pp. 48-58; William H. Form and H. Kirk Dansereau, "Union Member Orientations and Patterns of Social Integration," Industrial and Labor Relations Review, Vol. 11 (October, 1957) pp. 3-12.

[15] Ibid., p. 12.

This is a dormant and covert type of militancy, and the present condition of work-induced dissatisfaction has produced an apathetic mass man whose major source of social integration is generated in the family structure. The high pattern of social integration suggests an adjustment for those who are successful as manual workers, participate in a union which they see as extending their economic gains, are more involved in their communities, and at the same time are less ideologically committed to social-political change. What is suggested looks like a true paradox. The union activists are the conservative job-conscious workers, and the non-activists are the more politically liberal and dissatisfied workers whose ideological sensitivities have not been activated. The conclusion, then, is that the American working-class is not a homogeneous mass but represents a heterogeneous occupational hierarchy with distinct orientations toward their work, the union movement and the broader society; and a crucial element may be control over work and concomitant factors.

Lingering Research Questions

Several basic research questions have been raised which deserve further attention. First, and most obvious is the role of the family in industrial society as a channel of social integration. Measures along these lines were not fully developed and future studies should investigate differences among various manual occupations in the extent of familism and the relationships between family involvement and other non-work and work involvements.

Future research should build on a truly semi-skilled industrial group, since in the auto industry the major distinctions are between production workers and skilled tradesmen.

Recognizing that this study represents a somewhat unique attempt to probe for variations among manual workers, it becomes clear that all of the sociological areas of study which were not developed are still to be researched. For example, differential patterns of leisure should be expected among manual workers to follow the lines of Wilensky's distinction between the spill-over and compensatory patterns.[16] The meaning of leisure, the mode of leisure behavior and the specific activities should be distinct for skilled and unskilled workers as a reflection of occupational and job task differences.

It was concluded that skill level is a critical and sensitive variable. With a changing technology and re-definitions of occupations, job tasks and work itself, further research should examine the possibly different effects of change. Conceivably, the unskilled workers who are economically insecure will turn more to the government, while the skilled workers may turn against the bureaucratic governmental and union structures and become more conservative in their orientations.

---

[16]Harold L. Wilensky, "Work, Careers, and Social Integration," International Social Science Journal, Vol. 12 (Fall, 1960) pp. 543-560.

While one might speculate about the similarities of skilled industrial workers and the lower-middle classes who historically have turned to the Right in several instances,[17] the questions of political correlates of automation and technological change are of importance and are unresearched. This research has indicated skill level differences among manual workers on measures of political liberalism, political alienation, and political activity. Further research needs to develop these findings and examine the assumed differential impact of technological innovation upon workers in divergent manual occupations.

In this study we have examined the range of social involvements of manual workers at different skill levels. For each category a total configurational pattern was drawn. Ideally such research would include all relevant persons in the workers' reference groups within the plant, union and community to see the extent to which their attitudes and behaviors are congruent with those of the group. This fuller picture of group judgment of participation and evaluation in the various social sub-systems would provide a better indicator of social integration. While the configurational patterns of attitudes and involvements found in this study suggest measures of social integration, group norms providing a contextual appraisal of the worker's responses are absent and ought to be included in future research.

A final area of suggested future research is comparative sociological analysis. The structures of many societies are similar although peculiar cultural patterns exist. Several researches have shown

---

[17]For example, Harold D. Lasswell, "The Psychology of Hitlerism as a Response of the Lower Middle Classes to Continuing Insecurity," in Guy Swanson, Theodore Newcomb and Eugene Hartley (editors) Readings in Social Psychology (New York: Henry Holt & Company, 1952).

that industrialized nations have a similar degree of occupational mobility, prestige of occupations, and other values.[18] If the social and technological aspects of industrial work are as critical as indicated in this study in determining social attitudes and behavior, then the same kind of differences should be expected to obtain in other societies at comparable levels of industrial development. The pursuant question becomes more intriguing: to what extent will the industrial structures elicit sirilar differences in the patterns of social integration among manual workers at varying occupational levels in societies at earlier stages of economic development? This is an important research question and one implication might be that Western ideology accompanies Western technologies in the under-developed non-Western nations. It may very well be that in less developed countries the disparate patterns of social integration among manual workers at varying occupational skill levels exist, although the advanced technology involves an insignificantly small proportion of the labor force. On the other hand, the class-conscious collective orientation among all industrial workers may restrict occupational wage and status differences so that the pattern would differ from that seen in this study. These research inquiries warrant testing in countries at varying levels of industrial development, and with varying traditions of union militancy and political ideologies. The questions which have been raised about working-class movements, leisure patterns, political and social consequences of technological advancement are all of significance when confined to American society. They become even more sociologically relevant for theory building in a comparative framework. This research sets the stage for such future work.

---

[18] Alex Inkeles, "Industrial Man: The Relation of Status to Experience, Perception, and Value," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 65 (July, 1960), pp. 1-31; Seymour Martin Lipset and Reinhard Bendix, Social Mobility in Industrial Society (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1960).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Angell, Robert C. "The Moral Integration of American Cities," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 57 (July, 1951) Special supplement, Part Two.

Axelrod, Morris. "Urban Structure and Social Participation," American Sociological Review, Vol. 21 (February, 1956) pp. 13-18.

Barbash, Jack. Labor's Grass Roots. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1961.

Barber, Bernard. "Participation and Mass Apathy in Associations," in Alvin W. Gouldner (editor) Studies in Leadership. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950.

Belanoff, Sidney. "The Relationship Between Political Participation and Socio-Political Integration in the Detroit Metropolitan Area," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1954).

Bell, Daniel. The End of Ideology. New York: Collier Books, 1961.

Bell, Wendell and Force, Maryanne T. "Urban Neighborhood Types and Participation in Formal Associations," American Sociological Review, Vol. 21 (February, 1956), pp. 25-34.

Berger, Bennett M. Working-Class Suburb. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960.

Blauner, Robert. Alienation and Freedom: The Factory Worker and His Industry. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964.

_____. "Work Satisfaction and Industrial Trends in Modern Society," in Walter Galenson and Seymour Martin Lipset (editors) Labor and Trade Unionism. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1960.

Briefs, Goetz. The Proletariat. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1937.

Brooks, Robert C. Jr. "Why Work? A Christian Answer," Christian Herald, September, 1962.

Cantril, Hadley. The Politics of Despair. New York: Basic Books, 1958.

Chinoy, Ely. Automobile Workers and the American Dream. Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, 1955.

_____. "Manning the Machines--the Assembly-Line Worker," in Peter L. Berger (editor), The Human Shape of Work. New York: Macmillan, 1964.

_____. "The Tradition of Opportunity and the Aspirations of Automobile Workers," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 57 (March, 1952), pp. 453-459.

Dean, Dwight G. "Alienation and Political Apathy," Social Forces, Vol. 38 (March, 1960), pp. 185-189.

Dean Lois R. "Interaction, Reported and Observed: The Case of One Local Union," Human Organization, Vol. 17 (Fall, 1958) pp. 36-44.

_____. "Social Integration, Attitudes and Union Activity," Industrial and Labor Relations Review, Vol. 8 (October, 1954) pp. 48-58.

Dodge, Richard W. "Some Aspects of the Political Behavior of Labor Union Members in the Detroit Metropolitan Area," (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Michigan, 1953).

Dotson, Floyd. "Patterns of Voluntary Association Among Urban Working Class Families," American Sociological Review, Vol. 16 (October, 1951), pp. 687-93.

Dubin, Robert. "Industrial Worker's Worlds: A Study of the 'Central Life Interst' of Industrial Workers," Social Problems, Vol. 3 (January, 1956), pp. 131-142.

_____. The World of Work: Industrial Society and Human Relations. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1958.

Durkheim, Emile. The Division of Labor in Society. George Simpson, trans., Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1947.

Erbe, William. "Social Involvement and Political Activity: A Republication and Elaboration," American Sociological Review, Vol. 29 (April, 1964), pp. 198-215.

Ferry, W. H., et. al. The Triple Revolution. Santa Barbara, California: Privately printed, 1964.

Feuer, Lewis. "What is Alienation? The Career of a Concept," in Maurice Stein and Arthur Vidich (editors) Sociology on Trial. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1963.

Form, William H. and Dansereau, H. K. "Union Member Orientations and Patterns of Social Integration," Industrial and Labor Relations Review, Vol. 11 (October, 1957) pp. 3-12.

Form, William H. and Geschwender, James A. "Social Reference Basis of Job Satisfaction: The Case of Manual Workers," American Sociological Review, Vol. 27 (April, 1962), pp. 228-237.

Form, William H. and Sauer, Warren L. "Organized Labor's Image of Community Power Structure," Social Forces, Vol. 38 (May, 1959), pp. 332-341.

Freeman, Howard W., Novak, Edwin, and Reeder, Leo G. "Correlates of Membership in Voluntary Associations," American Sociological Review, Vol. 22 (October, 1957), pp. 528-533.

Friedmann, Eugene A., and Havinghurst, Robert J. The Meaning of Work and Retirement. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954.

Friedmann, George. The Anatomy of Work. Wyatt Rawson, trans. New York: The Free Press, 1961.

Fromm, Erich. Marx's Concept of Man. New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1961.

Greer, Scott and Orleans, Peter. "The Mass Society and the Parapolitical Structure," American Sociological Review, Vol. 26 (October, 1962) pp. 634-646.

Guest, Robert H. "Work Careers and Aspirations of Automobile Workers," American Sociological Review, Vol. 19 (April, 1954), pp. 155-163.

Gusfield, Joseph R. "Mass Society and Extremist Politics," American Sociological Review, Vol. 27 (February, 1962) pp. 19-30.

Hardin, Einar, Eddy, William B, and Deutsch, Steven E. Economic and Social Implications of Automation: An Annotated Bibliography. East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University, School of Labor and Industrial Relations, 1961.

Hausknect, Murray. The Joiners: A Sociological Description of Voluntary Association Membership in the United States. New York: Bedminster Press, 1962.

Heron, Alexander R. Why Men Work. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1948.

Herzberg, Frederick, Mausner, Bernard, Snyderman, Barbara Block. The Motivation to Work. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1959.

Horton, John E. and Thompson, Wayne E. "Powerlessness and Political Negativism: A Study of Defeated Local Referendums," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 67 (March, 1962), pp. 485-493.

Hudson, Ruth Alice and Rosen, Hjalmar. "Union Political Action: The Union Member Speaks," Industrial and Labor Relations Review, Vol. 7 (April, 1954), pp. 404-418.

Hyman, Herbert. Survey Design and Analysis. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1955.

Inkeles, Alex. "Industrial Man: The Relation of Status to Experience, Perception and Value," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 66 (July, 1960), pp. 1-31.

Jasinski, Frank J. "Technological Delimitation of Reciprocal Relationships: A Study of Interaction Patterns in Industry," Human Organization, Vol. 15 (Summer, 1956), pp. 24-28.

Josephson, Eric and Mary (editors). Man Alone: Alienation in Modern Society. New York: Dell Publishing Company, 1962.

Kampelman, Max M. "Labor in Politics," in Industrial Relations Research Association, Interpreting the Labor Movement, December, 1952.

Knapp, Robert B. Social Integration in Urban Communities. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1960.

Komarovsky, Mirra. "The Voluntary Associations of Urban Dwellers," American Sociological Review, Vol. 11 (December, 1946), pp. 686-697.

Kornhauser, Arthur, Sheppard, Harold L. and Mayer, Albert J. When Labor Votes. New York: University Books, 1956.

Kornhauser, Arthur. "Toward an Assessment of the Mental Health of Factory Workers," Human Organization, Vol. 21 (Spring, 1962), pp. 43-46.

Kornhauser, Ruth. "Some Social Determinants and Consequences of Union Membership," Labor History, Vol. 2 (Winter, 1961), pp. 30-61.

Kornhauser, William. The Politics of Mass Society. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1959.

Kovner, Joseph and Lahne, Herbert J. "Shop Society and the Union," Industrial and Labor Relations Review, Vol. 7 (October, 1953), pp. 3-14.

Kyllonen, Toimi E. "Social Characteristics of Active Unionists," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 56 (May, 1951), pp. 528-533.

Landecker, Werner. "Types of Integration and Their Measurement," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 56 (January, 1951), pp. 332-340.

Lane, Robert E. Political Ideology. New York: The Free Press, 1962..

_____. Political Life. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1959.

Lasswell, Harold D. "The Psychology of Hitlerism as a Response of the Lower Middle Classes to Continuing Insecurity," in Guy Swanson, Theodore Newcomb, and Eugene Hartley (editors), Readings in Social Psychology (New York: Henry Holt & Company, 1952).

Leggett, John C. "Economic Insecurity and Working-Class Consciousness," American Sociological Review, Vol. 29 (April, 1964), pp. 226-234.

_____. "Working-Class Consciousness, Race and Political Choice," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 69 (September, 1963), pp. 171-186.

Lenski, Gerhard E. and Leggett, John C. "Caste, Class and Reference in the Research Interview," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 65 (March, 1960), pp. 463-467.

Levenstein, Aaron. Why People Work. New York: The Crowell-Collier Press, 1962.

Levin, Murray B. The Alienated Voter. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winson, 1960.

Lipset, Seymour Martin, Martin Trow and James S. Coleman. Union Democracy. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1956.

Lipset, Seymour Martin. Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics. Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1960.

Lipset, Seymour Martin and Reinhard Bendix. Social Mobility in Industrial Society. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960.

Lipset, Seymour Martin. The First New Nation. New York: Basic Books, 1963.

Litwak, Eugene. "Voluntary Associations and Neighborhood Cohesion," American Sociological Review, Vol. 26 (April, 1961), pp. 258-271.

Lodahl, Thomas M. "Patterns of Job Attitudes in Two Assembly Technologies," Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol. 8 (March, 1964) pp. 482-519.

Lyman, Elizabeth L. "Occupational Differences in the Value Attached to Work," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 61 (September, 1955), pp. 138-144.

Maccoby, Herbert. "The Differential Political Activity of Participants in a Voluntary Association," American Sociological Review, Vol. 23 (October, 1958), pp. 524-532.

Manis, Jerome G. and Meltzer, Bernard N. "Some Correlates of Class Consciousness Among Textile Workers," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 69 (September, 1953), pp. 177-185.

Maslow, Abraham H. Motivation and Personality. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1954.

Meier, Dorothy L. and Bell, Wendell. "Anomia and Differential Access to the Achievement of Life Goals," American Sociological Review, Vol. 24 (April, 1959), pp. 189-202.

Mersdorff, Doris. "Local 222: A Study of Factors Associated with the Willingness of its Membership to Define Political Action as a Union Function," (Unpublished M.A. thesis, the University of Chicago, 1953).

Miller, S. M. and Riesman, Frank. "Working-Class Authoritarianism: A Critique of Lipset," British Journal of Sociology, Vol. 13 (September, 1961), pp. 203-300.

Mills, C. Wright. The New Men of Power. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1948.

_____. White Collar. New York: Oxford University Press, 1951.

_____. The Marxists. New York: Dell Publishing Company, 1962.

Morse, Nancy C. and Weiss, Robert S. "The Function and Meaning of Work and the Job," American Sociological Review, Vol. 20 (April, 1955), pp. 191-198.

Neal, Arthur G. and Rettig, Salomon. "Dimensions of Alienation Among Manual and Non-Manual Workers," American Sociological Review, Vol. 28 (August, 1963) pp. 599-608.

Nisbet, Robert A. The Quest for Community. New York: Oxford University Press, 1952.

Nosow, Sigmund and From, William H. (editors) Man, Work and Society. New York: Basic Books, 1962.

Olsen, Marvin E. "The Concept of Alienation," paper read at the Michigan Sociological Society, Kalamazoo, Michigan, March 22, 1963.

Palmer, Gladys L. "Attitudes Toward Work in an Industrial Community," American Journal of Sociology, Vol.63 (July, 1957), pp. 17-26.

Palmer, Gladys L. et. al. The Reluctant Job Changer: Studies in Work Attachment and Aspirations. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1962.

Pappenheim, Fritz. The Alienation of Modern Man. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1959.

Pearlin, Leonard I. "Alienation From Work: A Study of Nursing Personnel," American Sociological Review, Vol. 27 (June, 1962) pp. 314-326.

Peck, Sidney. The Rank-and-File Leader. New Haven, Connecticut: College and University Press, 1963.

Perlman, Selig. A Theory of the Labor Movement. New York: Macmillan and Company, 1928.

Rainwater, Lee, Coleman, Richard P. and Handel, Gerald. Workingman's Wife. New York: Oceana Publications, 1959.

Reissman, Leonard. "Class, Leisure, and Social Participation," American Sociological Review, Vol. 19 (February, 1954) pp. 76-84.

Rhodes, A. Lewis. "Authoritarianism and Alienation: The F-Scale and the Srole Scale as Predictors of Prejudice," Sociological Quarterly, Vol. 2 (July, 1961), pp.193-202.

Riesman, David and Glazer, Nathan. "Criteria for Political Apathy," in Alvin W. Gouldner (editor) Studies in Leadership. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950.

Rose, Arnold M. Union Solidarity. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1952.

Rosenberg, Morris. "The Meaning of Politics in Mass Society," Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. 15 (Spring, 1951), pp. 5-15.

Sayles, Leonard R. and Strauss, George. The Local Union. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1953.

Sayles, Leonard R. Behavior of Industrial Work Groups. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1958.

Scott, John C. Jr. "Membership and Participation in Voluntary Associations," American Sociological Review, Vol. 22 (June, 1957), pp. 315-326.

Scott, Marvin B. "The Social Sources of Alienation," in Irving Louis Horowitz (editor), The New Sociology: Essays in Honor of C. Wright Mills. New York: Oxford University Press, 1964.

Scott, Thomas B., et. al. A Definition of Work Adjustment. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Industrial Relations Center, May, 1960.

Seeman, Melvin. "On the Meaning of Alienation," American Sociological Review, Vol. 24 (December, 1959), pp. 783-791.

Seidman, Joel, London, Jack and Karsh, Bernard. "Political Consciousness in a Local Union," Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. 15 (Winter, 1951), pp. 692-702.

Seidman, Joel, London, Jack, Karsh, Bernard, Tagliacozzo, Daisy L. The Worker Views His Union. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958.

Selvin, Hanan C. "A Critique of Tests of Significance in Survey Research," American Sociological Review, Vol. 22 (October, 1957) pp. 519-527.

Selznick, Philip. "Institutional Vulnerability in Mass Society," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 56 (January, 1951), pp. 320-331.

Selznick, Philip and Vollmer, Howard. "Rule of Law in Industry: Seniority Rights," Industrial Relations, Vol. 1 (May, 1962), pp. 97-116.

Sheppard, Harold L., Ferman, Louis A. and Faber, Seymour. Too Old to Work Too Young to Retire: Case Study of a Permanent Plant Shutdown. Special Committee on Unemployment Problems, United States Senate, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1960.

Sheppard, Harold L. and Masters, Nicholas. "Union Political Action and Opinion Polls in a Democratic Society," Social Problems, Vol. 5 (July, 1957), pp. 14-21.

_____. "The Political Attitudes and Preferences of Union Members: The Case of the Detroit Auto Workers," American Political Science Review, Vol. 53 (June, 1959), pp. 437-447.

Spinrad, William. "Correlates of Trade Union Participation: A Summary of the Literature," American Sociological Review, Vol. 25 (April, 1960), pp. 237-244.

Srole, Leo. "Social Integration and Certain Correlaries," American Sociological Review, Vol. 21 (December, 1956), pp. 709-716.

Stieber, Jack. Governing the UAW. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1962.

Stokes, Donald. "Political Communication to the Union Workers," (unpublished study, University of Michigan).

Sturmthal, Adolf. "Some Thoughts on Labor and Political Action," Reprint 119, Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, University of Illinois, 1962.

Sussman, Marvin B. "The Isolated Nuclear Family: Fact or Fiction," Social Problems, Vol. 6 (Spring, 1959), pp. 333-340.

Sussman, Marvin B. and Burchinal, Lee. "Kin Family Networks: Unheralded Structure in Current Conceptualizations of Family Functioning," Marriage and Family Living, Vol. 24 (August, 1962) p. 231-240.

Sussman, Marvin B. and Slater, Sherwood B. "A Reappraisal of Urban Kin Networks: Empirical Evidence," paper read at annual meeting of American Sociological Association, Los Angeles, California, August 28, 1963.

Swados, Harvey. On the Line. New York: Bantam Books, 1960.

Tannenbaum, Arnold S. and Kahn, Robert L. Participation in Union Locals. Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson & Company, 1958.

Teele, James E. "Measures of Social Participation," Social Problems, Vol. 10 (Summer, 1962), pp. 30-39.

Vroom, Victor H. Work and Motivation. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1964.

Walker, Charles R. (editor) Modern Technology and Civilization. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1962.

Walker, Charles R. and Guest, Robert H. The Man on the Assembly Line. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952.

Webb, Sidney and Webb, Beatrice. Industrial Democracy. New York: Longmans, Green & Company, 1920.

Wilensky, Harold L. "The Labor Vote: A Local Union's Impact on the Political Conduct of its Members," Social Forces, Vol. 35 (December, 1956), pp. 111-120.

_____. "Work, Careers, and Social Integration," International Social Science Journal, Vol. 12 (Fall, 1960), pp. 3-20.

_____. "Life Cycles, Work Situation and Participation in Formal Associations," in Robert W. Kleemeier (editor), Aging and Leisure. New York: Oxford University Press, 1961.

_____. "Orderly Careers and Social Participation: The Impact of Work History on Social Integration in the Middle Mass," American Sociological Review, Vol. 26 (August, 1961) pp. 521-539.

_____. "The Moonlighter: A Product of Relative Deprivation," Industrial Relations, Vol. 3 (October, 1963), pp. 105-124.

_____. "Varieties of a Work Experience," in Henry Borrow (editor), Man in a World at Work, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1964.

Williams, Robin M. American Society. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961, second edition.

Wright, Charles R. and Hyman, Herbert H. "Voluntary Association Memberships of American Adults: Evidence from National Sample Surveys," American Sociological Review, Vol. 23 (August, 1958), pp. 284-294.

Wyatt, S. and Marriott, R. A Study of Attitudes to Factory Work. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1956.