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LABOR MANAGEMENT PARTICIPATION AND THE REPRODUCTION
OF GENDER AND LABOR-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS
IN THE WORKPLACE

By

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ABSTRACT

LABOR MANAGEMENT PARTICIPATION AND THE REPRODUCTION OF GENDER AND LABOR-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS IN THE WORKPLACE

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The research problem was to explore the experiences of the employees at XYZ Motors within a labor-management participation program. on the gender and class structures at an automotive parts manufacturing facility. The plant is located in the Midwestern U. S. and has been in operation as an automotive manufacturing plant since before World War II when "Woody" station wagons were manufactured. Interviews were conducted with forty-two employees, fifteen women and twenty-seven men, who represent the various employee groups at the facility. Twenty-nine were union members, three salaried workers, four supervisors, and six managers. A two-stage coding of the interviews provided data on the influence of the labor-management participation program on the labor-management relations and gender structures at the plant.

Using Acker's model of gendered work (1992) and the concepts of hierarchy in organizations, power and authority, interview data were organized to illustrate the gendered and labor-management structures in the organization. The presence of gender and class structures permeated the

organization before and after the implementation of the Employee Involvement program. Additionally, these structures were reproduced through the symbols and interactions of those at the plant. While the structure of the organization did not change, there was some change at the level of the individual. The EI program appeared to lead to an increase in respect between individuals in each of the personnel groups - managers, workers, and salaried employees.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this to those who helped make this dissertation possible - all those who are in my life now and those who have gone.   Thank you for your love and support.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Certainly no journey of this sort is ever accomplished by oneself and so it has been for me. I would like to take this opportunity to thank the Department of Sociology for its financial and intellectual support. Also, it is essential that I thank my family for their ever present loving support while I have wrestled with this long-term project. I also want to thank the professors in the Department of Sociology at Michigan State University from whom I have learned much about Sociology, being a feminist researcher and excellent scholar. Special recognition goes to Dr. Kevin Kelly who patiently chaired my dissertation committee, to Dr. Chris Vanderpool for coming to my financial and emotional aid, to Dr. Marilyn Aronoff for her special guidance, and to Dr. Maxine Baca Zinn who taught me so much about how to be an excellent scholar. I would be remiss if I did not mention the gratitude I feel for the encouragement and support I have received from other graduate students. Just when I thought I was about to run out of the energy needed to complete this project, one of them would appear with a work of encouragement. Special thanks to Jo Dohoney, Mary Burns and Mike Skladany for being there through it all.

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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

OVERVIEW OF THE PROBLEM

Racial, class and gender inequalities are found in all social institutions. They are not only ubiquitous, they are persistent and appear resistant to change. Additionally, these inequalities intersect to shape the experiences of all individuals in every aspect of their lives no matter which sex, race, or class they are and this occurs in the workplace. Inequalities are reflected in the type of work done by women, men, people of color, and white-collar and blue-collar workers. The most desirable jobs are predominantly occupied by white males. Tomaskovic-Devey (1993) has utilized the following characteristics to identify jobs which are considered to be desirable and they are: skills, power, and the whether the jobs are connected to an internal labor market. Another characteristic which contributes to the desirability is the level of wages. The higher the wages, the more desirable the job tends to be and it is more frequently occupied by men, particularly white men. Those who are employed in desirable jobs or who occupy positions of privilege in society, may actively work to maintain such advantage or privilege.

While it may be true that those in desirable positions may work to maintain their advantages, for most of history, the oppressed have engaged in activities designed to improve their lives. The emergence of unions in the 1930s in the United States was an attempt by workers to change class inequalities and resulted in various degrees of change. The amount and type of resistance to dominance by the capitalist or managerial class varies depending on the broader context in which such resistance takes place. For example, the sit-down strike was a valuable tool for unions in the 1930s when there was a dearth of labor (Lerner:1991). Strikes were not as effective after World War II because there was a surplus of labor so other forms of resistance, such as slow downs, were used. These methods of resistance are examples of the way in which workers exercise their power.

Gender inequality is just as pervasive as inequalities between management and other workers in an organization. Women and feminists have been working for centuries to change gender inequalities and as in class inequalities, change has occurred with various outcomes. Some changes that have occurred are: the right for a woman to own property in her name, access to birth control, the right to vote, and the opportunity to pursue employment in areas that have been traditionally occupied by men. The influx of

women into previously all male occupations has resulted in an increase in the number of women who are represented by unions. The fact that more women are represented by unions is important for this study because the research site is a unionized auto parts manufacturer, XYZ Motors[1], where women comprise 28% of the union membership.

In addition to gender and class inequality, racial inequality is also prevalent in the workplace. For this particular research site, racial inequality was interesting for two reasons. First, the racial composition of the research site is approximately 99% white. Second, there are only ten[2] minority workers at the plant and four of them were interviewed. Therefore, since there are not a significant number of minorities employed at XYZ Motors or included in the sample, what can be said about this particular research site is that the absence of minorities tends to reinforce the whiteness of this workplace and the experiences of all the workers at XYZ (Frankenberg:1993).

This study is important to undertake because in recent years there has been an increasing interest in programs that involve workers at various levels of the organization in decision-making. There are a variety of reasons that a firm

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1. This is a pseudonym.

2. Eight of the ten are Latinos, six men and two women, and the other two minorities are African-American men.

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might consider this type of work organization. For example, increasing competition in the global economy has propelled businesses in the United States, and especially manufacturers, to consider new strategies to improve quality and competitiveness, and to increase productivity. Over the past ten years, firms have tried many innovative approaches to achieve these outcomes including implementing advanced manufacturing technologies, improved work systems, and investment in human systems. An emerging theme is the idea that investing in human systems is equally as important as investing in new technology. Phrases such as "people are our biggest resource" reflect the increasing importance of this theme to American businesses. Although management may verbalize that human resources are very important, this does not necessarily mean that the owners or stockholders are truly interested in improving the quality of life for the employees. On the contrary, this approach usually means that the organization is looking to the human resources to find ways to increase profits.

In recent years, labor-management cooperation programs have been one response used by businesses in the United States as an attempt to improve quality, increase productivity, and to increase a firm's investment in their human resources. These programs have been implemented in a

variety of organizations from large to small, and from
Fortune 500 companies to local bookstores. Some of the
larger organizations that have implemented participative
programs are: General Foods, Proctor & Gamble, Texas
Instruments, Xerox, Mazda Flat Rock, and Corning
(Zwerdling:1978, Witte:1980, Lazes & Costanza:1984,
Kobe:1988, Ludwig:1986, Klingel & Martin:1988, and
Hoerr:1991). Smaller organizations that have used labor-
management cooperation programs are: Pacific Northwest
Bell, Mountain Bell, Grayworks, Compag Computers, CalComp
Inc. (a Lockheed company), Rohm & Haas Bayport Inc., and
Harley-Davidson Motor Company (Peterfreund:1982; Taylor,
Friedman & Couture:1987; Chelte, Hess, Fanelli, &
Ferris:1989; Webber:1990; Barrett:1988; Nichols:1987; and
Sepehri:1987).

Labor-management participation or cooperation programs
vary from location to location. Some commonalities are that
most of the programs involve committees which are organized
to work on issues related to quality or productivity.
Membership on the committees is usually, though not always,
voluntary. That is, those who wish to participate may do so
and those who do not want to be on a committee may opt not
to participate. Additionally, most committees are installed
in a top down manner; that is, the group has no formal

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authority in the organization except to make suggestions
(Lawler:1986, Ford:1988, Lambourne, et.al.:1992). The
union's role is one of consultation rather than active
involvement. These programs may also be identified by
various names such as quality circles, quality of work life
programs, problem solving teams, and self-directed work
teams (Lambourne, et.al.:1992; Cohen-Rosenthal &
Burton:1987).

The circumstances that induce various organizations to
implement participatory programs tend to be either economic
or social (Gaudier:1988). In some cases, businesses have
turned to this new way of conducting their day-to-day
operations because of a critical financial situation, as a
way of saving a company from having to cease operations, to
find a way to cut costs, or to keep them from bankruptcy
(Schuster:1983, Cohen-Rosenthal:1993). In addition,
cooperative programs have been implemented as a response to
increased international competition (Nadler and
Lawler:1983). Management may also introduce participative
or cooperative ventures for a variety of other reasons, such
as a way to improve quality and overall organizational
effectiveness, or to increase productivity (Cooke:1989;
Lawler & Ledford:1982; Goodman:1980; Delaney, et.al.:1988).

Programs have been suggested by workers and unions as a way to provide workers with more stable employment (Cooke:1989).

Cooperative programs have also been introduced for social reasons. First, these programs may empower workers by allowing them an increased voice in their daily work lives, to give them the opportunity to use skills and knowledge they might not otherwise use, and to improve labor-management relations overall (Cooke:1989, Goodman:1980). Additionally, management may desire to improve communications throughout the organization and may use a cooperative program to attempt this (Peterfreund:1982; Cooke:1990). Also, such programs may be implemented to obtain an increase in employee commitment and reduce employee absenteeism (Hackmann:1986, Cooke:1990, Goodman:1980). A final social reason for implementing a labor-management participation program is increased job satisfaction (Lawler & Ledford:1982; Goodman:1980).

While all the aforementioned reasons for implementing labor-management participation programs are important, a number of questions come to mind. What are the experiences of the employees who work in a facility where a participative program is in place? Especially, what are the experiences of the working class men and women? That is, what happens to women who are involved in these programs?

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Are they full participants or are they relegated to traditional organizational roles? Also, what is the potential of such programs to impact the gendered nature of the organization? Is there a flattening of the hierarchy? What is the potential to impact the division of labor in an organization? Do such programs impact the way in which power is distributed in the organization? Do some workers experience an increase in power while some lose? Again, if power is redistributed, is it still redistributed on an equal or an unequal basis with the men working on the shop floor experiencing an increase in power while the women who work there do not?

PURPOSE OF THE PROJECT AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The compelling reason for engaging in this research project, was to discover what the workers experienced when a labor-management participation program is introduced. Of particular interest were the experiences of the women at the plant. The deeper my involvement in the project, the more interested I became in the way the workers and management interacted with each other and the ways in which those interactions seemed to be changing. I began to wonder whether these observed changes were also experienced by those who were involved in the project.

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It has long been assumed that organizations are gender neutral. Traditional approaches to organization theory tend to be blind to gender. They operate on the assumption that "most of the workers in the public sphere are male and even more important that it does not matter if they are not" (Mills & Tancred:1992). That is, they have viewed all workers as male without recognizing or considering that the sex of the individual occupying any given position in an organization is an important factor. Acker states that gendered institutions provide advantages to men over women. Four gendered processes identified by Acker have guided my analysis. A gendered process means that "advantage and disadvantage, exploitation and control, . . . are patterned through and in terms of a distinction between male and female, masculine and feminine" (Acker:1992). It is important to note that gendered processes do not operate in a vacuum but are closely related to class. Therefore, gender can only be fully understood in connection with class.

The following research questions have guided my analysis of this research.

> 1. In what ways is the organization gendered in relation to the processes, practices, images, ideologies, and distributions of power?

2. With the implementation of the Employee Involvement program at XYZ Motors, what did the workers experience?

2.a. Did the workers perceive any change in the distribution of power? That is, did access to resources change? Does it increase or decrease? Who experiences an increase or decrease in power?

2.b. Did the workplace become more democratic?

2.c. Did the implementation equally affect all members of the organization? Did all employees, such as, managers, hourly, salaried, union receive the same benefits, or experience the same drawbacks?

To explore these questions, I engaged in participant observations, document review, and conducted in-depth interviews. The questions posed to the interviewees, were designed to determine whether or not the employees experienced any changes either as employees at the plant or participants in the program. The questions were also designed to gather information regarding the employees' perceptions of the changes I had observed.

The employees were randomly selected from a list of the complete employee roster with a few exceptions. I specifically included members from selected committees because they were the individuals who had been directly involved in the program. As I selected those to be interviewed, I ensured that an adequate sample of the various groups were selected, for example, union, salaried, management, women and men.

THE RESEARCH SETTING

I was hired in October 1989 as a research assistant on a project funded by the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service (FMCS), a branch of the United States Government, Department of Labor. The objective of the project was to assist XYZ in implementing a socio-technical joint program. Since I was hired as a research assistant, I expected that most of my time would be spent doing background research and attending meetings at the plant. As the project progressed, I became more involved in training the union and management participants, and the facilitation of meetings, and eventually, became the on site project manager.

XYZ Motors is an automotive parts manufacturing plant located in a nonmetropolitan Midwestern city with a population of 6,000 in the city and 50,000 in the surrounding area. At the beginning of the project, XYZ employed approximately 600 and was the second largest employer in the area[3]. Due to a recent downturn in the financial situation of the plant, there are now less than 350 employees[4]. XYZ is one of two plants in the automotive

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3. The largest employer is the State correctional system with 7 prisons located in the geographic area.

4. In July 1994, an additional 40 employees were laid off. This layoff occurred because of the elimination of the paint line.

reinforced plastics division of a major tire manufacturer. Division headquarters and the parent company are located in two other Midwestern states.

XYZ manufactures reinforced fiberglass automotive, small truck, and semi-truck panels and parts that are sold primarily to General Motors, Ford and Chrysler. The specific parts manufactured include tailgates, removable roofs and tops for utility vehicles, front ends, bumpers, and semi-truck front ends. Recently, efforts have been made to shift the focus of business from automotive and small truck parts to large truck business. For example, the plant recently began manufacturing the semi-truck front end for Volvo.

XYZ's past competitiveness has been based on its reputation among the auto companies for producing parts of the highest-quality, and has been the recipient of the Ford "Q-1 Award" and the GM award for excellence. This quality ranking was due primarily to the performance of a highly experienced work force with an average seniority of 16 years. With increasing global competition, the plant has been facing a major challenge to find ways to improve efficiency without adversely affecting the existing work force. XYZ's competitors have been developing methods to shorten the cycle time needed to produce finished molded

parts. Recent bids for jobs submitted by XYZ have had to take this trend into consideration.

While the experienced work force greatly contributes to the competitive standing of the plant, the layout, work flow and existing technology may detract from that competitive standing. The plant, located on twenty-one acres, consists of two five-story buildings and one two-story building on twenty-one acres. The two five-story buildings are brick and the original one was erected in the 1800s. The two-story building houses the molding unit and was constructed in the 1970s. Materials must be transported between the buildings which house the molding and assembly departments[5]. Additionally, the plant still relies upon manual sensory processes such as visual inspection and hand-sanding of resin-coated seams. XYZ was interested in reorganizing the work into cells designed to maximize a continuous flow of production, and the company expressed its interest in implementing this reorganization through a labor-management participation program.

There are seven robots being used in the plant and they perform duties such as press loading, painting and adhesive

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5. The terminology used to describe these two manufacturing functions changed during my tenure at XYZ. The terms used now are mold and finish units. This change occurred when a new plant manager was hired and organizational restructuring was implemented.

application operations. At the inception of the project, it was a possibility that additional advanced manufacturing technology would be purchased. Under the Employee Involvement (EI) program, joint committees were to be utilized to ensure that any new technologies selected would be used in ways that augment employee skill and knowledge, improve job health and safety, contribute to a positive work environment, and improve production efficiency. The joint committees were to be empowered to review and make decisions about any new technologies considered for purchase and to identify problems and solutions.

Both the management and the union at XYZ were committed to the idea of forming joint committees and to working together to continue the competitive position of XYZ in the automotive parts market. A progressive Local Union President and Plant Manager realized the importance of involving employees from all levels of the organization in substantive areas of decision-making.

The expertise necessary to develop joint committees and implement a labor-management participation program was not available at the plant. Therefore, assistance was sought from the Socio-Technical Institute (STI) and the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service (FMCS)[6]. STI had the

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6. STI is a pseudonym. The Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service is a branch of the Department of Labor.

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expertise and personnel to assist with this project, and initial funding was provided through a grant from the FMCS.

Two types of joint committees were developed at XYZ. One was the Plant-Wide Steering Committee and originally consisted of 10 members and included: the President, Vice-president, Chief Steward, and two bargaining committee members of the local union; the Plant Manager, Human Resource Manager, Production Manager, Quality Manager, and Manager of Plant Engineering and Maintenance[7]. The second type was a problem solving committee consisting of: five hourly employees, 2 Production Supervisors (one from the mold unit and one from the finish unit), and two engineers[8].

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical frameworks used to analyze the data are gender and class theory which provide a structure for my observations and interpretations. A Marxian lens was employed to consider how the workers experienced class power. Additionally, I utilized Acker's (1992) four

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7. After about one and one-half years, the plant controller was added to the Steering Committee and to keep the balance, additional members from the union's top committee were included. Also, the manager of Plant Engineering and Maintenance left employment at XYZ. He was not replaced and his job duties were absorbed by other managers at the plant.

8. This was the configuration of the initial problem solving committee. Future committees did not include supervisors as permanent members but they were available to the committees whenever their expertise was needed.

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processes to analyze the gendered nature of organizations. These include the processes, practices, images, ideologies and distributions of power.

Methods and Philosophy

For a feminist researcher, the methods chosen to conduct research are not the key issue. Rather it is how the methods are used that signifies whether the research is feminist or not. If the research is conducted for and about women, and is used to challenge women's oppression, then the methods used, whether they are quantitative or qualitative, are feminist. Additionally, of particular interest to feminist researchers are issues such as trust and how close the researcher is to the interviewees.

Qualitative methods were selected for several reasons. First, during the project, a number of surveys had been administered by myself and other external consultants. Hence, I was concerned that I would not obtain sufficient participation from the employees. I was concerned that a situation I call survey saturation had resulted. Thus, conducting another survey might not be the best method for collecting the data in which I was interested. Also, many workers had expressed a desire to talk to me directly rather than sit through another survey. As a feminist researcher, it is important to respond to their expressed need of those

being researched. Second, workers are often suspicious of surveys because the results are often used by management to support the status quo or are used to obtain something from the union or workers that management wants. The distrust in quantitative methods resides in the belief held by many workers that if it is something that management wants, it is likely that the workers will not benefit.

RESEARCH FINDINGS

Analysis of the data reveals some interesting points. First, the implementation of the labor-management program influenced the working lives of the women and men at XYZ in different ways. Some of the things I observed were expected while others were unanticipated. While I had expected managers to experience an increase in power, I did not expect the same to be true for workers. Second, I expected that if workers did experience an increase in power, men would more frequently report an increase than women. Thus, my expectations were that any increase in power would occur along class and gender divisions.

ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

This study has been organized so that all components contribute to the final analysis.

<u>Chapters 2 and 3:</u> Overview of the Study. In this section relevant literature is reviewed such as, the

gendered nature of organizations, gender inequality, the division of labor, and scientific management. Also in this section will be a review of the methods and methodology utilized. Included in the review of methods will be sections on research design and implementation, and a summary of the sample characteristics.

Chapter 4: Case Study. Included in this section will be a detailed description of the research setting including a history of XYZ Motors, the physical characteristics of the plant, workforce demographics and an overview of the project funded by the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service.

Chapters 5 and 6: Qualitative Analysis. This section will include the analysis of the participant observation field notes, the document review, and the analysis of the in-depth interviews.

Chapter 7: Conclusion. In this final section, I will provide conclusions based on the theory or theories that emerged from the data collected. Additionally, I will present possible options for the future that may improve the work place for all workers whether they are union or management, women or men. Finally, I will recommend possible research directions for future research.

CHAPTER 2
REVIEW OF LITERATURE

INTRODUCTION

The organization of work in capitalist enterprises includes several common characteristics that are important to understanding current organizational changes. First, gender inequality, occurs in the work place and intersects with race and class. It is important to understand that gender relationships are power relationships and power is unequally distributed in the workplace. A second characteristic found in capitalist organizations is that the organizations themselves are gendered. A third common characteristic is the hierarchical division of labor which is further shaped by the intersection of class and gender, and Frederick Taylor's "Scientific Management". While the hierarchical division of labor is shaped by the intersection of race, class, and gender, for the purposes of this analysis, only class and gender are used because there were very few minorities employed at the research site and of those, very few were interviewed or observed. The division of labor by class and gender is important to consider because it has consequences for all of society.

In addition to the literature mentioned above, it is important to review the existing literature on labor-management participation/cooperation, and industrial

democracy. While many authors have explored the impact of such arrangements on class inequalities, there is a scarcity of literature relating to the intersection of gender and class in organizations that have a labor-management participation structure.

GENDER INEQUALITY

Gender inequality is a fundamental way in which work is organized in capitalism. Game and Pringle (1983) state that the sexual division of labor is a "structural feature of modern capitalism". That is, there is a division of labor based on gender which means that women do women's work and men do men's work (Game & Pringle:1983, Abbott & Wallace:1990).

Although the division of labor by gender appears to be universal and has occurred historically, in industrialized societies the division is hierarchical and that hierarchy is influenced by race and class. The result is that some categories of women are on the bottom of the work pyramid and some are near the top. Typically, women of color occupy jobs that are accompanied by the lowest wages and working conditions, that are less safe, and are more physically demanding than that of many white women (Baca Zinn and Dill:1994). Also, within the hierarchy some categories of men are at the top and some are near the bottom.

The division of labor based on gender is frequently identified as the sex segregation of the work place. Reskin & Hartmann state that sex segregation is universal and may be defined as "any observed difference in the distributions of women and men across jobs categories" (Reskin & Hartmann:1984, Abbott and Wallace:1990, Wolf and Fligstein:1979). While this gendered division of labor may universally occur, it is socially constructed because in different societies and stages of history, the tasks done by each gender have changed (Abbott and Wallace:1990; Game and Pringle:1983). Additionally, the organization of labor is at the center of race and gender inequalities (Baca Zinn & Thornton Dill: 1994, Game & Pringle: 1983). It also "institutionalized discrimination of various forms...to which people of color, women, and people of the working class are particularly subjected" (Ngan-Ling Chow:1994). Thus, a gendered division of labor serves to perpetuate traditional power relations (Acker:1988). Further, the division of labor based on gender benefits capitalists because women tend to be paid less than men who are doing the same work, and this can increase profits. This is important to consider since capitalists are motivated to increase their surplus value through a decrease in labor costs (Acker:1988).

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The labor market tends to be vertically and
horizontally segregated by gender (Barrett:1990, Abbott and
Wallace:1990). The vertical division of labor generally
disadvantages women relative to men in pay and working
conditions and people of color to white people. The
horizontal division of labor demonstrates a concentration of
women and women of color in particular types of work
(Barrett:1990, Baca Zinn and Thornton Dill:1994). That is,
as a result of horizontal segregation, women tend to work in
a "narrow range of occupations and in lower-status jobs
within occupations", and women of color "on average receive
the lowest wages, hold the worst jobs, and are more likely
to be unemployed" (Abbott and Wallace:1990, Baca Zinn and
Thornton Dill:1994). Thus, as a result of horizontal
segregation, women tend to be concentrated in different
industries than men, and even when they do work in the same
industry, women tend to work in different jobs or to have
different opportunities (Barrett:1990, Reskin &
Hartmann:1986, Baca Zinn & Thornton Dill:1994, and Wolf &
Fligstein:1979). One example of such segregation is the
fact that women are less likely to be found in supervisory
positions (Wolf & Fligstein:1979). While women are often
supervisors in departments where the workers are all or
almost all women, when they are in positions of supervisory
power, which have been traditionally held by men,

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subordinate men may resist women's authority (Reskin &
Padavic:1988, and Padavic & Reskin:1990).

CLASS POWER AND POWERLESSNESS

While it is theoretically impossible to separate gender
and power, a review of the literature on power in
organizations provides useful definitions. One type of
power exercised in the workplace is class power. Lazonick
(1990) states that "(s)ocial power is rooted in social
dependence." That is, the worker who does not own the means
of production, is dependent on the capitalist to secure
employment. Hence, it is the capitalist who holds the
balance of power. It is not only the capitalists who hold
the balance of power in relation to the workers, but also
managers who are agents of the capitalist owners of the
means of production. Traditionally, managers are considered
to have power in the workplace, but this is not to say that
managers are all powerful and the workers powerless.   It
does mean that they are not in a position to influence much
of what occurs in the organization. For example, workers
have little input regarding what will be produced, what
service will be provided, or even over their own jobs.
However, workers do have the power to exercise various forms
of resistance. That is, they have human agency and are not
totally powerless. Although, this is the traditional
organization of power relationships within a capitalist

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organization, it does not mean that a shift in power cannot occur.

Before discussing this potential shift, it is essential to define power in organizations and contrast that to powerlessness. Several authors have provided extensive definitions of power and power in organizations and for many, power is presented in terms of zero-sum. That essentially means that when one person gets something they want, another must give something up. "In the broadest sense, power is the human capacity to accomplish something-- and to do so even against the opposition of others" (Rueschemeyer:1986). For Weber, power is the likelihood that one individual, or even a group, will be able to elicit the desired outcome, or get one's own way, in spite of resistance (Weber:1946, Ford:1988). Perrow (1986) follows this line of thinking and defines power as:

> "...the ability of persons or groups to extract
> for themselves valued outputs from a system in
> which other persons or groups either seek the same
> outputs for themselves or would prefer to expend
> their effort toward other outputs."

Hence power can mean that an individual or group has control over something or someone. As Wolf and Fligstein define it, "(power is) control over resources, people, and things".

Along this same line of thinking, Kanter also defines power as the ability to obtain a desired goal or outcome. She further states that power means that an individual or

group has "access to whatever is needed" and the individuals in an organization who are powerful are "the ones who have access to tools for action" (Kanter:1977). She does not mean that power here is the same as hierarchical domination. Therefore, power may be more closely related to "autonomy" than to control over others (Ibid.). Therefore, those who are powerful in an organization are those who have the ability to act or who have access to the tools necessary to take action or to motivate others to get a desired outcome (Wallace:1989).

Nierenberg and Ross (1985) define power as the "ability to influence people in order to achieve those things you want or think should be done". They actually introduce an expansion to the definition of power saying that there are sources of power besides one's position and authority. Some of these are: one's talents, intelligence, knowledge, and character. Another point to make about this form of power is that it may not be recognized by the person who has it (Pfeffer:1981). For example, because knowledge or expertise is not directly observable like height or weight, individuals may not be aware that they possess it. Additionally, others may not be aware of that individual's knowledge or skill. Although managers may hold the reins of power, it does not mean that more power cannot be shifted to the workers. This shift of power to workers, if it is to

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occur, may not be accomplished without some resistance from managers because of their unwillingness to give up power (Kanter and Stein:1979).

Friedson also utilizes the concept of access but he approaches it from the view that power lies with the individual who is able to allocate resources (1986). Therefore, within an organization, this applies to those who have the ability to allocate resources to others. Usually, this allocation is one which passes from someone at an upper level of the organization to someone at a lower level. In other words, resources are allocated from the top of the pyramid to the bottom or from the capitalist owners to the managers to the workers. Therefore, the individual who has the authority to actually distribute or dispense resources is the one with the power within that particular situation or organization.

An important component to consider when discussing power in the workplace, is decision making. That is, it is important to consider who makes decisions and what kinds. This is important because the individual who has the authority to decide which resources may be utilized and by whom has power within the organization. Organizations may use "standard operating procedures and rules rather than engaging in rational decision making on a continuous basis" (Lazonick:1990).

The concept of authority is also important in any discussion of power because when the distribution of power has been legitimated over time, it is "denoted as authority" (Lazonick:1990). Weber identified three different types of legitimate authority: legal, traditional and charismatic. Weber (1946) defines legal authority as:

> "any given legal norm may be established by agreement or by imposition, on grounds of expediency or rational values or both, with a claim to obedience at least on the part of the members of the corporate group."

This definition of authority would encompass all those who are members of an organization, and includes the rules of the agreement. The distribution of power can be legitimated over time and when this happens, it is "denoted as authority" (Lazonick:1990).

Traditional authority is that obedience owed to the "person who occupies a position of authority by tradition or who has been chosen for such a position" (Weber:1946). In other words, workers will obey the orders of a manager or foreperson out of "ingrained habituation" (Ibid.). The relationship occurs when those who are in the position of authority exercise their right and the workers believe they are expected to obey (Ibid.).

It is important not just to look at power but to look at its counterpoint, powerlessness. For Blauner (1964), an individual is powerless when she/he is an "object controlled

and manipulated by others or by an impersonal system". That
is, the individual does not have the capacity to act but can
only react to orders, machines, other people in the
organization, or the situation. This powerlessness comes
from one's class which is the result of one's relation to
the mode of production which in capitalism is private
ownership (Eisenstein:1977). As discussed earlier, the
hierarchy in capitalism places the workers at the bottom of
pyramid which is a powerless position. Therefore, they have
little control over the process of production, i.e. what or
how a product is manufactured, or any active role in
decision making. Also, they do not have access to
resources, nor are they in a traditional or legal position
of authority.

The previous discussion of powerlessness is not to
state or imply that workers are powerless and can only react
to their surroundings. As a feminist researcher, it is
necessary to recognize human agency and the important place
that has in my analysis. Workers devise ways to resist or
negotiate to get their way.

ORGANIZATIONS AS GENDERED INSTITUTIONS

Beyond the division of labor based on gender, it is
essential to view organizations not as gender neutral
institutions but as gendered institutions (Acker:1990,
1992). To say an institution is gendered means that gender

is present in the processes, practices, images and
ideologies, and distributions of power in the various
segments of social life (Acker:1990). Deeply embedded in
organizational control processes is the concept of gender
neutrality and this neutrality is actually the suppression
of knowledge about gender (Acker:1992). Organizations are
one place where the production of race, gender and class
relations are intertwined (Acker:1990, Baca Zinn and
Thornton Dill:1994). Acker & Van Houten state that in
gendered institutions, there is a hierarchy with men in
higher positions and hence, men do not expect to take orders
from women (1974). Additionally, these gendered
institutions have been established historically by men, are
currently dominated by men, and are symbolically interpreted
from the standpoint of men in positions of leadership
(Ibid.). Gendered institutions provide advantages to men
over women and managers over workers (Acker:1990, 1992).
Hartmann contends that job segregation by gender is the
primary mechanism in a capitalist society that maintains the
superiority of men over women because it enforces lower
wages for women in the labor market, and this provides an
economic advantage to men (1990). Men have a vested
interest in maintaining their gendered advantages and they
do so actively. Men maintain organizational arrangements
and institutional policies that appear to be gender neutral,

but are in fact, advantageous to them. When men are pressured by women to change, in most cases, men resist, undermine, and weaken reforms that would redistribute power in the organization. Cockburn states that "women's relation to power is {was} problematized" (Cockburn:1991). Essentially, power and authority are defined as precisely masculine.

According to Acker, gendering happens in at least four processes which interact with each other. First, there is a construction of gender divisions. These divisions include "divisions of labor, of allowed behaviors, of locations in physical space, of power, including the institutionalized means of maintaining the division in the structures of labor markets, the family, and the state" (Acker:1990). Decisions made by managers often introduce gender divisions, and unions may collude in these gender divisions either intentionally or unexpectedly. Additionally, organizational practices maintain these gender divisions (Ibid.).

Second is the construction of symbols and images that explain, express, justify, or sometimes oppose gender divisions (Acker:1990, 1992). Some examples of the sources of these symbols may be: language, ideology, popular and high culture, and dress (Acker:1990). Men workers' images of masculinity may connect their gender with their technical skills. If women obtain such technical skills, men may see

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women as a threat to their jobs, paychecks, and their very
masculine identities (Reskin & Padavic:1988, Acker:1990).
Additionally, women managers in blue-collar jobs implicitly
challenge men's culturally-granted gender power because men
are not expected to take orders from females (Padavic &
Reskin:1990, Acker & Van Houten:1974).

The third group of processes that serve to reproduce
gendered organizations are the interactions which take place
between women and men, women and women, men and men. This
includes all the patterns that characterize dominance and
submission (Acker:1990, 1992). These patterns of dominance
and submission have been observed in conversation analysis
which has shown "how gender differences in interruptions,
turn taking, and setting the topic of discussion recreate
gender inequality". Acker has noted that in qualitative
reports of organizational life, men are the actors, and
women are the emotional support (Ibid.). That is, men tend
to interrupt more often, take more turns talking, and set
the topic of discussion more often than women.

The fourth process in the gendering of organizations is
the inner mental work of individuals as they intentionally
construct their knowledge of the "organization's gendered
structure of work and opportunity and the demands for
gender-appropriate behaviors and attitudes" (Acker:1992).
This includes the choice of gender appropriate work,

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language use, clothing, hiding unacceptable aspects of one's personal life, such as homosexuality, and display of the self as a gendered constituent of an organization (Acker:1992, 1990).

These four processes aid in the reproduction of the gendered foundation of organizations. This gendered substructure is reproduced through the daily and practical work activities of the workers in the organization (Acker:1992, 1990). The material forms of this organizational logic are found in the organization's written work rules, labor contracts, managerial directives, and other documentary tools for running large organizations (Acker:1990). Additionally, within the hierarchy, every job has a place. This is another fundamental element in organizational logic. Further there is an assumption that there is "a congruence between responsibility, job complexity, and hierarchical position" (Acker:1992, 1990). It is important to recognize that in this organizational logic, jobs and hierarchies are considered to be genderless. This means that the jobs are "abstract categories that have no occupants, no human bodies, no gender" (Ibid.). Just as organizations are gendered, so too are hierarchies because they are also erected on the same underlying assumptions (Acker:1990). The social reality is that both the idea of a "job" and actual workers are completely gendered and that

gender is male. The idea that there is a universal worker
marginalizes women because to "achieve the qualities of a
real worker" is "to become like a man" (Acker:1990).

Given the foregoing, it is important to reconsider
organizational analysis on the basis of the fundamental
gendered foundation which characterizes the workplace. It
is also important to emphasize women's reality because it
has previously been excluded (Mills & Tancred:1992). Last,
because all social relations are gendered, one cannot
understand society, class structure, or organizations
without considering gender (Acker:1989). Feminist research
and theorizing may make some contributions to the rethinking
of organizational analysis (Acker:1990). In the future it
may be collective action that will be necessary to
accomplish what needs to be done, and may lead to more
democratic organizations in which the "dominance, control,
and subordination, particularly the subordination of women,
are eradicated, or at least minimized, in our organizational
life" (Acker:1990). I will consider whether labor-
management cooperation programs may provide an avenue toward
that more democratic organization.

DIVISION OF LABOR

The division of labor is a "universal characteristic of
human social life" (Rueschemeyer:1986). The division that
emerges in a capitalist society does so because of the

private ownership of the means of production and is
hierarchical. That division of labor places
"disproportionate numbers of women at the bottom and
disproportionate numbers of men at the top" (Acker:1988).
This hierarchy also "provides structural conditions that
often determine opportunities, job options...for the
workers". One result is that it contributes to the low
wages women tend to earn which may serve to keep women in
subordinate positions (Reskin and Hartmann:1986). The
structure of this division is: the dominant group/owners
above, and the oppressed, or in the case of organizations,
the workers are below. The formation of these social
classes is defined by their place in relation to the process
of production (Poulantzos:1981, England:1992). Since the
working class does not own the means of production, it is
unable to influence or control it and in this way, the
division of labor contributes to alienated labor
(McMurtry:1978). One way this occurs is that the decision-
making authority has been given to managers rather than
workers and this contributes to the alienation of the worker
(England:1992). Donovan defines alienation as "being cut
off from oneself, from others, and from a sense of meaning"
(Donovan:1985). Marx (1947) argued that the separation or
alienation of the worker from the means of production was an
inevitable result of a rationalized and centrally controlled

system of production. The working class has only its personal labor-power to offer. Therefore, members of the working class are exploited by the capitalist class and are alienated (Marx:1947).

While Marx primarily dealt with two classes, the bourgeoisie (owners) and the proletariat (workers), in modern capitalist organizations there is a third, the professional/managerial class (Ehrenreich:1989). With the increase of industrialization, the need for someone to manage the facility arose. Thus, the managerial class emerged. Therefore, contemporary organizational hierarchies can be considered to be a pyramid with different levels representing the three classes. The class organization in a capitalist society is arranged with the workers or proletariat on the bottom, followed by the managerial class in the middle, and the owners or bourgeoisie at the top. In most cases, the owners are not involved in the day-to-day operation of the organization, but they have the most influence or control over the means of production. The managerial class is responsible for continuing the smooth and profitable daily operation of the enterprise. Also, although individuals in the new class are not members of the capitalist class, they are generally in positions of authority over the working class. As such, they are or can be oppressors of the working class. For

example, those who are members of the managerial class are not the active members of the working class as they are not engaged in the actual production of goods.

In this case, the division of labor is also evident. That is, there is a division between mental and material labor. The managerial class engages in the thinking rather than the doing. Additionally, the new class is in the position to be the order giver while the working class must follow those orders. This can create a cleavage between the working class and the managerial class which may develop into hostility between the two.

The two classes tend to have different interests or agenda. For example, those in the managerial class may be interested in maintaining their position of authority over the working class. Conversely, the working class may be interested in changing this situation. Also, in a traditional organization, managers have influence and control over the means of production, but to a lesser extent than the owners. While the owners decide what type of business will be conducted, for instance, automobile or textile manufacturing, the managers, may have direct control over how the production will be arranged. Managers also have authority to dictate the amount of work to be performed and the pace at which that will be done. The workers at the bottom of the pyramid have little say over what will be

produced or the way it will be manufactured. Workers can
exercise their human agency in the struggle over the amount
of work performed and its pace. The result is a specific
technical division of labor in the hierarchical organization
of contemporary businesses. Moreover, there is a conflict
between the workers and management about the pace and amount
of work to be accomplished.

Scientific Management

The division of labor was further reinforced by the
ideas of Frederick W. Taylor who is credited with the
development of "Scientific Management" or "Taylorism". In
fact, Scientific Management was an "ambitious attempt to
gain full and detailed control over the labor process and to
rationalize - study and rearrange work literally move by
move, time fraction by time fraction" (Rueschemeyer:1986).
Scientific management was a three phase process. First,
management needed to learn what the workers already knew.
Second, management was to take over the work for which they
are better suited. And last, management would specify in
advance exactly the tasks in which the workers were to
engage (Lash and Urry:1987). It was Taylor's goal to
substitute scientific investigation and knowledge for
individual judgement. This in effect gave to management the
"work knowledge and the relative autonomy hitherto held by
industrial craftsmen" (Rueschemeyer:1986).

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Taylor's work was designated "scientific" because he and his followers felt that the work performed by individual workers could be analyzed in a scientific manner to determine the essential procedures or rules necessary to produce the greatest output with the least amount of effort from the individual (Scott:1987). It was Taylor's intention to exchange "exact scientific investigation and knowledge for the old individual judgement or opinion, either of the workman or the boss" (Lash and Urry: 1987). His overall objective was to increase productivity with the least cost. The concept of scientific management is extremely compatible with the idea that organizations are rational systems and that they are devised to achieve specifically identified goals (Scott:1987).

Braverman identified three principles in "Scientific Management" (Braverman:1984). First, is the isolation of the labor process from the talents of the workers. This separation of the labor process from the skills of the workers essentially put the managers in charge of gathering and developing all the workers' knowledge and traditions. Hence, the workers were no longer in control of the specific knowledge and traditions they had developed during their tenure on the job. The managers assembled this knowledge into a science or a system of rules which were then used to control the labor process and the workers.

The second principle of "Taylorism" is the disjoining of conception and design from execution (Braverman:1984, Rueschemeyer:1986). In other words, scientific management separated the thinking from the doing. This could be accomplished because the main objective of scientific management was to study jobs and dissect them into their smallest components. The idea was that for a job to be efficient it must be routine, and routinization is accomplished by separating the thinking from the doing. This separation benefits the organization because with such routinized jobs, workers could easily be replaced.

While the jobs and duties of the workers were being subjected to microscopic examination under scientific management, humans were also analyzed just as closely. Thus, managers would be able to bring jobs and people together to accomplish the greatest productive output (Perrow:1986, Scott:1987). Managers would plan down to the minutest detail what needed to be done each day and the workers would carry out the plan of the managers. This effectively eliminated any control the workers had over their own knowledge and traditions (Perrow:1986).

The third principle of scientific management discussed by Braverman is the exclusive use of the monopoly of knowledge to control every step in the labor process (Braverman:1984). Taylor believed that his scientific study

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would resolve the crisis of control, and workers would allow the systematic application of corporate resources to the problem of control (Edwards:1979). Again, he believed that his process would allow the establishment of an undifferentiated pool of labor making workers essentially interchangeable. But only rarely was Taylorism fully implemented.

<div align="center">LABOR-MANAGEMENT PARTICIPATION PROGRAMS</div>

Throughout their history, labor management-cooperation programs have been identified by various names and formats (Oswald:1986). Some of the most common are: quality of work life, quality control circles, employee involvement, Scanlon plan/profit sharing, employee stock ownership, work teams, problem solving groups, participation groups, co-determination, and joint consultation. I have organized a discussion of the various programs into three major categories: team efforts, monetary plans, and broader social change. Before describing and analyzing the specific programs, I will provide a brief history of evolution of labor-management joint programs.

<div align="center">History</div>

Contrary to popular perception, labor-management cooperation programs are not new to the United States but have been in existence since the late 1800s and were found

in a variety of industries, such as printing, textiles, construction, steel, and railroads. These plans varied in their specific formats and occurred in countries around the world (Cohen-Rosenthal, and Burton:1994). An early example is the Proctor and Gamble profit-sharing plan which was introduced in 1887 (Lambourne, et.al.:1992). Another highly publicized early example of labor-management cooperation was the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad's Glenwood shop. In 1923, joint labor-management committees were developed to consider ways to improve the performance and working conditions at the shop. The benefits of the program were many and benefitted both management and labor. The benefits for management were improved workmanship and lower turnover. Workers experienced more regular employment and they received an increase in wages. Additionally, there were gains in goodwill and common understanding between the workers and the railroad. A benefit to both parties was an improvement in public attitude toward the railroad because the suggestion program resulted in improved service (Cohen-Rosenthal, and Burton:1994).

A third early example of cooperative programs is the Scanlon plan, named for its designer who was the local president of the steel workers union. This plan was developed in the 1930s and the significant feature was that

it tied wages to the productivity of the plant. Later the plan evolved to include a suggestion committee system similar to that at the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad (Cohen-Rosenthal and Burton:1994).

During World War II, the War Production Board (WPB) was established to ensure maximum output. The WPB promoted the formation of labor-management cooperation committees in all industries. These committees enjoyed a high rate of success and were considered one way to obtain peaceful industrial relations (Cohen-Rosenthal, and Burton:1994). After World War II, a National Labor-Management Conference was called by President Truman to help with the transition to a peacetime economy (Oswald:1986). Unfortunately, this was not a successful venture because the management participants were not willing to compromise any of what they perceived to be "management's rights" to control (Ibid.). Essentially, they were not willing to concede any of their power. Since management staunchly refused to negotiate any item on their list of "rights", little cooperation resulted and the cooperative committees were doomed and subsequently, an escalation in the adversarial industrial relations occurred. The adversarial atmosphere in industrial relations continued and few joint committees were formed and of those that were organized, few were successful.

This situation continued until the 1970s when an increased interest in labor-management cooperation or quality of work-life programs occurred. This upsurge in interest was reflected in both a flood of professional and anecdotal literature and frequent coverage by the mass media. There were three circumstances which influenced this increase in interest to develop programs to involve workers. First, there was a striking change in the direction of our society and economy. It was becoming evident that the United States was no longer the world economic power that it had been in the past. This loss of position was related to several factors. One of these was an increasing rate of inflation and coupled with that was a high rate of unemployment. A third factor was the OPEC oil crisis and last, we suffered a loss of large shares of various markets to foreign competitors (Cohen-Rosenthal and Burton:1994).

A second influence was a shift in attitudes toward work. Individuals were reexamining the nature, purpose and rewards of work. One survey reported that many workers were dissatisfied with some of the non-economic aspects of their jobs. Some of these were: lack of control over work assignments and shifts, rules and regulations which constrained a workers' speech and behavior and an underutilization of workers' skills.

The third influence was an abundance of organizations which were available to provide information and assistance in the development and implementation of cooperative programs. These organizations were from three sectors: government, private non-profit, and academia. An example of such an agency of the government is the United States Department of Labor's Labor-Management Cooperative Programs. This is a program which emerged after the National Center for Productivity and Quality of Working Life ceased to exist. One of the missions of the current program is to increase the awareness of the potential of cooperative programs. The private non-profit organizations which were active in promoting labor-management cooperation, received grants from the federal government, private industry, and foundations. They also acted as consultants to companies and unions alike and were paid fees for their services. Last, centers associated with universities were established to offer services to assist in the design and implementation of cooperative programs. Financing for these enterprises came from the federal government which provided funds for setting up some of the centers. Additional funding came from unions, private industry, and foundations.

Although interest in the latter part of the 1970s seemed to decline, it appears that the situation has again

changed and there is an increasing interest in the formation
of joint committees from both labor and management.

Cooperative Programs

Cooperative programs occur in various formats and go by
different names. I have grouped the various programs into
three categories: Group and Team Efforts, Monetary Plans,
and those which attempt Broader Social Change. Following is
a brief discussion and analysis of the various program
types.

Group and Team Efforts

Group and team programs can be organized into three
popular types of cooperative efforts: 1) Quality Control
Circles or Quality Circles, 2) Problem-Solving Teams, and 3)
Work Teams, Including Self-Managed Teams.

Quality Circles

Quality circles is one very common form of labor-
management participation. Programs of this type can be
found in most Fortune 100 companies and a 1984 Conference
Board survey reported that forty of fifty-two responding
companies had implemented quality circles (Lawler:1986).
This demonstrates the current popularity of such programs.
Quality circles (QCs) are identified by several common
characteristics (Cole:1979, Lawler:1986, Ford:1988, and
Cohen-Rosenthal and Burton:1994).

1. QCs are usually composed of volunteers from a particular work area or department.

2. QCs generate suggestions which are subject to the approval of some higher steering committee. They have no authority to spend corporate resources.

3. The agendas clearly focus on quality and productivity. The rewards of participating are non-financial and of an intrinsic nature.

4. Members of QCs are trained in group process and problem-solving techniques.

5. QCs often operate without information regarding company operating costs and results.

6. QC meetings are held on a regular basis.

7. The QC is facilitated by someone trained as a group facilitator; it is not run by a group leader or manager.

8. QCs are installed in a top down manner; that is, the group has no formal authority in the organization except to make suggestions.

9. The union's role is one of consultation rather than active involvement.

Problem Solving Teams

Another group/team labor-management cooperative effort is the problem-solving team. Problem-solving teams can:

1. Involve committees which are either cross functional, linked to a product, a function, or a department;

2. Be designed to look at a specific problem, asked to work on problems within certain bounds, or be given free reign;

3. Be very long-term or permanent, tied to a problem and disbanded after its solution, or given a specific time frame in which to operate;

4. Be composed of members of both the union and the company; and

5. Involve regular meetings of the group to go through a problem-solving process including problem selection, prioritization, investigation, solution recommendation and implementation.

The membership of problem solving teams usually consists of representatives from labor and management who have volunteered to participate. A Wide range of topics may be discussed by these groups including problems relating to production, quality, and working conditions. They can take the form of discussion groups where management retains decision making authority; or they can be empowered to make their own decisions and implement solutions within preset boundaries.

Work Teams

A third type of group/team labor-management cooperation are work teams. While the specific characteristics of a work team will be different at each location, there are some common features as well.

1. Work teams usually include a supervisor and all of his or her workers.
2. Each work team is given responsibility for a particular part of a product, process, or service, so there is a clear area for which an individual can be held accountable.

3. A work team may be given some functions which are usually delegated to managers, such as performance evaluation job assignments and absentee control.

4. Work teams have frequent meetings.

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5. Work teams are given some decision making responsibility, but management retains the right to challenge the decision made by the work team.

6. Actual production activity, as well as problem solving, is done by the work team.

Self-Managed/Autonomous Work Teams

A variation of the work team described above is that of

the self-managed team. This type of team is defined as a

small unit that plans, manages, and implements a complete

operation of a major, identifiable segment of the production

process in coordination with other units, or "internal

customers". The following eleven features are common

elements of such teams (Cohen-Rosenthal and Burton:1994, and

Lambourne, et.al.:1992).

1. Teams possess among themselves all skills needed to secure input, conduct operational processes to transform inputs in some desired way, and maintain their own work system.

2. Team members are multi-skilled.

3. Teams are self-directing in deciding how work is to be done with minimal critical specifications of who among team members should perform what role on
any given day, and how members will be selected, rewarded and trained.

4. Teams influence the formulation of their goals including what they will produce, production volume, payment, and other sanctions.

5. Teams govern their own performance by deciding where to work, when to work, and other activities they wish to engage in.

6. Teams make decisions about the choice of production methods.

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7. Teams make their own internal distribution of tasks.

8. Teams decide on their own membership including appointment of new members and expulsion of members.

9. Teams decide on leadership issues such as whether they want to have a leader for internal matters or boundary issues.

10. Teams decide how the work operations will be performed, for example, choosing the technology or approach.

11. While self-managed, teams are linked to other units, or "internal customers".

Monetary Programs

Another category of labor-management participation programs are monetary plans which are a supplement to wages and salaries and are identified by several different terms such as: gainsharing, profit sharing, and employee stock ownership plan (ESOP) Ford:1988). The gainsharing plan most frequently cited is the Scanlon Plan. The three major components of such plans are: 1) employees should continually generate and communicate ideas for improving overall plant performance, that is, productivity; 2) a method for measuring the changing performance over time; and 3) a formula for determining and distributing a company's surplus between the employer and employee (Cohen-Rosenthal and Burton:1994).

A second monetary plan is profit sharing which is an agreement that employers set aside a portion of the annual

net profits which may be distributed annually or on some other time schedule. This type of plan provides tax benefits for the company and the employees. The company can deduct its contributions to the plan and since many of plans are deferred payment plans, the employees pay no taxes until retirement or termination which may place them in a lower tax bracket (Cohen-Rosenthal and Burton:1994, Marshall:1987, and Lawler:1986).

A third monetary program is an employee stock ownership plan (ESOPs). These plans are essentially employee buy-outs of a company, and sometimes, this is financed by all or part of a pension plan. ESOPs are frequently utilized by firms which are experiencing economic difficulty, and sometimes ESOPs are used to avoid a hostile takeover by a competing firm. These plans seldom involve increases in employee control or influence over operations and in benefits from successful company performance (Oswald:1986, Cohen-Rosenthal and Burton:1994, and Marshall:1987).

Broader Social Change Programs

Those programs which can be included in the category of broader social change are: 1) codetermination, 2) joint consultation, and 3) industrial democracy/workers' control.

Codetermination is found in West Germany and Scandinavia and began shortly after World War II. It was designed to curb corporate power, to advance the interests

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of the workers, and to give them a voice in the formation of corporate policy (Cohen-Rosenthal and Burton:1994). There are two forms of codetermination found in West Germany. One form has management and labor each selecting half of the enterprise's directors. Since 1976, this is found in all industries in West Germany and not just in the coal, iron, and steel industries as the original law organized it (Marshall:1987). The other form has one-third of the supervisory board seats filled by worker representatives. This cooperative program is much broader in scope than the teams, groups, or the monetary programs.

A similar form of codetermination found in Japan is the joint consultation system (Cohen-Rosenthal and Burton:1994)[1]. Although the specifics vary from firm to firm, in this system, the union and management consult on the direction of the enterprise and discuss basic issues such as working conditions, wages and wage structure, hours of work, ergonomic considerations, and fringe benefits. Personnel matters are also part of consultations, including recruitment, selection, placement, transfer, education, and training. In this program, enterprises readily share information with the union on issues such as long-range investment, financial updates, community relations and environmental concerns (Ibid.).

Industrial democracy or workers' control is at the very
least difficult to define and at the most, may be impossible
to develop a concrete specific definition. The phrase is
definitely ambiguous (Bayat:1991). To some it is a
combination of all the previously discussed programs from
team efforts through those that represent broader social
change like codetermination (Goldman and Van Houten:9). To
others, industrial democracy cannot occur unless there is a
basic reordering of the economic order. At the very basic
level, industrial democracy is workers participating in
decisions that effect them in the workplace (Marshall:1987).

The current reality in the United States lies somewhere
in between these extremes. In general, industrial democracy
includes those organizations that no longer wish to conduct
business in the old way but wish to operate in a new way and
can refer to the way work is organized at one company
(Bayat:1991). This includes all organizations that wish to
reject the organization of work which allows a "technocratic
bureaucratic elite to monopolize knowledge, technical power
and social power within the organization" (Ibid.). It does
not mean that all members of the organization have equal
rights but that all members have an opportunity to
participate in the process of decision making (Davies:1979).
Thus, industrial democracy is not a democracy in the
political sense of the term that the majority, such as the

total number of workers versus the number of owners or shareholders, have control or power (Ibid.). While I have grouped self-managed work teams with group efforts and work teams, the program at Saturn, is more closely aligned with industrial democracy.

CHAPTER 3
METHODS AND METHODOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

Qualitative methods were selected for this research for several reasons. First, this is an exploratory study to be considered the foundation for further research utilizing other methods such as surveys. This exploratory study investigates the experiences of the workers, especially the women, within the context of the Employee Involvement program. Second, in-depth interviews were used because they would provide data that is not accessible through surveys. Third, I expected that the in-depth interviews would provide a "less mechanical relationship between" those I was interviewing and myself (Jayarante and Stewart: 1991). Fourth, I selected qualitative methods because the workers at XYZ specifically asked that I talk to them instead of administering more surveys or questionnaires. They made this request each time I administered a survey, during training sessions, and in meetings. Finally, I chose qualitative methods because they can best answer my research questions.

Although I selected qualitative methods, other methods could have been utilized to obtain data for my research. For example, the administration of surveys is a common method used to obtain information in the workplace. This

was not used for a variety of reasons. First, during my tenure as an external consultant at XYZ Motors, I administered surveys on three separate occasions and nearly every employee participated in them. Those surveys were conducted to obtain information and to determine issues other than the ones in which I am interested. For example, the responses to the surveys provided information regarding the respondents' perceptions of the quality of the parts being manufactured such as whether it had increased or decreased during the project. The surveys also included items that provided information about job tasks, job descriptions, and how the employees feel about their jobs. Other questions on the surveys were concerned with the overall physical work environment and how satisfied the workers' were with various aspects of the physical environment such as lighting, eating facilities, safety training, and the amount of walking, standing, reaching and stretching required to do their jobs. Thus, the information that might have been obtained by conducting a secondary analysis of the previously administered surveys would not have contributed to my analysis. Moreover, I felt that the cumulative effect of all these surveys created an atmosphere that I call "survey saturation". Thus, if I had administered another survey, adequate representation may not

have been obtained because the employees at the plant were not interested in responding to anymore surveys.

A further reason for not administering another survey is the possible distrust workers often have of surveys and other quantitative methods. For example, quantitative methods may "support sexist, racist and elitist attitudes and practices and therefore negatively affect people's live" (Jayarante and Stewart: 1991). Research has demonstrated that workers do not trust the results of surveys because they have been used by management to justify management decisions that are detrimental to workers. Additionally, management often utilizes quantitative methods to support the status quo. Last, and most important, the more structured format of surveys would not allow me to collect the type of information I was seeking.

RESEARCH PHILOSOPHY

Several issues influence my research philosophy. I have utilized a feminist lens to explore the experiences of the workers at XYZ which means there are several assumptions that were used to support the research. First, while there are a variety of perspectives that can be identified as feminist such as radical or liberal feminism, the key variable in all of them is gender. Another way to state this, is that the experiences of men and women is not the same and that the experiences and products of women have

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been devalued within the system of patriarchy. Second,

using a feminist lens brings into focus the experiences of

women. Conversely, a feminist lens is limiting because the

research will not focus on the experiences of men in the

same way as it focuses on the experiences of women. Third,

feminists assume that a patriarchical/power relationship

exists between women and men. This assumption includes the

concept that women are dominated by or oppressed by men

within the system of patriarchy (Farganis:1994). Fourth, in

the workplace, gender inequality and the gendered nature of

organizations results in the unequal distribution of rewards

such as wages and promotions. Fifth, dominant groups engage

in activities to preserve their position of privilege.

Sixth, as a feminist researcher, I am interested in how

gender is reproduced in the workplace and using a feminist

lens enhances the ability to see things that would not

ordinarily be seen. Last, this research was undertaken

specifically to benefit the lives of all those who are

employed at XYZ Motors, but most specifically, the lives of

the women.

　　　　Several issues also influence my approach to

qualitative methods. First, qualitative methods were chosen

because they are very valuable to use to study oppressed

groups such as women and the working class (Grant, et.

al. :1987, Reinharz:1992). Second, as a feminist, it is

important to be a reflexive practitioner and that means I

must contemplate, critically examine, and explore

analytically the research process. This is an on-going

process and each step must be repeated again and again

through out the research process (Fonow and Cook:1991).

A third issue to consider, is how intimate I could or

should be with those I was interviewing. Or put another

way, how much distance should there be between myself as the

researcher and those being interviewed. As a researcher,

and especially conducting feminist research, it is important

to place myself on a continuum between being totally

immersed in observing and totally immersed in participation.

This question of intimacy with the research subjects is also

linked to the debate whether it is better to be a friend or

a stranger. Associated with this debate is the idea that a

researcher who is too friendly with his/her subjects

increases the possibility that the researcher will too

closely identify with the people being studied thus losing

some measure of objectivity. Conversely, being close to

ones research participants may heighten understanding.

Certainly it is not always best to be a friend nor is it

always best to be a stranger in the research process. In my

case, there were some individuals with whom I had become

very friendly who were interviewed. On the other hand, some

of the individuals who were interviewed were people I met

only for the interview. One of the problems associated with interviewing those with whom I was friendly, was that those interviews tended to take longer because the person being interviewed used the interview as an opportunity to take an extra long break from work. On some occasions, the extra time spent in the interview did not provide additional or particularly insightful material. Conversely, those who were strangers to me, often seemed less willing to open up and discuss what was on their mind which made the interview difficult. In the latter instance I was faced with attempting to elicit information without guiding the interviewee. Some individuals seemed to be unwilling to open up and talk to me. I believe that was a reflection of the level of trust that exits between those being interviewed and myself. Trust is an important issue for a feminist researcher. The level of trust between those I was interviewing and myself was generally high which was partially the result of the time I spent at the plant during the implementation of the labor-management program. During this time, I had demonstrated that I was not "owned" by management nor was I only a "friend" of labor. Because of my ongoing interactions with those at the plant, I was able to illustrate that I understood both sides of the issues that were raised and that I would and could lend support to labor and to management at different times.

Additionally, I engaged in this research to improve the world of work. It is important to me as a feminist researcher that this research be empowering for those at the plant. Also, for a program such as this to be considered successful, I believe it is essential for the principles and practices presented to be used in circumstances outside the Employee Involvement program. That is, I would hope that the participants would be able to transfer the skills and knowledge they obtained in the program to their families and to the community at large.

RESEARCH DESIGN

My exploratory case study at XYZ motors included several qualitative methods: observation, a review of archival documents, and in-depth interviews with the employees at XZY Motors. I engaged in ethnographic research because it would allow me to develop a detailed analysis of the work life and work activities of the people at XYZ Motors, both those who were involved in the labor-management participation program and those who were not (Feagin:1991).

A review of pertinent documents provided relevant information. Those documents that were reviewed included: the original and supplementary grant proposals, minutes of the plant-wide steering committee training session and meetings, minutes of selected departmental joint committee meetings and training sessions, the collective bargaining

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agreement, and quarterly reports written to the Federal

Mediation and Conciliation Service (FMCS). A review of the

original grant proposal provided information regarding the

initial purpose and goals of the project and are discussed

in Chapter 4. The observations and minutes of the plant-

wide steering committee design meetings and training session

provided base line data regarding interactions between the

various members of the steering committee. It also provided

some information regarding the level of trust, or distrust,

that existed between the union and the management members on

the steering committee.

As I participated in and observed the steering

committee and DJC meetings, I developed a great deal of

respect and an awareness about the women and men who were

participating in this project. Even though I did not accept

the dominant view of the working class as somehow less

sentient and intelligent than white collar workers are

assumed to be, I found that I had to revise my opinion

regarding the level of intelligence I had expected to

encounter. Many of the workers participating in the project

raised very thought provoking questions, and I could not

provide immediate answers to all the questions they posed.

While I found this to be a bit unnerving since I was

supposed to be the "expert" in the situation, this was one

area in which the reflexive approach of my feminist research

was especially useful. I could honestly reply to them that
I did not have the answer and assure them that I would at
least attempt to find an answer to their questions.

Most of those who were involved in the project on the
different committees had been employed at the plant for more
than fifteen years. An exception to this was the plant
manager who had been at the plant for approximately eight
years when the project began. Even though he had only been
at the plant for eight years, he had been employed in some
capacity at other plants owned by the same parent
corporation.

RESEARCH DESIGN IMPLEMENTATION

The research design consists of two main segments, a
case study of XYZ Motors as an organization, and in-depth
interviews with employees of XYZ. The methods of inquiry
used to construct the research results presented in Chapters
5 and 6 were observation, documentary, and interview.
Following is an overview of these components.

Case Study

The case study at XYZ Motors evolved from various
sources of data which are: observational, documentary, and
interview. Documents reviewed included the original and
supplemental grant proposal, meeting minutes, quarterly
reports to the FMCS, notes I took during meetings, and
minutes from the different types of meetings that were held

regarding the project, and the collective bargaining agreement. This three pronged approach allowed the development of a more inclusive and comprehensive picture of the organization. It also allowed the placement of this organization in the context of increasing global competition and flight of capital from the United States.

Interviews and Interview Settings

The interviews were conducted between July, 1993 and October, 1993 and all were held at XYZ Motors. I utilized an interview schedule (Appendix A) with open-ended responses. One area covered by the interviews was background data about each interviewee. Such information included: gender, department, job held, and seniority. While the interviewees were randomly selected from a list of all employees, those selected were given an opportunity to decline to be interviewed. Of those selected, only one person actually declined to be interviewed. This individual, who was a second shift supervisor in the molding plant, declined to be interviewed because he felt he could not be away from his job for the length of time an interview tended to take. I could not confirm this because I did not have an opportunity to talk directly to this person. Those who accepted the invitation to be interviewed, generally appeared to be eager to tell me their perceptions of the Employee Involvement (EI) program.

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I made very few changes to the interview schedule except to add a question regarding the person's perceived job duties. Additionally, during transcription, I found that I had inadvertently omitted a question in a few interviews. The question that was omitted was not the same one in each instance. Therefore, I did not attempt to contact the individuals again to have them respond to one question. Although each interview consisted of the same questions, each session resulted in a distinctive interview due to the uniqueness of each individual and because each individual varied in terms of the degree that she/he was willing to open up and talk. Each interviewee was afforded respect and was not treated just as a provider of information or data for my research.

All interviews were tape recorded except for two interviewees who requested that I not tape their interviews. Of those who declined, one was a manager and one was a member of the union but not one of the officers. They both signed the informed consent form agreeing to be interviewed and the union member asked for a copy of the form which was provided upon completion of the interview. The manager indicated that it was not that he distrusted me and my use of the taped interview, but that he had an unpleasant experience in the past when he had agreed to be interviewed and later, part of that interview was used out of context

which created a different meaning than the one he had originally intended.

Each interview session began with an explanation of the reason for the interview, and my background. For consistency, information on my background was provided to all interviewees even though some of them knew me and were familiar with my background through their active participation in the EI project. Each interviewee was assured that there were no right or wrong answers to the questions, and that I was interested in their answers, thoughts, and feelings and that was the purpose of the interview. This approach was used to set the tone of the interview and to try to put the interviewee and interviewer at ease which is important to all researchers and especially to a feminist researcher. During this tone setting time, the person being interviewed was assured that their responses would be kept strictly confidential and would not be shared with anyone at the plant, neither union nor management. I advised the interviewee that she/he was further assured of confidentiality because the tapes would be kept locked in a fire safe at the interviewer's house which is in another city located approximately 60 miles from the plant. Also, it was during the disclosure of the interviewer's background that any perceived difference in social class was down played. I felt that it was important

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to do this to facilitate the interview. If those being interviewed felt that they were not talking to someone who could understand them, then they would be less likely to openly discuss their thoughts and ideas regarding XYZ. Additionally, it is important as a feminist researcher to down play the potential or perceived class difference.

In addition to the introduction provided to the interviewees about the interview, they were given an informed consent form which they were asked to sign (Appendix B). Included on the consent form was a statement ensuring confidentiality, and a statement that the interviewee or her/his health care insurer would not incur any costs beyond the time needed to complete the interview. The message on the informed consent form was read word for word to each interviewee in case one of them was unable to read or had difficulty reading the form.

I asked the managers to provide a place for the interviews where minimal interruptions would occur and the interviewees would feel comfortable. The comfort level of the various interviewees was very important to me as a feminist researcher. On two occasions, interviews were held in a conference room in the mold unit, and on two other occasions, interviews were held in the manager's office in the mold unit. This office was used because he was gone and the conference room was not available on those days and no

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other neutral space was available. The interviews conducted in this venue did not seem to differ qualitatively from others conducted in other places at the plant. While it might have been inhibiting to be in the plant manager's office for some of those who were interviewed, it was not apparent to the interviewer that was the case.

For interviews with employees in the finish unit, several different rooms were made available. One location doubled as a physical therapy room and was used only once. The comfort level of the interviewer and possibly the interviewee may not have been the best in that location. For myself, it was not as comfortable physically as other rooms as the furniture was less comfortable. Another room was called the "Safety Library" but appeared to be a general dumping ground for any material that was seldom if ever used. This room was small and felt a little cramped while an interview was being conducted. Since it was used so infrequently, it did provide a place where few interruptions occurred.

Most of the interviews were held with several days between them but sometimes this was not the case due to the production needs at XYZ Motors and the need of the interviewer to complete the interviews. When the interviews were scheduled on consecutive days, they were very emotionally draining. I was concerned that this would

somehow negatively effect the quality of the interviews but
my analysis has not indicated that this is the case. The
interviews were conducted during the interviewee's regular
working shift. Since the mold unit operated on three
shifts, some interviews were conducted at 4:00 and 5:00 a.m.
to accommodate the schedules of the workers on the third
shift.

Recruitment Procedures

The recruitment procedures that were followed were
utilized to ensure the confidentiality of the interviewees.
It was not possible to have the interviewees remain
completely anonymous to the managers at the plant or myself
because it was necessary to involve the managers of the
various employees selected to be interviewed. This
involvement was necessary to arrange for the release of the
interviewees from their jobs and so the managers could
provide relief workers to cover the jobs of those being
interviewed.

Those who were interviewed were selected in two ways.
The members of the plant-wide steering committee were
specifically selected because of their involvement in the EI
program. They were selected because they represented the
top level of management and the top level of the union
hierarchy. And, since they were involved from the initial
design stage of the EI program, it was anticipated that they

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could provide information about the origination of the program that would not be available from others. A random selection procedure from a list of all employees at XYZ Motors was used to obtain other potential interviewees. Random selection was used to avoid the self-selection bias that can occur if a strictly volunteer procedure had been utilized. This random selection was greatly facilitated by a member of the human resource staff who provided a list of all active XYZ employees including those who were on layoff or sick leave. None of the individuals who were on sick leave or layoff were asked to participate in the interviews. The only other manipulation of the selection process was to ensure a representative sample from key groups such as management, union members, unrepresented hourly and salaried employees, and members of the mold and finish units.

Arrangements for rooms in which to conduct the interviews were handled by the managers of the various individuals selected to be interviewed. The room in which the interviews were held varied and was determined by the department in which the interviewee was currently working. I did ask that the managers select places that would allow the workers to feel comfortable and suggested that we use conference rooms whenever possible as these were areas in which the workers had various types of meetings from those arranged by managers and supervisors and the union so they

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provided a more neutral space for the interviews to be conducted.

Research Sample Characteristics

A total of 42 interviews were conducted for this research and the sample was selected randomly except for the selection of the plant-wide steering committee, and the past president of the local union. The selection was conducted to ensure a representative sample from the various groups at the plant such as women, men, management, union, supervisor or forepersons, and salaried employees. It was also essential to have a representative sample of those who had been directly involved in Employee Involvement and those who had not. The original management members of the Plant-wide Steering Committee (PWSC) were the plant manager, human resource manager, the quality manager, production manager, and maintenance manager. The original union representatives were: the president, vice-president, chief-steward, joint safety team coordinator, and a member-at-large. The revised Steering Committee management members were: plant manager, administrative unit manager, mold and finish unit managers, quality manager, equipment team leader. The union was represented by the same elected officials and an additional member-at-large. Of those who were members of the PWSC, three were women and they were members of the union. The trainers attended all PWSC meetings and provided input but

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were not part of the consensus decision-making process.

Three of the trainers were union representatives and one was a member of the human resource department. Demographic information related to the interviews is reflected in Table 1. More men than women were interviewed which reflects the population of the plant.

Table 1

Demographic Data of Interviewees

GROUPS	WOMEN	MEN	TOTALS
Union	11	19	30
Management	0	6	6
Salaried	3	0	3
Supervisors	1	2	3
TOTALS	15	27	42

QUALITATIVE DATA ANALYSIS

As a feminist researcher, it is essential that the methods used to conduct research be utilized to achieve a feminist analysis of the data collected. Methods of feminist data analysis include: listening to and understanding women's voices from all strata of the organization and finding ways to ensure that neither an individual's or a group's voice is omitted (Reinharz:1992). Additionally, most feminist research is seen as research that is "primarily research on, by, and especially for women" (Stacey:1988). Gorelick (1991) noted that feminist research is not only "collecting descriptive statistics or

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experiential data about women" but also "part of a process
by which women's oppression is not only described but
challenged".

While the methods used are qualitative, I used Acker's
model of gendering organizational analysis. Additionally, I
considered·workplace relations between management, salaried
and union members. Further, I sought to understand how the
workers experienced class power in the context of the
Employee Involvement Program. In addition to the
conventions of theoretical sampling and memoing, theoretical
coding was done. This coding is usually done manually, but
for this project a new software program called Ethnograph
was utilized.

CHAPTER 4

CASE STUDY
XYZ MOTORS

In order to understand the results of this research, it is important to consider several facets of XYZ Motors such as the location and physical layout of the plant, the size and demographics of the workforce, the union, labor-management relations, what is produced, the labor process, the occupational and Employee Involvement structure. These aspects are important because the physical layout of the plant can serve to unify or separate the manufacturing functions and influences production and social relations. Further it may serve to reproduce class and gender relations. The geographic location of a facility is important because it directly relates to the available pool of labor. Whether or not a facility is unionized directly influences the wages and benefits workers receive because wages are higher and the benefits are better at union facilities than similar non-union facilities. Each of these facets will be described in the following order: geographic location, the physical layout, the three business functions, workforce demographics, a brief description of the jobs in the various business units. Last, I will describe the structure of the Employee Involvement Program.

RESEARCH SITE AND PLANT LAYOUT

Administrative and Finish Units

XYZ Motors is located in a nonmetropolitan Midwestern city which is also the county seat. It is located about one and ½ hour from one of the Great Lakes. The population within the city limits is approximately 6,000. In the surrounding county, there are an additional 50,000 people who reside within a relatively short commuting distance of the facility. That is, under normal driving conditions, it would take the individual living the furthest from the plant about thirty-five minutes to make the commute to or from the plant. In fact, some of the managers travel from a metropolitan area that is one hour from the plant. XYZ Motors is one of the largest employers in the county, and at one time it was the largest, but that distinction now belongs to correctional and mental health facilities located in and near the city.

Entering the city from the south, you see two red brick buildings. These buildings are referred to as "A and B." They are reminiscent of factory buildings one might see in any industrial area of the United States. It is obvious that the brick is not new and the buildings definitely show their age. Some of the panes in the windows are painted over, some are darkened, and some appear to be missing even though they are not.

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Just to the north of A Building is a small parking lot with space for sixteen or seventeen cars. This lot is for visitors but some workers also park their cars in the lot because there is insufficient space for all first shift workers to park in the fenced lot. The workers are not penalized for parking in the visitor's lot and occasionally, visitors would have to find a spot to park on the street. There are two guarded gates where trucks enter and leave and the plant and must stop to get a pass from the guards. One gate is near A Building and other is just outside the entrance to the mold unit at the back of the property. Four guards are on duty each day, and if all three shifts are working, then five guards are working. A guard is stationed at each gate during the first and second shifts while one guard is on duty during the third shift and is stationed at the gate nearest to A Building.

Just before I began conducting interviews at XYZ Motors, the plant had been reorganized into three business units: Administrative, Finish, and Mold Units. The mold and finish functions are located in three buildings which creates a physical, psychological and philosophical division among the workers. These divisions will be discussed in detail in the following data analysis chapters. What follows is a description of the three buildings and a brief

discussion of the functions located in each of the buildings.

The second oldest of the three buildings was built in the 1940s and is called the "A Building." It is four stories plus a basement. The manufacturing processes are located on the third and fourth floors and the basement is primarily used for storage. The paint booth, which has some robotics, is on the third floor of this building and there is also a skyway and in the basement a tunnel which connects A & B Buildings. Most of the Administrative Unit is located in Building A on the first two floors in the east end of the building. The functions included in the Administrative Unit are: plant manager, human resources (this includes safety and workers' compensation), accounting, engineering, shipping and receiving, the plant nurse, Finish Unit Manager, environmental testing and Compliance, and the support staff for each of the above noted functions. The clerical/administrative functions for engineering and shipping and receiving are located in A Building while the physical function occurs at all three buildings.

Visitors enter the plant through the main entrance on the east side of A Building or through the guarded gate on the north side of the building. Those who are visiting the Plant between the hours of 8:00 a.m. & 5:00 p.m. are

expected to enter through a set of double glass doors. Once in the lobby/reception area, all visitors must fill out a security pass. The information requested is: individual's name, organizations representing, time of arrival, who they are visiting, license number of the vehicle (primarily for trucks bringing or picking up goods or parts), and the purpose of the visit.

Once the visitor fills out the pass, there is a phone and a list of phone numbers sitting on the counter just outside a locked door, the visitor directly dials the individual they want to see. That individual then comes down to the reception area and greets the visitor and lets s/he in through the locked door. The telephone system was put in place about three years into the project. Previous to that, there had been a receptionist who had to be at the desk from 8 a.m. to 12 p.m. and 1 p.m. to 5 p.m. to ensure that visitors filled out the pass and waited for the individual they were visiting. This means that if the receptionist was ill or needed to leave the desk for any reason, someone else had to leave their own work station to cover for her. Once the new phone system was in place, I felt that some of the friendliness of the plant had disappeared because there was no longer someone to greet visitors when they entered the main doors of the plant.

The floor of the lobby and the area just inside the security door is tiled with a marbled black and white linoleum. Even when the tile has just been cleaned, it has a dingy appearance from years of ground in dirt and oil tracked in from the production areas. The walls are painted what appears to be a light beige but the paint is old and it is difficult to tell whether that is the original color.

Directly across from the entrance door is a 1950s style bench with no back, wooden legs, and a padded rust colored plastic seat. Above it on the wall, a BMW bumper is displayed with pride like a hunter's trophy. To the left of this are stairs to the second floor. On the wall to the left of the stairs, the front fender of a Buick Ciera is mounted. Under the stairs, is a women's bathroom. Just inside the security door a full-sized semi-truck hood and fenders are displayed. To the right of the semi-truck hood, is a doorway that leads to the offices of the plant manager and his secretary. The secretary's office is much smaller than that of the manager's and is furnished with the usual secretarial furniture: a desk, computer and typewriter on stands. Along the wall opposite the windows and to the left of the door is a row of four drawer file cabinets. On the floor between the file cabinets and a table are piles of papers that appear to be ready to be filed or are overflow from the cabinets. The furniture and papers create a

crowded feeling to the room and makes me think that the person who occupies the office is harried, overworked, and does not have enough time to do all that is assigned to her.

Access to the plant manager's corner office is through a door in front of and to the right of the secretary's desk. This corner office is carpeted with a dark green low pile dark carpet which is well worn though not threadbare. The walls are paneled in a dark wood and there are two windows that face east and two that face south. Between the south facing windows stands two grey four drawer file cabinets. The south windows provide a clear view of the main north/south highway and the railroad tracks that cross it just south of A Building.

Just inside the office door to the left is a 1950s Danish modern wood credenza and it is stained to match the paneling. Above the credenza on the wall is a picture of one of the GM product lines for which the plant makes a part, the right of the door and mounted on the wall, is a "white-wipe off board". Notes are usually on the board recording information from the last meeting held there. Between the east windows and against the wall is a table with straight legs on which sits a lamp with an olive green base that matches the green vinyl of the chairs that sit on each side of the table. The chairs have padded arm rests with wood trim legs that match the credenza and the table.

There is also an ornate ashtray sitting on the table, but I believe that it is strictly for decoration because the plant manager is an avid non-smoker. Across from the table and chairs, is the manager's desk behind which is a black leather high backed chair with padded arm rests. Behind the desk is another long low credenza of the same wood and design as the rest of the office furniture. On top of it sits a computer, a printer and a row of books most of which are about the Japanese system of continuous improvement or Kaizen. Above this on the wall is a picture of a "Woody Station Wagon" that had once been manufactured at the plant.

In front of the credenza is the plant manager's desk which matches the rest of the furniture in the room. On top of the desk in the corner closest to the door, sits a dark wood, two tier "In/Out basket" and I note on most of my visits there are papers in both trays awaiting the appropriate action by either the plant manager or his secretary. Also on the desk are several items I would identify as "executive decorations". One is a matching pen and pencil set in a wooden base with a brass name plate engraved with the plant manager's name. The pen and pencil are metal with a brushed gold finish and are wide near the writing point and taper to a point at the other end. I do not recall seeing either the pen or pencil used and I suspect that this may have been an item that is awarded to

the manager for a "job well done" and it is therefore, a status symbol to be proudly displayed. Also, on the desk is a brass coaster with a raised company logo in the center which is surrounded by a black leather inlay. When I asked about the coaster, I was told that it is given to people at XYZ Motors when they have accomplished some designated goal or when the individual is being recognized for outstanding performance and it is a coveted item. When I gained that information, I realized that the coaster is there on the desk not as a utilitarian item but to demonstrate that the manager had been recognized by those above him for his performance. A third decorative item is a small, daily sayings "flip-chart" with one saying facing toward the plant manager and another facing the visitor. These sayings are often quotes from the Bible providing guidance on how to live one's life to the fullest. Directly in front of the manager, is a large desk calendar on which is recorded appointments, meetings, travel dates, and other information that is important to him. On either side of the calendar, are several piles of papers giving the desk a disorganized appearance which is contrary to the image portrayed by the plant manager who is an engineer and is detail oriented and organized. With all the executive decorations, utilitarian items, and stacks of papers, it is actually difficult to see the surface of the desk. In front of the desk are two

chairs placed at angle to the desk which allows those in the chairs to make eye contact with each other and the manager.

The human resource offices, shipping and receiving offices, the safety library, the company liaison's office and the EI office are also in this building on the first floor. The largest office is occupied by the finish unit manager. The smaller offices are occupied by the EI trainers and the safety library.

Also, on the first floor, but separate from the offices just noted, are the union and first aid offices. The nurse is available Monday through Friday during the first shift which starts at 7 and ends at 3. The other shifts have workers who have been trained in basic first aid procedures such as dressing a minor cut or burn and CPR. The union office is to the west of the nurse's and is a small office that is overcrowded with desks, office chairs, a computer and printer on a computer stand and a row of file cabinets which divides the room and creates a space for people to sit.

On the second floor are the accounting offices, a conference room, a new training room, the engineers, a crib room and a break room. The break room is air-conditioned and equipped with folding tables with attached benches. Along the walls are vending machines that dispense hot and cold beverages, hot foods in cans, sandwiches, and a variety

of snacks such as candy bars, chips, cheese filled snack crackers, yogurt and apples. There is a similar break room on each floor of the production area in both "A" and "B" buildings and one in the mold plant.

On the third floor is the paint booth and dryers. Parts are moved through these areas on an overhead moving line. Some of the painting is done by robots while others requires a worker to be in the paint booth to operate the paint gun. The painters wear tyvek protective suits and respirators where they are painting. This is one area in which the use of a respirator is strictly enforced by the union and by management.

Mold Unit

The molding function is located at the west end of the 21-acre property in an aluminum sided cream colored building which was built in the early 1960s. It is two stories tall, however, the building is built to accommodate the presses and does not have two full floors. As you enter the building from the east, on the right there is a small, two floor area that has been divided into several offices. The largest of these offices is occupied by the Manager of the Mold Unit and is furnished with a large dark wood desk, a desk chair on wheels behind the desk, and a computer on a separate stand. Also housed within this air conditioned office complex are three smaller offices. One is used by

the supervisors for all three shifts. Another is used by
clerical and support staff and the last is used by the Mold
Unit Equipment Team Leader. Outside these offices is a
large work area enclosed by portable partitions made of a
gray metal frame with a pale gray tweed fabric that
resembles indoor/outdoor carpet. Located within the area is
a coffee pot, another computer, a copier, paper for both
machines and a long work table. On the second floor are the
mold plant engineering offices, a conference room, and a
supervisor/team leader office.

Located on the first floor, are the presses, the
slitter tables, and a storage area for the SMC (reinforced
fiberglass). The presses are arranged in two rows from the
east to the west end of the building with the smaller
presses at the east end of the building along. There is
room around the presses for hi-los to drive to deliver SMC
or to pick up racks of molded parts that are ready either
for shipping or to be moved to the finish unit. Most
surfaces in this building are either covered with fiberglass
dust particles or oil and grease from the presses. The
workers complain about going home being covered with the
fiberglass but because the plant is so warm, especially in
the summer, it is very uncomfortable to wear long sleeved
shirts to try to minimize their exposure.

WORKFORCE DEMOGRAPHICS

A second factor to consider is the size and content of the workforce. When I began this research, three were 515 employees at XYZ Motors. Of these, 450 were union members (131 women and 319 men), 33 salaried (11 women and 22 men), 21 supervisors/team leaders, and 11 managers. Union positions are: production and plant equipment cleaner, packer/crater, power lift operator and local truck driver, crib attendant, general operator/inspector, mold operator, utility, millwright, machinist/tooling, and electrician. The man and woman with the most seniority in the union were hired in 1936 and 1969 respectively. While women were hired to work in the plant during World War II, the woman who began employment in 1969 was the first permanent hire. The most recent hire for men and women in the union was in 1993. The largest proportion of women were hired in two waves between 1972-1975 when 61 women were hired and between 1978-1979 when 31 women were hired. The largest proportion of men were hired during the same time frames with 162 men hired during the first and 69 men were hired in 1978 and 1979. Salaried jobs include: engineer, environmental technician, accounting clerk and supervisor, human resource assistant, nurse, shipping and receiving, quality, and clerical/support personnel. Management positions include: Business Unit Managers, Plant Manager, Quality System

Leader, Advanced Engineering Manager, Mold Unit Equipment Team Leader, Logistics Manager, Volvo Administration, Assistant Human Resource Manager and a Vice-president of Manufacturing.

Union

XYZ Motors is a unionized facility which influences the functioning of the plant. The plant was unionized in the 1930s when it was a furniture manufacturer. The shop floor and skilled trades workers are represented by a local of the International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE). Once an individual is hired into a position that is represented by the Union, he or she has thirty days to join and start paying dues. If the individual does not wish to be a member of the Union, they are not able to continue employment.

Because this is a unionized facility, the union members receive better wages, benefits, participate in a retirement plan, experience relatively steady employment, and a formal grievance procedure. The average starting wage for union workers at XYZ Motors is $11.21 per hour. Additionally, until recently, the workers had excellent health care benefits to which they were required to contribute very little. In 1992 management asked the union to reopen the contract to renegotiate the health benefits coverage because XYZ was experiencing increasing costs related to health benefits. The union was reluctant to reopen the contract

because they feared management might take that opportunity
to try to renegotiate other parts of the contract. The
union decided to reopen the contract to renegotiate the
health care benefits and were able to protect other parts of
the contract.

Labor-Management Relationship

The relationship that exists between the various
employee groups at XYZ is similar to the relationship at any
unionized manufacturing facility. The relationship is an
adversarial one and there is conflict over traditional areas
such as: jobs, pace and hours of work, health and safety
issues, and wages and benefits. Even though the employees
of XYZ experienced some conflict, they characterized the
relationship as more harmonious than many unionized
facilities. Several managers and union members indicated
that since the relationship between the union and management
was not excessively adversarial, this facilitated the
movement toward and acceptance of the Employee Involvement
program as a business strategy.

LABOR PROCESS/JOB POSITIONS

The parts that are manufactured at XYZ Motors are
automotive, small pick-up and semi- trucks. Most of the
contracts are with U. S. automobile manufacturers but XYZ
also has contracts with Volvo for the semi-truck front end
and with BMW for bumpers. Some parts were molded and then

shipped to the customer while others were molded and then
moved to the finish unit where one or more additional steps
were completed. For example, the part might be painted, or
go to a sub-assembly process such as attaching
reinforcements to bumpers, or to a bonding process where
several parts would be bonded together to make a larger
part.

Mold Unit

Positions in the mold unit include: Mold Unit Business
Manager, Equipment Team Manager, engineers, team
leaders/supervisors, maintenance/tooling, electrician, hi-
lo/power lift operator, crib attendant, equipment cleaner,
mold operator and general operator. The majority of those
working in the mold unit are either GOs or mold operators.
The manufacturing process commences in the mold unit where
there are 19 presses of varying capacities. The largest is
four stories tall and exerts 4000 tons of pressure per
square inch (psi). The molds used in this press are the
larger auto and small truck parts such as the rear door,
hood and roof of sport utility vehicles, and the side panels
of small truck beds. Smaller parts such as the front and
rear bumpers of autos were molded in much smaller presses.
The smaller presses are operated by one individual and to
start the press cycle, the operator has to simultaneously
push two buttons. The larger presses require two operators

to load the charge, remove the part from the press, and four buttons have to be engaged simultaneously to start the press cycle.

The reinforced plastic (SMC) is manufactured at a plant in a nearby state which is owned by the same corporation as XYZ Motors and is delivered by truck. Trucks must enter the plant through one of the two guarded gates. The SMC arrives in sheets either in a large roll or folded and packed into a box. The plastic on the roll is used for the larger parts such as the hood for a Lincoln. Initially, the SMC arrived only in rolls but this is changed after a worker noted that many of the molded hoods cracked at the fold line and had to be scrapped.

Essentially, the hi-lo drivers are responsible for moving goods from one section of the production process to the next whether they are assigned to the mold or finish unit. Their duties may include unloading trucks. One operator said she started her shift by checking the forklift to make sure it is working safely. She specifically checks the brakes, lights and the horn to ensure they are properly functioning. Her next step is to determine which mold operators need SMC and then deliver it to the press. During the day if more SMC is required, the mold operators page the hi-lo driver using the intercom (which is often difficult to hear over the noise of the running presses). Next, full

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racks of molded parts are moved to the next step in the process, either to be shipped or to the finish unit. These full racks are then replaced with empty racks.

A unique position at XYZ Motors is that of Local Truck Driver. Once a trailer is brought onto the grounds, a Local Truck Driver moves it to the docks to be loaded or unloaded. In order to work in this position, the individual must obtain the same type of license as a long-haul truck driver. There are four local truck drivers none of whom are women.

Press/mold operators cut and weigh the SMC. Most operators use a "slitter table" which uses a template for the part and automatically cuts the SMC into the correct shape. Others use a template or pattern and cut the charge with a hand tool. Then the SMC strips are placed into the mold by the operator who activates the molding cycle. Some molds had codes imbedded in them which determined how much pressure and heat is required to correctly mold the part. Other parts required that the mold operator set up the press. The cycle for smaller parts is 60-75 seconds while it might take larger parts three or four minutes to complete the cycle. Once the molding cycle is completed, the press opens automatically and the part is removed from the press and is placed on the cooling rack for the general operator to work on next.

The primary duties of the general operator (GO) were to: deflash the part, measure the thickness with a micrometer, inspect it for defects such as cracks, non-fills, pulled edges and high, low or missing studs. Some parts also required that the general operator drill or punch the part. The GOs were also responsible for recording the number and type of defects in a red book that is at their work station. The red books were developed by a DJC problem solving committee and are at each press and GO station. They are used as a way to communicate information about problems and solutions at each press, across shifts and between operators as they move from one press or station to another.

The GOs work at sanding booths that have an exhaust hood over the work table to draw the sand dust up and away from the operator. While the exhaust hoods are very efficient, according to the workers, they are not capable of removing all the fiberglass dust from the air. I asked one GO why I did not see anyone using a dust mask or respirator on the job. He replied that the fiberglass gets under the edges of the respirator mask and when the mask moved around it caused irritation so most workers did not wear a respirator. One mold operator said he might help the GO deflash a part if it looked like the GO is getting

backlogged. After deflashing and inspection, the part is placed on a rack to be moved by the hi-lo driver.

The crib attendant supplies workers with sandpaper, work gloves, and hand tools such as drills and sanders. She is also responsible for record keeping such as tracking the frequency with which various supplies were used, to advise the shipping and receiving clerk of items that were being used frequently or that needed to be reordered, and provide workers with the proper tool for the job they were doing.

In addition to the production workers, there are ten team leaders/shop floor supervisors and managers in the mold unit. Team leaders are responsible for managing workers and overseeing products being manufactured including: production scheduling, troubleshooting, time cards collection, weekly reports to the business unit manager, safety and ordering materials. Additionally, the supervisors were responsible for training workers, safety, and reducing costs.

<p align="center">Finish Unit</p>

Those positions assigned to the finish unit are: the Finish Unit Manager, general operator/inspector, utility, power lift operator, electrician, garage mechanic/millwright, team leaders, electrician, and packer/crater.

Racks of parts are moved by the hi-lo drivers from the mold unit to A or B building depending on the next step the part must go through. Parts ready to be shipped or that require painting are moved to A Building. Others are moved to A or B building for finish work which may include sub-assembly work, bonding, paint preparation and painting.

The job of GO/Inspector includes a variety of duties. For example, one GO/Inspector noted that she examines the inside of each part for any defects such as cracks or missing rivets. She marks those and someone else further down the line does the same task for the outside. She also prepares the part to be painted on the outside by applying masking tape to the inside of the part to keep paint from running on the inside painted surface. Another GO mentioned that in addition to the duties noted above, he is responsible for building brackets for a part. When he is done inspecting his part, it is taken to be bonded. A third GO is responsible for operating a drill fixture where she lifts a part weighing between 35-38 pounds into the fixture where the part is drilled with 50 holes. She proudly stated that she does this on about 144 parts a day "which comes out to just over 5000 pounds a day." On some occasions, she is the final buy off/inspector where she either accepted the part to be loaded and sent to the customer or returned to the department to be re-run. A fourth GO stated that he

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moves stock using a "walk behind Hi-Lo", does final finish/cosmetic touch ups, spot painting, and inspects parts to buy-off and send on to be shipped. Another works in the drill and rout room where he makes right and left elbows of reinforced plastic. He explained that the "elbows are a reinforcement that goes on the fender when it is assembled." He also does some assembly work putting brackets on other parts.

The job duties of utility workers vary just as the duties of the GO/Inspectors. For example, one woman noted that she runs a machine called a fixture which drills holes or routs parts. Her parts go to the paint line once there is a full rack. Another utility worker stated that he had to know all the jobs in his department and he described the job as "a multi-function job". In addition to running a fixture machine, he also paints, sands, packs parts, gunruns the Volvo, and drives a hi-lo. I asked him what gunrunning is he said: "When you build the Volvo (semi-truck) hood, you put the bond on certain parts and when it's assembled, it all mushes together." For the positions of painter and hi-lo driver, a license is required. To paint one must get a respirators license which is subject to renewal each year and requires passing a pulmonary function test done at a physicians office. Another utility worker serves primarily

as a relief worker when someone is on vacation, ill, or away from a job for a meeting.

In addition to the production positions other positions assigned to the finish unit are: packer/crater, skilled trades such as electrician and millwright, and team leaders. The packer/crater bags and crates parts from two Ford pickup trucks, the Ranger and the F150. One packer/crater I interviewed indicated that this is a physically demanding job as the parts weigh 20 and 35 pounds and the packer must manually lift the parts off a moving line to wrap and pack them. The electrician works on anything that is electrical and is responsible for keeping everything running, preventative maintenance, changing light bulbs and safety procedures such as lockout. One millwright is the garage mechanic who describes himself as a general maintenance man. He noted: "(I) do carpentry, glass work, repair conveyor lines, and I'm responsible for the operation, maintenance and safety of all electric hand jacks, forklifts and pallet trucks." This is a unique position as he is the only one assigned to the garage.

There were ten team leaders in the finish unit across three shifts. The team leader I interviewed described job duties similar to those of team leaders in the mold unit. He said: " (I) make sure that we get all parts out with good quality, meet production (goals), don't overrun the

product, if (there is a) breakdown, get it done fast and as best as we can, and be safety minded."

Administrative Unit

Departments in the administrative unit include: plant manager, business unit manager, accounting, engineering, environmental, human resources, shipping and receiving, quality control, community liaison, nurse, and clerical/support staff for the various functions. The support staff jobs titles are: accounting clerk, computer operator, the administrative assistant to the engineering staff and the secretary to the plant manager. Supporting the gendered nature of the plant is the fact that all clerical workers were women. The plant manager's secretary described herself has a "Jack of all trades and master of none." When I asked her why she thought of herself in that way she replied:

> "I think, I really consider the plant managers office and maybe my job as the hub for everything around. And, it's either the stopping point or the beginning point for whatever. Of course, I handle salary administration and that's very much a part of my job. You really can't put a description on it, because you just figure that whatever is asked of you is what you're to do because you are working for the company, and whatever's needed, you should make every effort to handle that situation at the time. But, I handle any clerical responsibilities for the plant manager, the customers, corporate, (and) vendors."

One unique position is community liaison. The

individual in this position is often referred to as one of

the "dinosaurs" because he has worked at the plant for 38

years. He started out working in the mold unit and in 1975,

the company developed the position of community liaison and

he was selected because he was already active in community

service through the Boy Scouts and United Way. The company

and the union are committed to community involvement and one

way the company demonstrates that commitment is to cover the

costs of this non-production related position. As this man

said: "The company... made a conscious decision that they

were going to support me in these various endeavors." He

attends meetings of the local United Way board and serves on

the city's Drug Council. He is the only one who has ever

held this position and it is perceived as a position of

status because he is not required to do production work.

One of the salaried workers stated that she did not

understand why he did not have to do any "real work". She

is referring to the fact that he has an office and does what

is essentially white collar work instead of working on the

production line.

EMPLOYEE INVOLVEMENT

The EI program was initiated in 1989 by the local

president of the union. He was serving on a Labor Advisory

Board at the Institute where the topic of joint labor-

management committees was frequently discussed. He felt

that such a process would be helpful for XYZ because the

plant was facing increasing competition in the manufacture

of automotive parts of reinforced plastics. Management was

concerned about the loss of business and as a result, the

union was faced with the prospect of losing jobs. The union

president first approached the top committee to get their

support for the project and then approached the plant

manager and the human resource manager to determine whether

they would be interested in implementing a participative

structure. Once the concept had been discussed between the

top management team and the top committee, an application

for a grant was submitted to the Federal Mediation and

Conciliation Service and the implementation phase of the

project began in October 1989.

The consultants conducted a socio-technical evaluation

and identified some problem areas that required attention.

The SC selected the Oldsmobile/Buick bumper product line and

the members of the first DJC. After this first DJC, a

volunteer sign-up sheet was used to recruit members for the

EI program which is an approach that has been successfully

used at other facilities where a participative structure has

been implemented. After the first three DJCs were

functioning, people at XYZ eagerly volunteered.

The EI structure consists of two types of teams, the Steering Committee (SC) and problem solving committees which are called Departmental Joint Committees (DJCs). This structure was designed by consultants and representatives from the union and management at XYZ. The original management members of the Steering Committee included: the plant manager, human resource manager, accounting manager, production manager, maintenance manager, and quality manager. The union representatives were the president, vice-president, chief steward, joint safety committee coordinator, and two members-at-large. The membership of the SC changed as a result of the reorganization of the plant into three business units. The management members were: plant manager, administrative unit manager, mold unit manager, finish unit manager, quality manager, and equipment team leader. The union members were: president, vice-president, joint safety team coordinator, chief steward and two members-at-large.

The purpose of the SC is to guide the project. In this capacity, the committee, in conjunction with the consultants, developed the EI structure, engaged in strategic planning for EI, named the project, served as a resource for any of the problem solving committees, selected the first problem solving committee, and approved the implementation of solutions to problems recommended by a

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DJC. Strategic planning for the Employee Involvement

Program included developing the Goals/Intentions,

Objectives/Tactics, Employee Involvement Pledge, and Issues

Boundaries (Appendix E). This committee also developed

forms to be used in the EI program such as a meeting agenda

form and memos.

In addition to the members of the Steering Committee,

two trainers were selected by the SC, one supervisor and one

union member. These two individuals attended all SC

meetings but were not actually members of the SC. They were

permitted and encouraged to provide input on any issue being

discussed by the SC, but they were not part of the final

decision-making process. As the EI program grew, additional

trainers were needed and eventually there were four trainers

(three union members and one from the human resource

department) and an EI Coordinator. All trainers were

invited to attend the SC meetings and provide input. One of

the first trainers, the supervisor, was promoted to the

position of EI Coordinator. The job description (Appendix

C) for the position was developed by a subcommittee of the

SC. Although the subcommittee was charged with developing

the job description, it was apparent that the human resource

manager and plant manager had worked on the description

before the formation of the subcommittee. That is not to

say that the committee did not have some input into the

description, but it seemed that the managers had a particular individual in mind for the position and were pushing for the description to fit that individual. This suspicion was shared by the union members who were on the subcommittee.

The members of the problem solving committees are from labor and management and are cross functional. The project began with one pilot DJC and grew to 15 DJCs at project end. Membership of the first DJC consists of: an equal number of union representatives from the mold and finish units, one supervisor from each of the units, and an engineer from each unit who is assigned to the Buick/Ciera product line. Subsequent DJCs did not have an engineer assigned to the committee since the engineers were often not available to attend meetings. The engineers were not available because they were involved in meetings directly related to engineering and they traveled to customers plants to discuss problems. Also because there are a limited number of engineers so each DJC could not have an engineer as a regular member of the committee. The engineers were frequently invited to attend meetings of the various DJCs to serve as a resource to the committees. Also, because of the limited number of supervisors, one from each of the business unit was not assigned to all DJC's.

The function of problem solving committees is to identify and prioritize problems associated with their product line, identify potential solutions, present those solutions to the SC, implement the solution, evaluate and do follow-up. The members for the pilot DJC were identified and selected by the SC. Each DJC was to be 8-10 people, but no more than twelve. One union and one management representative from the SC approached those who had been selected to be on the first DJC. The individuals were invited to be on the DJC and if anyone chose to decline, then the SC went to alternate names. Subsequent DJC membership was voluntary and volunteers were recruited through sign-up sheets.

Both the SC and the DJCs were provided 12-hours of training. The SC and the two trainers were the first to receive the training which includes: the history of employee-management participation, an 8-step problem solving cycle, consensus decision-making, facilitation skills and how to run an effective meeting. While the problem solving cycle is described as an 8-step process, it is actually a cycle of continuous improvement. Additionally, the company invested in additional training for the trainers. A train-the-trainer approach was provided by the institute.

The consultants assisted and guided the design and implementation phases of the EI program at XYZ. They

provided the initial training to the SC and the first three DJCs. Additionally, the consultants facilitated the SC and the first three DJCs. About 9 months into the project, the trainers assumed the responsibility for scheduling and conducting the training sessions and facilitating DJC meetings. A consultant continued to act as an advisor to the SC for the length of the grant. In addition to attending all SC meetings, a consultant attended DJC meetings on a rotating basis for two years and then periodically and randomly attended DJC meetings. This was done to observe the progress of the various groups and to collect information for the quarterly reports to the FMCS.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

A review of the location, physical layout and demographics of XYZ Motors demonstrates the organization has both positive and negative attributes. For example, the geographic location of XYZ Motors is a positive factor for the organization because it provides a large pool of labor from which to draw. Also, for those who work there, the union is positive because the workers receive higher wages and better benefits than non-union facilities. Although there are 131 women employed at XYZ, the worker population is predominantly male and there are no women in the skilled trades, apprenticeship programs or in management.

Two of the three buildings are very old and the technology used in the manufacturing process is not the most sophisticated technology available. These factors have had a negative effect on the ability of XYZ's ability to continue to be competitive in the automotive supplier industry. Additionally, the physical layout of the buildings has an influence on the social relations at XYZ because there are three separate buildings in which the business units operate.

The Employee Involvement structure was initiated by the union and has the potential to influence the social relations between labor-management and between the genders. A weakness of the EI structure is that it is not included in the collective bargaining agreement. In the following chapters, we will examine the effect the EI program had on the class and gender relations at XYZ Motors.

CHAPTER 5
GENDER AT XYZ MOTORS

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I will discuss examples of gender inequality and will explore ways in which gender was reproduced in the EI program. Using Acker's conceptual model I will present examples of: gender divisions; gendered images, symbols and consciousness; gendered interactions at work; and the mental work done by workers to construct and reconstruct a gendered understanding of work.

With the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the repeal of labor laws that restricted women's participation in the workforce, women were provided increased opportunities to be employed in previously all male occupations. The automotive industry and its suppliers were industries that experienced such an increase in the late 1960s and early 1970s. A review of the seniority list at XYZ indicates that this factory was no exception to this trend. While there were women who had been employed at XYZ during World War II, they are now retired or they left employment when the men returned to reclaim the jobs in manufacturing. Of those currently employed, the woman with the most seniority was hired in 1969. Between 1969 and 1980, 112 women and 241 men were hired to work in the plant. When the research began in 1989, there were 700 employees

and the union membership was nearly equal between men and women in the union. At the time the interviews were conducted, the total workforce had dropped to 515 with 131 women and 319 men in the union. Of those, 63 women and 181 men worked in the Finish Unit while 79 women worked in the Mold Unit and 138 men. The number of employees is larger in the Mold Unit because three shifts operate.

GENDER DIVISIONS

Jobs

Work most often done by women are jobs that include the following characteristics. First, the jobs women do often require few skills and have a low level of autonomy and these jobs are paid low wages. Second, women's jobs are frequently positions or occupations, such as secretaries and nurses, in which they act as support personnel to another position often occupied by men. Additionally, jobs that are more often occupied by women are those where they are frequently interrupted, are concerned with the day-to-day tasks and/or are caretakers. Women's work is frequently such that they have little control over what they do. When women occupy positions traditionally held by men, they often receive lower wages than men. Finally, women who are in management positions tend be located in jobs that are not connected to an internal labor market. This gendered

pattern was evident at XYZ Motors before and after EI, in both white collar and blue collar positions. In comparison, jobs which require higher skill levels, have greater task variety and are more autonomous are more frequently occupied by men. Second, also, unlike women, men are often in positions of leadership or are perceived to be leaders. Last, men's jobs maybe accompanied by a higher level of risk than women's work and are paid higher wages.

The various jobs and activities at XYZ exhibit the gendered pattern noted above. For example, as one might expect, all support positions such as secretary, administrative assistant and nurse at the plant are women. These are all positions where the individual has little decision making authority or control over their daily activities. Interviewees were asked, "Who made decisions about your day-to-day work before the EI program started?" In response to this question, one of the administrative assistants talked about the interruptions that occurred in her job:

> "I'm more or less left on my own to handle things
> as they come up or things that, uh, they need to
> be done. Unless the plant manager or human
> resource manager has a particular project for me
> to do. So many things are, you can't keep up on a
> routine or a schedule because of the interrupting
> either by phone or by people. I know a lot of
> times I think I'm going to come in here and do
> something and I might not even look at it all day
> long."

This provides an example of the way in which jobs that are traditionally filled by women are subject to both interruptions and are under the control of others. This woman went on to say that she could not really give me a specific description of her job duties because "you just figure that whatever (is) asked of you is what you're to do because you are working for the company, and whatever's needed, you should make every effort to handle that situation at the time." This statement further demonstrates the lack of control that workers, primarily women, have over their work.

Another occupation traditionally filled by women is that of nurse and this is true at XYZ. Additionally, this pattern is further duplicated on the second and third shifts where the individuals who are currently certified to provide first aid treatment are women. Although there are men who are certified to provide first aid care, workers reported the position is occupied more often by women at XYZ. Of course, prior to a full-time nurse being hired and the introduction of women on the shop floor, the first aid care was often provided by men.

The level of importance of the nurse's position within the human resource department is reflected in the following statement made by one of the men in the department. In the

interview he was listing the positions and people who are assigned to the department and he remembered a few minutes later that he had not included the nurse in the list of those who report to the human resource manager. "She's in the department when I listed people (I forgot) the nurse. She's sort of branched off being across the hall." This last comment served to indicate that he had forgotten her because she is not located within the enclave of offices with the other human resource department employees. As I noted previously, although it places the nurse closer to the workers, this separation also reproduces gender divisions at XYZ.

Workers with the lowest seniority are often women because they have only recently gained access to traditionally male jobs such as those in manufacturing. While women worked in many of the same jobs as men in the mold and finish units, because of their generally lower seniority level, they were more often in positions of General Operator/Inspector in the Finish Unit or General Operator in the Mold Unit. These positions require fewer skills, have less autonomy, are paid a lower starting wage than a mold operator and have little task variety. One woman who works in the finish unit as a GO inspector on the Chrysler Jeeps said of her job: ". . .my work stays the

same no matter what. As long as a Jeep rolls off the line, my work stays the same. I'm one of those poor stiffs that has no variance, just same old, same old." Another GO inspector noted that: "I feel like I could do my job while I was sleeping. . .I know if I've done it right or wrong. . .I actually like a job that has a little more challenge to it, but this is the one I have." These comments provide an excellent example of the lower skilled work that women often do in the plant.

A general operator in the Mold Unit described the duties included in her job as: "I stud the A car. Check to see if the studs are all in. Check to see if there are any cracks, non-fills, or pulled edges. Then I put them on a rack. Then they take them to the other side." A GO in the Finish Unit provided a description of her job duties which is illustrative of the lower task variety of the jobs women occupy at the plant. She said: "I run fixtures. . .(which are) machines that punch holes" She gets her parts from the Mold Unit and they arrive "in a rack." In addition to running the fixture, "there's parts that are routed on it (the fixture), then (the part) goes to 3A (to the) paint line." Her job does not require extensive decision making because parts that need to have holes punched arrive on one rack and those that require routing arrive on another. The

operator only has to identify which type of part is on the rack and proceed with the appropriate task.

At XYZ the jobs in the Finish Unit are cleaner jobs with the exception of the painter who works in the paint booth. Although, many of the jobs are less physically strenuous in the Finish Unit than jobs in the Mold Unit, one exception is the bonding operation for the Volvo semi-truck hood and fenders which is a job that requires two people because the parts are so large. Another example of a physically strenuous position in the Finish Unit is a general operator position which requires the individual to lift moderately heavy parts weighing 35-38 pounds a piece. The woman who occupies this position reports that she lifts these parts without any assistance and "this week I'm doing it 144 times a day. It comes out to just over 5000 pounds a day." She also said that when she was assigned to this job, the company thought she "would have trouble with the job because she is a short." She is about 4'11" tall and has to reach overhead to remove the parts from a moving line and place them in a shipping crate. Because the comment was made that she might have trouble with the job due to her height, this is an indication that the job was designed to be occupied by men.

The preceding examples provide evidence that many of the jobs that women occupy in the Mold and Finish Units at XYZ are less desirable jobs in the plant. They are preceived as less desirable because they have lower task variety, lower wages, less autonomy and require fewer skills. Since these are the positions more often occupied by women, gendered job divisions are perpetuated at XYZ Motors.

Managerial positions at XYZ also followed gendered patterns. First, the managers were all men except for the safety director. She left XYZ about six months after the EI program started and the position was eliminated and was replaced by a joint safety committee. On the joint safety committee, only one union member is a woman. Just prior to the beginning of the interviews, a woman was hired as the manager of shipping and handling. This position is one which is usually not connected to an internal labor market and this was true of XYZ. An interesting note is that the person who was in this position just before this woman was hired was a minority male. The consistent hiring of women and minorities in this position reflects the level of importance the company places on this position. The new plant manager remarked with pride that the way to change the gendered divisions was just to hire women into managerial

positions. To support his claim, he gave the example that he had just recently hired a woman to be the manager of the Shipping and Receiving department. Unfortunately, this isolated example actually serves to reproduce the gendered nature of the management structure at XYZ because this is a position that is not connected to an internal labor market.

Another occupation where gender stratification is found is the occupation of engineer. The engineers are members of the Administrative Unit but five are assigned to work in the Mold and Finish Unit. All engineers have completed at least a bachelor's degree. The positions are more autonomous than those on the shop floor as they have some say over their daily schedule and the pace of their work is not directly controlled by a machine or by someone else. On the other hand, they have to respond to customer complaints or requests from XYZs division or corporate engineering staff. The working conditions are better than those on the shop floor because the work is cleaner and the office in which they work is air-conditioned. Thus, it is not surprising that this is perceived as a privileged position.

At the time of the interviews, there were 13 engineers employed at XYZ Motors. All of the engineers report to the Advanced Engineering Manager who reports to both the Plant Manager and to an engineer at the division level. There are

two project engineers which is the entry level position in the engineering department. These men are assigned to work on several projects and product lines. Additionally, there are three engineers assigned to the Mold Unit and two assigned to the Finish Unit. These individuals work on problems that occur on the shop floor such as cracks or pulled edges in a part or the non-adherence of paint on a molded part and they may also work on designing a new tool. As one GO stated: "If we needed something new or a different type of tool, that was a man in engineering that handled that." Only one of the engineers was a woman and she worked on problems on the shop floor in the Mold Unit which is a less desirable position because she has less autonomy since she responds to problems. In addition to the problem solving engineers and the manager of the engineering department, there are several other engineers who are assigned to work on issues related to quality or are assigned to work on a specific product such as Volvo. These engineers communicate directly with the customer and if they are unable to solve a problem, they travel to the customer's facility to work on solving the problem. This demonstrates that within in the occupation of engineering, a hierarchy exists as in the rest of the factory, and women occupy the less desirable positions.

The top committee of the union also replicates the gendered pattern of jobs at the plant. During the time I was involved at XYZ Motors, the highest positions on the bargaining committee were held by men. An election was held early in the implementation phase of the EI program and the vice-president ran for and was elected president. The vice-president elected at that time is also a man. The chief steward remained the same, as did the secretary/treasurer. These two elected positions were occupied by women. When women are elected to the collective bargaining committee of a local union, they often are elected to the position of secretary. This reproduces the gendered pattern of work done primarily by women. The chief steward who was re-elected, is a woman. She described her duties in this capacity as being "responsible for the day-to-day enforcement of the collective bargaining agreement." This daily enforcement is consistent with work traditionally done by women and it provides further data to demonstrate the gendered division of labor at XYZ Motors. While it the position of chief steward is regarded as one of the more powerful positions in the union, the woman holding the position was discounted because she may have been elected to the position not just on her own merits, but because her

spouse is the international representative who services the
local.

One woman had been president of the local union but
lost a re-election bid in 1984 and a man was elected. The
man to whom she lost the election was later asked to serve
on a labor advisory board at the Institute. He indicated
that it was this connection to the advisory board that led
to the application for the grant and the implementation of
the EI program.

> I was appointed by the district union president
> and I went to meetings down there which Mary was
> presiding over and she was trying to get unions
> involved more with management decisions, along
> that nature. They were looking for one or two
> shops to do a pilot program. I told her our shop
> would probably be interested in something like
> that.

This man stated that he felt he was directly responsible for
getting the EI program at XYZ. He discussed it with the
rest of the union top committee who decided that EI was
something worth looking into. He does acknowledge that he
talked to the plant manager and the human resource manager
to get their input and approval to pursue the grant. It is
apparent that serving on the advisory board was certainly a
privilege. Of course, if a woman were in the position of
president of the local at the time the Advisory Board was
formed, one would assume she would have been asked to serve.
Since more men have run for and been elected president of

the local union, it is more likely that a man will be selected to serve on the Advisory Board.

This man indicated that he spent most of his 20 years at XYZ in the shipping and receiving department and at the time of the interview his job title was local truck driver. This is one of the more privileged positions at the plant because it requires skills specific to the job. For example, he had to acquire a "CDL license just like a driver on the road has to have." Additionally, this position allows more autonomy than other jobs in the Assembly or Finish Units because he is the only local truck driver who can move semi-tractor trailers around the plant grounds. The starting wage for this position is $10.42 per hour which is the third lowest starting wage of the union positions. While this is not very high in comparison to the skilled trades, it is higher than the starting wage of most clerical workers.

Another unique position is held by one of the men on the top committee. He states his "primary job is a safety rep of the joint safety committee (as an) hourly employee." Additional responsibilities include "sitting on the top committee of (the local). (I) have set on the Steering Committee for EI . . .represent the company and the union on the United Way and am provided time for that during work

hours. (I was) appointed to the Department of Social

Services. . .Drug Council and other social programs that the

company and the union support." He further noted that "This

is probably as unique as you would come across. . .(it has)

evolved over the years, 15 or 20 years now. Certainly not

in the norm." He indicated that there was a "conscious

decision made by the company that. . .they were going to

support me in these various endeavors." This support came

about because "corporate has a community involvement

commitment and the union does too. Between the two, I've

enjoyed unprecedented support in all these things." It is

quite obvious that this is truly a unique position and one

that is not often found in manufacturing facilities. One of

the primary reasons this individual was selected to be in

this position is that he has one of the highest levels of

seniority at the plant. Additionally, he was selected

because he has been involved in community activities for

quite some time. For example, he noted that he had "been

involved in the Boy Scouts for thirty years." This man was

selected for this unique position partially because of his

established position within the community, but also because

of his seniority level.

One position that requires higher skills is that of the

garage mechanic/millwright. Again, this individual is the

only millwright assigned to the garage and no women are millwrights at XYZ. He talked about the fact that before the EI program, the maintenance people were perceived as an elite group but that changed when the EI program was implemented. As he described it: "If anything there was a change of people's thought patterns like maintenance was an elite group that was so much better than people working on the line. And there was no interaction between those people. When the maintenance people walked down the aisle, the assembly people got out of the way. These were two separate groups that never discussed anything and that changed." This provides an example of the stratification within the union. The skilled trades are seen as elite and as mentioned previously the way they dress visually sets them apart from other union members. These positions are considered to be desirable and demonstrate the stratification within the union.

Employee Involvement

The preceding examples demonstrate the gender divisions in the jobs at XYZ. Now, I will discuss my findings concerning the reproduction of the division of labor by gender within the framework of EI. Although it is not surprising, the division of labor by gender also emerged within the context of the EI program. This is particularly

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evident when one examines the activities various members

did. The types of activities reported by the interviewees

are reflected in the following table.

TABLE 2
DJC Activities reported by Gender

ACTIVITIES	WOMEN	MEN
Travel	1	7
Meetings	10	13
Data Collection	4	8
Record Keeping/taking minutes	5	4
Problem Solving	1	3
Other:		
Cleaning, climbing, carrying, Making assignments, training, Newsletter, building parts	2	7
TOTALS	23	42

For example, each DJC had a facilitator and someone who

would record the notes, type and distribute them to the

appropriate parties. In many cases, the facilitator was

often one of the men in the group and if there was a

supervisor in the group, he was often the facilitator. Even

in instances when the supervisor was not the designated

facilitator, he was frequently identified by members of the

DJC as the leader. "One time FIFO, instead of having one set

leader, we would rotate that role around to others. Some

worked well, some not. In the Communication DJC, that

leader changed three times, the initial leader set a bad

taste to the group. He phased out of the group and (the

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shop floor supervisor) took over and he's a good leader. Tries to bring everyone in and be fair."

Interviewees who were members of a DJC or the SC were asked: "Did your DJC or the SC have a leader?" I asked this question because the DJCs and the SC were not supposed to have leaders but rotating facilitators. The whole group was to provide direction for the projects on which they chose to work, but often specific individuals were considered the leader. Those who were identified as leaders included: the rotating facilitators, the trainer working with the group, shop floor supervisors and managers. For the most part, those who were identified as leaders were men which is consistent with a gendered division of labor in organizations. Since it is often men who are in official leadership or management positions, it is understandable that men are often identified as a leader, even when they are not acting in their official capacity. Additionally, participants looked to managers and supervisors to take the lead in meetings. One way they did this was to follow the suggestion raised by a manager or supervisor instead of fully discussing all possible options. Additionally, some supervisors tried to take over the DJC meetings. One DJC member said: "We had supervisors that tried (to take over the meetings) and we would immediately explain that it

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wasn't one leadership role (and) we wanted everyone to have a voice because working with teams, that's the whole idea, everything we did was a team decision." Also, a woman on the communication DJC noted that, three different men had served as a leader. The positions these men filled outside the DJC were: shipping and receiving manager, the maintenance manager, and an engineer. Several interviewees from the SC frequently mentioned that the human resource manager acted as a leader of the Committee. One woman said he was not selected as the leader but she felt he acted as if he were the leader by the "way he always had something to say about whatever was there on the table being discussed, (and because of) his position (as human resource manager)." Another member of the SC also referred to the HR manager as someone she considered to be a leader. "I think (he) came to the meetings with ideas he wanted to get done and he tried to get buy-in from the group. You have to know (him), if he can't get it one way, he'll try to get it another. He wasn't selected, you could just tell he was." None of the interviewees identified any of the women participants as a leader, even when a woman had been a facilitator.

Several individuals also mentioned one hourly worker who seemed to be a leader. Again, this person had acted as

a facilitator of the DJC which as I have said previously is often equated with being a leader by those who are members of a DJC. One hourly worker from the Finish Unit said that they "got him in there because he could talk and talk loud. He could speak. I think he had a pretty good point."

One member of the SC noted that he did not "think we were really supposed to have a leader but we did. . .the head bean counter here." This man went on to say the "bean counter" was a self-appointed leader because he is a "very untrusting person. I don't think he felt the other managers or the union people had the ability or knowledge to understand what we were getting into." Certainly, the man responsible for the fiscal health of XYZ is concerned with the costs associated with the EI program, and I observed that he asked many questions about projects in order to understand the intent and to be able to assess the costs associated with them. These questions were interpreted by the union as a distrust of their ability to accomplish projects.

Another example of the gender divisions within the EI program is reflected in the gender of the person who takes minutes in EI meetings. Whether the individual volunteers or is asked to take the minutes of the DJC and SC meetings, it is generally women who agree to do the minutes. This is

revealing because taking notes is a task associated with the

occupation of secretary which is traditionally done by

women. A review of the minutes of several DJCs and meetings

I attended reveals that women acted as the recorder of DJC

proceedings. Besides my own observation, taking minutes is

an activity that women who were DJC members indicated they

had done. For example, when I asked DJC members to describe

some of the DJC activities they had done, one woman from the

Administrative Unit said: "(I) took minutes, distributed

them." One shop floor supervisor indicated that the role of

facilitator rotated but she had been the secretary for the

DJC for "about a year or so."

One of the managers provided another example of the way

in which the activities within the EI structure are divided

by gender. He was discussing accomplishments that happened

as a result of the EI program and mentioned the plant

newsletter. A man from human resources and a woman from the

union top committee are responsible for the plant

newsletter. This manager said the newsletter had won an

award in a "corporate contest for most improved newsletter."

He further stated that Nancy is primarily responsible for

the improvement "because she went around to people and got

articles." This is an example where she would keep after

those individuals who promised to contribute to the

newsletter which is synonymous with care taking done by women at home.

These examples demonstrate that gender is reconstructed within the EI structure. The division of labor within the EI structure follows traditional gender divisions with women participants engaging in activities that are associated with traditional women's jobs and positions in society at large. They act as secretaries, are less apt to be facilitators of the group, be identified as leaders and tend to shy away from engaging in physical activities such as climbing or carrying buckets of water. Also, very few men acted as a secretary of a DJC, but many acknowledged that they were facilitators of DJCs.

POWER and AUTHORITY

Another way in which gender is reproduced is through power relations. While power may be defined in various ways, I was particularly interested in who has access to organizational resources and who can mobilize resources. I asked the interviewees how they defined interpreted power. The table below indicates the definitions of power provided by the interviewees.

Table 3
POWER & AUTHORITY: DEFINITIONS

DEFINITIONS	Management (Men only)	Salaried Women	Men	Union Women	Men
Make own decisions, have input	1	2	2	3	6
Influence/control people/situations	3	0	0	3	6
Access to/mobilize resources, ability to get things done	2	0	1	4	4
Who has power**	0	0	2	1	2
Knowledge	1	0	1	1	1
Getting people to listen to ideas	0	0	0	0	2
TOTALS*	7	2	6	12	21

*The totals do not agree with the number of people
interviewed because some interviewees volunteered more than
one definition.
**Interviewees provided examples of those they thought had
power.

Many of these definitions coincide with theories noted

in previous chapters. First, and perhaps most important,

interviewees indicated that power was the ability to make

their own decisions. In the context of empowerment

literature, it is essential for workers to have the autonomy

to carry out the responsibilities that management is pushing

down to the level of the shop floor. This concept of power

was expressed by people at various levels of the plant

hierarchy. For example, a manager in the human resources

department defined power as the "ability to input thoughts without having to take it to another level." Additionally two women, one secretary and one shop floor supervisor also defined power as the ability to make decisions. For example one said that power is "if you have the authority to make a decision and be one of the people to sign off on it" and the supervisor said she defined power in the following way, "if someone, people, out on the floor are making their own decisions. That is power to me." A woman on the shop floor said that power was being able "to run my own job (and) your input should be considered valuable." One man who works on the shop floor describes power as the ability to "make a decision on something as consensus of the group. Personally, just one person, power is a big ego trip I would think." A mold press operator equated power as being able "to get something done (and) being able to do it on my own without having to have other people's permission."

The interviewees were also asked how they defined authority and two shop floor supervisors indicated that they thought that authority was "Having the, uh, ability given to the person to go ahead and do the decision making to get things done" and to "make your own decisions." One of the women on the top committee said that she believed that she had an increase in authority and that is being able "to shut

a job down that (she) didn't have before." One of the women

on the shop floor described authority as having a "say so

over what's going on." Another woman who works as a crib

attendant said authority is "like the empowerment to go do.

It doesn't mean I'm over all these people. Means I can do

my job. . .I can just go ahead and do it." One of the men

who serves on the top committee said that authority is

"having the ability or the say so in the job process that

I'm involved in. Being able to stop or proceed with it."

One individual in the skilled trades described authority as

"being able to make decisions, and having that decision

carry some weight, not just say I made up my mind and have

someone say you can't do it that way." One worker indicated

that an individual who is exercising power is on a "big ego

trip" and he also said authority is "a person that

ultimately would make the decision right or wrong." A

skilled tradesman indicates that he thinks power is "being

able to make a decision, being granted the power to make a

decision, if (I) see something that needs to be fixed, I can

stop the job and fix it."

Interviewees also indicated that power was the ability

to influence someone, control people or situations and to

tell or be told what to do. This view is related to Weber's

definition of power as the likelihood that someone will get

his/her way in spite of resistance. Some of those interviewed indicated that they may not like what the supervisor is telling them to do, but they do it because he is the boss. Interviewees who mentioned this definition also indicated that they would feel that they had power if they could tell someone to do something and that person would in fact do it. Four managers also provided definitions that coincide with Weber's definition of power. One business unit manager expressed his idea in this way: "Power would. . .be the ability to control the outcome." Another business unit manager said authority is "literally having the ability to compel others to do what you want whether they agree with it." While this manager was defining authority, he had actually provided definition of power that is rooted in Weber's concept of power. One other manager described power as the "ability to persuade others to your way of thinking." A second manager indicated that power was not something absolute but has a range of possibilities and that it could be as "simple as influence, complex as how many people report to me, who has to get my OK to do anything, how many people or situations do I control." Three union women described power in terms of influence and control. One said, "Power means almost like authority. . .if you would ask this other person to do

something they would do it before I would ask them to do it." One woman general operator in the finish unit also discussed power as having "control over someone or something." And another finish unit worker said power to her is "having the authority to tell other people how to do their job."

One of the skilled tradesmen said that power "would be the ability to set down and be on an equal basis rather than this person has this title and you work for this person so anything that he says, you do it, don't question it." Another skilled tradesman said that power is "being able to influence people." A millwright said "Power to me is the ability of a person or persons to force or manipulate people to do their will." This same man also defined authority as "a person or persons that dictate to other persons how they will act, what they will do, and how they will do it." This coincides with the sentiments expressed by a former union local president who defined authority as "having the say so over someone else. . .(but) I don't feel I've got authority over anybody else." And one last union man said that power "means I can tell you what to do." The foregoing are examples of the Weberian definition of power.

Kanter defines power as access to resources and the ability to mobilize those resources and this is a concept of

power in which I am particularly interested. This theory is reflected in a statement made by the plant manager who said, "those that earn the trust from me for resources, get to use and control more of them. People that have not earned or showed (sic) respect for resources have less authority to utilize resources without my approval." An approach such as this sets the tone for the entire facility. For example, one of the supervisors said that to him power is "not only getting power but getting respect. Means they could get things done. . .come up with the means. In that way I gained some power because I came up with the means of looking at it (a problem)." One of the women on the top committee indicated that she agrees with this approach to power and said power is being able to "make something happen. Just like the plant-wide, I used to be able to make it happen." A mold press operator said that he thought a "good definition (of power). . .(is) to get something done." One of the business unit managers also said power is "your ability to make things happen, or control the outcome."

Several interviewees indicated that they equated power with a specific individual or position, and they provided examples at XYZ that fit this category such as the plant manager, a supervisor, superintendent, a team coordinator, or a status symbol. To the individual who indicated this

last, a person with power is also someone who has status at XYZ. Certainly, those individuals who were identified as having power are ones who do have varying degrees of status at the plant.

While most of the interviewees defined power and authority in the previous categories, a few related power to knowledge. As noted in the table, four interviewees mentioned knowledge as a form of power. One manager indicated that he thought power is "a combination of leadership skills, knowledge, personal skills, and the ability to compromise." A shop floor supervisor who had been active in the EI program said "I think it's (power) someone with the knowledge. . .to make things happen." Two union members, a woman and a man, both indicated that knowledge is power. The woman stated it quite frankly "Power, I guess the initiative, knowledge is power. Know how the system works."

The last category identified as power by interviewees is getting people to listen. Although only two people noted this, it is interesting to note that it was two union members both of whom had been involved in the EI program. One man said "I have more authority to say more and they're (management) gonna listen." The other man said, "Before (I

was) pretty much powerless and now people, from management and hourly ranks will listen to me."

I asked the interviewees if they had experienced a gain, loss, or no change in power or authority as a result of the Employee Involvement program. Thirty-eight of the forty-two interviewees responded to the question and nineteen respondents indicated they experienced an increase in power. Six out of the 11 women (54.5%) and thirteen men (48%) indicated that they experienced an increase in power. Also, six women and 17 men responded that they experienced an increase in authority (See Table 7). Also, sixteen people, five of whom are women, indicated they experienced no change in either authority or power. This demonstrates that the redistribution of power at XYZ Motors was not gendered and that the workers who participated in the EI program experienced an increase in power an authority.

TABLE 4

CHANGE IN POWER and AUTHORITY
By Gender

Direction of Change	POWER			AUTHORITY	
	WOMEN	MEN		WOMEN	MEN
Increase	6	13		6	17
Decrease	0	1		1	1
No Change	5	13		8	13
TOTALS	11	27		15	31

One worker who indicated he had experienced an increase in power made an interesting observation. He said: "Quite a power shift as far as this factory, it used to be the big guys, two or three of them or two men had all the power in this factory. . .Now it's more spread out, you have the plant manager, and the Finish Unit manager - more spread out." Although he had indicated that he thought he had gained power, he also stated that two male managers were the ones who still had the power. By this he was referring to the ability of those managers to make decisions about, or to have input into which parts would be manufactured at XYZ or the number of parts needed each day or week. When I asked another worker if there had been any change in who made decisions about the daily work, he indicated that the daily scheduling had been done by the supervisor before EI and now it is still done by the supervisor. "I think it's the same. It always was the supervisor and now it's what we call a team leader." This same man indicated that he did not experience any change in power as a result of participating in the EI program.

A former president of the local indicated that a change had occurred with the implementation of the EI program. Before EI, Joe said it was the "Supervisor, period." but since EI, "now the employees have a data sheet what their

job consists of at their job stations. If it's parts specification, quality specifications, day-to-day operation of the job. If they think that can be changed and done in a (sic) easier way they clear it through the supervisor." Although, the employee has the ability to provide input regarding his/her job, it is still the supervisor who makes the decision. However, workers were given the opportunity to provide input when a new product was going to start production at the plant. One union worker said: "if they're setting up a new job (and) I have been involved with a new product line coming in, now they put hourly people on the committee to help decide almost everything." This was certainly a change from the way the plant had previously operated. Even though the managers were the one to make the final decision about the layout for the new product line, the workers felt they had more power because they had a formal role in the design process.

IMAGES and SYMBOLS

Just as the division of jobs is gendered at XYZ, gendered symbols and, images are pervasive to the extent that workers do not question when work is identified as women's or men's work. Conversely, workers may bring or conceive other images or symbols that may oppose the gendered structure. I will begin by describing gendered

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symbols at XYZ and the symbolic importance of physical space and gendered job titles in displaying and normalizing differences in jobs and authority in the shop. Finally, I will discuss any change in and the persistence of gendered symbols, consciousness and images.

Symbols

The use of space reproduces gender at XYZ Motors. For example, the plant nurse is part of the human resources department, but her office is outside the enclave of offices reserved for those in that department. The effect of this physical separation of the nurse from the rest of her department is that she is a forgotten member of the department. One assistant manager in the human resource department in his interview was listing the members of the department and after he had listed them and we had moved on in the interview, he stopped in the middle of his response to declare "We always forget (the nurse), she's in our department." The justification put forth for her separation from the rest of the department is that because she primarily serves the workers, she needs to be closer to them. But, the reality is that her office is across the hall from the rest of the human resource department offices, but this is a weak reason to be excluded from the department. Instead, it appears to be connected to the

gendered structure of the organization. Also, this arrangement serves to keep workers out of the other human resources office when they seek medical attention from the nurse. Thus, there is a physical separation and an ideological separation.

In addition to the use of physical space, the treatment of space that is used only by one gender is treated differently. For example, in the course of the EI program, the issue of housekeeping was discussed. One issue was general housekeeping such as keeping trash and small pieces of paper off the shop floor, but more specifically related to gender is the condition of the restrooms in the mold and finish units. During one meeting in the Mold unit, I asked where the restroom was and several of the women spoke up and said, "You don't want to use our bathroom because it is a mess. It hasn't been painted in years. The paint is peeling off the walls and it always smells like it needs to be cleaned." They advised me to wait until I got back to A Building to use the facilities there. On the other hand, they indicated that the men's facilities were in much better shape than the women's if I wanted to use the men's room instead. I inquired how they knew this to be the case and they replied that the men's bathroom had recently been painted and was cleaned more often. Again when I asked why

the men's room received more attention than theirs, the women indicated they thought it was that the people responsible for cleaning the restrooms are the equipment cleaners who are all men and they attend to the men's room more often. The women volunteered that it seemed that they attended to the men's facilities more often because they were not as comfortable entering the women's bathroom. Additionally, since the cleaners are men doing a job that is traditionally a woman's, they could be reproducing gender by cleaning the men's bathrooms more often which demonstrates they are more important to clean.

Additionally, the use of language may serve to ~~the~~ reinforce the gendered structure of work and this appears to be the case at XYZ. For example, using the pronoun "he" to refer to an occupational group that includes both men and women may facilitate the reinforcement of gender appropriate occupants in a particular position. At XYZ, when interviewees were asked who made decisions about the individual's day-to-day work, they frequently replied that it was their "foremen" who did that. This was true even of those who were supervised by the one woman supervisor. Managers also replicated this language pattern. For example, one of the managers of a business unit was discussing changes that he had observed since the

implementation of EI. He said, "In 1989, the supervisor
didn't dare leave the floor for more than 15 minutes. Now
he'll hand his radio to one of the people and be gone for 2-
3 hours." One might expect that some would refer to the one
female supervisor as the "forelady" or lady foreman, but
collectively the supervisors are still called foremen. The
fact that men used the male pronoun indicates the reality of
who is usually or which gender is expected to be a
supervisor at XYZ. When women used the same term, they were
in fact reflecting the gendered reality at the plant.
Essentially, language serves to support the gender
identification of a particular position despite the fact
that the gender composition, however small, had changed.

Another position that is primarily occupied by men is
hi-lo driver although two of the operators are women. When
someone refers to them as a group, the male pronoun is used.
For example, one worker in explaining his job duties
indicated that he calls a hi-lo driver to get materials
delivered and he said, "when you're out or about to run out,
you usually page him on the terry phone saying you need some
SMC." In another conversation with one of the women who
drive the hi-los, she told me that some of the men will call
her the "lady hi-lo driver" and she does not like this
designation. She said she used to just let it go, but over

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the last few years, she has begun to say to the men who address her this way that she is "a hi-lo driver and a good one." She hastened to add that she did not want people to think that she was not a lady, but that when she is working, she drives a hi-lo and it does not have anything to do with her being a woman.

This same concept applies when people at XYZ refer to those in the skilled trades as "skilled tradesmen." The reality is there are no women in the skilled trades nor in the apprenticeship program. I had a conversation with one of the electricians about the skilled trades program. I asked him if there had ever been any women in the program. He indicated that no women had ever been accepted into the program and he thought it was because they "don't test high enough." He went on to say: "I'd like to see some of the girls (in the program)." This statement seemed to be his way of saying that he as an individual is willing to have women in the program but it is something related to the women themselves that kept them out. They just are not able to score high enough on the tests that are designed to test spatial ability and math. These are skills which tend to be reinforced and developed in men in school and are not equally stressed for women.

According to Gutek and Cohen, gender roles are not intrinsic to a particular job or occupation. Instead, the fact that an individual is a woman or a man may have "implications for the work one does." In addition, the ratio of men and women in a given position appears to influence organizational dynamics and provide some explanation for why women or men do the specific work they do in an organization. Essentially this refers to the fact that women do a particular type of work in the home and are often relegated to similar work in organizations. For example, at XYZ more women in the mold and finish units work as general operators or inspectors and more men are mold/press operators. One similarity between this position and that of the work women do in the home is women often clean up after others in the household, particularly men. The general operator in the mold unit is responsible for deflashing a part after it has been molded. This is an activity which may be classified as a clean up task that follows activities done by the mold operator who is often a man. Additionally, as noted earlier, the starting salary of general operators is less per hour than that of the mold operator and this contributes to the perception that it is a less valued position than that of the mold operator. Also, the task is much more repetitive than that of the mold

operator because the GO will deflash and sand parts no matter which part is being molded. In contrast, the mold operator may mold several different parts in the course of the work week which provides the press operator more task variety. Thus, just as women's roles in families are devalued, the worth of their role at work is also discounted.

One final symbol that reproduces gender at XYZ is the workers' perception of skills they believe they obtained through the EI program. Each interviewee was asked: "Did you learn any new skills as part of the DJC/SC?" Twenty-six of those interviewed mentioned skills they thought they had developed or learned as a result of the EI program. As noted in the table below twelve men noted skills such as consensus decision making, problem solving, leadership, facilitating meetings and computer skills. Only five of the women mentioned consensus decision making, problem solving and computer skills. Eight women noted skills that are social skills such as listening, brainstorming, teamwork and interpersonal skills. Additionally, four women and one man indicated that they had not learned any skills as a result of the EI program. The responses provided by the various interviewees are interesting because they follow traditional gender divisions. For example, it is often the work that

men do that is perceived as having skills while women's work is identified as having few or no skills. The respondents reflected this since more men than women noted technical skills and more women than men noted social skills.

TABLE 5
SKILLS DEVELOPED IN EMPLOYEE INVOLVEMENT PROGRAM

Skill	Women N=11	Men N=15
Consensus decision making	1	4
Problem solving	3	2
Leadership	0	2
Facilitation & Effective meetings	0	1
Computer skills	1	3
Listening/Communication	1	5
Brainstorming	1	0
Data gathering	1	0
Teamwork	1	1
Interpersonal skills	2	0
None	4	1
TOTALS*	15	19

*The totals reflect multiple answers by several interviewees.

Interactions at Work

Interactions between individuals at XYZ Motors reproduce gendered structures whether the interactions occur between men, women, or between men and women. For example, one woman used her femininity to get help with her machine when it was not running. Her supervisor "asked me if I wanted to go home. And I knew if I went home I would come back in the same mess today, so I tried to get a millwright and I couldn't. They're all changing dies and one guy (was on) special projects. I followed him clear to the back of

the plant, took my t-shirt, wiped my eye. He said 'what's the matter you're leaving for a good vacation Monday?' I told him I can't get anything to run and the rest of 'em are too dumb to fix it. So he dropped everything and come down." By portraying herself as a woman in a situation where she needs help, she has placed herself in a subordinate position. This interaction reproduces gender because she portrays herself in a subordinate position to the millwright. Additionally, by referring to other skilled trades workers as "too dumb", she has elevated the status of this man over the other skilled trades workers by appealing to his ego. Women have been socialized to enhance men's egos and since she got his assistance, this approach worked for her. It is doubtful that any of the men at XYZ would use tears as a way to get assistance because this would not be gender appropriate behavior.

Another woman I interviewed provided an example of the way in which interactions between women and men reproduce subordination and dominance. Before the reorganization of the plant, if a mold operator needed help with a problem at a press, the request would have to be given to the supervisor who would then contact the supervisor of the person needed. On some occasions, the mold operator would attempt to directly contact the person they needed. If a

man made the request, the skilled tradesman was more apt to respond and go assist the press operator. In the case of this interviewee she said she would "usually go get the person I need to help me in whatever, and they'd say, 'go get your foreman.' That's the way it's done, go through your foreman, don't tell me." By refusing to respond to this woman's request, the skilled tradesman reinforced the concept that men do not take orders from women which results in the reproduction of gender.

Traditionally, when women bring up a safety issue, their complaints are often not taken seriously or are ignored. If it is someone who "complains" frequently, that is, expresses her opinion, she is often labeled a "bitch" or a "whiner". Interactions between women and men reproduce gender when women's complaints are not taken as seriously as men's. For example, one woman who runs a press in the mold unit said "I ran (the) press for 1.5 years with oil dripping on men and only got it fixed because of OSHA fined them." Even though she had brought the oil leak to the attention of her supervisor on numerous occasions, her complaints were not considered serious enough to repair the oil leak. It was only when OSHA fined them that management responded by fixing the leak.

Another demonstration that her complaints were not taken seriously are the jokes made by the men. "They started making jokes like you're getting an oil treatment free." The implication was that she should not complain because she was getting a hot oil treatment for her skin and hair and she would have to pay for that in a salon. It was obvious that the situation was not a joke to her. "I was losing my hair. Burns on my arms. A year and half before (it got) fixed. Now it's leaking again but not on me. I won't do that again." Another woman also provided an example to indicate that comments made by the women in the plant are not taken seriously. This woman, who works in the finish unit said that when she noticed that parts coming from the mold unit were not up to par she would not go tell her supervisor because, "you can't just, say, go to your foreman or your foreman's boss and say 'Man we're getting a lot of junk from the mold plant. Can anything be done? They'd just say, 'bitching again.'"

The fact that women were taken less seriously than men is also reflected in the way I as a consultant was treated. One of the EI trainers said in his interview that he had observed a difference in the way the management treated me and two men who were sometimes at the plant from STI. This man said "I don't want to open up a can of worms, but I'm

not real sure how the fact that you're a woman may have

caused (a) perception, or reception problems from our mostly

male management staff. Because I see the differences (how)

Dick was treated. I remember the differences in Bill, I

think it's real in our society that there's still some

prejudices between men and women. If you look at people and

their facial expressions when they're talking, there were

times when you were talking I could see on some of those

faces, there wasn't the attention paid to you that someone

of the male persuasion would be getting." This certainly

confirmed my own experience in relating to the management

staff at XYZ. There were several times when I would make a

recommendation and it appeared that it would not be

considered until one of the men in the room reintroduced the

suggestion as his own. Then there was active discussion

about the suggestion and if appropriate, it would be

adopted.

One woman in the finish unit provided an example of the

way in which men act to reproduce their dominance at XYZ.

She said her boss would come to her at her work station and

say, "You have a problem." She said this approach would

cause her to respond in a defensive way because the

implication was that whatever was wrong, she was to blame

rather than the possibility that the problem was related to

the equipment she was using. This woman did say that after

she had received training through the EI program, when this

man approached her with that attitude, she did not get as

defensive and she would "try to check it out and correct

it." Unfortunately, her lack of defensiveness did not

eliminate the reproduction of the dominant/subordinate

relationship.

Often when men interacted with other men, they

reinforced the place of women in the work structure and the

negative images these men had of women. One way this was

done was through telling jokes that denigrated women and

portrayed them as sexual objects. I had the opportunity to

overhear a group of managers who were in a conference room

with the door open. They were telling the latest round of

"dumb blonde" jokes which are belittling to women generally

and to women with blond hair in particular. In addition,

when men gathered, they would engage in telling the latest

"dirty" jokes which also serve to perpetuate the denigration

of women. One of the EI trainers was eager to tell me the

latest jokes because he was aware that I did not want to

hear them. He would tell me who told the joke, to whom it

was told and in what context such as in the most recent

meeting of management personnel which would mean only men

were in attendance. This action supports the gendered nature of the plant and reproduces gender.

Although men were the ones to tell these types of jokes most often, occasionally women told jokes as a way to try to decrease the feeling of being an outsider. If a woman was told a joke and she did not laugh, she was identified as a prude. On the other hand, if she went along with the jokes by not protesting the telling or even told one herself, then she was labeled as someone who was not a "nice girl." Sometimes the jokes were of a visual nature such as a computer screen saver called the "Butterfly." When one first glanced at this screen saver, one sees a butterfly moving its wings. On closer examination, it is clear that it is not a butterfly, but a couple actively engaging in a sexual act. Again, if a woman complained about the screen saver, she was called a prude, but she was not supposed to enjoy looking at the screen or she might be called a "pervert."

Periodically, a woman would say something that indicates that she is more aligned with men than with other women. She might engage in activities such as gossiping and tattling. For example, one of the women in the Administrative Unit made a comparison between a man and woman trainer. When the EI program was coming to a halt,

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the trainers were advised they would need to return to production work or be laid off. The man in this case exercised his seniority rights and bumped into a job while the woman took a layoff. The interviewee appeared to be resentful that the woman took the layoff instead of bumping back into a production job. Denise said, "When I look at (the two trainers), I still think they have themselves on a pedestal and up there and why should they be back on the floor because they've had all this training. And maybe I'm wrong in seeing that but I know that (she) feels that. Not so much (him), (he) bumped back in and he's out to make a new start. But I don't know, (she's) different." It seemed that this woman was tattling on the woman trainer because she did not follow the established rules and chose to take a layoff instead of bumping into a production job. Even though both of these women were subjected to the same issues as women in a predominantly male environment, this woman's attitude serves to exclude the trainer which reproduces gender.

Mental Work to Construct and Reconstruct a Gendered Understanding of Work

I have examined a number of ways in which the gendered nature of the workplace is reproduced at XYZ Motors. Now I will consider how the gendered structure is supported by the individuals who work at XYZ. By examining the manner in

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which they make sense of the gendered workplace, the limits it imposes on the workers, and the demands placed on them to engage in behavior that is appropriate for their gender (Acker:1992). Of the four categories of Acker's model of gendering organizational analysis, internal mental work is the most difficult to develop a working definition because it requires being able to identify an internal process. Following are some examples of the way in which some of the women working at XYZ used an internal process to support the gendered nature of work.

Two women who are general operators in the Finish Unit were discussing skills they had learned or developed in the EI program. They both mentioned that they thought they had learned to listen better. Listening is an activity which is more often associated with women. That is, women are often considered to be better listeners than men. Before they participated in the problem solving committees, these women had a perception of themselves that was not consistent with the stereotype of women as good listeners. One woman said "I opened myself up to where I heard other people out before I made my decision." In studies of conversations between men and women, it has been observed that women did more listening and men talked more. Therefore, this women may have acted in a way that has been identified as male

behavior. I found this self-perception to be interesting because this is the same woman that a number of men had identified as being someone who always has a complaint or is always "bitching" about some problem or another. So, even though she expressed that she had learned a new skill by learning to listen, she also was reconstructing herself in a gender appropriate way. Similarly, another woman noted that she learned "how to relate better with other people . .(and) how not to be quite as brash, I was always really outspoken and here I am world and if you like me fine, if not that's fine too. I learned how to just, not to change, but to polish a little bit, to just tone it down a tad, you know. And I still get in trouble from time to time." This represents the concept that women are not to be outspoken but are to be quiet and reserved. Additionally, other women noted that they had learned to be more patient with other people. "My attitude because I'm a little more patient." Since patience is a trait that women are supposed to have, identifying this as a skill that she learned means that this woman has engaged in the mental process to increase her level of patience and therefore she is moving into a gender appropriate individual.

A mold press operator noted that she had been hesitant about becoming involved in a DJC because she does not "spell

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or read too well to get on a committee." She was concerned about having to interact with a lot of people because she tends to get "nervous and then get scattered brained when they come over and start bothering me about the press, I get so nervous that I can't think straight." Again, being scattered brained is a term used to identify women and infrequently is used to describe men even though both men and women may become flustered or confused when under pressure or close supervision. Therefore, she is reproducing herself as an appropriate gendered person. One of the trainers worked on a plant newsletter with a manager from human resources, and she was the person who scheduled SC meetings, and sent meeting reminders to the SC. In many respects, she seemed to act as a "mother" to the SC. One manager remarked that he probably would not have contributed to the newsletter or gotten the article in on time if this woman had not kept after him to do so. In a conversation with her, I asked her why she did those particular activities and she responded that she felt if she did not do them, they probably would not get done. She said she did not think any of the managers would take responsibility for doing those things. When the EI program was beginning to slow down, she expressed her displeasure that they were "losing it. I don't know how to prevent it even though I

have nagged pretty good for a while." She seemed to be in a double bind here because on the one hand she felt that no one else would take the responsibility to do the scheduling and reminding, but she felt that by engaging in those activities, she was nagging people to do what they were supposed to. Again, nagging is a way in which women are described when they are trying to urge someone to do something.

Women are often allowed more narrow parameters in which to function than men. For example, within the structure of the EI program, the SC decided that anyone who did not regularly attend meetings would be replaced and this applied to union members who were on layoff. I observed that this rule was unevenly applied to men and women. There were many instances where men, union and management, who were on the SC did not attend the meetings but none of them were replaced. On the other hand, one woman chose not to attend meetings while she was on layoff. Since she did not attend meetings during the months she was on layoff, she was replaced by someone else from the union. During her interview she indicated that she understood that she was replaced because she did not come to meetings. She felt the SC had taken the appropriate action because that was the rule. She did not seem to resent the fact that she was

replaced when men who had engaged in the same behavior did not receive the same treatment. This indicates that she acted in a manner that is expected of her as a woman.

A similar example of the different parameters of behavior for women and men was provided by a mold operator. She talked about changing the weight of a charge for the press from a four-ply to a three-ply which was a decision made by those on the second shift. The second shift let the other two shifts know that the change had been made, but no one had informed the finish unit inspectors that this change had been made. She remarked that as long as there were no complaints from the finish unit, then "the part must be OK 'cause they check it." When a supervisor from the finish unit asked if there were any changes they should know about this woman said "I thought, well, I better let them know, I'll get in trouble here if they find out. They'll find out sooner or later so I told 'em." It is expected that changes will be communicated between the various business units and a failure to relay changes to another unit is perceived as a violation of the "rules" of the plant. This woman was clearly interested in preventing herself from being blamed for a lack of communication. While this particular woman may have relayed the information because she was fearful of getting in trouble, this is still an example of the inner

mental process to construct an appropriately gendered individual. Specifically she is recreating a follower of the rules which is more often expected of women than of men. Additionally, the men who operated the press on the other shifts did not feel responsible for communicating the change. Thus, both have reproduced appropriate gendered individuals.

During one conversation with several union members, one of them referred to one of the hi-lo drivers as a "good <u>woman</u> hi-lo driver." This woman quickly replied that she is "a very good hi-lo driver." By putting the woman in front of the job title, the speaker indicates that the job is one that rightfully should be occupied by a man rather than a woman. Also, when an electrician indicated that he would like to see some "girls" in the skilled trades apprentice program, he was demonstrating that these are jobs that rightfully should be occupied by men, but there is an understanding that one cannot exclude either gender from applying or being accepted into the program as long as they score high enough on the qualifying tests.

The foregoing examples demonstrate ways in which individuals utilize internal processes to create and reproduce a gender appropriate self.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

Through out this chapter I have discussed the ways in which the gendered nature of the organization is reproduced by those who work at XYZ. First we saw how the division of labor is gendered in that several traditionally male jobs are still only occupied by men such as the skilled trades and managers. Second, we examined the ways in symbols and images reconstructed a gendered understanding of the workplace. Last, we discussed internal processes utilized by individuals to create and recreate an appropriate gendered identity.

In the next chapter I will provide a brief summary of my research findings and consider recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER 6
WORKER EXPERIENCE OF CLASS POWER

INTRODUCTION

During my tenure at XYZ Motors, I had the opportunity to observe many examples of the reproduction of inequality, and conflict. They were observed during the implementation phase of the Employee Involvement project, they emerged in the interviews and most were still evident at the conclusion of my research. Individuals in every category exhibited behavior that reproduced stratification at XYZ Motors. This behavior also emerged in interviews within the following employee categories: plant and business unit managers, salaried personnel, supervisors, skilled trades, members of the union top committee, and rank file union members. Additionally, stratification may be reproduced or signified in a number of ways in the workplace and was observed or emerged during the interviews in the following categories: language, clothing, space, decision making, level of authority or power, and the job hierarchy. Additionally, there was substantial evidence of conflict.

When a labor-management participation program is introduced into an organization, one expectation or hope and sometimes a goal of the program, is a decrease in stratification and movement toward a more democratic and less stratified workplace. The literature regarding

employee involvement structures and my own experience
demonstrate that there is seldom, if any, movement toward a
more equal or more democratic workplace. Although movement
toward increased democratization was small at XYZ Motors,
some change in inequality did occur and several examples
will be discussed.

CLASS SYMBOLS

A variety of symbols are utilized to identify an
individual's position in an organization. The following
signifiers are prevalent at XYZ Motors: language, dress, and
space.

Language

One signifier that may identify one's group membership
in an organization is through the use of language. By
language, I refer to the use of grammar such as verb-subject
agreement, pronunciation, diction, syntax, and vocabulary
which include the word(s) or phrases that an individual
uses. Of particular interest at XYZ is the vocabulary used
by an individual to describe someone in a different group or
to describe a group of people other than the group to which
the speaker belongs (Zandy:1995). In the United States, the
accepted and dominant language is white, educated and
western. It is this language that is taught in educational
institutions and is considered to be the acceptable language

whether it is written or spoken (De Veaux:1995). When people are heard using patterns that are not consistent with the dominant language patterns, they are often considered to be ignorant and/or uneducated. In which case, language may then be used as a weapon of oppression (Zandy:1995).

It was common to hear members of the union use language that did not reflect the rules of dominant western English. For example, many union members misused verbs when they were speaking and the most common misuse was a single verb with a plural subject. For example, it was common to hear a member of the union say: "We **was** going to look at that problem . . . " or "Not from what I **seen** as far as favoritism . . . " Another example of this language pattern of usage occurred during an interview with one of the union members who was also a trainer. This individual was telling me things he wanted me to know about the Employee Involvement program and he said: "You **was** at the last meeting and you remember . . . " Another union member stated: "...at first I was a little leery about it because they said they **was** gonna do so many things."

Occasionally members of the union were heard to use the incorrect form of a verb. For example, one union woman was explaining one of the complaints she had about the project and she said, "What was really frustrating was they bought

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the hose reel to mount on the presses and they **set** in the maintenance area for several months . . . " An additional example of this type of misuse was actually a supervisor who was discussing the first time he was on a Departmental Joint Committee and he said "We went to team leaders and then we **come** over here." Another union member was talking about his definition of power and he said "Power would be the ability to **set** down and be on an equal basis . . . "

Another example in which language serves to identify the social group to one which belongs is the pronunciation of certain words. For example, three of the parts manufactured at XYZ Motors are the hood and front fenders of a semi-truck supplied to VOLVO. It is common to hear those in the union refer to this product as a VELVA. This is not a pronunciation used by managers, engineers or salaried individuals except it is sometimes used by supervisors. When I first encountered this pronunciation, I thought it might be the reflection of a regional dialect. But when I found that only those who were union workers, or supervisors who were formerly union workers used this pronunciation, I determined that it was a class-based pronunciation rather than regional. If it had been regional, I would have expected to hear others in the plant, especially those who were natives of the area, pronounce it as Velva and not

Volvo. Thus, the pronunciation of various words signifies one's current group or original group membership at XYZ Motors.

These patterns of language may be the result of inadequate education. It is common to find people working at this plant who received little instruction in an educational institution beyond the elementary grades. Therefore, they may not have received instruction regarding the rules of singular versus plural verbs. Or more important, in the case of union members who have had such education, it appears to be a choice they make to use the particular verb pattern that they do. Even if union members attended an educational institution where they learned "the proper way to speak," they may have adopted the "incorrect" pattern of usage to show solidarity with other workers on the line.

Supervisors who moved up from the shop floor may engage in the same patterns of verb usage as those used by union members, but they may adopt a more formal style of speaking when interacting with management or white collar workers. For example, it appears that supervisors who were promoted off the shop floor may use the old language patterns when interacting with union members to show solidarity or connection to workers. One supervisor made the statement

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that the purpose of the employee involvement structure is: "(t)o get employees input and involvement on taking care of problems they **seen** in the day to day work." Another supervisor replicated this pattern when he said: "As soon as EI started, we noticed that more people was taking on more job responsibilities." One notable exception to the pattern of mixing singular and plural verbs and subject was the one supervisor who was a woman. I had frequent contact with this woman and did not hear this particular pattern spoken by her.

Management or those in salaried positions, other than supervisors, did not use plural verbs with singular subjects. This may be a result of two factors. First, it may be the result of the level of education of individuals in management and salaried positions. Second, it is definitely a way to reinforce the separation between union and management. Those working in salaried positions had completed at least high school, others had technical training or an associate degree from a community college, and several had graduated from an institution of higher learning with a bachelor's degree. Those who had at least a bachelor's degree were: the engineers, controller, human resource manager, assistant human resource manager and the plant manager. Also, an accounting supervisor and a human resource assistant had bachelor's degrees. When supervisors

were in a mixed group that is both union and management personnel, I heard several of the supervisors use the mixed subject and verb. On the other hand, when the same supervisors were engaged in a conversation with just management personnel, language patterns tended to follow western European structures. This may have been a reflection of their position in the plant hierarchy. Traditionally supervisors are not part of the management structure and yet, they were not permitted to belong to the union, even if they had been members of the union prior to their promotion to supervisor. The way in which they switch their language usage may be a reflection of their position in the plant hierarchy, squeezed between the union and management.

Another way language may be used to identify and reproduce the social location of an individual at XYZ is captured in the way an individual in one group refers to another. For example, one entry level manager tended to refer to the union as "them" which is allows an individual to create distance from the group being discussed. In effect, this pattern says, "I am not part of group X and I want it known that I am not." When asked about improvements related to Employee Involvement, one supervisor who had been a member of the union made the following statement, "The hourlies are looking more at what each other are doing." It is clear that this individual does not want to be associated with the hourly workers at the plant even though he began as

an hourly worker. Another manager would consistently address union members on the steering committee as "you people" which is a phrase that is used when one wants to be separate from the group they are addressing.

Authority/Control/Power

Who makes decisions and the type of decisions they make reflect the level of inequality at XYZ Motors because decision-making is a reflection of the power relations at the plant? Decisions related to which parts would be manufactured did not occur at the plant level. Decisions of that type are made at the Corporate level. The plant manager and his staff at XYZ Motors would have some input, but the final decision was made at the corporate level. The day-to-day decisions about how many of each part needed to fill a customer's order is made by the appropriate manager such as the mold unit manager. Prior to the implementation of the Employee Involvement program, decisions regarding the labor process were made by those at the supervisory level or above. Even decisions about whether or not a part should be sent to the customer or should be scrapped was not relegated to the worker on the line, but was made by the first line supervisor or the production manager. Very few, if any decisions were made by workers.

In order to determine whether any change in who makes decisions occurred, interviewees were asked the following questions regarding who made decisions about their work before and after the implementation of EI.

Who made decisions about your day-to-day work
before the Employee Involvement Program started?
Has there been any change? Are decisions made by
the same person(s)?

Of the 38 responses to the above questions, 13 said

there had been some change and 15 said there had been no

change in who made decisions. Twenty-nine interviewees

responded that it was their supervisor, boss or manager who

made decisions about their day-to-day work. What is

important is the sorts of changes that were noted by those

interviewed. Of the 13 who said there had been some change

in who made decisions, two workers said that the press

operator now had the responsibility to set up their own

press and two others noted that workers were now "empowered

to shut down their job" if they determine that the quality

of the part does not meet specifications. Prior to the

introduction of EI, if a press operator discovered that the

parts they were making did not meet specifications (if the

operators actually had access to the specifications), that

individual could not stop the molding process to make the

necessary corrections to make a quality part.

Subsequent to the Employee Involvement program, a

procedure called "Quality Line Stop" was implemented. This

procedure gives the press operators the authority to stop

running the press when they determine that they are not

producing quality parts. While this was not developed as a

specific component of the Employee Involvement program,
several of those interviewed believed the procedure is
something that is a result of EI and the workers readily
accept it because the plant had an Employee Involvement
program in place. Although many welcomed the ability to
stop the line to correct a quality problem, one press
operator noted that:

> "Some people, especially, maybe the older
> employees, they weren't used to this joint
> decision making, cooperation, whatever. Sometimes
> I'd hear from those people that that's
> management's job, I just do, I'm the worker, they
> tell me what to do I get the job done. It's not
> my job to worry about paper work."

> "{On the other hand,} (o)thers took joy in
> following through with the job if it was doing the
> paper work necessary to complete the job, go to
> meetings, (or) make suggestions."

Another reflection of the power relations at the plant
was found in who had access to company resources. To gather
information about this, interviewees were asked the
following question: "Before the EI program began, who could
authorize purchases? Who can authorize purchases now?" Of
the twenty-five interviewees who responded to these
questions, twenty-one responded that it was either the
foreman, boss or plant manager who could authorize
purchases. Only one worker, a woman in the union, referred
to a department budget being used to determine who had the
authority to authorize a purchase.

After the EI program was implemented, 13 people believed it was still the same individuals who could authorize purchases. Others noted that some change had taken place. For example, one mechanic who was responsible for the maintenance and repair of the hi-los was given the authority to purchase small items for the garage such as oil filters. Additionally, two people said that the Steering Committee could authorize purchases. Another indicated that the level of authority changed depending on the cost of the item. If the item cost less than $500, it could be authorized by someone in the accounting department and anything more than $500 had to go to the plant manager for approval. Two who were in DJCs noted that there was a petty cash fund or "slush fund" that they could use to make purchases up to a certain amount. While some changes are in place, the specific changes are slightly different from those described by the interviewees. For example, only a $50.00 discretionary fund was available for use by the DJCs.

Clothing

A third symbol identifying one's position at the plant is clothing. It is easy to distinguish who is in which group--union, management, skilled trades, or salaried by the way in which they dressed. For example, those who were part of the middle or upper management structure almost

exclusively wore white or pale-colored dress-shirts with
ties. At the beginning of the research project and for
about six months, there was one woman who was the safety
director. Typically she wore a suit or a dressy skirt of
wool or cotton, depending on the season, and a blouse made
of a light weight fabric such as silk. Women who are in
positions of substantial responsibility wore suits, dresses
or skirts and blouses. These women rarely, if ever were
observed wearing slacks. On one occasion, the secretary to
the plant manager was dressed more casually than she usually
did and I commented on the fact that she looked very
comfortable. She responded that she was going to be doing
some cleaning and sorting of files in her office and she
wanted to be comfortable doing that.

Clothing also serves to identify distinctions in rank
within the union. The men in skilled trades (there were no
women in the skilled trades at XYZ), wear a "uniform" which
consists of a pair of dark-blue cotton slacks and a matching
shirt. The shirt had buttons down the front, long or short
sleeves, and a breast pocket over which is embroidered the
name of the individual. Because the skilled tradesmen are
the only ones in the plant to wear this particular uniform,
they visually stand out from the other workers on the shop
floor and it signifies their elevated status.

Those who work directly in the manufacturing process wear a variety of casual clothing appropriate for the time of year and the type of work they do. For the most part, the work "uniform" of the production workers consists of jeans such as Levis, Wranglers, Guess, or Chic, and a cotton tee-shirt. Some women wear cotton slacks and short sleeved cotton blouses. This seemed to be an instance where gender and class intersect because several women who work on the shop floor tend to dress in a traditionally feminine way. These women often wear make-up and jewelry such as earrings, necklaces and rings on several fingers of each hand which clearly signifies their femininity. By dressing in this way, these women are saying that they are workers, but at the same time, they are women. Thus they dress in slacks and a blouse instead of the jeans and tee-shirts that many of the men wear.

Another difference in dress between the way the women and the men who worked on the shop floor were observed during the summer. The two manufacturing buildings get very hot and to cope with the heat, the men would cut the sleeves out of their shirts and open the sides to provide as much ventilation as possible. For obvious reasons, this option is not possible for the women. If they cut their shirts the

same way, it would reveal their undergarments which could possibly increase their exposure to harassment.

In the collective bargaining agreement, the company pays 75% of the rental charge for coveralls, shop coats and work uniforms for equipment cleaners, painters, paint mixers, skilled trade's personnel, material handlers, gunners, resin mixers and those in the mold plant who work with raw glass. A few of the men who work on the shop floor in the finish and mold units rent uniform shirts and slacks through an agreement with a local linen supply company. The shirts for all workers, except skilled trades, were a light blue and the men wore them with jeans. No women were eligible to rent work uniforms because only men worked in the positions identified as eligible for the reduced rate rental.

Since the company does not have a specific dress code for managers or the women in white collar positions, one might assume that these individuals choose to dress the way they do. Also, the mode of dress is something the managers resisted changing. During the training session for the Steering Committee, a segment was included that identified some changes that the consultants strongly recommended and one of these was that there should be less distinction between the union personnel and the managers in terms of the

way the managers dressed. It was recommended that the men

cease wearing ties and suits and dress "down." This

suggestion was met with much resistance because the managers

believed that it was necessary to keep the dress distinction

between the workers and the managers. They feared that if

they gave up this class signifier that it would lead to a

loss of authority over the union and other nonmanagement

personnel. This class signifier was sustained while I was

at XYZ which served to keep class barriers in place.

HIERARCHY OF JOBS

The following factors are utilized to identify

desirable jobs: wages; skills necessary to do the job;

level of autonomy, power and/or authority; supervisory

responsibility; and working conditions. The hierarchy of

jobs at XYZ follows a fairly traditional view. The jobs

ranged from low status for maintenance worker and crib

attendant up to the high status position of plant manager.

Those positions that require education beyond high school or

an apprenticeship are more desirable. Additionally, union

shop floor positions that are considered to be higher status

are those that are paid higher wages, are more autonomous,

and require a higher level of skills.   These jobs include:

skilled trades such as electrician and millwright, a local

truck driver, hi-lo driver, and mold press operators. One

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worker provided an excellent example of the stratification that exists between the mold operator and the general operator in the mold plant. I asked him what difference exists between GOs and mold operators are and he replied: "Oh, about $.25 an hour." This reflects the perceived difference between the mold operator and the general operator. The actual difference between the two jobs in starting wages is only five cents but the differences between a specific GO and a mold operator could be twenty-five cents an hour because of a difference in seniority.

In addition to the higher wage received by mold operators, he or she has more autonomy than the GO and the mold operator possesses skills that are not required of a general operator. For example, the mold operator has more autonomy because she or he has more freedom of movement than the general operator. Additionally, he or she may set up a press to run a part after a mold has been changed. These factors are identified as components found in desirable jobs. A review of Table 3 below indicates that within the union, skilled trades workers receive the highest starting wage and within the skilled trades, electricians are at the top of the union wage scale while the lowest wages are paid to the GO/inspectors in the mold and finish units.

Table 6
UNION JOBS:
Entry Level Wages

Production and Plant Equipment Cleaner	$10.24
Packer and Crater	10.39
Power Lift Truck Operator (Hi-los) and Local Truck Driver	10.42
Crib Attendant	10.44
General Operator/Inspector (all departments)	10.52
Mold Operator	10.57
Utility	10.62
Millwright	12.61
Machinist/Tooling	13.03
Electrician	13.23

The status and pay of jobs during the Employee Involvement program remained essentially unchanged except for the addition of two positions. Those positions were: Employee Involvement Coordinator and Trainer. The EI coordinator was selected from the ranks of the front line supervisors and, in fact, the position description was written in such a way as to ensure that a supervisor would be selected the Employee Involvement Coordinator (Appendix B). The EI Coordinator and the trainers were paid their customary wages but were perceived to be in a position of privilege.

The trainers were selected from various positions throughout the plant and from the union and salaried workers. The first two trainers were two men, one from the union and a front-line supervisor. The first trainer from the union was a production worker in the Mold Plant. The

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supervisor was shortly promoted to EI Coordinator. The next
trainers selected from the union were a woman who was a hi-
lo driver and a man from the skilled trades. Subsequently, a
trainer was selected from the ranks of salaried employees.
He was in human resources and had been the first level of
management to conduct meetings related to grievances. The
selection of the trainers spurred controversy among salaried
and union people and will be discussed in the next section
as an example of class conflict.

LABOR-MANAGEMENT CONFLICT

Evidence of conflict between labor and management was
observed in the behavior of the employees at XYZ Motors and
emerged in the interviews. This conflict is presented in
the following two categories: 1) traditional labor-
management conflict and 2) conflict that either occurred in
the course of the Employee Involvement program or was
directly related to it. Within each category, I have
utilized the following subheadings: opposing agendas,
blaming the victim, and trust. First, I will present
examples of conflict from the interviews which occur in
organizations that may or may not have a participative
structure in place.

Opposing Agendas

One example of conflict at XYZ is the opposing agendas of labor, salaried personnel and management. The union works to preserve jobs and benefits and to improve working conditions such as safety, comfort and housekeeping. The union traditionally utilizes a strict interpretation of the contract and application of past practices to accomplish its goals. Managers, who serve as agents of the corporation and its stockholders, stated that their primary agenda was to ensure the financial stability and success of the plant. Some salaried personnel indicated that they agreed with management's goal and the positions taken by the plant manager. A clear expression of the opposing agendas of union members, salaried personnel and management was provided by many of those who were interviewed.

Union members often spoke of management's goal of profit and the strategies that might be used to accomplish that goal. For example, one union representative, who is also a member of the EI steering committee, clearly indicated that she is aware of the different approaches that union and management bring to the workplace. In her interview she said: "Management's agenda was purely financial (and was) driven due to (the) economy and future of the plant. Hourly folks were wanting to maintain all

they had and not give up anything they had (such as) jobs and working arrangements. We did not come to the same table." One of the skilled tradesmen also stated: "The management is after one thing and that's to make a marginal profit here and they're doing it without any input from the union. . . by their own admission, they do not honor the union contract for the sake of a dollar." In other words, he believed that management would do whatever it had to accomplish its profit objectives even if it meant trying to go against the union contract. Another union member contributed to the management position regarding the importance of profit when he stated: "If we didn't have a union, we'd be all out of here and they'd be down at the welfare office getting people to work for $4.00 an hour." That very situation occurred at another unionized facility in the same community. The workers at that company went on strike in the early 1990s and were permanently replaced by workers who were hired at a wage of $5.00 an hour instead of the beginning union wage of $10.00 an hour.

This same worker provided an example of a management strategy employed to attain their goal and an excellent example of the differing agendas of management and workers when he talked about the management rights clause (Appendix D) in the collective bargaining agreement. This man said:

> "Management has certain ways of doing business
> with customers, certain aspects, don't want to say
> jobs, but there's a word, the systems operation,
> there's "X" amount of steps and "X" amount of
> people from the time you bid the job till you
> start running the job. There's certain things
> management did not open up about. There was (sic)
> things, there's a clause in the contract that's
> called management rights and it's the right to
> hire, discharge, discipline, you know all these
> different old traditional management ways of doing
> things. I'm the boss. You're the worker. We
> were never able to get past that as much as
> management in this shop would say we want to be
> different, they still held on to that idea that
> we're the boss and you're the worker and at any
> given time, we can still say what goes and what
> won't and don't you forget that."

This worker provides a clear view of the differing agendas

of workers and management.

One woman provided insight into the labor-management

relationship at XYZ Motors when she said: "Because they

felt we were on two sides, hourly against management. Some

of the management people, I always felt they thought they

were above us — we were only their servants." This attitude

was observed in some of the EI meetings that I attended. A

further indication that some in the union were not willing

to take on the responsibility necessary to successfully

implement an EI program is reflected in this statement made

by a union member. He stated: "Really being a union, we

should let the bosses do it, make the decisions." This was

not an isolated feeling among the union members but was

something that was expressed by several workers.

Another union member also noted his awareness of the opposing agendas when he responded to the questions: "Did the EI program live up to your hopes/expectations?" He stated, "No, because you have two types of people buttin' heads and on one side you have people thinking they're taking my job and on the other saying why should I do this? ...Got your ego trip while you're in management and on the employee side, they (referring to management) get paid more than I do, so why should I do their job." One woman who is a member of the SC and the union responded to this question by saying: "Well, I guess because I'm the type of person that wants to do things right, and I felt that in the past years that the supervisors didn't care what other people's opinions were (sic), I thought this was a way to develop supervisors and hourly people in the mode we could get them where they do believe they could have their opinion valued instead of leaving their brains at the door." This concept of leaving one's brain at the door was mentioned by several of the workers I interviewed or talked to while I was at XYZ and this is a traditional concept that management does not want workers who actually think about things, instead they want workers who come in and do the job and do not cause any problems for management.

One union member reflected this when she said: "I just run my own job." That is, she makes sure her press is running so she can do her job. She is the type of worker management likes to employ because she does not contest management and their decisions and she does what she can to keep her press operating. She described a recent occurrence where she had to track down someone to fix the press. She said: "Yesterday was a good example, everything was broke down, nothing was running. He (her supervisor) asked me if I wanted to go home. I knew if I went home I would come back into the same mess (as) today, so I tried to get a millwright and I couldn't. They're all changing dies and one guy was on special projects." Many workers would take the time off and go home because they'd rather have the time away from the job than have to try to find something to do while the press or machinery was being repaired. Management believes the worker should find something to keep him or her busy.

Another way in which the opposing agendas of labor and management are evident is revealed in this statement made by a past president of the union. He noted that labor and management traditionally blame each other when something goes wrong with a product. For example:

> "I've seen this plant manager resolve some of those quality problems which makes a difference

in the employee's attitude and how they feel
about the job because they see management
policing themselves instead of blaming the worker
and (they) see management trying to make this
happen. (It's) (a)lways been labors fault, and
labor (says) it's all been management's fault."

Another place the opposing agenda of labor and

management emerges is in their approach to quality.

Traditionally, workers take pride in their work and want to

do a good job and produce a quality product. It is

distressing to the workers at XYZ that the quality of the

product is often considered to be of less importance than

the number of parts produced. One worker talked about

management's approach to quality problems: "...it used to be

that they didn't care about how many scrap they got . . .

but (we) were always hearing about gettin' the numbers up.

They'd try to find out what was wrong but walk away saying

they (need) many more numbers." This is further reflected

in the statement of another union member who said:

"The salary, the upper management and the
maintenance, because they have their own little
hierarchy that is separate, more a political
system. These are people who don't get out on the
floor and work with people. They simply want to
set there and get a phone call from a supervisor
and say 'OK, we've got a problem.' When actually
(they) could go to the floor and say where is the
problem and let me talk to the people who work
here every day and work around this problem and
see what their ideas are. It just makes more
sense to me to go to the person that knows most
about that area."

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One business unit manager noted that he believed part
of the problem was that many people in the union are stuck
in the past. For instance,

> "(l)ots of the problem is the older workforce.
> Always done things this way and I don't think I
> should have to change. That goes specifically to
> the union. As I aid they were stuck in the 70s,
> they were successful in the 70s but we can't
> compete in the 90s and the year 2000 the way we
> are now. People aren't comfortable with that.
> I've worked here for 20 years and I can't tell you
> the number of people (who) tell me that I hired in
> not paying for any of my insurance and shouldn't
> have to pay now."

Asking workers to contribute more to their health care
coverage is not unique to XYZ, but is a strategy to cut
costs that is used by many organizations in the United
States. Management is asking the union to give back
benefits which had been successfully negotiated in previous
contracts. This manager's statement is a clear indication
of the differing approach union and management have toward
the issue of who should pay for what level of health care
coverage.

It is customary that the first place management tends
to look to cut costs or find savings, is to consider cutting
the cost of labor. Quite often this entails laying off
workers either temporarily or permanently. While this
frequently is the first option explored by management, it
can also be accomplished through other strategies such as

closing a plant, introducing a two-tier wage system where new hires are paid at a lower starting wage, and outsourcing work to non-union facilities in the United States or sending the work offshore for cheaper sources of labor. Not that these are strategies that are agreeable to unions, generally, but one of these strategies may be more acceptable than layoffs to union members. Labor costs are seen as the largest variable and the one the plant has the most control over. The new plant manager set the tone for this perspective when he stated:

> "Savings, as I pointed out, comes from reductions in wages and what we buy in materials. The fact of life is the value of labor plus cost of material, deduct from sales price is the profit. We are essentially buying material at cost because of a captive supplier. Variants in marketplace is (the) result of excessive labor in this factory. And when you have a group of hourly people and you talk about excessive labor, they say it's not my problem it's your problem. You can agree to security as long as I'm not impacted."

He further stated in support of this perspective:

> "The reality of survival is: What are the opportunities to reduce costs without reducing labor? Actually it's virtually zero. I've built models and showed them to (the) workforce in employee meetings, where if I take our pricing and take out the cost of material and take that out of the price structure, so if I reduce price by the cost of materials, it would take that out of the cost structure, reduce by 100% of all salaried labor, with no material, we're overpriced by $200,000 every month which resides solely in employee wages and overhead, meaning their benefits. It's that black and white."

The controller echoed this same attitude when he stated: "The plant manager told everyone that 50 people have to go from here (XYZ Motors). If that were ever to come about, you'd be in much better shape financially. . ." Indeed, a reduction in the labor force does immediately reduce the costs of wages and benefits, but the issue is that this seems to be the first strategy or approach management considers when attempting to cut costs.

The perception that several of the salaried personnel have of the union is a further indication of their opposing agendas. Many of those who work in salaried positions, whether they are clerical or are in entry level management positions, appear to have opinions about union members that are similar to those of management. One woman who is in an administrative position made this comment: "...I feel like the guards and the attendants . . . at the institutions don't have as much authority as the people who are incarcerated. I feel like, unless people know that you are responsible for something, that they'll take advantage of you. Salary here is like the guards and the union more or less would be like the incarcerated people." This woman seems to imply that union members are people

who do not have the ability to be responsible and they need someone to oversee them to make sure they stay on task, get the work done, and not take advantage of management. Certainly, if this view were acted on, it would essentially continue the oppression of those in the working class by depriving them of access to knowledge deemed to be the purview of management only. Also, she believes that some information should not be shared with the union such as opening the books for inspection by the union. This sentiment is clearly reflected in the following statement: "there is a lot of things that management needs to keep confidential. I guess I really don't think that the financial books need to be opened up to everybody. I think that the generalities need to by, you know everyone needs to know the problems. But as far as specifics, um, everything doesn't really need to be an open book. I guess I'm, thinking of management and union in particular."

Safety is another area that clearly reflects inequality at the plant. Workers are often caught in a double bind in relation to safety issues. On the one hand, workers and their employers are required by law to report any injury that occurs on the job, but many

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management practices serve to inhibit workers from reporting an injury or illness. Safety does not appear to be as important to management as it is to workers. The obvious reason for this may be because the workers on the shop floor are more directly at risk to injury than managers are not. Also, management is not likely to act on safety issues without pressure from the union or a governmental agency such as the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA). One woman mold operator noted that: " I ran (the) press for me and (it) only got fixed because of (sic) OSHA fined them. They started making joke like you're getting an oil treatment free. . .I was losing my hair. Burns on my arms. A year and a half before it was fixed." She went on to say that they would never have just let the press sit for a year and a half. "If the press was down they would have got it going. But so long as I would run it that way, or anybody would run any of these jobs with unsafe conditions, they'll keep on running them, and that shouldn't be."

Another example of the difference between management and the workers regarding safety is reflected in the following statement made by one of the union members who is a member of a DJC. He said it is

difficult to get safety equipment in the plant: "To

get all the fire equipment, all the safety equipment

out in the molding plant getting it moved and numbered,

getting eye stations installed. That was a lasting

one. You can look around and see (the changes). It

took us about a year. We could've done it a lot

sooner, but the workers were scared to do it and we

didn't have the authority." Even though these were

safety precautions that can help the workers and

decrease the number of injuries at the plant, the

workers did not have the authority to get the safety

equipment identified or installed.

One man who works in the finish unit as a general

operator and inspector talked about methlylinechloride

which is a nonflammable cleaning solvent that is also a

carcinogen. It was used to clean the fiberglass mixing

tanks. He said it had been used in the plant for

years, and "We used to bathe in it and now they don't

let it in the place. They knew how bad it was, they

just didn't care. Was nonflammable. A cleaning

solvent." When I asked why this chemical was no longer

used, he replied: "OSHA. The vapors would make me

pass out." This provided an example where a government

agency was responsible for advancing safety in the

plant. Management may have changed to another chemical at some point, but it took OSHA to get them to remove a harmful chemical from the plant.

Blaming the Victim

Often when researchers engage in an analysis of the workplace, they ignore or delete structural characteristics that contribute to the experience of workers. Ignoring those characteristics, puts the focus on the individual and places the blame for their lack of success solely on them. This approach has been identified by feminist researchers as "blaming the victim" (Kemp:1994).

This ideology may also be applied to a group such as well as an individual. For example in a previous illustration, the plant manager blamed the union because the company has not experienced any cost savings and he blames the union because they refuse to discuss giving up any of their positions. This is an example of opposing agendas that "blame the victim" and is a prevalent concept for managers to express. Another way in which the plant manager demonstrates this is revealed in the following statement:

> "The other reality is as you walk through the plant, this is a highly inefficient unproductive workforce. Worst work pace plant I've ever seen in 25 years of manufacturing experience. The

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reality of that because we've been in our closed environment so long is, we're great, we're wonderful (and) we've made all this money. That is not the fact. The fact of life is this . . . work rules that are 20 to 30 years behind the times with flexibility of job descriptions. I have run UAW steelworkers facilities that the work rules have been more progressive for ten years. Those union facilities are highly productive facilities. It's not a union or non-union issue it's an inflexible union and living in the past union."

While this manager states that the issue is neither a union nor non-union matter, he actually concludes his remark by stating that it is a result of the union being inflexible and living in the past that is a major contributor to the current situation. He contradicts himself and still blames the union for many of the problems the company faces. He further states that the bidding system contributes to the situation, and is linked to union inflexibility. The plant manager made the following comment on this topic:

"(The) (w)ay we bid things for 25 years is an indictment of our ability or inflexibility. Flexibility is essence of survival. When you have paradigms of inflexibility, shop rules of inflexibility that have been propagandized for I don't know how many years with the union mentality, and . . . management credibility issues, all that is working against security. (The union says) security is not my problem. Profitability is all management's fault. (We must) think about root cause issues and the root cause is excessive labor. Nobody is ready to come to the table and say one of us must go."

Here he sees the issue as the union who needs to make adjustments, but it is not within the power of the union to change the way in which things are bid with customers. That is in fact an area that management has the authority to make changes. The issue of nonflexibility in shop rules is a traditional area of contention between union and management and one in which one sees the conflict between labor and management played out in the workplace. On the one side, management blames the union for being inflexible in applying shop floor rules and enforcing the union contract. On the other, the union makes every attempt to preserve its base of power. Of course, none of the managers are willing to designate one of them as a position that can be eliminated as a way to introduce cost savings.

One way for the union to accomplish this is through a literal interpretation of the union contract and through what the manager terms the "rigid application of shop rules." This conflict is repeated in workplaces throughout capitalist enterprises even in the absence of a union. One business unit manager stated: "Jobs and (the) union contract are what run the top committee. The future is something they think will always be there. They believe that it is something that just won't go away. I just don't think that they still today grasp the (financial) situation

as it really is." Several interviewees who are union members related stories that the company has on a number of occasions threatened to close the plant. Sometimes the threat to close the plant was connected with requests that the union giveback something they had won during previous contract negotiations. Therefore, the union members found it difficult to believe that the plant was really in jeopardy and close to being closed by "Corporate." This scenario is very similar to the fable of the "Little Boy Who Cried Wolf." That is, now that the plant may really be in serious financial trouble, the union does not believe management because of all the other times the company had threatened this, but did not materialize.

Trust

An important aspect of labor-management relations to consider is the level of trust that exists between the union and management. When management follows through on promises, then trust is more likely to develop between the management and union. If the union believes that management will do what they say, one can say that the union trusts management. The level of trust at different facilities varies and the level of trust is not constant. The level of trust will increase and decrease over time and will depend on what is occurring at the plant. Additionally, trust may

be generally good between the union and management, but trust may be an issue between individuals. Certainly, the level of trust between the union and management, provides some insight into the class relations at the plant.

At the beginning of the EI program, the level of trust between the union and management at XYZ was reported to be fairly high. On the other hand, the trust level between some key individuals in the union and management was not as high. For example, one woman who was both a member of the SC and the union top committee said: ". . . the trust between me and the plant manager . . . it wasn't there. He was my enemy and I think I was his and before he was plant manager, and I was a steward out there on the floor trying to get things done, he would admit that he would stall just because I was the steward out there. So we were not close." This characterizes the way the management and the union tended to view each other at XYZ and is also a common occurrence at other facilities, especially those that are unionized.

Another union woman talked about the fact that while the overall level of trust was good, there was little trust between the union and management regarding the EI program when it was first proposed. The union entered into the program with some hesitation because they were not sure what

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would happen to the union under an EI program. She said: "We . . wanted to see what the company would do. We didn't have the trust. We did not have the trust in the company to not take advantage of the program." This woman also noted that once the EI program was in place, many workers still did not trust the company because they ". . .felt that it was done to double your workload, eliminate jobs, (or) the company was trying to pull something over you."

EMPLOYEE INVOLVEMENT

Just as the conflict among the three personnel groups was obvious in the pre-EI day-to-day operation of the plant, it is also prevalent within the Employee Involvement structure and processes. In fact, several interviewees discussed numerous points of contention that were directly related to the EI program.

First, there were issues that arose in the context of EI that reflected the opposing agendas of the various groups in the plant such as union and management. For example, one business unit manager said: ". . .two agendas came into the meetings. The hourly workforce had an agenda to make things better for the hourly folks, and the management salary portion came in with an agenda that were losing money and we're going to use this (EI) to save money. They never seemed to coincide." Essentially this points to the

continuing conflict between the union and management over an

issue that is more important to one group than it is to

another. This unit manager is specifically referring to his

perception that the union never completely adopted the

management perspective that the foremost agenda for EI

should be the management goal to save money. An

administrative assistant said she thought the EI process

should have started with the managers and then been

disseminated to the rest of the plant. She stated:

> "(I) went through several classes that they have,
> uh, how DJC's, the meaning of the DJC, how it's
> set up, what its purpose might be. . . I thought
> in some areas it should of been started from the
> top, instead it looked like it was working from
> the bottom where it should have started from the
> top and management would have been able to see the
> purpose and started their own work before sending
> it o their employees. Or maybe been able to put
> it into, uh, a goal or something letting their
> employees know this was their goal. It looked
> like it worked backwards instead of being the way
> it should have been."

This is a clear example of the opposing agendas that existed

between management and the union at XYZ. This woman has

worked at the plant 35 years and is quite loyal to the

company. Additionally, she is the same one who made the

comparison between the workers and the prisoners. This

reflects the line of thought that management should be the

ones holding the reins of power and control and it should

not be transferred in any way to the workers. In fact,

this EI program was designed to be a joint activity and would not start with management. This is important because the literature regarding EI demonstrates that programs that begin without the active involvement of the workers and/or unions tend to be unsuccessful. That is, they either did not last very long or they did not move beyond the initial implementation phase.

When the consultants applied for the grant to help support the implementation of the EI project, it was initiated by the union. Although management had previously attempted to introduce the idea of an EI program, the union had not been receptive to the idea. One of the chief stewards said: "[I was] very leery of EI. Although it came from our union, I felt that a lot of it was implanted still by the company. I probably related it to the Quality Circles that the company wanted for years and they'd been told no on." It is clear from this statement that even at the initiation of the union, some union members were hesitant about the company's involvement in the implementation of EI.

Another business unit manager reflected the opposing agendas that emerged within the EI structure when he stated that his hopes for the EI program were:

> "(That) mgt and the union/hourly people would see the situation that we found ourselves in and work

together to create an environment that was a
positive one that both the corporation and the
people employed here would both prosper. By using
the people out there the way they said they wanted
to be involved and to use the knowledge that they
absolutely had, I thought it was, it is a sound
concept."

This manager did offer the following as an explanation for

managements' position for citing the union as the group that

had to move toward a common goal with management especially

related to cutting costs. He said:

"I specifically talk to the hourly because we're
talking about the SC. I think the people who make
up the SC from the salary side are much more in
tune because we're the people who hear about it
and are expected to do something about it. The
hourly people are not under any dictate to do
anything about it from their leadership."

As noted in the previous chapter, the EI program is not

included in the collective bargaining agreement at XYZ

Motors, but is a parallel structure. Because it is not a

part of the contract, there are times when the company wants

the workers to conduct EI meetings without receiving

overtime pay, management felt this was an appropriate

request. The union, on the other hand, believes it is

important to enforce the contract and therefore refused to

work more than 40 hours a week unless they receive overtime

as it is stated in the contract. Members of the union to

whom I spoke indicated that they were not willing to "give

the company free time" because the company might use this to

justify asking them to give time to the company on occasions other than EI meetings. The union applies a literal interpretation of the contract regarding the payment of overtime to prevent the establishment of a "customary practice" which they feared would be used against them at a later time. One front line supervisor stated that the workers would only come to the EI meetings if they were being paid overtime for the meetings held before or after work. He provided the following example: ". . . when it got down to the employees giving of themselves, it (EI) dropped off. Maybe like for our meeting (the DJC meeting) maybe giving maybe an hour of their time for meetings and then using time during the day to investigate things that needed done (sic). They won't do anything unless paid for it. You pay me time and a half to come in early and I'll come in and do it." Another supervisor also commented on the fact that workers' interest seemed to wane once the company decided they would no longer pay overtime for DJC meetings. He noted that the EI program ". . . kind of fell through. The reason it fell through, people found out it wasn't going to be done on OT. We were going to come a little bit early, maybe an hour early and not get paid for it and a lot of interest was lost there. When you tried to switch to a point in time to do during the day, it broke

down." These provide excellent examples of the view of management and supervisors that they expected the workers to act like salaried employees or management and volunteer time.

Additionally, some union members also mentioned that there are members who were not willing to come in early unless they were paid for it. When two union men suggested that the union apply a less literal interpretation of the contract regarding overtime pay to accommodate EI, they were accused of being "company men." Several women who are DJC members mentioned that it was not strictly the overtime issue that prevented them from participating in meetings without receiving overtime pay. Instead, for them, coming in early or staying late meant they would have to pay increased childcare costs and without the overtime, they could not afford to pay the additional childcare expenses. A prevalent attitude among the managers was that the workers were interested in participating only if they were paid overtime. The managers believed that the focus was on the money, but for the workers, using a literal interpretation of the contract was one way to protect the things they have negotiated in the contract.

One woman who is a crib attendant also addressed this issue when she discussed the way in which some of the

trainers/facilitators conducted meetings. She indicated that there was pressure to conform with the point of view of the facilitator and this left little room for any real discussion. She said: ". . .some of the trainers. . .were too directive or. . . (t)he facilitator would contradict and say this is your number one problem." So, instead of the DJC actually prioritizing the problems they had identified, the group was pressured to work on the problem the facilitator had identified as most important. In fact, she further noted that the trainer who engaged in this type of pressure more than other trainers was one who had worked in human resources before he became an EI trainer. This reinforces the view that the workers needed to come in line with management's thinking and do what the managers thought was the most important thing to get done.

I believe management has some genuine interest in increasing the participation of workers in the operation of the plant, but they are not willing to really allow the workers to have the authority necessary to participate at a real level. For example, one union member indicated that he did not think management was serious because he did not think: ". . .management is listening enough." Workers often complain that management does not listen to them. While on some occasions it appears that management is listening to

workers ideas, the workers indicated that there is a lack of following through on workers' suggestions. This then reinforces to workers that management is not seriously listening to the suggestions made by the union. Some union members may complain about management not listening and others state that they think management will steal their ideas. One worker stated: "Normally, if one of us comes up with an idea, they'll immediately say, lets take it under advisement. That means they'll think about this idea."

Conversely, the union was reluctant to take the responsibility to be an active participant. The millwright pointed this out when he said: ". . .the union body and the management body of this shop weren't able to break down those barriers totally and really look at this as a partnership situation. They still held too many things sacred to each other that they were unwilling to put on the table and do anything with." He further stated: "On the union side, I think we were unwilling to develop what is being forced today which is work cells, multifunctional people. We didn't want that, we felt that a lot of that paper work was a management thing...management had to maintain man power (and) our people didn't have to be that responsible for their job." Several members of the union top committee indicated that to adopt a multifunctional job

classification would undercut the union's ability to protect jobs. They feared that a move to a multifunctional job classification would lead to jobs being lost and thus would lead to layoffs.

The plant manager indicated in his interview that he believed there are many different ways to attain a specific goal and one of those might be a "participative mode. . .but people must be on board, qualified, understand, have ability, and will sign up for the responsibility to participate." Another contradiction appears to be that a participative management structure will be desirable only if the workers are ready and willing to take on the responsibility necessary to make the venture work. Unfortunately, it is often the case that management only gives lip service to providing workers with appropriate level of responsibility and autonomy required to make a participative venture to be successful.

In fact, I often observed instances where managers did not permit employees sufficient autonomy to successfully complete a project that had been approved by the EI Steering Committee. For example, the SC approved a project to get electrical cable and air hoses mounted on the presses which was considered to be an important project because the hoses and cords posed a safety hazard and the company could be

fined by OSHA. Many of the materials necessary to complete

the project were available in the plant in the form of scrap

metal. Once the project was approved, the materials were

purchased and two of the men from the skilled trades were

going to construct the mounts and install them on the

presses. Unfortunately, other duties prevented these

individuals from working on the mounts for the presses. In

her interview, one woman union member said:

> "What was really frustrating was they bought the
> hose reels to mount on the presses and they set
> (sic) in the maintenance area for several months
> and then they moved them again. They kept getting
> closer to the back door. And then maintenance
> starts taking them for their own personal use, and
> very few ever got put on the presses. Hoses and
> electrical cords contribute to poor housekeeping
> because they get oily and you can't clean around
> (them) so people quit cleaning. And they're a
> hazard because people trip over them."

Another woman in the union and a member of the SC

supported the view that the company acts in ways that serve

to prevent the success of the EI program. When she was

asked whether the EI program had lived up to her

expectations, this finish unit general inspector said: "The

company wouldn't let it. The company always had the final

say." When I asked her if there is someone in specific she

had in mind when she said the "company had the final say"

and she replied: "The plant manager and the finance control

guy." Her choice of words here are very telling because the

manager of the accounting department also carried the title of "controller" of the local plant. This is a title that is often used to identify the individual who is in charge of finances. And interestingly, the man who is the controller is often seen as someone who needs to control things or to have the final say on a given subject. He was described by one of the union men as: "I don't think he felt the other managers or the union people had the ability or knowledge to understand what we were getting into." In other words, the controller had to be involved to ensure that things would be done the way he thought they should which meant things had to be done in the most cost effective way possible.

Similarly, one of the skilled tradesmen provides an example of management having the final say and the negative impact that had on the EI program. He said that when the new plant manager arrived:

> "In that time frame, Oct-Nov, they (management) just stopped, they said we're not going to do that anymore. [It will be] (b)usiness as usual. The union side of it was immediate withdrawal from it. . . The union entourage just said: 'Yeah this is just what we figured'. We just immediately put the wall back up and said yep, we knew it the company just wanted to get things out of us, a freebie from us, they've gone as far as they want with EI, they feel it's time to stop it there's nothing we can do so we just threw the wall back up and got on our own side of it."

An example of the communication pattern between management and the union within the context of the EI

program provides an example of the way in which information is not communicated to everyone who should receive it. A form to be used for the agenda at EI meetings was developed by the SC but the existence of this form was not adequately communicated to all members of the DJCs. For example, one union member stated: "I remember I was asked to be facilitator and our meetings started fumbling because I had no idea there was a prepared sheet to fill out for doing minutes, order of business and stuff like that." In this particular DJC, each of the management members was aware of and used the form for the agenda while this worker and others did not. It appears that the flow of communication did not reach everyone who was involved in the DJC groups. This could be explained because the managers would meet in other meetings besides the DJC meetings where the topic of the activities of the SC and the DJCs would be discussed. So, if a manager missed a DJC meeting, he was likely to find out about new forms or activities in another context. Since workers only attended DJC meetings, if they missed a meeting then they would not be privy to the information shared in the other meetings.

Another example of the way communication does or does not flow at XYZ is provided by a former president of the local union. He notes that prior to the introduction of the

EI program, employees would not be likely to volunteer any information about how well a product was running on any given day. He said: "Without EI you wouldn't have any of that. The employee would just traditionally (be) doing that job and would not share in knowledge or input of the product." But, as a result of EI being implemented, if only temporarily, workers are more willing to share information about how well the part is running. One of the general operators in the mold unit told me that he has always kept a small notebook in his pocket to keep track of information about different parts and the daily conditions. "I know how this place works that I've kept in reserve in the twenty years I've worked here." In the context of the EI program, he did begin to share this information he has been recording.

Additionally, within the context of the EI program, issues of status were mentioned by several of the salaried workers. It emerged that some of the salaried workers resented the upward movement of the workers. Specifically, they resented those workers who became full-time EI trainers and thus were freed from their jobs on the line. For example one a woman took issue with the way the trainers were selected because she felt she was very qualified for the position. She said:

"I'd like to back up to the beginning of the EI program. How it came about, there were some bad feelings about it. We wondered how certain people got picked when other people were qualified. Let me give you an example, Karen. My background is in interpersonal and public communication. I studied at Central, I have a degree in it and yet, was I ever considered for the EI, even though I would have loved to have been involved in that. You know, I never heard about it until some of these training groups."

Once the trainers were engaged in training and other EI activities on a full-time basis, these individuals were happier and that happiness is directly related to their role as EI trainers. Another salaried worker commented on this situation. She said: "When I look . . . at Connie and Jim, I still think they have themselves on a pedestal and up there and why should they be back on the floor because they've had all this training. . . you shouldn't set yourself up above the other employees." She was obviously resentful of the ability of these two trainers to devote their energies to the EI program and to union duties and not have to work on the shop floor. Of course, it would not have been possible for the trainers to do what had to be done for the EI program and be assigned to their regular jobs as well.

The interviewees were asked: "Were the members of the DJCs treated any differently than any other employee?" The purpose in posing this question was to determine whether or

not those who were involved in the EI program were perceived as being in some sort of a privileged position. Although many of those interviewed responded in the negative, one response demonstrates the perception that some of the salaried personnel held toward the line workers who are trainers. This woman responded to the question by saying:

> "I know there was a lot of conversation about people leaving their jobs to go to training or to meetings. I know there was a lot of concern or something about the people who were involved, the trainers and the coordinator. We had four people who were doing nothing but spending eight hours a day or how many hours they were on the DJCs. It just seemed that there was a lot of comments about that. [Also] (h)ow were these people picked and to spend that much time and stuff like that."

This woman works in the accounting department and, had just finished completed a college degree in accounting and she felt she was more qualified for the position of trainer than any of the workers who were chosen. "You know, I had set up training schedules and whole programs, planning and scheduling. . . I could have been teaching or was more skilled in teaching the class than the people who were teaching." These women clearly resented the opportunities that workers from the shop had to be involved in EI activities that took them off the shop floor. It seemed that they believed that the salaried workers should have had the first opportunity to become the trainers. Resented apparent autonomy workers got while they had to do their

regular jobs and participate in EI projects and activities. Also, because they believed they are just as good if not better trained to do the problem solving training.

Salaried personnel were not the only ones who perceived the trainers in a different light. Several union members made comments regarding trainers and those who participated in the DJCs. From the perspective of those on the shop floor, the workers who became trainers were perceived to be "in bed with management." One trainer expressed in his interview that some of the people on the shop floor thought he was "selling out to the company." One woman noted that she thought the trainers were perceived to be "agents of management" by some of the workers on the shop floor. In response to the question: "Do you feel you lost anything because of the EI program?"a trainer provided this insight into the perception that shop floor workers had of the trainers: "I lost some friends or at least people I thought were friends because of where I was because there were some diehard union people who did not understand an hourly person as a trainer or mediator between hourly and management." Again, this is one time when the participation of the trainers became suspect and is viewed as selling out to management which puts them in a privileged position.

The members of the DJCs were not spared this perception. One union worker said: "The ones that were involved and the ones that cared about (EI) had a brighter outlook on it. . . outsiders, they just looked at the people in the DJCs as kiss asses." He went on to explain that he thought some of this happened because it ". . . brought out the jealousy in some people." Following this same line of thinking, another worker said that members of the DJCs "caught flak" and were "a bunch of brown nosed ass kissers." He heard an exchange between two workers on the line, one who was in a DJC and one who was not. The DJC member was interested in getting out a good quality part while the other person was interested in functioning the way he always had which was to let the next person down the line worry about the part's quality. This is an example of friction that occurred on the shop floor between those who are members of DJCs and those who are not. Additionally, one of the mold plant supervisors said: "The plant, I think, maybe the plant catered to the people in the EI groups than to someone who just came up with an idea." This definitely demonstrates that workers who were members of DJCs were perceived by shop floor workers as being treated as more privileged.

One general operator/inspector in the Finish Unit commented that he thought the members of the DJCs were treated differently than those who were not members of a DJC. He stated: "At first it seemed like a big social club, foremen picked favorites, they got to get off work and stuff. . . (and) some of the hourly employees actually had full time jobs in EI. They were (not) just picked at random (but) because they were friends. That's preferential treatment as far as I was (sic) concerned. It certainly wasn't because of any ability."

Although these examples are directly related to the EI program, a former president of the union local said, "Anybody that's been in meetings with the company over the years, there's remarks made on the side- - (are they) a company person now? And they even said that about me too." This is a common occurrence in facilities where joint meetings take place. Those who are not part of the process tend to believe that whoever is part of it has sold out to the company.

CHANGES IN STRATIFICATION

Although much of the class structure was not altered by the introduction of Employee Involvement at XYZ Motors, some of those interviewed noted that there were some positive changes that occurred because of the Employee Involvement

program. Changes occurred between union and management and between the salaried employees and the union.

For example, one change noted was an increased acceptance or a decrease of friction between the union and management. One woman who was a member of the SC and a general operator in the Finish Unit felt the EI program had shown the "company the workers weren't out here just pushing buttons running a molding plant press or just taking a sander and doing sanding work. I always told people we were an untapped resource with ideas that could be used. It (EI) proved it. The company was impressed with some of the people." This feeling was echoed by the local truck driver who said: "People feel that management (is) working more with them now and they do have a say. . .Supervision and the company listened to people finally. It's improved quality and performance for the plant. You have people from the company coming to you and asking you if there's a better way to do the job." Prior to EI, this would have rarely occurred where management asked the workers for their opinion on how something could be done better. Another worker who is a general operator in the Mold Unit said he believed the company was willing to "listen more than they did before. EI made company aware of what potential they had out there as far as information." Often, prior to EI,

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even if management did seek the opinion of the worker, they would listen, but would not implement the suggestion of the worker. While management may have had a legitimate reason for not following the suggestion of a worker, it appeared to the worker that management was not listening to what they had to say. This change in the attitude of management toward the workers was also noted by a utility worker in the Finish Unit who said he believed there is "a better working relationship between management and hourly. And we had some people who weren't scared to bring their ideas up to management people."

Another worker felt that there was some movement away from the us/them ideology that is so prevalent in organizations. He said: "Well, you figure, when this thing started, it was still them and us. . . And now we're pretty much an us." This general operator who works in the Mold Unit also said he believed there had been a change in "Attitudes, 'cus they had a couple good DJCs on 2d shift, too. They used to have quite a few loose cannons runnin' around there. So, they got 'em harnessed (through the DJCs)."

When I asked a general operator in the Mold Unit if she thought EI had made a difference in the organization of the plant she responded:

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"Yes, I think it did. . . like the white collar workers or the salaried people would give the hourly people a chance to give their opinion to what needed to be done. . . So I think it made the hourly people feel a little more involved with salary people rather than they think they are better than we are and we aren't gonna, you know, we aren't going to say anything to them or whatever. With the DJC it kinda brought them together more where, you know the agreement was between us rather than one sided."

Although the purpose of the question was to determine whether any structural changes had occurred as a result of IE such as a flattening of the hierarchy, this statement provided an indication that the separation between the union and management ranks decreased because of the individuals' participation in the DJCs. Additionally, it was an instance where it appeared that management was beginning to listen to what hourly people had to say about the workplace.

Changes also occurred for some of the managers. Of those I interviewed, one of the Business Unit managers said that he had developed more compassion for "life out on the floor and decisions (I make) went from autocratic to less than autocratic. I tried to use people's ideas and let them help and/or make decisions." Although this was a change for him, a careful consideration of the way he made the statement reveals that it is still he who has the authority to make a decision or to _let_ a worker make a decision. I asked the manager the following question "Have you

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experienced any benefits or gains because of the EI program? If yes, what do you feel you gained?" His reply indicated some of the positive movement toward a more cooperative workplace. He replied: "Sure, probably more so personally than with the business. I'm much more comfortable going out on the floor or having hourly workers in my office. I put more value in their thoughts and how they see a particular situation than 10 yrs ago. I have more respect for their intelligence and the contribution they can make." He also noted that he saw people "taking more interest in their job and quality of the product they put out."

Another Unit manager expressed a similar sentiment and said that because of the EI program, "I believe that I'm much more aware of . . . the hourly . . their mind set, where they come from. It's easier to understand them after sitting with them for all this time. It becomes a matter of at first sitting off you can blame them, but after a while you become more aware of their situation and what they are really trying to say." This is certainly one of the things that has been demonstrated when opposing groups have been brought together to work on a common goal or project. The barriers between them come down and it is less easy to blame the other group for the problem. He went on to note: "I met very good people outside of the top committee out on the

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floor thru this. I perceive the people out on the floor as much more valuable. . ." For this manager, the EI program allowed him to get to know some of the workers from the shop floor which allowed him to change his perception of them.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

We have seen that inequality, stratification and conflict were present before the EI program started and were reproduced within the structure of the Employee Involvement program. This reproduction was observed and emerged in the interviews through the use of language such as the use of plural subjects with singular verb forms and the way words were pronounced by salaried, management and union personnel. The pattern of authority and power followed class patterns both before and after the implementation of the EI program. The types of decisions each group made reflects the level of authority or power. The method of dress reflects one's class at XYZ and the managers resisted changing the way in which they dressed even though they said they were interested in reducing the division between them and the workers.

The job hierarchy at XYZ follows traditional divisions of labor with managers and skilled trades in the most desirable positions. The introduction of Employee Involvement did not change this pattern and in fact, a new

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layer of stratification was added. Even though the new jobs that were created because of EI were not accompanied by a change in the rate of pay, the individuals in the jobs enjoyed a higher sense of status and were perceived by people in all strata as being in a privileged position. Last, conflict was present and was replicated within the EI framework. This conflict was apparent in the opposing agendas of management and the workers, the presence of the ideology of blaming the victim and the level of trust.

Some change did occur and while the changes noted by the interviewees could not be directly related to the implementation of the EI program, several changes could be a result of the EI program. First, there was an increased acceptance of the union members and their ideas by management as well as acceptance by the union for ideas put forth by management. As a result, there was less of a division evident between the two groups. As one person put it, there was less of an "us versus them atmosphere at the plant." Several managers noted that they had developed compassion for life on the shop floor. Even with the noted changes, there were no real changes in the division of labor or stratification at the plant.

CHAPTER 7
GENDER, LABOR-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS AND PARTICIPATION

In this chapter, I summarize the findings of my research, provide a critique of Acker's model of gendering organizational analysis, consider the importance of my findings for the discipline of Sociology especially in the areas of stratification, inequality, work and gender. Additionally, I will discuss possible directions for future research suggested by my finding.

RESEARCH FINDINGS

Using feminist and Marxian lenses, I did a descriptive case study of XYZ Motors and the experiences of the women and men who work there. I conducted an analysis of documentary and field data and provided answers to the research questions put forth in Chapter 1. Although I present information regarding gender and class power as separate concepts, they are phenomena which are linked to each other. The overarching research questions were: **In what ways is the XYZ Motors gendered in relation to the processes, practices, images, ideologies, and distributions of power? With the implementation of the Employee Involvement program at XYZ Motors, what did the workers experience?** By observing interactions between members of the organization and through interviews, it was clear that inequality, stratification and a division of labor by class

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and gender were all present at XYZ Motors before, during and after the implementation of the labor-management participation program.

Gender

The gendered nature of XYZ was apparent and was reflected in and reproduced in the Employee Involvement program. First, the gendered nature of job divisions at XYZ remained essentially unchanged and was reproduced in the EI program. Women still tend to be located in less desirable jobs more often than men and even the one woman who was hired into a managerial position was hired into a department that is not connected to an internal labor market. During the EI program, the company experienced an economic downturn through the loss of a product line and as a result, layoffs occurred. Therefore, no openings occurred in the skilled trades so I could not directly assess whether the EI program might have encouraged more women to apply to the program. I can speculate that since the organization did not have a strategy in place to attempt to include more women in the skilled trades, it is likely that if an opening occurred, it would probably not be filled by a woman applicant. Typically, the jobs occupied by women required fewer skills, had less task diversity, and involved less decision-making. For example, only women were support staff, more women were general operators or inspectors and more men were mold

operators, and more women worked in the Mold Unit which is more physically strenuous and less clean work than that in the Finish Unit. Also, women's complaints or concerns were taken less seriously at the plant than were similar complaints voiced by men.

Within the Employee Involvement program, gender was reproduced in the selection of the trainers and the EI Coordinator. More men were selected to be trainers and the individual "preselected" to be the coordinator was one of the male supervisors. Also, the types of activities the DJC members reflected the gendered nature of the plant. The women tended to engage in activities that are traditionally done by women such as record keeping and taking minutes while the men mentioned data collection and problem solving as activities in which they participated in the EI program. Further, when the DJC/SC participants were asked whether the group they were in had a leader, the person identified most often as a leader was one of the men in the group. Seldom was a woman identified as a leader. Symbolic representations persisted in the way managers and skilled trades workers dressed, the use and treatment of space, and the use of language such as denigrating comments toward women or the use of the pronoun "he" to refer to mixed gender groups or positions.

One area in which the EI program appeared to have a positive effect on the participants was their perception of the change in power and authority. While I had expected the participants to indicate that they had not experienced an increase in power, both men and women indicated that they experienced an increase in power and authority.

The workers reproduced gender in their interactions at work. Gender was reproduced by men through jokes they told that denigrated women. The women reproduced gender by engaging in gossiping and tattling. Moreover, subordination and dominance were reproduced through interaction between women and men. This occurred when women placed themselves in a subordinate position to men at the plant and in the way men approached women.

Gender was also reproduced gender through internal mental work. For example, women noted that they developed skills that are typically identified as traits found in women more than men such as listening and patience. Another woman referred to herself as "scatterbrained" which is not a term used to describe men.

Worker Experience of Class Power

Even though the capitalist owners of the means of production were not located at the plant, the managers acted as agents of the capitalists. The system of class power operated before and after the EI program was implemented and

was minimally influenced by the EI program. For example, the hierarchical structure of the organization did not flatten as a direct result of the EI program. Although the hierarchy remained, interviewees indirectly linked some changes to the EI program such as the introduction of the joint safety committee and the Quality Line Stop procedure. Also, with the introduction of Employee Involvement, two new positions were created that were perceived as positions of status even though they were not accompanied by an increase in wages. A reorganization of the plant did lead to the elimination of several supervisory positions but this did not decrease the layers of hierarchy because the layer of supervision was not eliminated. Some of the supervisors whose positions were eliminated were absorbed into other departments while others sought employment at other facilities.

When change did occur, it was not experienced by all members of the organization in the same way. I found that the power and authority structures were not directly affected by the implementation of the Employee Involvement program. Essentially, organizational power and authority are still concentrated with management personnel. Power in terms of access to organizational resources was not redistributed with the exception of a small discretionary fund for each problem solving group to use for projects.

However, shop floor workers did perceive a difference in the level of power or authority they believed they had in relation to their jobs. Of those interviewed, six women and seventeen men reported an increase in authority and six women and thirteen men reported an increase in power.

Another area in which change might have occurred is decision making. The problem solving groups and the Steering Committee members were all trained in consensus decision-making and was the strategy used in those groups. When interviewees were asked about who made decisions before and during the EI program, most answered that it is their supervisor, foreman or boss that makes decisions about the workers day-to-day work routine. It appears that workers gained little authority over their daily work lives. The pace of the work was still dictated by the cycle time of the machinery being used and production quotas. However, some individuals did report feeling empowered because they could set up the press themselves and could implement the Quality Line Stop procedure.

While interviewees indicated that there was a decrease in some class conflict, it has not been eliminated. The workers are still not the owners of the means of production and managers still serve as agents of the owners. The opposing agendas of labor and management were still evident at the conclusion of this research. Management's primary

goal is to increase profits and decrease the costs of production. The Employee Involvement program was a strategy management sought to use to advance those goals. The union, on the other hand, is still interested in preserving jobs and improving working conditions and they utilized the EI program to further their agenda. Although these results may not be surprising, my research supports previous findings that participative structures seldom influence class relations in capitalistic organizations.

A CRITIQUE OF ACKER'S CONCEPTUAL MODEL

The model I used to consider gender in this research is a useful framework for analyzing organizations and although it appears to be a fairly straightforward model, I discovered some inherent difficulties in applying the model. First, it appears that the model assumes the existence of class and in order to bring out the specific ways in which class is present at XYZ Motors, I addressed gender and class separately. If I had not created this artificial separation of gender and class, the class power relations would have been far less visible than I have presented. Further, while I followed the model and separated Acker's four processes for the purpose of discussion, they were not discrete processes but at various junctures they actually overlap. For example, there were instances that internal mental work and processes of subordination were closely linked. When

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women described themselves as becoming better listeners, this may actually be a combination of internal mental work and the reproduction of subordinate and dominant relations. At the same time, being a listener is often the subordinate position in an interaction and thus, they are recreating subordination.

IMPORTANCE OF THE RESEARCH

This research is important because it provides support for previous studies on labor-management relations and participation programs. My findings confirm that the relations between the groups do not change, or change very little, under such a structure or program. Second, this research goes beyond previous research because I explicitly examine gender within the context of the Employee Involvement program at XYZ. The literature on participative structures does not specifically address gender and tends to perpetuate the ideology of the worker who is genderless. Third, by examining labor-management relations and gender in a participative structure, I attempt to make a contribution to the conceptualization of gender, class and work in Sociology. I would propose that further research needs to be done to provide an empirical foundation for conceptualizing the ways in which the reconstruction of gender and class power serve the organization and the individuals in it. Additionally, I would suggest that

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future research explore the ways in which class, gender and race intersect to perpetuate the divisions we find in the work place.

IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

It appears that real partnership was not achieved at XYZ but things went in a circle from the introduction of the EI program through its demise and returning to a traditional management structure. Although there are a few changes that occurred at the organizational level, changes between individuals did occur. For example, the level of trust between the chief steward and the plant manger increased. Also, the perception of an outspoken woman changed from being one of a "whiner" to the accepting that she had legitimate ideas and suggestions.

Because labor-management relations and gender are inextricably linked, I believe another model that keeps both processes at the forefront of analysis would provide a more comprehensive analysis of the processes and structures in organizations. Workers reconstructed gender images and interactions and they did so because it served their own interests such as the example of the press operator who wanted her machine fixed. Also, the reproduction of gender may accommodate the interest of the employer. At other times, the reconstruction of gendered images actually contradicted the interest of their gender or class

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interests. For example, when the women in a salaried
position tattled on the trainer for refusing to bump into a
production job, she excluded the working class woman from a
definition of gender. Does this then mean that the woman in
the salaried position is merely a victim of the system? I
do not believe that she is merely a victim but is acting in
ways that allows her to make sense of her work environment
even though she may have internalized dominant class and
gender images. Neither of these women may actually be
comfortable in their respective positions because they are
both in positions that are traditionally held by men and
thus they may feel as if they do not belong in the place
they occupy at XYZ.

This research is a preliminary investigation upon which
further exploration of organizational life at XYZ could have
been built. With the sufficient passage of time, the
workers might be less distrustful of a quantitative method
such as a survey, especially if the survey is developed and
administered by an outside researcher and not by management.
The survey could further examine the research question
regarding the influence the EI program has on class and
gender structures. Specifically, survey items could be
developed which would provide additional information on the
distribution of power and authority at structural and
individual levels. Since some interviewees indicated they

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experienced an increase in power or authority, a survey could provide further insight into why they experienced the increase when other workers did not. Also, a larger segment of the plant population would have the opportunity to respond and provide information regarding their perception of the influence of the EI program. All this would then make the information gathered more generalizable.

This research could be replicated in manufacturing facilities which have changed or are changing to a "lean production" system. I would recommend that baseline information be gathered through interviews with key personnel from each layer of the organization and administer a survey to an appropriate sample population. These activities can be replicated at another time to do a comparison before and after the implementation of a participative program. Conducting the research in this way would allow the researcher to identify whether any change took place and to what degree the labor-management and gender structures changed. This is an important recommendation because the most recent literature indicates that employee participation appears to be occurring in conjunction with the introduction of lean production and quality management systems. Within these systems, managers often talk about the empowerment of workers, but workers,

whether in a union or not, often express continued conflict and dissatisfaction.

In addition to expanding the knowledge about the influence of the EI program at XYZ, this type of research could also be conducted in other sectors of the economy such as the service sector, educational institutions and government. Each of these institutions currently faces many of the problems manufacturers are facing today. They are all interested in improving quality and decreasing costs. Thus, this would afford opportunities to explore various strategies used by the different types of organizations to determine whether they are successful in improving quality or to decreasing costs.

For anyone who is attempting to implement some form of employee participation or empowerment programs, I make the following suggestions. I suggest that the workers be given not only the responsibility to identify problems but authority to solve them. The authority will most likely have to be introduced in a gradual way and be linked with appropriate training for employees at all levels of the organization. Additionally, every effort should be made to involve personnel at all levels of the organizations. If a steering committee of some sort is utilized, I recommend that all groups at the facility be represented, for example, salaried, union and management personnel. Additionally,

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eliminate the perception that the steering committee is just another elite group on which only management and top committee members have the opportunity to participate. To accomplish this, I suggest that the membership of the steering committee be rotated to provide more opportunities for all those who are interested to participate at that level. These recommendations may improve the work life of personnel in organizations with employee involvement or other participation programs. I would not expect complete satisfaction to occur as long as the means of production and day-to-day control of work remains outside the purview of the workers.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS
For Departmental Joint Committee (DJCs) Members,
Steering Committee, and other shop floor employees

1. Name (if willing to provide it).
    Gender: F   M

2. How long have you worked at XYZ Motors Automotive?

3. In which business unit do you work?
    Department?
    On what product do you work?
    Job duties?

4. Have you ever been a member of a DJC (departmental joint
    committee) or the SC (steering committee)?   YES   NO
    If yes, how long?
    When did you first learn of the DJCs?
    When did you first have an opportunity to join?
    If no, why do you think you haven't been a member? (If
    they have not been a member of a DJC, go to questions
    for non-members)

4.a. What hopes did you have of the EI program?

4.b. Did the EI program live up to your hopes/expectations?

5. Did anyone approach you to become a member? Yes   No
    Who? Their job in relation to you?
    Why did you become a member of the DJC/Steering
    Committee?

6. Did you learn any new skills as part of the DJC/SC?
    YES NO
    If yes, what did you learn? Data collection,
    Presentation to the PWSC (Plant-Wide Steering
    Committee)

7. As a member of a DJC/SC what did you do?
    Could you describe some of the activities?
    Meetings, Problem Solving, Rewards

7.a. Did your participation in any of these activities have
    any effect on your work here? YES   NO
    If yes, what?

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8. Did your DJC/SC have a leader? YES NO
    Who was the leader?
    His/her job?
    How was he/she selected?

9. What did your DJC/SC accomplish?

10. Did the DJC program change your work in any way? YES
    NO
    How? (If yes)
    Why not? (If no)
    Why do you think it didn't?

10.a. Did the EI program change the way people talked about
their work?

11. Did the implementation of EI change the way your
department was organized?
    YES NO
    How? (If yes)
    Why not? (If no)

11.a. Did the EI program change the way the plant was
    organized? Did the same people work in the same jobs,
    and side of the plant?   YES NO
      How?

12. Who made decisions about your day-to-day work before
the EI program started?
    Has there been any change?
    Are decisions made be the same person(s)?
Management/supervisors only?

13. Before the EI program began, who could authorize
purchases?
    Who can authorize purchases now?

14. Are there any changes that you have observed that you
    think were the result of the Employee Involvement
    program?
    What were they?

15. Would you say the EI program was successful?
    If yes, what was successful?
    If no, why do you think it was not successful?

16. Have you experienced any benefits or gains because of
the EI program?
    If yes, what do you feel you gained?

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16.a. Have you lost anything because of the EI program?
       YES   NO
       If yes, what do you feel you lost?

17. Have you seen any improvements that you feel are the result of the EI effort?

18. Is there anything you would like to tell me about the EI program that I haven't asked about?

POSSIBLE GAINS/LOSSES
DUE TO THE EMPLOYEE INVOLVEMENT PROGRAM

	GAINS	**LOSSES**	**NO**
Job related skills	_____	_____	_____
Knowledge or information (job related)	_____	_____	_____
Authority	_____	_____	_____
Power	_____	_____	_____
Problem solving skills	_____	_____	_____

How do you define authority?

How do you define power?

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS
For NON-Departmental Joint Committee (DJCs) Members,
Steering Committee, and other shop floor employees

1. Name (if willing to provide it). _____

   Gender: F   M

2. How long have you worked at XYZ Motors Automotive?

3.. In which business unit do you work?
   Department?
   On what product do you work?

4. Have you ever been a member of a DJC (departmental joint
   committee) or the SC (steering committee)? YES   NO
   If yes, how long?
   When did you first learn of the DJCs?
   When did you first have an opportunity to join?

4a. What hopes did you have for the EI program?

4b. Did the EI program live up to your expectations?

4c. Did anyone approach you to become a member? YES NO
   If yes, who?
   Their job in relation to you?
   If no, is there any reason you didn't become a member?
   (If they have not been a member of a DJC, go to
   questions for non-members)

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS
(For employees who were not members of a DJC)

5. Are you aware of the kinds of activities for which the
   members of DJCs were responsible? YES   NO
   What are they?
   a.   Meetings
   b.   Data collection
   c.   Presentations to the PWSC

6. Were the members of the DJCs treated any differently
   than any other employee? YES NO
   If yes, How?
   (Recipients of rewards - pizza parties for successful
   resolution of a problem, getting off work for meetings,
   data collections, & presentations, pens, t-shirts)

7. Who were the people in your department who became members or were active in the DJCs?

8. What positions did they hold in the department? Are they still doing exactly the same work?
   YES NO
   Why not?

9. Even though you were not a part of the DJC, were you ever, involved in any DJC activity?
   If yes, what?

10. Do you think the DJC program changed your work in any way? YES NO
    How? (If yes)
    Why not?
    Why do you think it didn't?

11. Did the implementation of DJCs change the way your department was organized?
    YES NO
    How? (If yes) Why not? Why do you think it didn't?

12. The plant?

13. Who made decisions about your day-to-day work before EI? Has there been any change? YES NO
    What has changed? Who makes them now?
    Are decisions made by the same person(s)?

14. Who could authorize purchases prior to the formation of the DJCs? Who can authorize expenditures now?

15. Are there any changes that you have observed that you think were the result of the Employee involvement program? YES NO
    What were they? How long have you observed this/these change(s)?

16. Would you say the DJC program was successful?
    YES NO If yes, what was successful about it?
    Have you experienced any benefits or gains from the EI program? YES NO
    What did you gain or benefit?

17. Have you lost anything because of the EI program?
    YES NO What do feel you lost because of the EI program? If no, why do you think the program was not successful?

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18. Is there anything you would like to tell me about the
     EI program that I haven't asked about?

POSSIBLE GAINS/LOSSES
DUE TO THE EMPLOYEE INVOLVEMENT PROGRAM

	GAINS	LOSSES	NO CHANGE
Job related skills	_____	_____	_____
Knowledge or information (job related)	_____	_____	_____
Authority	_____	_____	_____
Power	_____	_____	_____
Problem solving skills	_____	_____	_____

How do you define authority?

How do you define power?

APPENDIX B
INTRODUCTION TO INTERVIEW/INFORMED CONSENT

As you may recall, in October, 1989, an Employee Involvement Program was started here. As part of my dissertation, I am interested in finding out what you think of the Employee Involvement Program. I will be asking you some questions to find out whether you think the EI Program made any impact on the way you do your work.

I have selected your name at random from a list of all employees. The interview will last approximately one hour to one and a half hours. Your participation will cost you nothing other than your time. You are not required to participate and if you wish to decline, you may do so.

Anything you say will be kept strictly confidential. No one here at the company or in the union will ever see your individual interview. I will provide a copy of my final dissertation to the Plant Manager and to the President of IUE Local 420.

If you have any questions regarding my research, you may contact Dr. Kevin Kelly at Michigan State University. His phone number is (517)355-7747 or (517)355-6640 (message number). You may also call me at (517)339-9070.

Do you have any questions?

I greatly appreciate your participation.

INTERVIEW CONSENT FORM

I _____ agree to be interviewed by Karen L. Lambourne regarding my work and the Employee Involvement Program.

I also understand that this is a confidential interview that no one but Karen Lambourne will have access to my individual interview. I further understand that my name and any others I may mention will be changed should quotes be used in her dissertation and/or book. I understand that I may choose to stop participating in this interview at anytime.

_____   _____
NAME   DATE

_____I agree to have my interview tape recorded.

_____I do not wish to have my interview tape recorded.

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XYZ MOTORS   **POSITION DESCRIPTION**

Reviewed By:	Date/Initial
1._____	5._____
2._____	6._____
3._____	7._____
4._____	8._____

___EMPLOYEE INVOLVEMENT COORDINATOR___ Position Classification Number: _____
          (Position Title)

___RPD/MI/400/AP&MP___   Reports to: ____PRODUCTION MANAGER_____
(Div/Plant/Dept./Location)   (Position Title)

Exempt _X_   Non-Exempt ___   Functional Reporting Relationship: __PLANT MANAGER____
                                              (Position Title)

POSITION SUMMARY

A. Brief Description of the Position: Coordinate employee involvement activities by: scheduling and attending all PWSC and appropriate DJC meetings; recruiting and training new members including preparation of and updating appropriate training materials; assisting DJC's in Problem ID, maintenance of EI records and files; co-ordinate DJC work with appropriate supervisors, assisting DJC's in the justification for expending funds; assist in development and administer DJC recognition program. Communicate status of EI efforts by: assuring the DJC/PWSC meeting minutes are posted; assure that all major EI events are covered in plant newsletter (successes, recognition, new groups), coordinate communication between DJC's/PWSC and management to avoid project duplication and assure project recognition; act as EI liaison with local civic and community groups & other organizations as needed.

B. People Supervised: Direct/Indirect

DIRECT			INDIRECT		
Position Title	No.	Exempt/Non-exempt	Position Title	No.	Exempt/Non-exempt
	0			0	

Total No. Supervised:	Total No. Supervised:

MINIMUM RECOMMENDED POSITION REQUIREMENTS

A. Education (Check One)

	Major Field	Major Field
___ Less than High School	__License/Certification_____	__Bachelor's Degree_____
_XX_ High School or Equivalent	__Trade School _____	__Master's Degree_____
	__Associate Degree _____	__Ph.D.

B. Experience and Training (Related to this position.) (Express in months or years, and describe in detail the internal, or external if applicable, experience required for this position.)

___Internal   ___External   ___Combination   ___No experience required
5-7 years production experience with seminars and training sessions related to SPC, EI problem solving techniques, communication, meetings, leadership skills, facilitation skills, experience in labor-management relations required

C. On the Job Training Time Required _6_ Weeks/**Months**/Years to Reach Satisfactory Performance

Usually Employees Are

promoted/transferred/moved from_____Production_____to this position.

promoted to_Dept. Mgr. Or Superintendent in Production_from this position.

MAJOR POSITION RESPONSIBILITIES

(Common To This Position - List in Priority Sequence)   (% Time Spent on Each)

_____25% - Monitors/assists our DJC's in problem solving process_____

_____30% - Communicate EI program to all levels of Automotive Division_____
_____5% - Conduct training of DJC's and EI Trainers_____
_____20% - Schedule/attend meetings_____
_____10% - Interface with plant supervisors_____
_____5% - Maintain EI records and files_____
_____5% - Recruit new members for DJC's_____

SKILLS IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE:

1._____   3._____   5._____

2._____   4._____   6._____

ACCOUNTABILITIES

Items to be mentioned include: Sales Volume, Cash, Assets, Capital Expenditures, Value of Purchases, Purchasing Authorization, Advertising Expenditures, Inventory Value, Manufacturing costs, Manufacturing Volume, Accounts Payable, Accounts Receivable, Payroll Costs, and Credit Authorization, as well as others not mentioned.

DOLLAR MEASURES

Item	Dollar Amount Per Year	(Primary/Shared)	Item	Dollar Amount/Year	
	-0-			-0-	Contributory
					Remote

Size of Departmental Annual Operating Budget in Dollars $_____

Non-Dollar measures (No. Of Plants. No. Of stores. Size of Territory)

-0-

OTHER CONSIDERATIONS

List internal and external job contacts, if applicable, and mention any notable characteristics of the position such as travel considerations, overtime considerations, number of different operations under his/her supervision/job elements, amount of different products controlled, etc.

_____MUST BE FLEXIBLE REGARDING HOURS OF WORK_____

Reviewed by: Dept. Mgr._____ Div./Plant Personnel Mgr._____

          (Name)   (Name)

          Div. Exec._____ MGR., Salary Administration_____

Last Review Date:_____

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APPENDIX D

**Collective Bargaining Agreement Between
XYZ Motors and Union Local 890**

**ARTICLE III
Management Rights**

1. MANAGEMENT RIGHTS

The direction of the working force and operation of the plant (including the right to hire, discharge, promote, demote, discipline, transfer, or relieve employees from duty for any legitimate reason, or the increase or decrease of the working force or working hours, or to make work assignments) is vested exclusively in the Company. In addition, the products to be manufactured, location of plant, the schedules of production, the methods, processes and other means of manufacturing, are solely and exclusively the responsibility of the Company. The application of these rights shall not conflict with the provisions of this agreement.

APPENDIX E

Goals/Intentions

The intention of the XYZ-IUE Joint Committee project is to improve overall labor-management relations and to create an atmosphere where greater trust and frank communication exist. We intend to achieve long-term job security while providing a good standard of living, and safe, healthy working conditions for all employees. We intend to benefit from the collective knowledge, skills and abilities of every person in the plant.

Objectives/Tactics

- increase communication & cooperation within XYZ, by informing people & encouraging their active participation
- solve problems in the work environment and in production methods, both technical & human, in an effort to improve product quality, process efficience, and working conditions
- embower & involve people at all levels in planning, problem-solving, & decision-making
- train employees in methods of joint decision-making
- begin plant-wide changes toward more cooperation and more participation in all
  activities

Pledge

Plant management intends that current employees should not economically suffer as a DIRECT result of the activities and decisions of the IUE-XYZ Joint Committee project.

This, of course, does not preclude layoffs, which normally may occur as a result of the loss of a product line or any market demand or sales factors, or attrition.

Issues Boundaries

Off-Limits Issues
- Wage rates and wage concessions
- Hours of work
- Benefits
- Overtime
- Job classifications
- Matters covered by the collective bargaining agreement
- Union grievances
- Discipline
- Collective bargaining proposals
- Personalities

Legitimate Issues
- Improvements in work processes, methods or systems
- Improvements in facilities, tools or equipment
- Improvements in product and process quality
- Improvements in work environment and plant appearance
- Improvements in health and safety
- Elimination of waste of materials and supplies
- Job security
- Job skill
- Training
- Scrap and rework
- Location of equipment and materials
- Product design
- Image of plant in the industry
- Factory design
- Career development

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