

WORKER SATISFACTION AND  
OCCUPATIONAL LIFE, A STUDY OF THE  
AUTOMOBILE WORKER IN ITALY

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Paolo Ammassari

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## ABSTRACT

### WORKER SATISFACTION AND OCCUPATIONAL LIFE, A STUDY OF THE AUTOMOBILE WORKER IN ITALY

by Paolo Ammassari

This study was designed to investigate the pattern of satisfactions and dissatisfactions which the Italian worker in modern industry derives from his occupational activity. It was hypothesized that the integration of modern man in various areas of social and occupational life is a function of the stage of industrial development of a society and its pace of economic change. This "developmental model" called for a broader perspective into the subject of worker satisfaction. Accordingly, in addition to the common areas of worker satisfaction, e.g., job, working conditions, and work associates, two new areas were explored: satisfaction for economic sector of employment and type of occupation. This perspective permitted a focus on some problems rarely investigated, such as the effects of intergenerational sector mobility on worker satisfaction and the impact of occupational characteristics (job versus trade types) on work attitudes.

A sample of 300 automobile workers were interviewed in Turin, Italy, during 1962. The sample was stratified

according to skill level and union orientation, and included workers from two assembly lines, a production department, and an experimental department. The analysis was conducted on data from forced-choice and open-ended questions with a series of composite indices. Contingency distributions and multivariate analysis constituted the main tools of analysis, while statistical significance was ascertained by means of Chi-Square and derivative tests.

The investigation of workers' attitudes in each of the areas of worker satisfaction confirmed the assumption that worker satisfaction is not an over-all entity but a discrete cluster of attitudes and feelings. The findings indicated that satisfaction in selected areas did not follow the same pattern. In fact, skill level and other standard variables such as age, seniority, and residence differed in the direction and strength of their association in the several areas of worker satisfaction.

A major substantive finding was that Italian automobile workers were not more dissatisfied than workers of other industrially more mature countries. However, societal and cultural aspects of Italian life shaped their attitudes toward employment in the industrial sector, enhancing satisfactions but limiting aspirations. Also, the older the family's occupational traditions, the stronger was the worker's attachment to it.

Having a trade in the highly specialized automobile industry was source of high satisfaction. However, if the worker was unable to exercise his occupational qualifications

fully, as was the case for many semi-skilled workers, skills were more a source of dissatisfaction than satisfaction. Thus the skills which gave the worker a potential to move into other occupations aggravated his problems of adjustment in his present job. In a developing country where there is a rapid expansion of the economy and a constant redefinition of industrial and occupational classifications, occupational level may not correspond precisely to skill capacities. In this case, the commonly found association between skill level and occupational satisfaction may be problematic.

Evaluation of job tasks was highly dependent upon type of work. Satisfaction was fostered by the physical and technical conditions of work, while dissatisfaction arose from the work's psychological demands. With the exception of age, occupation variables played a greater role in job satisfaction than the socio-personal characteristics of the worker.

Very few workers disliked their physical workplace, and even fewer disliked their workmates. But among those who were unhappy with the physical environment there was a relatively large proportion of skilled workers. Unexpectedly, unskilled workers on the assembly lines were the most satisfied of all. However, their adjustment was likely to decrease with time.

Satisfaction with workmates varied according to different patterns of interaction on the job. Intermediate

amounts of interaction required by job performance appeared to foster more satisfaction than no interaction or a great amount of it. Thus too little or too much dependence on workmates for job performance tended to promote dissatisfaction with them. Social interaction which was not required by job performance was, on the other hand, greatly influenced by the ideological dimension. Extreme political orientations and high union involvement appeared to be associated with dissatisfaction with workmates. The strongly differentiated Italian ideological climate largely accounts for this finding. Apparently the relatively low class-consciousness of the recent labor force irritated many older workers who were concerned with political and union traditions.

Though the Turinese automobile workers generally considered unionism as an important aspect of their occupational lives, very few of them converted their interest into actual union participation. Dissatisfied workers were the most interested in union affairs, although they were not highly involved in union activities. This dissatisfaction was transformed into a protest against in-plant conditions and conditions in the larger society.

Finally, a split was found between worker satisfaction on one hand, and neighborhood and community involvement on the other. Although unionism played a role in connecting these two worlds, in general social activities outside the plant were more dependent on social and personal characteristics





of the worker than on his patterns of work satisfaction. This dichotomy between work and broader social life may be a consequence of the rapid changes current in Italy. Changes in many areas of social life are modifying old patterns of social behavior before new ones become well established. In such a situation, the connections between work and other areas of social life appear differently patterned in different areas of social life, by the differential impact of industrial development.

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## INTRODUCTION

This study was designed to investigate the pattern of satisfactions which the worker in modern industry derives from his occupational activity. It represents part of a larger research project undertaken by Professor William H. Form to investigate the orientations of automobile workers toward their jobs, their union and their community in the United States and Europe.

The purpose of the larger project was to explore the following basic propositions: "Social relations of modern industrial man may be considered in a number of widening areas; the job, the interpersonal system at work, the union and its related organizations, the neighborhood, the community and the wider society. The social integration of modern man in these various areas is allegedly a function of the stage of industrial development of a society and its pace of economic change." It was hypothesized that many subjective phenomena considered in the various areas, such as the worker's satisfaction, may be accounted for by larger structural conditions.

The main aims of this dissertation are to investigate the patterns of satisfactions of Italian automobile workers and to analyze to what extent their personal and social characteristics account for the patterns. This

investigation is a study in the Sociology of Occupations. The research was not designed to ascertain what people want from their jobs, nor to assess the factors determining the motivation, productivity, and satisfaction of a given team of workers, nor to work out morale items for a job satisfaction scale. On the contrary (and despite this constant emphasis on job activity of most current research on worker satisfaction), the main concern of this investigation is the occupational activity of the modern industrial worker.

Part One of this dissertation will present the general framework of the study. In Chapter I, the theoretical approach to the problem of worker satisfaction will be discussed and the conceptual scheme outlined. After a review of the current theory and research on "Job Satisfaction," the need for shifting the emphasis from Job to Occupation will be elaborated, and the possibility that the degree of industrial maturity of the larger society accounts for many aspects of occupational and worker satisfaction will be advanced and discussed. Chapter II will deal with the characteristics of the Italian automobile industry, framing its development in the general trends of the industrialization process in Italy. A description of the labor force and trade unionism will be the object of Chapter III, where the features of Italy as a developing country are presented as necessary for understanding the social and personal characteristics of the workers in our sample.

Part Two deals with the main subject of the investigation. According to the frame of reference detailed in Part One, the analysis of worker satisfaction will be undertaken within four main areas: sector of employment, type of occupation, job tasks, and physical and social environments at work. Several hypotheses will guide the exploration of the main attitudes and feelings which the automobile workers have expressed concerning these areas of their occupational life. These hypotheses stem principally from the general proposition that attitudes toward industrial work and feelings of satisfaction concerning employment, occupation, job, and work environment must be understood in relation to the degree of industrial maturity of the society, which determines the type and extent of the social and technical division of work. Thus in each of the four areas of worker satisfaction, the analysis will focus on societal aspects (such as family occupational tradition, occupational socialization, socio-personal characteristics, etc.) and on technical aspects (such as skill and trade, occupational background, physical and technical conditions at work, etc.).

The Third Part of this study will deal briefly with those aspects of social life relevant to the occupational world, and will try to assess their relationship to worker satisfaction. Chapter VIII will examine the relevance of worker satisfaction to union activities, and the ideological aspects of union life. Chapter IX finally describes the bearing of several dimensions of the social environment outside the factory for worker satisfactions.

## PART ONE: THE FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

### CHAPTER I

#### THE PROBLEM OF WORKER SATISFACTION

Since the pioneer studies of Hoppock (1924 and 1935), social scientists have been greatly interested in the satisfactions and deprivations derived by the individual from his job. Since that time a great deal of investigation has focused on applied research problems and on the psychosociological theory of industrial morale and motivation. The literature on the subject is endless, and an effort to summarize the main findings would require a larger volume. Nonetheless, it is necessary to review briefly some of the salient aspects of current theory and research and their shortcomings.

#### Current Theory and Research on "Job Satisfaction"

The common charge levelled for decades against industrial life has been that the modern worker is deeply dissatisfied with his occupational activity. Studies by Blauner, Chinoy, Dubin, Faunce, Form, Hoppock, Hull and Kolstad, Katz and Kahn, Super, Vitelles, Walker and Guest, Wyatt and Marriott, Zaleznik and many others have shown the extent of this worker dissatisfaction and the factors



associated with it. Much of this research effort has dealt with what people want from their jobs; the relative standing on different morale items in "job satisfaction" scales; the factors determining the motivation, productivity, and satisfaction of particular teams of workers; the extent and the level of group integration and its impact on "job satisfaction"; the pattern of relationships among all those aspects, and their impact on industrial cooperation and productivity.

Most of these researches have been more concerned with the dimensions of employee morale than with the assessment of the satisfactions and dissatisfactions in the daily practice of occupational activity. Other studies have been overly concerned with the relation of worker satisfaction to industrial efficiency. The meaning of work in modern industry has been appraised mainly with reference to its impact on work productivity; thus revealing traces of the ideology typical of traditional Scientific Management.

One of the main criticisms of these approaches to "job satisfaction" phenomena was already made by Kornhauser in 1944:<sup>1</sup>

. . . the investigator can understand and interpret the local morale picture only if he is fully alive to the vastly significant influences which lie entirely outside the company - social and

---

<sup>1</sup>Arthur Kornhauser, "Psychological Studies of Employee Attitudes," Journal of Consulting Psychology, 8 August, 1944, p. 142.

economic conditions in the community and in the world at large.

However, up to now very few studies on job satisfaction have taken into account the social and cultural setting in which work is performed. A few, including Zalesnik, Christensen and Roethlisberger<sup>1</sup> have enlarged their perspective by including in their prediction framework some societal factors such as the "social investments status factors." And, Walker and Guest,<sup>2</sup> in analyzing the impact of mass production characteristics on individual worker satisfaction, enlarged their scope to discover general principles. A few others such as Inkeles "Industrial Man: The Relation of Status to Experience, Perception and Values,"<sup>3</sup> and Form and Geschwender "Occupational Mobility, Job Satisfaction and Social Reference"<sup>4</sup> have framed the pattern of satisfactions of industrial workers into a sociological scheme.

Another important shortcoming of most approaches is that the patterns of satisfactions and dissatisfactions which the industrial worker derives from his worklife have

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<sup>1</sup>A. Zalesnik, C. R. Christensen, and F. J. Roethlisberger, with G. Homans, The Motivation, Productivity, and Satisfaction of Workers, a Prediction Study (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958).

<sup>2</sup>Charles R. Walker and Robert Guest, Man on the Assembly Line (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1952).

<sup>3</sup>American Journal of Sociology, LXVI, 1 (July, 1960), pp. 1-31.

<sup>4</sup>American Sociological Review, XXVI (April, 1962), pp. 228-237.

been focused on the concept "job satisfaction." While this concept has great utility for studies dealing with specific plant activities and managerial efficiency, it appears inadequate for research concerned with larger societal and cultural perspectives.

Historically the concept of "job satisfaction" was intended to include "an over-all liking" of the worker for his occupation as well as his job and factors related to them. Hoppock assumed that satisfaction is a unitary concept referring to a state of mind and having no reference to a discrete range of work and non-work situations. While this conception permitted the consideration of larger societal factors, it was in fact inadequate for purposes of practical research. The concept was used loosely to cover too wide a range of factors, most of which remained unperceived by the investigator. In effect, it made measurement and comparisons difficult and imprecise.

This shortcoming stimulated revisions of the concept of "job satisfaction." The new point of view proposed is that satisfaction could be thought of as comprised of discrete satisfactions relative to single areas of work activity and circumstances. Researchers who used this conception usually considered such areas as "intrinsic job content," "the economic reward," "supervision," "the company," "fringe benefits," and the like. Given the main orientation toward problems of productivity, organizational efficiency, and other managerial concerns, the areas into

which job satisfaction was broken down were mainly the various aspects of the local job and plant situation. Again, though the perspective permitted consideration of extra-plant factors, the approach was not usually enlarged to include them.

If our concern is to understand the pattern of satisfactions and dissatisfactions of the industrial worker within a particular social context, the concepts we employ must permit specification of that context.<sup>1</sup>

#### Social and Technical Division of Work

The concept "pattern of satisfaction" points to an important assumption underlying this study; namely, that worker satisfaction is not an over-all feeling, but a discrete cluster of attitudes and feelings. As Walker and Guest have stated:<sup>2</sup>

Today the multiple nature of job satisfaction or dissatisfaction -- a principle which has always recommended itself to the common sense of factory

---

<sup>1</sup>A great deal of conceptual confusion comes from using the single term "job satisfaction" to designate the complex pattern of the worker's satisfaction. According to the Webster's Dictionary, the term "job" refers more to work tasks than to the over-all work situation. However, the early researchers introduced the term to refer to this latter meaning, and they resorted to the qualifications "intrinsic" (job satisfaction) when they needed to connote the first meaning of the term. Their focus made "job" and "employment" equivalent, but such an equivalence has, in the opinion of the writer, impaired conceptual clarity in the theoretical development of the field. It did not, for instance, favor interest in "occupational satisfaction," and the rare use of the term clearly points to a forgotten but important problem.

<sup>2</sup>Walker and Guest, op. cit., p. 15.

managers -- has now been documented by a very large number of scientific studies on employee attitudes.

These authors point out seven major elements which should be included in a picture of the total job situation.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, Zaleznik and associates list six main areas of inquiry.<sup>2</sup> Although their choices reflect the latest and probably the best orientation in the current literature on the matter, they are not adequate for the purpose of this study. With the exception of the "union area" -- which incidentally is more a related dimension than a component of the occupational activity -- all areas are focused on the job as a position within the organizational structure of the factory, rather than on the worker's activities which involve both job and occupation.

In this study, societal and cultural factors will be taken into account. Therefore, rather than thinking of the job as a position within the organizational setting of a plant, we think of work activity within the factory and the society together. That is, the aspects of the job situation have to be combined and taken into account with the aspects of the occupational situation. In other terms, position in the social system of the plant should be related to position in the societal social system. With Durkheim,

<sup>1</sup>These elements are: 1) the worker's immediate job, 2) his relations to fellow workers, 3) pay and security, 4) his relation to supervision, 5) general working conditions in the plant, 6) promotion and transfer, 7) his relation to the union.

<sup>2</sup>These areas are: 1) the intrinsic characteristics of the worker's job, 2) the extended features of his job, 3) the supervisor, 4) his associates at work, 5) the company, 6) the union.



we believe that the technical division of work and the social division of work (and after Hannah Arendt we distinguish between "labor" and "work") are two interpenetrating dimensions which play a decisive role in the gratifications and deprivations which the worker experiences in industrial societies.

Our conceptual scheme (see Figure 1) considers "job" and "occupation" as two sides of the same coin, namely the work position, which can be taken as the basic unit of both the technical and the social division of work. The work position within the plant structure is the "job," while "occupation" identifies the same position in the larger society. In addition to the social system's aspects of work positions, there are technological structures which account for different types of jobs as well as occupations. Moreover, different types of "environments" are identifiable with work positions, ranging in a continuum from in-plant to out-of-plant aspects. Physical, social, and ideological environments are the three types relevant to our investigation.

On the basis of this conceptual scheme, we can now isolate the areas in which worker satisfaction will be investigated. Relevant to the occupational structure is the satisfaction for the economic sector of employment, or more simply "sector satisfaction." Pertaining to the technological structures are the satisfactions derived by having a certain type of occupation (occupational satisfaction)





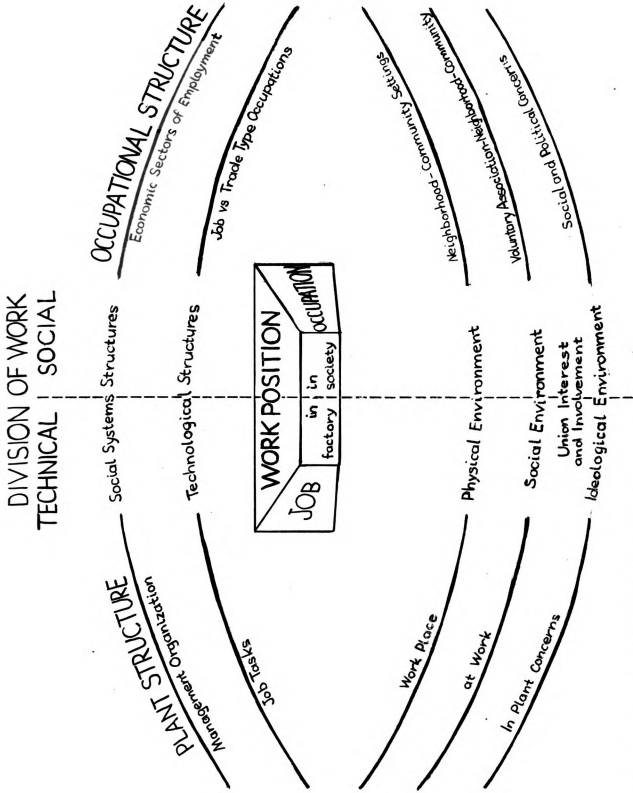


Figure 1. The conceptual scheme.

and a certain specific range of tasks to be performed (job-tasks satisfaction), while physical and social environments will be responsible for the satisfaction with the work environment.

To summarize, the areas in which worker satisfaction will be here investigated are:

1. Economic sector of employment
2. Type of Occupation
3. Job Tasks
4. Physical environment at work
5. Social environment at work

We shall now examine how this way of setting up the main areas of investigation is relevant to the aim of understanding the pattern of satisfactions of the industrial worker within a particular social context.

### Worker Satisfaction in a Developing Country

Two out of the five areas of investigation pertain to the division of work in society. The first, economic sector of employment, specifies an aspect of the occupational structure which is of great relevance for any study of worker satisfaction in a developing country, such as Italy. In fact, while in more mature industrial societies occupational movements are in large measure confined to the industrial sector, in a developing country shifts in agriculture manpower to the industrial sector and later to the services, are the most important. Therefore the assessment of the basic attitudes toward the industrial way of life, as compared with that in other sectors of employment, becomes

the necessary first step of this study. In this area family occupational traditions reflect patterns of sector mobility, while personal occupational background and experiences reflect responses to the occupational opportunity structure. These two variables are hypothesized as having a great impact on the feelings of satisfaction with employment in the industrial sector (see Table 1).

The second area concerns type of occupation. As the economy expands, the social division of work in society is constantly redefined. Old occupations disappear and new ones arise. Workers who had a trade, within few years find themselves having only a job. The rapid economic and industrial changes of Italy in these last decades have disrupted the occupational classification system. Job titles now tend to coincide with occupational types, and occupational apprenticeship has been replaced by training on the job. Chances of inter-industry mobility are decreased, making the worker dependent on the employment situation rather than on his skills.<sup>1</sup> When confronted by this kind of situation, workers probably react differently according to their patterns of occupational socialization. We feel that skill level, trade aspects of the occupation, and occupational socialization are the main variables relevant to satisfaction for type of occupation.

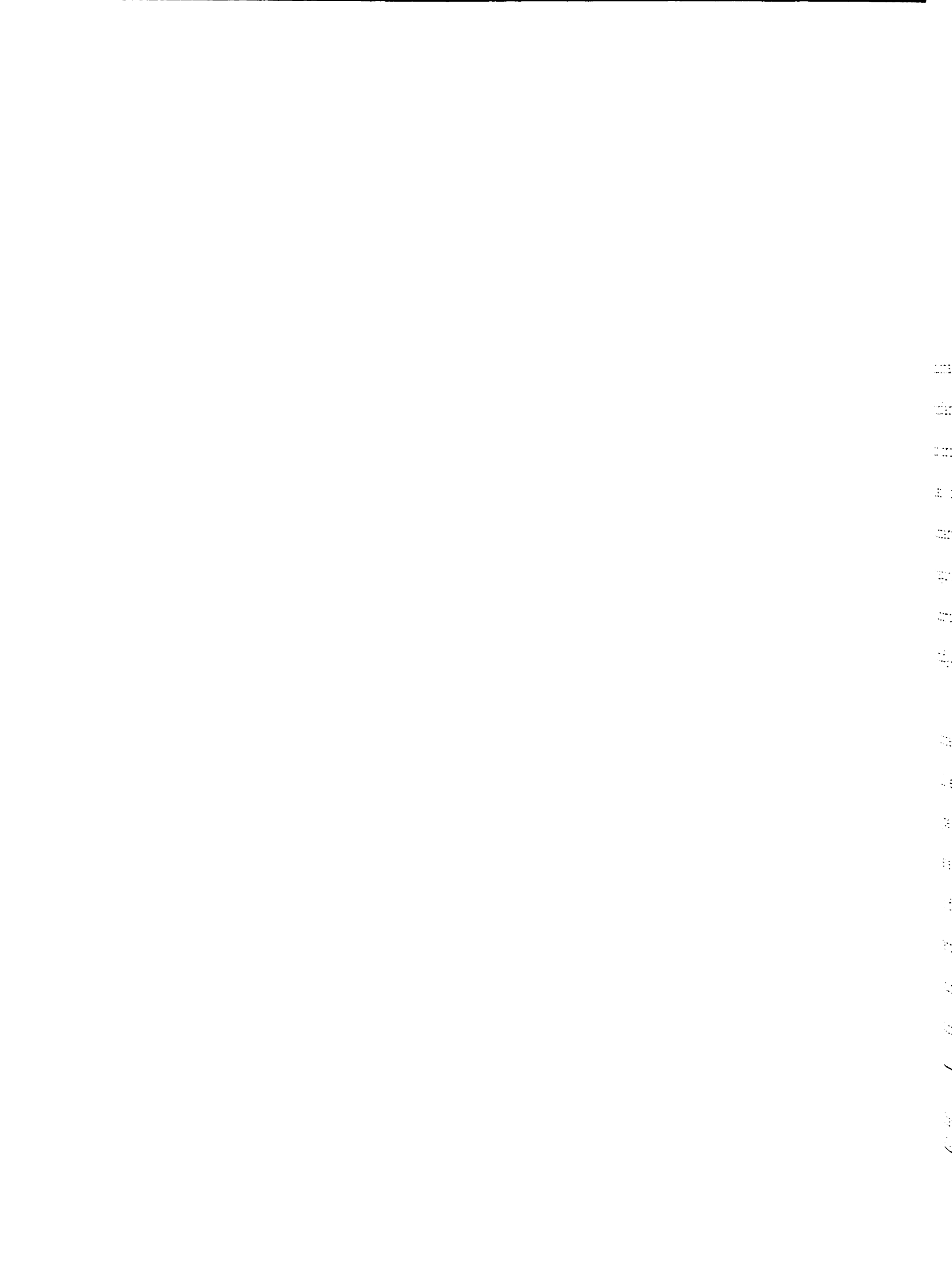
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<sup>1</sup>This, of course, is limited to the transitory situation typical of developing countries, where specialization is slowly progressing and unions do not yet have sufficient power to counterbalance the management's prerogatives.

Table 1. Areas of investigation and foci of inquiry into worker satisfaction.

Areas of Investigation of Worker Satisfaction	Foci of Inquiry	
	Technical Aspects	Societal Aspects
Sector of Employment	Occupational Background	Family Occupational tradition
Type of Occupation	Skill level and Trade- Job aspects	Occupational Socialization
Job Tasks	Psycho-technical aspects of job performance	Socio-Personal Character- istics
Physical Environment at work	Physical Working Conditions	Industrial Seniority
Social Environment at work	Interaction for technical reasons	Interaction based on social interests

The next three areas (job task, physical, and social environments at work), focus on the in-plant aspects of worker satisfaction. They are traditional areas of investigation, firmly established in the field. Table 1 details the corresponding foci of inquiry into these areas. Their nature and usefulness in the analysis are outlined in the chapters dealing with these areas (Chapters VI and VII).



## CHAPTER II

### THE AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY IN ITALY

Inkeles has illustrated that aspects of the institutional pattern of modern industrial society induce a standard set of responses which appear to be cross-societal and cross-cultural. However, he recognizes that there are also "countervailing randomizing effects of persisting patterns of culture."<sup>1</sup> How much these play a role in shaping the attitudes, opinion and feelings of the Italian automobile worker will be seen in the second part of this study.

Despite the similarities of the industrialization process and of the institutional patterns it evokes, not all economic developments follow strictly the same ideal type. How different has the Italian economic and industrial development been from those of other countries is difficult to determine. Yet we need to briefly examine this development over the past century because the type of management, union life, and occupational market undoubtedly reflect such a pattern.

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<sup>1</sup>Alex Inkeles, "Industrial Man: The Relation of Status to Experience, Perception, and Values," The American Journal of Sociology, LXVI, 1 (July, 1960), p. 1.

The Italian Economic Development

When, in March, 1861, Italy finally achieved its territorial and administrative unity, economic conditions of the peninsula were chaotic. Fourteen centuries of political division left Italy plagued with economic localism, a multiplicity of monetary systems, no national communications system, and highly protected regional markets. Gross inefficiencies were the legacies of the various governments, mostly alien, which had been mainly interested in obtaining maximum tax revenues at the cost of maintaining an undeveloped economic system. Political unification abolished the multiplicity of internal customs barriers, but it could not transform the many local markets into a national one. The absence of a national railroad network and a unified capital market largely accounted for the stagnation of the economy in the first decade after the political unification.

The majority of the population was engaged in agricultural pursuits (see Table 2), and industry was still in its infancy, being mainly in the stage of handicraft and small workshops. The failure to develop even an industrial trend has been attributed to the lack of natural resources, in particular coal and iron, which nature almost completely deprived Italy. However, Italian and foreign economists have emphasized a set of concomitant reasons since the beginning of the organized effort to industrialize. Already ten years after the unification, a Parliamentary inquiry into the condition of Italian industry summed up



Table 2. Percent distribution of Italy's active population by sector of economic activity, 1861 to 1960.

Years	Active Population <sup>a</sup>			Number (in thous.)	Per Cent of Total Pop.	Total Pop- ulation in thousands
	Agriculture	Industry	Services			
1861	59.2	24.1	16.7	13,017	59.8	21,777
1871	61.4	23.1	15.5	14,230	53.2	26,768
1881	56.8	27.9	15.3	15,152	53.2	28,460
1901	59.8	23.8	16.4	15,904	49.0	32,475
1911	56.1	26.9	17.0	16,357	47.2	34,671
1921	56.2	24.3	19.5	18,067	47.6	37,974
1931	51.0	27.2	21.8	18,341	44.5	41,177
1936	48.2	28.1	23.7	18,802	43.8	42,919
1951	41.1	32.5	26.4	19,659	41.7	47,144
1960	31.2	38.0	30.8	19,969	39.7	50,470

<sup>a</sup>In the Italian Census the active population is defined as those who are 10 years old or more and who are effectively engaged in an occupation, trade or craft (professione, mestiere o arte). Thus, the unemployed and those in search of first employment are not included. However, for 1960, e.g., these are 3.3% of the total Labor Force and they would not, if included, affect the relative percentage distribution among the three sectors. Note also that Agriculture includes Forestry, Fishing, and Hunting; Industry covers Manufacturing, Mining, Construction and Electrical industries; Services includes also Transportation, Commerce, Banking and local as well as national Public Administration, which in turn, includes the Military with the exception of the drafted personnel.

Sources: For 1861 to 1951, M. F. Neufeld, Italy: School for Awakening Countries (Ithaca, N.Y.: N.Y. State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, 1961), Table 13, p. 528; for 1960, Istituto Centrale di Statistica, Annuario di Statistiche del Lavoro e dell'Emigrazione, Roma, 1961, p. 25.

the main obstacles to the country's industrial growth: lack of capital, extremely high rate of interest, non-existence of an entrepreneurial class, insufficient skilled labor, heavy taxation, high transportation rates, protectionism, and restrictive legislation.<sup>1</sup>

The lack of capital, due to the small volume of savings, forced the infant industry to look for foreign investments, in this way exposing the weak Italian economy to the disturbing fluctuations of the international stock market. This perhaps more than all other factors accounts for the uneven industrial development.

It is possible to identify several periods of the Italian industrial growth:

1861-1870 : Period of no progress  
 1871-1880 : Period of preparation  
 1881-1890 : Period of light growth<sup>2</sup>  
 1891-1900 : Period of consolidation  
 1901-1910 : Period of intense growth  
 1911-1920 : Period of stabilization  
 1921-1940 : Period of moderate progress  
 1941-1950 : Period of war depression  
 1951-1960 : Period of rapid expansion

After a decade of no progress, the years 1871-80 represented the period in which the foundations were laid for the subsequent transformation of the old handicraft

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<sup>1</sup>A. Scialoja and L. Luzzatti were the main researchers. See "Industria" in the Vol. XIX, of the Enciclopedia Italiana, Rome, 1936.

<sup>2</sup>A. Gerschenkron divides the period 1881-1913 in four periods and gives to them a somewhat different connotation, but the interpretation of the economic phenomena is substantially the same. See "Notes on the Rate of Industrial Growth in Italy, 1881-1913," The Journal of Economic History, XV, 4 (Dec., 1955), pp. 360-375.

industry into a modern manufacture economy. However, only in the following decade was a real effort made to overcome the difficulties of mechanizing the productive process. The demand on the part of the bourgeoisie for small but immediate profits, together with the constant supply of cheap labor arising from the ever increasing demographic pressures had impaired the mechanization of the Italian industry up to 1890. Meanwhile, the utilization of the electrical power made available by the hydroelectric resources of the Alps helped overcome the difficulties due to the scarcity of coal and later of oil. The new power source now permitted the development of heavy industries though it is worth emphasizing that Italian industry remained consumer's-goods oriented as late as 1927. The development of a modest but active metal-making industry sustained the period of intense economic growth at the turn of the century. This coincided with the favorable economic climate in all of Europe. The leading role of the metal-fabrication industry, followed by the chemicals and engineering, is emphasized by the comparison of the Index of Output, 1881-1913 elaborated by Gerschenkron, from which the following data are taken:<sup>1</sup>

Years	Mining	Metal-Making	Textiles	Engineering	Chemicals	Food-stuffs
1881	71	22	54	62	9	63
1891	76	72	73	62	28	70
1900	100	100	100	100	100	100
1913	98	381	134	272	281	166

<sup>1</sup>Op. cit., p. 363.

In 1913, the mechanical engineering industry included 1,534 factories with 211,614 workers, and its expansion reached a peak with World War I. In 1918 there were in the country 80 companies working in metallurgy and machine production, as against 18 in 1913.<sup>1</sup> The overall employment in this industry at that time reached more than half a million workers. However, most of this boom was due to the war, and it did not survive the return to a peace economy. The equilibrium between production of goods, wages, and currency circulation achieved in the decade 1901-10, subsequently broke down. The resulting social unrest culminated in the seizure of the metallurgical and engineering factories by the workers. In the period between 1919-22, Italy had the largest number of man-days lost through strikes (21,650 thousands in 1920 compared with 19,350 thousands in France, and 11,787 thousands in the U.S.A.)<sup>2</sup>

As soon as the Italian economy could recover from the painful post-war period, the world depression of 1930 blocked the expansion of industrial activity. Thus in 1932 the general index of industrial output dropped to 38, as compared to the 1928 figure of 100. However, the politics of economic self-sufficiency inaugurated by the fascist

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<sup>1</sup>This data and a more detailed account can be found in A. Fossati, Lavoro e produzione in Italia dalla metà del secolo XVIII alla seconda guerra mondiale, Giapichelli, Turin, 1950.

<sup>2</sup>See Neufeld, Italy: School for Awakening Countries (Ithaca, N.Y.: N.Y. State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, 1961), pp. 378 ff.

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government, although disadvantageous in the long run, helped reduce the overall effect of the world depression. Recovery started almost immediately, and the entire period of 1920-40 witnessed a steady moderate, economic progress. The gross national product (GNP) increased by 2.2% per year, while the rate of investment rose to an average of 5.9%.

World War II heavily damaged Italy and its economy. National worth was reduced by more than a third, and one-fifth of the pre-war factories and industrial plants were destroyed or severely damaged. Income decreased to half that of 1939 and investments became negligible. American aid and international cooperation helped ameliorate the desperate situation, and at the beginning of the Fifties, pre-war figures were already reached. European efforts for effective economic cooperation (OECE, later OECD; CECA; ECM) later opened the country to new possibilities and helped resolve problems which so long had prevented genuine industrialization. A larger market was now opened, coal and steel were available without the drags of tariffs, and foreign capital was being invested less for speculative purposes and more to secure a constant source of profits.

The new rapid expansion (The GNP has risen at an average rate of 5.7% per year) reached its peak during the "Italian miracle" of 1960-63. A period of recession is now in effect due to the necessity to establish a stable equilibrium between prices, wages, savings and consumption. Moreover, the unequal rate of regional economic development,

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despite all the efforts to stimulate investments in the South, still remains a major handicap of the Italian economy. However, the development of the Fifties is impressive, not only in the industrial sector. In fact, Italian economic expansion of these last years represents a real change of structure: in 1960, the agriculture sector, growing at a rate of 3.4% accounted for only 19.2% of the national produce, while industry constituted a sizeable 48.3% with a rate of development of 9.1%.

This change of economic structure can be seen in its centennial perspective, with the help of the graphs in Figure 2. The comparison between the gross national product and the percentage contribution to it by the industrial sector (Figure 3) shows the long and laborious road toward industrialization. Indeed, as has been noted, "1890 represents the point of universal departure when the process of factory production first managed to take hold in almost totally agrarian and alien surroundings."<sup>1</sup> Since then, with the exception of the Twenties, during which period the politics of autarky stimulated increases in the agricultural sector, the industrial sector has become mainly responsible for economic expansion.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 123.

<sup>2</sup>The comparison of this contribution of the industrial sector to the GNP (Figure 3) with the number employed in industry (Figure 2) reveals also the main historical trends in technological innovations and the building of the infrastructure (mainly in the Nineties and in the Twenties). The decrease in the gross national product at the end of the Eighties reflects instead the "black years" of the Italian economy which coincided with the international depression of the 1890-92, and accounts in part for the decrease in industrial manpower.



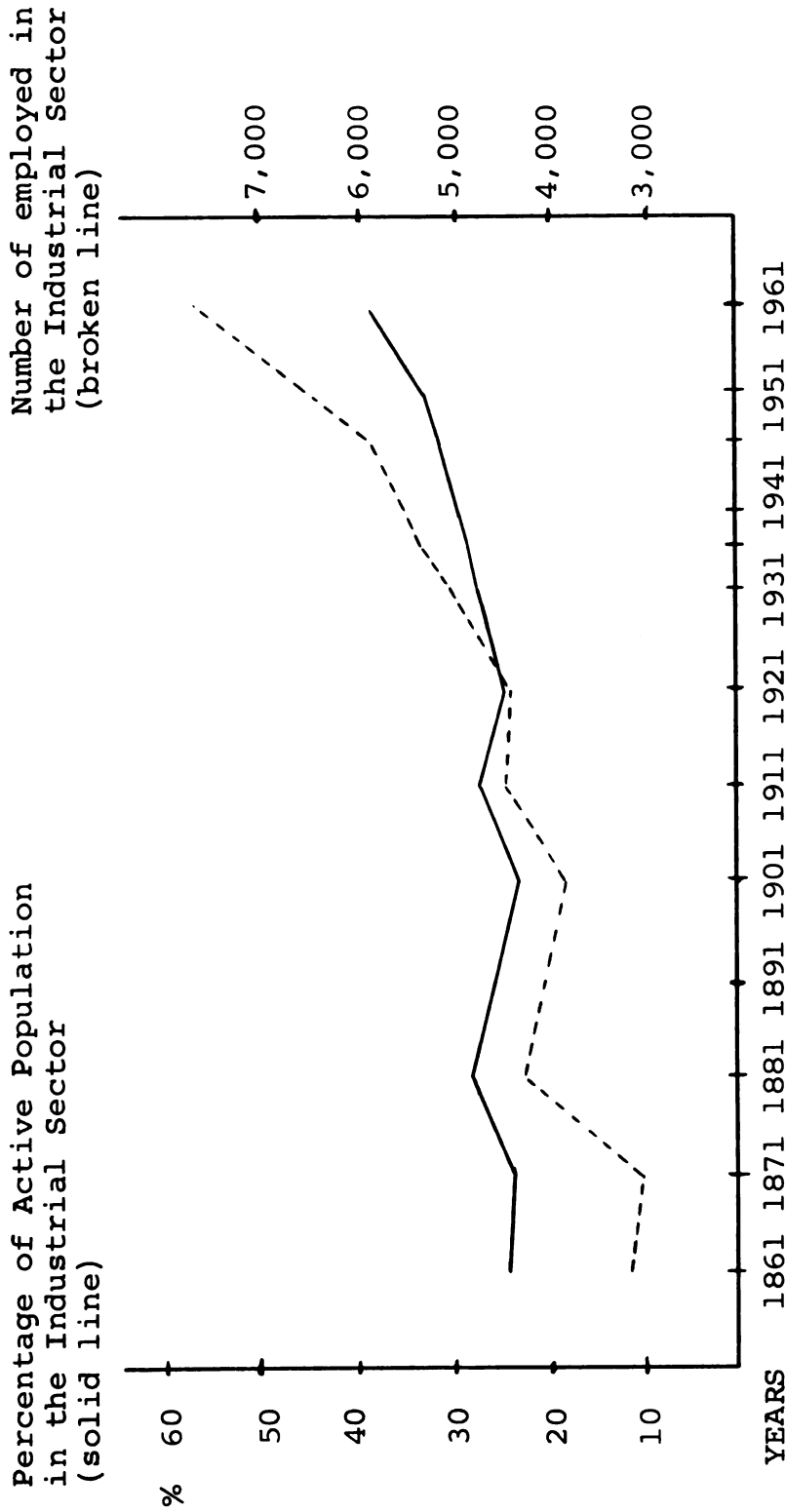


Figure 2. Percentage of active population and the number of employed in the industrial sector, 1861-1961.

Source: Table 2. From 1937-38 to 1951 there were no published statistics concerning the distribution of the active population for the economic sectors.

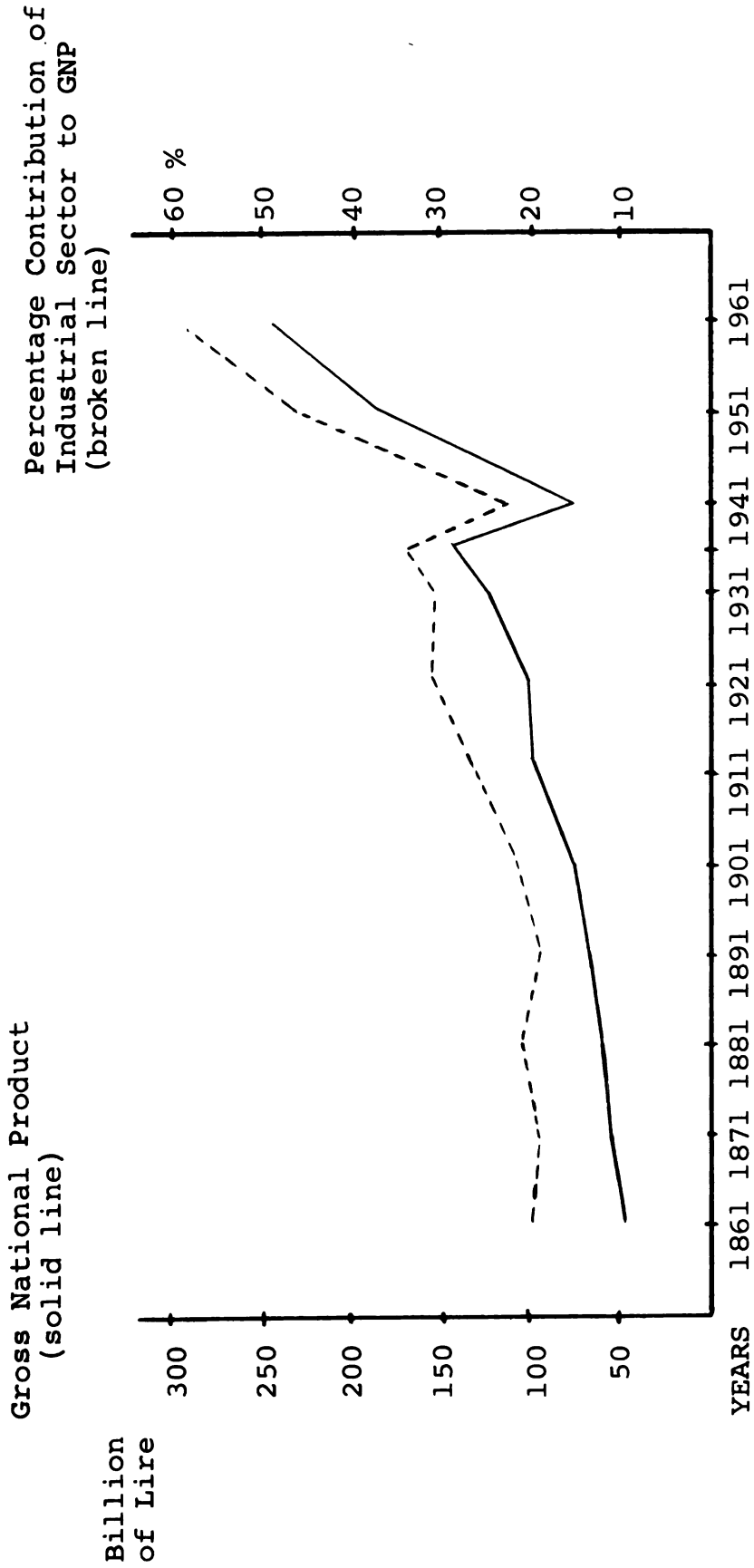


Figure 3. Gross National Product of Italy and percentage contribution of the industrial sector to Gross National Product, 1861-1961.

Source: Based on data by M. F. Aggradi, "One Hundred Years of Italian Economy," Review of the Economic Condition in Italy, XV, 4 (July, 1961), pp. 304 and 308.



## Turin and the Automobile Industry

The mechanical industries were, as we have mentioned, largely responsible for the period of intense growth which characterized the Italian economy at the turn of the century. Among them, the automobile industry played a leading role both in itself and as a strong stimulus to the development of other metal-making industries. The main center of the rising industrial activity was Turin, a town with an old craft and manufacturing tradition, gifted with a thrifty and entrepreneurial middle class as well as an enlightened political and administrative elite.

Piedmont, the small state which spearheaded Italy's unification (Risorgimento), and Turin, its capital, began industrializing strongly in the 1850-60 decade. At that time, the frequent contacts with France and the seasonal migration of Italian workers across the common borders stimulated not only the formation of entrepreneurial attitudes among Turin's bourgeoisie but skills among its workers. The political aspirations of the small state to unify Italy (realized by the political genius of Cavour, the Italian counterpart of Bismarck) was thus backed by the requisites for outstanding economic development.

The small state had in 1848 already aligned itself with Western Europe in four important ways: "foreign trade, international loans used to develop the economic resources of the region, the gradual but impressive mechanization of its industries, and its modern financial institutions."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Neufeld, op. cit., p. 34.

Yet, at that time, Piedmont was mainly agricultural, and one-fourth of its industry was still operating with handicraft methods.<sup>1</sup> Most of them were textile plants (silk, wool, and cotton), and a few, mainly in Turin, were metallurgical (arms manufacture), engineering (railroad equipment), confectionary (a celebrated one), chemicals, clothing, and a few others. Clothing manufacture was almost entirely handicraft, having a typical artisan organization, even though it accounted up to 1898 for the majority of the labor force of Turin province.<sup>2</sup> The importance of textile manufacturing in the Piedmontese economy is evident from data in Table 3, which also shows the change of economic structure which the region has undergone in 75 years.

The center of this structural economic change has been Turin. A town of 4,000 in 1400, three centuries afterwards it reached 66,851, and doubled its population in a hundred years, being 121,850 in 1831 when it began plans to unify Italy. Three decades after, the population grew to 204,715. This testifies to the rapid economic development which took place in Piedmont between 1848 and 1861. Since then Turin waited for 1951 to witness a similar expansion (Figure 4), when in ten years it grew from 721,796 to 1,045,544 inhabitants.

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., Appendix E, "Piedmont," p. 568. In 1848 the 63 Piedmontese industrial firms had 220 workshops, 50 of which were operating with handicraft methods.

<sup>2</sup>IRES, *Panorama Economico e Sociale della Provincia di Torino*, Turin, 1959, pp. 26-28.

Table 3. Number and percentage of employed workers by industries, Turin, 1876 and 1951.

Industries	Employed Workers (in thousands)			
	1876	%	1951	%
Textile Industry	60	80.0	112	22.6
(of which silk)	(34)		(11)	
Mechanical Industry			193	39.0
Others	15	20.0		
Total Industrial Employment	75	100.0	495	100.0

Sources: V. Ellena, "La Statistica di alcune industrie Italiane," Annali di Statistica, XIII, 35, 1880, for 1876; (these figures are not entirely exact, leaving out small handicraft workshops; however, they have been long considered indicative); Istituto Centrale di Statistica, Dati Preliminari sulle Ditte, III Censimento Generale dell'Industria e del Commercio, Roma, 1953, Table 7, for 1951.

When in 1865 Turin ceased to be the capital of the newly united country, a large part of its political and administrative elite moved to the new capital, Florence, and later Rome. But those who remained were already thinking about the community's economic development. Two years before, a memorandum by Turinese industrialists had summed up the difficulties to be overcome: high taxation, ever increasing prices, and lack of power and fuel. Despite their efforts, these difficulties could not be overcome for a long period. As soon as electrical power became available in 1899, Turin's economy, even though experiencing recurrent depressions, underwent a modest but steady growth. In the

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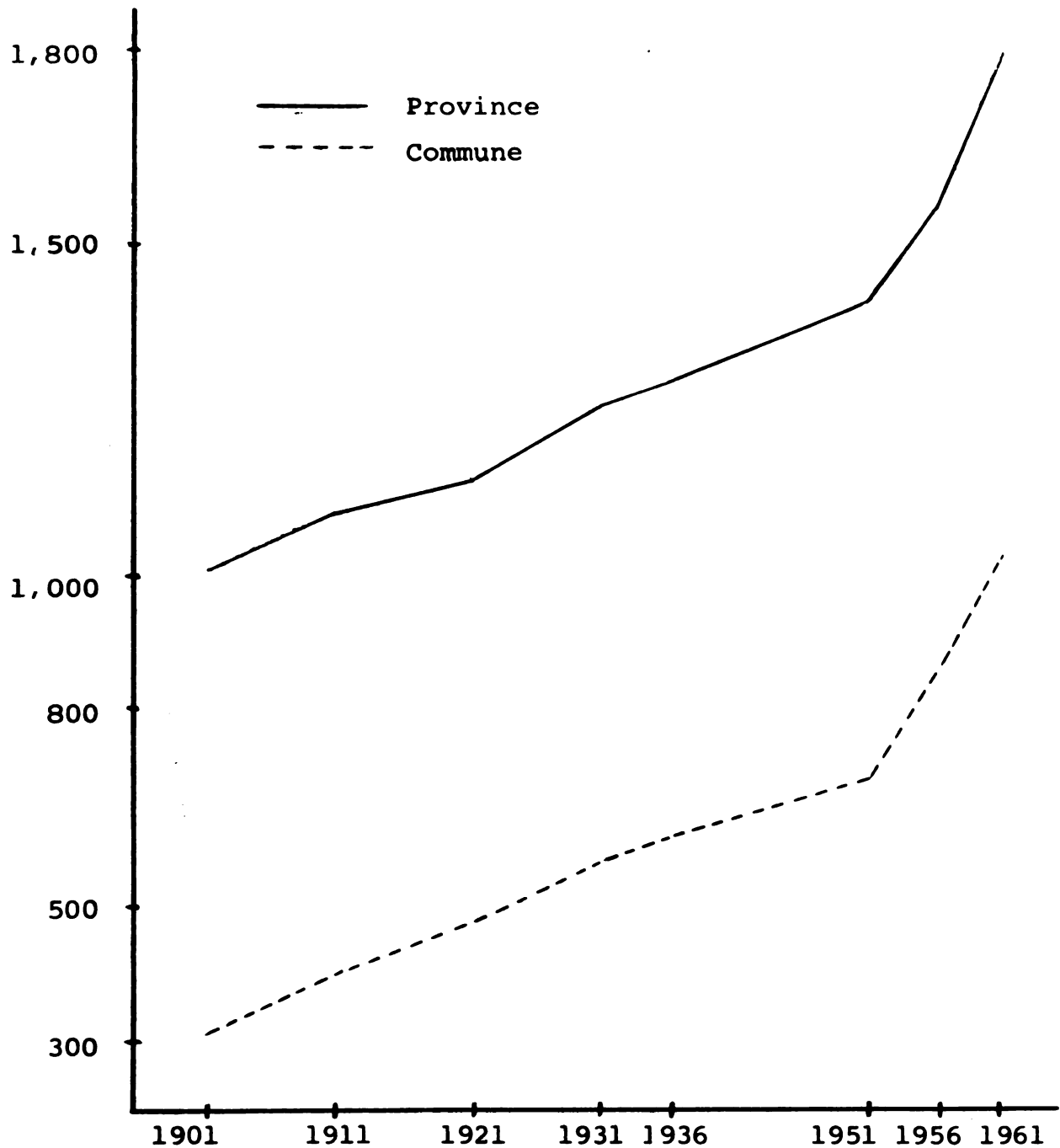


Figure 4. Population growth of Turin Province and Commune, 1901-1961.

Source: Based on data in *Citta di Torino, Annuario Statistico 1959*, Turin 1961, p. 20; *Instituto Centrale di Statistica, Annuario Statistico Italiano*, Rome 1955, p. 370, 1956, p. 17, and 1961, p. 16.

industrial sector, this growth is shown by the increase of manpower in metal-mechanical manufacturing, as shown in Table 4.

Table 4. Number of employed in metal-mechanical manufacturing, Turin commune and province, 1848-1911.

Years	Commune	Province	FIAT Company
1848	3,754		
1860	5,924		
1881	10,168		
1898	14,120		
1911	29,007	39,283	9,000

Source: IRES, Panorama Economico e Sociale della Provincia di Torino, Turin, 1959, pp. 26-29.

The main push in this development was given by the rising automobile industry during the period 1899-1907. The Fiat Company was started in 1899 with 50 employees and substantial capital. Soon other automobile companies were formed, and in 1904 there were in Turin already 12 firms. Although the new industry attracted entrepreneurial activity and capital to other parts of Italy, particularly Milan, Turin remained the main center of automobile manufacture. In 1907 there were, in fact, 66 automobile factories in Italy, 15 of which were in Milan and 20 in Turin. However, the rapid development of the new industry was not built on a sound financial and technological base, and under the pressures of the 1907-08 international crisis





many factories closed down. After the crisis the FIAT, the "Lancia" (established in 1906 and still in operation), the SPA (which was later merged with FIAT), and the SCAT remained in Turin.

Turinese automobile industry gave rise to new activities and supporting industries, such as coach and car-body plants, garages, lubricant factories, tire plants, and many other auto accessories manufacturing plants. As Professor Fossati notes, "A new industrial structure was being built up around the motor-car industry, requiring an ever increasing volume of labor which was provided largely by Turin. In less than forty years Turin was to offer employment either directly or indirectly to at least half of its inhabitants."<sup>1</sup> During the rapid expansion due to World War I, rural migrants from the unproductive surrounding mountains became the main source of industrial manpower. After the war this new urban working class became the main source of social unrest. As industrial production contracted, these workers became unemployed and they were unwilling to return to their poor farms. More than any other Italian city, Turin became the focal point of strikes and general political and social unrest.<sup>2</sup> At that time the Turinese working class established itself as the avant-garde of the Italian labor movement.

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<sup>1</sup>A. Fossati, "The Fiftieth Anniversary of the FIAT," in FIAT, A Fifty Years' Record, Mondadori, 1951, p. 247.

<sup>2</sup>IRES, op. cit., p. 31.



Industrial growth was by no means limited to the urban center of Turin (the Commune), for it also took place in the surrounding Province (6,830 sq. Km). There, side by side with the traditional textile industry, mechanical industries were developed and transformed into large modern enterprises: the Olivetti Typewriter Machine Company in Ivrea, the RIV (ball bearings) in Villar Perosa, chemicals in Settimo Torinese, matches in Moncalieri, and many other small industries flourished in the main valleys of the Province. Data in Table 5 provides some indication of this industrial growth in the Province. It shows, through the relative standing of the three main economic sectors, the ever-increasing industrial character of Turin economy up to 1961, the year we began our fieldwork.

The craft industry, which has had a long tradition in Turin deserves special mention because of its growth along side local heavy industry and automobile manufacturing. About 50,000 craft workers in Turin Province are found in 25,000 artisan shops, 20% of which produce mechanical goods. Another 30%, which employ about 10,000 workers, manufacture clothes. As far back as 1898 they constituted the largest economic sector of the Province. As is clear from the data, the great majority of this clothing industry is made up of single artisans working in the ir own shops. The craft mechanical industry has an average of two artisans working in each shop. This figure is high for Italy which averages 1.57 employees

Table 5. Percent distribution of active population by sector of economic activity in Turin Commune, Provincial Territory, and total Province, 1936 to 1961.

Year of Census	District	Active Population			Total
		Agriculture	Industry	Services	
1936	Commune	2.3	57.2	40.5	330,436
	Province (Commune not included)	47.5	37.5	15.0	373,046
	Province (totals)	26.3	46.7	27.0	703,482
1951	Commune	.7	59.0	40.3	341,926
	Province (Commune not included)	32.6	50.4	18.0	349,302
	Province (totals)	16.8	54.7	28.5	691,228
1961	Commune	.6	61.4	38.0	443,338
	Province (Commune not included)	21.9	59.4	18.7	358,816
	Province (totals)	10.1	60.6	29.3	802,154

Sources: IRES, Panorama Economico e Sociale della Provincia di Torino, Turin, 1959, for 1936 and 1951;  
Decimo Censimento della Popolazione, ISTAT, Rome, 1964, Vol. 2, for 1961.



per craft shop. Moreover, the craft industrial structure of Turin is less familistic than the rest of Italy (86% against the national average of 91%), and used more non-human power (30.6% in Turin province as against 19.21% for the country).<sup>1</sup>

### The FIAT Company

FIAT (once a set of initial letters for Fabbrica Italiana Automobili Torino - Italian Automobile Manufacture, Turin, but nowadays a straight trade name) was founded in July, 1899, on the initiative of a group of Turinese leaders and aristocrats partly moved by business interests stimulated by French precedents and partly by their attraction to the new means of transportation as a sport. The first workshop occupied an area of two and a half acres and employed about 50 workers. In a few years following the Italian and Turin economic development already described, FIAT steadily grew and expanded rapidly, particularly during World War I.

Already in 1906, FIAT stocks were valued at 75 times their original nominal value. One year before, the company enlarged its economic scope by creating the Fiat-Muggiano for ship construction, the RIV for ball bearing manufacture, the Fiat-Ansaldo for metallurgical work, and became a partner in many auto-related enterprises such as the Industrial Coach Builders of Turin (later the Rothschild

<sup>1</sup> IRES, op. cit., p. 109.





Coach Building Company). In 1907 the Grandi Motori section of FIAT was launched, devoted to the construction of diesel engines, particularly marine, and now one of the world's largest producers. One year later FIAT created an Aircraft Workshop which built, soon after Delagrange's experiments, a 25 horsepower two-piston aeroplane engine, and in 1914 a complete aircraft. But the main activity remained car manufacturing which, in 1912, had an output of 4,000 cars. This represented an impressive figure for Italy at that time, although small when compared with the Ford's output of 200,000 for the same year. However, under the pressure of war, Fiat arrived at a daily output of 175 cars. After the war, production stabilized at 50 cars a day, an improvement over the 15-20 pre-war rate.

In the decade following World War I, the Fiat Company strengthened its economic and productive position by absorbing companies which could not survive the post-war depression. In those years Fiat built its vertical organization by financial concentration and by organizing the complete manufacturing cycle, which starts with the production and processing of the raw materials and ends with the finished product ready to be sold by Fiat Sales and Service Organization. This vertical organization includes iron and steel mills (Ferriere), iron and aluminum foundries, forging shops, two metallurgical and metal-working plants, and the several mechanical processing plants manufacturing motor-cars, trucks and

industrial vehicles, buses and trolley-buses, tractors, and spare parts. Other plants produce railway rolling stock, rail cars, multi-coach motor trains, all types of freight cars, diesel-electric as well as diesel-hydraulic locomotives, marine diesel engines ranging between 300 and 30,000 h.p., and training and operational planes such as the G91T, and the G19, the latter judged the best and adopted by NATO squadrons in 1962.<sup>1</sup>

Of Fiat's 20 manufacturing establishments, 14 are located in Turin. Among them, the largest and the main Fiat complex is the Mirafiori Plant for the manufacture of cars. It consists of many workshops, and is divided into two centers (mainly the assembly lines and the press-shops) connected by subways. They occupy 420 acres, of which 207 are actually covered by buildings. At the time of the research, there were about 33,000 employees, of whom 3,000 were office workers. The installation includes some 10,000 machine tools, some of them designed and built by Fiat itself. Production is carried out on a single floor, in about two dozen departments. The movements of materials during the various phases of manufacture proceed by parallel lines from the raw material stores to the centrally situated assembly lines. The total length of subways is seven miles, and that of the internal railway track system is over 14 miles. Total Fiat employment in 1962, at the end of the

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<sup>1</sup> FIAT, A Fifty Years' Record, Mondadori, 1951; and other Fiat publications.

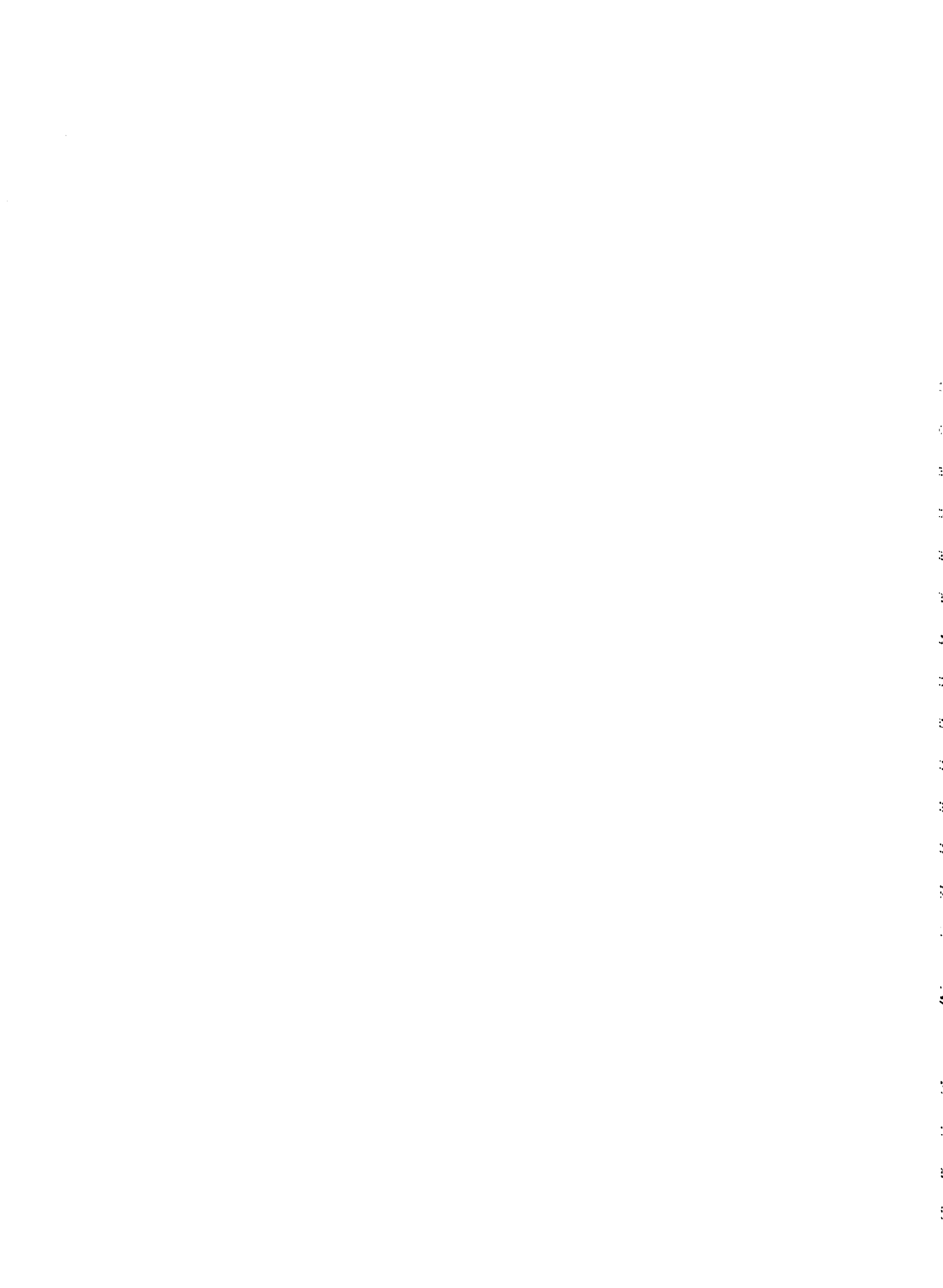
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fieldwork, was 112,000 including executives, technicians, and office personnel. The actual figure for factory workers was 91,000, of which a third was employed at the Mirafiori plant. The other plants and workshops of Fiat in Turin are spread around the city.

The Company has a comprehensive social welfare system which is one of the largest in Italy. A well-organized Health Service (Mutua), an extended social work organization, summer camps for workers' children, day nurseries, and a veteran retirement home are just a few of the many welfare activities which Fiat provides as supplements to the national social security and welfare system. An almost unique institution is the Fiat Central Training School "G. Agnelli," located where the first factory building was situated. It provides technical training for young people, the prospective highly skilled workers on which the company counts for its technological and economic expansion. Paid apprentices spend their first six months in the school preparing for their places in the various departments. The main activity of the school is to train boys 14 to 17 years old in courses which make up a two or three year curriculum.

Since 1955 Fiat has allocated large funds to a "Fiat Housing Plan." The first part of the Plan, now completed, comprises 3,270 flats in various neighborhoods in Turin. These apartment houses (independent houses are generally rare in Italy even for the upper classes) are

rented at special rates to Fiat factory and office workers. This housing constitutes a very important fringe benefit that Fiat has developed, especially because of the chronic housing shortage which particularly affects the lower classes and recent migrants.



## CHAPTER III

### LABOR FORCE AND TRADE UNIONISM IN ITALY

This chapter describes the social and personal characteristics of the sample of Turinese automobile workers whom we interviewed. These characteristics reflect the societal and occupational structure of the country, pictured in the preceding chapter. Different patterns of intergenerational occupational mobility and varying occupational backgrounds reflect the periodic imbalances among the three main economic sectors of the country. These patterns and backgrounds shape the opinion and attitudes of the workers toward the industrial type of life. The Italian labor movement, for instance, still carries the organizational and ideological features created by this imbalance in economic and technological growth. A brief description of the Italian labor movement is needed as background for the following chapters.

#### Labor Force and Industrial Growth

In outlining the economic development of Italy and Turin, we have presented census and statistical data concerning the active population and how it was distributed among the three main economic sectors in the several decades from the unification of the country up to the year of our





fieldwork. Indeed, the best indicator of the forging of an industrial and occupational structure is, as Miller and Form have remarked<sup>1</sup>, the relative proportions of the labor force engaged in agriculture, manufacturing, and services activities. "The mature industrial economy may be arbitrarily defined as one in which a third or less of the labor force is engaged in agriculture and over half of the urban labor force is engaged in nonmanufacturing pursuits."<sup>2</sup> Table 2 shows that, at least for the first condition, Italy started to approach industrial maturity only in the 1951-61 decade. The percentages in industrial and service employment would increase and that of agriculture would decrease if the data were for the labor force instead of for the active population. In fact, those looking for their first employment are more likely to find it in urban manufacturing or services. However, as has been pointed out earlier, the difference between the population in the sectors and in the labor force are not great. General unemployment was 3.3% in 1960, and the percentage distribution among the three main sectors was estimated<sup>3</sup> as 17.1% in agriculture, 60.5% in industry, and 22.4% in services.

<sup>1</sup>D. C. Miller and W. H. Form, Industrial Sociology, the Sociology of Work Organization (2d. ed.; New York: Harper, 1964), Chapter 3.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 39.

<sup>3</sup>Instituto Centrale di Statistica, Annuario di Statistiche del Lavoro e dell'Emigrazione, Rome, 1961, p. 84. Doubts can be cast on this percentage distribution as on the 7-10 per cent unemployment figure in 1945-55 period. However, for the northern regions and particularly for

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Figure 2 points to 1921 as the year of a real beginning in the shift of the labor force from agriculture to the industrial sector. This sector mobility, horizontal and vertical according to the specific type of occupational change, became greatly accelerated during the last decade. Naturally, significant differences are to be found when the analysis is broken down by geographical region. Here it is sufficient to mention the economic and industrial cleavage which divided the northern from the southern regions,<sup>1</sup> since the unification of the country, the former being highly developed with large-scale and technologically advanced modern industry and the latter remaining in a pre-industrial and pre-capitalistic condition.<sup>2</sup>

Already in 1876 the "industrial triangle" formed by the three regions of Piedmont, Lombardy and Liguria constituted 65.3% of the entire Italian industrial labor force. Piedmont contributed a substantial 19.7%, having at that time 24.6 industrial workers out of 1,000 inhabitants,

Piedmont, it is safe to assume an equivalence of population in the sectors and in the labor force, for the entire period 1945-61.

<sup>1</sup>An extensive illustration is to be found in Neufeld, Italy: School for Awakening Countries (Ithaca, N.Y.: N.Y. State School of Labor and Industrial Relations, 1961), p. 145 ff.

<sup>2</sup>V. Lutz, (Italy, A Study in Economic Development, London: Oxford University Press, 1962), suggests that the "dual economy" of Italy is not confined to regional difference, even though the disparity between North and South is more evident. This author maintains that the mixture of Italy's economy is present in the industrial and agricultural sectors of north Italy as well.



while Rome had only 5.2 and the deep south a mere 2.4.<sup>1</sup> This situation permitted Piedmont to approach the threshold of industrial maturity as early as 1936. According to data presented in Table 5, Turin Province steadily and rapidly progressed toward the typical labor force composition found in a mature industrial country such as the United States. The Commune, which represents the urban center of the Province, in 1936 employed two-fifths of its labor force in nonmanufacturing pursuits,<sup>2</sup> a figure that could be raised a few points if mining, construction, and the production of electricity and gas were included in services instead of in industry as it is in Italian statistics. In the entire Province about one-quarter were employed in agriculture at this time and the figure steadily decreased to a mere 10 per cent in 1961.

The increase of industrial employment and the slight decrease of service employment reflects a phenomenon of industrial concentration in the regional territory compared to Italy as a whole. The comparisons of the labor forces in the urban center of Turin, its Province, Piedmont, and all Italy in Table 6 clearly shows the peculiar industrial character (shared by Lombardy and Liguria) of this region at the beginning of Italy's rapid economic progress.

<sup>1</sup>Ellena, "La Statistica di alcune industrie Italiane," Annali di Statistica, XIII, 35, 1880.

<sup>2</sup>United States in 1931 had 45.4% of the labor force employed in nonmanufacturing pursuits (Neufeld, op. cit., Table 12, p. 527).



Table 6. Per cent distribution of active population by sector of economic activity in Turin Commune, Turin Province, Piedmont and Italy, 1951.

Sector of Economic Activity	Turin Commune	Turin Province (including the commune)	Piedmont	Italy
Agriculture	0.7	16.8	32.6	42.2
Manufacturing and Mining	54.0	48.9	37.7	24.1
Other economic activities	45.3	34.3	29.7	33.7
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: IRES, Panorama Economico e Sociale della Provincia di Torino, Turin, 1959, p. 58.

The massive immigration of 1951-60 depicted in the graph of Figure 4, provided labor mainly for the manufacturing industries, and it counterbalanced the constant rise in nonmanufacturing activities in the urban center. This immigration did not create major problems of unemployment, which has steadily decreased since 1947. Although unemployment was still high in 1959, Turin could offer greater opportunity for sector and occupational mobility during this period than could Italy as a whole.

The first to take advantage of this opportunity were the poor farmers from the surrounding mountains who started to migrate to Turin at the turn of the century. Later, under demographic pressure, agriculture laborers and small farmers from the lower valleys entered industry, and, as long as the housing conditions permitted, moved to

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Turin. However, most of the Turinese workers from rural areas, particularly after the massive shift from agriculture to industry which started in 1921-1931, remained as residents of their villages and daily commuted to the city. It is estimated that more than a third of the present factory labor force in Turin daily commutes from the surrounding provincial territory, which, although rural, is essentially industrial (cfr. Table 5). During the last years, particularly after 1955, substantial migration from Central and South Italy was mainly responsible for the population growth increase of Turin commune and province. These migrants were the main source of industrial unskilled labor.

#### The Turin Automobile Workers

The preceding chapters pointed out some of the particular characteristics of the Italian economic and industrial development. Whether they are peculiar to the Italian situation or generalized features of contemporary industrial development, they are reflected in the sample of automobile workers interviewed. The sample was comprised of workers with at least one year seniority in the car manufacturing plant at Fiat Mirafiori in Turin (see Appendix A for technical details). The sample was stratified according to the skill levels in the production, assembly, and experimental departments. (Appendix B presents the basic sample data.)

The large majority, seven-tenths of these Italian automobile workers, are unskilled, and about a tenth are



highly skilled. Very few have less than two years seniority, almost two-fifths have two to four years and one-fifth have more than 14 years of employment in Fiat. Of course, seniority is differentially distributed among the skill categories. Among the skilled only 5.9% have less than four years seniority, and one-half had more than 14 years. Almost the same percentage holds for the semiskilled workers, although about one-fifth have less than four years' seniority. On the other side, half of the unskilled have less than four years seniority, and only one-tenth have been with the company more than 14 years.<sup>1</sup> The two characteristics of Turin automobile industry, a long tradition and a recent sudden expansion, are reflected in the large proportions of unskilled workers with low seniority, and the high proportion of skilled and semiskilled with more than 14 years' seniority (respectively 35.2% and 14.5% of the entire sample).

Very few workers are younger than 21 years; more than a third are between 21 and 30 years old, and another third are between 31-40 years. However, over one-tenth are more than fifty years old. Naturally, the younger (under 35) are more concentrated among the unskilled, and the older (over 35) among the skilled and semiskilled.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Overall skill level and seniority are associated with  $\chi^2 = 64.578$ ; DF = 4;  $P < .001$ ;  $\bar{C} = .565$ .

<sup>2</sup>Age and skill level present a contingency coefficient (corrected) of .454, with  $\chi^2 = 44.221$ ; DF = 6;  $P < .001$ .

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Seniority is, of course, positively associated with age, an intervening variable being the age of first employment. Data concerning the relationship between age and age of first employment provide an indication of the changes in the age of first employment (see Table 7).

Table 7. Percentage of workers by present age and age of first employment.

Age of first employment	Present Age				Total
	25 and less	25-35	36-45	45 and more	
Less than fourteen	42.5	67.9	62.9	78.7	65.7
Fourteen or more	57.5	32.1	37.1	21.3	34.3
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(40)	(140)	(62)	(61)	(303)

$$\chi^2 = 14.620; DF = 3; p < .005; \bar{c} = .294.$$

Age of first employment is, of course, negatively correlated<sup>1</sup> with the level of education (see the sample distribution in Appendix B). In interpreting this datum, it is important to emphasize that among the two-thirds of those who began working before 14 years of age, about a tenth began to work when they were ten years old or less. Schooling opportunities have increased and early employment necessarily decreased with the general progress in economic development. Illiteracy is completely absent in the sample,

<sup>1</sup>Contingency coefficient (corrected) is .339, with  $\chi^2 = 31.507; DF = 3; p < .001.$



and this is not amazing. Piedmont has always been the region with the least percentage of illiteracy: in 1951, against a national average of 13%, it registered only a 3%, these located mainly in the rural-farm or mountain areas.<sup>1</sup>

Skill level is not associated with age of first employment, but it is positively associated with the level of education.<sup>2</sup> About two-thirds of the skilled workers had an education superior to the Grammar school, as compared to about one-half of the semiskilled and one-third of the unskilled. This association between skill and education is certainly influenced by urban-rural community of birth (and possibly residence), as data in Table 8 indicate.

Now that some of the personal and social characteristics of the sampled automobile workers have been portrayed, let us consider their aspects as a new industrial labor force. First of all, the majority (62%) did not begin their period of work socialization<sup>3</sup> in an urban area, and even one-half of those currently residing in Turin began to work in smaller communities. Table 9 summarizes these data.

Three-fourths of the automobile workers interviewed were married, and 72.8% of the married had children.

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<sup>1</sup>Neufeld, op. cit., Table 7, p. 523.

<sup>2</sup>Contingency Coefficient (corrected) is .355, with  $\chi^2 = 19.303$ ; DF = 2;  $p < .001$ .

<sup>3</sup>Work Socialization refers here to the period of job training covering the lapse of time from 10 to 20 years of age.

Table 8. Skill levels of workers by community of birth and education.

Skill levels:	Skilled and Semiskilled		Unskilled	
	Turin	Others	Turin	Others
Grammar School	17.6%	42.6%	42.9%	61.6%
Higher Education	82.4	57.4	57.1	38.4
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(34)	(54)	(35)	(172)

Differences give Critical Ratio of 2.43, hence  $p < .05$

Differences give Critical Ratio of 1.72, hence  $.10 < p < .05$

Table 9. Percentage of workers by community of residence, and size of community of work socialization.

Size of Community of Work Socialization	Community of Residence		
	Turin Commune	Turin Province	Total
Less than 20,000 inhabitants	50.9	90.5	62.0
20,000 and more inhabitants	49.1	9.5	38.0
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(216)	(84)	(300)

$$\chi^2 = 40.155; DF = 1; p < .001; \bar{c} = .538.$$



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However, they were not proletarian in the nineteenth century's meaning of the term: more than one-fourth of the married workers did not have any children, half had only one child, and one-fifth had two children. The remaining five per cent have three or more children. Obviously marital status is associated with age,<sup>1</sup> and with the age of first employment. Those who begin work early tend to marry early.<sup>2</sup>

Concerning community of birth, almost one-fourth were born in Turin Commune (the real urban center), another fourth in the Province (rural farm and rural non-farm area<sup>3</sup>), 16% in North Italy, and 11.5% in Central and South Italy (including the Islands). This last percentage seems quite small in the face of the massive recent southern immigration into Turin. One explanation would be that the southern born workers, less prepared to perform mechanized jobs, are more heavily employed in other industries and in indirect production such as maintenance, transportation, etc., which were not included in the present sample design.

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$\chi^2$  <sup>1</sup>Contingency coefficient (corrected) is .706 with = 93.538; DF = 3;  $p < .001$ .

$\chi^2$  <sup>2</sup>Contingency coefficient (corrected) is .228, with = 7.916; DF = 1;  $p < .005$ .

<sup>3</sup>It is important to note that in both rural farm and rural non-farm areas farmers and workers live in concentrated housing in the typical Italian village, where houses and even apartment buildings are side by side. The Italian farmer, in certain regions, has to walk as long as two hours to reach the land on which he will work during the day. The very small size of Piedmontese farms greatly reduces this home-work distance, and in recent times mechanization has greatly helped the farmer. However, the peculiarity of farmers living in semi-urban communities is still outstandingly present.



The majority of the automobile workers, over seven-tenths, live in the city of Turin. The remainder daily commute from the surrounding Province. The largest distance travelled by some of those interviewed was about 35 miles. Train and buses were the main means of transportation, and those who travelled by car comprised only one-eighth of all the sample. Other figures which help to clarify the social background of the workers refer to the birth place of those who are presently residing in Turin: 28% Turin born, 55% born in the North, and 17% born in the South. The Turin born residents represent 20% of the total sample.

Some workers, even a substantial part of those who lived 10-20 years in small communities, have been commuting to the city where they received their job training. This commuting work-life cannot be easily assimilated into the urban-industrial milieu because work values acquired in the factory environment are "reprocessed" during the train or bus journey home. As a matter of fact, about half of those socialized in a small community have an industrial background which reflects the rural-industrial character of Turin province. Again, this environment is likely to foster values which are not usually associated with the urban-industrial way of life. A study of such differences calls for a more specific analysis which goes beyond this investigation. However, wherever possible these variables will be taken into account.



All this reflects the process of industrialization and of economic development earlier described, which appears even more evident in the occupational background of the workers investigated, and of their fathers and grandfathers, as we shall see in the next section.

### Industrial Workers of a Developing Country

Together with the advantages of being late, Italy suffered the disadvantages of an uneven and sudden industrialization.<sup>1</sup> One disadvantage of inevitable regional disequilibrium was magnified by the introduction of technologically advanced production processes. From an economic standpoint, looking at the composition of the labor force, the country was in 1960 close to the stage of the United States as a whole in 1910.<sup>2</sup> However, among the advanced industrial islands of the North, Turin was in 1950 more close to a city such as Buffalo, New York, than to the rest of Italy. Such geographical differences in degree of industrialization are by no means limited to Italy, but the magnitudes of the differences there surpass those found in other countries. Italy's past as a fragmented nation

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<sup>1</sup>A. Geschenkron, "Notes on the Rate of Industrial Growth in Italy, 1881-1913," The Journal of Economic History, XV, 4 (Dec., 1955), p. 372, suggests, among these disadvantages, the coincidence between rapid industrial growth and upward adjustment in the standard of living, which gave rise to a constant social unrest.

<sup>2</sup>C. Clark, The Conditions of Economic Progress (3rd ed.; London: Macmillan, 1957), p. 520, gives the following data for U.S. 1910 labor force composition: Agriculture 32.0%, Industry 32.1% and Services 35.9% (the categories are labelled and collapsed as in Table 2).



and the regional variations in industrialization, together with the small size of the country (about 3.3% of the U.S.A.), gave Italy a real "dual" economy.

In forging its industrial structure, Italy, and Turin in particular, had to draw manpower almost simultaneously from the rural farm, rural non-farm, urban craft and the urban proletariat sources. Italian craft industry, even in industrial Turin, did not disappear, and contrary to what happened in other countries, only recently started to loose its labor to industrial manufacturing.<sup>1</sup> In countries which achieved their industrial maturity early in the century, rural farm workers entered industry later than urban laborers and craftsmen, while in Turin province, they were among the very first to become industrial workers.

In the sample investigated, these features are traceable in the distribution of the workers' paternal grandfather's and father's major occupations, as shown in Table 10. Only a handful of those who are now industrial workers had their grandfather in industry. In fact, two-thirds of the grandfathers were farmers, almost one-tenth were service workers, and only 6% were industrial workers. Three-quarters of the sons of these industrial grandfathers remained in industry, while the others shifted to agriculture, craft, and services. The latter's sons went into industry in a greater proportion than sons of farmers or craftsmen.

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 503.



Table 10. Major occupations of paternal grandfathers by fathers' major occupation.

Fathers' Major Occupation	Paternal Grandfathers' Major Occupation				Total
	Farmer or Farm Laborer	Industrial Worker	Services Worker	Craftsman	
Farmer or farm laborer	53.3%	12.5%	3.5%	4.4%	36.6%
Industrial worker	19.8	75.0	31.0	8.9	22.6
Service worker	15.6	6.3	41.7	22.2	20.2
Craftsman	11.3	6.2	13.8	64.5	20.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(167)	(16)	(29)	(45)	(257)
(%)	(65.0)	(6.2)	(11.3)	(17.5)	(100.0)

$\chi^2 = 130.153$ ;  $DF = 9$ ;  $p < .001$ ;  $\bar{c} = .692$

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However, the majority of sons inherited their father's occupational activity,<sup>1</sup> although it is likely that within these main occupational sectors of employment some job and occupational mobility had occurred. The generational occupational holding power was greater for industrial workers (three-fourths), than for craftsmen (two-thirds), and farmers and service workers had the least (one-half).

One-fifth of the sons of the craftsmen tried new occupations probably in commercial activities related to their fathers' craft, and very few (8.9%) entered industrial employment.<sup>2</sup> On the other side, one-third of sons of service workers entered industry, a fact that fits the peculiar Italian development where the services sector did

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<sup>1</sup>See Table 11. In general, and almost anywhere (cfr. S. Nosow and W. H. Form, Man, Work and Society (New York: Basic Books, 1962), Chapter X: "Occupational Mobility," pp. 333-72) sons are more likely to enter into the occupational level of their fathers than into any other. A fortiori, this likelihood is greater when only the same branch of economic or major occupational activity is concerned. In addition, as Chessa has already remarked in an empirical study undertaken in Rome in 1908 (La Trasmissione Ereditaria delle Professioni, Bocca, Torino, 1921), Italy was at that time a society of great hereditary stratification. Colin Clark maintains that this proposition was true for 1949 and 1954 also (op. cit., p. 554), and S. M. Lipset and R. Bendix (Social Mobility in Industrial Society (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1962), pp. 27-33) illustrate this point.

<sup>2</sup>If all industrial workers for whom the grandfather's major occupation is not known, by a very unlikely chance, would be sons of craftsmen, this low 8.9% would not be raised to a figure higher than that pertaining to sons of service workers. This backs the proposition early posed as a conservative hypothesis that urban workers, craftsmen, and rural workers entered in industry "almost at the same time." However, other data support, as we shall see, the hypothesis that agricultural workers were the first to enter industry and craftsmen the last.

Table 11. Fathers' major occupation by sons' occupational background.

Sons' Occupational Background	Fathers' Major Occupation				Total
	Farmer or Farm Laborer	Industrial Worker	Services Worker	Craftsman	
Farmer or Farm Laborer	41.6%	2.8%	6.6%	4.8%	17.2%
Industrial Worker	18.8	62.5	50.8	37.1	39.9
Service Worker	7.9	16.7	16.4	4.8	11.1
Craftsman	20.8	12.4	14.7	42.0	22.0
Mixed Occupational Background	10.9	5.6	11.5	11.3	9.8
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(101)	(72)	(61)	(62)	(296)
(%)	(34.1)	(24.3)	(20.6)	(21.0)	(100.0)

$\chi^2 = 99.590$ ;  $DF = 12$ ;  $p < .001$ ;  $\bar{C} = .595$



increase at the usual pace shown by countries which had industrialized earlier.<sup>1</sup>

The distribution of fathers in industrial employment according to the major occupation of grandfathers is as follows:

Farmer or farm laborer	45.8%
Industrial worker	16.7
Services worker	12.5
Craftsman	5.5
No information	19.5
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	100.0%
	(72)

It seems that the industrial generation previous to the ones investigated was largely composed of sons of farmers or farm laborers. In fact, regardless of how the "no information" might be distributed, the farmers' sons were almost half of the total. Thus, it seems safe also to assume that the possible distribution of the "no information" group would not greatly affect the relative standing of the major occupational categories. Granting the assumption then craftsmen entered industry later than rural farm and urban services workers.

These observations are supported by the type of Italian development during the period of work socialization

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<sup>1</sup>In the United States, the percentage of labor force in the services sector of economic activity has always been higher than the percentage in the industrial sector, since 1850 (cfr. a clear summary of several countries in G. Friedmann and P. Naville, Traité de Sociologie du Travail, Colin, Paris, 1961, "Tableau 6-3" p. 220 of 1st Volume). However, P. Bauer and B. Yamey ("Economic Progress and Occupational Distribution," Economics Journal, 61, 1951, pp. 741-55) criticize the use of the percentage of population involved in services activities by itself as an index of the stage of the economic development, on the basis that people may be simultaneously involved in various levels of production.



of the grandfathers' and fathers' generation. The grandfathers of workers who are now 20-35 years old were likely in the work socialization process around 1885-1910, while the grandfathers of those who are older than 35 were in the same process in 1860-1890. If we consider the economic development (as depicted in Figure 2) the low percentage of industrial workers among grandfathers is understandable. Furthermore, the fathers' generation should have been work socialized for those sons now younger than 35, between 1915-1930; and for those sons now older than 35, in the 1885-1915 period.<sup>1</sup> This fits fairly well with the increased percentage of industrial workers among the second generation and with the two periods of intense growth and moderate progress of the Italian economy mentioned in the preceding chapters.

Grandsons, that is the industrial workers here investigated, now older than 35, are likely to have received their job training (work socialization), during the years 1910-40 and those now younger than 35 during the 1945-55 period. Their occupational backgrounds are revealing, for they reflect the changes which occurred in the labor force with the coming of the new generations of industrial workers, as the following distribution clearly shows:

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<sup>1</sup>In calculating these average periods, some modifications have been introduced to take into account disturbing phenomena such as wars, which could have delayed the age of first employment or reduced the period of job training.



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Farmer or farm laborer	17.3%
Industrial worker	39.6
Services worker	11.2
Craftsman	22.1
Mixed occupational background	9.8
	100.0%
	(306)

Among the four-tenths from an industrial occupational background, almost one-tenth have been in their present employment since they began working.

Craft background is for the present generation the major source of industrial recruitment. Thus, more than one-fifth of the sample tried a craft occupation before they accepted industrial employment.<sup>1</sup> Almost another fifth worked in agriculture for most of the time prior to becoming an automobile worker. Those who left service activities constitute the smallest group, with the exception of those who tried various employments but ended in industry. Representative or not of the Turin industrial labor force (although the economic framework would suggest it is), the above percentage distribution probably gives a representative view of the occupational background of Turin automobile workers.

"Fathers' occupation" suggests the kind of occupational tradition and values to which workers in our sample have been exposed. The percentage distribution by their own

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<sup>1</sup>Craft, as here defined to be distinguished from a trade or craft activity in industrial manufacturing, implies self-employment (in Italian statistical taxonomy: lavoratore in proprio) even though this does not necessarily involve the actual ownership of the workshop.

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occupational background and by their father's major occupation is presented in Table 11. A striking feature is that, while occupational inheritance still holds for sons of farmers and industrial workers, the sons of services workers and of craftsmen did not follow their fathers' footsteps.<sup>1</sup> Of course, regardless of the father's occupation, all these workers were being employed in industry, yet the majority of farmers' sons first entered farming before becoming industrial workers, but half of the sons of service workers entered industrial employment directly. It is also significant to note that more than one-third of those born in an artisan family did not enter their fathers' craft, but entered industrial employment directly.

The bottom row of Table 11 provides the distribution of the total sample according to their fathers' occupation. The largest group (one-third) had fathers in agriculture, one-fourth were sons of fathers in industry, one-fifth were sons of craftsmen, and an equal proportion sons of service workers. Thus three-fourths of these industrial workers were not born in an industrial worker's family.<sup>2</sup> Only six

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<sup>1</sup>However, the association between father's occupation and son's occupational background is quite high:  $\bar{c}$  is .595, with  $X^2$ 's  $p < .001$ .

<sup>2</sup>In France as a whole, industrial workers born into a rural-farm family represent one-quarter of all industrial workers, while in the U.S. they are a mere 5% of the total urban labor force. On the other side, industrial workers who are born into an industrial worker's family comprise one-half of all industrial workers in France and two-thirds of all those in the U.S. However, this comparison is only indicative, because they refer to France as a whole (G. Friedman and P. Naville, op. cit., Tableau 5-1, p. 178 of Vol. One), and to U.S. urban labor force (S. Nosow and W. H. Form, op. cit., Table 1 in p. 338).

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out of one hundred were grandsons of an industrial worker, and two-thirds had grandfathers who worked in agriculture. Only one-fifth are sons of industrial workers, and two-fifths had fathers working either in the services or a craft industry (see the synthesis presented in Figure 5). More than half of our sample tried other occupations before entering industrial employment, and three-tenths had already contemplated leaving industry for the crafts or services. Representing an heterogeneity of traditions and experiences, they are really industrial workers of a "developing country,"<sup>1</sup> which since its unification in 1860 is trying to make its way toward an industrial society. We shall try to assess the main attitudes of these workers toward their work in such a society and their feeling of occupational and work satisfaction.

### Italian Trade Unionism

It is a well established generalization that a labor movement is a response to its social and cultural environment, the type of economy, the rate of economic development, and the characters of its leadership. Accordingly, it is difficult, if not impossible, to understand the Italian labor

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<sup>1</sup>The expression "developing country" is here understood in its genuine economic sense, and not as used in the political and popular literature to mean an "underdeveloped" country. An average annual increase of Gross National Product of at least 2.0% is, in the opinion of the writer, the minimum requirement for a country to deserve to be called "developing." (Italy's average annual increase was .7% in the 1861-97 period, 2.3% in the period 1897-1939, and 5.7% from 1950 to 1960.)



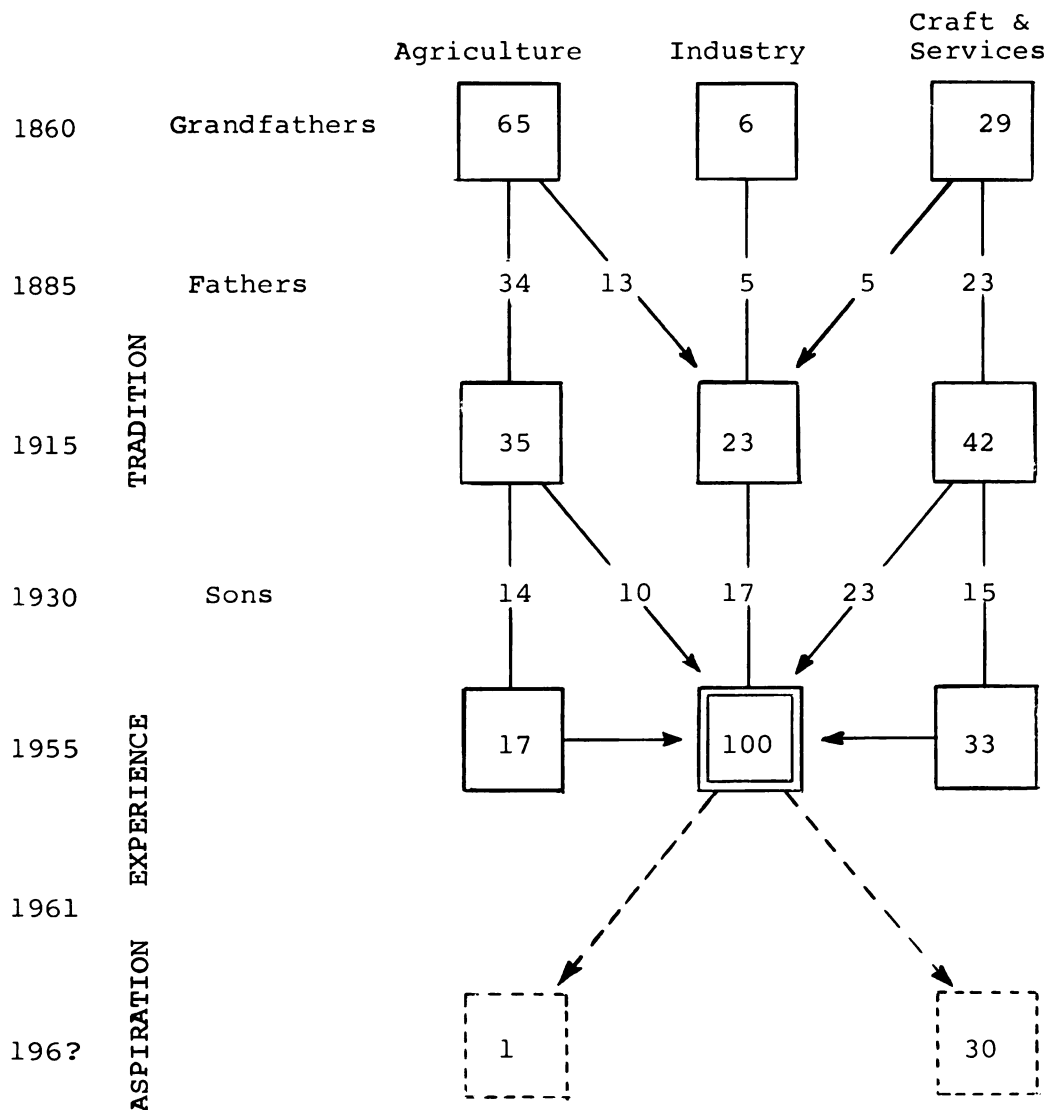


Figure 5. Three generations of Turin industrial workers: their occupational traditions, experiences, and aspirations.

Note: Numbers are individuals out of one hundred. Sons of mixed occupational background have been grouped with those of industrial background. The chart traces only movements from agriculture and crafts to industry and movement within each sector. Thus, for example, movement from agriculture to crafts are omitted.



movement without considering these factors.

Three aspects of the Italian trade unionism may be isolated: 1) political alignment, 2) ideological orientation, and 3) intellectual leadership. These three closely related characteristics are a direct consequence of the ideological, political and economic revolutions which swept Europe after the Congress of Vienna. The Italian correlate of these revolutions has been called "il Risorgimento."

While a review of the history of the Italian labor movement is beyond the scope of this section,<sup>1</sup> it is necessary to mention some of its peculiarities in order to account for its contemporary main characteristics. The French Revolution, and the brief but decisive French domination which followed, brought to Italy ideals of political freedom, desires for national unity, and formulas of the new economic liberalism. Most of the old guilds and artisan brotherhoods organized as corporazioni had already been dissolved as illegal by the Italian states before the Napoleonic period, and those which did survive did not last after 1821, when the last remaining guilds were dissolved by the Bourbon government in Naples.

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<sup>1</sup>The reader may refer to the following authors: Maurice F. Neufeld, Italy: School for Awakening Countries (Ithaca, N.Y.: New York School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University, 1961); Joseph La Palombara, The Italian Labor Movement: Problems and Prospects (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1957); Daniel L. Horowitz, The Italian Labor Movement (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963). All of them contain exhaustive references to the Italian literature on the subject.

One direct consequence of the early abolition of the guilds was the lack of continuity between artisan institutions and industrial trade unions, which, because of the slow pace of Italian industrialization, appeared only toward the end of the century. This lack of continuity meant that the traditions and leadership of the pre-industrial workers associations had little affect on the subsequent industrial labor movement.

The beginning of Italian trade unionism can be traced to the only kind of workers' associations which was permitted by the governments: the so-called "mutual-aid" society (Società di Mutuo Socorso). Their impact can be dated from the middle of the nineteenth century, when these scattered associations met in Turin for their first national congress.<sup>1</sup> Their concerns were mainly in the fields of welfare and philanthropy. Even though they were organizing "workers' societies," their top officials were drawn from the middle and upper classes of intellectuals.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Because of the advanced level of industrialization which characterized Piedmont with respect to the rest of Italy, Turin was at the avant-garde of this movement, and its pre-eminent role in Italian trade unionism has been felt up to the present time. Before 1860, two-thirds of workers' societies were located in Piedmont.

<sup>2</sup>Very often, this non-working-class leadership was a prerequisite for governmental permission to associate and for its benevolent attitude. See Alfredo Gradilone, Storia del Sindacalismo, Giuffrè, Milano, 1959, v. 3, pt. 1, pp. 59-60; and Horowitz, op. cit., pp. 13-14.

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When Giuseppe Mazzini, the intellectual leader of the fight for freedom and Italian unity, gained control over the mutual-aid societies, their leaders remained substantially unchallenged, for they supported Mazzini's philosophy of class collaboration. Moreover Mazzini's influence over the nascent labor movement oriented it toward political action and goals, because he regarded this as more important than any other concern of the workers.

A few years later, Mikhail Bakunin, the revolutionary socialist who rivaled Marx within the International Workmens' Association, came to Italy and skillfully displaced Mazzini as the moral leader of the workers' societies movement. The fight between Mazzini and Bakunin involved ideological controversies which were phrased in very simple terms to appeal to the almost illiterate workers. Bakunin eventually won, probably because his revolutionary anarchic socialism was phrased in such "black-and-white terms" that it had strong appeal to the working class.<sup>1</sup>

In order to obtain leaders for his movement, Bakunin relied heavily on middle-class intellectuals, professionals, and most of all on young adventurous individuals.<sup>2</sup> From

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Seymour M. Lipset, "Democracy and Working-Class Authoritarianism," American Sociological Review, 24, 4 (August, 1959), pp. 482-501. See also, Nello Rosselli, Mazzini e Bakounin: 12 anni di movimento operaio in Italia, (1860-1872), Bocca, Turin, 1927.

<sup>2</sup>This made Marx say that they were ". . . lawyers without clients, physicians without patients and qualifications, students devoted to billiards, . . ." quoted in Horowitz, op. cit., p. 23.

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1869 until 1877, when the government violently suppressed the Bakunin anarchist movement, this young energetic intellectual leadership played the most influential role in shaping the ideological and revolutionary character of the painfully developed Italian labor movement.

To sum up, all the pre-Marxist labor movements were characterized by 1) a leadership often drawn from the middle-class intellectuals (a common feature of the mutual-aid societies, Mazzini's movement, and the anarchist group), 2) a concern for direct political action (introduced by Mazzini and reinforced by the revolutionary preachings of Bakunin), and 3) a heavy emphasis on ideological problems and positions (a general feature of this historical era which was concerned with the basic issue of how the new nation should be structured).

The expansion of the industrial sector of the Italian economy during 1871-80 (see Figure 2), spawned a large mass of industrial workers on the political and social scene. This new labor force was less patient and more aggressive than its forebears and it provoked a series of repressive acts on the part of the government. The situation transformed the workers' societies into leagues of resistance (Lege di Resistenza Operaia), and gave birth to a sort of "worker exclusivism." The most immediate consequence was the intensification of underground political action and the spread of the class-struggle philosophy. As soon as the repressive action abated, a



Workers' Party (Partito Operaio) was created.

From this point on, the seizure of governmental power by democratic or revolutionary means became the main hope of the worker to emancipate himself and to obtain adequate wages and better working conditions. The use of political and governmental power by the Italian managerial class forced the labor movement also to chose direct political action as its main strategy. Marxist socialism, so concerned with total social and political changes, found a fertile ground in these conditions. Within a few years, the socialist movement infiltrated the Workers' Party, and when the Socialist Party (Partito Socialista Italiano) was created in 1895, the Workers' Party passed almost inadvertently in the Socialist Party.<sup>1</sup>

Marxist socialism was not only responsible for completely politicizing the labor movement, it also consolidated its ideological orientation and the tradition of drawing leadership from intellectuals.<sup>2</sup> The relationships

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<sup>1</sup>Roberto Michels, Storia critica del movimento socialista italiano dagli inizi fin al 1911, La Voce, Florence, 1926, p. 96.

<sup>2</sup>Although the working-class exclusivism of the Worker Party rejected the leadership of the middle-class, it was attracted to intellectual leadership. The new party program underscored the necessity of studying and dealing with all questions concerning the worker's life, and this necessity became the open door for the socialist infiltration. The Circolo di Studi Sociali, founded by the Workers' Party with the collaboration of the socialist movement lead by Turati, was one of the main instruments in preparing for the absorption of the Workers' Party in the Socialist Party.



between the bourgeoisie and proletariat in the Italian socialist movement have been clearly analyzed by Roberto Michels, who discerned all the sociological implications of the peculiarities shown in the Italian situation.<sup>1</sup>

The fact was that socialism greatly appealed to Italian intellectuals, and they interpreted it to the masses. The latter had faith that their leaders would win the political and social struggles, and docilely abandoned their fight for better working conditions and wages in the hope that a future revolution would radically change their situation.

The Marxist conception of unionism as the economic branch of the political party necessarily influenced all other labor movements. Worried about the anti-religious and class doctrines spread by the socialist labor movement, the Catholic Church promoted its own labor movement. Forged almost from the top down, the movement became strictly aligned with the Catholic Party (Partito Popolare).

Meanwhile, following the example of the French bourses de travail, the first Chamber of Labor (Camera del Lavoro) was created in Milan in 1890. Parallel to the Chambers of Commerce, the Chambers of Labor represented an attempt to free the labor movement from political concerns. One of their main functions was to act as a clearing-house on the local level for all kinds of workers organizations. However, the fact that they rose along side the socialist

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<sup>1</sup>Roberto Michels, Il proletariato e la borghesia nel movimento socialista Italiano, Bocca, Turin, 1908.

movement, and that a high proportion of their officials were dedicated to socialism identified the Chambers with the socialist labor movement. Even so, the Chambers of Labor became the units of the future national trade union movement. A national organization was formed at the turn of the century which brought the local chambers together into a national secretariat. A few years later, in 1906, chambers of labor, non-Catholic unions, and leagues of resistance converged into the General Confederation of Labor (Confederazione Generale del Lavoro), which despite its dissents and schisms, can be regarded as the mainstream of the Italian labor movement.<sup>1</sup>

After the long interval of the Fascist dictatorship and World War II, under the auspices of the Allied Military Government, the Italian labor movement was organized from the top down into an unified Confederazione Generale Italiana del Lavoro, whose leadership was drawn from communist, socialist and Catholic labor movements. Although this violated the apolitical principle of united trade unionism,<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Apart from few independent trade unions, mainly in craft occupations, the other main labor organization was the Italian Confederation of Workers (Confederazione Italiana del Lavoratori), which was the national Catholic organization. In 1920, its membership was about 1,250,000 but 80% of them were in agriculture, and only 25% were wage earners. In the same year, the socialist GCL had a membership almost twice that of CIL. See Horowitz, op. cit., p. 125.

<sup>2</sup> John C. Adams, "Italy," in Walter Galenson (ed.), Comparative Labor Movements (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1952), p. 442.

it is difficult to conceive where, in the highly ideological and politicized Italian labor environment, one could find apolitical leaders.

Labor unity was hailed by all labor leaders as an outstanding achievement. Its life was brief. The first signs of conflicts were evident as early as 1946 when Communists and Christian Democrats adopted different views on wage policy. While the former wanted indiscriminate increases, the latter cautioned against the dangers of an inflation. Following their traditional conception of trade unions as party instruments in the fight against bourgeois government, Communist officials tried to use the Confederation as a means to foster social unrest and create conditions for a political take-over of the unstable government.

The skillfulness and dedication of the Communists and Socialists permitted them to become within a few years the power node of the Confederation. In 1947, the Directorate was composed of 38 Communists, 19 Socialists, 11 Christian Democrats, and 7 members of various other parties.<sup>1</sup> One year later, under the pressures of the international cold war and the disillusion of the Communists who lost the national elections, the Christian Democratic officials decided to leave the Confederation. This was occasioned by a violent and political general strike which followed the attempted

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<sup>1</sup>Gradilone, op. cit., pt. 2, p. 287.

assassination of Palmiro Togliatti, leader of the Communist Party.

Within a few months the Free Italian General Confederation of Workers (Libra Confederazione Generale Italiana dei Lavoratori), patronized by the Church lay organization (Azione Cattolica), was founded. Later, in 1947, the Social-Democratic and Republican officials declared that labor unity had been destroyed by Communist partiality, and they too left the Confederation. They also formed a labor organization (Federazione Italiana del Lavoro) which was of short duration. One year later, some of these workers joined the Catholic organization, renamed on the occasion Confederazione Italiana Sindacati Lavoratori (CISL), and the others formed the Unione Italiana del Lavoro (UIL). During the same period, the neo-fascist movement created its own labor organization (CISNAL).

After this period of dissent, dramatic changes, and reorganizations (see Figure 6 for a synthesized view), a period of stability ensued which has endured to the present. The recovery of the economy and the industrial development not only increased the labor force, but called for the resolution of routine wages and hours problems and less political action. Obligated to accept "capitalistic" society at least for the moment, even the Communist-controlled union renounced open political action, and reverted its attention to the workers' daily problems. Yet, ideological orientations remain an essential feature of

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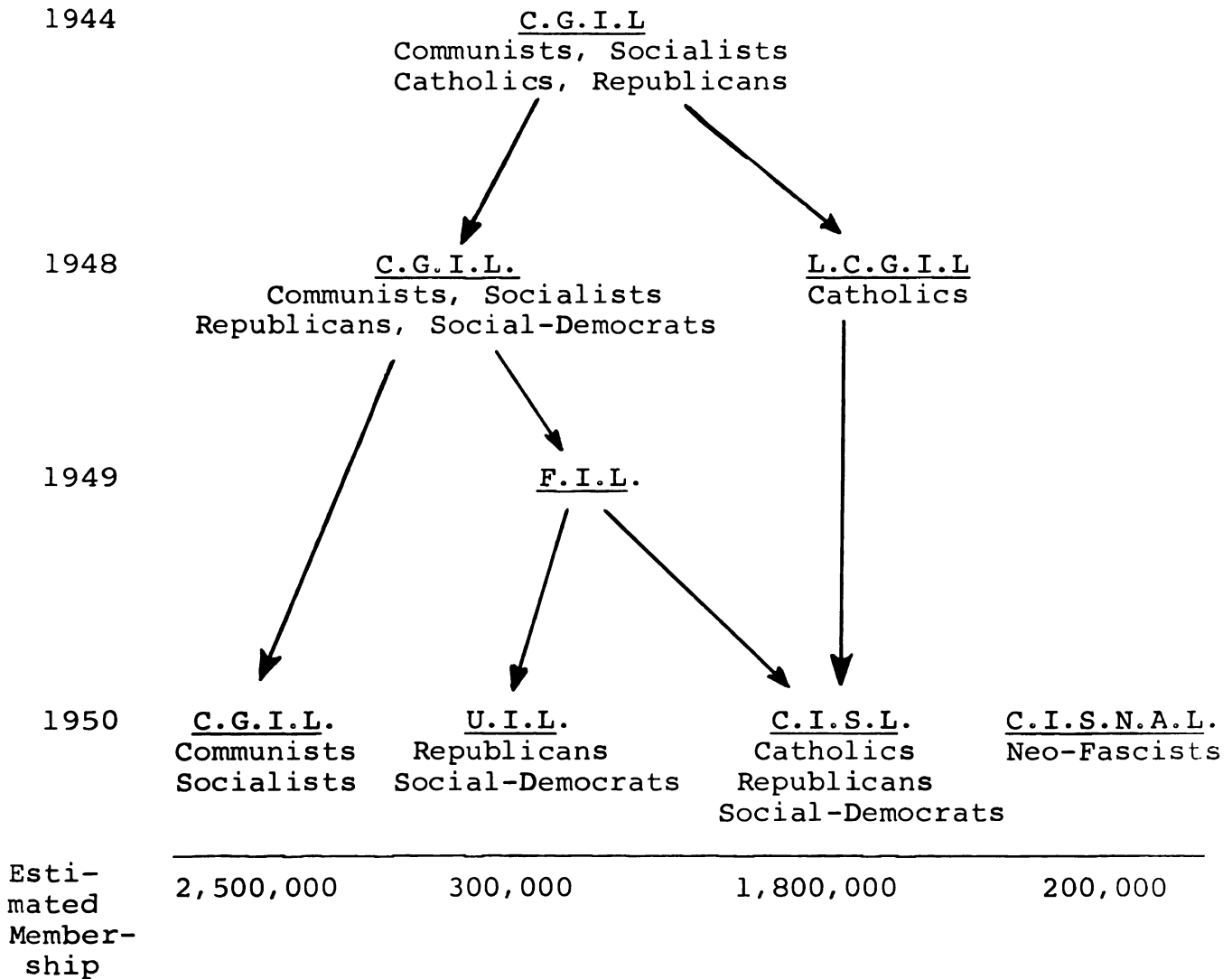


Figure 6. The proliferation of Italian labor movement: national union confederations and their political alignment.

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Italian trade unionism,<sup>1</sup> along with political alignments,<sup>2</sup> and intellectual leadership.<sup>3</sup>

Although the Communist-controlled CGIL admittedly has lost one million members during these last years, it still remains the strongest and best-organized union. It claims a membership of 3,500,000, although it probably is no more than 2,500,000. CISL, the Catholic controlled union, claims a membership of 2,300,000, while the UIL, the Social-Democrat union claims about 1,000,000. Realistic estimates assign CISL a membership of less than 2,000,000, and UIL about 300,000.<sup>4</sup>

These figures indicate the low level of union interest in the Italian labor force (about 20 millions, see Table 2). In fact, Italian workers are not under any circumstances obliged to join a union. Compulsory unionism, under any of its multiple forms, is completely foreign to the Italian scene. The presence of several unions within

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<sup>1</sup>In the sense that value-positions still define the limits of political flexibility, although the value-position itself can in time undergo changes.

<sup>2</sup>Overlapping of union offices and parliamentary responsibilities (as congressmen or senators of various parties) is a frequent character of the national leadership of all unions. See Joseph La Palombara, "The Political Role of Organized Labor in Western Europe," Journal of Politics, Vol. 17 (February, 1955), pp. 71-76.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Joseph A. Raffaele, Labor Leadership in Italy and Denmark (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1962), pp. 114-118.

<sup>4</sup>La Palombara, Italian Labor Movement, op. cit., p. 109.





the same plant, factory, and company represents a further limit on the monopoly of union affiliation. Moreover, union identification tends to represent an emotional or ideal tie. The ordinary worker is not a member of a union, he seldom goes to local meetings, he rarely pays his dues, and he usually does not care to inform himself about his union and its policies. However, regardless of ideological shifts and changes in politics, he very seldom withdraws his support and continues to vote for his union and its officials.<sup>1</sup>

We shall see later on how much this background helps us understand the Turinese automobile workers. Meanwhile, let us briefly describe the plant organization at the research site.

#### Plant Union Organization at FIAT

The three main trade union confederations have very similar organizational structures. There are two dimensions of organization: the vertical which brings into a pyramidal structure all the industrial unions affiliated with the confederation, and the horizontal which coordinates the activities of the locals at the provincial level. The main unit of the vertical organization is the provincial federation which organizes all unionized workers in given occupations or within a particular industry.<sup>2</sup> The main

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<sup>1</sup>For an explanation of this sort of behavior, see Lipset, op. cit., p. 495.

<sup>2</sup>Union locals are very rare and without any effective power.



unit of the horizontal organization is the chamber of labor, which coordinates the activities of all provincial federations.<sup>1</sup> Union locals at the factory or plant levels are practically nonexistent, although in 1955 CISL introduced them in its statutory chart.

The automobile worker who wants to join a union must address himself to one of the metal-worker local federations. Through his membership he becomes affiliated with one of the chambers of labor and simultaneously with one of the national confederations.

As there are three main national confederations, differentiated by their ideological orientations, there are also three main metal-workers federations:<sup>2</sup> F.I.O.M. (Federazione Impiegati e Operai Metalmeccanici) affiliated with the C.G.I.L.; F.I.M. (Federazione Italiana Metalmeccanici) affiliated with the C.I.S.L.; and U.I.L.M. (Unione Italiana Lavoratori Metallurgici) affiliated with U.I.L.

The Turinese automobile worker has the additional possibility of belonging to the Italian Automobile Union (Sindacato Italiano dell'Automobile, S.I.D.A.),<sup>3</sup> which resulted from a split within the Catholic union. This union

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<sup>1</sup>The chamber of labor is usually at the provincial level, although in few rare cases it exists at the district or municipal level.

<sup>2</sup>The fourth confederation, C.I.S.N.A.L., promoted by the neo-fascist has too little power and following to be considered here.

<sup>3</sup>Formerly called Free Democratic Workers (Liberi Lavoratori Democratici, L.L.D.).



is not connected with any national confederation. However, in order to avoid criticism of narrow localism, S.I.D.A. is affiliated with the International Catholic Union Confederation, a body to which C.I.S.L., the union officially patronized by the Catholic Church, does not belong.

Because union locals are lacking, the crucial labor body in the Italian factory is the Internal Commission (Commissione Interna). Its main function is to settle grievances arising from the application of collective contracts (which they are not supposed to bargain),<sup>1</sup> to settle collective and individual quarrels with management, or to monitor rules set by the management.<sup>2</sup>

The Internal Commission is supposed to represent all the workers regardless of their union affiliation or ideological orientation. All employees over 16 years of age who are not on probation with the company, are eligible to vote, and all employees over eighteen years of age, with seniority over nine months, are eligible to be elected as members of the Internal Commission.<sup>3</sup> In practice, candidates

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<sup>1</sup>The bargaining process is traditionally reserved to the national confederations, although in these last few years company-provincial federation agreements have begun to appear.

<sup>2</sup>Article 2 of the Collective Agreement which created the Internal Commissions, Rome, May 8, 1953.

<sup>3</sup>For an exhaustive study of the Internal Commission system, see Maurice F. Neufeld, Labor Unions and National Politics in Italian Industrial Plants (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell International Industrial and Labor Relations Reports, Cornell University, 1954).

are sponsored by union organizations, and only rarely is there one or more independent candidates. In fact, when independent tickets or lists of candidates (as in the S.I.D.A. case) attract sufficient voters, they organize into trade unions.

Every year, usually in spring, general elections are held in the plants to elect a number of Internal Commission members. Although voting in these elections is not compulsory, union and managerial pressures, as well as social and personal influences, are so great that the voting participation usually exceeds 90 percent. Because a complete range of ideological orientations characterizes the union front, the individual voter cannot avoid an ideological commitment. Some of these commitments are political in nature and antecede the union pledge: to be unionized is a party duty. Other commitments are essentially economic, and ideology is secondary.<sup>1</sup> A system of proportional representation almost guarantees a multi-union Internal Commission.

The elections of the Internal Commissions are important union and political events. They are often the object of national interest and, given the predominant role in Turinese unionism in the Italian labor movement, FIAT

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<sup>1</sup>Thus, Dr. Vittorio Valletta, Fiat's President, explained the communist CGIL strong electoral returns as a consequence of its being the largest, oldest and strongest union in Italy, and not because of its ideological appeal. See Neufeld, Italy, op. cit., p. 489.

voting returns are often presented by the press as revealing the political orientation of the Italian labor force.<sup>1</sup> These voting returns are of great relevance for union politics for two reasons. First of all, they represent the only evidence a union confederation has to support its membership claims. Secondly the voting pattern is supposed to be the basis for assessing the proportional union representation in governmental labor agencies and delegations legally invested with the power to negotiate collective agreements with erga omnes validity.<sup>2</sup>

Once the Internal Commission is elected, management is supposed to deal with it as a whole. This is very rarely done. One reason is that the conflicting ideologies of the unions, and their competition for members, creates problems in collaboration. Under these circumstances, management can foster divisions and weaken the Commission's power to deal with it. The long history of relations between the Internal Commission and the FIAT management is clearly documented by Maurice F. Neufeld.<sup>3</sup> It is sufficient to recall here that the management has skillfully played

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<sup>1</sup>See La Palombara, op. cit., p. XV; Horowitz, op. cit., pp. 289-92.

<sup>2</sup>Italian Law transforms the legally negotiated collective agreements or contracts into laws which when signed by the President of the Republic, are binding on every concerned worker whether he is a union member or not.

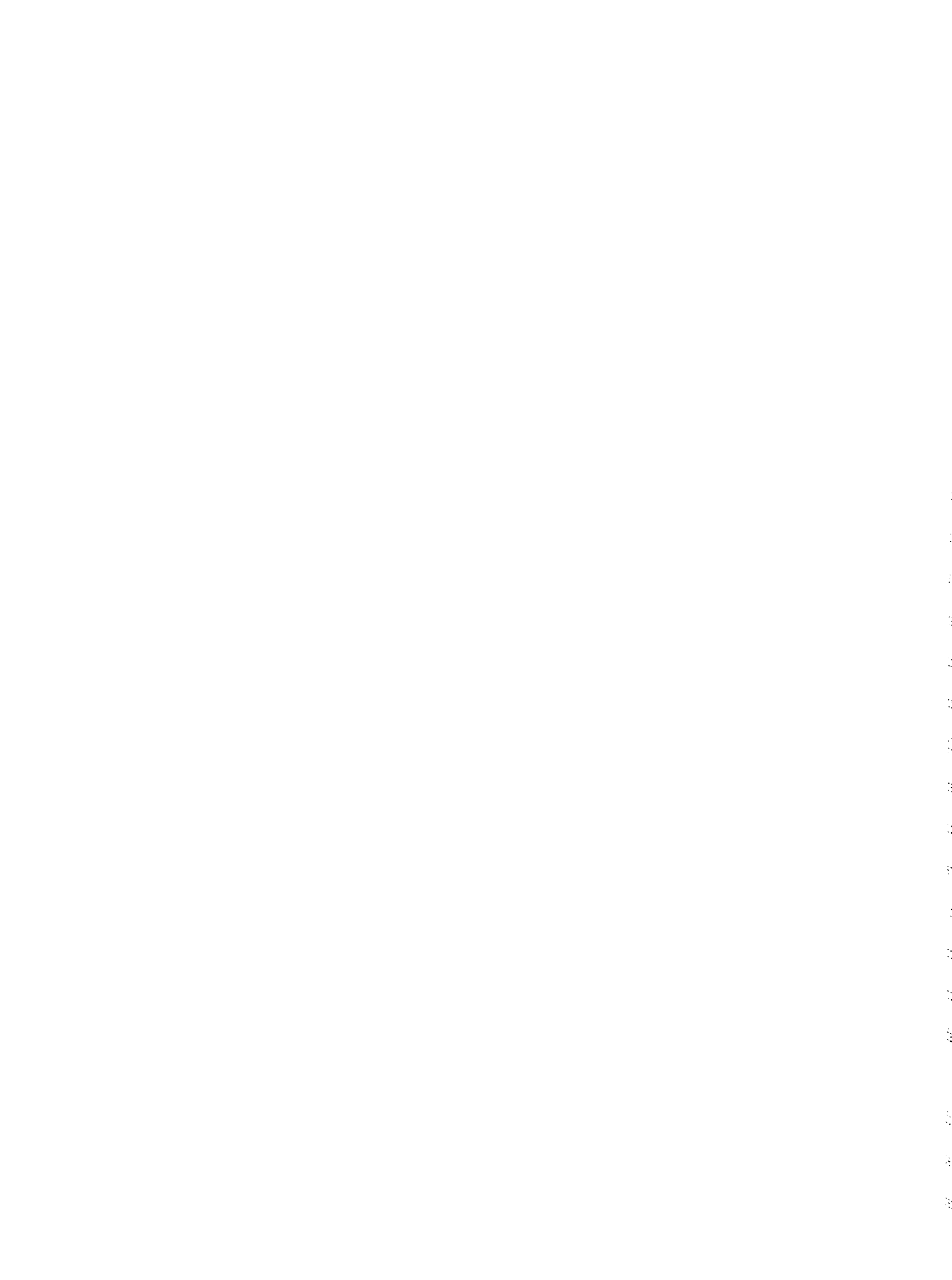
<sup>3</sup>Op. cit., pp. 489-93. See also Raffaele, op. cit., p. 292; and Walter Galenson, Trade Union Democracy in Western Europe (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961), pp. 5-7.





its role in the shaping Turinese unionism, particularly since 1958. Since then FIAT management has dealt separately with each group of union representativeness in the Internal Commission, avoiding contact with the members of the Communist controlled CGIL, although it represented a large proportion of employees.

At the time of the fieldwork, the distribution of voting returns was 29.5% to CGIL, 28.5% to SIDA, 22.5% to UIL, 15.5% to CISL, and 4% to the neo-Fascist union. As detailed in Appendix A, the voting returns for each single department were taken as one of the criteria for stratifying the sample.



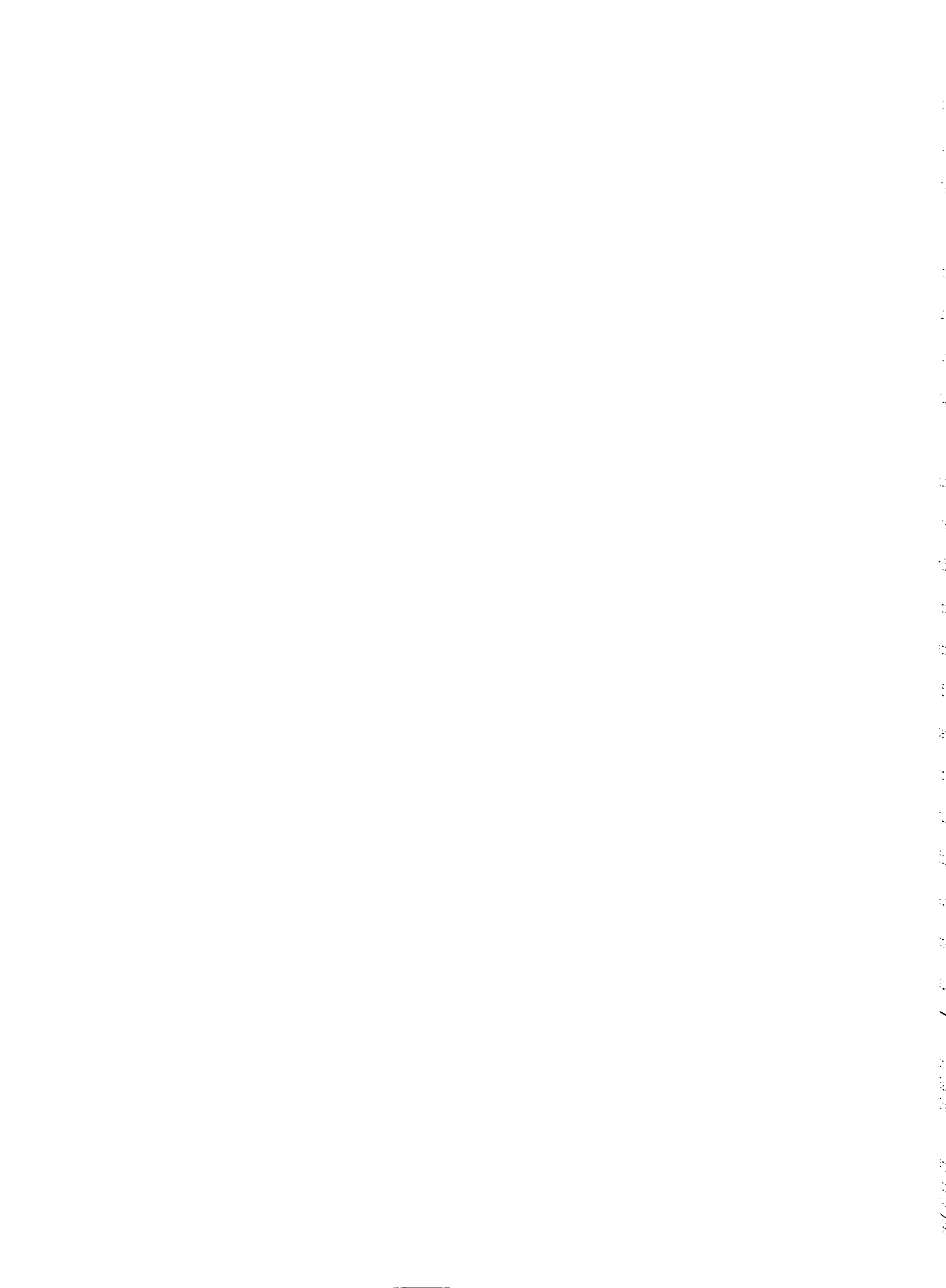
PART TWO: WORK AND SATISFACTION

CHAPTER IV

ON BEING AN INDUSTRIAL WORKER: THE PROBLEM OF  
SECTOR SATISFACTION

Investigations of worker satisfaction have generally taken the industrial condition for granted. Studies have typically ascertained attitudes and feelings concerning some aspects of industrial jobs and work-life, but rarely have they focused on the general orientations toward the industrial way of life itself. Work in an agricultural or craft industry rather than in an industrial manufacturing plant points to a pattern of work activity which cannot be reduced only to differences in job tasks, work flow, and organization. Other differences exist such as physical environment of work, type of supervision, and the evaluation which other people have of the sector of work. All of these conditions need to be taken into account when a worker commits himself, willingly or unwillingly, to working in a farm, office, shop, or factory.

While the economics of the labor market can account for some of the important premises upon which a choice is decided, family occupational tradition, rural or urban residence, education, and other social variables may have



an impact on the decisions to work in a major sector such as agriculture, industry, the crafts, or the services. The conditions of the labor market, which is a reflection of the labor force composition (hence of the stage of economic and industrial development), together with the above mentioned variables, constitute what Lipset and Rogoff<sup>1</sup> have called the "opportunity structure," particularly relevant to occupational mobility.

This opportunity structure, which conditions occupational inheritance and social mobility, is best analyzed when the inter-sector mobility is compared with occupational mobility. "Sector mobility" is in itself a horizontal occupational movement from employment in one sector of economic activity to another. Thus, the Italian phenomenon of the service sector remaining smaller than the industrial sector has strong repercussions on the trends of vertical occupational mobility. Here, however, problems of occupational and employment mobility have only incidental cogency, for our main interest is in the "choice" made by the Turinese automobile workers to be "industrial workers." Of course, the opportunity structure which facilitated or compelled such a choice must include the occupational setting<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>"Occupational Mobility in Europe and United States," in S. Nosow and W. H. Form, Man, Work and Society (New York: Basic Books, 1962), p. 371. See also in the same volume Chapter V, "The Structure of the Labor Market."

<sup>2</sup>"Occupational setting" is defined by S. M. Lipset and R. Bendix as "the kind of social structures in which occupations are found." Social Mobility in Industrial Society (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1962), p. 271.



(mainly associated with the structure of the labor force at a given time), and intergenerational sector mobility (reflecting past changes in the structure of the labor force). Both of these have been discussed in the preceding chapters.

### The Economic Sector of Employment

"Sector of Employment" is by no means a straight equivalent of "Occupational Situs." The sector distinction refers primarily to broad types of economic activity, while situs refers to a group of related occupational families within which greater occupational mobility and transfer are possible. Thus manufacturing, agriculture, and services may be considered sectors, while various situs may be found in each sector.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>With reference to E. Benoit-Smullyan, "Status, Status Types and Status Interrelations," American Sociological Review, 9 (1944), pp. 151-61, and to P. Hatt, "Occupations and Social Stratification," American Journal of Sociology, 45 (1950), pp. 533-43, interest in the situs dimension has been raised by R. Morris and R. Murphy: "The Situs Dimension in Occupational Structure," American Sociological Review, 26 (1961), pp. 383-92. A critique, showing that situs themselves are, in fact, differentially evaluated, has been presented by D. McTavish, "The Differential Prestige of Situs Categories," Social Forces, 4, 41 (1963), pp. 363-68. In the opinion of the writer, while occupational situs is of great utility in assessing aspects of occupational prestige and social stratification (as Hatt did, cf. A. Reiss, Jr., Occupations and Social Status (New York: Free Press, 1961)), sector of employment is indispensable in the analysis of the opportunity structure and occupational setting, because of its natural link with the labor force composition and the economics of the labor market. Moreover, the difficulties of taxonomy are greater for situs distinctions than for other sectors differentiation. Additionally, while the criteria for situs categorization have been mainly proposed in terms of institutional (Hatt) or functional





The distinction between the three main sectors of economic activity has long been used in governmental and social statistics.<sup>1</sup> Introduced by Colin Clark in Economics in order to differentiate the "three major divisions of the economic process" as primary, secondary, and tertiary industries, the distinction found its utility mainly in permitting the isolation of "important differences between the general economic laws under which the three divisions operate."<sup>2</sup> Clark's ideas were taken over by the French economist, Jean Fourastie, who subjected the classification to substantial criticism and redefined it in terms of differences in technological progress and labor productivity (rendement du travail). Thus, for Fourastie, the inclusion of one or another industry under the same category of activité économique is not a matter of definitions but a matter of the similarities of economic behavior evinced in

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(Benoid-Smullyan, Morris and Murphy) terms, sectors tend to be defined by statisticians and economists in such flexible terms as to be sensitive to changes in the economic system. Naturally, it is possible to define situses so that sectors are nothing else but their collapsing categories.

<sup>1</sup>In Italy, the distinction goes back to the first Census of 1861, and it has been used, almost unchanged, up to the present. See the Annuario di Statistiche del Lavoro e dell'Emigrazione, 1960, Istituto Centrale di Statistica, Roma, 1961, p. 14, for a detailed explanation concerning the Italian categorization.

<sup>2</sup>C. Clark, The Conditions of Economics Progress (3rd ed.; London: Macmillan, 1957), Chapter IX: "The Distribution of Labour Between Industries," pp. 490-508.



the production process by several activities.<sup>1</sup> This position has greater sociological relevance, for it recognizes that the meaning of industrial classifications changes in time under the pressure of technological development, which destroys old occupations and fosters new ones in response to changing patterns of consumer expenditures.

In the classifications used in the preceding chapters, Agriculture includes the related activities of forestry, hunting, and fishing; Industry (or goods-producing industries) includes mining, manufacturing, construction, and electrical industries; and Services includes transportation, commerce, banking, public administration, the non-drafted personnel of the military, and recreation and personal services. These are the classifications currently used by Italian statisticians to analyze the 1951 census data on industrial and occupational structure. They do not differ greatly from those used in the first census of 1861, which is indicative of the slow pace in structural economic changes.

Crafts are usually included in the industrial classification when they deal with manufacturing and in the service classification when devoted to personal services (e.g., shoe repair) or to small commercial enterprise

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<sup>1</sup>J. Fourastie, Le Grand Espoir du XX Siècle, Presse Universitaire de France, Paris, 1949, pp. 40-45, and in particular footnote 1 on p. 42. See also in G. Friedmann and P. Naville, Traité de Sociologie du Travail, Colin, Paris, 1961, Vol. 1, Chapter 6: "La Repartition de la Main d'oeuvre," pp. 211-250, in particular p. 222.

(e.g., flower shop). In this study, all crafts, even the manufacturing craft, have been differentiated from industry or have been categorized with the services. The reason for this decision is that the typical Italian and Turinese craftman works in a very small enterprise (less than an average of two employees per workshop) even though the shop is mechanized and rationally organized.

Now that these clarifications have been introduced, we shall consider the problem of how the automobile worker evaluates the industrial sector of employment, and what factors dispose him to accept or reject it vis-à-vis other sectors. To get at this, two questions were posed in the interview:

1. "With the same hourly pay, would you prefer to work on a farm machine, an office machine, or on a machine in a factory?"
2. "Suppose that an (1) office worker, (2) a skilled factory worker, and (3) a small independent farmer were occupations with the same annual income, which of these do you believe gives most satisfaction?"

These questions were designed to minimize the economic and other differences between the sectors, in order to lay bare the dispositions toward the sectors themselves. Such dispositions are of great relevance in a study of worker satisfaction within an expanding economic system and a developing society. In fact, while in more mature industrial societies occupational movements are largely confined to an industrial sector, in a developing country shifts of agricultural manpower to the industrial

sector and from this to the services are the most predominant. In such a situation, the first aim of an investigation should be the exploration of the basic attitudes toward the industrial working life as compared to other sectors, and an inquiry into the factors associated with such attitudes.

#### The Choice of Farm, Office, or Factory Work

In response to the first question, "With the same hourly pay, would you prefer to work on a farm machine, an office machine, or on a machine in a factory?", the responses of the automobile workers were distributed as follows:

Farm machine	21.2%
Office machine	24.5
Factory machine	50.7
Others	3.6
	<hr/>
Total	100.0%
(N)	(306)

Half of the automobile workers preferred working on a machine in the factory; one-fourth preferred office work; and one-fifth would rather work on a mechanized farm.

What factors might affect the different choices?

Although age does not have a strong association with sector preference, those older than 35 tended to prefer factory work.<sup>1</sup> A greater propensity for office work is shown by younger workers, three-tenths of whom preferred working with an office machine as compared to

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<sup>1</sup>Contingency Coefficient Corrected is .235, with  $\chi^2 = 7.828$ ; DF = 2;  $p < .05$ .

less than two-tenths of those over 35. This reflects a previous finding that the age of 35 represents a clear-cut breaking point in attitudes toward occupational movement.<sup>1</sup>

Education is not significantly associated with sector preference, nor is skill level<sup>2</sup> or seniority. Neither is community of residence highly related to sector choice, although those living in the urban area preferred office work in higher proportion than those living in the Province.<sup>3</sup>

This orientation toward office work among the younger generation and the residents in Turin can be interpreted as a reflection of the modern urban-industrial system of values, and it finds supportive evidence in the preferences for farm, office, and factory work by rural-urban background.<sup>4</sup> Although the association is low,

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<sup>1</sup>"It can be said that there is three times as much horizontal occupational movement before 35 years of age as after that age," D. C. Miller and W. H. Form, Industrial Sociology (2d. ed.; New York, 1964), p. 566.

<sup>2</sup>However, once factory and office work are combined and run against farm work, unskilled workers chose farm work in greater proportion (25.6%) than the skilled and semi-skilled (13.6%) work. The association is low and moderately significant ( $X^2 = 5.148$ ;  $DF = 1$ ;  $p < .05$ ;  $\bar{C} = .202$ ).

<sup>3</sup>Difference between proportions (.166 versus .289) is significant with a critical ratio of 2.19, hence  $p < .05$ .

<sup>4</sup>Rural-urban background refers to the size of community of work socialization when the respondents were 10 to 20 years old. To avoid the difficulties of separating those reared in rural farm and rural non-farm areas, rural was defined as communities less than 20,000 inhabitants. The "urban" character of rural Italian villages, particularly in Piedmont and in Northern Italy, makes this distinction more creditable than in other countries.

it is statistically significant.<sup>1</sup> Thus over one-fourth of those with a rural background chose farm work as against one-eighth of those reared in cities. On the other hand, somewhat over two-tenths of the rural workers chose office work compared to three-tenths of the urban. Differences between the two resident groups toward factory work do not substantially contribute to the association.

As seen so far, personal background variables such as age and education, and residence background variables like rural-urban residence and rural-urban background, and occupational variables such as skill level and seniority do not greatly affect the distribution of the preferences for farm, office, or factory work. Let us now consider how occupational background is related to preference of economic sector of employment.

The effects of a sector experience are clearly evident in Table 12. About four-tenths of those who have been employed in agriculture preferred machine work on a farm, compared to two-tenths of those who worked in other sectors, and a mere one-tenth of those who have always been industrial workers. Office work again attracted a greater proportion of those with an industrial employment background than those with craft or services backgrounds. The non-urban orientation of those with an agriculture background,

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<sup>1</sup>Contingency Coefficient is .217, with  $X^2$ 's  $p < .05$ . Once office and factory choices are combined and compared to farm, the contingency coefficient becomes .225, and the significance of the association is raised to the .01 level.



is revealed by the fact that only four out of ten preferred to work in a factory compared to almost six out of ten of those who have always been industrial workers.

Table 12. Workers who preferred farm, office, or factory work according to their prior sector of employment.

Worker's Preference	Worker's Prior Sector of Employment			
	Agriculture	Craft and Services	Industry	Total
Farm Work	42.0%	22.8%	11.9%	21.8%
Office Work	16.0	25.2	29.9	25.5
Factory Work	42.0	52.0	58.2	52.7
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(50)	(127)	(117)	(294)

$$\chi^2 = 19.050; DF = 4; p < .001; \bar{C} = .302.$$

Thus, once certain conditions are standardized ("machine work" in this case), the relatively high preference for factory work does not support the stereotype common among European intellectuals concerning the natural distaste of the industrial worker for factory work. Naturally those with an occupational background in agriculture felt a greater calling for farm work, but there were as many ex-agriculture workers who chose factory work as farm work.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Significant differences between the groups in Table 12 spring mainly from the large preference for farm work of those with agricultural experience. This contributes 14.63 to the total  $\chi^2$  of 19.05. Combining farm and office work preferences would nullify the statistical significance, revealing no significant differences among preferences for factory work.

The alleged appeal of "clean, physically less tiring, more prestigious" office work appears in part a stereotype. A kind of pride in being an industrial worker (for those who have had only this occupational experience) or a feeling of unfitness for office work (for those coming from an agricultural background) may account for the low office work preference.

The latter consideration raises some doubts concerning the possibility of accounting for the differences of attitudes toward farm, office, and factory work solely on the basis of prior sector experience. Without delving deeply into the complex psychosociological problem of attitude formation, we may examine the family's sector experience which can exert some impact on the subject's preferences. The strength of the Italian family, the respect for traditional values, and the patterns of inter-generational sector mobility so connected with the development of Italian economy may explain some aspects of sector satisfaction.

Table 13 presents the percentage distribution of sector preferences according to father's major occupation. While there are no great differences in the proportions preferring factory work, there are significant differences with regard to farm and office work preferences. The choice of office work is most attractive to sons of craftsmen and to farmers' sons. This attraction for office work by sons of craftsmen, compared to sons of service and

industrial workers, can be interpreted as a reflection of the lower middle class orientation which has always characterized Turinese artisans. Conversely, the persistence of unurbanized orientations on the part of farmers' sons is evinced by the fact that one-third of them preferred farm work compared to much lower proportions for the sons of services, craft, and industrial workers.

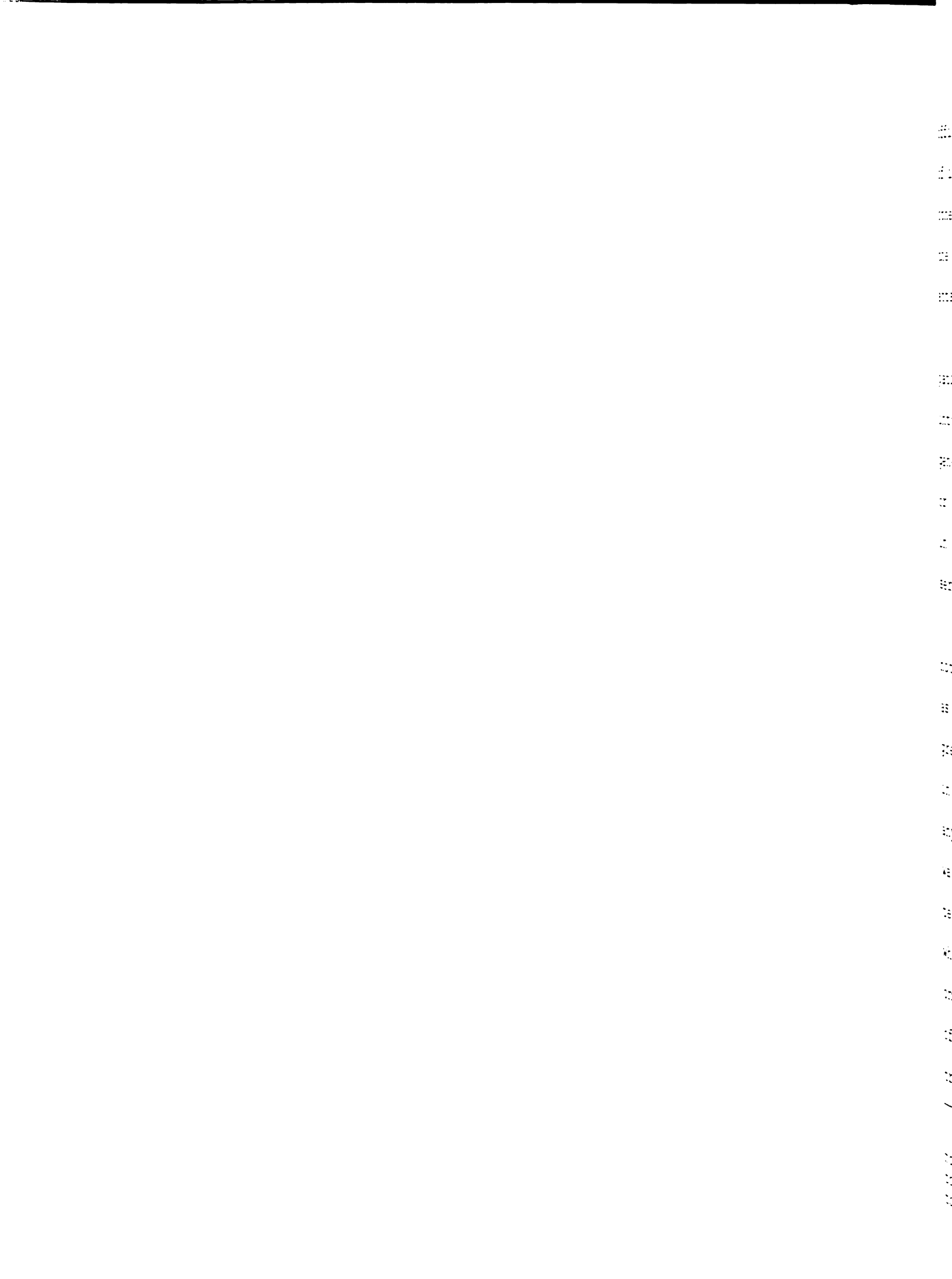
Table 13. Workers who preferred farm, office, or factory work according to their fathers' sector of employment.

Sons' Preference	Fathers' Sector of Employment				Total
	Agriculture	Services	Craft	Industry	
Farm Work	33.7%	13.3%	16.4%	17.6%	21.9%
Office Work	14.3	28.3	36.1	27.9	25.1
Factory Work	52.0	58.4	47.5	54.5	53.0
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(98)	(60)	(61)	(68)	(287)

$$\chi^2 = 18.266; DF = 6; p < .05; \bar{c} = .312.$$

These trends are also traceable to the work sector of the grandfathers' major occupations. Although tendencies do not rise to statistically significant levels,<sup>1</sup> grandsons of farmers show a greater preference for farm work, while grandsons of craftsmen and service workers prefer

<sup>1</sup>Chi-Square is 6.210, and degree of freedom 6, hence  $p > .30$ .



office work. It should be noted also that the grandsons of industrial workers prefer office work less than the others and prefer factory work the most. In other terms, the older the occupational tradition, the stronger the attachment to it.

The effects of different patterns of family occupational tradition are discernable in Table 14, which takes into consideration five different patterns: (1) two generations in agriculture, (2) two generations in services or craft, (3) two generations in industry, (4) one generation in agriculture and one in industry, (5) one generation in services or craft and one generation in industry.<sup>1</sup>

Although the differences among these patterns did not reach a significant level, the tendencies can serve as guiding hypotheses for further studies. The very great majority of those whose fathers and grandfathers were in industry chose factory work in higher proportion than any other workers. Their orientation toward office work was less strong than others. A general inference to be tested in further studies could be stated as follows: those who come from families which have been in industry for only one generation are more likely to be oriented toward office work than those whose families have had a continuous tradition in industry or agriculture. This seems to be a

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<sup>1</sup>Other patterns, reflecting intergenerational sector mobility, which rarely occurs (as for instance, from industry to agriculture, and the like), did not have sufficient cases to be taken into account.



Table 14. Workers who preferred farm, office, or factory work according to their grandfathers' and fathers' sector of employment.

Grandfathers' Sector of Employment	Agriculture		Craft and Services		Industry		Total
	Agriculture	Industry	Craft and Services	Industry	Industry	Industry	
Fathers' Sector of Employment							
Grandsons' Preference:							
Factory Work	51.7%	46.9%	52.6%	58.3%	72.7%	52.8%	
Office Work	14.9	31.2	29.8	33.3	9.1	22.6	
Farm Work	33.4	21.9	17.6	8.4	18.2	24.6	
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
(N)	(87)	(32)	(57)	(12)	(11)	(199)	

special case of the hypothesis that the older the family's occupational tradition, the stronger the attachment to it.

One could pose the question of how strong the impact of personal experience is in the industrial sector of employment compared with the family's occupational tradition. The problem cannot be explored here exhaustively.<sup>1</sup> However, some hints are provided in Table 15. Workers who come from families with two generations of agricultural tradition divide fairly equally in their preferences for factory work on the one hand and farm and office work on the other. However, once their occupational backgrounds are differentiated according to whether they had worked in industry, those who have not been in industry still are split evenly, while those who have been mainly in the industrial sector chose factory work in three out of four cases.

As already indicated, the evidence is not conclusive and further studies are needed to explore the hypotheses. However, it appears that while family occupational tradition makes some differences in sector preference, personal experience accounts for decisive differences with respect to preferences of the industrial sector.

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<sup>1</sup>The small size of the sub-samples does not permit a thorough exploration of the effects of occupational background on the several patterns of family occupational tradition.



Table 15. Workers with grandfathers and fathers in agriculture who preferred factory work according to their occupational background.

Workers' Preference	Workers Whose Fathers and Grandfathers Were Employed in Agriculture		Total
	Workers' Occupational Background		
	Industrial	Non-Industrial	
Factory Work	75.0%	46.5%	51.7%
Farm or Office Work	25.0	53.5	48.3
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(71)	(16)	(87)

$$X^2 = 4.254; DF = 1; p < .05; \bar{C} = .339.$$

The Choice of Office Worker, Small Independent Farmer, or Skilled Factory Worker

Preferences for farm, office, or factory type of work are not by themselves necessarily indicative of an attitude of satisfaction toward corresponding sectors of employment. In order to probe this attitude more directly, other questions were posed to the automobile workers. These were asked to ascertain how they ranked the relative standing of three occupations which are typical of the three economic sectors; namely the "small independent farmer" (piccolo coltivatore diretto), the "office worker" (impiegato) and the "skilled factory worker" (operaio specializzato). After some questions as to which was the most desirable, respected and necessary occupation, the interviewees were

asked to indicate which occupation gives most satisfaction.

This hopefully would reveal their sector preference.

The distribution of answers to the latter question is as follows:

"Skilled factory worker"	55.6%
"Office worker"	18.3
"Independent farmer"	20.6
Other	<u>5.5</u>
Total	100.0%
(N)	(306)

Confronted with a forced choice between a typical industrial occupation and equivalent occupations in other sectors of employment, more than half of the respondents selected skilled factory work as the most satisfying, and only one-fifth each selected office work and independent farming. Undoubtedly, the significance of the choices depends on the assumption that the three occupations were evaluated mainly in terms of the work satisfaction they provide. Such an assumption is probably sound. First, prior questions were aimed at getting the occupation which was most respected, desirable, and necessary, thus eliminating (hopefully) the contagion of status and prestige in the final question dealing with satisfaction. Second, the data in Table 16 show the limited impact that the dimensions of respect, desirability, and functionality had on the choice of "skilled factory worker" as the occupation giving most satisfaction. In effect, more than one-half of those who chose "skilled factory worker" as the most satisfying occupation declared beforehand that the occupation most respected was the "office worker." And,

although desirability is an aspect of a satisfaction more than one-third declared other occupations to be most desirable. The same holds for the attribute of social importance or necessity of the occupation.<sup>1</sup>

Table 16. Workers who selected skilled factory worker as the most satisfactory occupation according to their choice of skilled factory worker, office worker or small independent farmer as the occupation most respected, desirable and necessary.

Compared Occupations:	Workers Who Selected Skilled Worker as the Occupation Most Satisfactory and as Occupation Most			Total
	Respected	Desirable	Necessary	
Skilled Factory Worker	42.3%	60.4%	65.2%	59.0%
Office Worker	54.4	29.0	2.2	19.4
Small Independent Farmer	3.4	10.6	32.6	21.5
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(149)	(169)	(135)	(170)

Do personal and social characteristics influence the choice of the skilled factory worker as the occupation which gives most satisfaction? Age, seniority or education

<sup>1</sup>Naturally, the several aspects are overall highly associated with the character of satisfaction: Occupation most respected and occupation most satisfactory  $\bar{c} = .489$ ; Occupation most desirable and occupation most satisfactory,  $\bar{c} = .618$ ; Occupation most necessary and occupation most satisfactory,  $\bar{c} = .657$ . All with  $\chi^2$ 's  $p < .001$ .

are not significantly associated. Skill level makes some difference,<sup>1</sup> for over two-thirds of the skilled workers selected their own occupation as most satisfying.

Rural-urban background and rural-urban residence do not appear generally to affect sector choice. However, urban dwellers selected the office worker as the most satisfying occupation in a higher proportion than rural residents.<sup>2</sup> Multivariate analysis of background and residence, as well as of background and region of birth, does not reveal any consistent trends.

Prior experience in the sector of employment most directly related to the three occupations appears to have some impact on the choices of the respondents, as Table 17 shows. Here, as in the case of preference for farm, office, or factory type of work (Table 12), personal experience in industry or agriculture seems to affect the choice of the occupation which gives most satisfaction. Thus more than two-thirds of the workers with previous industrial experience chose skilled factory worker, as opposed to only one-third of those with an agricultural background. Conversely, the independent farmer was selected more by those with agricultural background than by those with an industrial background.

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<sup>1</sup> $\chi^2 = 5.400; DF = 1; p < .05; \bar{c} = .212.$

<sup>2</sup>The proportions are one-tenth and two-tenths respectively, which are significantly different with a  $Z = 2.02$ , hence  $p < .05$ .

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Table 17. Workers who chose skilled factory worker, office worker, or small independent farmer as the most satisfactory occupation according to their prior sector of employment.

Workers' Choice	Workers' Prior Sector of Employment			Total
	Agriculture	Craft and Services	Industry	
Skilled Factory Worker	38.0%	59.5%	69.9%	59.0%
Office Worker	24.0	17.5	19.6	19.4
Small Independent Farmer	38.0	23.0	12.5	21.5
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(50)	(126)	(112)	(288)

$$X^2 = 16.693; DF = 4; p < .005; \bar{C} = .287.$$

More than one-third of those who had worked in agriculture before becoming automobile workers looked back upon small independent farming as the occupation which gives more satisfaction. On the other hand, regardless of prior sector experience, around one-fifth of the sample saw the office worker as being the most satisfying occupation.<sup>1</sup>

Personal experience in a particular sector of employment appears to display the same effect on choice of the type of occupation most satisfying as on preferences for

<sup>1</sup>The tendency of those with an agricultural background to consider office worker as the most satisfactory occupation although they did not prefer office work, is remarkable (see Table 12).

a machine job in the various sectors. The same holds with respect to the family's occupational tradition. Although the grandfathers' sector of employment is not significantly associated with choices of the most satisfying occupation, tendencies are discernible according to fathers' sector of employment (Table 18).

Table 18. Workers who chose skilled factory worker, office worker, or small independent farmer as the most satisfactory occupation according to their fathers' sector of employment.

Sons' Choice	Fathers' Sector of Employment				Total
	Agriculture	Services	Craft	Industry	
Skilled factory worker	45.5%	71.4%	65.0%	63.6%	59.1%
Office worker	21.2	12.5	20.0	21.2	19.2
Small independent farmer	33.3	16.1	15.0	15.2	21.7
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(99)	(56)	(60)	(66)	(281)

$$\chi^2 = 16.354; DF = 6; p < .05; \bar{c} = .298.$$

Sons of farmers, more than others, saw the small independent farmer as having the most satisfying occupation. However, substantial differences were not found among sons of services, craft, and industrial workers who perceived the skilled factory worker as the most satisfying occupation. Sons of service workers were the least attracted to the office worker, but compared to the industrial workers' sons,

the differences were slight.<sup>1</sup>

The test of the impact of the length of family occupational tradition as seen in Table 19 is generally not conclusive because of the small marginals--except for the case of two generations in agriculture versus one generation in agriculture and one in industry. There, the impact of a long family tradition is quite apparent: those who came from a family which has been in agriculture for two generations more than anyone else perceive the small independent farmer as the most satisfactory occupation. One-third of them selected the farmer compared to 7% of those whose grand-fathers were in agriculture and whose fathers were industrial workers.

The joint effects of family tradition and personal experience are presented in Table 20. Here, as in the case of preference for factory work, personal experience, in the form of prior occupational background, affects the choice of skilled factory worker as the occupation which gives most satisfaction. Here again, because of the small size of sub-samples, only workers from two-generation farm families are considered. These workers split almost in half in their preference for the skilled factory worker and other occupations. However, when their occupational background is taken into account, a much larger proportion of those who had previous industrial experience preferred the skilled factory worker than did those who had worked in other sectors.

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<sup>1</sup>Differences between proportions gives  $Z = 1.28$ , hence  $.05 < p < .10$ .





Table 19. Workers who chose skilled factory worker, office worker, or small independent farmer as the most satisfactory occupation according to their fathers' and grandfathers' sector of employment.

Grandfathers' Major Occupation	Agriculture <sup>a</sup>			Craft and Services			Industry			Total
	Agriculture	Industry		Craft and Services	Industry		Industry	Industry		
Grandsons' choice										
Skilled Factory Worker	44.8%	66.7%		68.9%	66.7%		60.0%	57.4%		
Office Worker	20.7	26.7		15.5	8.3		10.0	18.8		
Small Independent Farmer	34.5	6.6		15.6	25.0		30.0	23.8		
Totals	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0		
(N)	(87)	(30)		(58)	(12)		(10)	(197)		

$\chi^2 = 8.779$ ;  $DF = 2$ ;  $p < .02$ ;  $\bar{C} = .384$ .

Table 20. Workers whose fathers and grandfathers were employed in agriculture who chose skilled factory worker as the most satisfactory occupation according to their occupational background.

Workers' Choice	Workers Whose Fathers and Grandfathers were Employed in Agriculture		Total
	Workers' Occupational Background		
	Industrial	Not Industrial	
Skilled Factory Worker	68.7%	39.4%	44.8%
Office Worker or Small Independent Farmer	31.3	60.6	55.2
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(71)	(16)	(87)

$$\chi^2 = 4.537; DF = 1; p < .05; \bar{c} = .350.$$

Thus, these findings support those presented with respect to preferences for the type of work. Family occupational tradition makes some impact on the choice of which occupation gives most satisfaction; while personal experiences in related occupational sectors account for differences concerning the choice of skilled factory worker.

#### Satisfaction with Employment in the Industrial Sector

Taken jointly, preference for factory work and choice of the skilled factory worker as the occupation giving most satisfaction can reveal the level of satisfaction with being an industrial worker. A cross tabulation of the answers to the two questions previously analyzed provides the following distribution:

	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Index's Score</u>
Workers who do not prefer factory work <u>and</u> do not consider skilled factory worker as having the most satisfying occupation . . . . .	79	26.4	0
Workers who prefer factory work <u>but</u> do not consider skilled factory worker as having the most satisfactory occupation, <u>or</u> vice versa . . . . .	111	37.0	1
Workers who prefer factory work <u>and</u> consider skilled factory worker as having the most satisfactory occupation . . . . .	<u>110</u>	<u>36.6</u>	2
	300	100.0	

The above data reveal that somewhat more than one-third seem very satisfied, an equal proportion partially satisfied, and about one-fourth dissatisfied with industrial employment.

A general hypothesis, which has guided the preceding explorative analysis was:

"Satisfaction with employment in the industrial sector is positively associated with grandfather's and father's employment in the industrial sector."

A rationale underlying such an hypothesis was that the Italian "farmer"<sup>1</sup> has had low occupational prestige

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<sup>1</sup>Through all of the present analysis, the term farmer has been employed instead of peasant, which is mostly used in sociological and anthropological investigations concerning Italy. It is very difficult in Italy to draw the distinction between farmer and peasant. According to Redfield (Peasant Society and Culture (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, Phoenix Books, 1960), p. 18), "We might say that those agriculturists who carry on

since Italian industrialization began. A tradition of high esteem has characterized pursuits requiring mechanical training and dexterity, particularly among the Turinese. Factory work and skilled labor, once detached from capitalistic schemes, were never disesteemed in themselves. Moreover, sharing the societal values of the last century's "industrial progress," the urban industrial class claimed to be the avant-garde of all workers, both technically and politically. Yet, after the industrial trades decayed with the growth of mass production systems, the farmer, as a land proprietor, began to regain prestige. Compared to the proletarian who had nothing but his own arms, the independent farmer had small land holdings and came to be highly esteemed both for himself and for his work.

Thus two opposing cultural patterns with their own values systems should characterize family (occupational) traditions in industrial and agricultural employment. A test of the above hypothesis can be undertaken with the help of data presented in Table 21.

Perhaps with larger numbers in the sub-samples statistically significant differences might become apparent

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agriculture for reinvestment and business, looking on the land as capital and commodity are not peasants but farmers." Thus it is quite difficult to say, unless an empirical study could ascertain it, who looks to profits and who looks "with veneration" or "religious feeling" to the land. The only clear fact is that these agriculturists own the land, work on it, and exchange goods. In the absence of an attitude study or an investigation of their belief-system, we can think of them as "farming for themselves."

Table 21. Percentage of workers scoring low, medium, and high in the index of satisfaction for the industrial sector of employment according to their fathers' and grandfathers' sector of employment.

Index of Sector Satisfaction	Grandfather in Agriculture				Grandfather and Father in Industry	
	Father in Agriculture	Father in Industry	Grandfather in Agriculture	Grandfather in Industry	Father in Agriculture	Father in Industry
Low	32.3	23.4	28.0	21.4	31.8	20.0
Medium	36.4	34.2	37.5	28.6	37.6	46.7
High	31.3	42.4	35.0	50.0	30.6	33.3
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(96)	(64)	(157)	(14)	(85)	(30)

among the low, medium, and highly satisfied workers. The present data hint the presence of two patterns of sector tradition as influencing the level of satisfaction for industrial employment. In fact, in the index of satisfaction for the industrial sector, workers who had fathers and grandfathers in agriculture constantly scored lower than workers who had fathers and grandfathers in industry. Other studies are needed to test the trend discovered here.

## CHAPTER V

### HAVING A TRADE OR HOLDING A JOB: MODALITIES OF OCCUPATIONAL SATISFACTION

The preceding chapter reported on the satisfaction which workers felt for the industrial sector of employment. This chapter will deal with their satisfaction with their present type of occupation. Although the "industrial condition" can be isolated and compared with agriculture, service, or craft "conditions," it does not appear to be homogeneous in the style of work life it imposes. Rather, within the industrial sector there are a great variety of working conditions which reflect the multiplicity of industrial occupations.

Economic and technological development changes the meaning of occupational categories, and endlessly redefines industrial classifications.<sup>1</sup> Forces behind the social and technical division of work tend to make old occupations obsolete. Specifically, the impact of increased specialization has forced many industrial trades to disappear. With the substitution of specialized machinery (limited to

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<sup>1</sup>See in Delbert C. Miller and William H. Form, Industrial Sociology (2d ed.; New York: Harper, 1964), pp. 60 ff. a discussion of this point in the light of occupational trends.



the production of a single product) for previously existing all-purpose machines, the first industrial occupations were subdivided into several semiskilled and unskilled jobs. Sometimes, but very rarely, old industrial trades were replaced by new skills, which still required technical knowledge and the exercise of independent judgment and dexterity.

More recent technological developments have called for industrial trades of very high skill to operate and supervise technical equipment. Indeed, the proportion of unskilled workers has rapidly decreased, while that of semiskilled workers has increased.<sup>1</sup> However, contemporary skilled and semiskilled industrial occupations seem tied to specific work routines, most of which are common to only one industry. That is, these occupations tend to cluster around specific types of industries; many are peculiar to certain types of industry and few are common to many.

The automobile industry is undoubtedly characterized by a high degree of technical division of work and job specialization. Already by 1910, there were as many as 23 different occupational titles in the Turinese automobile industry. Nowadays their number is greatly increased, but still it does not approximate the situation in the United States automobile industry which has more than 900 occupational titles.

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<sup>1</sup>Sigmund Nosow and William H. Form, Man, Work and Society (New York: Basic Books, 1962), p. 89.

Most of the occupations in the automobile manufacturing are so distinct that occupational activity coincides with the job description. Thus it becomes difficult to distinguish between occupational and specific job routines. In most cases occupational training is limited to a short on-the-job period, and general knowledge of the work process which was characteristic of industrial trades, is largely lacking. To be sure, there are great differences among the skill levels, but even many of the very skilled occupations are unique to the car manufacturing, thus greatly limiting horizontal mobility.

To illustrate, the worker could be a lathe operator who could find employment in other industries, or he could be simply a machine operator in an automobile plant; he could be an electrician who could be employed in almost any industry, or he could be a piston fitter employable only in automobile industry. The distinction here is between an occupation which has some characteristics of a trade, and an occupation which is simply a job or employment. This distinction was already made by Everett C. Hughes, back in 1928, in "Personality Types and the Division of Labor,"<sup>1</sup> and it was mainly based on the following criteria:

- 1) the manner in which the person enters an occupation,
- 2) the attitude of the person toward his occupation, and
- 3) the implied standing of the occupation in the eyes of the community.

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<sup>1</sup>The American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 33 (March, 1928), pp. 754-768.

However, two other criteria have to be added:

4) the type of technical training required, and 5) the degree of horizontal mobility in the occupational market. The former criterion focuses on skill, the latter on versatility. Thus the distinction between the two polar types of trade and job occupations is based not solely on the degree of skill, but also on the particular type of technical training received.<sup>1</sup> In fact a skilled job is not the same as a trade. A trade-type occupation implies a high potential for horizontal mobility with respect to technical qualifications, which is very difficult when the training is tied to work routines peculiar to specific types of industries (mono-technical training) as is often the case for some highly skilled jobs.

Real trades are difficult to find within the automobile industry. In the plant where our sample was drawn, less than two per cent of all workers could satisfy the requirements of a poly-technical skilled occupation, and almost all of these were employed in the experimental department, where the work is still creative and craftlike in character.

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<sup>1</sup>One may speak of poly-technical and mono-technical training and occupations. French and Italian industrial sociologists often distinguish between polyvalent and monovalent occupations (polivalenti e monovalenti in Italian). This distinction can be approached by considering as poly-technical occupations those listed in the Dictionary of Occupational Titles under the heading of "Any Industry," and monotechanical occupations as those listed under the heading of "specific industries." Usually, only highly skilled occupations which are also poly-technical can be called trade-type occupations.

The sample design included workers from the experimental department, two assembly lines, and a production section. Of course, the total numbers which corresponded to skilled-job category and unskilled-trade category had to be small. Cross tabulations between the skill variable and the trade-job dimensions are presented in Table 22. The fact that they highly correlate reveals the near equivalency of the dimensions. However, at times the analysis will separate the dimensions when dealing with the variable of degree of technological control which the worker is able to exert on production processes. As we pass from a trade-type occupation (electrician, turret-lathe operator) to production job-type occupations (automatic-lathe operator, machine tender) to assembly line job-type occupations (screw-driver man, instrument-board assembler), the degree of comprehensive knowledge of the technological process and the exercise of independent judgment decreases steadily.

Thus, skill level and type of occupation are the two technical dimensions which will be related to satisfaction for the present occupation (see Table 1). However attitudes toward one's occupation may also be a matter of personal adjustment to the occupational sub-culture. Hence, another dimension of analysis which pertains to social aspects of worker satisfaction is, occupational socialization. Third, occupational conditions themselves constitute sources of satisfaction and dissatisfaction. Within a given occupation, workers often differ in levels of satisfaction and dissatisfaction.

Table 22. Distribution of workers in various skill levels and types of occupations.

Occupational Level	General Assembler (a)	Machine Operator (b)	Job-Types (a+b)	Trade Types (c)	Total (a+b+c)
Unskilled	99.3%	87.5%	94.8%	12.9%	69.9%
Semiskilled	.7	12.5	5.2	50.5	19.0
Skilled	.0	.0	.0	36.6	11.1
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(133)	(80)	(213)	(93)	(306)

(a), (b) and (c):  $X^2 = 214.946$ ;  $DF = 4$ ;  $p < .001$ ;  $\bar{C} = .870$ .  
 (a+b) and (c):  $X^2 = 204.988$ ;  $DF = 1$ ;  $p < .001$ ;  $\bar{C} = .926$ .

In order to ascertain the levels of satisfaction of the automobile workers we asked the following two questions:

1. "On the whole, are you satisfied or not with your present occupation?"
2. "Have you ever thought of having an occupation different than your present one?"

The first question was designed to ascertain the general feeling of satisfaction, and the second the intensity of the feeling.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Subsequent questions were concerned with how often the worker thought of changing his present occupation, which occupations he considered, what were his plans to change, and to which occupation did he aspire.

Satisfaction with Present Occupation

The question probing the worker's feeling toward his present occupation was: "On the whole, are you satisfied or not with your present occupation?"<sup>1</sup> The distribution of the responses is as follows:

Satisfied	72.5%
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	16.0
Dissatisfied	10.5
Don't Know	1.0
	<hr/>
	100.0
	(306)

Almost three-fourths of the workers interviewed were satisfied with their present occupations; one-sixth were not completely satisfied or dissatisfied; and only one-tenth were decidedly dissatisfied. Thus, these automobile workers on the whole felt satisfied with their present occupation. Let us now examine the impact of several variables on this attitude.

Neither age, educational level, nor marital status distinguished the satisfied from the dissatisfied worker. However, as Table 23 shows, skill level does make a difference. Actually, no skilled worker declared he was dissatisfied with his present occupation, as opposed to about ten percent

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<sup>1</sup>The interviewer was instructed to probe the interviewee's understanding of the question pertaining to his occupational category. In cases where the respondent had a job-type occupation, i.e., a company job classification title, the question was rephrased, "On the whole, are you satisfied or not with being a \_\_\_\_\_ (job title)?"

Table 23. Degree of occupational satisfaction by skill level.

Occupational Satisfaction	Skilled Workers	Semiskilled Workers	Unskilled Workers	Total
Satisfied	88.4%	82.7%	68.3%	73.4%
Neither Satisfied nor Dissatisfied	11.6	6.9	19.4	16.2
Dissatisfied	.0	10.4	12.3	11.4
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(34)	(58)	(211)	(303)

$$\chi^2 = 11.601; DF = 4; p < .05; \bar{c} = .258.$$

of the semiskilled and unskilled workers. Differences between semiskilled and unskilled workers were mainly with respect to the medium level of satisfaction. It appears that the technical character of the work of the semi-skilled tends to make them either definitely satisfied or dissatisfied. While they have to exercise manipulative abilities of a high order, these are limited to clearly defined work routines; while they have to exercise some independent judgment, they lack wide technical knowledge and have to rely on decisions made by others.

The distribution of satisfaction levels according to the type of occupation in Table 24 indicates that while there are no differences between assemblers and machine operators, both differ significantly from workers in trade-type occupations. The latter appear more highly satisfied, having very few cases in the "dissatisfied"

category (3.2%) and these are entirely semiskilled workers.

Table 24. Degree of occupational satisfaction according to type of occupation.

Occupational Satisfaction	General Assembler (a)	Machine Operator (b)	Job-Types (a+b)	Trade Type (c)	Total (a+b+c)
Satisfied	66.0%	67.7%	67.2%	87.0%	73.4%
Neither Satisfied nor Dissatisfied	20.8	16.3	19.1	9.8	16.2
Dissatisfied	13.2	15.0	13.7	3.2	11.4
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(130)	(80)	(210)	(93)	(303)

(a), (b) and (c):  $\chi^2 = 15.530$ ;  $DF = 4$ ;  $p < .01$ ;  $\bar{C} = .286$ .  
 (a+b) and (c):  $\chi^2 = 13.785$ ;  $DF = 2$ ;  $p < .01$ ;  $\bar{C} = .305$ .

Table 25 presents data on occupational satisfaction while controlling both for skill level and the trade-job dichotomy. Although differences are not statistically significant, mainly because of the small marginals, the peculiarity of semiskilled workers is again evident. They are closer to the skilled or unskilled workers depending on whether they are either in a trade or in a job type of occupation. While it is not possible to generalize, it seems that skill level does not account for satisfaction with present occupation when the type of occupation is introduced as a control variable. In effect, the most dissatisfied seem to be semiskilled



workers in job-type occupations. The reason for this may be the contradiction between their fairly high technical qualification and their strict work routines.

Table 25. Degree of occupational satisfaction by skill levels and type of occupation.

Subjective Feeling:	Skilled	Semiskilled		Unskilled		Total
	Trade	Trade (a)	Job (b)	Trade (c)	Job (d)	
Satisfied	88.3%	89.3%	54.6%	75.0%	67.9%	73.4%
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	11.7	4.3	18.1	25.0	19.1	16.2
Dissatisfied	.0	6.4	27.3	.0	13.1	11.4
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(34)	(47)	(11)	(12)	(199)	(303)

(a) and (b):  $X^2 = 8.225$ ;  $DF = 2$ ;  $p < .05$ ;  $\bar{C} = .514$

(c) and (d):  $X^2 = 2.018$ ;  $DF = 2$ ;  $p > .30$ .

It may well be that trade-job differences may account for degree of occupational satisfaction to a larger degree than skill level. Those who are in a trade-type occupation, regardless of their skill level, seem less likely to be dissatisfied than others. The lack of some control over the technological process among semiskilled workers in job-type occupations appears to be less bearable than unskilled work. By having greater technical qualification than the unskilled, the semiskilled feel the absence of technological control over the job to a greater measure.

In addition to skill and job-trade variables, occupational socialization is hypothesized as having an effect on patterns of satisfaction. Seniority is one of the main indicators of socialization into the present occupation. Table 26 presents the relevant data dealing with the relation of seniority to the feeling of occupational satisfaction. As the sub-totals show, seniority does not differentiate between dissatisfied and fairly satisfied workers.<sup>1</sup> However, longer seniority reduces the chances of a worker in a trade-type occupation to be dissatisfied with his occupation. On the other hand, seniority has no bearing on the occupational satisfaction of those in job-type occupations. The reason seems obvious: it is unlikely that length of employment would increase attachment to an occupation which lacks the characteristics of a trade.

Another indicator of occupational socialization is occupational background. If the worker had been employed previously in industry, we might expect his adjustment to his present occupation to be facilitated. In fact, the proportion of satisfied workers among those with industrial background is higher (76.0%) than among those with other occupational backgrounds (71.4%). However, the difference is not large. Undoubtedly other factors are intervening. Seniority is one of these, for even those from industrial backgrounds require time to adjust to the present occupations.

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<sup>1</sup>This is also true for breakdowns other than those used in Table 26.



Table 26. Occupational satisfaction according to type of occupation and seniority.

Seniority	Less than 4 years			More than 4 years			Total
	Job (a)	Trade (b)	Subtotal (a+b)	Job (c)	Trade (d)	Subtotal (c+d)	
Occupational Satisfaction:							
Dissatisfied	11.8%	10.5%	11.6%	15.7%	1.4%	9.9%	10.6%
Satisfied or Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	88.2	89.5	88.4	84.3	98.6	90.1	89.4
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(102)	(19)	(121)	(108)	(74)	(182)	(303)

(c) and (d):  $X^2 = 10.010$ ;  $DF = 1$ ;  $p < .01$ ;  $\bar{C} = .358$

(b) and (d):  $X^2 = 4.100$ ;  $DF = 1$ ;  $p < .05$ ;  $\bar{C} = .319$ .

Once seniority is taken into account, the association between industrial background and satisfaction for present occupation appears more definite. Thus, over three-quarters of workers with an industrial background and more than four years seniority are occupationally satisfied as opposed to two-thirds of those without previous industrial employment and less than four years seniority.<sup>1</sup>

Occupational training is another factor which intervenes in the association between industrial background and satisfaction with the present occupation. However, the analysis becomes more complex because of the simultaneous effects of seniority and of the type of occupation. A multivariate analysis of five variables is impossible with the size of the present sample. Yet an indication of the impact of occupational training on satisfaction is shown in Table 27, where controls for seniority and the job-trade type of occupation are partially introduced. Seniority here seems to have a greater impact than occupational training. Those with no occupational training but with more than four years seniority show the highest percentage of satisfied workers. Although the differences are not statistically significant, we know from Table 26 that seniority differentiates levels of satisfaction with respect to the job-trade distinction. When this distinction

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<sup>1</sup>The difference between the percentages does not reach the .05 level of statistical significance, the critical ratio being 1.62, hence  $.05 < p < .10$ .

Table 27. Occupational satisfaction according to occupational training, seniority, and type of occupation.

Seniority:	Occupational Training		No Occupational Training	
	Less than 4 years	More than 4 years	Less than 4 years	More than 4 years
Percentage of Satisfied Workers	67.2	73.6	64.1	78.4
		<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around;"> <div style="text-align: center;"> <p>Having a job-type occupation</p> <hr/> <p>59.0</p> </div> <div style="text-align: center;"> <p>Having a trade-type occupation</p> <hr/> <p>93.3</p> </div> </div>		
Percentage of Satisfied Workers				

All percentages are computed on marginals greater than 38.

is introduced as a control of seniority and occupational training, the impact is exemplified (in Table 27) with respect to workers who had occupational training and longer seniority: those with job-type occupations showed the smallest percentage of satisfied workers, while those with trade-type occupations show the highest.

The interpretative hypothesis of these findings has already been mentioned: technical qualification, and in this last case occupational training, if not exercised in a trade-type occupation, is likely to foster great dissatisfaction. Thus, workers who have the possibility of exercising some control over technological processes because of their skill, technical qualification, or occupational training, but who are in fact prevented from so doing because they are in a job-type occupation, display greater occupational dissatisfaction than other workers. Seniority, which generally tends to increase occupational adjustment, in this case increases the negative attitude toward the occupation.

#### The Desire to Change Occupation

The second question dealing with occupational satisfaction was meant to probe the intensity of feelings. It was, "Have you ever thought of having an occupation different than your present one?" Responses to this question distributed as follows:

<u>Never</u> thinks of it	45.8%
Thinks of it <u>sometimes</u>	28.1
Thinks of it <u>often</u>	25.8
No Answer	.3
	<hr/>
	100.0
	(306)

Almost half of the automobile workers never thought of changing their present occupation.<sup>1</sup> They seemed to be so adjusted or socialized, that any change was for them out of the question. A little more than one-fourth thought of changing occupations at least once. Another one-fourth often thought of changing, waiting for a chance to move into other occupations.

What factors account for these different levels of occupational adjustment? Table 28 reveals that more skilled workers never think of changing occupations and unskilled workers most often think about it. Incidentally, the semiskilled workers still appear to deviate from the patterns set by skilled and unskilled workers. When the job versus the trade type of occupation is taken into account (Table 29), semiskilled workers replicate the previous pattern, those in trade-type occupations display

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<sup>1</sup>The above distribution suggests that the responses to the first question exaggerated the feeling of satisfaction with the present occupation. In fact, more than one-quarter of those who expressed feelings of satisfaction sometimes think about changing their present occupation. This undoubtedly indicates reservations with one's own occupation, although it is possible that a desire to change is not necessarily caused by present dissatisfaction, particularly when the desire arises occasionally and there is no actual plan to change.



Table 28. Workers thinking about changing their present occupations according to skill levels.

Thinks About Changing Present Occupation	Skill Levels			Total
	Skilled Workers	Semiskilled Workers	Unskilled Workers	
Often	18.2%	13.8%	30.4%	25.9%
Sometimes	24.2	31.0	28.0	28.2
Never	57.6	55.2	41.6	45.9
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(33)	(58)	(214)	(305)

$\chi^2 = 8.958$ ;  $DF = 4$ ;  $.05 < p < .10$ ;  $\bar{c} = .248$ .

Table 29. Workers thinking about changing their present occupations according to skill level and type of occupation.

Skill Level	Skilled		Semiskilled		Unskilled		Total
	Trade	Trade (a)	Job (b)	Trade (c)	Job (d)		
Thinks about changing present occupation:							
Often	18.2%	12.8%	18.2%	58.4%	28.7%		25.9%
Sometimes	24.2	29.8	36.3	.0	29.7		28.2
Never	57.6	57.4	45.5	41.6	41.6		45.9
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0
(N)	(33)	(47)	(11)	(12)	(202)		(305)

(a) and (b):  $\chi^2 = .577$ ;  $DF = 2$ ;  $p > .70$ .

(c) and (d):  $\chi^2 = 6.928$ ;  $DF = 2$ ;  $p < .05$ ;  $\bar{c} = .282$ .

a pattern similar to the skilled, while those with job-type occupations are more similar to the unskilled. Although the small marginals do not permit us to generalize, the pattern is generally consistent with previous findings. However, variations in the pattern call for some qualifications. A smaller proportion of semiskilled in trade-type occupations than of skilled trade workers often think of changing occupations. On the other side, unskilled workers in trade-type occupations often think about changing their occupations more than any other group. Semiskilled workers in trades, because of their middle technical qualification, feel they have a lesser potential capacity to move because their skill is closely tied to their present work routines. As for the unskilled workers in trade-type occupations, they are most eager to change occupation because, having had experience in a trade (motor adjuster, block tester, etc.), they are anxious to move into semiskilled or skilled occupations.

Aside from these qualifications, Table 30 clearly indicates that those in job-type occupations think about changing their present occupations more often than workers in trade-type occupations. Thus, skill levels and type of occupation both, in their interplay, foster a desire to change present occupation. Other variables, such as seniority and unemployment, do not have any definite effects. However, a greater proportion of those with more than an elementary school education often think about changing jobs,

compared to those who simply have a grammar school education (two-thirds and one-third respectively).<sup>1</sup>

Table 30. Percentage of workers thinking about changing their present occupation according to type of occupation.

Thinks About Changing Present Occupation	General Assembler (a)	Machine Operator (b)	Job-Types (a+b)	Trade Type (c)	Total (a+b+c)
Often	31.6	22.5	28.2	20.7	25.9
Sometimes	29.3	31.3	30.0	23.9	28.2
Never	39.1	46.2	41.8	55.4	45.9
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(133)	(80)	(213)	(92)	(305)

(a), (b) and (c):  $\chi^2 = 6.380$ ;  $DF = 4$ ;  $.10 < p < .20$ .  
 (a+b) and (c):  $\chi^2 = 4.855$ ;  $DF = 2$ ;  $.05 < p < .10$ .

Among other factors minimizing the desire to change occupations are age and marital status. The older worker thinks less about changing his occupation.<sup>2</sup> However, age has no bearing on the desire of unskilled workers with job-type occupations to change occupations (Table 31). As might be expected, data in Table 32 reveal that marriage minimizes the desire to change one's occupation. However, having children does not seem to have any significant effect. This probably reflects the relatively small number of children in the families of Turinese automobile workers.

<sup>1</sup> $\chi^2 = 10.993$ ;  $DF = 2$ ;  $p < .01$ ;  $\bar{C} = .272$ .

<sup>2</sup> $\chi^2 = 23.123$ ;  $DF = 8$ ;  $p < .005$ ;  $\bar{C} = .328$ .

Table 31. Distribution of workers thinking about changing their present occupations according to age, type of occupation, and skill levels.

Occupational Change	Skilled Workers in Trade-Type Occupations		Unskilled Workers in Job-Type Occupations	
	Less than 35 years of age	More than 35 years of age	Less than 35 years of age	More than 35 years of age
<u>Never</u> thinks about changing	38.5%	75.6%	41.4%	40.3%
<u>Often, or sometimes</u> thinks about changing	61.5	24.4	58.6	59.7
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(39)	(41)	(133)	(67)

Differences give a Critical Ratio of 3.31, hence  $p < .001$ .

Differences are not statistically significant.

Table 32. Workers thinking about changing their present occupations by marital status and number of children.

Occupational Change	Single	Married		Total
	(a)	No Children (b)	Children (c)	
<u>Never</u> think about changing	33.8%	53.9%	48.2%	45.9%
<u>Often, or sometimes</u> think about changing	66.2	46.1	51.8	54.1
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(74)	(63)	(168)	(305)

(a) and (b+c):  $\chi^2 = 5.786$ ; DF = 1;  $p < .02$ ;  $\bar{c} = .136$   
 (b) and (c):  $\chi^2 = .593$ ; DF = 1;  $p > .30$ .

In summary, thoughts about changing one's occupation are fostered by various circumstances in which the worker finds himself. Higher education stimulates these thoughts, while marriage minimizes them. Since skilled workers are entirely in trade-type occupations, they are least likely to think about changing occupations. Unskilled workers, on the other hand often feel a desire to change. The interplay of skill level and type of occupation fosters peculiar problems on the semiskilled worker. His intermediate technical qualifications expose him to the disadvantages of job-type occupations and the advantages of trade-type occupations, decreasing or increasing his thoughts about changing occupations according to these circumstances. Finally, unskilled workers in trade-type occupations appear the most eager to move out of their ambiguous positions.

### Conclusions

Our investigation to this point has revealed that, while skill level and types of occupation are mainly responsible for feelings of occupational satisfaction, the potential capacity to move into other occupations largely accounts for the desire to change the present occupation. Lacking such a potentiality, workers find, with increasing age and seniority, some sort of occupational adjustment. However, even a slight possibility of shifting to other occupations, because of occupational training or technical

qualification, generates a desire to change and reduces satisfaction with the present occupation. The condition of the semiskilled worker exemplifies, in its marginality, these patterns, as does the ambiguous situation of the unskilled worker in a trade-type occupation.

Comparing data on feelings of satisfaction (Table 25) with the desire to change present occupation (Table 29) and with the actual planning to move into other occupations (Table 33) shows that feelings of dissatisfaction are not directly transformed into desires to change and actual plans to change. Other factors mediate this process, the first being the possession of technical qualifications which enhance feelings of potential mobility.

Table 33. Workers planning to change their present occupations according to skill level and type of occupation.

Plans to Change	Skilled		Semiskilled		Unskilled		Total
	Trade	Job	Trade	Job	Trade	Job	
Planning to change present occupation	9.1%	15.3%	9.1%	25.0%	18.3%	16.7%	
Never thought of changing, or not planning to change	90.9	84.7	90.9	75.0	81.7	83.3	
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
(N)	(34)	(46)	(11)	(12)	(202)	(305)	

Thus, although semiskilled workers engaged in job-type occupations are the most dissatisfied, the proportions

who think or actually plan to change occupations are as low as the skilled workers, who are the most satisfied of all. On the other hand, although unskilled workers who are in trade-type occupations include a high number of satisfied workers, they also have the highest proportion of those who are thinking about or actually plan to change their occupations. The explanation seems to be that semiskilled workers in job-type occupations risk losing their present occupational qualification by quitting, while unskilled workers in trade-type occupations have nothing to lose, and may even have a chance to practice their trade in a semiskilled or skilled occupation.

In a sense, thinking about or planning to change occupations indicates occupational aspiration. Such aspirations are undoubtedly fostered by dissatisfaction with one's present occupation. Thus, taken jointly, feelings of dissatisfaction and desires to change present occupation can indicate a general pattern of satisfaction with one's occupation. By giving scores of 0 to 1, to the trichotomized answers to the two questions, and by adding these two scores, an Index of Occupational Satisfaction may be obtained.

Table 34 shows how the index has retained the sensitivity to the individual items, even when combined into low, medium and high index categories. Unskilled workers are the least satisfied, and those having job-type occupations are less satisfied than those in trade-type

occupations. Semiskilled workers reveal a mixed pattern depending on whether they are in a trade- or job-type occupation.

Table 34. Index of occupational satisfaction according to skill level and type of occupation in percentages.

Occupational Satisfaction	Skilled	Semiskilled		Unskilled		Total
	Trade	Trade	Job	Trade	Job	
<u>Index Scores:</u>						
Low (0,1)	3.1%	4.3%	9.1%	16.7%	19.1%	14.6%
Medium (2,3)	42.4	44.7	63.6	50.0	45.7	46.0
High (4)	54.5	51.0	27.3	33.3	35.2	39.4
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(33)	(47)	(11)	(12)	(199)	(302)

One of the main dimensions of the previous analysis was the impact of occupational socialization on the level of occupational satisfaction. Urban residence was hypothesized as an important factor in occupational socialization. The Italian automobile industry is essentially urban, for it is located either in Turin or Milan. Thus, the several types of occupation found in this industry should be associated with urban living, insuring that socialization in the occupational culture would be more efficiently carried out in the urban environment. Moreover, the social cost of changing one's occupation should be higher for those living in the cities than for those who



commute to work from rural localities. Those who have just moved into the city are less specific in their occupational choice and more willing, perhaps, to look for other types of occupations.

For all these reasons, the following hypothesis was subjected to verification:

"Occupational satisfaction is positively associated with urban residence."

The data presented in Table 35 do not support the hypothesis. Urban dwellers not only exhibit a lower degree of occupationally satisfied workers than rural residents, but a higher proportion think about or plan to change their occupations. On the whole, automobile workers residing in rural areas are occupationally more satisfied than urban dwellers.

A possible explanation for this may be that Turin province is such an industrialized area, with residents concentrated into compact villages and small towns, that new industrial occupational values have already replaced the agricultural ones. However, while urban dwellers, because of their more mature industrial environment, aspire for occupations in the service industries, rural residents regard their present occupations in manufacturing as already a great improvement over what agricultural and small rural industries can offer to them.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>See in Chapter V, the differences in attitudes toward service industries shown by urban and rural residents. The low level of occupational aspiration by rural residents

Table 35. Occupational satisfaction, desire to change occupation, and index of occupational satisfaction, according to rural-urban residence and regional origin.

Residence:	Rural	Urban		Total (N)
Regional Origin:	North %	North %	South %	
Occupational Satisfaction <sup>a</sup>				
Satisfied	81.3	73.2	50.0	72.8 (214)
Not satisfied or dissatisfied	18.7	26.8	50.0	27.2 ( 90)
-----				
Desire to Change Occupation <sup>b</sup>				
Never think about it	53.1	43.9	28.1	44.9 (133)
Thinking and planning to change	46.9	56.1	71.9	55.1 (163)
-----				
Occupational Satisfaction <sup>c</sup>				
Low	10.0	13.5	31.3	14.6 ( 43)
Medium	41.2	50.0	50.0	47.1 (138)
High	48.8	36.5	18.7	38.3 (112)

$${}^a\chi^2 = 11.343; DF = 2; X < .01; \bar{C} = .278$$

$${}^b\chi^2 = 5.992; DF = 2; p = .05; \bar{C} = .211$$

$${}^c\chi^2 = 13.969; DF = 4; p < .01; \bar{C} = .310.$$

can be explained in terms of the peculiar features of rural society, which offer a limited range of occupational roles, insufficient schooling facilities, and limits occupational aspirations. See Seymour M. Lipset, "Social Mobility and Urbanization," Rural Sociology, XX (Sept.-Dec., 1956), pp. 220-28; and, for a critique and retesting of Lipset's explanation, see Archie O. Haller, "Research Problems on the Occupational Achievement Levels of Farm-Reared People," Rural Sociology, XXIII (Dec., 1958), pp. 355-62.

The cost of changing one's own occupation may not be lower for those who daily commute to the city. Urban residents probably have more chances for personal contact in the occupational marketplace and this enhances their opportunities to find other employment.

Control by regional origin<sup>1</sup> tells us that southern born workers living in the urban center appear to be the least satisfied with their present occupation and the most inclined to change their occupations. One may infer, therefore, that the relationship between occupational satisfaction and residence is perhaps better understood in terms of regional origin. In fact, there may be greater differences in industrial values between rural areas of Turin province and urban centers like Rome or Naples than between rural and urban areas of Turin province itself. Moreover, the additional cost of changing occupation for those who have already undertaken the burden of a long distance move may be relatively lower than for those who commute from the province or even for those living in the city.

A last inference, which calls for an investigation here not envisaged, would be that northern urban dwellers are looking ahead toward new industrial occupations, while southern workers are looking back at their old less mechanized ones. Previous investigations and findings tend to support this hypothesis.

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<sup>1</sup>Introduced only partially because only three southern workers live in rural areas of Turin province.

## CHAPTER VI

### DOING THE JOB: SATISFACTION WITH THE TASKS

The two preceding chapters dealt with the aspects of the worker's satisfaction which concern his "industrial condition" and the particular type of occupation in which he is engaged. We now leave these aspects and consider the crucial aspect of work: job performance. Whereas the earlier investigation focused on what the worker is, now it focuses on what he does.

The worker in an automobile plant may be called upon to perform only some operations within a wider range of operations pertinent to his occupation. He may be a lathe operator, but his job may require only a few of the many operations he is capable of performing on the lathe. Thus only a part of his trade is required by his "job" specifications. Is he satisfied with performing only those operations? Or maybe he is a machine-tender; he can feed different materials to several different machines, or he can feed the same materials to a particular machine. In any of these cases, he has to perform some given specified operations required by his job instructions. Is he satisfied with performing just those operations?

At this point we are confronted with what has been usually called the "intrinsic job satisfaction," and which

is here termed "job satisfaction" tout court: the satisfaction which is obtained, felt, or stated by the individual worker when performing those tasks or operations which constitute the content of his job.

### The Nature of Job Performance

The content of a job is determined by the necessities of the production process and the overall organization of work flow. Job design and job description are ultimately decided by job analysts on the basis of the requirements of the technological equipment and the organizational structure of work activity. Thus job-task performance ties the individual worker to the technological environment, and constitutes the connecting link between the social division of work (from an occupational point of view) and the technical division of work (from the point of view of the company job structure).

Sociologically, a technical job description defines only a part of the worker's behavior.<sup>1</sup> Beyond the specific set of operations that he must perform in order to do his job, there are the patterns of social relations which link the individual to the organizational structure, the informal groups of which he is a member, and the cluster of technical relationships which he has to maintain in order to perform his tasks.

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<sup>1</sup>Delbert C. Miller and William H. Form, Industrial Sociology (2d. ed.; New York: Harper and Row, 1964), p. 169.

While the physical and social characteristics of the work environment will be described in the next chapter, this chapter will deal mainly with the technical aspects of job-task performance itself. Although the physical and social environments have great impact on job-task performance, and therefore on job-task satisfaction, the level of satisfaction with one's present job is likely to be related to the nature of the tasks themselves. Particular features and casual differences between similar tasks can lead to differential evaluations of the tasks by the individual worker. However, the range of satisfaction with job tasks tends to be fairly limited for similar types of occupations.

The main reason for this limitation is probably the degree of technological control allowed by the particular job. While all jobs on an assembly line are not alike, the lack of control over one's work pace and the lack of autonomy in the use of work tools results in a general low level of satisfaction with assembly type occupations.<sup>1</sup>

Besides technological control over timing and pace of work, other features of the job affect the degree of satisfaction and dissatisfaction. Some of these pertain to the physical aspects of the job itself; whether it is clean or dirty, light or heavy, quiet or noisy, and so forth. Other aspects concern the range of operations to

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<sup>1</sup> Robert Blauner, "Worker Satisfaction and Industrial Trends in Modern Society," W. Galenson and S. M. Lipset (eds.), Labor and Trade Unionism (New York: Wiley, 1960), p. 346.

be performed (or what is technically known as the number of constituent motions within a given time cycle), the uniform or varied nature of the operations, and the relationship of the job tasks to the entire work process (which depends on the type of work position within the production process and on the location of the work station in the work flow). Another important aspect is the degree of supervision which is required by the organizational setting of the job tasks, and which may contribute to the overall feeling of lack of independence in the job.

The subordination of man's rhythms to those of the machine is responsible for many job aspects which are frustrating: physical effort, fatigue, monotony, boredom, and so forth. Mechanical pacing of work, as in the assembly line, or semi-automatic processes, as in certain machine work, increase sources of dissatisfaction and foster a general feeling of frustration. Sometimes inaccurate timing of job routines provides too much free time which leads to boredom, or the timing may be too tight, creating an unbearable sense of fatigue. More often modern technological processes in industry require great attention, but not enough interest, which leads to feelings of monotony and dissatisfaction.

Satisfaction with job tasks has been the primary target of most of the research dealing with worker satisfaction. Assessing the levels of satisfaction is risky, and we emphasize here, as in Chapter I, that our aim is





not to measure absolute levels of satisfaction, but to ascertain the comparative standings of different types of workers within the sample.

The two foci of inquiry into levels of satisfaction will be: 1) the psycho-technical and organizational conditions of work activity, and 2) the impact of occupational, personal, and social characteristics on the levels of satisfaction (see Table 1). The first will provide cues as to what the workers view as mainly responsible for their feelings of satisfaction with job tasks, and the second will probe which social characteristics are associated with liking or disliking job tasks.<sup>1</sup>

In order to ascertain the level of satisfaction with the present job tasks, several questions were posed to the workers. The two main questions, with their probes, were the following:

"How about the operations you actually perform on your job: on the whole, are you satisfied with the work you are now actually doing or not? . . . Could you tell why?"

"Would you like, without a change in pay, to change your type of work activity every once in a while, or not? . . . How often?"

The wide range of reasons given by the workers themselves for liking or disliking their job tasks were classified as follows:

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<sup>1</sup>S. Wyatt and R. Marriott have pointed out in their Study of Attitudes to Factory Work (Medical Research Council, Her Majesty's Stationery Office London, 1956, p. 52) that this is "one of the many problems still awaiting investigation."

1. Physical and technical conditions of work activity  
(clean-dirty, light-heavy, quiet-noisy, etc.)
2. Psycho-motor conditions of work activity  
(degree of attention required, simple-complex,  
uniform-varied, work-pace, etc.)
3. Organizational and social conditions of work  
activity (responsibility, initiative, super-  
vision, work associates,<sup>1</sup> etc.)

Other answers which were too vague, such as "I like my job, but I don't really know why" or "I dislike it, because it is a stupid job," were considered "don't know" answers.<sup>2</sup>

#### Feelings of Satisfaction with Job Tasks

To the question "How about the operations you actually perform on your job: on the whole, are you satisfied or not with the work you are now actually doing?", the sample of Turinese automobile workers answered as follows:

Satisfied	76.1%
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	12.7
Dissatisfied	10.8
No answer	.4
	<hr/>
	100.0%
	(306)

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<sup>1</sup>Work associates are here taken into consideration as long as they have a direct bearing on the satisfaction with the job performance. Their relevance in all other cases is considered in the next chapter which will deal with the physical and the social environment at work.

<sup>2</sup>Any further probe by the interviewer failed to identify the aspects of the job which were liked or disliked.

The majority (three-fourths) expressed a feeling of satisfaction with their present job tasks, and out of the one-fourth of those who did not, about half were decidedly dissatisfied. Although the high percentage of satisfied workers may be somewhat amazing, this figure is very close to the findings of many studies.<sup>1</sup> However, it is possible that some workers have overestimated their feelings of satisfaction, or perhaps some feel reluctant to express unfavorable evaluations for fear of being exposed to reprisals. The problem is common to all research in the field, but it is quite interesting that an Italian sample probably has higher face validity than an English one.<sup>2</sup>

There are some reasons to have confidence in our general findings. Certainly, only those applicants who are suitable for certain types of jobs are accepted for employment, and those who do not succeed in adjusting to their jobs are likely to quit.<sup>3</sup> Supporting this observation

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<sup>1</sup>See R. Blauner, op. cit., p. 353 and p. 355.

<sup>2</sup>Wyatt and Marriott (op. cit., p. 5) found in two English car manufacturing factories percentages as high as 91%. The authors were obliged to acknowledge the possibility of an "inflationary tendency" due to leniency and reluctance.

<sup>3</sup>The lower rate of unemployment in Turin as compared with Italy as a whole, together with the general economic and company expansion (described in Chapters II and III), lead us to consider this observation as tenable, given the high rate of horizontal mobility which seemed to characterize Turin and the car manufacturing company during the years of the fieldwork. It must also be recalled that the sample includes only workers with at least one year seniority.

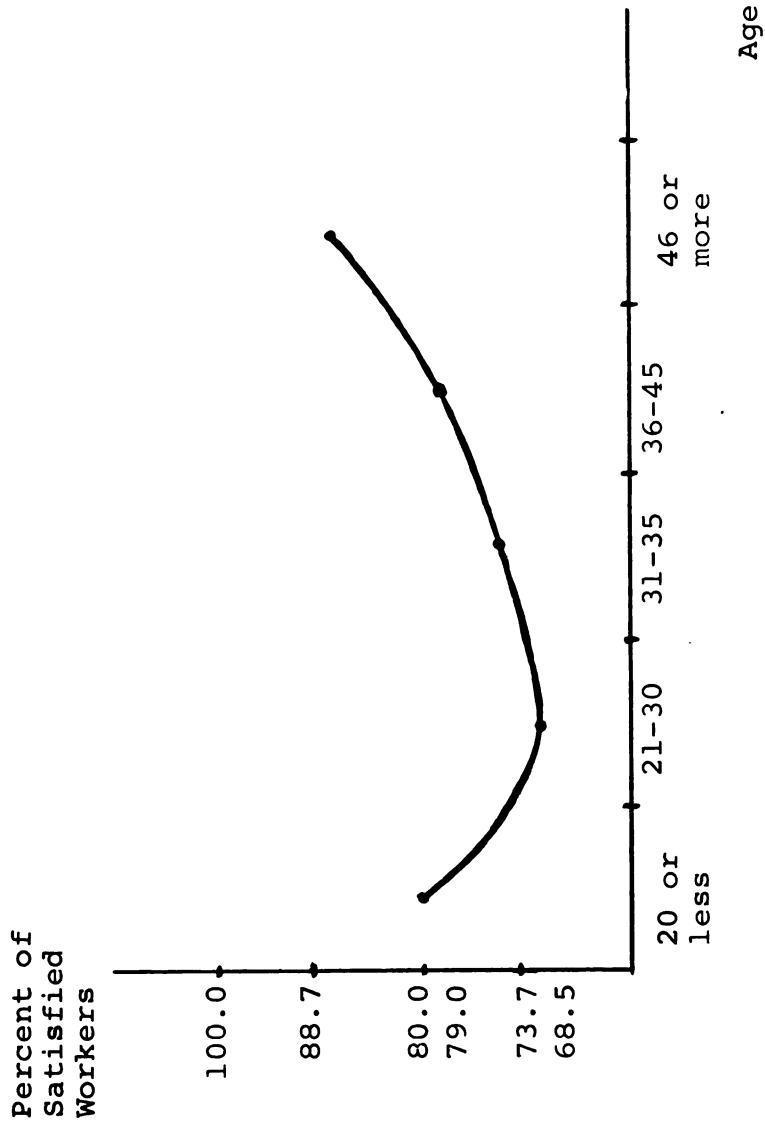


Figure 7. Percent distribution of workers satisfied with their present job tasks according to their age.

is the association between level of satisfaction and age presented in Figure 7. The curve of satisfied workers according to their age is definitely similar to that presented by Bengé and Copell, which has been supported by many research findings.<sup>1</sup> The curve shows that the youngest group had a large proportion of satisfied workers, that the lowest level of satisfaction occurred in the 21-30 age brackets, and that after 30 years of age satisfaction went up.

This can be interpreted as a consequence of selective job assignment, the enthusiasm of the youngest (necessarily with short seniority) for their first job, a subsequent period of frustration which replaces the enthusiasm, and a later period of adjustment to reality. As Wyatt and Marriott have pointed out,<sup>2</sup> the increase in satisfaction with age does not indicate that the worker becomes more satisfied as he gets older, but that the discontented tend to leave early in their careers. The age range of 21-30 represents the crucial period of searching for an alternative job. Moreover, the age of 35 represents the breaking point between higher and lower horizontal mobility rates. The high turnover in the assembly line types of occupation occurs below the age of 35.

Other evidence that satisfaction with job tasks is not enhanced by increasing age per se, is suggested by

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<sup>1</sup>See Frederick Herzberg, et al., Job Attitudes: Review of Research and Opinion (Pittsburgh, Penna.: Psychological Service of Pittsburgh, 1957), p. 6.

<sup>2</sup>Op. cit., p. 7.

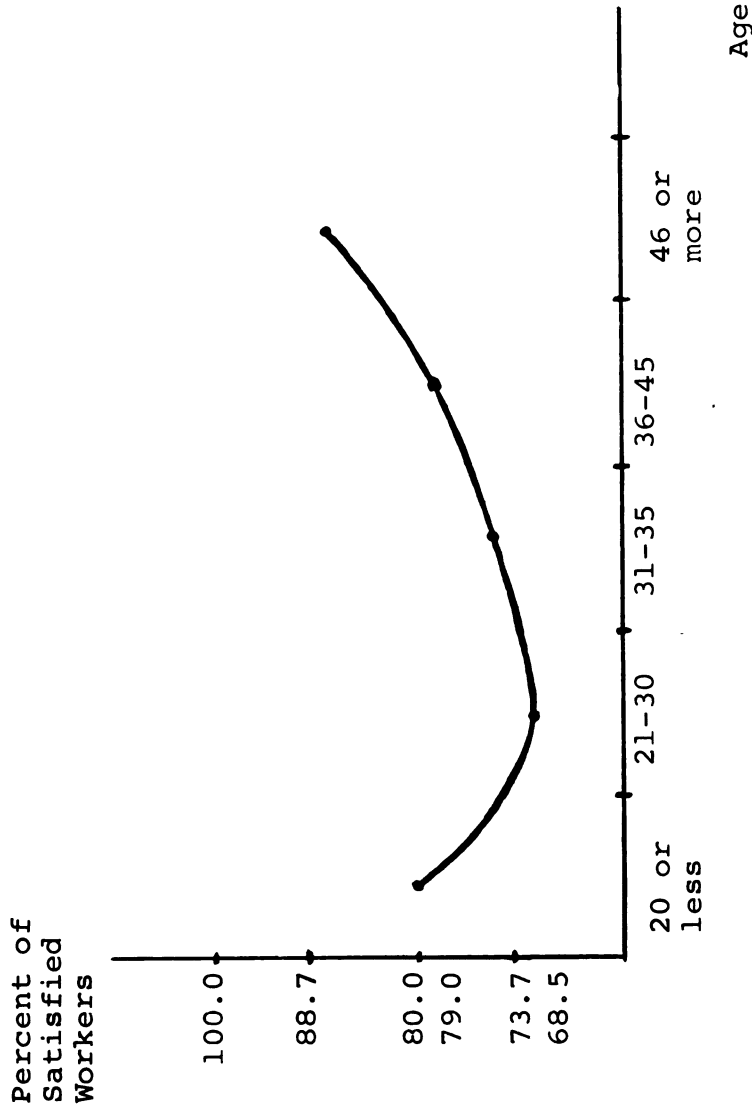


Figure 7. Percent distribution of workers satisfied with their present job tasks according to their age.

the fact, that, while age was associated with satisfaction, seniority was not.<sup>1</sup> Given the strong and highly significant association between age and seniority,<sup>2</sup> it appears that satisfaction among older workers was due not so much to a longer period of job adjustment as to dissatisfied workers quitting at an early age, regardless of their seniority.

Besides age, very few other personal and social characteristics were associated with the feeling of satisfaction with present job tasks. In fact, the relevant variables appear to be skill level and type of occupation. This might be expected, after what the preceding section has revealed about satisfaction depending on job tasks and the nature of the job performance itself.

Education did not at all affect the distribution of satisfaction among the workers.<sup>3</sup> In fact the percentage

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<sup>1</sup>The  $\chi^2$  between satisfaction with job tasks and age was 9.426; DF = 4;  $p = .05$ ,  $\bar{C} = .229$ , while with seniority the  $\chi^2$ 's  $p$  is greater than .30. The association between length of service and job satisfaction is not conclusive in many studies, and often it is not controlled by age, as Herzberg and his associates have pointed out (*op. cit.*, pp. 11-18). That seniority has no real impact on the level of job satisfaction is supported by the following conclusion concerning the middle period of length of service: "The worker who successfully passes the period of initial adjustment is less likely thereafter to quit his job, but he reports low satisfaction for a number of years." (*Ibid.*, p. 12 italics mine).

<sup>2</sup> $\chi^2 = 127.641$ ; DF = 9;  $p < .001$ ;  $\bar{C} = .734$ .

<sup>3</sup>The chi-square's probability is greater than .95. In general there is no consensus about the relationship between job satisfaction and education. Studies supporting the association are "not conclusive" (*ibid.*, pp. 15-17).

of dissatisfied workers among those with an elementary education is the same as among workers with higher education (10.3 and 10.9 percent respectively). Neither community of residence, community of work socialization, previous industrial background, or even occupational training were associated with job satisfaction.

There was, however, some relationship between marital status and satisfaction. But, as in many other studies, the association was not clear-cut;<sup>1</sup> for only when dissatisfied workers were combined with those who were neither satisfied nor dissatisfied, was there a significant positive association between marital status and job satisfaction.<sup>2</sup> Thus more unmarried workers were dissatisfied than married workers (one-third and one-fifth respectively). Having children did not affect the distribution of satisfaction.

Satisfaction with present job tasks was unequivocally associated with skill levels: none of the skilled workers expressed dissatisfaction with their tasks, but one-seventh of the unskilled workers did (Table 36). The proportions of satisfied workers decreased from higher to lower skill levels.

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<sup>1</sup>"In summary, the literature on how job attitudes are related to marital status and number of dependents does not permit any clear-cut conclusions to be drawn" (Herzberg, op. cit., p. 24).

<sup>2</sup> $\chi^2 = 4.220$ ;  $DF = 1$ ;  $p < .05$ ;  $\bar{c} = .183$ .



Table 36. Degree of jobs tasks satisfaction by skill level.

Satisfaction with Present Job Tasks	Skilled Workers	Semiskilled Workers	Unskilled Workers	Total
Satisfied	88.2%	87.9%	71.4%	76.4%
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	11.8	6.9	14.5	12.8
Dissatisfied	.0	5.2	14.1	10.8
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(34)	(58)	(213)	(305)

$$\chi^2 = 11.949; DF = 4; p < .05; \bar{c} = .273.$$

Data in Table 37 reveals that the proportion of satisfied workers was almost the same (and statistically not significantly different) among assemblers and machine operators. Although assemblers showed slightly more dissatisfaction than machine operators, the most significant difference was found between workers having job-type occupations and those having trade-type occupations, 14.6% and 2.2% of dissatisfied workers respectively.

Satisfaction with job tasks probably means different things at different levels of skill and in different types of occupations. Thus we need to analyze the reasons given for the feelings of satisfaction or dissatisfaction, and to investigate which particular features associated with skill levels and type of occupations make tasks more or less satisfying.

Table 37. Degree of job tasks satisfaction according to type of occupation.

Satisfaction with Present Job Tasks:	General Assembler (a)	Machine Operator (b)	Job-Types (a+b)	Trade-Types (c)	Total (a+b+c)
Satisfied	69.7%	72.5%	70.8%	89.2%	76.4%
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	14.4	15.0	14.6	8.6	12.8
Dissatisfied	15.9	12.5	14.6	2.2	10.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(132)	(80)	(212)	(93)	(305)

(a), (b) and (c):  $\chi^2 = 14.620$ ;  $DF = 4$ ;  $p < .01$ ;  $\bar{C} = .289$ .  
(a+b) and (c):  $\chi^2 = 14.020$ ;  $DF = 2$ ;  $p < .001$ ;  $\bar{C} = .306$ .

Table 38 presents the data on reasons given for satisfaction or dissatisfaction with job tasks. As previously mentioned, the variety of reasons were classified in three mutually exclusive categories. The first included all reasons pertaining to the physical and technical conditions of work activity. The second category embraces reasons which refer to the psycho-motor conditions of work activity, that is to those aspects of the task which are mainly psychological in character. Finally, the third category covers the reasons concerning the organizational and the social conditions of work activity.

Besides these reasons, there were others which were not clear. Vague and "don't know" answers represented one-third of the responses given. As Table 38 reveals, satisfied

workers gave vague or "don't know" answers in a higher proportion than dissatisfied workers. It may be easier to identify reasons for dissatisfaction than satisfaction, and it may be even more difficult to isolate reasons for ambivalent or intermediate feelings. Whatever the case, workers who were neither satisfied nor dissatisfied surpassed all others in their failure to identify reasons for their feelings.

Table 38. Degree of job task satisfaction according to reasons given.

Reasons	Dis- satisfied	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	Satisfied	Total
Physio-technical conditions	42.4%	18.0%	16.3%	19.3%
Psycho-motor conditions	27.3	30.8	27.5	27.9
Organizational and social conditions	15.1	12.8	22.3	20.3
Vague answers and "don't know"	15.2	38.4	33.9	32.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(33)	(39)	(233)	(305)

$$\chi^2 = 15.709; DF = 6; p < .02; \bar{C} = .282.$$

Almost half of the dissatisfied workers objected to the physical and technical aspects of job performance.

For them, the job tasks were too heavy, dirty, or tiring. On the other hand, among the satisfied, only one-sixth were concerned with physical and technical conditions of work. Obviously, laborious or heavy jobs yielded more dissatisfaction than easy or light jobs.

Psycho-motor conditions, on the other hand, did not account for difference in satisfaction. In fact the proportion of workers giving these reasons in evaluating their job remained constant for all degrees of job tasks satisfaction or other job aspects related to psycho-motor abilities. This could mean that uniform or varied operations can be as much a source of satisfaction as dissatisfaction. Thus certain conditions can make a slow-paced job either boring or well-timed, or a fast-paced job either challenging or strenuous, depending on the worker.<sup>1</sup>

As one may have expected, type of supervision, degree of job responsibility and initiative, and kind of work associates were generally greater sources of satisfaction than dissatisfaction. Organizational and social conditions of work activity were mentioned by almost one-fourth of the satisfied workers, and less than one-sixth of the dissatisfied workers.

The reasons given for being satisfied or dissatisfied differ noticeably when skill level is taken into account (Table 39). Psychological aspects, such as interest

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<sup>1</sup>See William F. Whyte Jr., Money and Motivation (New York: Harpers, 1955).

Table 39. Reasons given for job tasks satisfaction according to skill level.

Reasons	Satisfied		Dissatisfied		Total
	Skilled and Semiskilled Workers	Unskilled Workers	Skilled and Semiskilled Workers	Unskilled Workers	
Physio-technical conditions	10.2%	19.7%	18.2%	31.2%	19.3%
Psycho-motor conditions	35.5	23.6	27.3	29.5	27.9
Organizational and social conditions	29.1	19.1	9.1	14.7	20.3
Vague answers and "don't know"	25.2	37.6	45.4	24.6	32.5
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(79)	(152)	(11)	(61)	(303)

$\chi^2 = 10.238$ ;  $DF = 3$ ;  $p < .02$ ;  $\bar{C} = .295$ .

or variety in the job, and psycho-motor characteristics, such as the degree of accuracy required are factors given by more than one-third of the satisfied workers holding skilled and semiskilled occupations. Other important job aspects for these workers include the organizational and social conditions of work activity.

Unskilled workers had a higher proportion of satisfied respondents giving vague or "don't know" answers, and distributed their other reasons almost equally among the remaining three categories. Physical and technical job conditions (easy and light clean job) were more often sources of job satisfaction among the unskilled workers than among the skilled and semiskilled workers. The same pattern holds true for the dissatisfied workers: the unskilled workers paid more attention to the physio-technical characteristics of the job than the skilled and semiskilled workers. This might be obvious because the physical aspects of the job performance are more important to unskilled workers than to skilled and semiskilled workers.<sup>1</sup> The predominant importance of the type of work is shown in Table 40, where those in trade respond more to the

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<sup>1</sup>Notice that the 45% of the skilled and semi-skilled workers who were not satisfied represent only 5 workers. Two of these did not know why they were not satisfied, while the other three gave the following answers: "I do my task because I am obliged to, but I don't like it," "I could be satisfied and more efficient if I had better technical equipment," "My feelings depend entirely on the circumstances, sometimes I'm satisfied, some other times I am dissatisfied."

**Table 40. Reasons given for job tasks satisfaction by workers in job and trade type occupations.**

Reasons	Satisfied <sup>a</sup>		Dissatisfied		Total
	Job-Type Occupations	Trade-Type Occupations	Job-Type Occupations	Trade-Type Occupations	
Physio-technical conditions	20.0%	9.9%	33.8%	0.0%	19.3%
Psycho-motor conditions	24.7	33.3	27.4	40.0	27.9
Organizational and social conditions	19.3	28.4	14.5	10.0	20.3
Vague answers and "don't know"	36.0	28.4	24.5	50.0	32.5
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(150)	(81)	(62)	(10)	(305)

<sup>a</sup> $\chi^2 = 7.796$ ;  $DF = 3$ ;  $p = .05$ ;  $\bar{C} = .302$ .

psycho-motor conditions of work activity and, conversely, where those with a job-type occupation focus more on physio-technical conditions. Again, those with trades showed a great concern for the organizational and social sources of job satisfaction.

Differences between assembly line workers and machine operators were not very great, particularly with respect to the reasons for being satisfied. However, the assemblers tended to emphasize organizational and social aspects as a source of job dissatisfaction, while machine operators more frequently mentioned physio-technical aspects.

Differences were also noticeable between types of work, as Table 41 shows. Body mounters, who do more physical work than other assemblers, placed greater emphasis on physio-technical conditions of work activity. Crankshaft, gear, clutch and other part assemblers were least concerned with organizational and social conditions of the job. But those whose work activity requires an organizational coordination, such as block, transmission, and other units testers (as well as carburetor and other motor and chassis inspectors), placed a heavy emphasis on organizational and social conditions of the job as sources of satisfaction. Line feeders and utility men were concerned with the psycho-motor conditions of their jobs, and like part assemblers, were often unable to identify reasons for their feeling of satisfaction.

Among the machine operators, differences were found according to the type of production. Workers engaged in



Table 41. Reasons given for job satisfaction according to job classification.

Job Classification	Satisfied Workers				Dissatisfied Workers			
	Physio- Techni- cal	Psycho- motor	Organiz. & soc.	Total & DK	Physio- Techni- cal	Psycho- motor	Organiz. & soc.	Total & DK
<u>Assembly Lines:</u>								
Body Mounters	5	2	2	3	12	3	3	12
Parts Assemblers	11	11	3	13	38	13	3	38
Units Checkers and Testers	2	4	10	7	23	7	7	23
Line Feeders & Utility Man	1	6	2	5	14	5	5	14
<u>Machine Operators:</u>								
Rough production jobs	8	6	5	9	28	9	9	28
Finishing jobs	4	7	5	14	30	14	14	30

"rough production," such as boring-machine operators were more concerned with physical conditions as sources of satisfaction and with psycho-motor conditions as sources of dissatisfaction. On the other hand, those in finishing operations such as reaming-machine operators were satisfied by virtue of the psycho-motor conditions of the jobs and dissatisfied with their physio-technical aspects. This may be expected because rough production is more laborious than finishing production. Finishers must constantly check on the accuracy of the job done, so that interest and other psychological attributes of the job tend to be raised.

Workers in trade-type occupations (such as milling-machine operators, lathe operators, pattern lay-out markers, electricians, job setters, maintenance mechanics, and so forth) did not reveal an appreciable difference in the reasons given for disliking tasks. Probably because so few were dissatisfied. Among the satisfied, organizational and social job aspects were emphasized by motor testers and maintenance mechanics, and psychological conditions by pattern lay-out men. All the others named reasons more or less equally among the various categories.

To summarize the present section: the feelings of satisfaction with job tasks appeared to be more directly associated with occupational and job variables than with personal and social characteristics of the workers. Besides age, which presented a curvilinear relationship with feelings of satisfaction, only marital status was

associated with levels of satisfaction. On the other hand, skill levels and, to a lesser degree, type of occupation accounted for differences in levels of satisfaction. As for the reasons for such feelings, unskilled workers were more concerned with conditions related to bodily comfort, while skilled and semiskilled workers emphasized psychological aspects of work activity.

In general, feelings of satisfaction were more related to physical and technical conditions of the job (which allowed for bodily comfort) than to psychological aspects, such as interest or creativity. Feelings of dissatisfaction, on the other hand, were imputed to psychological aspects and speed of work pace more than to any other factor. However, interest accounted for satisfaction as much as boredom accounted for dissatisfaction. In other terms, psychomotor conditions of work activity were as much a source of dissatisfaction as a source of satisfaction. Type of work seemed the decisive factor. The most dissatisfied workers were parts assemblers and rough-machine operators, due to the speed of work pace for the parts assemblers and monotony for the rough-machine operators.

#### Desire to Change Present Job Tasks

The second question concerning satisfaction with job tasks was: "Would you like, without a change in pay, to change type of work activity every once in a while, or not?" The distribution of responses was as follows:

Would like to change	47.4%
Would not like to change	47.7
Current job already involves task changes	4.6
No answer	.3
	<u>100.0</u>
	(306)

Half of the workers would like to change present job tasks every once in a while. Compared with the proportion who declared they were satisfied with their job tasks, this proportion seems somewhat high. Although the workers may have exaggerated their feelings of satisfaction, it is possible that a man feels satisfied with his job tasks and yet desires a change on occasion. This appears to be the case. However good and comfortable the conditions of work activity may be, workers would like to experience an occasional change in order to break the monotony or to experience other forms of work activity. This was reflected in the kind of reasons they gave to explain their desire to change job tasks:

To relieve monotony and to vary tasks	50.7%
To learn other skills or improve careers	36.2
Because present activity is not satisfactory	9.0
"Don't know" answers	4.1
	<u>100.0</u>
	(144)

As seen above, less than one-tenth expressed a desire to change their present job tasks because they disliked them. All others felt that they needed a change once in a while to break the monotony (one half), or to improve their skills (about one-third).

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The relationship between the degree of job task satisfaction and desire to change present job tasks is better shown in Table 42. Satisfaction and the lack of desire to change jobs are clearly associated.<sup>1</sup> Yet one-fourth of the satisfied workers would have liked to change their job tasks every two months or more, some (4.1%) only for the time required to learn a new skill, and others for a longer period. On the other hand, one-fourth of the dissatisfied had no desire to change their present job tasks. Eight unskilled workers, although dissatisfied with some conditions of work activity, felt that a change would not have improved their situation.

However, the majority of satisfied workers desired no changes in their job tasks, while the great majority of dissatisfied workers wanted to change, one-third at least every month and another one-half every two months or more. Workers having a medium degree of job task satisfaction were in between these extremes.

Data in Table 43 shows that the desire to change job tasks and skill levels were negatively associated. Only one-half of unskilled workers would change their present job tasks as compared with almost three-fourths of skilled workers. The semiskilled workers appeared closer to the unskilled than to the skilled workers. Evidently

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<sup>1</sup>Without considering the frequency of desired change, the degree of job tasks satisfaction and desire to change present job tasks are associated with  $X^2 = 13.355$ ;  $DF = 2$ ;  $p < .005$ ;  $\bar{C} = .299$ .

Table 42. Desire to change job tasks according to degree of job tasks satisfaction.

Desire to change job tasks	Degree of Job Tasks Satisfaction			Total
	Dis-satisfied	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	Satisfied	
No desire to change	24.2%	46.2%	57.4%	52.4%
Desire to change:				
every month or less	33.4	17.9	12.1	15.1
every two months or more	49.4	33.3	26.3	28.6
unspecified frequency	3.0	2.6	4.2	3.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(33)	(39)	(232)	(304)

Table 43. Workers desiring to change their present job tasks according to skill levels.

Desire to change job tasks	Skill Levels			Total
	Skilled Workers	Semiskilled Workers	Unskilled Workers	
No	70.6%	55.2%	48.8%	52.5%
Yes	29.4	44.8	51.2	47.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(34)	(58)	(213)	(305)

$$X^2 = 5.779; DF = 2; p < .08; \bar{C} = .199.$$

the monotony in their work made it more similar to that of the unskilled workers than of the skilled workers (although with respect to the work life as a whole, the reverse is probably true).

Differences between types of occupation with respect to a change in job tasks were negligible.<sup>1</sup> While occupational background made no difference, degree of occupational training was positively associated, since those who had some training were more willing to change job tasks than those who did not.<sup>2</sup>

The only other occupational variable which showed some association with the desire to change job tasks was seniority.<sup>3</sup> A smaller percentage of workers with long seniority desired to change job tasks than workers with less than four years of service (42 and 55 percent, respectively). Such an association, although not very high, reflects a negative and significant relationship between age and desire to change job tasks as evident in Table 44. This relationship is linear. The youngest workers desired to change job tasks most, even though they were satisfied. Thus four-fifths of them were satisfied workers and the

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<sup>1</sup>About half of the assembly workers and machine operators desired job task changes as compared to 40 percent of workers in trade-type occupations ( $X^2$ 's  $p$  is greater than .20). Collapsed job versus trade types of occupations give a  $X^2$ 's  $p$  greater than .10 and smaller than .20.

<sup>2</sup> $X^2 = 3.863$ ;  $DF = 1$ ;  $p = .05$ ;  $\bar{C} = .187$ .

<sup>3</sup> $X^2 = 4.956$ ;  $DF = 1$ ;  $p < .05$ ;  $\bar{C} = .198$ .



Table 44. Age distribution of workers desiring to change their present job tasks.

Desire to change job tasks	Age Groups					Total
	20 or less	21-30	31-35	36-45	46 or more	
Yes	80.0%	57.4%	49.2%	43.5%	25.8%	47.2%
No	20.0	42.6	50.8	56.5	74.2	52.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(10)	(108)	(61)	(62)	(62)	(303)

$$\chi^2 = 20.646; DF = 4; p < .001; \bar{C} = .335.$$

same proportion wanted to change job tasks (see Figure 7 and Table 44). These young workers not only desired to improve their occupational position, but sought less monotonous jobs. The positive relationship between age and desire to change, and the negative association between seniority and desire to change, is indirect confirmation that younger dissatisfied workers are likely to quit or resign themselves to their condition.

Marital status was significantly associated with a desire to change, marriage being a restraining factor.<sup>1</sup> Education, while not associated with satisfaction with job tasks, was highly associated with desire to change job

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<sup>1</sup> $\chi^2 = 9.213; DF = 1; p < .005; \bar{C} = .269.$  Having or not having children was not significantly associated.

tasks.<sup>1</sup> Clearly the more highly educated workers felt they had potential capacity for other jobs and less ability to remain in uninteresting jobs.

### Conclusions

The foci of the present analysis have been the psycho-technical and organizational conditions of work activity, and the impact of occupational, personal, and social characteristics on the levels of satisfaction and dissatisfaction with job tasks. As to the first focus, we concluded that the feeling of satisfaction with job tasks was more dependent on the physical and technical conditions of work activity than on its psychological or organizational aspects. That is, workers who were satisfied with job tasks emphasized cleanness, lightness, and other physio-technical aspects of their present tasks. On the other hand, the dissatisfied emphasized psycho-motor aspects more than all other conditions of work activity. This means that, while a well-timed work pace was not a source of satisfaction, a rushed time cycle of operations or the high speed of the conveyor belt elicited feelings of dissatisfaction.

Type of work was found to discriminate the reasons given to explain feelings of satisfaction and dissatisfaction. In fact, if the work required great physical activity, then physical aspects were emphasized; but if the work required

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<sup>1</sup> $\chi^2 = 12.599$ ;  $DF = 1$ ;  $p < .001$ ;  $\bar{C} = .314$ .

organizational coordination, then social and organizational factors were more relevant. Moreover, if the work implied coordination of motion over a fixed time, and attention, the worker was likely to focus his feeling of dissatisfaction on the psycho-motor conditions and their consequences, such as lack of interest, monotony and boredom. The possibility to check the accuracy of the work understandably reduced the feeling of dissatisfaction.

The impact of occupational, personal, and social characteristics of the worker on his satisfaction with job tasks varied according to whether we considered the feeling of satisfaction declared by the worker or his desire to change his present tasks. In the case of the subjective satisfaction with job tasks, occupational variables such as skill level, type of occupation, and type of work activity played a considerable role. On the other hand, very few personal and social characteristics other than age were associated with the feeling of satisfaction with job tasks.

In the desire to change present job tasks, occupational variables also played a minor role, but, unlike the case of job satisfaction, personal and social characteristics revealed greater influence. That is, while the nature of job performance and the occupational variable related to it were decisive in the feelings toward job tasks, personal and social conditions of the worker greatly affected his desire to change those tasks.

The role of all these variables and factors can be summarized with the help of an Index of Job Tasks Satisfaction which has been constructed, giving scores ranging from 0 to 2 to answers to the question pertaining to feelings of satisfaction, and scores 0 to 1 to the answers to the question concerning the desire to change job tasks. When the combined total scores for each individual worker is placed into a low, medium, and high category, the distribution is as follows:

Low Job-Tasks Satisfaction (scores 0 and 1)	17.8%
Medium Job-Tasks Satisfaction (score 2)	37.9
High Job-Tasks Satisfaction (score 3)	<u>44.3</u>
	100.0%
	(303)

The Index, thus trichotomized, was run against some occupational, personal and social variables. The resultant associations are presented in Table 45, which shows that age, marital status, type of occupation, skill level, education and seniority are, in decreasing order of importance, the variables which affect job task satisfaction. This finding supports the already established generalizations in the field, and points to their cross-societal validity. It is worth emphasizing that personal and social variables, such as age and marital status, have greater impact on intrinsic job satisfaction than such occupational variables as skill levels and seniority. To be sure, skill level and type of occupation are undoubtedly the most important occupational variables, and, although this is

Table 45. Associations between the index of job tasks satisfaction and some occupational, personal and social variables.

Variables	Chi-Square	Degrees of Freedom	Probability Level	Contingency Coefficient (corrected)
Skill Levels	13.531	2	<.005	.300
Type of Occupation	13.919	2	<.001	.305
Seniority	6.989	2	<.05	.218
Occupational Training	3.217	2	=.20	----
Industrial Background	1.435	2	>.30	----
Age	28.670	2	<.001	.363
Marital Status	15.049	2	<.001	.316
Education	13.349	2	<.005	.289
Rural-Urban Residence	.440	2	>.80	----
Rural-Urban Background	1.635	2	>.30	----

possibly due to the peculiarities of our sample, they equally affect job tasks satisfaction.

Rural-urban differences, either in terms of residence or of background, do not have any impact on the level of job task satisfaction. This was unexpected because one of the main hypotheses was that job tasks satisfaction would be negatively associated with rural residence. Industrial job tasks and rural life were held to be antithetical. Data for Turinese automobile workers do not confirm this hypothesis.<sup>1</sup> However, more specifically designed studies on the job satisfaction of the part-time farmer who commutes to an industrial employment are certainly needed before firm conclusions can be drawn.

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<sup>1</sup>Probably for the same reasons stressed in the preceding chapter à propos of occupational satisfaction and rural-urban residence.

## CHAPTER VII

### LIVING IN THE SHOP: WORK ENVIRONMENT SATISFACTION

The fourth area of worker satisfaction to be considered is the satisfaction derived from working in a particular environment. Our automobile workers spent one-third of their daily lives in the factory. They worked in a human as well as in a physical setting. What were their attitudes toward both aspects of their occupational world?

The physical environment of a modern automobile plant is quite different from that which characterized the first industrial shops. The unhealthy physical atmosphere of the early manufacturing plants was undoubtedly one of the causes of worker discontent. The disregard for hygienic working conditions by early entrepreneurs and the rudimentary type of production processes required<sup>1</sup> made the shop environment more similar to the workhouse than to the pre-industrial craft shop.<sup>2</sup> In Europe, the

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<sup>1</sup>As in the textile industry where the absence of ventilation was required to prevent threads from drying and breaking.

<sup>2</sup>And, indeed, they were a sort of reformatory institution, particularly for women and children, as the Puritan boarding-house shops were the first system of factory production in the U.S.A. E. Bogart and D. Kemmerer, Economic History of the American People (New York: Longmans, 1955).

shop environment constituted an important factor in shaping the class-consciousness of the industrial labor force, not only because it stimulated social interaction of large number of worker concentrated in large buildings, but also because of the character of the physical setting itself.

Today, productive efficiency, the development of hygienic standards, improved technological processes, and the availability of ventilation systems have changed the appearance of the factory environment. However, some of the typical features of the factory system still remain sources of dissatisfaction. Large noisy workshops still exist, dirty production processes are not entirely eliminated, and air conditioners may not cope adequately with temperature and weather changes.

These material conditions are, by themselves, of little sociological relevance. Yet, they play a role in the overall pattern of worker satisfactions. Even good working conditions may be a source of dissatisfaction.<sup>1</sup> Once a threshold is reached, workers are probably not made happier by more lighting or more pleasant temperatures, but there can be little doubt that they become dissatisfied with insufficient lighting and inadequate heating during cold seasons. The discovery of the social nature of work should not overshadow the way in which good or bad physical

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<sup>1</sup>Eventually these "good conditions" might be interpreted by the worker as one of the many attempts of management to exploit his productive efforts.



conditions may affect the individual worker or the group.<sup>1</sup>

The human environment of work, however, is the crucial factor for the worker's adjustment. It has long been one of the main areas of research into worker satisfaction. Teamwork and informal organizations have both received widespread attention in recent years. The present study focuses attention on the extent of satisfaction the worker derives from contacts with his fellow workers and the relationship between such satisfaction and the different interaction patterns which are required to perform his job.

Technological conditions of work greatly affect the worker's pattern of social interaction on the job. As Walker says, "the technical nature of the work on the assembly line neither suggests nor compels interaction."<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, production jobs often require workers to interact closely. Variations can be found within the same plant and even within the same department. The range spans jobs which require almost no interaction to be performed, to tasks which require a high degree of teamwork. The type of interaction imposed on the worker in order to perform his job tasks, we shall call "technical interaction."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>In a production department or on the assembly line, noise is an obvious barrier to verbal interaction. Cf. Charles R. Walker, et al., The Foreman on the Assembly Line (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1956), p. 129.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 130.

<sup>3</sup>The question aimed to ascertain this technical interaction was: "With how many fellow workers do you have to talk in order to perform your job?"

Subtracting this technical interaction from the "total interaction"<sup>1</sup> on the job provides an index of pure "social interaction." The latter is neither required nor originated by his job performance or by the technical character of his work.

Technical interaction and social interaction represent the areas of inquiry into the social setting of work environment (see Table 1). On the other hand, inquiry into the physical setting of the work environment will be concerned with physical working conditions (such as space, ventilation, cleanliness, lighting, noise, and temperature) and the industrial seniority, the length of time the worker has spent in industry.

The feelings of satisfaction with present workplace and with daily contacts with workmates were ascertained by the two following questions:

"Do you like the actual place or locale where you work or not?"

"Are you satisfied or not with the daily contacts you have with your fellow workers?"

Other questions were aimed to probe these feelings, and others to ascertain how far from his workplace the worker could move during working hours, the number of workers with whom he had some interaction, and the type of interaction experienced on the job.

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<sup>1</sup>The total interaction was ascertained with the following question: "With how many fellow workers can you talk, for one reason or another, during actual working hours?"

Satisfaction with the Physical  
Setting of Work

Distribution of responses dealing with evaluation of workplace was as follows:

Likes his workplace	72.6%
Doesn't like it	26.8
Always changing	.3
No answer	<u>.3</u>
	100.0%
	(306)

Over seven-tenths of the workers liked their actual workplace. This proportion was similar to that indicated for other aspects of satisfaction. This suggests that the worker already took his workplace into account when he expressed his feelings about his present occupation. However, where some occupational variables are considered we do not find the pattern indicated by occupational satisfaction. Thus, skilled and semiskilled workers were more occupationally satisfied than unskilled workers (Table 23), while in the case of workplace satisfaction (Table 46) the reverse is true. The unskilled workers were more satisfied.

The same trend is shown for type of occupation. In the case of occupational and job task satisfaction, general assemblers were the least satisfied workers, but they were the most satisfied with their workplace (see Table 47). On the other hand, the least satisfied were not those in trade-type occupations but the machine operators.

Table 46. Satisfaction with work place according to skill level.

Work Place Satisfaction	Skill Level		Total
	Skilled and Semiskilled	Unskilled	
Satisfied	65.2%	76.5%	73.1%
Dissatisfied	34.8	23.5	26.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(92)	(213)	(305)

$\chi^2 = 4.180$ ;  $DF = 1$ ;  $p < .05$ ;  $\bar{C} = .182$ .

Table 47. Satisfaction with work place according to type of occupation.

Work Place Satisfaction	General Assembler	Machine Operator	Trade-Type Occupations	Total
Satisfied	84.1%	60.0%	68.8%	73.1%
Dissatisfied	15.9	40.0	31.2	26.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(132)	(80)	(93)	(305)

$\chi^2 = 15.964$ ;  $DF = 2$ ;  $p < .001$ ;  $\bar{C} = .325$ .

These findings point out that skill level and actual place of work are both factors in satisfaction with the physical setting of work. To test this hypothesis, skill level was controlled by department, which coincided with the actual physical location of work. The experimental department was located in a large "L" shaped building with only one partition which did not reach up to the ceiling. The production department, composed of machine operators, was located in a huge building with other departments with no partition dividing them. Finally, the two assembly lines ran parallel to each other in the same building. Facing the walls and backed by a tall complex of mechanical equipment for the transfer of body and mechanical units (under a low saw-tooth shaped ceiling), the atmosphere of the assembly lines appeared somewhat more intimate than the other departments.

Table 48 presents the distribution of satisfied workers according to their skill levels and departments. The least satisfied were in the production department. Unskilled workers of this department were more satisfied than their semiskilled workmates, although the difference was not significant. Both semiskilled and unskilled workers in this department differed significantly from workers of their same skill level in other departments. Semiskilled workers in the production department were much less satisfied than semiskilled workers in the experimental department.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, unskilled workers in production

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<sup>1</sup> $\chi^2 = 9.578$ ;  $DF = 1$ ;  $p < .005$ ;  $\bar{c} = .637$ .

Table 48. Percentages of workers satisfied with their work place according to their skill level and department.

Department	Experimental <sup>a</sup>		Production <sup>b</sup>		Assembly Lines <sup>c</sup>		Total
	Skilled	Semi Skilled	Semi Skilled	Unskilled	(I) Unskilled	(II) Unskilled	
Work Place Satisfaction:							
Satisfied	61.7	84.4	46.2	63.4	87.4	81.4	73.1
Dissatisfied	38.3	15.6	53.8	36.6	12.6	18.6	26.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(34)	(32)	(26)	(82)	(72)	(59)	(305)

$\chi^2 = 4.184$ ;  $DF = 1$ ;  $p < .05$ ;  $\bar{C} = .395$ .

$\chi^2 = 2.426$ ;  $DF = 1$ ;  $.10 < p < .20$ .

$\chi^2 = .955$ ;  $DF = 1$ ;  $p > .30$ .

were less satisfied than unskilled workers on the assembly lines.<sup>1</sup> This points to the lesser role which skill plays for the satisfaction with workplace in the production department.

As expected, there were no significant differences between the two assembly lines. In the experimental department, impact of skill was revealed, for skilled workers were less satisfied than the semiskilled workmates. The reason may be that workers of higher skill were less prone to tolerate unpleasant features of the physical environment, and more likely to prefer working in a more intimate craft-like shop. The analysis of the reasons they gave when evaluating their work environment tended to support this hypothesis.

These reasons were classified in four substantive categories pertaining to: 1) the physical dimensions of the workshop, 2) the clean-dirty physical environment, 3) the airflow or ventilation, 4) lighting, heating and noise. Another category included all the vague or not pertinent answers.

The distributions of these reasons are presented in Table 49. The figures show that ventilation yielded considerable more unfavorable than favorable responses, while cleanliness of environment showed a reverse trend. This means that lack of ventilation is more a factor for

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<sup>1</sup> $\chi^2 = 11.422$ ;  $DF = 1$ ;  $p < .001$ ;  $\bar{C} = .356$ .

dissatisfaction than good ventilation for satisfaction.

Poor ventilation was cited by more than half of the workers and was the largest source of dissatisfaction.<sup>1</sup>

Table 49. Reasons for liking and disliking workplace in percentages.

Reasons	Likes	Dislikes	Total
Workshop Dimensions	15.8	15.8	15.8
Clean-Dirty Environment	29.9	7.3	23.8
Airflow and Ventilation	9.0	53.7	21.1
Lighting, Noise and Heating	13.6	18.3	14.9
Vague Answers	31.7	4.9	24.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(221)	(82)	(303)

$\chi^2 = 87.622$ ;  $DF = 4$ ;  $p < .001$ .

A clean environment was, on the other hand a source of satisfaction, for it constituted over one-fourth of the positive evaluations. Other aspects, such as lighting, heating, noise, and workshop dimensions, were equally mentioned

<sup>1</sup>Probably the lack of adequate ventilation created a negative morale side-effect in terms of feelings of psychological oppression. "We don't breathe" ("Non si respira") was a comment which carried such a connotation. However, in general, comments were very specific: "The air is unbreathable, we need fans" ("L'aria é irrespirabile, ci vogliono respiratori (sic) d'aria").



as sources of positive or negative evaluation of the physical environment. There were, of course, differences according to skill level and type of occupation. Skilled workers emphasized the large dimensions of the building as a source of dissatisfaction (50% of all unfavorable comments). Semiskilled and unskilled workers pointed most often to lack of ventilation as a source for disliking the workplace (60% of all unfavorable comments). And workers in trade-type occupations showed more concern for a clean environment than those in job-type occupations.

Before leaving the subject of satisfaction with the physical work environment, let us examine whether a long period of industrial seniority had an impact on workplace satisfaction. Industrial seniority was operationalized in terms of years of industrial background from age of first employment. We expected workers with longer seniority to be more satisfied with the physical work environment than those with shorter seniority. Adjustment to the industrial environment, we reasoned, was more likely to occur among those longest exposed to it. Table 50 does not confirm this reasoning. In fact, those workers who started their industrial occupational life at 14 years of age or before, were less satisfied than those who started later.<sup>1</sup> Those

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<sup>1</sup>When control for company seniority and age is simultaneously introduced in the association between occupational background, age of first employment, and satisfaction with workplace, the proportions of satisfied workers are not dissimilar to those of Table 50. However, longer company seniority and age are associated with feelings of dissatisfaction.

with longer seniority seemed more tired than adjusted to the industrial workshop.

Table 50. Workers satisfied with work place according to occupational background and age of first employment.

Occupational Background	Industrial <sup>a</sup>		Non Industrial		Total
	14 years or less	More than 14 years	14 years or less	More than 14 years	
Satisfaction with work-place					
Satisfied	66.6%	82.1%	73.6%	78.0%	73.1%
Dissatisfied	33.4	17.9	26.4	22.0	26.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(126)	(56)	(72)	(50)	(304)

$$a\chi^2 = 4.550; DF = 1; p < .05; \bar{C} = .245.$$

#### Satisfaction with the Social Setting of Work

Satisfaction with the social setting of the work environment was ascertained with the question "Are you satisfied or not with the daily contacts you have with your fellow workers?". The distribution of answers was as follows:

Satisfied	85.9%
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	11.8
Dissatisfied	<u>2.3</u>
	100.0
	(306)

The high degree of satisfaction (85%) with workmates shown by these figures had to be expected because very few workers tolerate complete isolation or constant feelings of dissatisfaction with their fellow workers. Among the respondents there was only a handful (2.3%) who felt open hostility toward their workmates but one-tenth were neither completely satisfied nor dissatisfied.

Which factors account for the feelings toward workmates?<sup>1</sup> As already mentioned, this area was tapped by attempting to assess the amount of interaction required by the technical definition of job task and the interaction which takes place for only social reasons. These were called "technical interaction" and "social interaction."

Table 51 displays data on the relation between the amount of technical interaction on the job and the satisfaction with workmates. The relationship, although not statistically significant, appears to be curvilinear. Similarly, an opposite type of curvilinear relationship was suggested by other data on social interaction and workmate satisfaction. The curvilinearity of the data suggests that both isolation and too many contacts on the job are likely to foster dissatisfaction with workmates. In sociological terms, this means that a workteam composed of

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<sup>1</sup>Among all occupational and socio-demographic variables only rural-urban residence showed a statistically significant association with workmate satisfaction. Fathers' and grandfathers' major occupation were also associated with workmates satisfaction, as we shall see below.

one to five members closely interacting mainly for technical reasons is likely to foster more feelings of satisfaction with workmates than do larger work groups or isolated work.

Table 51. Degree of satisfaction with workmates according to amount of technical interaction required by the job.

Amount of Technical Interaction	Satisfied with Workmates	Dissatisfied with Workmates	Total	(N)
No interaction	81.4%	18.6%	100.0%	(91)
Interaction with one to five workmates	89.6	10.4	100.0	(144)
Interaction with more than five workmates	85.7	14.3	100.0	(42)

$$\chi^2 = 3.106; DF = 2; .20 < p < .30.$$

This has to be judged within the context of the technological structures of the automobile industry. Technical interaction with one to five workmates is most likely to occur on the assembly lines. And because assemblers cannot move freely, as workers in the experimental department, technical interaction represents the only opportunity they have for social behavior on the job. This situation does not apply to isolated machine operators<sup>1</sup> and to workers in the experimental department.

<sup>1</sup>The technical interaction of machine operators tends to be limited to machine setters, although some interact

On the other hand, other data suggest that social interaction, when restricted to a few individuals, may create more dissatisfaction with workmates than interaction based on technical requirements or social interaction within large groups. Here, other factors may be operating. First, social interaction in an automobile plant tends to be of limited range, and hence does not allow the worker much freedom to choose people with whom to interact. When choice is possible, as in the case of workers who are interacting with more than five workmates, satisfaction tends to become enhanced. Second, social interaction within a small group may focus more on political and union affairs than might be the case within larger work groups, thus becoming more a source of dissatisfaction than satisfaction. In fact, political conversation on the job is always considered in Italy a source of personal troubles. A clue to this was given by a comment by one of the satisfied workers: "As long as we don't talk politics, we are a very integrated group."<sup>1</sup>

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"technically" with from one to three workers. However, the fact that machine operators may contact more fellow workers within a wider work space than assembly workers, decreases the importance of technical interaction as a source of satisfaction with workmates.

<sup>1</sup>"Se non parliamo di politica, siamo una squadra affiatata." That politics is "dirty" (sporca) and hence it should be left to professional politicians is a traditional Italian belief which was encouraged by the ruling classes and particularly by the Fascist dictatorship. However, in recent years, political conversation is practiced by one-third of the adult population, and it represents the most influential means of political communication. Cf. Paolo Ammassari, "Opinione Politica e Scelta Elettorale," in A. Spreafico and J. La Palombara, Elezioni e Comportamento Politico in Italia, Comunità, Milano, 1963, pp. 733-79.

Within the strongly differentiated Italian ideological context, discussion of union and political matters is likely to degenerate into arguments and disputes. The presence of workers with convictions of the extreme left or right is likely to turn social interaction to political matters. An indication of this appears in the distribution of satisfied workers according to their union and political orientation<sup>1</sup> (Table 52). Those workers who have more extreme political orientations, either radical or conservative, are comparatively more dissatisfied with their workmates than workers who are politically oriented toward a moderate and center position. Evidently, extreme union and political orientations decrease the opportunities for casual social interaction and increase the likelihood of unsatisfactory relationships.<sup>2</sup>

In fact many workers like to avoid discussions of political matters to escape an ideological commitment which could expose them either to the reprisals of an allegedly conservative management or to the carpings of their leftish fellow workers. Thus, an apathetic or moderate political orientation is more likely to permit satisfactory social relations on the job, as Table 52 shows.

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<sup>1</sup>Union orientation and political ideology are directly associated in Italy. See Chapter IV, and for details on the left-center-right categories, Chapter IX.

<sup>2</sup>Franca Magistretti has documented the role played by politics in group acceptance. See "Sociological Factors in the Structurings of Industrial Workers' Teams," American Journal of Sociology, LX, 6 (May, 1955), pp. 536-40.

Table 52. Satisfaction with workmates according to union and political orientation.

Union and Political Orientation	Satisfied with Workmates	Dissatisfied with Workmates	Total
Left	21.4%	32.6%	22.9%
Center	45.8	32.5	44.0
Right	18.7	27.9	20.0
Apathetic Workers	14.1	7.0	13.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(262)	(43)	(305)

$$\chi^2 = 6.512; DF = 3; .05 < p < .01; \bar{c} = .196.$$

In this situation, the workers who are most concerned with union and political affairs may become discontented. In fact, as Table 53 shows, workers with medium and high union involvement were more dissatisfied with their workmates than workers with low involvement. Dissatisfaction was also greater for those who came from families traditionally in industrial occupations. It must have been difficult for some workers whose grandfathers<sup>1</sup> and fathers<sup>2</sup> had told them about the traditional avant-garde political role of the Turinese industrial working class to accept the less class-conscious orientation of the new labor force.

<sup>1</sup>Grandfather's major occupation in industry and dissatisfaction with workmates are associated with  $\chi^2 = 5.299$ ;  $DF = 1$ ;  $p < .05$ ;  $\bar{c} = .221$ .

<sup>2</sup>Father's major occupation in industry and dissatisfaction with workmates are associated with  $\chi^2 = 5.587$ ;  $DF = 1$ ;  $p < .05$ ;  $\bar{c} = .214$ .

Table 53. Workers' satisfaction with their workmates according to levels of union involvement.

Level of Union Involvement	Dissatisfied with Workmates	Satisfied with Workmates	Total	(N)
Low	7.8%	92.2%	100.0%	(43)
Medium and High	16.7	83.3	100.0	(262)

$\chi^2 = 4.212$ ;  $DF = 1$ ;  $p < .05$ ;  $\bar{c} = .187$ .

### Conclusions

Turinese automobile workers seemed to be generally satisfied with the industrial workshop environment. Our investigation of their attitudes toward the physical setting of work showed that only one-fourth of them were not completely satisfied. The discontented pointed primarily to the lack of sufficient ventilation. The satisfied appreciated a clean workplace more than anything else. Thus, as Herzberg and his associates found in investigating aspects of work satisfaction,<sup>1</sup> some factors played a greater role as sources of satisfaction than of dissatisfaction, and vice versa.

Probably the most interesting finding is the negative association between satisfaction with workplace and skill level. Contrary to findings in other aspects of worker satisfaction, the skilled workers seemed more dissatisfied than the unskilled workers. Similarly, workers on the

<sup>1</sup>Frederick Herzberg, et al., The Motivation to Work (New York: Wiley, 1959), p. 81.



assembly lines were the most satisfied with workplace.

Another unexpected finding was that adjustment to the physical environment of industry is not likely to increase with industrial seniority. On the contrary, longer service favored feelings of dissatisfaction with physical conditions.

This study showed that the great majority of workers were satisfied with daily contacts with their workmates. A minority were not completely satisfied, but only a very few actively disliked both their fellow workers and the social environment on the job. An intermediate amount of interaction required by the job seemed to foster more satisfaction with workmates than no technical interaction at all or a great amount of it. Moreover, interaction not required by the job, when limited to a small group, tended to be more of a source of dissatisfaction than satisfaction. Evidently, the opportunity for a wide range of social interaction permits greater selectivity of workmates, thus increasing feelings of satisfaction.

The ideological dimension seemed to play a role in the pattern of social relations on the job. Workers with higher union involvement were less satisfied with their workmates than those with lower union involvement. Also workers with extreme political orientations tended to be more dissatisfied than the politically apathetic or moderate. The same appeared to be the case for workers who came from families with a longer industrial tradition, for they too

were more dissatisfied with workmates than workers with more recent industrial origins.<sup>1</sup>

An index of worker satisfaction was constructed, giving scores from 0 to 1 to answers to the first question pertaining to workplace satisfaction, and scores from 0 to 2 to answers to the second question concerning satisfaction with workmates. The distribution of scores on the index showed that only three workers disliked both their workplace and their daily contacts with workmates, and that two-thirds were satisfied with both aspects.

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<sup>1</sup>Rural residents tended to be more satisfied with workmates, although the association between residence and the index of work-environment satisfaction was not statistically significant ( $X^2 = 3.229$ ;  $DF = 1$ ;  $.05 < p < .10$ ).

## PART III: WORKER SATISFACTION AND SOCIAL LIFE

### CHAPTER VIII

#### SOCIAL ASPECTS OF OCCUPATIONAL LIFE: UNIONISM

One of the early criticisms of the "human relations" school was its failure to take into account union life. Fortunately later investigations of work satisfaction have contemplated this area as one of the main foci of inquiry.<sup>1</sup> In this study, unionism represents an important aspect of the worker's social life which links his social and ideological environments (see Figure 1).

Several dimensions of union life will be considered: union interest, union involvement, and the modalities of union ideological orientations. Each of these variables will be assessed in its relationship to the levels of worker satisfaction. Here two assumptions are made. Union life, as well as other social aspects of occupational activity, is not considered as a main component in the pattern of worker satisfaction. Instead, unionism is viewed as an

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<sup>1</sup>The two studies more relevant to the present area of investigation are Charles R. Walker and Robert H. Guest, The Man on the Assembly Line (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1952), and A. Zalesnik, C. Christensen, and F. J. Roethlisberger, with G. Homans, The Motivation, Productivity and Satisfaction of Workers (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958).

aspect in itself, which can be considered either as dependent or independent variable.

The second assumption is that union life would be a dependent variable with respect to work life. This assumption is mainly heuristic: an analysis of union life as an independent factor will require a much broader investigation which cannot be undertaken here. Although related to occupational life, unionism is seldom felt by the worker to be a ubiquitous segment of his work-life. Unless he is an active volunteer union official, the union is not an integral part of his work life.<sup>1</sup> This is particularly true in the Italian context, because of the multiplicity of union organizations which reinforce the conception of the union either as a service or as a political activity. Moreover, the incidence of union membership is so low that to include the union as a fundamental aspect of worker satisfaction would be more tenuous than the assumption we have made here.

If unionism is to be considered a sphere distinct from work life, the next decision is to consider to what extent the former is dependent on the latter. This decision can be made on grounds of the empirical evidence or as an

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<sup>1</sup>See William H. Form and H. Kirk Dansereau, "Union Member Orientations and Patterns of Social Integration," Industrial and Labor Relations Review, 11, 1 (October, 1957), pp. 3-12; and, for a review of the literature, William Spinrad, "Correlates of Trade Union Participation: A Summary of the Literature," American Sociological Review, April, 1960, pp. 237-44.

arbitrary starting point for analysis. However, if the main focus of the investigation is worker satisfaction, it seems legitimate, unless contradicted by the data, to consider the latter as independent with respect to the union. In addition, we believe that the orientation of the worker toward his occupation is influenced by his general social orientations, so that ultimately the relationship between work-life and unionism tends to reflect the common dependence of these two variables on his general social orientations. However strong the impact of Italian culture and society on unionism (see Chapter III), the worker's general orientation to social life exerts its major impact on the work sphere,<sup>1</sup> hence giving it a priority over unionism.

#### Union Interest and Involvement

Turinese automobile workers considered unions as an important aspect of their occupational life. In fact, very few workers judged unions as not necessary (6%), while the great majority (86%) viewed unions as a necessary aspect of their work life.<sup>2</sup> Two-thirds evaluated unions favorably and only one-eighth were unfavorable.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>This does not exclude that some aspects of the work sphere such as technology, exert an impact on the social world-view.

<sup>2</sup>Another 6% were indifferent, and 2% did not answer the question.

<sup>3</sup>The remaining one-fifth were indifferent or undecided as to how to evaluate.

These positive attitudes toward unionism as an important institution of industrial life were reflected in the interest of workers in union problems. Seven-tenths of them expressed some interest in union problems, and only the remaining three-tenths declared they were "not at all" interested. Yet, despite the fact that only few workers (5%) mentioned union affairs as a usual topic of conversation and no more than one-tenth admitted they read union news, the workers were interested in union matters. An Index of Union Interest was constructed by assigning scores to responses indicating union interest. The following distribution was obtained:

Low interest (0)	29.0%
Medium interest (1)	25.7
High interest (2)	28.0
Very high interest (3-5)	<u>17.3</u>
	100.0%
	(300)

Levels of union interest were found to be positively associated with seniority<sup>1</sup> and with education.<sup>2</sup> Union interest was also associated with skill levels, types of occupations and age; although not at the level of statistical significances. Workers who preferred industrial or craft occupations were significantly more interested in union problems than workers who preferred agricultural or service occupations.<sup>3</sup> This undoubtedly reflects the general tendency

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<sup>1</sup> $\chi^2 = 15.500$ ;  $DF = 6$ ;  $p < .02$ ;  $\bar{C} = .283$ .

<sup>2</sup> $\chi^2 = 13.276$ ;  $DF = 3$ ;  $p < .01$ ;  $\bar{C} = .280$ .

<sup>3</sup> $\chi^2 = 18.355$ ;  $DF = 9$ ;  $p < .05$ ;  $\bar{C} = .356$ .

of industrially oriented workers to consider unionism as an important area of their lives, and for farmers, who are seldom unionized, to be less attracted to union matters. The same is probably true for service occupations, particularly in a less mature industrial society like Italy.

The effects of worker satisfaction on the level of union interest are shown in Table 54. The figures show that dissatisfied workers were more interested in union affairs than satisfied workers. However the relationship is not linear, for satisfied workers tended to be polarized, tending to have either low or high interest. An explanation for this situation cannot be simply derived from compensatory or balance theory,<sup>1</sup> unless some qualifications are advanced. It may be that, the dissatisfied worker, in contrast with the satisfied, seeks by becoming interested in union affairs to integrate his occupational life.<sup>2</sup> However, as Table 54 shows, the main difference between satisfied and dissatisfied workers arises from the greater proportion of satisfied workers who are completely disinterested in union problems. This suggests that while the

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<sup>1</sup>Nor, for that matter, in the theory that work dissatisfaction and alienation necessarily induce union and political apathy, at least at the level of "interest." See, contra, Dwight G. Dean, "Alienation and Political Apathy," Social Forces, March, 1960, pp. 185-189.

<sup>2</sup>Because of the presence of the allegedly company sponsored union (SIDA), union interest may also be a way of becoming better integrated into the company.

Table 54. Worker satisfaction and union interest.

Index of Union Interest	Index of Worker Satisfaction		Total
	Low	High	
Low	19.7%	32.3%	28.9%
Medium	38.3	21.7	26.1
High	42.0	46.0	45.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N) <sup>a</sup>	(81)	(217)	(298)

$\chi^2 = 9.651$ ;  $DF = 2$ ;  $p < .01$ ;  $\bar{c} = .259$ .

<sup>a</sup>Subtotals vary from those of other tables because of different cut-off points between "high" and "low" categories.

satisfied worker can afford to be disinterested in issues raised by the union, the dissatisfied worker tends to feel that the resolution of these issues may remove the sources of his dissatisfaction. This is particularly true in the Italian context, where especially the Marxist union identifies the inevitable problems which stem from technological and organizational imperatives of industrialism as faults of the management, which the union invites the worker to fight.<sup>1</sup> This does not necessarily imply that dissatisfaction inevitably turns workers toward Marxist unions, although there are more left oriented workers among the dissatisfied workers.

<sup>1</sup>See the assessment of FIAT situation by the communist authors Adalberto Minucci and Saverio Vertone, Il Grattacielo nel Deserto, Editori Riuniti, Rome, 1960.



Interest in union affairs is not directly converted into union participation. However the association between union interest and union involvement is extremely high.<sup>1</sup> An Index of Union Involvement was constructed by giving different scores to several questions pertaining to union membership, degree of union activity, knowledge of names of the members of the Internal Commission (see Chapter III), decisions to vote in next union elections, and so on. The distribution of scores into low, medium, and high was as follows:

Low (0,1,2)	25.9%
Medium (3,4)	64.5
High (5,6)	<u>9.7</u>
Total	100.0%
	(282)

This distribution reflects the relatively low union membership and participation among Turinese automobile workers. As pointed out in Chapter III, while almost all the workers vote in the elections for the grievance committees members and thus express a union choice, very few actually join a union. Estimates of membership by the various unions in FIAT were 17-18%.<sup>2</sup> In our sample, only 12.4% indicated they were members. However, another 23% admitted they were members in the past. As to union participation, almost two-thirds never attended union

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<sup>1</sup> $\chi^2 = 167.903$ ; DF = 9;  $p < .001$ ;  $\bar{C} = .727$ .

<sup>2</sup>See Giuseppe Bonazzi, Alienazione a Anomia nella Grande Industria, Avanti, Rome, 1964, p. 126.

meetings, and only a little more than half of these admitted ever having paid dues, and remembered how much they were.<sup>1</sup>

Many reasons account for this situation. The literature on this subject stresses (see Chapter III) that recent Italian industrial unions were created almost from the top down by political parties, that only very recently has the Italian industrial worker earned enough to spare money for union dues, that unions have never achieved an effective control over the labor market, nor have they been able to secure jobs to the unionized worker. Other reasons are traced to the fear that union commitment reveals an ideological commitment which in turn may lead to management reprisal or even trouble with the police.

Undoubtedly, the newness of the industrial labor force and the presence of many rural and southern workers (see Chapter III) reinforce union apathy. On the other hand, the so-called "working-class aristocracy," composed of older industrial workers who are highly skilled and who now earn relatively high wages do not now constitute the main reservoir of active unionism.

All this combines to create a definite pattern which may at first, appear to have contradictory elements. In fact, this is due to the rapid transformations of the

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<sup>1</sup>This proportion of members paying their dues is only slightly higher than some estimations made by the CISL official in Turin (40-45%). Cf. Walter Galenson, Trade Union Democracy in Western Europe (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press), p. 2.

Italian industrial scene during these last years, and to the efforts of an allegedly pro-management local union. In fact, FIAT management, after the difficult post-war period, succeeded in an intensive campaign to deunionize its shops, and to sharply decrease the early widespread strength of the Marxist union. Since 1955, when CGIL finally lost the control of the Commissione Interna, management has played an increasingly greater role in union politics. The rise of SIDA (formerly LLD), and the shifting policy of supporting UIL gave management a way of controlling the shifts in union power.<sup>1</sup>

Thus, the old Turinese industrial workers restrained their union activities and the new uncommitted workers changed their union orientations according to the shifting management policies. Our findings tend to support the association between regional origin and union involvement.<sup>2</sup> Contrary to expectations, Turinese-born workers were little involved in union activities, and workers from the South were more involved than any other.<sup>3</sup>

Furthermore, union involvement was highly associated with union orientation.<sup>4</sup> The most involved workers were

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<sup>1</sup>This is widely recognized by almost all Italian and American authors. See the Item "FIAT" in the indices in the Bibliography cited in Chapter III.

<sup>2</sup> $\chi^2 = 19.647$ ;  $DF = 6$ ;  $p < .01$ ;  $\bar{C} = .326$ .

<sup>3</sup>Mean scores were: 2.54 for southern-born workers, 2.13 for Turinese-born workers, and 2.06 for northern-born workers.

<sup>4</sup> $\chi^2 = 43.842$ ;  $DF = 12$ ;  $p < .001$ ;  $\bar{C} = .425$ .

not those oriented toward the Communist union, usually the most active, but workers allied with SIDA.<sup>1</sup> This was obviously due to the fact that involvement in Marxist union organizations was certainly not the best way to secure one's job and make a career in the company. As the Marxist union claimed, to be involved in unions which are approved by management is one way to gain that job security which no union can guarantee. In fact union involvement turned out to be associated with past unemployment.<sup>2</sup> Those workers who had experienced some unemployment before their job at FIAT were noticeably more involved in union activities than those who never experienced unemployment.

The relation of worker satisfaction to union involvement follows the curvilinear pattern found for union interest. Thus, data in Table 55 show that satisfied workers were either little involved or highly involved in union activities, while dissatisfied workers tended to be more concentrated in the medium level of union involvement.

The reasons for these findings may be the same as those discussed in connection with union interest. However, there are some differences between interest and involvement. In fact, at the higher levels, involvement implies behavior

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<sup>1</sup>Mean scores were: apathetic 1.57, left 1.98, center-left 2.31, center 2.11, right 2.63.

<sup>2</sup> $\chi^2 = 11.891$ ;  $DF = 3$ ;  $p < .01$ ;  $\bar{C} = .275$ . This association is particularly significant in view of the fact that no other variable was found associated with amount of unemployment.

Table 55. Worker satisfaction and union involvement.

Index of Union Involvement	Index of Worker Satisfaction		Total
	Low	High	
Low	15.8%	29.4%	25.6%
Medium	76.3	60.2	64.7
High	7.9	10.4	9.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N) <sup>a</sup>	(76)	(201)	(277)

$$\chi^2 = 6.624; DF = 2; p < .05; \bar{c} = .05.$$

<sup>a</sup>See footnote of Table 54.

like active membership and holding positions of responsibility within union organizations. Very likely such behavior will have an impact on the worker's satisfaction. In this case, the tendency of satisfied workers to be more involved may be due to the fact that their satisfaction is more dependent on their union involvement than vice versa. Whatever the case, the difference at the highest level of union involvement, between low and high satisfied workers (2.5%), does not permit to arrive at definite conclusions.

### The Ideological Environment

As we early anticipated, a complete range of ideological orientations characterizes the Italian union front. Although the worker does not greatly get involved in union affairs, he is likely to have established commitments to certain unions. How much these commitments are of an ideological and political nature or of economic and occupational

character is a question which calls for an empirical answer.

Although only one-tenth of the workers were members of a union, two-thirds had already decided on the union to vote for in the next election. This allegiance was not a temporary one, nor the consequence of union electoral activity at the time. In fact, almost two-thirds of those who had selected a union to support had selected that union more than five years ago.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, for the approaching election almost all of them had no difficulty in choosing a union, and while the reasons for such a choice varied, one-third chose their union for an ideological or political reason, against only one per cent who chose the unions because "they were free from political ties." Among the undecided workers, one-half were not yet convinced of the merits of unions, and one-fifth had never been interested in choosing any one of them.<sup>2</sup>

If, then, two-thirds of the workers had long committed themselves to a specific union, and half of these expressly declared their commitment in line with their ideological or political positions, how did they conceive the function of unions? Did in-plant concerns have

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<sup>1</sup>This means that 40 percent of the total sample were already committed to a union for more than five years.

<sup>2</sup>These two groups represented respectively 15 and 16 percent of the total sample. Another 5% did not want to answer the question.

priority over social and political motivations, or did the union contest reflect the societal political conflict within the industrial arena, as has so often been observed?

In order to answer this question, the workers were asked to select one of the following statements which best described the most important function of the union:

1. To promote higher wages
2. To promote better working conditions
3. To organize workers so that they feel socially united
4. To change the social and political system

A plurality of the workers (two-fifths) chose "to promote higher wages," almost one-third focused on better working conditions, one-sixth pointed to the organizational function, and only a few (5%) declared the main function as promoting social and political change.<sup>1</sup> Together, the third and fourth items (which more closely relate to ideological and political concerns) did not account for more than one-fifth of the workers' choices. This proportion represents what is left of the old guard traditional Turinese automobile unions still faithful to the broader political concerns of the Italian labor movement. All of them were not of leftish persuasion, but the majority of them were in fact of center and left of center orientations, with even a few (12%) of right and extreme right orientations.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>"Don't know" and "no answer" were 5.6% of the total.

<sup>2</sup>The same distribution was obtained for the fourth item alone.

The above data indicate that the union commitments discussed above were not essentially of an ideological character. To be sure, even the most politically-minded union would not proclaim its primary functions to be social and political change, so that it is theoretically possible that choices of the first two items might represent choices of ideological commitment. However, this is not likely to be the case for the majority of the workers.<sup>1</sup>

The functions of the union were appraised differently by single and married workers.<sup>2</sup> The latter understandably, were more oriented toward the promotion of higher wages, while single workers focused more on the promotion of better working conditions and on the organizational functions. However, with respect to the item on social and political change, there was no difference.

Age was associated with choices of union's function.<sup>3</sup> Younger workers were more concerned with working conditions, middle-age workers with higher wages, while older workers chose social and political changes more frequently than anybody else. This was a consequence of several factors. Younger workers were likely to be single<sup>4</sup> and less subject

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<sup>1</sup>Answers to other questions probing several areas of union concern supported and were consistent with the above answers.

<sup>2</sup> $\chi^2 = 10.071$ ;  $DF = 3$ ;  $p < .05$ ;  $\bar{C} = .250$ .

<sup>3</sup> $\chi^2 = 20.064$ ;  $DF = 9$ ;  $p < .05$ ;  $\bar{C} = .306$ .

<sup>4</sup>Age and marital status were highly associated:  
 $\chi^2 = 93.538$ ;  $DF = 3$ ;  $p < .001$ ;  $\bar{C} = .663$ .



to financial pressures. More of the middle-age workers were married and less concerned with job problems<sup>1</sup> than with seeking wage improvements to support their families. Among older workers there was a greater proportion of the old guard, who, as we indicated above, were faithful to the old labor ideals. Perhaps the sons of craftsmen were still loyal to the ideal that unions should have a strong political function, for one-third of those workers who selected this function were sons of craftsmen. Sons of industrial workers were, on the other hand, more oriented toward the organizational and wage functions of unions. Sons of peasants in accord with findings in Chapter IV, focused more on working conditions.<sup>2</sup>

The opinion of what should be the most important function of the union was associated with levels of worker satisfaction. Table 56 shows that four-fifths of the satisfied workers were oriented toward a strictly economic conception of union activity, stressing wages and working conditions. Although dissatisfied workers also stressed working conditions, one-third of them, contrasted to one-fifth of satisfied workers, chose the organizational and political functions of unions. Thus unionism as a means to change the social and political system or as an end to feel

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<sup>1</sup>See Chapter VI.

<sup>2</sup>Fathers' occupation and union's function were significantly associated:  $X^2 = 20.163$ ;  $DF = 9$ ;  $p < .05$ ;  $\bar{C} = .309$ .

Table 56. Levels of worker satisfaction according to choices of the most important function of unions.

Most Important Function of Unions	Worker Satisfaction		Total
	Low	High	
To promote higher wages	29.4%	50.0%	46.3%
To promote better working conditions	37.3	29.5	30.9
To organize workers to feel socially united	21.6	16.7	17.5
To change the social and political system	11.7	3.8	5.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(51)	(234)	(285)

$$X^2 = 10.119; DF = 3; p < .02; \bar{C} = .254.$$

socially united appealed in greater measure to the dissatisfied workers. These data tend to support the conclusion that satisfied workers are more likely to accept the status quo, trying to gain the most within the system, while dissatisfied workers tend to desire changing conditions within the plant and the larger society.

This protest attitude of the dissatisfied worker is often used as propaganda by leftish unions. However, there is no simple and direct association between a socio-political conception of the union and union orientation. As mentioned above, not only left oriented workers thought the primary function of the union was political change.

Nonetheless the majority of workers willing to change the in-plant and societal status quo were left-oriented. The same situation appears in the relation between worker satisfaction and union orientation,<sup>1</sup> as seen in Table 57. Although the association was not statistically significant, the tendency was for a greater proportion of the dissatisfied workers to have a left orientation. Yet among the dissatisfied and satisfied, the largest proportion were oriented toward the political center, and no difference appears between those who are oriented toward the conservative (rightist) direction.

#### Worker Satisfaction and Unionism

Italian automobile workers considered unions as an important aspect of their occupational and political life. But the industrial scene was changing: the new labor force was increasingly oriented toward an economic conception of the unions, while only the old guard remained faithful to political unionism. The presence of S.I.D.A., the

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<sup>1</sup>We were not able to ascertain the name of the union to which the worker was affiliated or aligned. However, on the basis of the answers to many of the questions tapping union and political areas, it was possible to differentiate the workers between: left, left-of-center, center, right and apathetic. These categories roughly correspond to C.G.I.L., C.I.S.L., U.I.L., S.I.D.A., and non-committed members. The latter, however, do vote in the elections, supposedly for the most management favored union. For the present analysis, left-of-center and center orientations were combined. The distribution of these categories was checked against the last union electoral returns and with the distribution of those who clearly expressed a choice of union, and was found to be similar.

Table 57. Worker satisfaction and union orientation.

Union Orientation	Worker Satisfaction		Total
	Low	High	
Left	31.4%	21.2%	22.9%
Center	33.4	46.0	43.9
Right	17.6	20.4	19.9
Apathetic	17.6	12.4	13.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(51)	(250)	(301)

$$\chi^2 = 4.482; DF = 3; .10 < p < .20; \bar{c} = .172.$$

ideologically "neutral" union allegedly sponsored by management, tended to reinforce this new perspective.

The most politically conscious unions tried to interpret workers' dissatisfaction as due to in-plant inequities and the societal status quo. Involvement in such unions would certainly hurt the worker's job and his company career. In this situation levels of worker satisfaction were associated with union interest and union involvement in a curvilinear fashion. Dissatisfied workers were interested in union affairs more than satisfied workers, but they were not greatly involved in union activities. At the highest level of involvement, in fact, we found a greater proportion of satisfied than dissatisfied workers. How much this depended on the satisfactions derived from union participation, or from the fact that dissatisfied

workers avoided participating in any organization was difficult to ascertain.

Dissatisfaction was easily transformed into a protest against in-plant conditions and larger societal concerns. Satisfaction, on the other hand, tended to foster interest in higher wages. Satisfied workers did not project their discontent on the management and society, and were less likely to be left oriented. Altogether, ideology played a lesser role than expected, although firm union commitments over five years suggested that competitive union politics was still judged by the workers on other standards than their differential success in dealing with management.

## CHAPTER IX

### SOCIAL ACTIVITIES AND OCCUPATIONAL LIFE

The analysis of the patterns of satisfaction which the Italian automobile worker derives from his occupational life would not be complete without examining some of his social activities beyond work which can be relevant to those patterns. Among the many possible social activities, we have selected are those pertaining to the neighborhood, the local community, and the voluntary associations.

The analysis will be limited to ascertaining to what extent these activities in environments outside the factory are related to worker satisfaction. We will not try to assess the relationship between the world of work and the world of non-work, nor will it be possible to investigate which of these worlds is the central life interest of the worker.<sup>1</sup> However, if a high level of worker satisfaction may be conceived as indicative of work and workplace interest, the association of out-of-plant social life to such a satisfaction may provide cues to the relationship between work and non-work environments.

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<sup>1</sup>See Robert Durbin, "Industrial Workers' Worlds: A Study of the 'Central Life Interests' of Industrial Workers," Social Problems, January, 1956, pp. 131-142.

If there is a relationship between the worker's social activities outside the factory life and his worker satisfaction, then the link between worklife and social life can be empirically hypothesized. If this relationship is not established, then the often claimed dichotomy between the industrial worker as a producer and as a citizen will remain unchallenged.<sup>1</sup>

### Neighborhood Life

With the exception of only a few (4.6%) the workers liked to live in their local communities. Two-thirds had been residing in their communities for five years or more, and only a small minority (6%) had moved in within one year. When asked whether they would like to continue living in their neighborhoods or to move, more than two-thirds answered that they preferred to stay. The other third desired to move and complained that they did not reside sufficiently close to work, and did not have adequate public services, such as transportation.

Life in the neighborhood appeared to be sufficiently developed and satisfying. Half of the respondents interacted with six or more families of friends or acquaintances, and one-fifth with 1-5 families. Altogether half of the workers exchanged visits regularly with neighborhood friends, and another half had some relatives living in the same

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. C. Wright Mills, White Collar (New York: Oxford University Press, 1951), p. 235 ff.

neighborhood.<sup>1</sup> The majority preferred to go to the neighborhood movies and take a walk (la passeggiata) within the boundaries of the neighborhood. Almost half frequented a bar, inn, or cafe located in the neighborhood, and four-fifths had wives who shopped mainly in local stores.

Although sufficiently involved in a variety of personal and social activities within the neighborhood, only one-third of the workers were disposed to participate in meetings to discuss the problems of the neighborhood. One-sixth could not even identify local neighborhood problems. The majority (60%), however, pointed out various problems: public services (inadequate street lighting, bad pavement of streets and sidewalks, irregular or inefficient public transportations, lack of governmental services such as local post-office, etc.). The others were concerned with the need for sanitary and health services (drains, garbage collection, pharmacies, hospitals, etc.), utilities and social services.

An Index of Neighborhood Integration was constructed by assigning scores to the answers given to questions dealing with neighborhood activities and concerns. The distribution of total scores was as follows:

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<sup>1</sup>For those living outside Turin (28%), the neighborhood coincided with the village, unless this was sufficiently large that the worker could identify parts of it as different neighborhoods.



Low (1-7)	29.9%
Medium (8-10)	41.2
High (11-15)	<u>28.9</u>
	100.0%
	(291)

These levels of neighborhood integration were not found to be associated with levels of worker satisfaction. There was a slight tendency for workers with a medium level of integration to be more satisfied with their work situation. It is possible to hypothesize for further studies that low integrated workers might be as dissatisfied with their world of work as those highly integrated in their neighborhoods; the former because they bring to the job their disaffection for neighborhood life, the latter because they seek satisfactions outside the plant.

#### Voluntary Associations

Only one-third of the workers were members of voluntary associations. The majority (78%) of these associations were sport, recreational, or educational groups. One-sixth were affiliated with religious associations, such as the Catholic Action, and one-eighth were union members. Excluding membership in union organizations already discussed, the level of participation was quite low. Only one-fifth "always" attended associational meetings, another one-fifth attended most of the time, one-seventh rarely attended, and a sizeable one-half did not even know when the meetings were held. Only one-tenth were presently officials, and a few had been in the past (4%).

An Index of Participation in Voluntary Associations was constructed by giving scores from 0 to 3 to activities ranging from no membership to holding a position of responsibility in the association. The distribution of collapsed scores was as follows:

Low (0)	58.5%
Medium (1)	22.3
High (2-5)	<u>19.2</u>
	100.0%
	(301)

When the medium and high categories were combined, the index of participation in voluntary associations was associated with the levels of worker satisfaction. As Table 58 shows, those more active in organizations were more dissatisfied with their occupational life than workers who participated less in social organizations.

Table 58. Worker satisfaction and participation in voluntary associations.

Worker Satisfaction	Participation in <u>Voluntary Organizations</u>		Total
	Low	High	
Low	11.4%	24.8%	16.9%
High	88.6	75.2	83.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(176)	(125)	(301)

$$\chi^2 = 9.751; DF = 1; p < .01; \bar{C} = .288.$$

One may reason that, at least for a certain minority, associational life represents an outlet for the frustration experienced in the factory life. However, a better reason could be that participation in voluntary associations, which usually are not restricted to working-class people (such as the Italian Alpine Club, the Catholic Action, the Pro-Loce Association, etc.) exposes the worker to occupations different than his own. This could make him aware of the work life of other occupations or raise his occupational aspirations, both leading to increased work dissatisfaction.

#### Community Involvement

Membership in voluntary associations, satisfaction for living in a certain local community, knowledge of community problems, and interest in local news indicates the person's involvement in community life. The Index of Community Involvement was constructed by scoring these dimensions and components. The distribution of scores was:

Low (1-3)	38.3%
Medium (4)	41.7
High (5)	<u>20.0</u>
	100.0%
	(300)

Community involvement naturally reflects the low level of participation in voluntary associations. However, in terms of the chosen components, the involvement in community life appeared higher than expected. Almost seven-tenths declared to be concerned in local news,<sup>1</sup> and

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<sup>1</sup>Only one-eighth of the total sample did not read any newspaper, while two-fifths were daily readers or subscribers.

three-fourths had some opinion about the main community problems. Among these, the most frequently mentioned was (as for the neighborhood) the lack of adequate public services (one-fourth). However, the need for new housing and schooling received a noteworthy emphasis (one-fifth), and automobile traffic control drew the attention of almost one-sixth of the respondents. Other problems concerned sanitary and health services, price control, law enforcement, regulation of migration flux, and so on.

Almost all (94%) of the workers voted in the last municipal elections. This was expected because of the traditional Italian high level of electoral participation.<sup>1</sup> Another indication of the concern for broad communal problems was the admission by almost three-fourths of the respondents that they discussed problems with others to clarify their ideas. One-fourth mentioned as their frequent topic of conversation (either as first or second mention) political and economic problems,<sup>2</sup> local problems, and current local affairs. Furthermore, two-thirds of all workers had some opinion about the main problems facing the nation. One-fifth thought control of the inflationary trend or promotion of higher wages were the most important problems. Problems of economic development, school system, social and fiscal

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<sup>1</sup>Voting in national elections is mandatory.

<sup>2</sup>These did not include occupational interests, such as work and wages, which represented the most frequent topic (34%).

policies, and government stability followed in this order.

Table 59 presents data concerning the relationship between levels of community involvement and worker satisfaction. The association is not statistically significant but, as in the case of neighborhood integration, a tendency is discernible. That is, workers with medium community involvement are more dissatisfied than those with low or high involvement. This also appeared to be the case for union interest and involvement (see Chapter VIII); it is likely that union involvement (through the item of membership in voluntary associations<sup>1</sup>) is responsible for the curvilinearity of the suggested relationship between worker satisfaction and community involvement. In fact, those workers more interested in local political life, more articulate in their opinion about community problems, and more sensitive to broader societal interests were union members and officials.<sup>2</sup>

However, other factors may operate to make the relationship curvilinear. One of these might be the

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<sup>1</sup>Membership in voluntary associations is a highly discriminant item of the index of community involvement.

<sup>2</sup>All union variables were found associated with community involvement. It is noteworthy that, although only union membership was taken into account in constructing the index, the latter is highly discriminant of levels of union participation. The mean scores for community involvement were: 3.45 for union officials, 2.94 for union members, and 2.57 for non-members ( $X^2 = 21.532$ ;  $DF = 6$ ;  $p < .01$ ;  $\bar{C} = .330$ .)

Table 59. Worker satisfaction and community involvement.

Worker Satisfaction	Community Involvement			Total
	Low	Medium	High	
Low	13.4%	21.6%	13.8%	16.9%
High	86.6	78.4	86.2	83.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(112)	(125)	(58)	(295)

$$\chi^2 = 3.386; DF = 2; .10 < p < .20.$$

conflicting tendencies between social characteristics which were associated both with worker satisfaction and community involvement. For instance, younger workers tended to be satisfied with their work and more highly involved in community affairs.<sup>1</sup> At the same time, urban residents showed high community involvement<sup>2</sup> but were more dissatisfied with work life. Thus, while age alone tended to make the relationship between worker satisfaction and community involvement linear and positive, residence tended to make it linear and negative, with the possible over-all effect a curvilinearity.

$${}^1\chi^2 = 16.873; DF = 9; p < .05; \bar{c} = .276.$$

$${}^2\chi^2 = 11.942; DF = 3; p < .10; \bar{c} = .268.$$

Worker Satisfaction and Social Activities

The analysis of the relationship between worker satisfaction and various areas of social life outside the factory (such as neighborhood integration, participation in voluntary associations, and community involvement) has shown that there is little evidence to support the notion of interdependence between the world of work and the world of non-work for these Turinese automobile workers. If a compensatory phenomenon really defines the hypothesized relationship between the worker's worklife and his social activities outside the plant,<sup>1</sup> this can be traced through participation in voluntary associations. However, union involvement which is unquestionably tied to the worklife, plays a connecting role.

In general, it seems that social activities outside the factory depended more on personal and social characteristics of the worker than on his patterns of work satisfaction. This situation may be peculiar to the Italian context, because of its stage of industrial development and its pace of economic change. For centuries neighborhood life in Italy was traditionally patterned. Suddenly and rapidly, industrial and economic changes have broken these patterns. Now workers easily cross neighborhood

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<sup>1</sup>This notion is essentially psychological in nature and underestimates the impact of structural, sociological, and cultural variables.

borders, crowd downtown theaters, and watch televisions. All this has happened since 1955. To this new way of life, the industrial worker has responded according to his personal and social characteristics rather than on the basis of his work experiences. To be sure, these work experiences may come to have an impact on social activities outside the factory, but probably not before they are sufficiently stabilized and patterned.<sup>1</sup>

That same is true for community involvement. Satisfied and dissatisfied workers were probably differently involved in community affairs, but differences in age or residence modified or nullified the tendency. Involvement in community affairs seemed to depend more on a complex of factors such as political and union attitudes, newspaper reading habits, or interest in associational life, than directly on the level of worker satisfaction.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>To renounce neighborhood promenades (the traditional passeggiata) for watching television programs, or going to downtown movies, might be related to worker satisfaction or dissatisfaction only if these patterns of social life become stably defined as alternative types of leisure activities and differentially evaluated.

<sup>2</sup>It is very unlikely that a worker stops to read local news because he is dissatisfied, or starts this habit because he is satisfied, and vice versa.



## CHAPTER X

### FINDINGS AND IMPLICATIONS

The contributions of this study to the theory and understanding of worker satisfaction are both methodological and substantive. Form's developmental model of worker satisfaction called for a shift of perspective for studying the subject. Accordingly, in addition to the common areas of study (intrinsic job satisfaction, working conditions, and work associates satisfactions), two new areas were explored: satisfaction for economic sector of employment and for type of occupation. Such a perspective permitted us to focus on some problems rarely investigated, such as the effects of intergenerational sector mobility on worker satisfaction and the impact of occupational characteristics (job versus trade types) on work attitudes.

The analysis of workers' attitudes in each of these areas confirmed the assumption that worker satisfaction is not an overall entity but a discrete cluster of attitudes and feelings. The findings indicate that feelings of satisfaction and dissatisfaction in selected areas do not follow the same pattern. Skill level, for instance, is positively associated with occupational and job tasks satisfaction, but negatively with satisfaction for the physical environment at work. Similarly, other standard

variables such as age, seniority, and residence differed in the direction and strength of their association in the several areas of worker satisfaction. The general implication of this evidence that worker satisfaction cannot be understood as an overall pattern, but only as an average of many dimensions, is that it is dangerous to overgeneralize the sources of worker satisfactions until the underlying links between the sources are theoretically clarified.

A major substantive finding was that Italian automobile workers were not more dissatisfied than their American or English counterparts. Living and working in an environment which was not very dissimilar from that found in more industrially mature countries (as a whole), the Italian automobile workers displayed the same basic pattern of feelings and attitudes toward their worklife which has been found elsewhere. However, societal and cultural aspects played a noticeable role. Farming traditions in a country where the main shift from agriculture to industry occurred only a few decades ago, affected attitudes toward employment in the industrial sector, enhancing satisfactions but limiting aspirations.<sup>1</sup> Other occupational family traditions showed that the older the tradition, the stronger the attachment to it. Thus,

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<sup>1</sup> Aspirations for small-business ownership, similar to those found by Chinoy in his study (Automobile Workers and the American Dream (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1955), Chapter VII), characterized only workers from industrial or craft family traditions.

workers coming from families which had been in industry for only one generation were more likely to be oriented toward office work and service employment than those from families with longer industrial traditions. This suggests that white collar aspirations (hence vertical mobility) are not fostered by industrial occupational inheritance, when the industrial sector is expanding in a developing country.

Having a trade in the highly specialized automobile industry was a source of satisfaction. However, if the worker was unable to exercise his occupational qualifications fully as in the case of many semiskilled workers, his skills were more a source of dissatisfaction than satisfaction. Thus the possessions of skills which gave the worker a potential to move into other occupations, aggravated problems of adjustment in his present job. In a developing country where there is a rapid expansion of the economy and a constant redefinition of industrial and occupational classifications, occupational level may not correspond precisely to skilled capacities. In this case the commonly found association between skill level and occupational satisfaction may be reduced or may need qualification.

Satisfaction with job tasks was highly dependent upon the type of work. Satisfaction was fostered by the physical and technical conditions of work, while the sources of dissatisfaction arose from the work's psychological

demands. With the exception of age, occupation variables played a greater role than socio-personal characteristics. The implication of these findings is already well established: the worker looks at his job tasks as temporary until either he is promoted to higher skills or he loses hope of promotion and accepts his assignment as permanent. In the latter case, either he adjusts to the job tasks or he quits.

Very few workers disliked their physical workplace, and even fewer disliked their workmates. But among those who were unhappy with the physical environment there was a relatively large proportion of skilled workers. Unexpectedly, skill level was not positively associated with satisfaction: unskilled workers on the assembly lines were the most satisfied of all. Another interesting finding was that adjustment to the physical environment was not likely to occur with time. On the contrary, length of service favored dissatisfaction for their physical conditions.

Satisfaction with workmates varied according to different patterns of interaction on the job. Intermediate amounts of interaction required by job performance appeared to foster more satisfaction than no interaction or a great amount of it. Thus, too little or too much dependence on workmates for job performance tended to promote dissatisfaction with such conditions. If confirmed by further studies, this finding might have great relevance for designing job descriptions and workteam criteria.

Social interaction which was not required by job performance was, on the other hand, greatly influenced by the ideological dimension. Extreme political orientations and high union involvement appeared associated with dissatisfaction with workmates. The strongly differentiated Italian ideological climate largely accounts for this finding. Apparently the relatively low class-consciousness of the recent labor force aggravated many older workers who were concerned with political and union traditions.

Yet the Turinese automobile workers generally considered unionism as an important aspect of their occupational lives. However, very few of them converted their interest into actual union participation. The peculiar circumstances of Turinese unionism accounted in part for this situation. Thus dissatisfied workers were the most interested in union affairs, although they were not highly involved in union activities. This dissatisfaction was transformed into a protest against in-plant conditions and conditions in the larger society. If it is possible to generalize about the Turinese situation, the ideological molding of the workers' protest depended as much on union's interpretations of the causes of dissatisfaction as on the general attitudes and policies of the management.

Finally "the big split" was found between worker satisfaction on one side and neighborhood and community life on the other. Unionism played a role in connecting these two worlds, as did other forms of associational

life, but it seemed that social activities outside the plant were more dependent on personal and social characteristics than on patterns of worker satisfaction. This dichotomy between work and broader social life may be only a consequence of the rapid changes which Italy is currently undergoing. Changes in many areas of social life are modifying old patterns of social behavior before new ones become well established. In such a situation, the connections between work and broader social life appear differently patterned by the uneven impact of the industrial development.<sup>1</sup> The main proposition guiding this study maintained that the social integration of modern man in various areas of social life is a function not only of the stage of industrial development of a society, but also of its pace of economic changes. Such a pace may undoubtedly account for varying conditions in different areas of social life.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>However, the simultaneous impact of the industrialization process on the occupational structure and on the system of values was revealed by the association between occupational satisfaction and a seven items Index of Anomie ( $X^2 = 5.328$ ;  $DF = 1$ ;  $p < .05$ ;  $\bar{C} = .207$ ). On the other hand, basic societal traditional values, such as family-centered life, appeared to be uninfluenced by broader economic changes and strictly related to the ideological orientation. The association between union orientation and a multifacet Index of Family Centerism was relatively high:  $X^2 = 16.389$ ;  $DF = 8$ ;  $p < .05$ ;  $\bar{C} = .324$ ).

<sup>2</sup>The final test of this proposition awaits systematic analysis of various societies in different stages of economic development.

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## APPENDICES

## APPENDIX A

### SAMPLE DESIGN (ABSTRACT)

1. Non-probability sample of area under investigation:  
Four Departments of F.I.A.T. Plant in Mirafiori, Turin.
2. Probability Sample of individual units:
  - a) Population: Workers who are in direct relation to machine technology and who work in the manufacturing of the product in a direct way: N = 3056.
  - b) Sampling Unit: The individual worker (one year seniority).
  - c) Sample Size: The 10 per cent of total population of 4 departments: N = 306.
  - d) Stratification criteria:
    1. Four Departments (different degrees of technological control).
    2. Occupational Level (skilled, semiskilled, unskilled).
    3. Union Orientation (affiliation or voting choice: four unions).
  - e) Allocation to Strata:

On the basis of the distribution of the Union Orientation variable (last election returns) for the departments, we computed the average optimum allocation (William G. Cochran, Sampling Techniques, Wiley, 1953, Chapter 5) to the four Departments for the Union Orientation variable:

<u>Departments</u>	<u>Av. Optimum Allocation</u>
Production Department	107
Assembly Line (I)	72
Assembly Line (II)	59
Experimental Department	62
	<u>        </u>
	Total N = 300

This average optimum allocation for Union Orientation has been distributed proportionally to the Occupational Level groups within each Department:

Dept.	Occupational Levels			Av. Opt. Allocation for Union Orientation
	Sk.	S-sk.	Un-sk.	
Production Dept.	3	18	86	107
Assembly Line (I)	1	9	62	72
Assembly Line (II)	1	8	50	59
Experimental Dept.	35	21	6	62
<b>Totals</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>204</b>	<b>300</b>

Of course, if we would have known the distribution in the population of Union Orientation for Occupational Levels, the above computations would not have been necessary, and the stratification design more precise. At any rate, with the available data, the marginals above obtained were the best allocation of our sample size to both variables considered. Meanwhile, it was decided not to sample for cells smaller than 25. The resulting final sample design was the following:

Dept.	Occupational Levels			Sample	Population
	Sk.	S-sk.	Un-sk.		
Production Dept.	--	25	82	107	1422
Assembly Line (I)	--	--	72	72	700
Assembly Line (II)	--	--	59	59	449
Experimental Dept.	33	29	--	62	485
<b>Totals</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>213</b>	<b>300</b>	<b>3056</b>

Field work started on February 18, 1962, and completed April 14, 1962. Eighteen interviewers were employed in the course of the interviewing period. The contacted 353 sampling units, and obtained 306 interviews. The actual "refusals" were 7.3 percent of the total units contacted, and they did not appear correlated to particular housing zones, or workplaces within the factory.

APPENDIX B

SAMPLE DATA

	n	%
<u>Community of Birth</u>		
Turin Commune	69	22.6
Turin Province	77	25.2
Piedmont and Valle d'Aosta	66	21.6
North Italy	50	16.3
Central Italy	6	2.0
South Italy	17	5.6
Sicily and Sardinia	12	3.9
Foreign Countries	6	2.0
No information	3	.9
	306	100.0
<u>Community of Residence</u>		
Turin Commune	220	72.0
Turin Province	86	28.0
	306	100.0
<u>Age</u>		
20 years and less	10	3.3
21-25 years	30	9.8
26-30 years	79	25.8
31-35 years	61	20.0
36-40 years	40	13.2
41-45 years	22	7.2
46-50 years	27	8.8
51-55 years	18	5.9
55-60 years	14	4.6
61 years and more	3	.9
No information	2	.6
	306	100.0



	n	%
<u>Education</u>		
Grammar School (1-5th Grade)	180	58.9
Lower Middle School (6-8th Grade)	78	25.5
Higher Middle School (9-13th Grade)	46	15.0
No Information	2	.6
	306	100.0
<u>Marital Status</u>		
Single	74	24.2
Married	232	75.8
	306	100.0
<u>Children</u>		
No children	63	27.1
1 child	112	48.3
2 children	43	18.5
3 children	8	3.5
4 children	4	1.7
5 children	-	.0
6 children	2	.9
Total married	232	100.0
<u>Occupational Union Qualification</u> (Skill Level)		
Skilled ( <u>Specializzati</u> )	34	11.1
Semiskilled ( <u>Qualificati</u> )	58	19.0
Unskilled ( <u>Comuni</u> )	214	69.9
	306	100.0
<u>Seniority</u>		
12-23 months	4	1.2
2-4 years	118	38.6
5-9 years	75	24.6
10-14 years	42	13.7
15-19 years	30	9.8
20 or over	35	11.5
No information	2	.6
	306	100.0



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