

ORIENTATIONS TOWARD UNIONISM:  
AN ATTITUDINAL STUDY OF A LOCAL UNION

Thesis for the Degree of Ph. D.  
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ORIENTATIONS TOWARD UNIONISM:

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OF A LOCAL UNION

By

Harry Kirk Dansereau

AN ABSTRACT

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies of Michigan  
State University of Agriculture and Applied Science  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of


DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

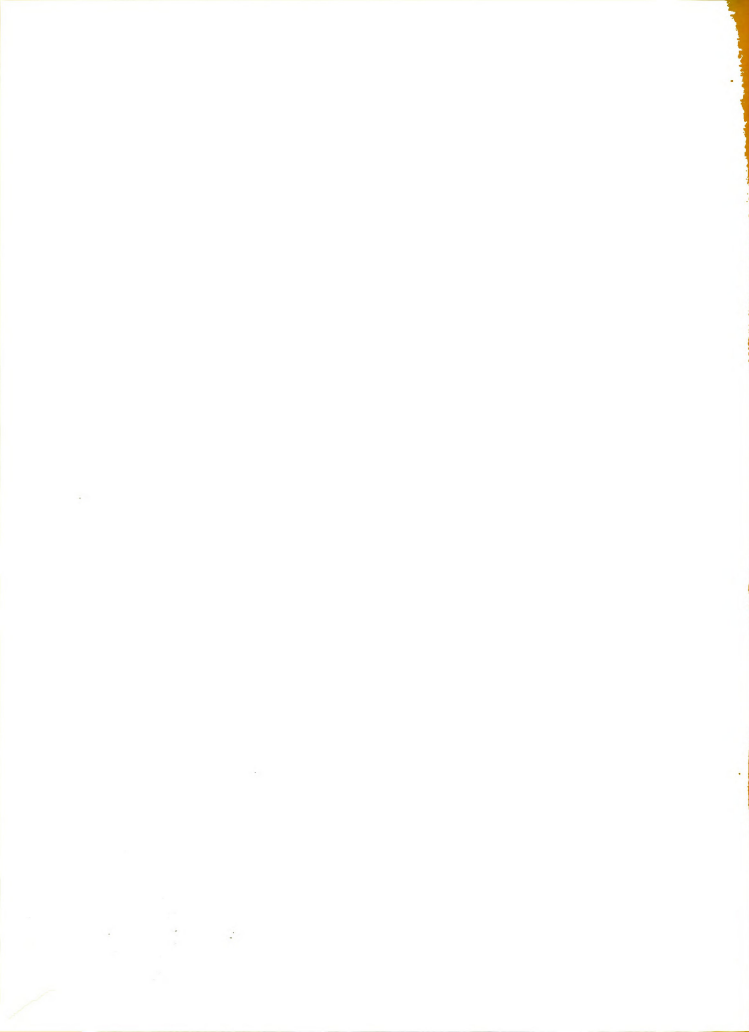
Department of Sociology and Anthropology

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## AN ABSTRACT

The data for this study were gathered by interviewing one hundred forty-two urban unionists who had been members of a local union for at least three months.

The study of the behavior and attitudes of the members sought first to classify the orientations which the members have toward the local in terms of their expectations of the local's major function. After classification of union orientations, tests were made to determine whether social types related to the orientations could be distinguished according to nineteen selected social characteristics.

Second, the study sought to learn whether there was a relationship between orientation toward unionism and varying degrees of integration at the work plant, neighborhood, and community levels. Third, an attempt was made to ascertain whether active members differed from inactive members in several attitudinal areas. The same test was made in reference to the officers and rank-and-file members.

This research determined the existence of five empirically feasible orientations toward unionism: political, economic, social, apathetic, and hostile. However, little in way of positive conclusions could be reached concerning relationships between the existence of a social type and any given union orientation.

The study showed that those members who exhibited political, economic, and social orientations toward the union were well integrated at the work plant, neighborhood, and community levels of interaction. Apathetic and hostile members seemed less well integrated at those behavioral levels.

Harry Kirk Dansereau





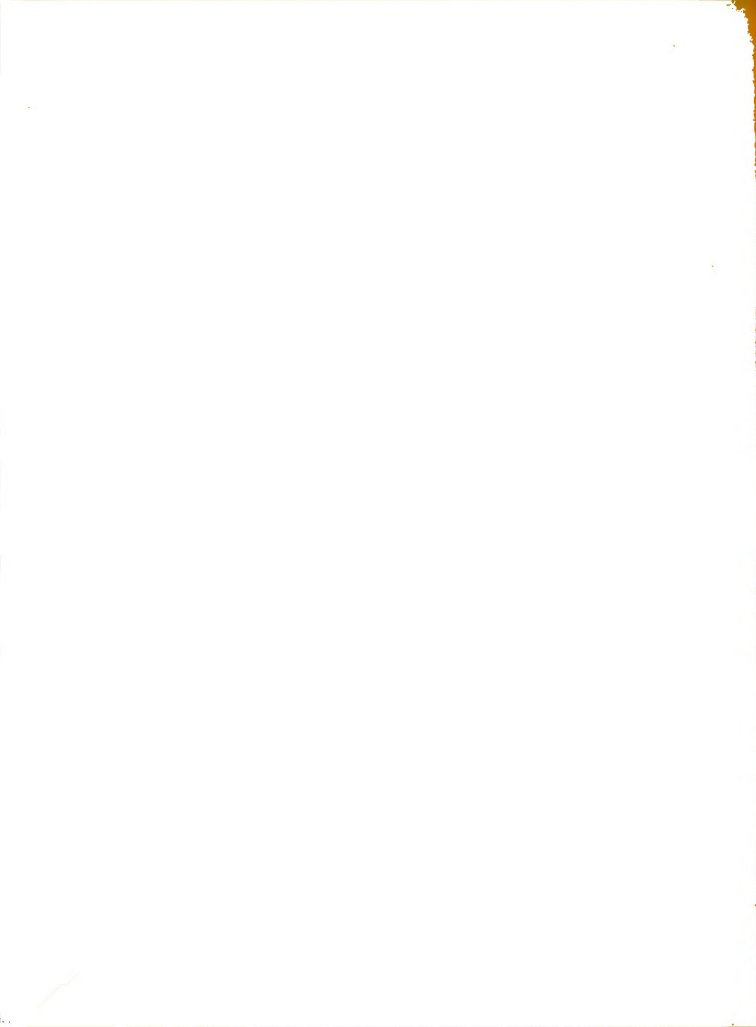
The findings of this study indicated that attitudes toward the union, the employers, and union officers, as expressed by members of this local, were very much like those found in other similar studies. This was also true for members' attitudes relating to politics and government. The majority of the members of this local union appeared to be politically conservative and generally favorable toward the union, its efforts and accomplishments.

Those members who were politically, economically, and socially oriented toward the union appeared to be the active members of the union. These latter stood in contrast to the apathetic and hostile members who were inactive. Yet attitudinal differences between active and inactive members were slight.

This study indicated rather conclusively, at least in the local under study, that there was little or no attitudinal cleavage between officers and rank-and-file members. Generally, however, officers showed a slightly higher degree of activity in the local. They were also slightly less critical of the union and somewhat more critical of the employer than the rank-and-file members.

The research pointed to the need for continued study of an institution of such dynamic nature and to the recognition of changing attitudes which may lead to smooth, efficient, democratic functioning of the local union.

Harry Kirk Dansereau



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The writer wishes to express appreciation to all members of his guidance committee, Professors C. P. Loomis, C. C. Killingsworth, D. C. Cline, W. H. Form, D. L. Gibson, and J. Useem, for their aid, criticism, and suggestions. Especial gratitude is extended to the writer's major professor, Dr. William H. Form, who met numerous times with union officers, drew the sample for the study, procured interviewers, and generally saw to it that the study was launched. Further the writer is indebted to Dr. A. E. Levak who gave much time and effort to sorting data. Needless to say, had the writer not been granted a graduate assistantship and an instructorship at Michigan State College, doctoral work could not have been initiated.

Added encouragement and assistance came from Professors M. B. King, Jr., J. R. Tatum, and A. C. Schnur of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology of the University of Mississippi. The writer is appreciative of secretarial help from that department, particularly the typing of Miss Alice Jo Miller. Dr. J. S. Hartin, Director of Libraries, University of Mississippi, is thanked for use of the library at all hours as is Miss Hallie Eggleston and her staff in the circulation department for their many kindnesses. Mr. Roger Burford aided considerably with statistical matters pertaining to this thesis.





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The writer offers life-long gratitude to his understanding wife, "Gene," who labored through the first long-hand draft of this study, played a dual role of mother and father for many months, and made home a place to which it was always a pleasure to return.



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Outline of Studies

Major subject: Sociology  
Minor subject: Labor economics

Biographical Items

Born, September 22, 1921, Baltimore, Maryland

Undergraduate Studies, University of Maryland, 1939-43

Graduate Studies, West Virginia University, 1946-48, Michigan State  
College, 1950-53.

Experience: Member of the Army of the United States, 1943-46; Chemistry  
Laboratory Assistant, West Virginia University, 1947-49;  
Assistant Professor of Social Science, Presbyterian Junior  
College, Maxton, North Carolina, 1949-50; Graduate Assistant,  
Michigan State College, 1951-52; Instructor, Michigan State  
College, 1952-53; Assistant Professor of Sociology, University  
of Mississippi, 1953-56



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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### A. Some Basic Ideas About Unions

The study to be presented is one of a local labor union in a middle sized industrial city. Traditionally, labor locals have been studied by labor economists. They have investigated differences in ideology between American and European unions and differences among American unions in historical and contemporary contexts. In addition, many studies have explored the reasons why unions were founded, why workers join unions, and why they resist becoming members.

Historical analysis has documented conditions in the pre-union era. Not uncommonly the picture is presented of the oppressed worker, laboring under unhealthful conditions, receiving low pay, working long hours, suffering from unilateral, arbitrary decisions of management, and generally having little or no control of his work situation. Despite the fact that this picture often has been overdrawn, painstaking study has revealed that labor unions arose in response to such conditions.

Concerning collective bargaining, Whitney states:

In the last analysis, collective bargaining is essentially a negative and protective institution. It limits the hand of management, imposes obligations on employers, and assures workers of a series of industrial rights. These, of course, are the historical and traditional purposes of unions. Labor organizations earn their birthright by accomplishing these objectives.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Fred Whitney, Government and Collective Bargaining, J. B. Lip-pincott Company, Chicago, 1951, p. 5.



Selekman points out that popular opinion about labor relations has been dichotomized into "good" or "bad", "stable" or "unstable," "constructive" or "destructive," without any consideration of a possible middle ground. He then categorizes, on the basis of different patterns of interaction, eight distinguishably different structures of labor-management dealings. These structures are listed as: (1) containment-aggression, (2) ideology, (3) conflict, (4) power-bargaining, (5) deal-bargaining, (6) collusion, (7) accommodation, and (8) cooperation.<sup>2</sup>

Selekman implies no evolutionary process here, but the terms themselves indicate the potentiality of a continuum from containment-aggression to cooperation. Any one of these structures may be found in the United States today. Investigation of these structures would, without doubt, reveal that dichotomies such as "good or bad" result from oversimplified judgments of complex social, economic, and political phenomena.

Men who feel oppressed are most likely to band together in organizations designed to relieve their oppression and the American workman apparently felt this need even before the arrival of the industrial revolution. Carr has indicated that the worker obviously felt that he was not receiving a fair day's pay, he was not being treated as a person, and he was gradually losing status in the community.<sup>3</sup> Bakke, after having

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<sup>2</sup>Benjamin M. Selekman, "Varieties of Labor Relations," Harvard Business Review XXVII (1949), 175-186.

<sup>3</sup>Lowell J. Carr, Analytical Sociology, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1955, pp. 538-9.

Broadly speaking, unions seemed to be working toward three major objectives: (1) to improve the organized wage worker's economic conditions; (2) to establish a structure of worker rights in industry--a code of rights which management would be bound to respect; and (3) to raise the status of wage labor in American culture.





analyzed the responses of workers, found "almost universal recognition that one is living successfully if he is making progress toward the experience and assurance of":<sup>4</sup>

- A. The society and respect of other people
- B. The degree of creature comforts and economic security possessed by the most favored of his customary associates
- C. Independence in and control over his own affairs
- D. Understanding of the forces and factors at work in his world
- E. Integrity

One sees here essentially the same elements as those suggested by Carr. Bakke goes on to explain that men join unions if they believe such membership will be consistent with their already existent associations. Further, the degree to which workers are willing to join is directly related to the degree to which the worker believes his union membership and behavior as a union man will be consistent with accepted folkways. Indeed, the southern worker may well see economic gains stemming from unionism; but, unless the union can be shown to be socially legitimate, he may refuse to join. Such membership has not habitually been a part of his "way of life." The last of Bakke's criteria for "living successfully" is "the experience and assurance of integrity." Here integrity means "wholeness." It connotes a sense of belonging and a relationship to a larger whole. Of the criteria presented it is the most difficult to define and something which is less amenable to empirical observation.

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<sup>4</sup>E. Wight Bakke, "Why Workers Join Unions," in Labor Economics and Industrial Relations, Edited by Joseph Shister, J. B. Lippincott Company, Chicago, 1951, pp.30-36.

The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that every entry should be supported by a valid receipt or invoice. This not only helps in tracking expenses but also ensures compliance with tax regulations.

In the second section, the author provides a detailed breakdown of the monthly budget. It includes categories for housing, utilities, food, and entertainment. Each category is further divided into specific items, such as rent, electricity, groceries, and dining out. This level of detail allows for a clear understanding of where the money is being spent.

The third section focuses on the overall financial goals and the strategies used to achieve them. It mentions the importance of saving for long-term goals and the use of various financial instruments to manage risk and optimize returns.

Finally, the document concludes with a summary of the key findings and a call to action. It encourages the reader to regularly review their financial statements and make adjustments as needed to stay on track with their financial plan.

What Carr and Bakke have said certainly indicates that membership in a local union does not result from purely economic motivations. If a man believes the union can get him such benefits as higher wages, shorter hours, better conditions, and fringe benefits, he is a potential member. Yet Reynolds' work should warn against the particularism of a theory of economic determinism. He states, "The decision to join is by no means strictly a rational decision. It is probably more like religious conversion than like deciding to buy a pair of shoes."<sup>5</sup>

There are obviously zealous unionists who attempt to convert the new employee. Union officers no doubt wish there were more such "devout," crusading rank-and-file members. In addition to the conversion aspect there is purely "secular" social pressure. "Most of the workers join because others have done so, and hold outs are gradually brought into line by the pressure of social ostracism in the plant."<sup>6</sup> Despite allegations that such tactics are "undemocratic," it is pertinent to indicate that today, by law, there is no union in a plant unless the majority of those eligible to vote have cast their ballots favoring organization.<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, the same tactics for inducing membership are undoubtedly operative in trade associations, professional societies, churches, civic clubs, and fraternal organizations.

Witney points out the importance to the individual of a well rounded personality and states that unions provide a "vehicle for self-expression,"

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<sup>5</sup>Lloyd G. Reynolds, Labor Economics and Labor Relations, Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York, 1949, p. 79.

<sup>6</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>7</sup>Labor Management Relations Act, 1947. Section 8, Article 3.



necessary to the attainment of that goal. Further, unions may be considered as "the springboard for a fuller participation by workers in the affairs of the community."<sup>8</sup>

Nonetheless, in spite of the apparent values that a union would seem to have for its members, there are many workers who prefer to be "independent." Reynolds briefly attempts to show why this is true and reports that little study has been made of the characteristics of those who do or do not join. Why don't men join unions? No doubt many variables are involved. Reynolds' list includes length of service, degree of skill, income, promotion prospects, and personal relationships with management officials. Of additional importance is the worker's "position in a particular 'clique,' work group, or other informal social grouping in the plant..."<sup>9</sup>

While some workers may not want to become union members, Huberman emphasizes the individual's need for union membership in view of management's dominant position. The following quotation provides evidence of the power struggle that has existed between labor and management.

Workers, unorganized, are weak.  
 Workers, organized, are strong.  
 That's why workers join unions.  
 There are no if's, maybe's, or  
 but's about this. It's a fact. Employers know it.  
 Experienced workers know it. And the Supreme Court  
 of the United States knows it.<sup>10</sup>

Whatever control the union has of the work situation in the plant has been wrested from management over a number of years. Most union prerogatives

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<sup>8</sup>Witney, op. cit., pp. 10-11.

<sup>9</sup>Reynolds, op. cit., p. 78.

<sup>10</sup>Leo Huberman, The Truth About Unions, Reynal and Hitchcock, Inc., New York, 1946, p. 3.



were not obtained by a "sit and wait" policy, but came as a result of aggressive programs. A well-known union organizer summarizes the union's role:

Historically, of course, unions have been organized for defensive and protective purposes, as well as for reasons of mutual aid. The voluntary association has always proved the most effective form of protest against injustice and the means for securing redress of grievances and improvement in conditions of employment.<sup>11</sup>

The formation of the union may have been fostered by the need for defensive and protective measures, but positive action is likewise a part of modern union policy. The union not only guards its gains, but constantly strives for new benefits for itself and its members. The distinction between the union and its members is intentional. In support of the distinction Arthur Ross compares the union to any institution which "experiences its own needs, develops its own ambitions and faces its own problems."<sup>12</sup> He stresses the idea that the institution has needs which differ from those of its members. The employee, the union, and the employer, three parties, are involved in collective bargaining. Each of these has specific needs, and at times these needs conflict.

Reynolds sees three main stimuli to union expansion. These are "strategic necessity, missionary zeal, and the institutionalization of the organizing function."<sup>13</sup> Regardless of the simplicity of any given answer, the literature in the field shows that there is no simple answer

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<sup>11</sup>Clinton S. Golden, "Understanding Union Attitudes," Harvard Business Review, Vol. 27, 1949, p. 412.

<sup>12</sup>Arthur M. Ross, Trade Union Wage Policy, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1948, p. 23.

<sup>13</sup>Reynolds, op. cit., p. 73.





to either question: Why do unions organize? Why do workers join unions?

To return to Witney, he states,

It can be argued that unions would have a place in our society even if they failed to accomplish much on the economic front...unions are an integral part of our life, arising out of the nature of our societal structure. They serve basic and persistent needs of the workers of American industry.<sup>14</sup>

Regardless of which "need" a particular author chooses to discuss as most important, there are allusions to other "needs." Perhaps four are outstanding: psychological, social, economic, and political.<sup>15</sup> Most works deal with the latter two, but research on the first two is now beyond the embryonic stage.

This research is concerned with the basic problem of whether political, economic, social or other functions appeal to different types of union members. Stated differently, it focuses on the type of appeal, if any, the union may have for workers of different social backgrounds. To the ordinary worker, the local union is the part of union structure which he contacts most frequently. His attitudes toward unions reflect, at least in part, the experiences he has had with his local. Therefore, this study concerns a specific local union and the attitudes of its members

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<sup>14</sup>Witney, op. cit., p. 11. The development of the union reflects the attitudinal milieu in which the union exists. See Reynolds, op. cit., p. 73. For a discussion of violence see Wilbert E. Moore, Industrial Relations and the Social Order, The MacMillan Company, New York, 1951, p. 370 and Jack Barbash, Labor Unions in Action, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1948, pp. 4-5. See also The Mohawk Valley Formula in Witney, op. cit., Appendix A, pp. 633-35. Florence Peterson discusses management programs to forestall organization. See her Survey of Labor Economics, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1947, p. 481. The C.I.O. Proceedings, 12, 1950, p. 23, gives evidence of how that international union deals with communist dominated member unions.

<sup>15</sup>"Political" as used here refers to any power struggle not necessarily struggle in the sphere of government.



toward its functions. It may be well to compare the local under investigation with others to provide a setting for the study.

## B. Two Contrasting Views of Local Unions

Without doubt, no two unions are exactly alike; and until now, relatively little scientific study has been done to prove the question. Few if any generalizations can be made. There are, however, some interesting subjective reports which give different pictures of what the local is like, how it operates. Two of these may prove of interest to one concerned with the attitudes of rank-and-file union members.

### 1. Local 1276

The first of these situations is depicted by Huberman who is an avowed pro-union man. Joe Worker goes to work for a steel company; he can decide for himself if he wishes to join the local union. He is properly initiated and becomes a member in good standing. "He had read, of course, that all unions are rackets, that ordinary members don't have much say, that the officials are tough guys who run meetings steamroller fashion to put over what they want." He is pleasantly surprised to find that this is not true. All the officers are workers in the plant. "They're ordinary guys like himself." Joe volunteers to serve in an election campaign. He learns that strike action is a last resort when employers refuse to bargain. Social activities are also a part of the union man's lot; rather dull meetings are not the only activity he has with fellow workers. He also finds that the union's top officials do not take a rake-off from his dues. The local's By-Laws protect the members' financial interests. Unions publish a certified



semi-annual financial statement. Further, the union makes work-life tolerable. Are all unions alike? Huberman says:

Naturally not. There was wide variation, as there is among business organizations, religious groups, teaching bodies, social clubs. Some were run honestly, efficiently, and democratically, others were not. Some were wide-awake alive organizations, others were asleep. Some encouraged participation by the rank and file, others discouraged it. Some had low dues and initiation fees, others had high dues and initiation fees.

But by and large, they were set up and run pretty much like Joe Worker's local 1276.<sup>16</sup>

## 2. Local XYZ

John Worker had a somewhat different experience and warns that what he has related is strictly the story of a single union, one to which he belonged. The Harvard Business Review presents it "simply for its usefulness in filling in a small part of a large picture."

John Worker found that the qualifications for membership in the XYZ Union "were references evidencing ability, a minimum of two years experience at the trade, a clean record as far as antiunion activities were concerned - and a friend on the committee." A friend named Stumpy satisfied the last requirement and argued for John's admission with the aid of "synthetic" work experience. "...rather than call Stumpy a liar and start a fist fight on the spot, they would accept the fact that for a 'seasoned worker' 'I was pretty dumb, and let it go at that.'" John received probationary membership and was surprised that he didn't have to pay off to Sam for getting him into the union. He, like Joe, found "that union leaders could be sincere, helpful, and friendly fellows. Sam Tomasio was not at all like

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<sup>16</sup>Huberman, op. cit., Chapter 8, pp. 49-62; direct quote, pp. 61-62.



the corrupt 'union bosses' I had imagined."

Worker then goes on to discuss the members. The rank-and-file was made up of a large proportion of drifters, thirty-five years of age or over, unemployed for several months, and many formerly married. Some had had penitentiary experience, and most were "well acquainted with strikes, violence and employer abuses. Yet they were peaceful men who seemed to go out of their way to avoid violence and trouble."

The one thing which all the rank and file had in common was a hatred for the employer and the abuses which had followed the common working man for a generation. Conditions in union shops were now satisfactory, .... It was the memory of past abuses and the constantly fostered fear that the employers would seize upon even the slightest opportunity to force laboring men back to filthy shops and starvation wages which was the great uniting and driving force of the militant XYZ.

Known Communists or at least fellow travelers were in attendance at the meetings. Those thrown out as "Commies" were very likely not to be "Commies," but brothers in good standing. One man exposed as a Communist and not "a worker at all...was beaten up as he left the hall." A strike was called almost without warning and dissenters were thrown out before the strike vote was taken. The vote favoring a strike was unanimous. The strike was not one over wages and conditions, but was purely for the purpose of extending the jurisdiction of XYZ. John Worker wound up on a "flying squad" or "strong arm squad" which was out to end strike breaking activities. The action was the antithesis of the minimization of violence. The company countered with "goon squads." Finally, at a National Convention, the union was reorganized; apparently the Communists took over. According to the author, things began to move like clockwork; meetings were better conducted, and there were fewer arguments.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>17</sup>John Worker, "My Union—An Inside Story," Harvard Business Review, Volume 26, 1948, 108-114; principal quote 109-110.

the 1990s, the number of people in the world who are under 15 years of age is expected to increase from 1.1 billion to 1.5 billion.

There are a number of reasons why the world's population is growing so rapidly. One of the main reasons is that the number of children born to each woman has increased. This is due to a number of factors, including the fact that women are now having children at a younger age, and that there is a higher birth rate in developing countries. Another reason is that the number of people who are surviving to old age has increased. This is due to a number of factors, including the fact that people are now living longer, and that there is a higher death rate in developing countries.

The world's population is growing so rapidly that it is becoming a major problem for many countries. One of the main problems is that there is not enough food to feed everyone. This is due to a number of factors, including the fact that the number of people who are growing up is increasing, and that there is not enough land to grow enough food. Another problem is that there is not enough water to drink. This is due to a number of factors, including the fact that the number of people who are growing up is increasing, and that there is not enough water to go around.

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The reader should perhaps be reminded again that the above is the story of one local union. It may very well be typical of unions inhabited by Communists; but it should also be remembered that, traditionally, American unionists have been, and are, much opposed to Communists' practices. The fight to eliminate violence and suppression continues and is ceaseless.

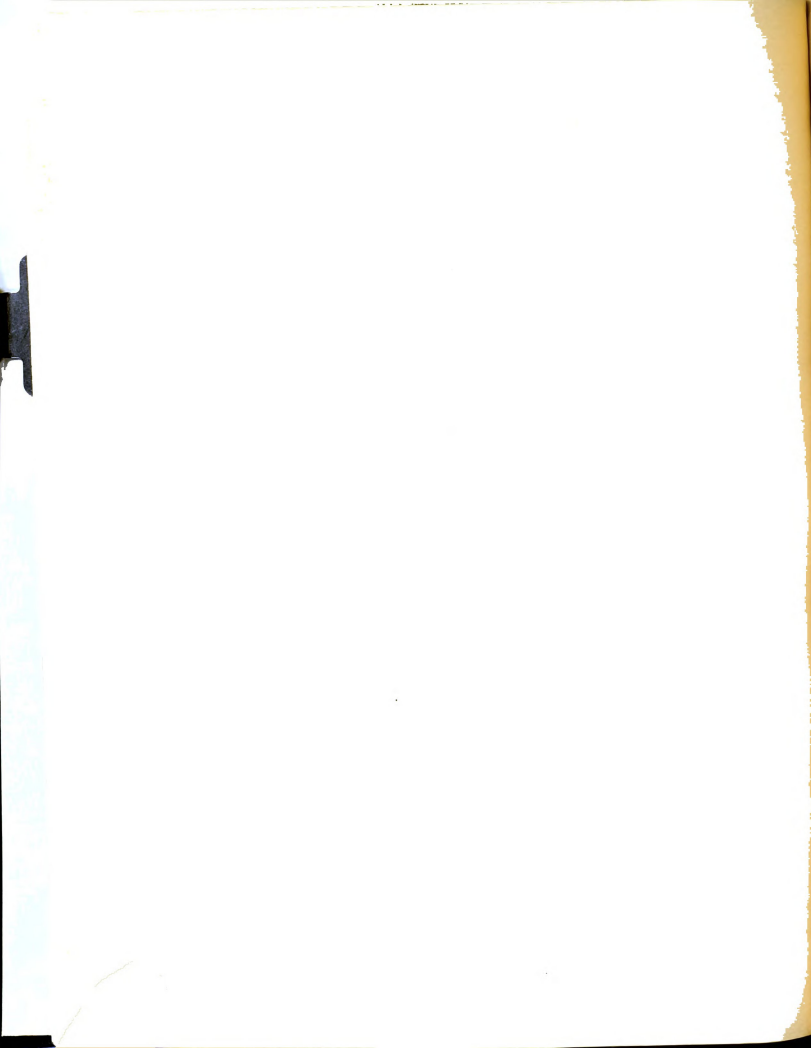
### C. Local 724

This study pertains specifically to Amalgamated Local 724, International Union, United Automobile Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, UAW-CIO, hereinafter referred to as Local 724. This amalgamated local includes sixteen member units.<sup>18</sup> Local 724 is located in Lansing, Michigan and was established in 1940. Melling Forge and Machine, the charter unit, signed its first contract on May 14, 1940. Although one can find ample material on the rise of unionism in regard to the broader movement, information about the history of a particular local union may be somewhat less in evidence. Local 724 is in this respect, not unlike what the writer had expected to find. In discussions of local history at both the subregional office and local union office, no information from written records was volunteered. Perhaps there are no such records which deal specifically with the local's history.

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<sup>18</sup>Member units at the time of the study: Atlas Drop Forge, Atlas Office Beurmann-Marshall, Duplex Truck Mfg. Co., Federal Drop Forge, Hill Diesel Engine Corp., John Bean, Kish Plastic Products, Kold-Hold Mfg. Co., Lansing Drop Forge, Lansing Foundry, Lapaco Chemicals, Lindell Drop Forge, Lundberg Screw Products, Melling Forge and Machine, and Renaud Plastics.

John Bean did not appear on union stationery at the time when the study was initiated; formerly Local 781, this local affiliated and merged with and became a unit of Amalgamated Local 724 on April 7, 1953.



However, local officials reported that the organizing campaign was relatively quiet and that first negotiations were not particularly tough; in their words, "the company went along." The Atlas Drop Forge unit, however, had some difficulty in its fight for recognition and its attempt to procure check-off. A strike of about three weeks duration occurred at Atlas in 1941. Kold-Hold later had a brief strike to eliminate piece work. No violence was reported.

When Local 724 was founded, there were many who believed that management could and would eventually destroy the union. Pitched battles had been waged when attempts were made to organize the auto workers. Homer Martin, first president of the UAW-CIO, had felt the pressure of "outsiders" as well as that from within his own union. Communists were present in the union and were struggling for control. The Addes-Thomas block eventually gained control but were ultimately to be soundly defeated by the Reuther group (1947).<sup>19</sup> With the existing fear of trade-unionism itself, coupled with a fear of the union's communist domination, it is indeed remarkable that in 1940, "the company went along." This local was apparently split into two equal factions in the Reuther-Addes-Thomas struggle for power. This even division may be related to the fact that Reuther himself was alleged to be a Socialist, who, although Anti-Communist, was ready to strike even during war rather than to surrender his position against "speed-up" and incentive pay plans. Perhaps less well known was the fact that the Addes-Thomas group, sometimes designated as Addes-Satlinist Bloc, adhered rather closely to the Communist line. Even if

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<sup>19</sup>Irving Howe and B. J. Widick, The UAW and Walter Reuther, Random House, New York, 1929, Chapter 3, pp. 66-82.



this knowledge were widespread, it should be recalled that Communism was then not emphasized as a critical issue. Insofar as factional struggles within the international are concerned, the large majority of the members of Local 724 are today considered to be pro-Reuther.

No one person has been president of Local 724 for any extended time. Since its founding until the present, there have been eight different presidents. The secretary-treasurer, however, has retained his position since 1944. Traditionally, this would not be unusual; this office is conceived of as one which lends continuity to local officialdom and enhances uninterrupted operation of the local union.<sup>20</sup> Except for this office, local officers go unpaid for their work, an indication that such services must have other than purely financial rewards.

Other offices included are vice-president, recording secretary, sergeant-at-arms, guide, and three trustees. Each of these is elective, the individual serving one year. One trustee is elected each year for a three year term.

These then are the elected leaders of Local 724, who plan the year's activities and guide the rank-and-file in their everyday union affairs. Their primary concern, as reported to the writer, has been working conditions, including the elimination of hazards, wages, job security, and to be treated as human beings.

There are other local unions in the city and the interrelations of locals is of prime importance to the officers. They report that

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<sup>20</sup>The By-Laws of Local 724 Article VI, Section 1, list Secretary-Treasurer as one of the offices. The Constitution of the International Union calls for a Financial Secretary, Article 36 Section 1, p. 75.



relations between Local 724 and other Lansing locals are good. Local 724 is apparently proud of its "progressive" nature. Permission for this study is itself indicative of the liberality of local policy. In Selekmán's scheme, "accommodation" would probably characterize the structure of labor-management relations involving this local. According to Selekmán:

By and large, managements and unions who deal together within relationships of accommodation tend to confine their cooperative approaches to what may be termed the traditional agenda of collective bargaining. They still concentrate practice and procedure upon establishing wages, hours, and conditions of employment, and then upon administering the jointly established standards. Although not unduly alarmist about the potential of every demand for encroaching upon managerial prerogatives, or of every counterdemand for undermining valid shop rights, the parties to accommodative bargaining do maintain alert watchfulness upon these ramparts of principle, these orbits of respective equities and privileges.<sup>21</sup>

Slichter considers three principal periods in the development of the American labor movement:

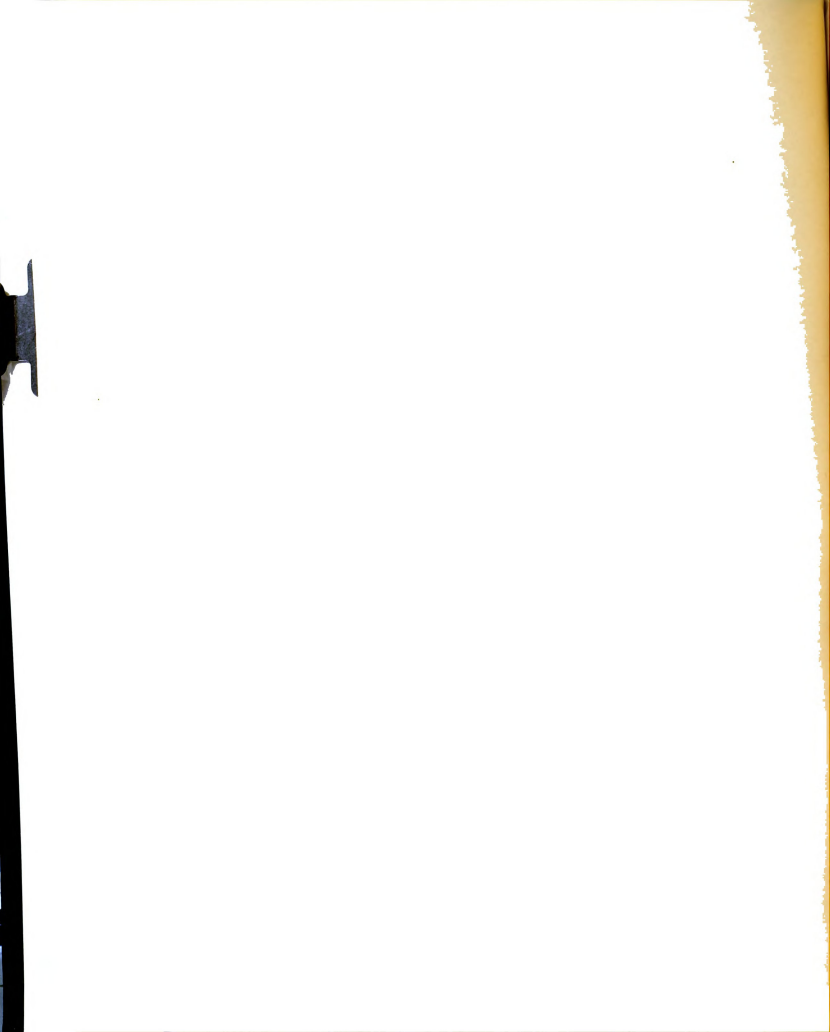
- (1) "grass-roots", until the 1880's.
- (2) Dominance of national unions, until the 1930's.
- (3) Government encouragement of trade unions, until the present.<sup>22</sup>

By either Slichter's or Killingsworth's classifications, Local 724 was established during a period of government encouragement of collective bargaining, a period when protective policy was predominantly in force. Herein may lie part of the answer to why "the company went along."

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<sup>21</sup>Selekmán, op. cit., p. 185.

<sup>22</sup>Sumner H. Slichter, The Challenge of Industrial Relations, Cornell University Press, Ithica, 1947, p. 6. Also see Killingsworth's discussion of protective and restrictive policy in Charles C. Killingsworth, State Labor Relations Acts, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1948, pp. 13-23. Many conceive of the Labor-Management Relations Act, 1947 (Taft-Hartley Act) as a restrictive law.





#### D. Specific Problems of This Study

It is difficult to pin point the exact sources leading to the formulation of this research project. Those familiar with this particular field of interest will readily admit to two classifications of sources relating to the union's functions for its members.

The first area is comprised of general remarks dealing with the reasons for the existence of a labor movement. Such writings ordinarily deal with types and purposes of unions, and do not make a specific reference to what the worker wants from the union, why he has joined, or what he gains from union membership. Generally these works are not based on empirical research efforts.

The second major source of ideas is that of studies based on empirical investigation. Not infrequently these studies have been done, at least in part, under union auspices. These researches usually deal with the behavior patterns and attitudes of workers in specific locals. An unstated proposition of these investigations often is that the attitudes are positively related to overt behavior, and a study of them will facilitate learning something about labor-management relationships. The researchers in Illini City emphasized the importance of attitudes:

When one man has a certain attitude toward his union, his employer, or his fellow workers, his remarks and actions will affect a few individuals in his neighborhood. When the majority of workers hold a certain attitude, this becomes a pervasive influence.<sup>23</sup>

The writings of Bakke, Carr, Reynolds, Witney, and Worker have been cited as sources of information concerning the subject of why workers

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<sup>23</sup> Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, Labor-Management Relations in Illini City, Champaign, Illinois, 1954, Vol. 2, p. 36.



join unions. From his own experience in the labor movement Golden examined the role of the union in fulfilling the workers "needs."

The basic needs of the human beings who make up American industry's working force are threefold:

1. Economic - an adequate plane of living and the necessary amount of job and wage protection.
2. Psychological - the personality needs of freedom of action, self expression, and creative outlets.
3. Social - the ties and bonds of group relations and community life.<sup>24</sup>

Selekman has called attention to the pragmatic, possibly intuitive, knowledge of the labor organizer who "fortifies sentiments already inclining workers toward unionism."

He neutralizes fears. He overcomes indifference and beats down opposition. He galvanizes positive feelings and transmutes negative feelings into loyalty that will make workers join up. Whatever the differences in specific tactics, he usually seeks to harness to his cause three powerful human drives: (1) the desire for economic improvement, (2) the craving to belong to the group, and (3) the impulse toward aggression and hostility.<sup>25</sup>

Roper and Lester have also been concerned with the problem of what labor wants. They emphasized the need for security, a chance to advance, being treated like a human being, financial gain, job protection, social approval, and escape from personal fear or discontent.<sup>26</sup>

In view of the above speculations and studies, the first research goal was to attempt a classification of cases according to what the worker

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<sup>24</sup>Clinton S. Golden and Harold J. Rittenberg, The Dynamics of Industrial Democracy, Harper and Brothers Publishers, New York, 1942, p. 7. Generally see Chapter I, "Motives for Union Membership."

<sup>25</sup>Benjamin M. Selekman, Labor Relations and Human Relations, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1947, p. 15.

<sup>26</sup>Richard A. Lester, Labor and Industrial Relations, The MacMillan Company: New York, 1951, p. 98. See also Elmo Roper "What American Labor Wants," American Mercury, Vol. 58, No. 242, pp. 180-184.



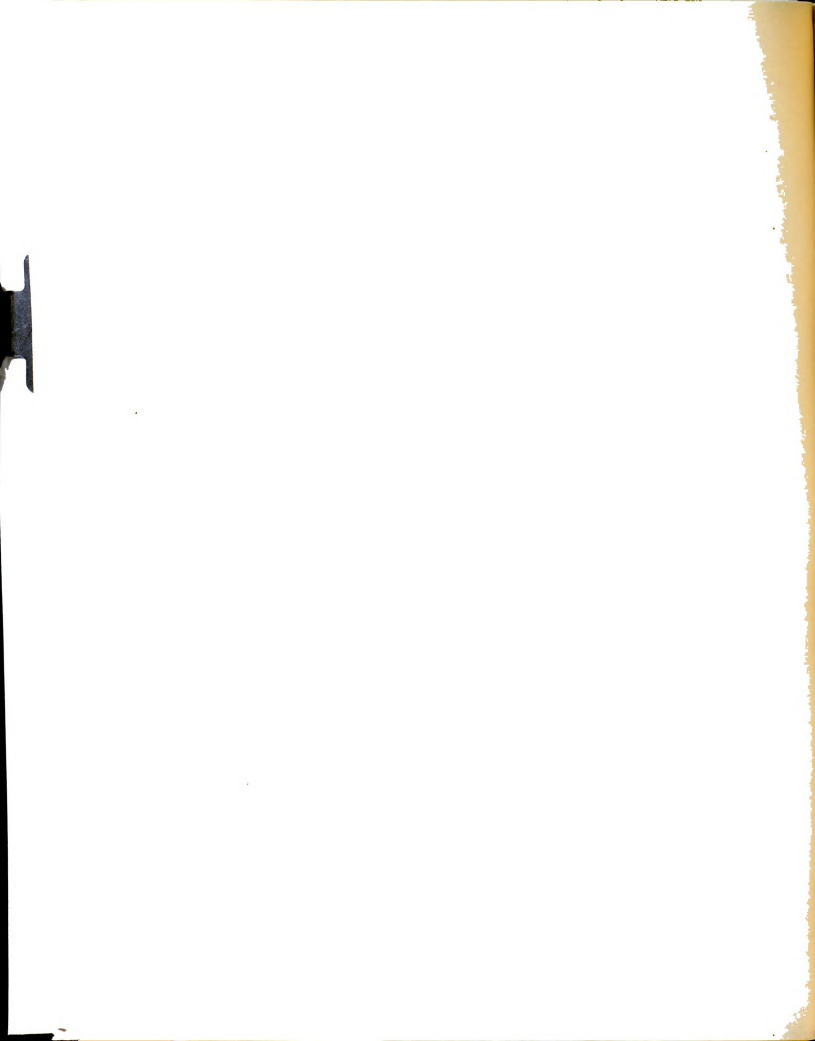
thought the union should accomplish for him. These classifications will be labeled "role orientations," i.e., the worker's orientation toward the local union in terms of what he expects of the union. The review of research suggested three main role orientations: (1) ideological or political, (2) traditional or economic, (3) social. However, experience showed that many members have a low degree of ego identification with union goals and activity and that some are even openly antagonistic toward the union. Thus, two additional categories were included: (1) Apathetic (2) Hostile. As a corollary to the first research goal, this study explored possible relationships between role orientation and social characteristics of the worker such as his age, amount of education, and marital status.

#### 1. Orientations Toward Unionism

##### a. Ideological or Political Orientation

This orientation is used to refer to the workers' expressed statements of the need to resist the employer or to have protection from the employer or his representative. Ideological or political as used in this study has a considerably more limited meaning than that found in the general literature. Ideological usually can be equated with revolutionary unionism. Hoxie gives an excellent short description of that type of unionism.

Revolutionary unionism, as the term implies, is extremely radical both in viewpoint and in action. It is distinctly class conscious rather than trade conscious. That is to say it asserts the complete harmony of interests of all wageworkers as against the representatives of the employing class, and seeks to unite the former, skilled and unskilled together, into one homogeneous fighting organization .... It looks upon the prevailing modes of right and rights, moral and



legal, as, in general, fabrications of the employing class, designed to secure the subjection and further the exploitation of the workers.<sup>27</sup>

The protective function of the union is probably expressed more frequently by members than is any other union function. A study by Walker and Guest listed twelve pro-union quotations. All of these emphasized trouble with management and the union's protective role.<sup>28</sup>

#### b. Traditional or Economic Orientation

This orientation is based on "job and wage consciousness." Perlman commented on traditional unionism.

It was indeed a new species of trade unionism that was thus evolved. It differed from the trade unionism that the native American labor movement had evolved earlier, in that it grasped the idea, supremely correct for American conditions, that the economic front was the only front on which the labor army could stay united.<sup>29</sup>

While there were and are issues other than the purely economic, the importance of wages can hardly be neglected. Commons mentions some of the goals of labor which were important at the time of transition from the "old" to traditional unionism.

Instead of experiments in co-operation or leadership by humanitarians we find rules for apprenticeship, closed shop, minimum wage, time and method of payment, initiation fees and dues, funds for strike benefits, union employment offices, and the exclusion of employers, politicians, and friends of labour not actually working at the trade.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>27</sup>Robert F. Hoxie, Trade Unionism in the United States, D. Appleton-Century Company, New York, 1936, p. 48. See also Selig Perlman, A Theory of the Labor Movement, Augustus M. Kelley, New York, 1949, pp. 219-233.

<sup>28</sup>Charles R. Walker and Robert H. Guest, The Man on the Assembly Line, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1952, pp. 128-129.

<sup>29</sup>Perlman, op. cit., p. 197.

<sup>30</sup>John R. Commons, History of Labour in the United States, The MacMillan Company, New York, 1918, Vol. 1, p. 576. On page 401 one finds emphasis on "that right which is the right of every labourer, of setting our own price on our labour." Concerning the wage movement see pp. 395-401; 582-585.





Rose and Kornhauser have both indicated some of the more recent union goals related to the economic orientation. Rose stresses the economic function but also shows the simultaneous diversity of member expectation.

...members get a wide range of benefits from union membership. Getting higher wages (or the equivalent) stands out in most workers' minds as the most important purpose of a union, of course, but substantial proportions spontaneously mentioned getting job security, gaining rights, and getting benefits off the job (such as opportunities for recreation, medical care, and legal advice).<sup>31</sup>

Kornhauser's findings are quite similar.

Other institutional devices are planned to increase the loyalty of the membership. Such devices include sickness or death benefits, unemployment compensation, pensions for retired members, strike benefits, medical and hospitalization plans, educational and recreational programs, and a variety of similar benefits or activities.<sup>32</sup>

The terms, traditional or economic, as used in this study are closely related to what is often called "here and now" unionism or business unionism.

#### c. Social Orientation

There is more to unionism than economic gain and control of the job situation. As with any expanding institution the union's functions tend to multiply. In the fringe of economic purpose further goals of insurance of all sorts, vacations, and more recently a guaranteed annual wage have developed. In addition distinctly social functions have developed. As paternal capitalism sought worker favor through social welfare and recreational activities, so the union seeks to create membership solidarity using similar

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<sup>31</sup>Arnold M. Rose, Union Solidarity, The University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1952, p. 62.

<sup>32</sup>Arthur Kornhauser, Robert Dubin, and Arthur M. Ross, Industrial Conflict, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1954, p. 115.



techniques. Lester has indicated some of the areas of activity in which the union competes with other social institutions.

Unions may also help to fulfill the needs of members on the social side. Through such activities as educational, health-and-welfare, and community service programs they may develop new patterns of working-class life outside the plant and open to working people greater possibilities for participation in community affairs. In providing recreational, counseling, medical, financial, political, and similar services, unions compete for favor and prestige with other social institutions that are engaged in community service activities, such as churches, charitable agencies, political parties, chambers of commerce, and businessmen's clubs.<sup>33</sup>

There is little doubt but that as union services are increased, union stability and perhaps responsibility increase. Union officers interested in gaining and maintaining an active membership attempt to increase services. One of these lies in the potential of the union to provide for sociability amongst its members. In his discussion of the "Parkinstown Local" Ginzberg deals with such an attempt by union officers.

The officials encouraged the use of headquarters as a social center. Tables for card playing were set up in the main hall. A concession for the sale of soft drinks was granted. Saturday movies were arranged for the children.<sup>34</sup>

Ginzberg reports in addition that there were attempts at educational programs in English, labor history, etc., but these failed for want of enthusiasm. More informal types of activities were tried, dancing, athletics, etc. Enthusiasm was maintained, but new members were not added to the union roster. "There was a general feeling, both expressed and unexpressed that union headquarters was no place to relax!"<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>33</sup>Lester, op. cit., pp. 29-30. For an interesting discussion of the union's problems in coping with management welfare techniques see Perlman, op. cit., pp. 207-219.

<sup>34</sup>Eli Ginzberg, The Labor Leader, The MacMillan Company, New York, 1948, p. 137.

<sup>35</sup>Loc. cit.



Hart's report on UAW Amalgamated Local 195 in Windsor, Ontario gives a somewhat different picture. Regarding a bar in the basement of union headquarters he says:

Here the union member can drink his beer in much more attractive surroundings and among much more congenial companions than in the usual deplorable atmosphere of an Ontario tavern. ... Because of restraints imposed by the presence of his fellow workers, the average union member who uses the union bar is likely to drink less, enjoy himself more, and go to work in the morning in much better shape than he did before the union got its license.<sup>36</sup>

Hart reports how the union member finds a more satisfying social life within his union and how he turns to his union rather than to Ford or Chrysler "to undertake the job of cleaning up that social chaos and rebuilding the community along more satisfying lines." <sup>37</sup>

While many writings give a broader connotation to the term "social" than that intended by this writer, they nonetheless serve as a background for this study. "Social" in this study refers particularly to such union sponsored recreational activities as picnics, parties, dances, and athletic events. In addition "social" as used here refers to the informal associations of member with member, not under union sponsorship.

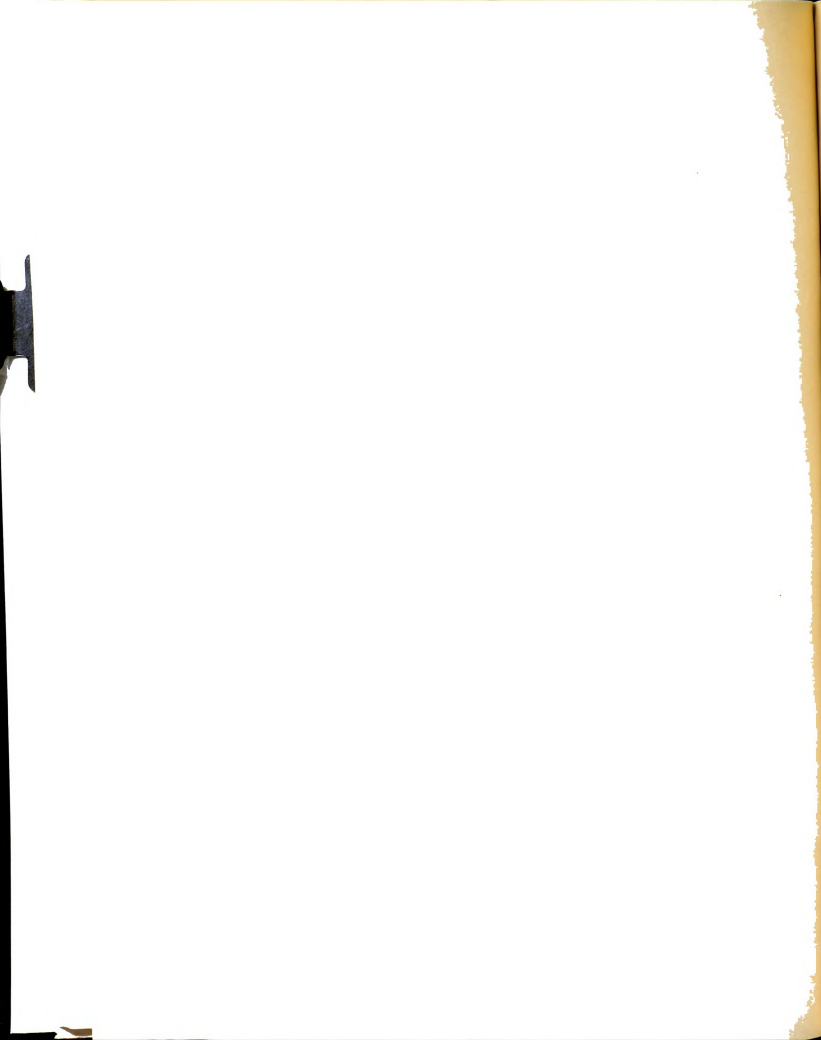
#### d. Apathetic Orientation

There is much talk of apathy among local union members; and there are many reports of poor attendance, lack of enthusiasm for union programs, and general shoulder shrugging. Although most members may be expected to be oriented toward the political, economic, and social functions of the

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<sup>36</sup>C.W.M. Hart, "Industrial Relations Research and Social Theory," Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, 1949, Vol. 15, p. 64.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., p. 73.



union, there are no doubt other members who are indifferent to union motives, goals, and activities. Hoxie wrote of bread and butter unionists and their apathy.

They are apt to regard the union--when all is going well--as a matter of course, or an instrument for food and shelter. While meetings are held regularly and members are free to go and determine the conduct of affairs, as a matter of fact, in time of peace, they are lax about attendance. They are content to leave the running of affairs and the thinking to the officers.<sup>38</sup>

Apathetic as used in this study refers to the member who either has expressed indifference toward the union or who, in reporting his activities, has indicated a subordination of union activity to other interests.

#### e. Hostile Orientation

The hostile member, often played up by the anti-unionist, apparently is found less frequently than believed. These members do exist however, and their number need not be large to disturb the equilibrium of the institution. Lester indicates the manifestation of a need to suppress hostile activity.

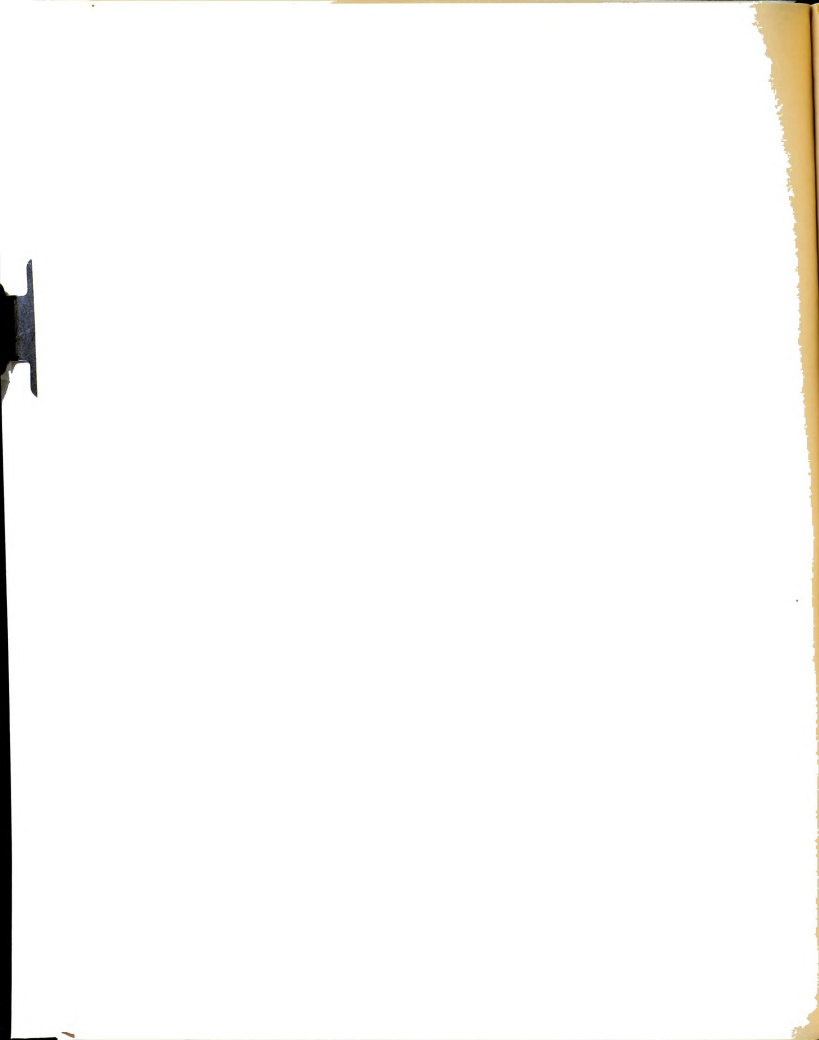
Common in union constitutions is the prohibition of such activities as slandering an officer or member, creating dissension, undermining the union or working against its interest, and circulating written material dealing with union business among members or locals without permission of the national's executive board. The penalty may be reprimand, fine, suspension, or expulsion.<sup>39</sup>

There has been considerable emphasis concerning the worker, hostile to the union, who belongs only because he must. Member hostility is a common theme of anti-union editorials which stress the worker's "loss of individual freedom." Yet a study by Walker reports no "active opponents"

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<sup>38</sup>Hoxie, op. cit., p. 178.

<sup>39</sup>Lester, op. cit., pp. 144-145.





of the union and less than one-tenth "antagonistic." In the same study, however, slightly over one-tenth of the members "accept the union with reservations," and about one-fourth were regarded as "passive."<sup>40</sup> Walker and Guest reported "a vociferous minority" as a hostile group.<sup>41</sup>

Hostile as used in this study refers to the member who has stated an unwillingness to become a member or has expressed other anti-union sentiments.

#### f. The First Guiding Hypothesis

While the works cited here are by no means exhaustive, they serve as a sample of the writings concerned with why men join unions or at least of what their orientations are toward the union after they are members.

What Seidman, et. al, say concerning motivations for joining a union may well apply to the members' later expectations of the local.

...the reasons for joining a union do not fit neatly into any preconceived motivational scheme. The reasons for joining a union are found in the concrete circumstances surrounding the lives and work experience of employees. Such factors as prior union sympathy, informal group pressure, and militant union tactics of the dues - inspection - line type are of crucial importance.<sup>42</sup>

Discussion of the social characteristics of persons showing any of the above orientations has usually been treated in only an incidental manner in research. This investigation has as one of its problems an exploratory effort to determine whether there is a social type (i.e. a composite of

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<sup>40</sup>Charles R. Walker, Steeltown, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1950, p.94.

<sup>41</sup>Walker and Guest, op. cit., pp. 131-132.

<sup>42</sup>Joel Seidman, Jack London, Bernard Karsh, "Why Workers Join Unions," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 271, March 1951, p. 80.



social characteristics) which shows a propensity toward a given orientation.

HYPOTHESIS: DIFFERENT "TYPES" OF UNION MEMBERS HAVE A DIFFERENT PRIORITY OF ORIENTATIONS TOWARD THE LOCAL UNION.

## 2. Degree of Integration

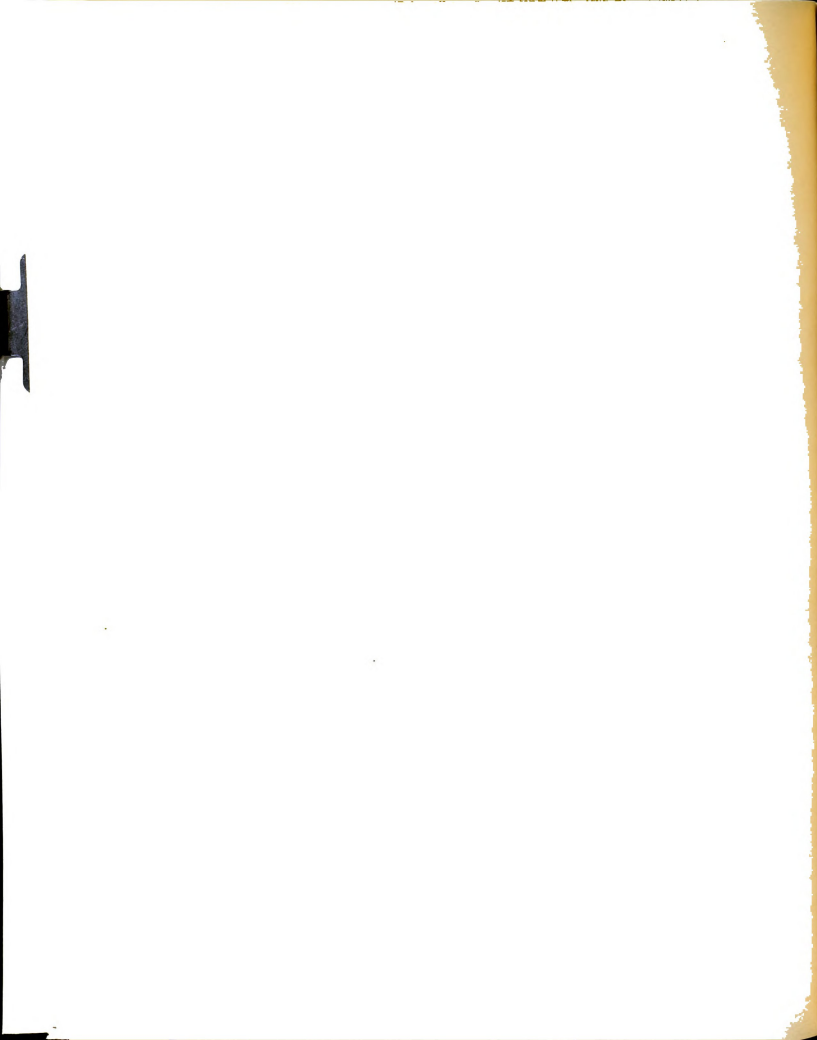
It may well be that the member's orientation toward the union is a function of his broader social relationships in the community. The worker is also a friend, a neighbor, a citizen. It is highly possible that the union serves as a source of social integration for those who have few other social ties. On the other hand, the active union man may be active because he is generally integrated in his family, friendship groups, neighborhood, and community. One of the objects of this study is to examine the relations among various sources of social integration.

Degree of integration as used in this study pertains to the degree to which the member has expressed a "feeling of belonging" or a relationship to others in three different areas of interaction, plant, neighborhood, and community. Further, the degree of integration is based on some of his actual patterns of participation.

Related to a consideration of the union member's degree of integration or participation is Blum's discussion of "Group Belongingness and the World of Labor" which indicates something of the interrelatedness of emotional identification of the member with the union and an evaluative description, "apathy."

In spite of the appreciation of the services rendered by the union, we must recognize a certain lukewarmness in workers feelings about the union. ...

But more fundamental ... are the social forces determining emotional identification with the union. It is impossible to judge today the strength of the group feelings prior to and following the formation



of the union. But there is no doubt that something existed at that time that has vanished since. ... a decline of emotional identification with the union and of the community experience with work and labor. ....

The decline in emotional identification shows itself clearly in workers' participation in union affairs. Involvement growing out of relatedness leads to participation, whereas apathy is always the sign of a "broken," disrupted relationship between ourselves and the group to which we belong or the "community" or "world" in which we are living.<sup>43</sup>

Though referring primarily to the union steward Chinoy's comment could readily apply to any union member.

The more deeply involved a man is in union affairs, the more extended is his social participation. In an ever increasingly urban world, the union may come to serve as an institutional center where active participants can find companionship and sociability.<sup>44</sup>

Mayo found "two symptoms of social disruption in modern society."

First, the number of unhappy individuals increases. Forced back upon himself, with no immediate or real social duties, the individual becomes a prey to unhappy and obsessive personal preoccupations. ...

Second, ... It is unfortunately completely characteristic of industrial societies we know that various groups when formed are not eager to cooperate wholeheartedly with other groups. On the contrary, their attitude is usually that of wariness or hostility.<sup>45</sup>

Mayo's work is replete with references from which one might infer that one of the groups which is wary or hostile is the union membership, a group of poorly integrated, unhappy individuals.

Moore was concerned with the services of the union in providing "a sense of belongingness and of social participation." He offers an hypothesis

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<sup>43</sup>Fred H. Blum, Toward a Democratic Work Process, Harper and Brothers Publishers, New York, 1953, pp. 43-44, 47.

<sup>44</sup>Ely Chinoy, Automobile Workers and the American Dream, Doubleday and Company Inc., Garden City, New York, 1955, p. 106. See also Theodore Gaplow, The Sociology of Work, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1954, p. 208.

<sup>45</sup>Elton Mayo, The Social Problems of an Industrial Civilization, Division of Research, Graduate School of Business Administration, Harvard University, Boston, 1945, p. 7.



which is related to one which this study tests. Moore hypothesizes:

...it appears probable that careful study would reveal an inverse relationship between the intensity of union activity and the extent of participation in the more traditional forms of familial and neighborhood life and types of voluntary associations.<sup>46</sup>

This study tests a second guiding hypothesis.

HYPOTHESIS: THERE IS A RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE WORKER'S SOCIAL INTEGRATION OR PARTICIPATION AT THE WORK PLANT, NEIGHBORHOOD, AND COMMUNITY LEVELS AND HIS ORIENTATION TOWARD THE LOCAL UNION.

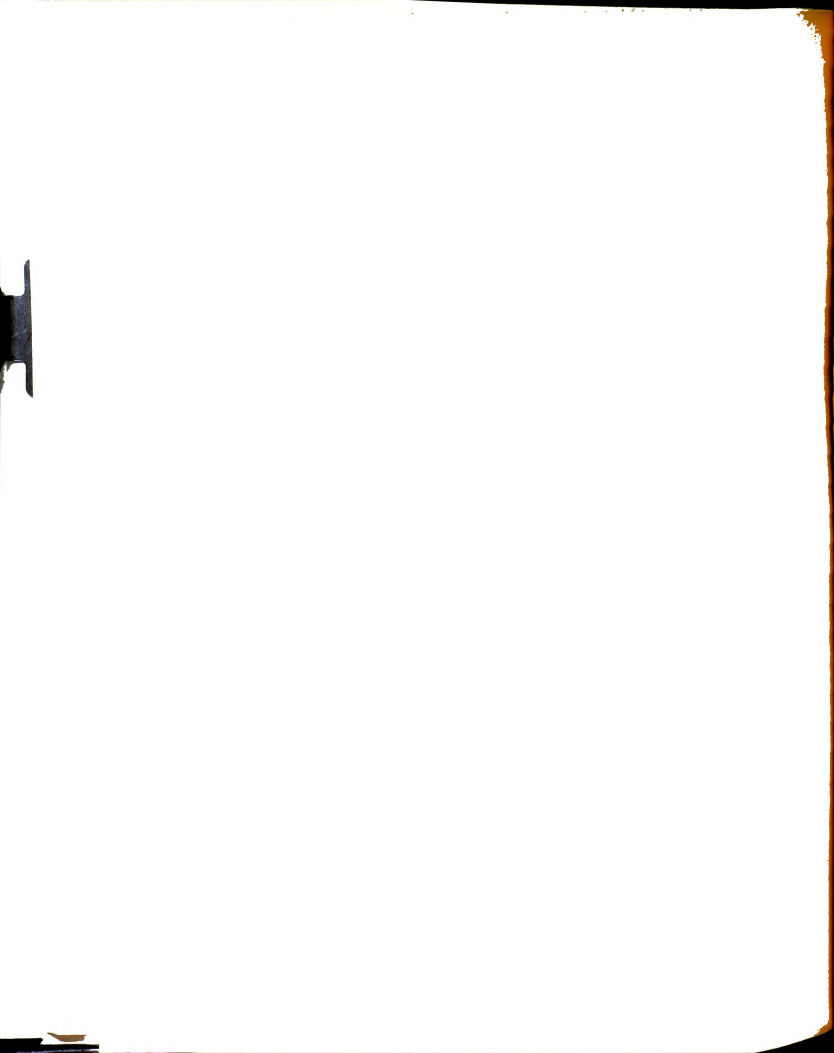
### 3. Attitudinal Differences: Rank-and-File and Officer

Local union organization is a democratic structure which can remain effective only if rank-and-file and officers maintain interest in the organization and come to some agreement about its purposes and functions. The dynamics of the local union may be better understood if the differences and similarities in attitudes of active and inactive members or officers and rank-and-file members are known. This research will attempt to examine the differential perceptions of members who vary in their degree of union activity and who have occupied different positions in the formal union structure.

There has been considerable discussion but little really known about differences in attitudes of rank-and-file members of varying degrees of activity in union affairs. One would expect perhaps that a high degree of activity would lead to emotional involvement and favorable feelings toward the union. Blum discusses a few general attitudes of union members. He indicates that while there are differing degrees of identification, most

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<sup>46</sup>Moore, op. cit., p. 311.





members feel that the union is doing a good job. Many agree that the union makes them feel they are partners "in doing something important."<sup>47</sup>

Seidman queried the effects of the disappearance of a steelworkers' local and found that most members felt that its loss "would make a great difference." Officers felt they would be discharged. While inactive members did not share that feeling, they believed "that there would be a return to oppressive treatment by foremen, which they would be powerless to prevent." Seidman concludes "that even inactive members feel a continuing need for the union's protection. ..."<sup>48</sup>

Chinoy stresses attitudes of "sacrifice" on the part of union leaders as evidenced by "the devotion to a cause greater than oneself."

The political nature of union office keeps the leader responsive and responsible to his constituents. Thus the normal circumstances in which the union official acts continue to give concrete significance to the ideas of selflessness, responsibility, and leadership.<sup>49</sup>

These "ideas" may not be wholly held by union leaders, but shared as well by active unionists. A subsequent statement by Chinoy leads to this inference.

In the course of his work the union official builds up social ties with other active unionists, to whom he consequently looks for social approval. Since their approval is largely granted on the basis of the tradition which stresses devotion to the union, the leader is steered away from actions which would brand him as a bad unionist. Although this may produce an in-group feeling among the leaders,

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<sup>47</sup>Elum, op. cit., pp. 38-39.

<sup>48</sup>Joel Seidman, "The Labor Union as an Organization," in Kornhauser, et. al, op. cit., pp. 111-112.

<sup>49</sup>Eli Chinoy, "Local Union Leadership," in Alvin W. Gouldner (Ed.) Studies in Leadership, Harper and Brothers, Publishers, New York, 1950, pp. 168-169.



vis-a-vis the rank and file, it may also produce a strong sense of loyalty to the interests of the union.<sup>50</sup>

The Illini City research distinguishes among attitudes of rank-and-file, union officers, stewards, top management, and foremen. Some difference in the rank-and-file attitudes and those of others is seen.

The general score of rank-and-file attitudes indicated an approximately even division of approval between company and union, whereas other groups were biased toward one side or the other.<sup>51</sup>

For the purpose of investigating attitudinal differences, two final guiding hypotheses were selected as worthy of test.

HYPOTHESIS: ACTIVE MEMBERS, AS OPPOSED TO INACTIVE MEMBERS, PERCEIVE THE EFFECTIVENESS OF UNION ORGANIZATION DIFFERENTLY.

HYPOTHESIS: OFFICERS, AS OPPOSED TO NON-OFFICERS, PERCEIVE THE EFFECTIVENESS OF UNION ORGANIZATION DIFFERENTLY.

An over-view of the members' attitudes and behavior patterns will be presented in Chapter III. The hypothesis concerning the relationship between orientations toward unionism and social characteristics will be discussed in Chapter IV. That chapter will also consider the hypothesis relating union orientation and degree of integration. Attitudes of active and inactive members will be treated in detail in Chapter V, and Chapter VI will deal with the differential attitudes of officers and rank-and-file members.

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<sup>50</sup>Ibid., pp. 172-173.

<sup>51</sup>Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, op. cit., p. 355. For a discussion of leaders and rank-and-file see Hoxie, op. cit., pp. 177-187, and for attitudes of the rank-and-file about officers see p. 409.



## CHAPTER II

### BASIC THEORY AND METHODS

#### A. The Theoretical Frame of Reference

##### 1. Purpose

There are many assumptions about unions and union members which are today accepted as fact. These "facts" do not usually derive from attempts at first hand objective study. Actually, relatively few objective studies have been undertaken. Rose and Moore have commented on the paucity of such studies, and Rose has given a necessarily brief list of the "first steps toward studies of internal union relationships."<sup>1</sup>

This study deals with the responses of workers themselves putting aside, as much as is possible, the many assumptions appearing as "fact." It is felt that the issues herein pursued are of special interest to the sociologist, labor economist, and the lay student of labor. It would seem that an understanding of labor relations at the plant level would be enhanced by a knowledge of the worker's own expressions concerning union issues vital to him.

The sociologist presents himself as a proponent of an inductive or generalizing science. He is one interested in the structure of human relationships and the social processes which occur within and among

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<sup>1</sup>Arnold M. Rose, Union Solidarity, The University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1952, V-VI. Also see Wilbert E. Moore, "Industrial Sociology: Status and Prospects," American Sociological Review, XIII, 1948, 382-391.



observable structures. His ultimate goal is to formulate propositions which have universal application to the structures and processes which he observes and analyzes. Perhaps his guiding precept, as a scientist, must be that of reporting what is, rather than what ought to be.<sup>2</sup>

As has already been indicated, few objective studies of the local union have been undertaken. Caplow states:

Our primary concern here is not with the vast area of labor relations, which has one of the most extensive literatures in the entire field of human behavior, but with the labor union as a form of social organization. In this, the sources are less satisfactory. There is an inexhaustible supply of constitutions, resolutions, programs, manifestoes, and partisan pronouncements, but only a handful of empirical studies, most of which are rather recent and of limited extent.<sup>3</sup>

Social scientists will not be prepared to generalize about attitudes or behavior patterns of union members until many empirical studies of local unions test a variety of current folk beliefs. Perhaps this undertaking may add to the store of knowledge necessary for generalization. However, it may serve as a single case which, in some respect, may conceivably refute some present unfounded "generalization."

## 2. The Union as an Institution

There is an emerging interest in the local union on the part of both the labor economist and industrial sociologist in regard to both its structure and its function and also how these fit into the larger structure of unionism. Heretofore sociologists and economists have each followed their special interests to guide their studies. Needless to say

<sup>2</sup>For a brief description of industrial sociology see Ibid., 382-383.

<sup>3</sup>Theodore Caplow, The Sociology of Work, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1954, p. 191.





an amalgamation of such seemingly diverse interests on the part of a research team would probably yield information which members of any single discipline or approach could not obtain independently. A recent suggestive study, employing a variety of disciplines, was done by members of the Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations at the University of Illinois. The eight senior staff members included three economists, three sociologists, and two psychologists.<sup>4</sup>

There is one important agreement between labor economists and industrial sociologists that bears on the question of studying the labor union. Both conceive of the union as a social institution, and labor economists who deal with the union from this point of view do a more than an adequate job of demonstrating their insight.

Ross says:

Every institution has a formal purpose, a stated intention, an official rationale.... The formal purpose is always a statement of the benefit which the institution provides for its rank and file. Ordinarily the institution must feel that it satisfies the formal purpose as an incident to its activities; otherwise, it is not likely to survive....

As an institution expands in strength and status, it outgrows its formal purpose. It experiences its own needs, develops its own ambitions, and faces its own problems. These become differentiated from the needs, ambitions, and problems of its rank and file. The trade union is no exception.<sup>5</sup>

Chapin provided a traditional sociological treatment of the concept, institution, when he dealt with attitudes and behavior patterns, symbolic

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<sup>4</sup>Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, Labor-Management Relations in Illini City, Champaign, Illinois, 1954, Vol. 2, p. 592.

<sup>5</sup>Arthur M. Ross, Trade Union Wage Policy, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1948, pp. 22-23.



culture traits, utilitarian culture traits, and the code regulating inter-relationships.<sup>6</sup> Even a cursory examination of sociological literature reveals a variety of alternative definitions of institution. A few, in addition to Chapin's conception, are listed below.<sup>7</sup>

Regardless of one's preference for definition he cannot neglect a consideration of some pertinent factors embodied in "institution" as a concept. Actors are involved, goals exist, there are rules and normative, expected patterns of behavior; and the behavior takes place within a recognizable structure. These ideas are inseparable except in the abstract. If the investigator is unable to study the institution in toto, he may select special segments, structures, or patterns for study.

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<sup>6</sup>Of. Stuart Chapin, Contemporary American Institutions, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1935, p. 15. For the application of Chapin's concept to the labor union see Delbert C. Miller and William H. Form, Industrial Sociology, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1951, p. 230.

<sup>7</sup>R. M. MacIver, Society, Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., New York, 1937, p. 14. ...the established forms or conditions of procedure characteristic of group activity...

Talcott Parsons, The Structure of Social Action, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1927, p. 407. Durkheim: ...the body of rules governing action in pursuit of immediate ends in so far as they exercise moral authority derivable from a common value system...

Talcott Parsons, Essays in Sociological Theory Pure and Applied, The Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois, 1949, p. 276. ...patterns governing behavior and social relationships which have become interwoven with a system of common moral sentiments which in turn define what one has a "right to expect" of a person in a certain position...

Wilbert E. Moore, Industrial Relations and the Social Order, The MacMillan Company, New York, 1951, p. 417. ...a well defined rule of conduct having a normative sanction;...

Arnold W. Green, Sociology, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1952, p. 79. ...the organization of several folkways and mores (and most often, but not necessarily, laws) into a unit which serves a number of social functions...

Lowell J. Carr, Analytical Sociology, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1955, p. 81. ...patterns of organization and organization-oriented behavior enforced by individuals who are culturally regarded as having the right to make and enforce orders to carry out the pattern...

See also Moore, op. cit., pp. 417-418 and Everett C. Hughes, "Institutional Office and the Person", American Journal of Sociology, 43, 1937, 404-413.



This writer has chosen to study only a part of an "institution." He has selected Chapin's first type-part, namely attitudes and behavior patterns, as some of these exist in a particular local union. There is no implication that all attitudes and behavior patterns of all members have been subjected to study. Rather, a particular local union was chosen for the study of some selected attitudes. A small attempt was made to see whether there is a relationship between attitudes and behavior patterns.

The local union is the structural building block of the institution. It is the organizational unit within which the vast majority of union activities take place. The process of collective bargaining, perhaps most noticeable at contract time, is a continual (possibly continuous) daily process at the local level. Although the union organization "regularly operates at three levels: (1) the union 'local,'... (2) the national or 'international'... and (3) the confederation of national unions..."<sup>8</sup> it would seem that an understanding of the nature of the institution could well begin at the lowest level.

William Foote Whyte, speaking of the local union, in the "foreword" to a work by Sayles and Strauss says:

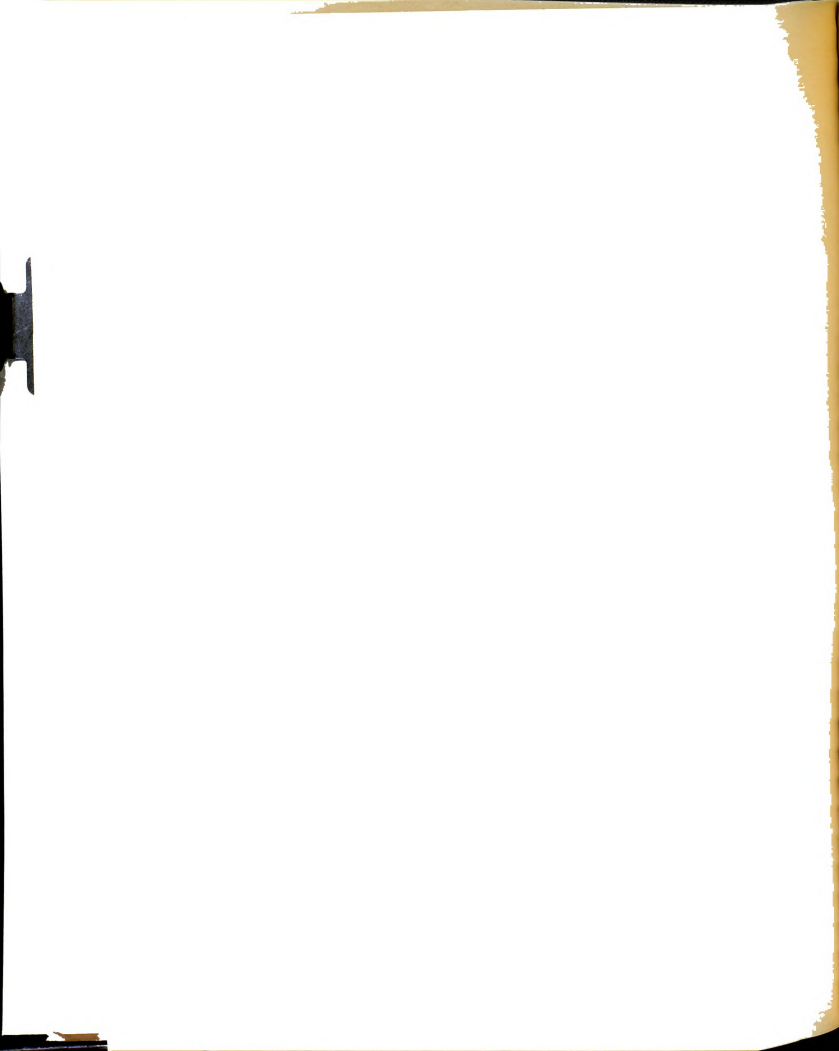
This then is not the whole institution, but we can hardly profess to understand unions until we observe them in action at the local level.

Nor can we understand union-management or worker-management relations (in a unionized plant) without some knowledge of what is going on within the local.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 299.

<sup>9</sup>Leonard R. Sayles and George Strauss, The Local Union, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1953, IX.



### 3. Attitudes

Since this study involves the relationships that possibly exist between attitudes and behavior patterns, it may be well to include a brief discussion of what an attitude is conceived to be. The meanings of attitude have been somewhat exhaustively treated in the works of the psychologists; sociologists have extracted and used certain aspects of the definitions which they felt are most suitable for sociological analysis. Others have utilized the concept in a diverse number of ways without ever having tried to clarify its meaning. Some of the more common conceptualizations of "attitude" are presented below.<sup>10</sup>

There are certain characteristics of an attitude on which there is relative agreement. Holland's fine brief summaries of these characteristics help clarify the concept.

- (1) Attitude implies action tendency.
- (2) Attitudes are socially determined.
- (3) Attitudes are related to objects, the social values of the world of the observer.

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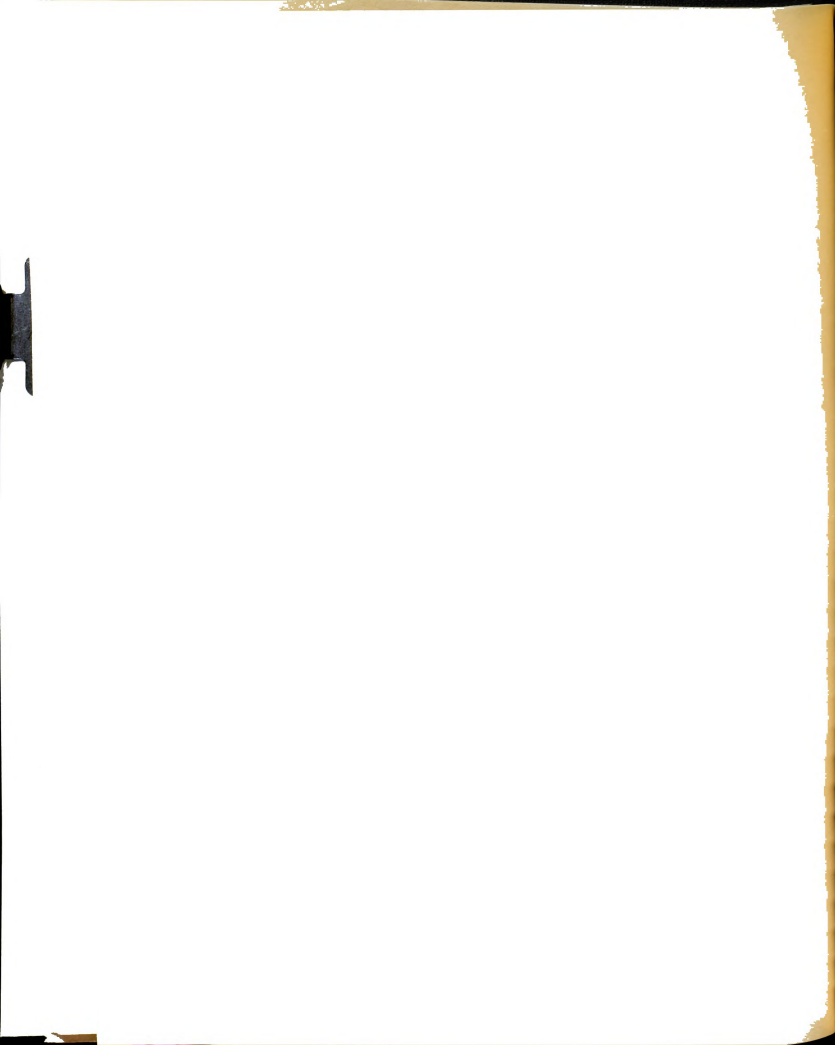
<sup>10</sup>Gordon W. Allport, "The Historical Background of Modern Social Psychology," in Handbook of Social Psychology, edited by Gardner Lindzey, Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, Inc., Cambridge 42, Mass., 1954, p. 43. ...a neuropsychic state of readiness for mental and physical activity...  
 Ibid., p. 45. Droba: ...a mental disposition of the human individual to act for or against a definite object...

David Krech and Richard S. Crutchfield, Theory and Problems of Social Psychology, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1948, p. 152. ...an enduring organization of motivational, emotional, perceptual, and cognitive processes with respect to some aspect of the individual's world...

John F. Cuber, Sociology, Second Edition, New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1951, p. 216. ...first, an orientation or a "tendency to act" in some way toward some person or situation or object or idea...

Chapin, op. cit., p. 411. ...a set toward a person or situation that calls for adjustment...

Bert Green, "Attitude Measurement," in Lindzey, op. cit., p. 336. ...an enduring syndrome of response consistency with regard to a set of social objects...





- (4) Attitudes are organized, not randomly occurring.
- (5) Attitudes are generally considered to be enduring.
- (6) Attitudes have emotional content.
- (7) Attitudes are learned, not innate.
- (8) Attitudes have direction, intensity, and saliency.<sup>11</sup>

The most common meaning of "attitude" seems to be that an attitude is some kind of "behavioral tendency," and that overt expression merely evidences the existence of the underlying tendency. It is often assumed that the expression is usually consistent with the attitude held; such is a basic assumption of this study. Thus far, students of the subject have been able to study attitudes only indirectly; and precisely what relationships exist between and among expressions, attitudes, and non-verbal behavior is not yet known.

In this study the writer uses the term "attitude" when he discusses the verbal responses of the local union members on a given issue. These expressions (attitudes) have then been related to such items as social characteristics and behavior patterns. It is hoped that these efforts will contribute something new to present knowledge about local unions or will at least aid in the prevention of the spreading of misinformation.

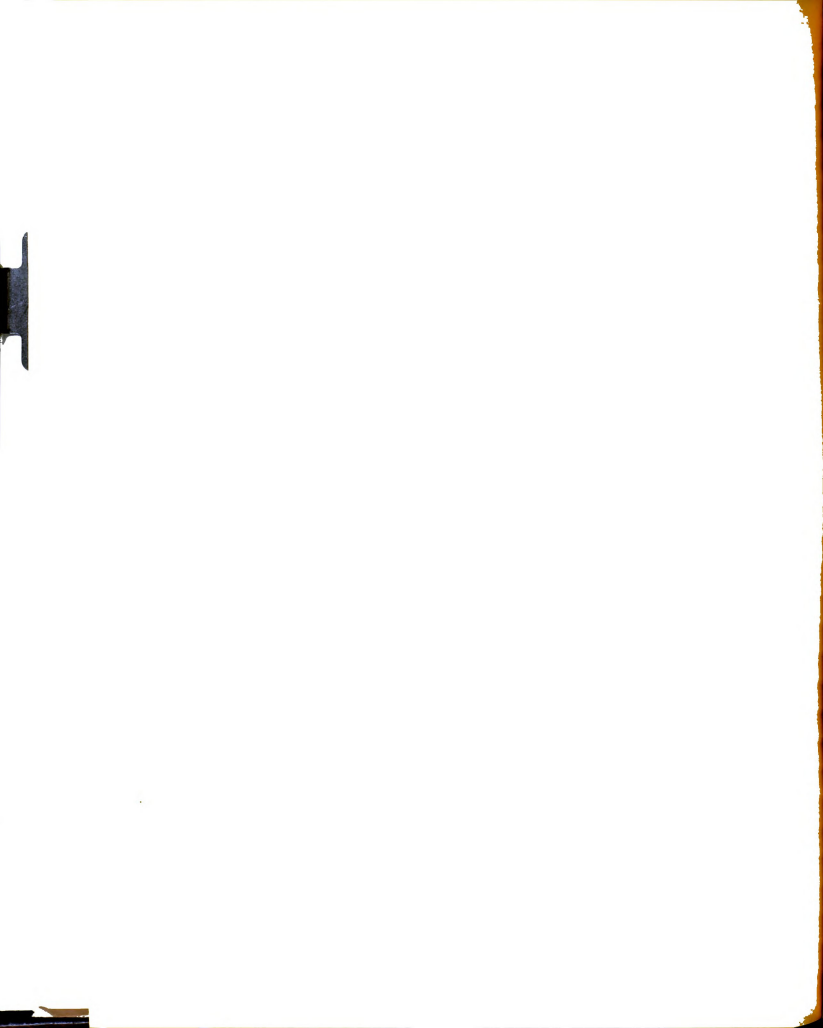
## B. Methods

### 1. Initiation of the Study

Prior to the beginning of the actual field work the writer made an informal attempt to get approval of the study. While the first attempt

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<sup>11</sup>From lecture notes in a course entitled "Social Attitudes" taught by the late Dr. John Holland.



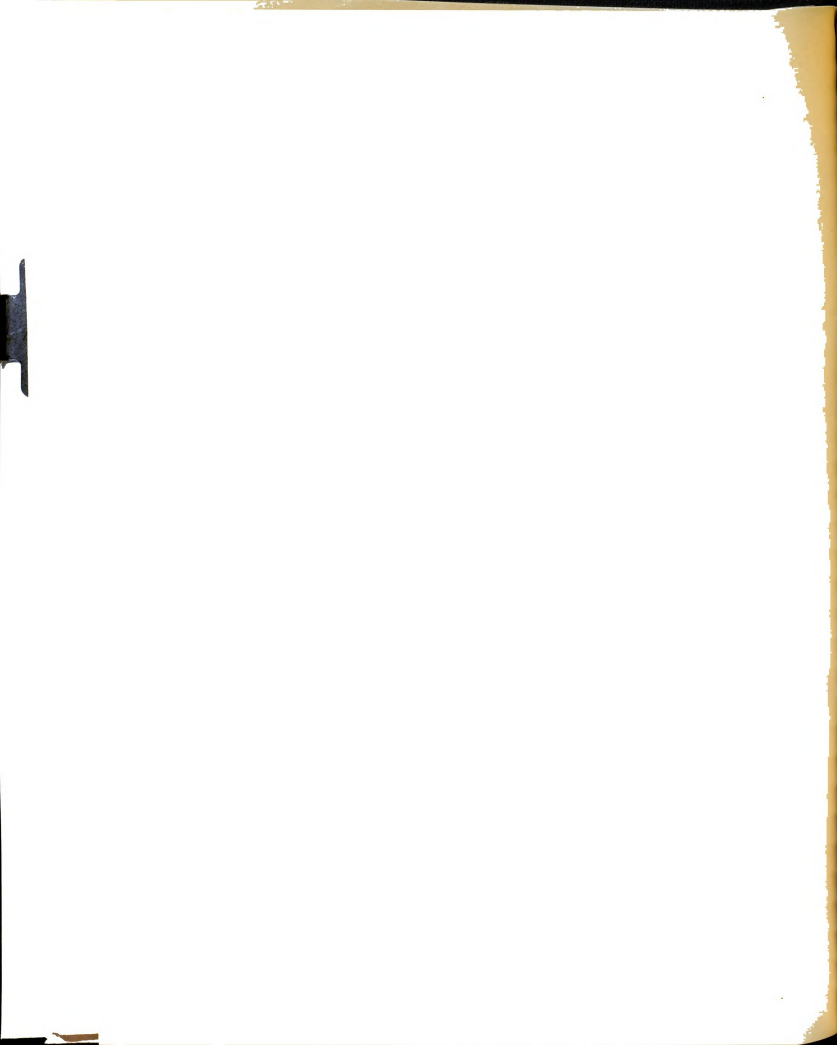
was unsuccessful, it and a subsequent effort may provide information which will be of value in a future effort to study a local union.

In the spring of 1953 it was decided to approach the editor of the Lansing Labor News to discuss the prospects of doing a case study in one of the Lansing locals because it was felt that he would know the situation in most of the locals since he gathered news from them regularly. This would require the cooperation of the rank-and-file and the officers in the local selected. The editor felt that a study could be done; and when asked about alternatives in case of a refusal, he replied that "we" could choose another local.<sup>12</sup> Needless to say, the researcher felt that he had taken a proper initial step; he had talked with an "influential." The editor had a personal interest in the project and requested that some questions about readership of the Lansing Labor News be included in the schedule. Several questions were included as requested, although they are not directly related to the purposes of the study.

It was first intended to study the largest local in the city. A second informal contact with the president of the largest local, was made for the writer by a friend who knew the labor leaders in the city. It appeared that approval for the study was about to be obtained. All that was needed presumably was a perfunctory approval by the members. However, at the first meeting with the local president, the writer was informed that any study in that local was doomed; for the executive board of the local had voted unanimously against approval. Perhaps as a result of a pre-test of the schedule, a rumor was abroad that the study was being

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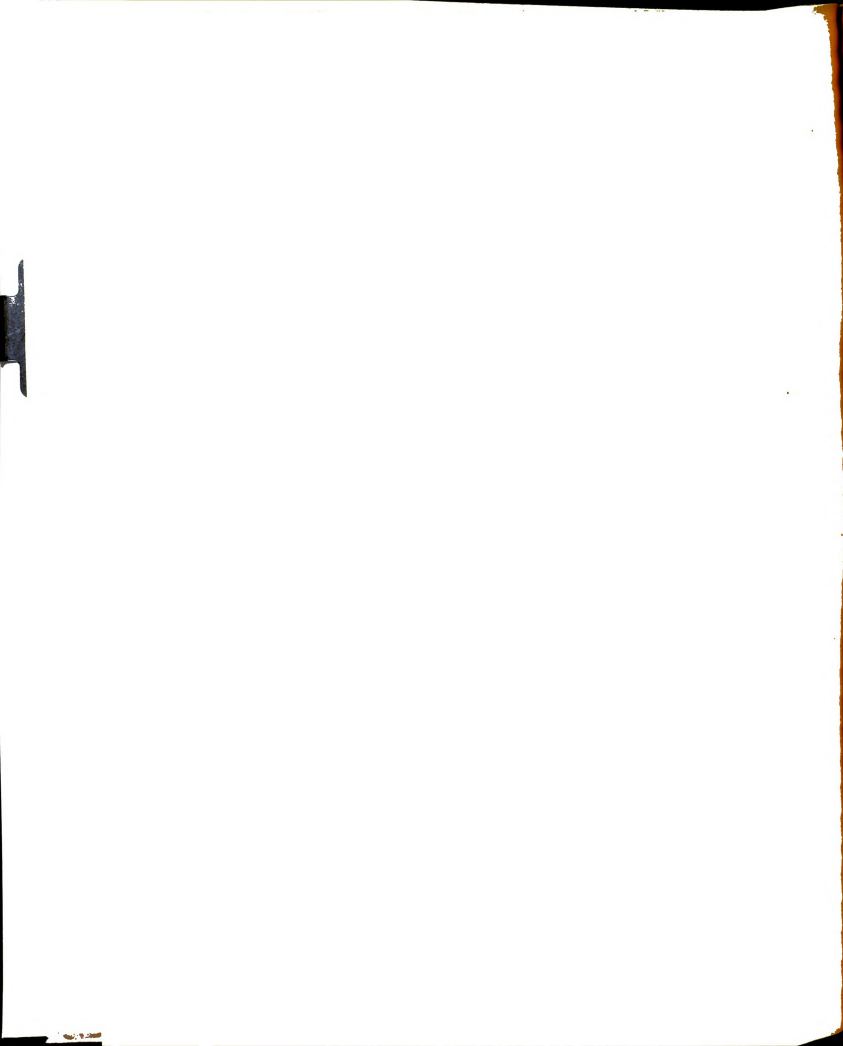
<sup>12</sup>The writer was surprised to learn, in the summer of 1954, that the editor had apparently forgotten this earlier contact.



sponsored by the National Association of Manufacturers. Actually, at that time, no one in local officialdom had seen the schedule, and there was no valid reason for suspecting the schedule or the researcher. The executive board reported its action to the local membership, and the membership perfunctorily voted against the study as recommended by the executive board. In a later discussion with the writer the president indicated that if approval from the International could be obtained, he would use all his influence to get approval at the local level. However, it was decided that in light of what had happened, research possibilities with this local were wearing extremely thin. One of the sociologist's "pets," primary interaction at the informal level, had failed to produce desired results.

In order to obtain approval for the project it appeared necessary to start at the top and work down through formal channels. To those who believe that international officers always tell local officers what to do, a word of warning is offered. In this instance international officers told local officers nothing.

Entree to higher eschelons was obtained via a fellow sociologist who had been working on a study conducted under the auspices of the union. It was apparently made clear to higher officials that the person who would conduct this study had no "axe to grind," that the findings would be handled in an objective manner, and that only the truth would be presented. When these ideas had been "sold," the "approval procedure" was activated. Although a chain of command from the international through the regional to the sub-regional levels became visible, no higher official asked any local official to permit the study.



The writer's first personal contact with any part of the latter process occurred when two regional union representatives and the writer met for lunch. An appointment was made for a discussion to take place at the sub-regional office. One of the sub-regional officials spoke of Local 724 as "his local," and he suggested that perhaps the study could be done there. Two days before the writer was to leave the Lansing area, permission to do a study of Local 724 was granted by the local officers. The process of getting approval had taken the time during which the researcher had hoped to complete much of the necessary interviewing.

## 2. The Schedule

Earlier the schedule had been submitted to a pre-test, but at that time no union officials had had an opportunity to analyze and criticize it. Further, since members were to be sampled and "quizzed," union officials had certain questions which they thought they would like to have answered. Local officers insisted that the study be a collaborative effort. They stated a desire to participate in the study actively. They wanted to approve the schedule and be permitted to add to it items which they thought important. Much of this was formality, for they made no radical changes. Apparently, as with higher officials, the local officers had to be convinced that those with an academic interest in the study would be objective, at least not anti-union. In the summer of 1954, the writer reported some marginal data to local and subregional officers. These officers informed the writer at that time that unless only the truth and all the truth were reported, the study would be of no value to them.





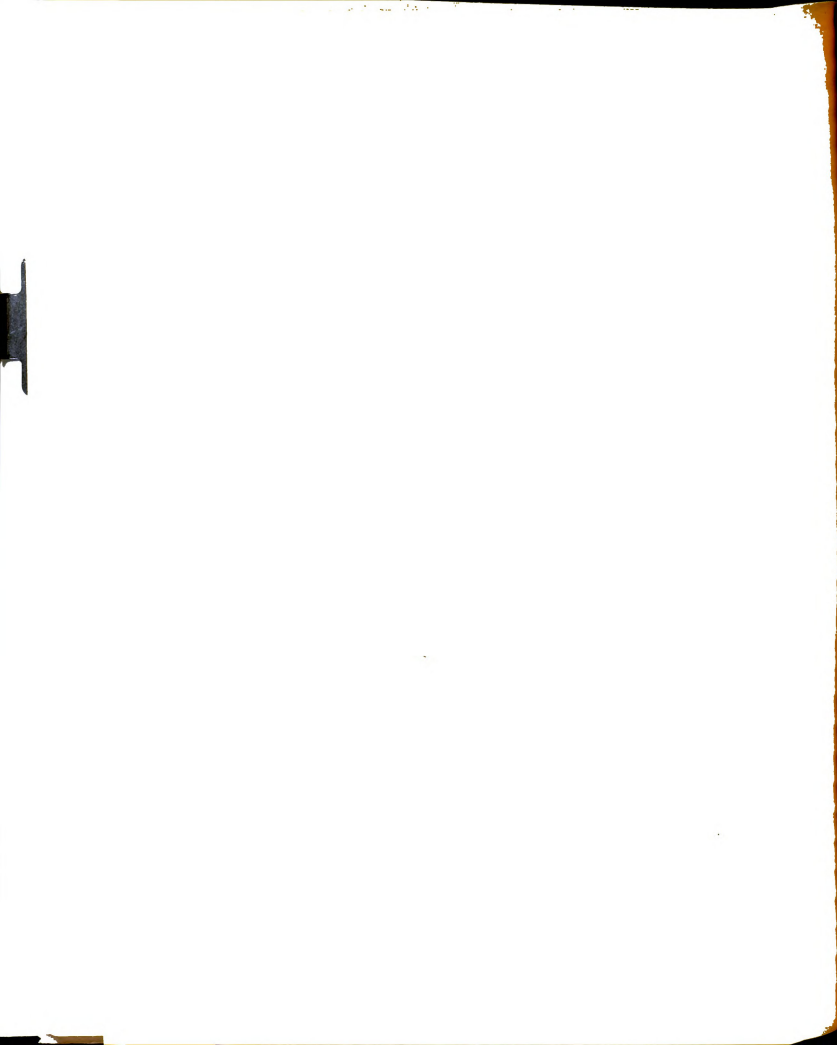
The local union selected for study was comprised of units representing the following industrial operations: forge and foundry - 6, metal fabricating - 6, and chemical and plastics - 3. In addition one forge plant office is a member unit.

A copy of the schedule may be found in Appendix A.

### 3. The Sample

Since there was little or no information available concerning the composition of the population in regard to the characteristics of interest, a simple random sample seemed most feasible. The sample was drawn in the fall of 1953. Cases were selected at regular intervals; every sixteenth name was drawn from an alphabetical list of local union members, excluding those of fewer than three months' membership. In attempts to make appointments for the actual interviewing, it was found that roughly one-third of the cases selected could not be located at the address given. Many could not be found at home, but the majority had moved. No evidence available concerning these cases is indicative of bias in any given direction. In view of the fact that many members could not be located it was decided that a supplementary list of one hundred names be drawn in a similar fashion, these names to be substituted for those which could not be contacted from the original list.

An examination of the lists thus drawn showed a number of strictly rural residences, i.e., somewhat isolated from other cases in the sample. Because of the high cost of obtaining these rural cases, the study had been restricted to members from the central city and its urban fringe. This arrangement allowed an interviewer to get more than one interview on a particular trip. In all, one hundred forty-two interviews were



obtained, one hundred four from the central city and thirty-eight from the fringe. In the original sample there were fifty-six rural addresses that were not contacted. Rose has reported a loss of rural members from his sample as producing "insignificant bias." However, since fringe dwellers frequently refrain from union activity because they "live too far out," it can be expected that rural members would be at least as inactive. Further, the number "lost" to this study is six times the loss sustained by Rose and can hardly be called insignificant.<sup>13</sup> In fact, a report by Whyte would indicate strong possibility of having "lost" a number of hostile cases.<sup>14</sup>

The factors listed above thus demonstrate that the sample is not completely representative, thereby placing some limitations upon generalizing from the sample to the local's population. Further, the exact size of the population being studied was not known. Information supplied to the writer indicated a membership of about 3200. At the time of the drawing of the sample, selection of every sixteenth case excluding rural cases yielded a total of 200. There may be some criticism of a sample drawn from regular intervals. In his discussion of a sample of marriage certificates McCormick says of this method:

If the interval is not too large, this method should also be more representative than other types of random sampling, since it takes certificates proportionately from every part of the list.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>13</sup>Arnold M. Rose, Union Solidarity, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1952, p. 32.

<sup>14</sup>See William Foote Whyte, "Who Goes Union and Why," Personnel Journal, December, 1944, pp. 215-230.

<sup>15</sup>Thomas C. McCormick, Elementary Social Statistics, New York, McGraw Book Company, Inc., 1941, p. 226.



One assumption of the study is that the membership of the local constitutes a finite universe. Referring to a finite universe and sampling by regular intervals Young states:

This procedure has been used for many years and from experience has proved satisfactory both from the mathematical and practical points of view. It is obvious that this technique can be used only on finite universes where complete listings are available.<sup>16</sup>

The size of the sample is perhaps as open to criticism as is the sampling method. Since every sixteenth case was chosen, the sample is  $6\frac{1}{4}\%$  of the membership which is considered as the population, i.e., those members who live either in the central city or the fringe area. If one can consider the sample to be representative, its size may be considered adequate in terms of pure numbers. A major weakness, however, is that the researcher has attempted to determine the existence of a number of different categories; and for statistical treatment the number of cases in these categories is somewhat small. Still, once the data is felt to be "in," the investigator must make of it what he can. If he had hoped to do a more analytical study, he may be obliged to settle for one that is satisfactorily descriptive with as much analysis as appears warranted.

Often the exigencies of time and expense preclude a complete census even the use of a very large sample. However, samples ordinarily would not be discarded as unreliable merely because they are small, nor would work be categorically classified as unscientific merely because it is not subject to rigorous statistical manipulation. Jerome states: The principle upon which the extensive use of the sampling process rests is known as the law of statistical regularity. This law is,

<sup>16</sup>Pauline V. Young, Scientific Social Surveys and Research, Prentice-Inc., New York, 1949, p. 336.



"that a moderately large number of items chosen at random from among a very large group are almost sure, on the average, to have characteristics of the larger group."

This law does not imply that the resemblance between the sample and its universe will be perfect.<sup>17</sup>

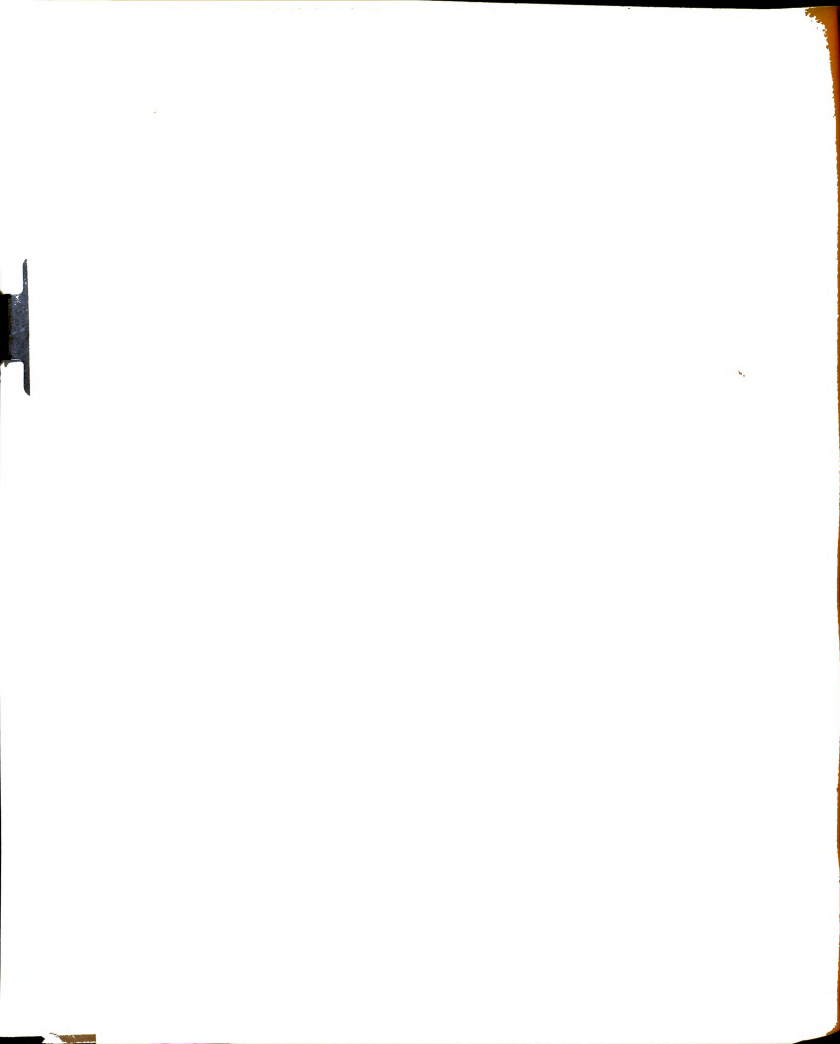
There is no one criterion which can be applied in the determination of the adequate size of a sample. The size of the sample for this study was unwittingly specified by the writer in an effort to improve upon the often stated minimum requirement that the sample be "not less than 5%" of the universe under investigation. Further, the selected size of the sample was related to what the writer had thought he could afford.

#### 4. Interviewing

At the time of initiation of the interviewing two important problems were foreseen. First, it was felt that the local members might cooperate only if they believed that the union officials approved of the study. Second, there was some contemplation of the idea that official approval could be overdone, i.e., that members would possibly respond according to what they thought the officers would like to hear. Unlike the study done by Rose in St. Louis, this project was initiated outside the union, partially alleviating the second problem. Each interviewer carried two letters for the purpose of identifying himself. Each letter was on official stationery of the respective sponsoring organizations. The reader will note the emphasis on the confidential nature of the identification of the interviewee.<sup>18</sup> The research employed four trained interviewers, one a Negro to interview Negro respondents.

<sup>17</sup>Harry Jerome, Statistical Method, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1913, pp. 13-17, as quoted in Wilson Gee, Social Science Research Methods, McGraw-Hill-Century-Crofts, Inc., New York, 1950, p. 260.

<sup>18</sup>For copies of the letters of introduction see Appendix A.





The actual interviewing began late in the fall of 1953 and extended to September 15, 1954. The time element here perhaps may lead to another criticism; interviews were made over approximately a nine to ten month period. For purposes of justifying a possibly similar classification of response number one and response number one hundred forty-two, one must rely on the assumption relating to the persistent, enduring nature of attitudes. The interviewees were selected at roughly the same time; the change in attitude from the time of selection to the time of response is unknown.

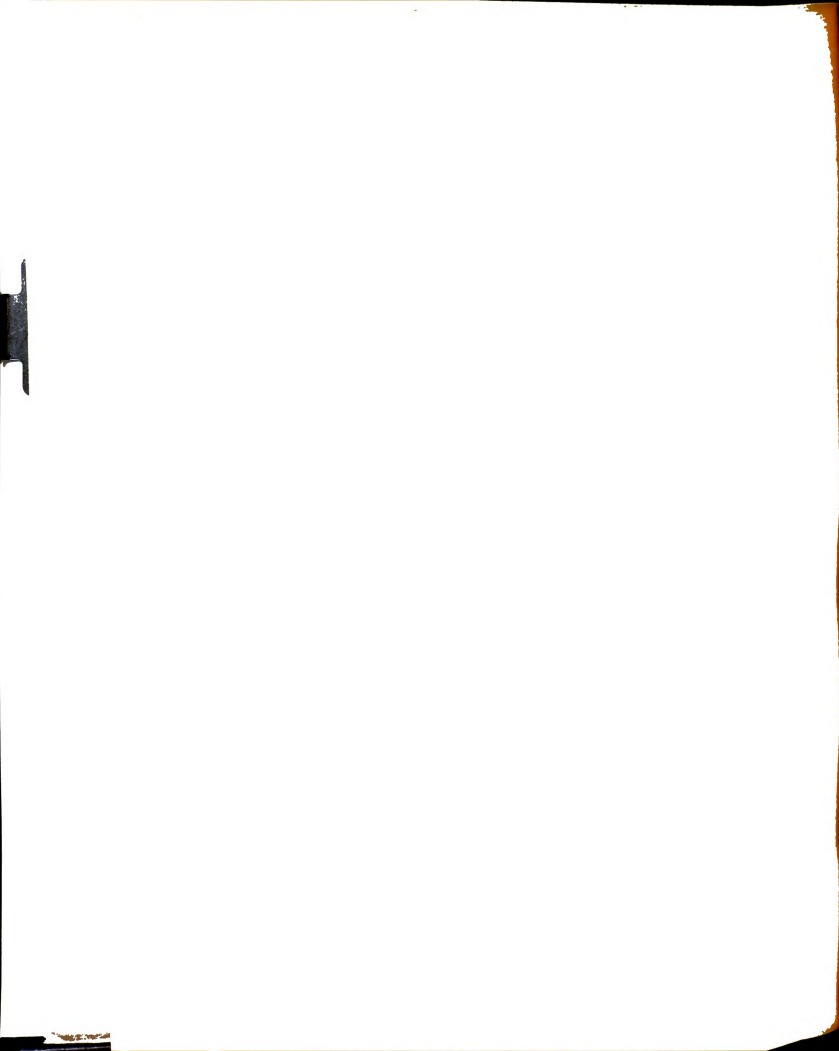
#### 5. The Determination of Categories

The primary categories to be considered are the respondents' : (a) role orientations toward unionism, (b) degrees of integration at the work plant, neighborhood, and community levels, (c) degrees of union activity, and their (d) occupancy of union offices. This section outlines how the categories were derived and what responses were used to establish them.

##### a. Orientations Toward Unionism

The orientations toward unionism perhaps need further explanation. There is some arbitrariness in the selection of what is called the worker's role orientation and the expected relationship between that orientation and degree of union activity. That relationship as presented dramatically:

Degree of Union Activity	Role Orientation Toward Unionism
Actives	Ideological or political Traditional or economic Social
Inactives	Apathetic Hostile



Role orientation, as used here, refers to the member's own conception of his relationship to the local organization, usually considered in terms of what he feels the local's dominant function should be, and particularly what function the local should perform for him.

Ideological or political orientation refers to an expression of attitudes on the part of the member which indicates that he feels that the union's first task concerns a political or power struggle at the local level. This relates to but a microcosmic contest by comparison with the way in which ideological is usually employed, i.e., referring to the overall working-class movement.

These ideological unionists are more concerned with "extracurricular" functions, such as public ownership, political action, public housing, socialized medicine, and international politics, than with the immediate issue of a ten-cent-an-hour raise in plant X in the fall of 1950.<sup>19</sup>

There is a distinction here in that those classified as ideological show little interest in purely economic gains.

Traditional or economic, as the diagram indicates, alludes predominantly to concern for economic goals. Unionists with this orientation are not interested in wage increases to the exclusion of other gains.

Speaks of business unionism in terms which help clarify the writer's position.

It is essentially trade-conscious, rather than class-conscious. In other words, it is to say, it expresses the viewpoint and interests of the workers in a craft or industry rather than those of the working class as a whole. (sic) It aims chiefly at more, here and now, for



the organized workers of the craft or industry, in terms mainly of higher wages, shorter hours, and better working conditions,....<sup>20</sup>

main difference between Hoxie's and the writer's use is that in

matter, the purely economic items are stressed.

The social orientation shows that the worker has replied primarily

reference to some type of recreational need, more "outside activi-

"more recreation." Sentiment may also be expressed showing a

for friendship and social contacts.

The apathetics are usually conceived of as those who are not par-

arly interested in union activities; they have no desire to hold

or serve on committees. They seldom attend meetings or vote.

are merely members because their dues are paid up, perhaps because

must pay dues to retain their jobs.

They who have a hostile orientation, unlike the apathetics, may be

to be vociferous about their dislike for the union; nothing about

union is good. The union has accomplished less for them than they

re they might have done on their own. They would not belong if

did not have to.

Two plans were used to determine the members' orientations toward

union. The first plan was felt to be weak in that too many cases

into a category of mixed orientation. Likewise, an equal number

cases could not be classified utilizing the first plan. The second

on which the findings of this study are based, was devised in an

to eliminate the overlapping and unknown categories. This plan

OR.F. Hoxie, Trade Unionism in the United States, D. Appleton and  
ay, 1923, as quoted in Joseph Shister (Editor), Readings in Labor  
ics and Industrial Relations, J.B. Lippincott, New York, 1951, p. 72.



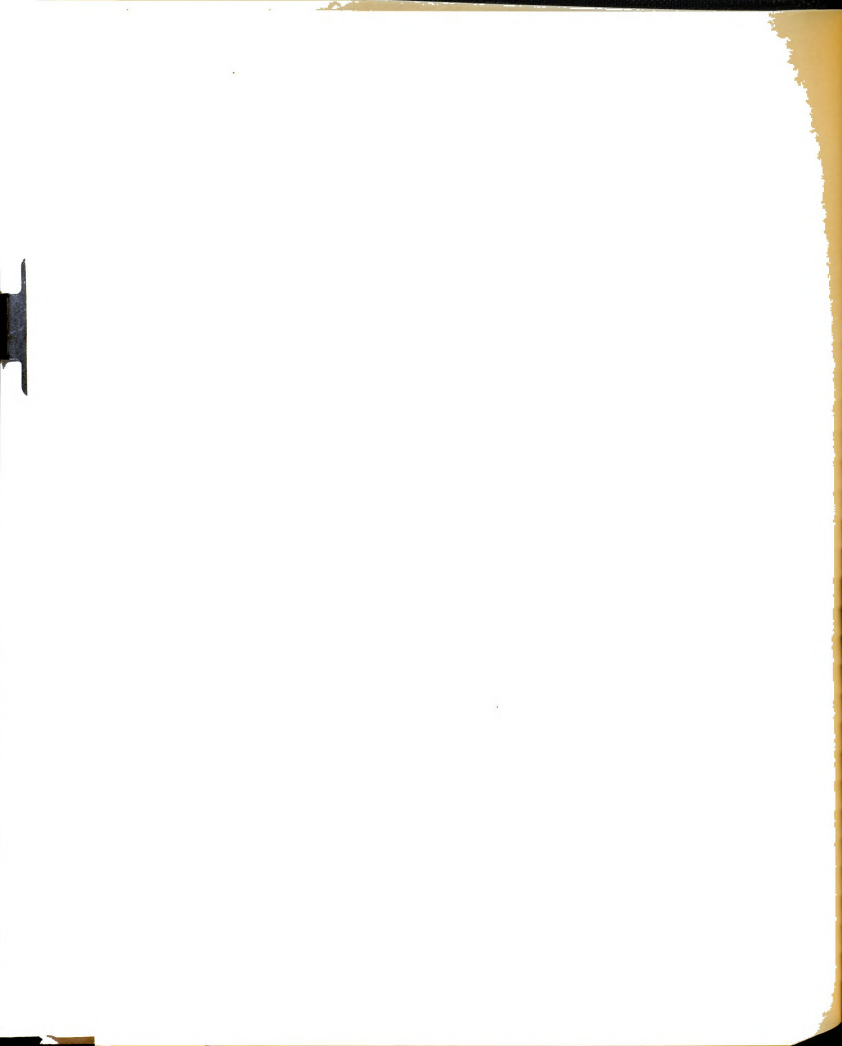
was felt, would allow a more detailed analysis and interpretation of  
r one-half of the cases in the sample. The responses used to construct  
orientational categories are presented below.

Political Orientation: Those of this orientation are members who  
that "the most important job of the union" deals with protection  
welfare of the members and the settling of disputes.

Economic Orientation: The economically oriented believe the union's  
job should be concerned with wages and hours and the acquisition of  
e benefits. This and the above orientation were determined by  
nse to the same question, "What do you think should be the most  
tant job of the union?" In cases where the respondent gave both a  
and a monetary answer, more weight was given to the latter. In  
spect the political is a more pure category than is the economic.

Social Orientation: This category is based on considerations both  
ire for social favor and on actual "social" participation. Members  
fied as socially oriented expressed a willingness to join the union  
e others with whom they work belong, their recreation is most often  
ollow members, or they participate in union sponsored athletic or  
" activities.

Aesthetic Orientation: Actually this classification was determined  
While apathy or indifference still seems to be illustrated by  
irregular participation, a low degree of participation may be  
ble by a would-be active, enthusiastic member. An examination  
chedules shows that some members have other jobs, poor health,





c. which prevent attendance at meetings. With this fact in mind, the reasons for poor attendance were used as criteria, rather than the fact of poor attendance. Apathetics are those who, among other things, feel that the meetings are unimportant or take too much time, those who have other things to do, or are not interested. Cases giving these responses were withdrawn from other categories and classed as apathetic. The political category yielded twelve apathetic cases, and the economic and social classifications each contributed eight cases. Since hostile members had previously expressed anti-union sentiments, it was felt that reasons for their poor participation would not add to a clarification of their classification. In addition, seven residual cases were included in the apathetic category.

Hostile Orientation: The hostile members are those who expressed unwillingness to join the union and those who expressed a dislike for unions. Table 1 presents a summary of the totals for the above procedure in classifying cases as to role orientation.

#### b. Degrees of Integration

The determination of various degrees of integration is based on cases which concern both sentiments and participation. An effort was made to establish the extremes, high and low degrees of integration in the work plant which include the local union, neighborhood, and community.

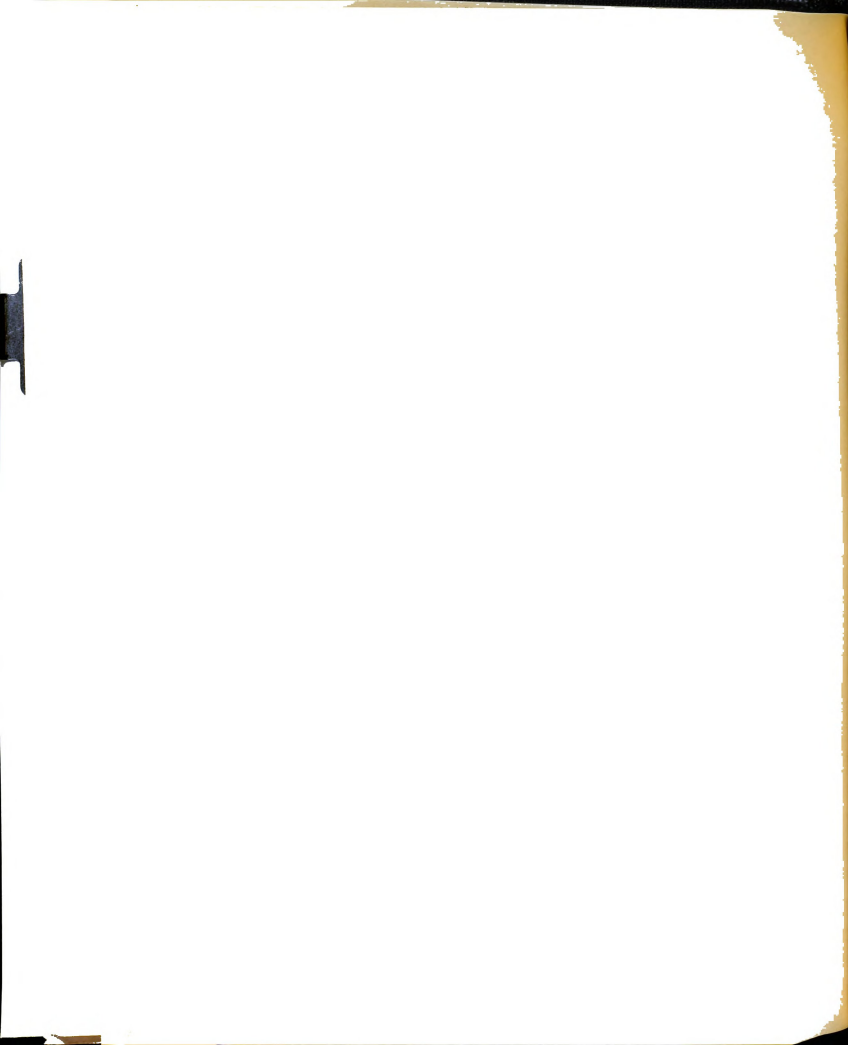
##### (1) Plant Integration

High: These members are either satisfied or very satisfied with their jobs. When asked about their "department as a place to work,"



TABLE 1  
ROLE ORIENTATIONS TOWARD UNIONISM

Orientation	Total
Political	42
Economic	30
Social	23
Apathetic	35
Hostile	12
Total	142



they feel that it is good, very good, or excellent. These are the members who vote in union elections "most of the time" and consider themselves to be either "active union rooters" or "active supporters" of the union.

b) Low: Those of low degree of integration report that only a few or none of their friends are people with whom they work. They attend union meetings once or twice a year or less. They vote in union elections "less than half the time," "almost never," or "never."

c) Medium: The cases which did not "fit" either of the above categories are obviously those of neither high nor low degree of integration using the above criteria. These cases have been classed as those of medium degree.

## (2) Neighborhood Integration

a) High: Cases of high degree of integration at the neighborhood level believe their neighborhood to be either a good, very good, or excellent place to live. As an unsolicited response they mentioned people as related to so high an evaluation. Further, most of their friends live in the neighborhood.

b) Low: The friends of these members primarily live outside the neighborhood in other parts of the city. They have no friends who live in the neighborhood. As a place to live they rate the neighborhood as only fair or poor. Members were asked with whom they spent their leisure time other than that spent participating in organizations to which they belong. Four alternatives, including "neighbors," were presented. These members spent



time alone or with friends other than relatives, fellow workers, neighbors.

Medium: The majority of the cases "fell" into this category, having "not" into neither the high nor low group.

### (3) Community Integration

High: These members rated their city as good, very good, or excellent when asked what they thought of the city as a place to work. They rated the city similarly as a place to live. They belong to religious, civic, fraternal, laboring, or other organizations. Most of their friends live in parts of the city other than their own neighborhood.

Low: These members belong to none of the above mentioned types of organizations. In addition, the majority of their friends are reported to live outside the city. In the case of those dwelling in the fringe area, their friends live outside of "the Lansing area."

Medium: Again the majority of the cases are found in this medium degree of integration. The results of this procedure show that no large block of members has answered consistently in the same direction. A summary of the findings may be found in Table 2.

### (c) Degree of Union Activity

The writer learned from local union officers that the union sponsored relatively few "extra-curricular" activities. Therefore, determination of the degrees of activity is based solely on voting behavior and attendance at union meetings.

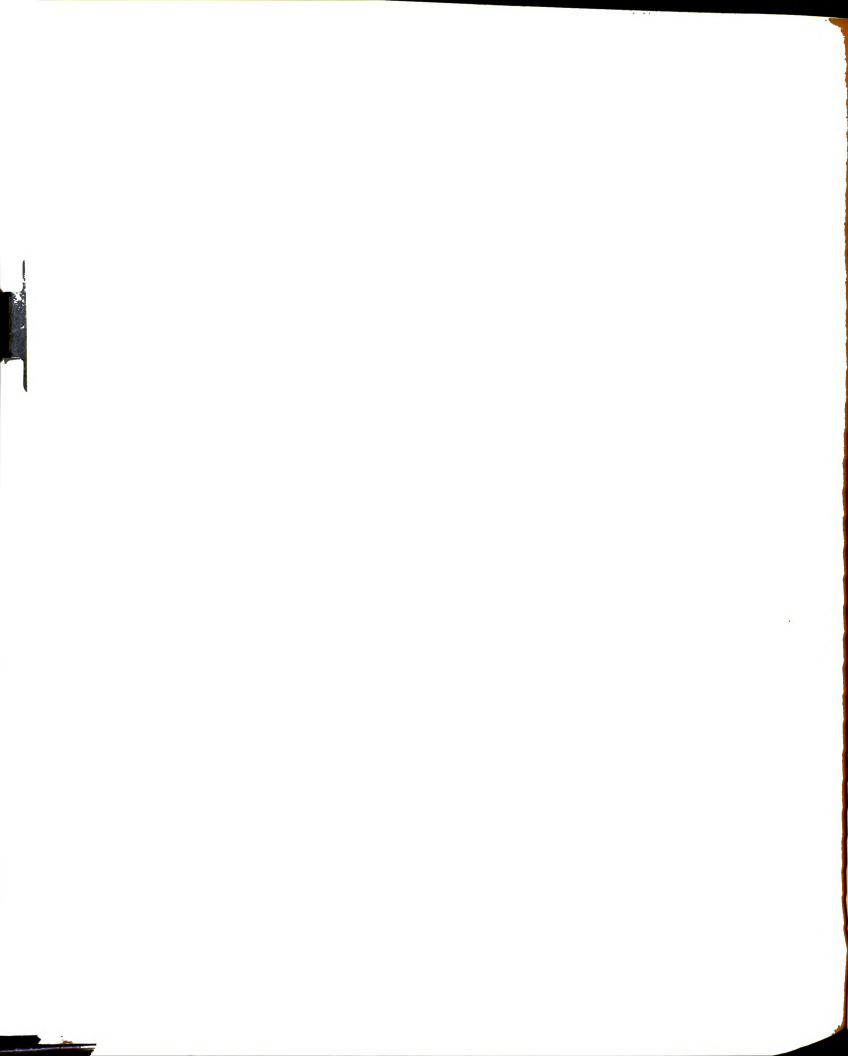
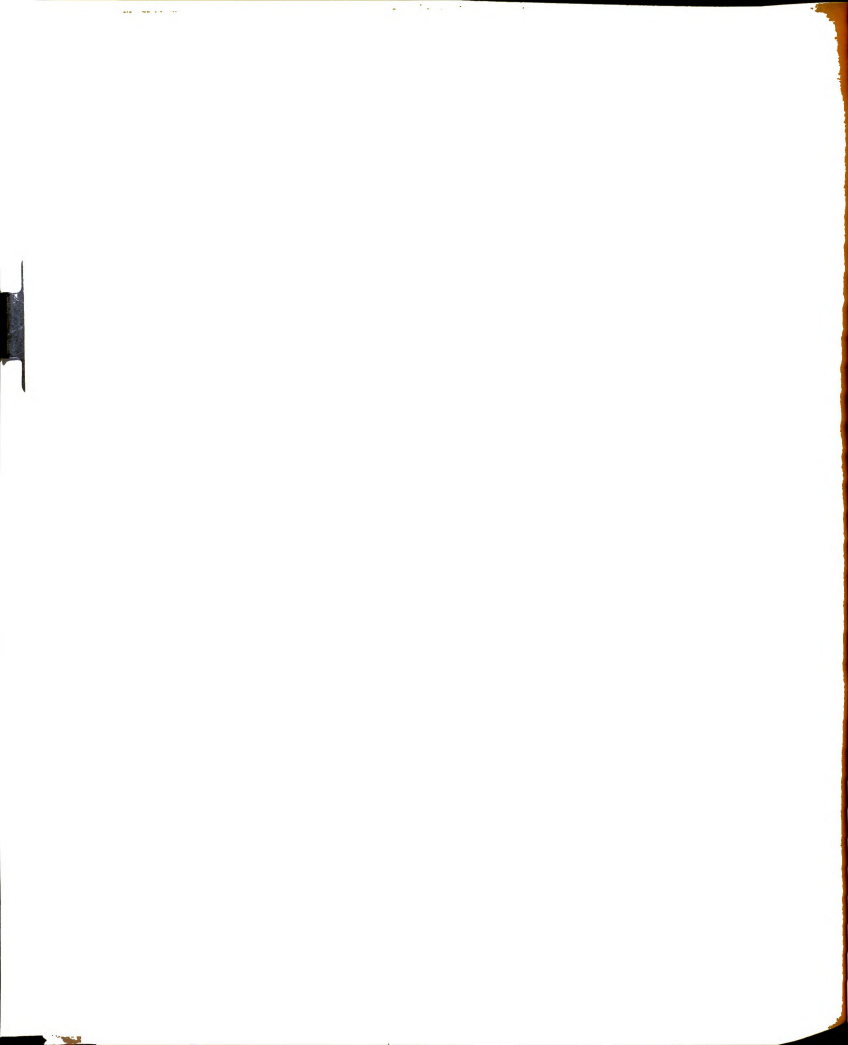




TABLE 2

## DEGREES OF INTEGRATION AND UNION ACTIVITY

		Degree of Neighborhood Integration	Total	Degree of Plant Integration	Total	Degree of Union Activity	Total
	25	High	19	High	35	Active	70
	100	Medium	99	Medium	91	Medium	40
	18	Low	24	Low	16	Inactive	32
	142	Total	142	Total	142	Total	142



High: Those of a high degree of activity vote in union elections of the time or more frequently. They also attend union meetings about of the time or more often.

Low: By way of contrast members who show a low degree of activity less than one-half of the time or even more infrequently. They also attend meetings less than half of the time or more infrequently.

Medium: Conceivably, cases in this classification either vote or attend meetings more or less regularly, but do not do both consistently.

The summary figures concerning degree of activity are also to be found in Table 2.

#### d. Officer and Non-Officer

Since it was known that at any given time there are usually relatively few local union officers, the investigator decided to classify stewards, trustees, and chairmen of local committees as officers. This was done, however, only when the members had indicated that these were officer positions. Under these conditions, thirty-two cases were classified as offi-

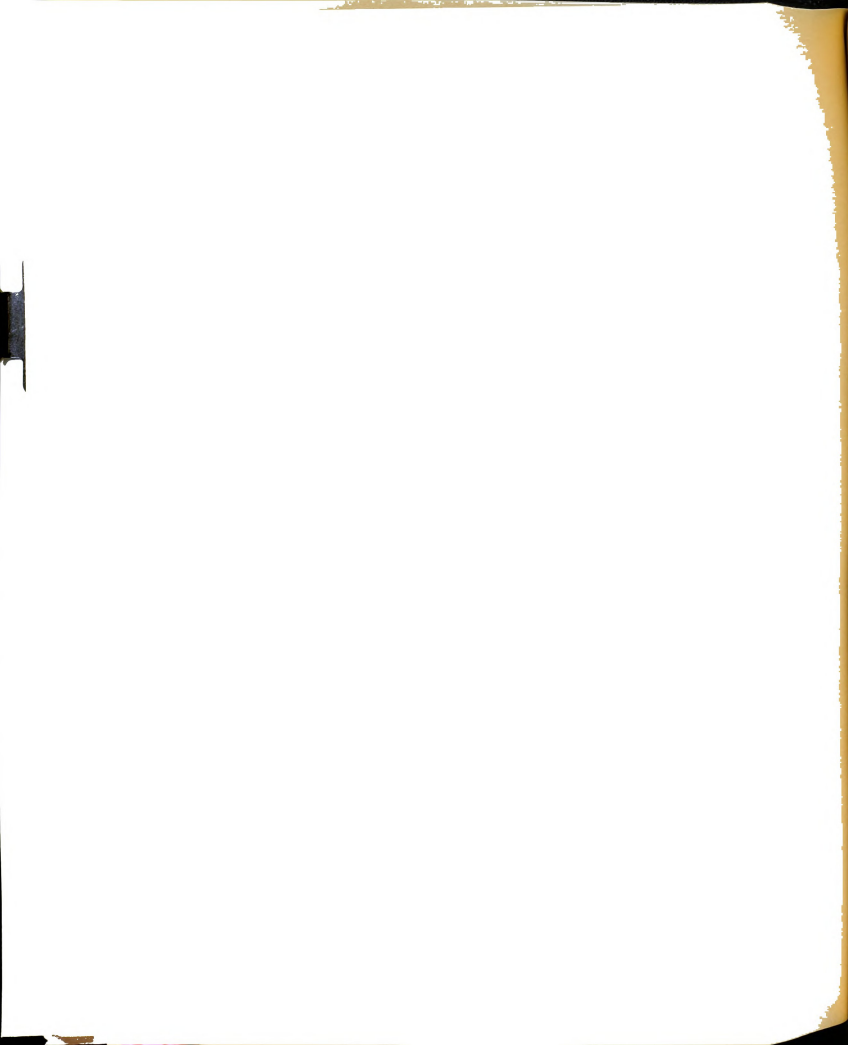
### 6. Analysis

The interpretation of the data for this study is partially based on statistical analysis. Yet Arthur Ross makes one wonder whether he dare make any application of statistics to such a study. Ross states:

The fact is that among all the open questions in the study of social behavior, the great majority cannot be answered in any manner, and only a few can be penetrated by statistical analysis.<sup>21</sup>

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Ross, op. cit., p. 19.



ite Ross' warning, the writer has attempted a minor statistical  
 sure.

For the statistical analysis of the data in this study, the investi-  
 or chose to use the chi-square test for a number of reasons. First,  
 of the data to be related was strictly qualitative. Second, since  
 chi-square can be used for qualitative data only or for a combination of  
 qualitative and quantitative data, a given chi-square value is most  
 easily compared to another chi-square value. Third, the additive quality  
 of chi-square may be of value if categories need to be collapsed to be  
 meaningful. Fourth, a simple correction can be applied where expected  
 frequency in a given cell does not satisfy the usually required number  
 of cases. Fifth, even when the chi-square value shows little sig-  
 nificance of difference, the sign of the "observed minus expected fre-  
 quency" values adds to a descriptive knowledge of the factors under in-  
 vestigation.

In regard to the point about the size of the expected frequency in  
 a given cell, the authorities seem to differ. In quoting Snedecor,  
 Fisher and Yates respectively, Hagood discussing "correcting for  
 continuity" states:

This method is applicable for any chi-square test where there is only  
 one degree of freedom. It should be used according to George W. Scede-  
 cor, whenever the expected frequency in any cell of the table is less  
 than 50; or according to R. A. Fisher and F. Yates, whenever the  
 expected frequency in any cell of the table is less than 500. [emphasis  
 added] The correction is important when the value of chi square is near  
 the significance level, since the correction reduces chi square, and  
 failure to apply the correction might lead one to judge as significant  
 a chi square which should not be so considered.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>22</sup>Margaret Jarman Hagood, Statistics for Sociologists, Henry Holt  
 Company, New York, 1941, p. 512.



A corresponding statement by Pearson and Bennett:

When the theoretical frequencies are smaller than ten and especially when smaller than five, [emphasis mine] the ordinary table values of chi-square...are inaccurate. This is especially true when there is only one degree of freedom. It is true to a lesser extent for two or three degrees of freedom. However, the error is negligible with more than three degrees of freedom.<sup>23</sup>

and from McCormick:

It is a general principle of the chi square test that no cell should contain much [emphasis mine] less than five expected frequency. Any cell that offends in this respect should be combined with the cell above it.<sup>24</sup>

The above quotations tend to give evidence of some magical quality or a multiple thereof. Since some of the cells to be presented had fewer than five expected frequency, it seemed advisable to experiment with the "correction for continuity" to see how the chi-square would be affected. However, in most of the tables the number of degrees of freedom exceeds three. There are no tables with fewer than three degrees of freedom. Further, many of the tests show that many of the chi-squares are not statistically significant. The correction used "decreasing by .5 each cell frequency which is greater than expected and increasing by .5 each cell frequency which is smaller than expected"- suggested by Hagood.<sup>25</sup>

The writer selected two tables with chi-square values for which the probability level was below .05 and applied the above corrective technique. The value for the first table was altered from .01 - P - .001 to .05 - P - .02,

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<sup>23</sup>Frank A. Pearson and Kenneth R. Bennett, Statistical Methods, John Wiley and Sons, New York, 1942, pp. 398-399.

<sup>24</sup>McCormick, op. cit., p. 205.

<sup>25</sup>Hagood, op. cit., p. 512.

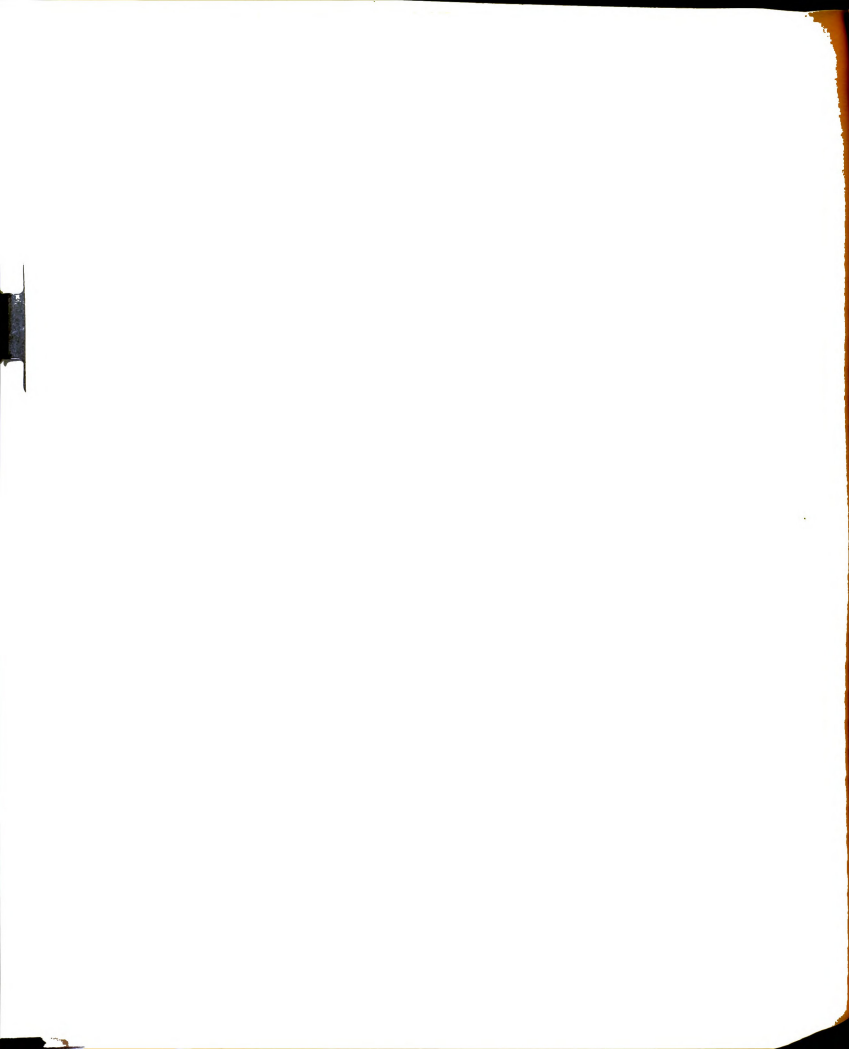




of correction. For the second table, the table chi-square value was , but the value of P remained within the .05 - .02 range. Since the ction resulted in but slight change it can be assumed that the un-cted table chi-square and probablilty values can probably be accepted liable.

A problem confronts one engaged in this type of research; namely, writers use "significant" as it is apparently used generally by sticians, but without stating what probability level they have chosen. this decision is usually that of the individual researcher, the term d in this thesis when P is equal to or less than .05.

agood states, "No arbitrary level has been adopted in most fields iological research, and the choice of level is up to the individual ch person."<sup>26</sup>



## CHAPTER III

### THE MEMBERS OF LOCAL 724

One of the purposes of this study was to gather pertinent information concerning attitudes of union members toward issues of relevance and interest to the union and to scholars. No attempt was made to select a wide range of issues. Rather, the literature on attitudes of union members was explored; and recurrent themes were selected for inclusion in this research. In a sense a comparison of the literature and the findings of this study serve to "place" the union members of Local 724 in reference to issues and attitudes in the broader universe of union studies. Specifically, data was gathered in the following areas: (1) who the members are in terms of their social characteristics, (2) why they joined the union, (3) basic union and leisure time activities, (4) attitudes about community and work, (5) attitudes about the union and union officers, (6) attitudes about politics and government.

This chapter summarizes these characteristics, attributes, and attitudes.

In some cases the findings reported have been compared with those

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Assuming that the sampling technique yielded a representative sample, the results will be discussed as if it were the membership. Data on which the following discussion is based may be found in Appendix B. The few schedule questions are those used by Arnold Rose. Some of those related to job satisfaction and governmental responsibility were suggested by the Ford Centers, The Psychology of Social Classes, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1949. Others, concerning opinion of Lansing were prompted by W. Kornharser, Detroit as the People See It, Wayne University Press, Detroit, 1952. Some referring to ideology come from Theodore Newcomb, "Labor Attitudes Seen by Their members: An Attempt to Measure Attitudes," in In-Group Conflict: A Psychological Interpretation, edited by G. W. Hartman, Newcomb, Cordon Company, New York, 1939, pp. 313-338.



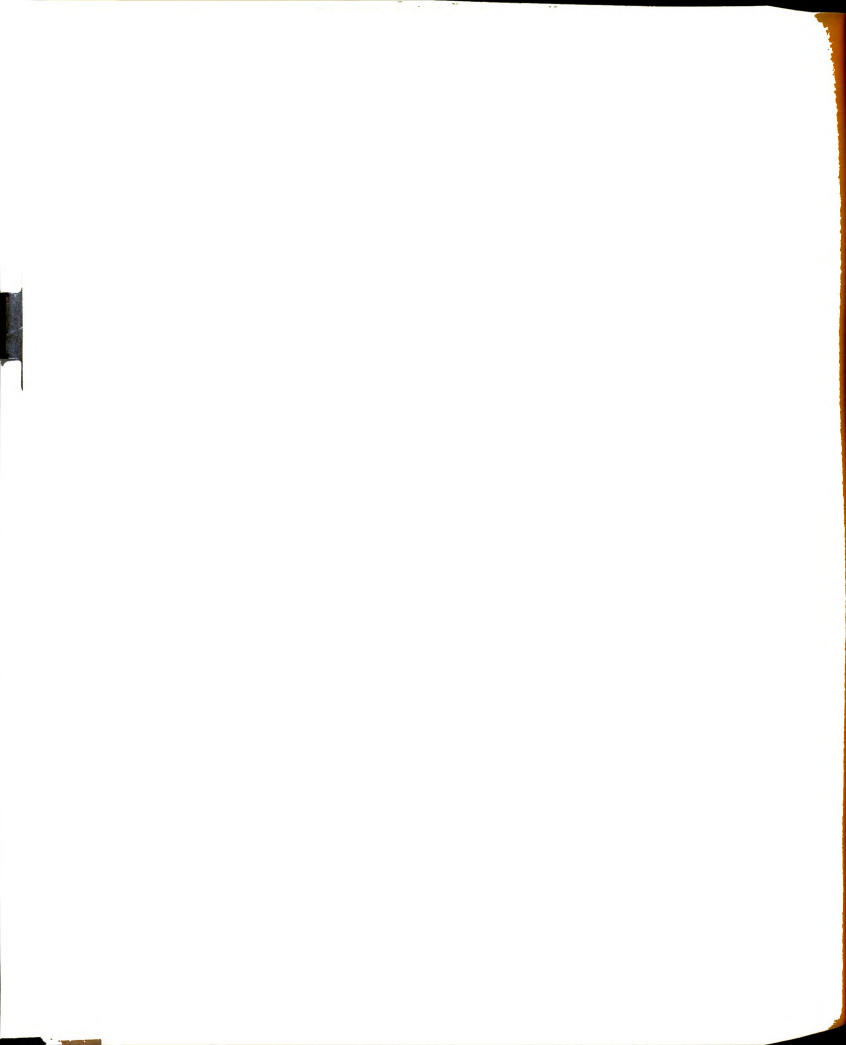
ther researchers. At times, these comparisons serve to indicate the degree of typicality of Local 724. It should be remembered, however, that the research on union locals has been guided by the hypotheses used in this study. Nor have the same techniques been used in gathering and analyzing the data. For these and other reasons the comparisons are not entirely valid.

#### A. Who They Are

The members of Local 724 are similar in background to workers in other industrial centers. In occupational composition the plurality are semi-skilled workers; thirty percent are skilled and seventeen percent unskilled. Seven percent of the members are clerical workers. Most of the members have been in manual occupations throughout their lives. While the exclusion from the sample of those members with less than three months of seniority may have biased the findings in favor of a certain degree of job tenure, the members seem to represent a stable group of workers, having job tenure of 10.2 years and union seniority of 7.3 years. About half have had two or more previous jobs at somewhat lower occupational levels than that of their present job. Their socio-economic rank is probably best described as upper-lower middle class. Their fathers' occupations ran the full range of Edward's classification. Almost two-fifths of the fathers were farm owners or tenants; one-fifth were skilled workers or foremen, and one-twelfth were semi-skilled workers. The members of the local are overwhelmingly native born Americans.<sup>2</sup> They were either born in cities or moved to cities during their childhood.

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<sup>2</sup>Any census data for Lansing comes from the 1950 Census of Population, Part II, Characteristics of Population, Part 22, Michigan. The percentage of foreign born in Local 724 is 5.5%. The percentage of foreign born in Lansing is 5%.



od. Their average length of time in the Lansing area is about years with three quarters of them now living in the central city remainder in the fringe and the smaller communities surrounding

average amount of education of the members is 9.2 years, some- less than the median for Lansing males. However, the members are

to mates of about the same amount of education and of similar economic background.<sup>3</sup> Close to one-fifth of the wives have been

members with an average membership of 4.7 years. Nearly half of es are favorable toward the union; others feel that the union is

theory but has faults in practice. Nevertheless, with the gener-

favorable attitude toward the union, it could be expected that married

would not be discouraged from active union participation.<sup>4</sup> The

members have an average of three children.

as a group the members have an average age of 42 years, and most of

experienced unemployment during the great depression. Although two-

of the members expressed a desire for a different job, probably

of them are now doing the kind of work which will be theirs for the

on of their working lives. Chinoy points to the dream of upward

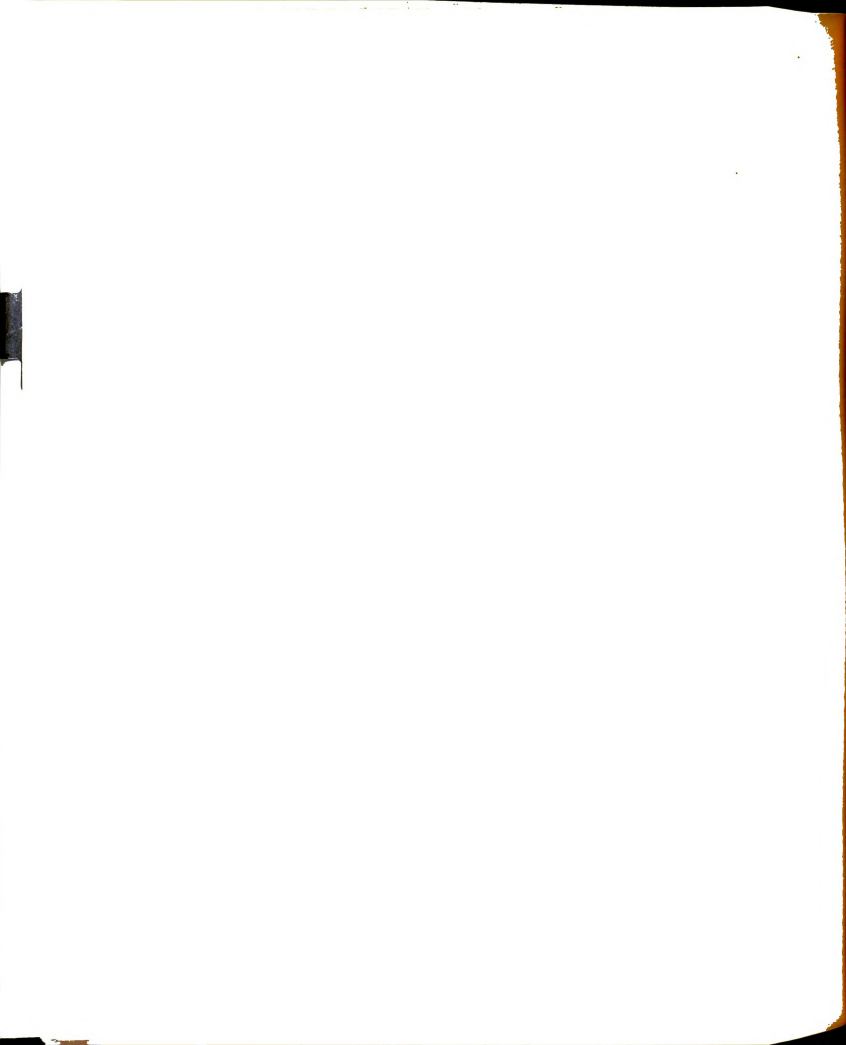
ty and the function of the talk of escape from the factory.

The age of thirty-five would seem to be the point of no return re. After that dreams of glory must be located not only outside

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Average education of mates is 10.3 years. The median for Lansing is 11.1 years. The figure for the urbanized area is not used since presence of Michigan State University would bias that figure toward a higher median value, 11.4.

Eighty-six percent of the members are married. This figure shows the percentage married in Local 724 is larger than that for adult in Ingham County (70.3%).





Company but also outside of much practical effort to make them true. ...

But as pressures to hold their jobs increase with age and grow-family responsibility, the quick impulse is more likely to be eased in talk. Pent-up feelings are released in talk.<sup>5</sup>

Members indicated a wish for self employment either in their own businesses or on their own farms.

Most of the members belong to one or two formal community organizations,

one-fifths have belonged to another union prior to their membership

Local 724. About one-fifth reported that they have been local officers

Committee officers in the present local. The following positions have

been classified as officers with the number of actual cases included in

sample: vice presidents-2, secretaries and treasurers-4, international

representative-1, and unit chairmen-5, stewards and committeemen-23, and

committee officers (bargaining, credit union, etc.)-5. Forty "officer-

positions have been held by thirty-two men and their average time in office

was 39.3 months. Ten of the cases report having held office for

twenty-four to fifty-nine months, and seven were officers for over

years. The high proportion of officers in the sample probably re-

lates to the long tenure of these employees.

#### B. Why They Joined the Union

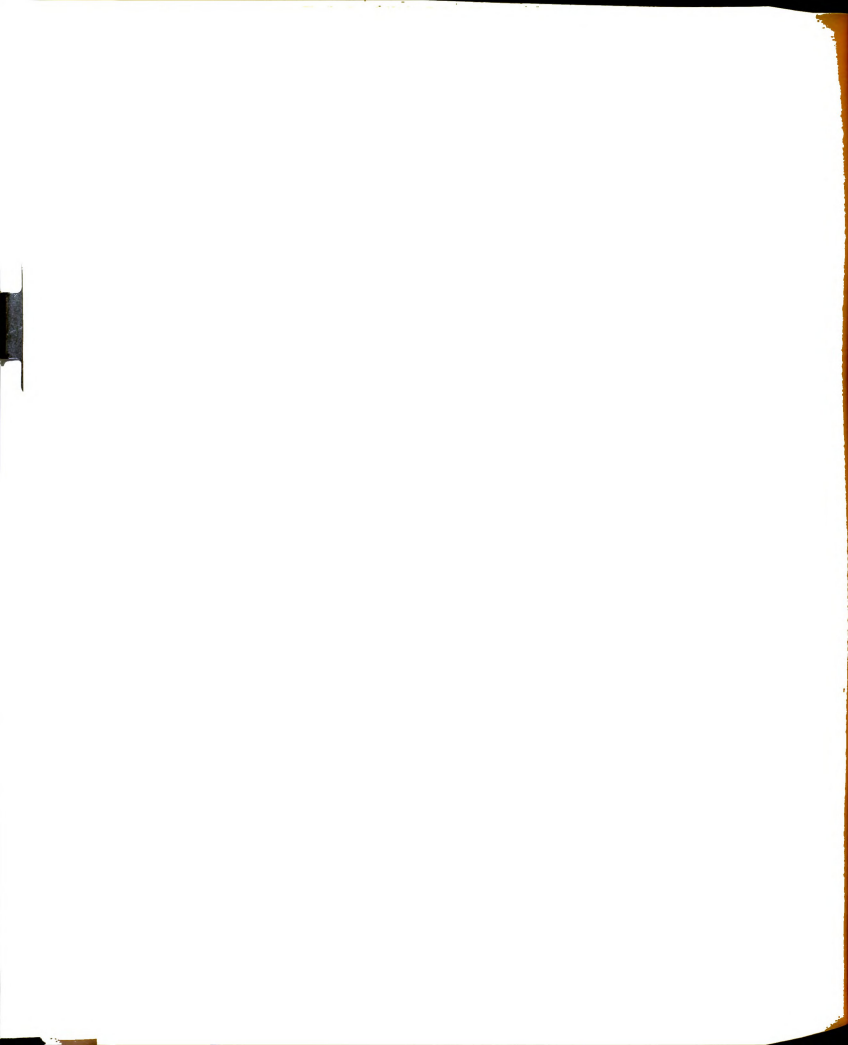
Many of the members of Local 724 have had little choice but to be-

come union members. Maintenance of membership, "one of the six main

reasons of treating union membership in relation to employment," is

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Ely Chinoy, Automobile Workers and the American Dream, Doubleday Company Inc., Garden City, New York, 1955, p. 14. See also page



teristic of the contracts of Local 724.<sup>6</sup> Under this arrangement who are not members at the time of contract need not become members but those who are employed subsequent to the signing must become members after having acquired seniority. Such membership may be rescinded by written notice just prior to the end of the first full year of membership. The Agreement between Melling Forging Company and Local 724 by the CIO furnishes a clear example:

Section 2. (b) Any employe who on the effective date of this Agreement is not a member of the Union shall not be required to become a member of the Union as a condition of continued employment. Any such employe, however, who during the life of this Agreement joins the Union must maintain his membership thereafter as provided in paragraph (a).

(c) Any employe hired on or after the effective date of this Agreement shall become a member of the Union upon acquiring seniority, and shall, as a condition of employment, maintain his Union membership for one year to the extent of paying membership dues and International and local Union general assessments uniformly levied against all members, subject to the following:

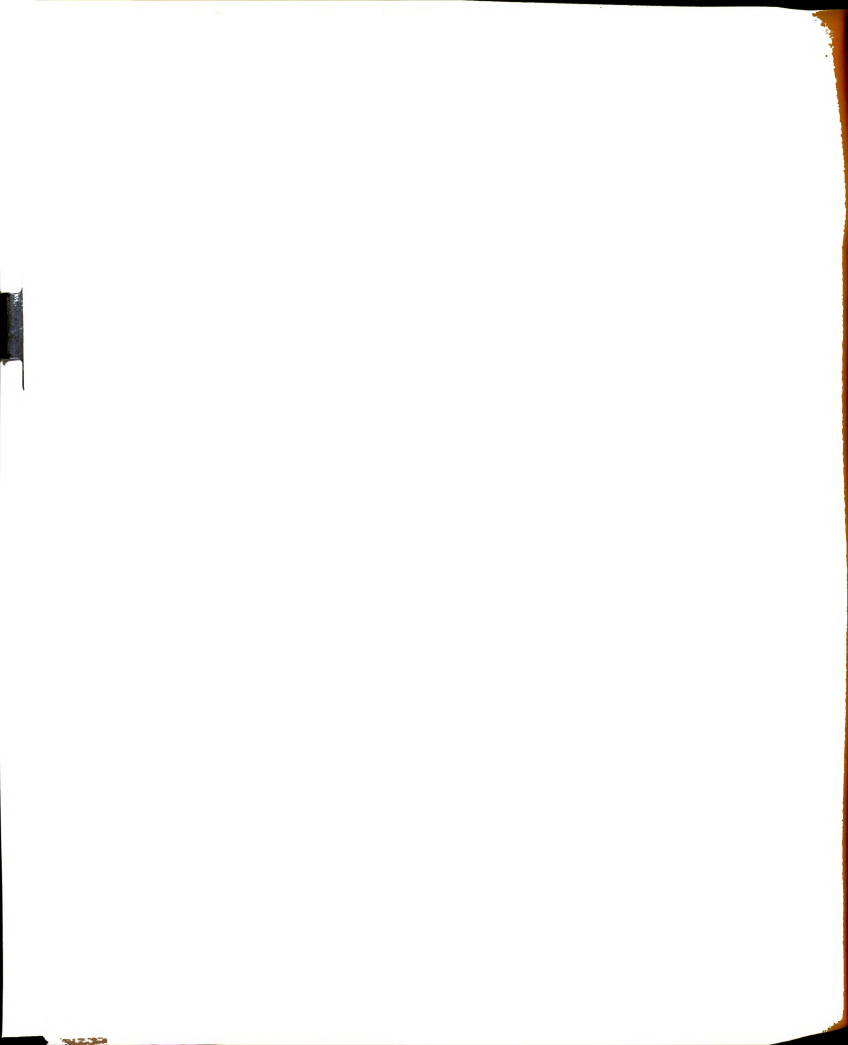
(i) If not more than twenty days and not less than ten days immediately preceding the first anniversary date of his acquisition of seniority such employe notifies the Company and the Union in writing that he has resigned from Union membership, such action shall automatically cancel his "Authorization for Check-Off of Dues," and such employe shall not be obligated thereafter to maintain his membership in the Union, nor pay any dues or assessments as a condition of employment during the remaining life of this Agreement.

(ii) In case no such notice is given, such employe shall maintain his membership in the Union as a condition of employment during the life of this Agreement....

The acquiring of seniority in Local 724 usually entails a probationary period of employment of thirty days in some units and as much as sixty days in others.

The members were asked, "Were you willing or unwilling to join the Union when you were first employed where you now work?" Less than one-tenth

Lloyd G. Reynolds, Labor Economics and Labor Relations, Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York, 1949, p. 203.



l that they had been unwilling to become members of the union. Of  
 ne members who indicated that they had "had no choice," two were  
 g to join. Another 6.3% have been members less than one year and  
 vably can yet "escape." Over nine-tenths are known to have been  
 s for from one to twenty years or more and either chose to be mem-  
 or simply forgot to get out. It must be admitted that such forget-  
 ss is possible; unless one planned to get out of the union, the ten  
 eriod could come and go. There are ostensibly more reminders to  
 a than to get out. Since this local came into existence between  
 a and twelve years prior to the initial interviewing for this study,  
 apparent that over three-fifths of the members actually had to be-  
 members, for at least a year.

There are, however, a variety of reasons for why these men wanted to  
 mbers. Almost one-fifth indicated they wanted protection against  
 ement, or self protection. If one were to include the responses re-  
 g to seniority protection (3.5%) and security (4.9%), the importance  
 URITY can be seen to outweigh wages (18.3%). However, the writer  
 ong those who believe security to mean primarily economic security.<sup>7</sup>

Almost one-fourth of the responses touched on no concrete item of  
 it. Classified as general pro-union, they constitute the largest  
 e category. Other categories were: helps me at my work, working  
 tions, need representation, need union, and social pattern. Twenty-  
 members gave more than one reason for joining.

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<sup>7</sup>See Ibid., p. 42. See also Arnold W. Green, Sociology, New York,  
 v-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1952, p. 240.



those known to have been unwilling to join when first employed generally to have had more than a single reason for their unwillingness. Some of the main reasons were that the union was too radical or for "things I didn't believe in," ineffectiveness of strikes, no real benefits obtained, unions used illegal methods, the initiation fee too high, and the company had always been fair.<sup>8</sup>

### C. Basic Union and Leisure Time Activity

#### 1. Union Activity

Local 724 appears to have a rather active membership as reflected by attendance at meetings. A majority reported that they attended half the time or more, and close to one sixth attended all the time. Local officials estimated about twenty-five percent "regular" attendance at meetings. Sayles and Strauss report that in the nineteen locals they studied, "regular attendance" in locals of 110 to 4,000 members ranged from 33% to 60%. In a new local of 1,800 members, the "attendance gradually stabilized at 50 percent after an early peak during contract negotiation."<sup>9</sup> Less than half of the members of Local 724 reported that they attended less than half the time, including almost one-tenth who never attended. In Illini City low attendance was reported.

There was some concern about attendance at union meetings and the consequent difficulty in keeping membership informed about

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Local 724's initiation fee is \$5. See UAW Constitution, p. 38.

Leonard R. Sayles and George Strauss, The Local Union, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1953, pp. 172-174. "Frequently less than 5 per cent of total membership attended meetings, and it was difficult to draft members to accept minor union positions. ..." p. 190.





on affairs and relations with management. Ordinarily, less than 10 per cent of the members attended meetings, although an almost complete turnout took place when voting on bargaining issues scheduled.<sup>10</sup>

One of the weaknesses in the schedule was that it sought reasons for not attending rather than for high attendance. Reasons most frequently given for low attendance (less than half the meetings) were: other things to do, uninterested, live too far out, or work at time of meeting, meetings not important, they take too much time, or I don't approve of the activities at meetings (don't do much, bickering, drinking, not businesslike). The reasons are similar to those reported by Rose.<sup>11</sup>

Of those who attend one-half the time or more, one-third feel that the union has everything or that no new programs are necessary. One-third of the "regulars" see a need for more recreation or social activities. The remainder made miscellaneous suggestions.

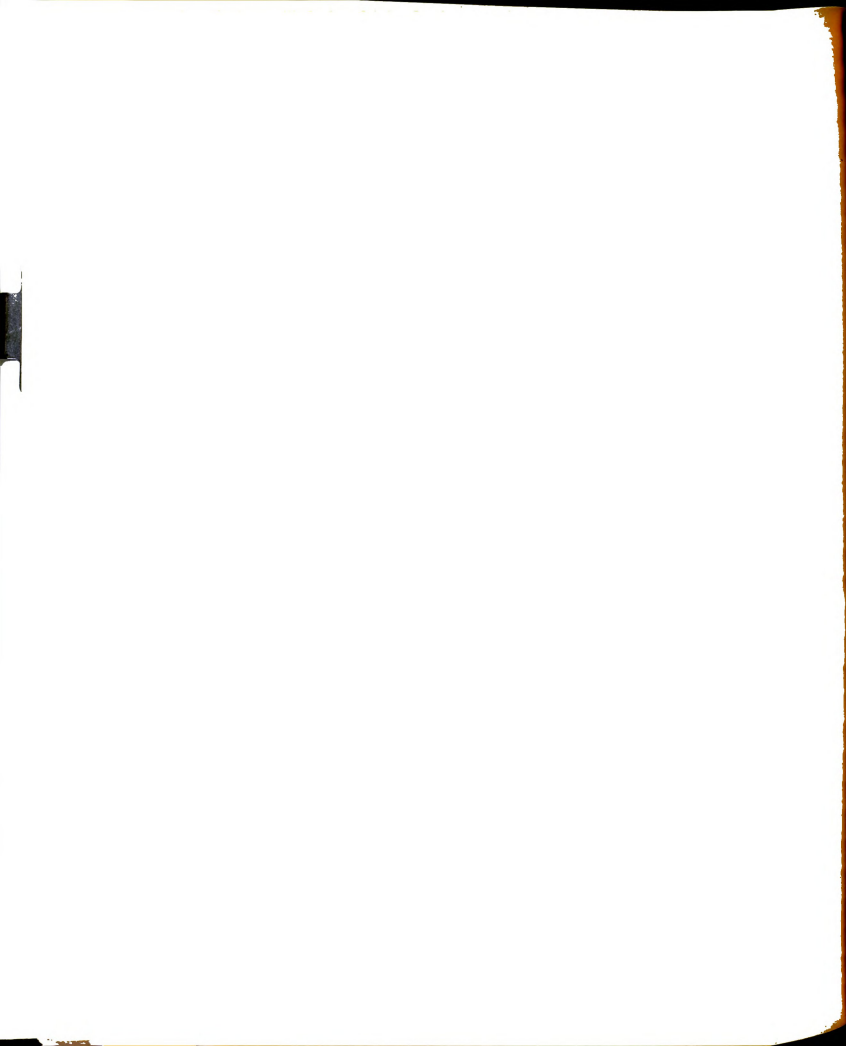
Voting is an important activity which is encouraged by the officers. One officer estimated 80-85% participation. This study reveals that three-fifths of the members vote "most of the time," and one-fifth never vote. The remaining fifth vote less than half the time. The study will recall that the designation of "active union member" is made for those who both attend meetings and vote one-half the time or more. This category constitutes just under half of the membership.

In addition to attendance and voting which appear to be high in this study, about one-sixth of the members have served on local committees.

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<sup>10</sup>Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, Labor-Management Relations in Illini City, Champaign, Illinois, 1954, Vol. 1, p. 339.

<sup>11</sup>Arnold M. Rose, Union Solidarity, The University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1952, p. 48.

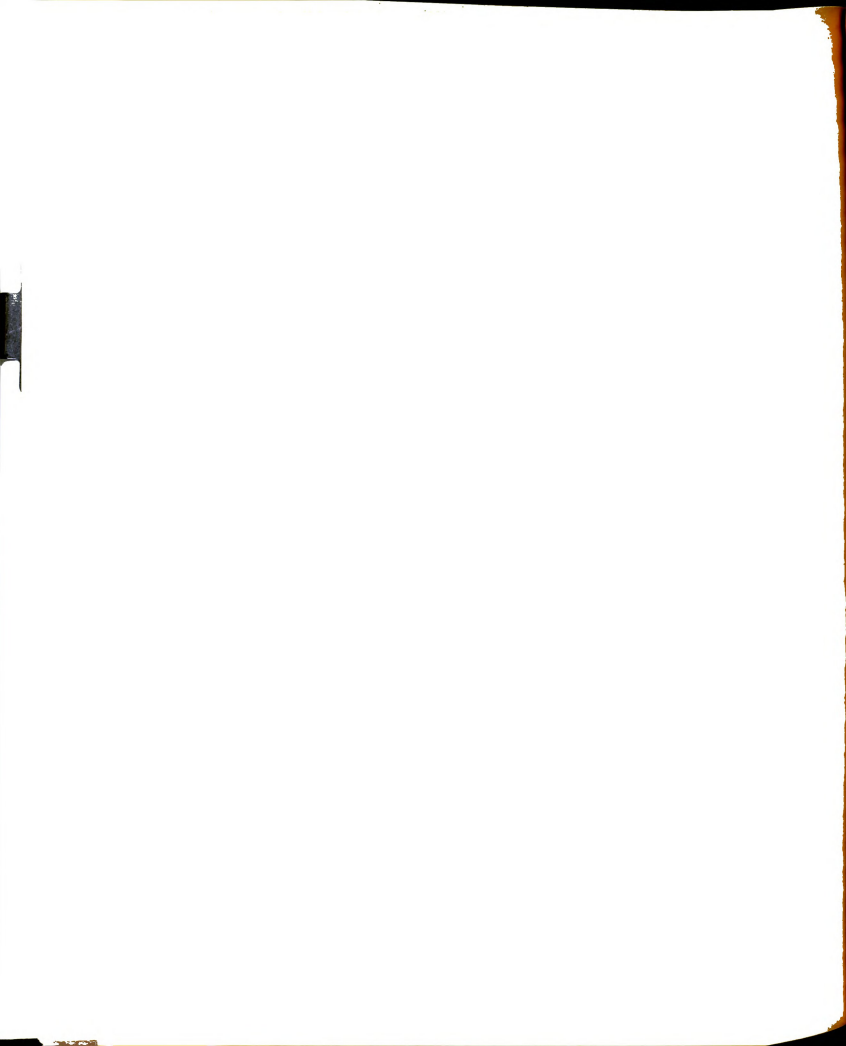


all of these have served on committees made up of both union and management people. Over three-quarters of the members reported they had read the contract. About two-thirds felt they understood the contract, and the others reported an inability to understand it.

Almost one-tenth reported that they did not receive the Lansing Labor News. Almost all who received it reported they read it, and over one-half reported they read it all." Over two-thirds reported that their shop has a column in the News, and that workers read that column most often and discuss it at the shop. When asked what improvements they would suggest for the paper, nearly half suggested that no improvement was necessary. The fifth made miscellaneous suggestions, but the greatest single suggestion was "more shop news."

## 2. Leisure Time Activity

The recreational activities of the members are varied, but almost 50 percent reported that they take part in none. Over half are outdoors, participant sportsmen, who engage in hunting and fishing. One-fourth of the members bowl. In addition, over one-quarter take part in miscellaneous activities such as dancing, cards, movies, and motoring. One-tenth reported taking part in union sponsored activities. Local officials admit that lack of organized recreational activities is a real weakness in the local's over-all programming. However, nearly half of the members reported specific activities sponsored by the various units; and one-quarter spoke of similar activities sponsored by the amalgamated. Probably many of the reported affairs occur only infrequently or not



visiting is the most frequent single form of informal activity, engaged slightly more than one-fifth of the membership. More leisure time occurs with relatives than with any other group. Whereas over a third of the cases spend their leisure time with relatives, relatively little occurs with fellow union members.<sup>12</sup> However, almost one-third of those who report that half or more of their friends are people with whom they work. It would appear that in this area of informal activity the union has an opportunity to develop internal solidarity.

Almost three-fifths of the members have affiliations with formal organizations other than the union. About one-third said that they are active or fairly active and over one-sixth have been officers or committee members in those organizations.<sup>13</sup> A conclusion reached in another study

our impression is that in most locals 60 to 90 percent of the executive board members participate in outside organizations. At least one-third attend meetings of one kind or another two or three nights a month. This compares with a probably figure of 40 to 50 percent for working class membership in organizations generally.<sup>14</sup>

Figures presented here make no distinction between local officers and rank-and-file members, but the findings here are similar to those of Sayles and Strauss. About two fifths of the members appear to account for one-third of the "outside" memberships listed. Of those reporting, fifty

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<sup>12</sup>The questions on informal activities, how many, which most frequent-ly, and with whom, is perhaps the weakest in the schedule. At least it was handled as anticipated and over a quarter (28.2%) of the cases could not be classified.

<sup>13</sup>Actually there are eighty-five different affiliations reported. Many in the sample belong to more than one organization. Here is another point in the schedule, in terms of ease of handling.

<sup>14</sup>Sayles and Strauss, op. cit., p. 123.



t mentioned membership in a church, forty-three percent in fraternal organizations, five percent in civic clubs, fifteen percent in sporting and twenty-eight percent in other organizations.

#### D. Selected Attitudes

##### 1. Attitudes about Community and Work

The data gathered for this study show the members of Local 724 to be a very "satisfied" group of people. They like the Lansing area, both a place to live and a place to work. Over eight-tenths rated it as a good place to live, and roughly the same proportion rated Lansing as a good place to work. Only three cases rated it poor or very poor as a place to live, and no one rated it very poor as a place to work. Forty-one percent of the members volunteered favorable remarks about wages, conditions, and readiness of work when asked about Lansing as a place to work. These voluntary comments indicate that for many, living conditions and working conditions go hand-in-hand and that the fundamental items of collective bargaining are not forgotten when the worker leaves the shop. In addition, over seven-tenths rated their neighborhoods as good, very good, or excellent. Only five percent rated their neighborhoods as poor or very poor. Furthermore these men, for the most part, thought highly of the departments in which they work. More than three-quarters of the respondents rated their departments as good, very good, or excellent, and one-tenth ranked their departments "fair." The following points out that "the curve of job satisfaction is heavily skewed toward satisfaction," and so it is here.<sup>15</sup> Forty-one percent were

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Theodore Caplow, The Sociology of Work, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1954, p. 133.





satisfied with their jobs; a similar number were satisfied. Only five  
 ents reported dissatisfaction. The principal category explaining  
 sfaction is "type of work." Two fifths said that their work was  
 eady, involved responsibility, had variety, had mental require-  
 nd was interesting. Over one-fifth of the respondents reported  
 re is nothing in particular from which they derived satisfaction;  
 th liked the pay; one-tenth liked their co-workers, and slightly  
 dicated freedom from supervision. The content of job dislikes  
 around "type of work" which included difficulty, unsteadiness,  
 , lack of opportunity for advancement, and the work's being be-  
 e worker's mental ability. Almost one-tenth did not like their  
 occupations. The greatest number of complaints concerned con-  
 typical in forges such as dirt and heat. About one-fifth found  
 source of dissatisfaction.

members of Local 724 attributed a variety of meanings to pro-  
 Promotion in this study was found to mean a "better job," i.e.,  
 steadier, more variety, and cleaner work to about one-fourth of  
 ers.<sup>16</sup> To about one-tenth promotion meant moving into super-  
 to over five percent it meant doing more skilled work, and to  
 e members did it mean more money. One-fifth of the members

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Reynolds, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

The main criteria which workers seem to have in mind in apprais-  
 ing a job as "good" or "bad" are the physical nature of the job,  
 the treatment received from supervisors, the level of wage rates  
 and weekly earnings, and the fairness with which the worker  
 feels he has been treated by the company.



red that they did not "want any" promotion or did not "think  
." Chinoy's discussion points toward what might have been ex-

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union concept of how promotion should be determined is quite  
ly set forth in the Plant Labor Agreement between John Bean  
of Food Machinery and Chemical Corporation and Local 724. Article  
Seniority, Section 3.

otions to higher paid jobs or better jobs with equal pay are based  
arily on merit and ability but when all other things are equal, the  
oyee having the greatest seniority will be given preference. The  
man will notify the steward of any change considered a promotion  
also of all pay raises when they are put into effect.

Discussing this kind of provision, Chamberlain says:

union is empowered to protest decisions, on the ground of unfair  
rimination, through the grievance procedure. ...

h without such unofficial pressure to recognize the seniority  
inciple, management is far from free to promote as it wills. ...

on officials make no secret of their desire to obtain greater  
ognition for seniority in advancements.<sup>18</sup>

ndently members of Local 724 do not share whole-heartedly the  
of the "union officials." About one-tenth thought promotion  
e determined by seniority. Over one-fifth believed in promotion  
a combination of seniority and ability, but the majority favored  
a solely on the basis of ability. About one-eighth felt that

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Chinoy, op. cit., p. 124.

Security, it has been frequently asserted, is replacing advance-  
ment as the major objective of most industrial workers. It seems  
highly probable that the automobile workers studied in this inves-  
tigation are actually more interested in security than in traditional  
patterns of advancement. Workers' attitudes toward specific aspects  
of their job would reveal clearly their intense concern with security.

W. Chamberlain, The Union Challenge to Management Control,  
Brother, New York, 1948, pp. 281-282.



ability" should determine promotion. The remainder gave a variety of reasons such as education, desire, interest, and vote.

A bare majority of the members aspired to different jobs. Of these, one-third mentioned a desire to have their own private businesses; one-third looked toward "promotion," and almost one-tenth of the members would be doing "more skilled work." Taken together, nearly one-sixth of the members desired jobs outside of their present work situs. The reasons for wanting different work are diverse. In order of increasing numbers they wanted to "meet the public," to make better pay, to be one's own boss, to have better working conditions. Others wanted easier work, more authority, more respect, and jobs that would keep them busy.

Arnold's findings are the same as those for this study except that 72% of the majority have expressed a desire for different work.

Arnold says:

When one asks what kind of work they would like to do, they will usually express a preference for something other than what they are actually doing--generally something outside of manual labor altogether. ...

Most workers aspire to a better job in the company where they are presently employed. ... Relatively few workers aspire to supervisory positions. ...

Another sizable group of workers aspire to become small independent proprietors. ...

A great majority of workers are not merely resigned to the kind of work they are doing, but also want to remain with the same employer. 19

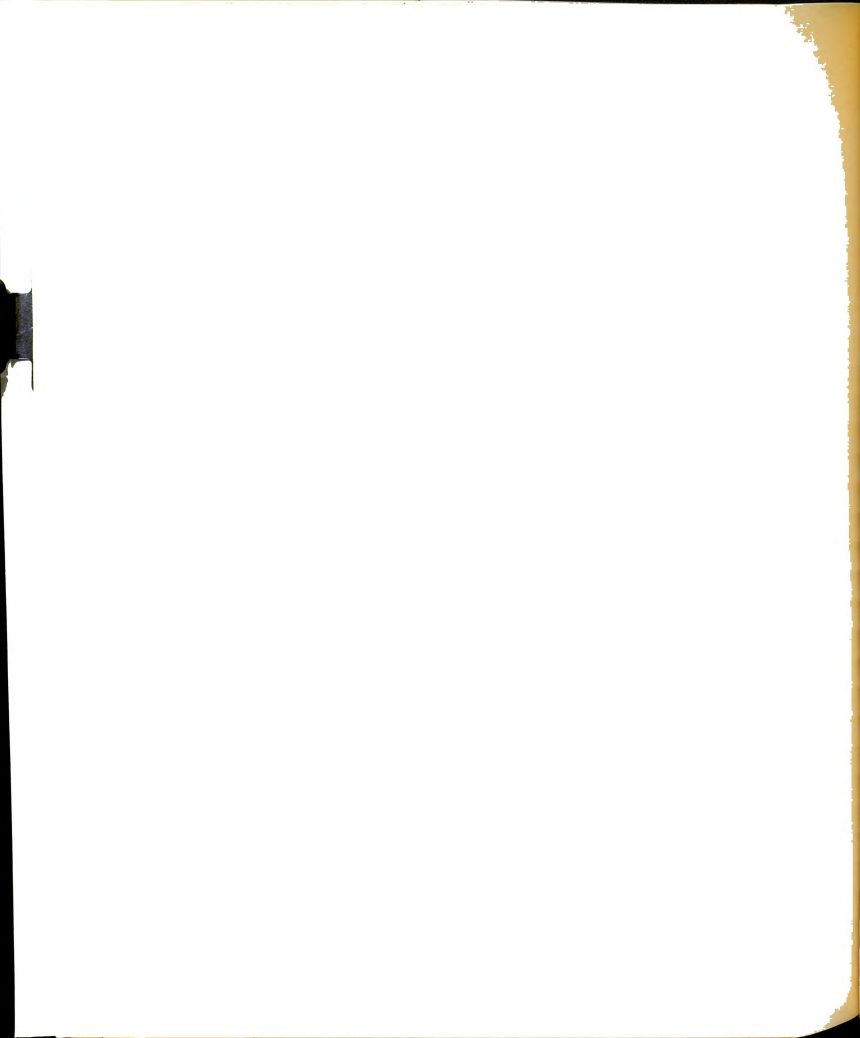
As indicated earlier most of the members liked their departments and

were satisfied with their jobs. Seven-tenths of the respondents also stated

that they think workers are usually treated fairly by employers. One-

third felt they are usually treated unfairly. The remainder gave quali-

ties of answers, i.e., it depends on the employer or on the scarcity of labor.



such a pervasive feeling that they are usually treated fairly pro-  
indicates a rather high degree of company loyalty. The question  
raised whether those who are so favorable toward the company can  
be loyal union members. Walker's study reveals that loyalty to  
company and union can exist simultaneously.

A widely held popular belief is that genuine loyalty to a company  
is incompatible with loyalty to a union. The evidence gathered from  
this study indicated that this was not true in the Ellwood Works.<sup>20</sup>

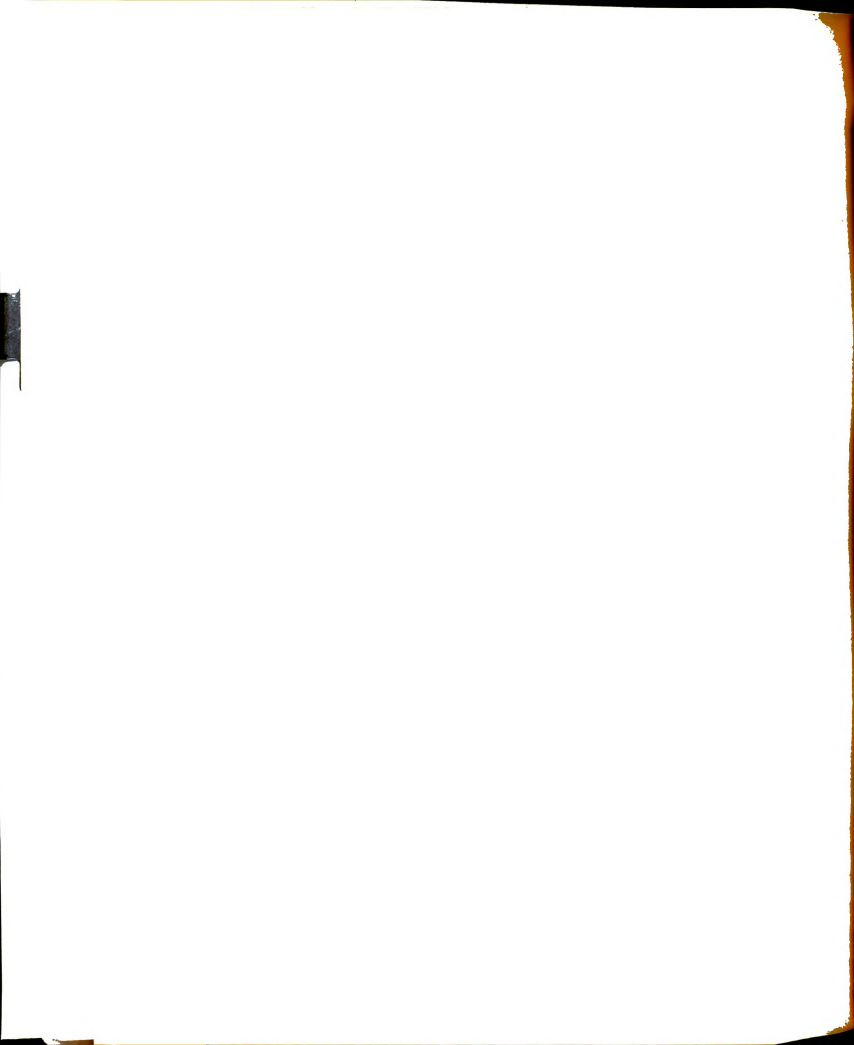
The preponderant majority in the local, almost seven-eighths, felt  
that company rules were fair or very fair. No consensus of reasons could  
be found for the belief that companies' rules are unfair.

The following is a list of company rules in force at the Lansing  
Company; these rules seem typical of those evaluated by members  
of the local union.<sup>1</sup>

#### ATTENTION

THE FOLLOWING ARE A LIST OF RULES BY WHICH EMPLOYEES OF THIS COMPANY  
ARE REQUIRED TO ABIDE:

- Punching another man's card, illegal punch on time card, habitual  
failure to ring own clock card.
- Abnormal absence without reasonable cause (days per month).
- Eating food other than candy bars, coffee, coke, must be done in  
the locker room.
- Committing a nuisance, creating or contributing to unsanitary  
conditions.
- Theft from company or employees.
- Throwing refuse on the floors or out windows.
- Frequent garnishments.
- Fighting on company property. (At any time)
- Loitering on premises when not on duty.
- Time must be punched 15 minutes after the hour, to make it the  
full 15 minutes. If punched before the 15 minute period, you will  
not receive the time.





1. Union dues must be paid promptly, an allowance of 60 days will be permissible. Dues that are delinquent more than 60 days, time cards will be pulled and employees will not be allowed to continue work until it is taken care of.

VIOLATION OF ANY OF THESE RULES IS PUNISHABLE TO THE EXTENT AGREED BY YOUR UNION COMMITTEE AND THE MANAGEMENT.<sup>21</sup>

## 2. Attitudes About Officers and Union

Of those who have not been or are not now officers, about one-quarter

express a desire to hold "office." Two-thirds of these wish to become

officers or committeemen. Eighteen members who would not want to hold

office voluntarily gave such reasons as too much grief, too time consum-

ing and too much responsibility. Some rejected the idea of holding office

because of a feeling of personal inadequacy.

About five-sixths of the members believed "that all members have a

chance to become union officers if they want the job." Nearly one-

third reported that "any one can get on the ballot" or "the union encourages

anyone to run." Somewhat more felt that ability, initiative, and interest

of any part of anyone will culminate in election. Fewer than one-third

believe that this opportunity is denied because "southerners run the local,"

because of seniority, pull, or clique membership, and some can't speak up.

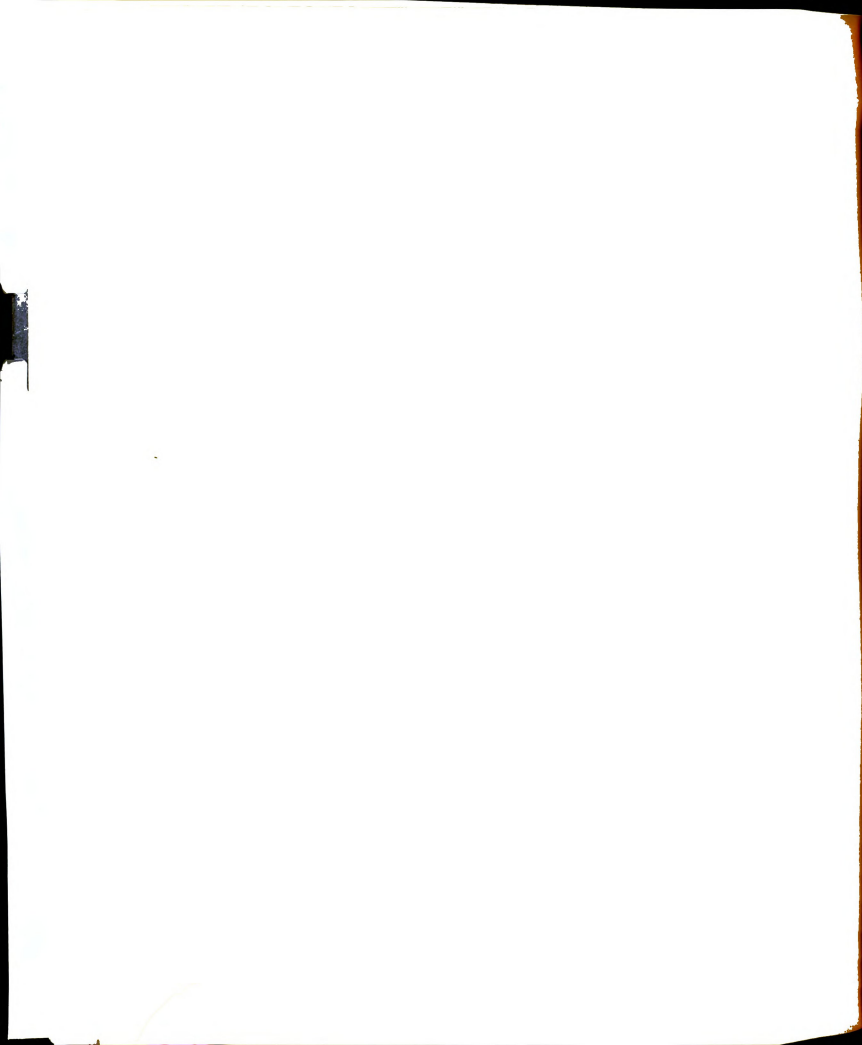
More than one-half stated without qualification, that the present

officers were elected because of their ability; about one-quarter attri-

buted election to friends or popularity. A few stated that social skills

were important.

Agreement between Lansing Foundry Company and Local No. 724, pp. 14-15.  
 Of sixty-three rules will be found in the "Agreement between Mellling  
 Foundry Company and Local 724 of UAW-CIO., 1950," pp. 61-67. The majority  
 of them, however, are concerned with safety.



For the most part officers appear to get credit and take blame for successes and failures. Almost three-tenths attributed union success failure to the organization; somewhat more than a third attributed success to the leadership, and one-fourth to a combination of organization and leadership.

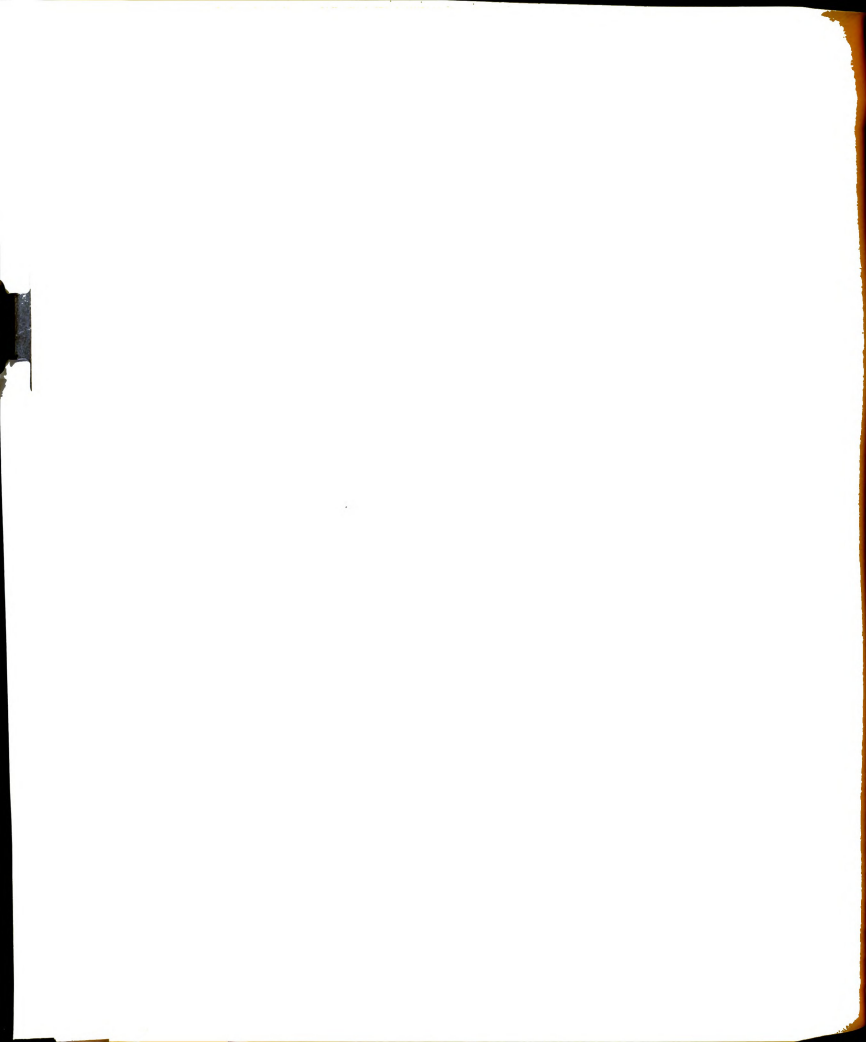
Mayles and Strauss say:

If the union were really a social movement, then they must participate. If of course it isn't, they reason; it is only a business organization and, consequently, there is no need to attend meetings or engage in other activities. As a result, the average member tends to look upon the union as "they," a form of insurance, with all its limitations, an agency which will provide certain types of protection -- for a fee. ...

Most of the time both union and government are considered necessary evils. ... In a limited sense the rank-and-file member is a good citizen, he leaves the routine work to others.<sup>22</sup>

When members were asked, "When you use the term 'union' do you usually refer to members like yourself or the officers?" In this local, "union" referred to members to three quarters of the respondents. For slightly over half "union" meant officers, and for the remainder it meant a combination of the two. Interestingly, "union" usually meant members, but success or failure was attributed primarily to the leadership.

More than somewhat over one-half felt that the present officers were successful because of their ability, fewer rated the quality of local officers as excellent, and forty-five percent rated them fair or poor. The local was evaluated as good or very good by a bare majority and as fair or poor by about two-fifths. Slightly over half believed the officers always treated all members fairly, and about a third stated that this was usually the case. Only one-tenth disagreed. Almost all of the



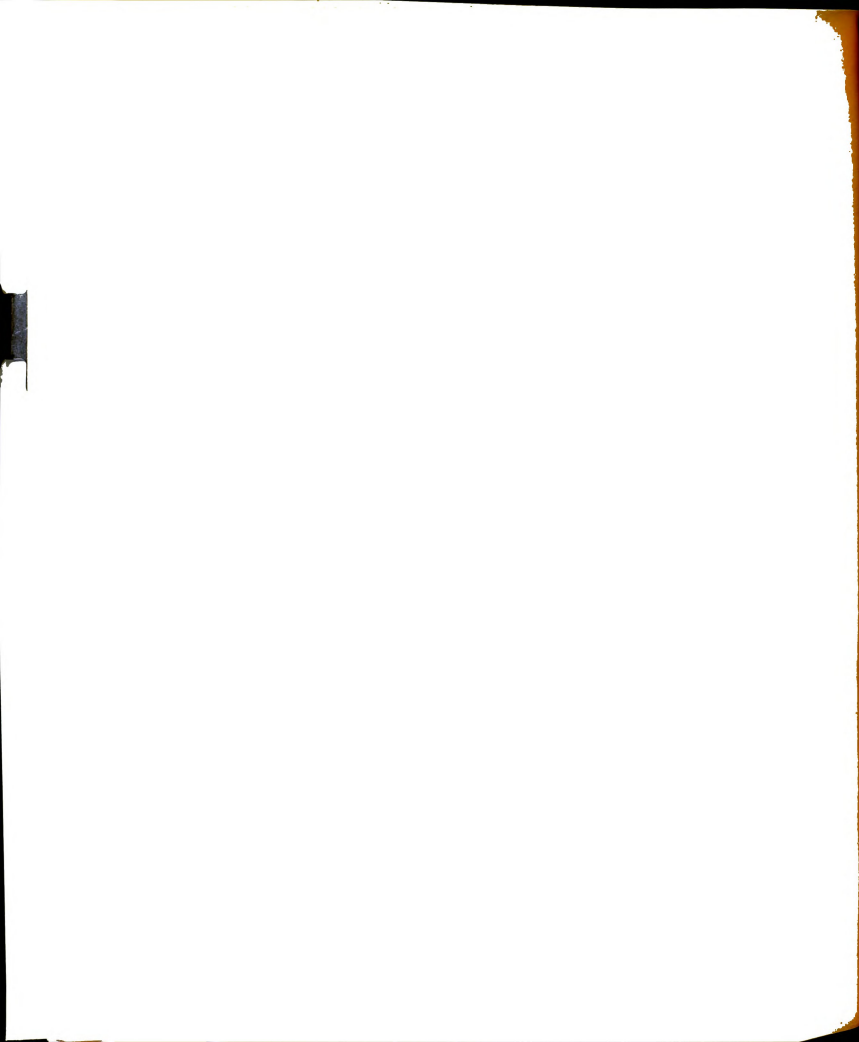
ndents felt that members were never or rarely expelled from the union  
 tly. "Legitimate" reasons for expulsion included: communism, gambling,  
 ge, "don't do the work," anti-union behavior, drunkenness, "good reason,"  
 disobedience. Despite reasons for expulsion expressed by the members,  
 Labor Management Relations Act, 1947," Section 8, Article b, Para-  
 2, referring to unfair labor practices on the part of unions states

shall be an unfair labor practice for a labor organization or  
 s agents...to discriminate against an employee with respect to  
 om membership in such organization has been denied or terminated  
 some ground other than his failure to tender the periodic dues  
 d initiation fees uniformly required as a condition of acquir-  
 g or retaining membership;...

ne quality of international representatives, regional directors,  
 ernational union officials was generally evaluated as good or  
 nt, but nearly one-fourth rated international representatives and  
 s and regional directors as fair or poor. Local officers received  
 e ratings. The local educational leaders may see a need to discuss  
 onal and international activity, for almost one quarter of the mem-  
 felt unable to rank regional and international officers.

er three-quarters felt that their local compared favorably or  
 vorably with other locals in Lansing. Members felt about the same  
 their international.

ss than one-half considered themselves active members; the majority  
 at they were "ordinary" members. Almost half responded unfavorably  
 "hitch-hikers" or "free-riders," but a few said that being a "free-  
 s "their business." One-seventh said there "aren't any," i.e.  
 a closed or union shop. Four percent had never heard the terms.  
 hs reported that "hitch-hikers" are not treated differently, but



One-fifth said that these non-members do, at least at times, get treatment not usually accorded to fellow members. One-seventh spoke of giving non-members the cold shoulder, treating them in an unfriendly manner, and playing practical jokes on them.

Bakke makes an excellent distinction between "the good union man" that is here referred to as a "free-rider or hitch-hiker."

The "good union man" who is loyal to his "brothers" denotes a new status. It is defined and buttressed by a code of conduct, by symbols such as buttons and the union card, and by responsibilities and opportunities for service which distinguish him from nonunion workers. The very contrast with those laggard workers who "don't pull their own oar" and who at worst may be "scabs" or "finks" or "traitors" makes him more aware, by negative implication of his status and the consequent role he plays as a "good union man."<sup>23</sup>

As stated above, the majority of the members appeared satisfied with their officers, believed Local 724 was satisfactorily run, and that they compared favorably with other Lansing locals. It will be recalled that over one-fourth of the members have, at one time or another, been on strike and over three-fourths felt that they had a voice in making that decision. Over fifteen percent believed they did not. Almost two-thirds felt that the local membership was the final authority in a strike decision; over one-fifth believed there was a higher authority. One-third believed the higher authority was vested in local officers.

One-tenth thought the authority rested with stewards or committee-

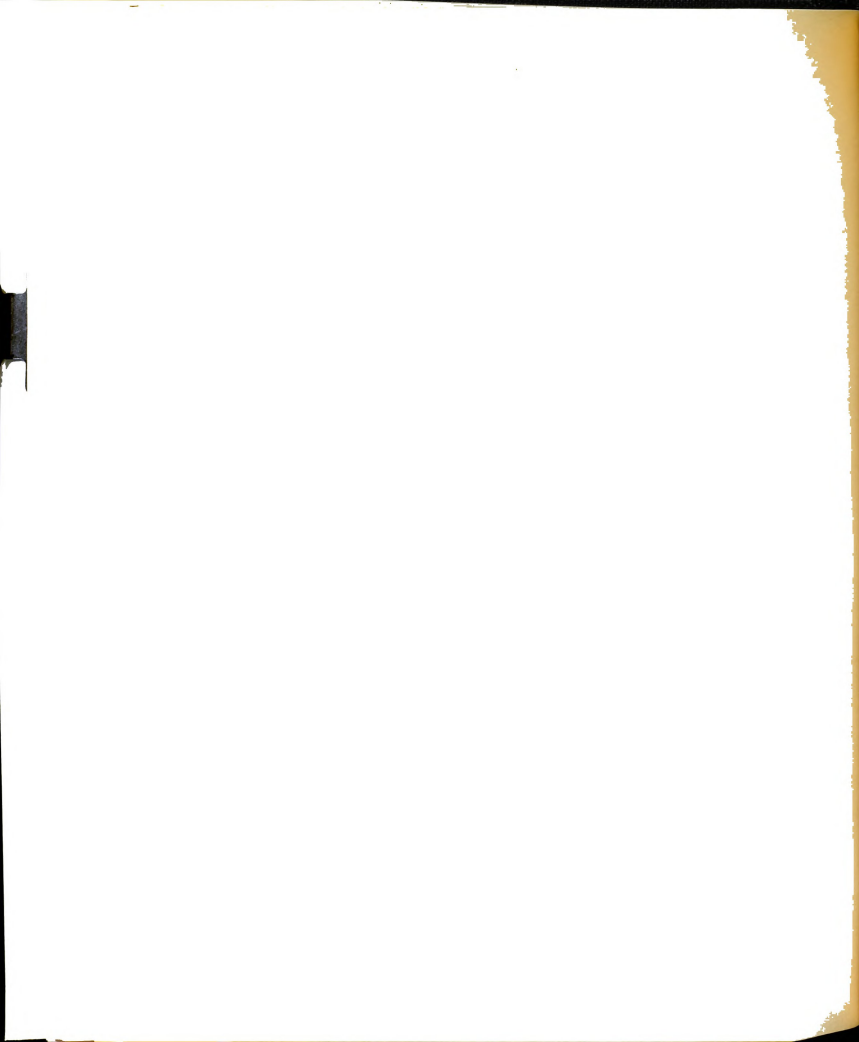
The "Constitution of the International" makes the following de-

visions:

Article 1: ...the local Union involved shall call a meeting of all members to decide whether the proposed changes shall be accepted or

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ught Bakke and Clark Kerr, Unions, Management and the Public,  
Brace and Company, New York, 1949, p. 43.





rejected. The majority of those present and voting on the question shall decide. If, as a result of this decision, a strike vote is decided upon, the Local Union Executive Board shall notify all members, and it shall require a two-thirds vote by secret ballot of those voting to declare a strike.

Section 2: ...Upon receipt of the statement of matters in controversy from the Regional Director, the International President shall prepare and forward a copy thereof to each member of the International Executive Board together with a request for their vote upon the question of approving a strike of those involved to enforce their decision in relation thereto.

Section 3: In case of an emergency where delay would seriously jeopardize the welfare of those involved, the International President, after consultation with the other International officers, may approve a strike pending the submission to, and securing the approval of, the International Executive Board, providing such authorization be in writing.

Section 4: Neither the International Union nor any Local Union, nor any officer, member, representative or agent of the International Union, Local Union or subordinate body shall have the power or authority to instigate, call lead or engage in any strike or work stoppage, ... except as authorized by the International Board or the International President in conformity with the provisions of this constitution.<sup>24</sup>

percent who believed that the power of strike decision belonged

International officers came closest to "knowing" what was fact on this

the strike, as usually conceived, is a last resort measure when the

grievance procedure fails as a vehicle for settling any given dispute. The

fact that Local 724 appears "strike-free" may well be attributable to the

effectiveness of its grievance procedure. Generally, Local 724 adheres to

the step procedure.<sup>25</sup> In this area members were again found to be satis-

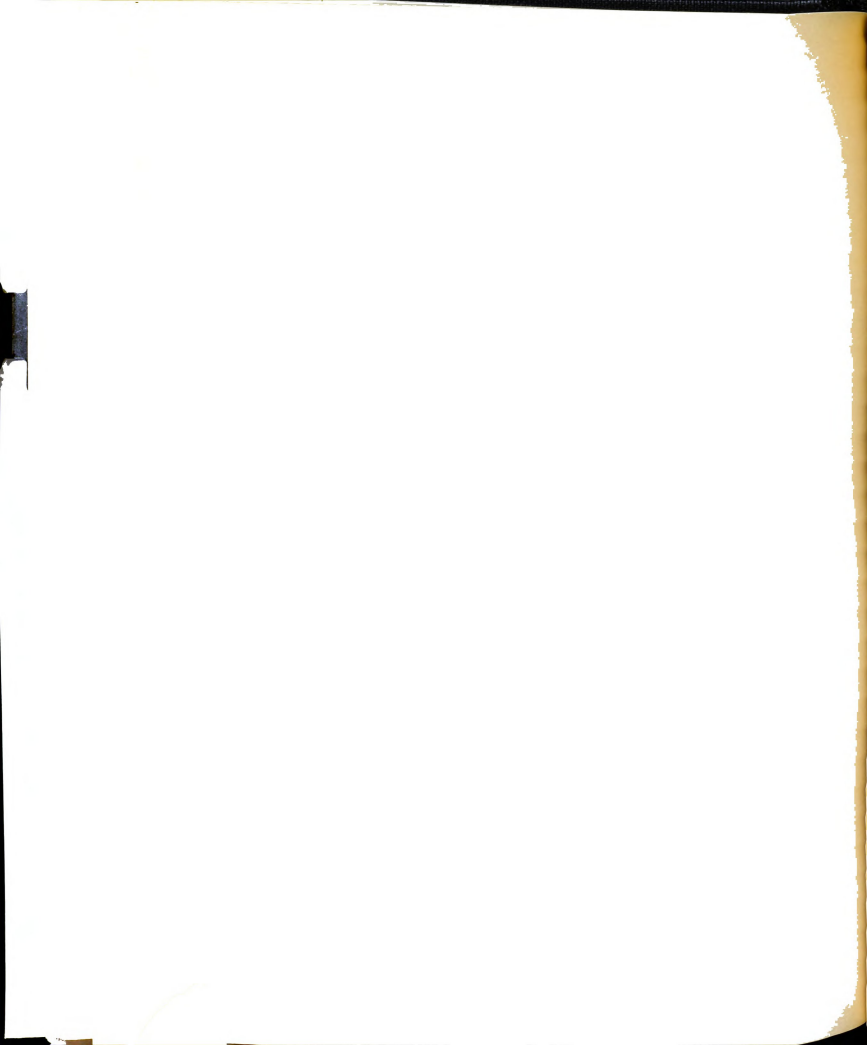
three-fifths considered the procedure to be effective or very effec-

most half as many believed it fairly effective, and only seven percent

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Article 49, 99-100. See also Section 8, p. 101.

For an example see the "Agreement between Melling Forging Company and Local 724," 1950, pp. 14-17.



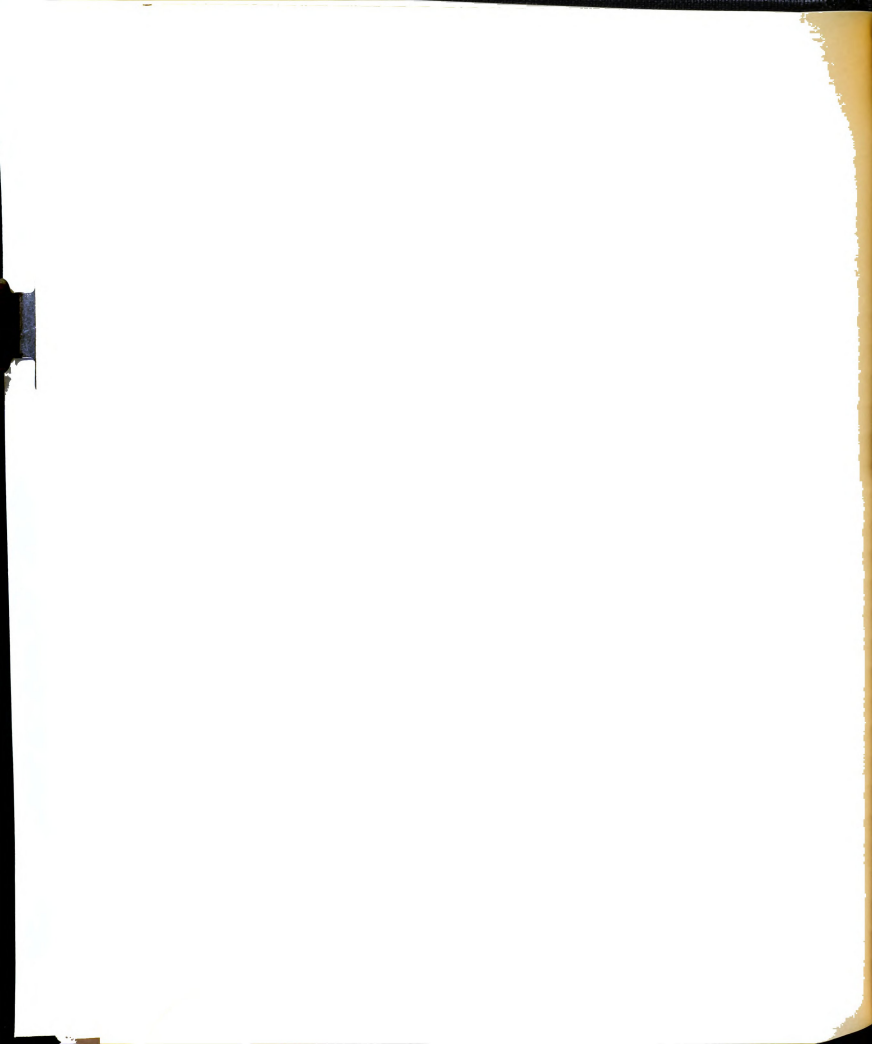
it not effective. Two-thirds felt that the processing of grievances quickly or very quickly, and one-quarter reported the process as very slow. Unfortunately it cannot be determined here whether a respondent has ever been a party to a grievance, nor what "quickly" mean to the respondents in terms of actual time. It is plain that for an overwhelming majority there is but one way to handle . . . . Over nine-tenths indicated that disputes should be settled on aid. The responses given, arbitration, collective bargaining, . . . , grievance procedure, though not couched in identical terms, indicate that most members do not want to "go-it-alone." Three suggested that disputes be worked out with the foreman, actually . . . . the first step in the grievance procedure.

### 3. Attitudes About Politics and Government

In his study of Teamsters Local 688 in St. Louis, Arnold Rose reports:

Members support political action overwhelmingly if it involves being encouraged to go to the polls, being told what candidates are pro-labor, and helping to get pro-labor legislation passed. They are against being told whom to vote for. They are divided equally regarding having a Labor party at this time.<sup>28</sup>

Members of Local 724 seem not to be "overwhelmingly" interested in political action, although CIO history might lead one to expect such a result. A bare majority did believe the union should be active in . . . . just over two-fifths did not agree; the remainder did not know . . . . and indifferent. Of those favoring political participation by the union, the other half reasoned that labor needed representation. Of those opposed to participation, about three-tenths felt that "business and



tics don't mix," and almost three-tenths stated that people should  
as individuals.

However, if unions were going to participate in politics, members  
most interested in having pressure exerted at the different levels  
vernment as follows: national level, local level, all levels, and  
level in that order.

Local 724 members were certainly not "equally divided" when the  
on of a "Labor party" was raised. Close to one-seventh favored the  
s having its own party; but more than four times as many felt that  
ion should back candidates from the present parties.

till, almost one-half believed the "country would be better off if  
rking people had more power and influence in government" than they  
ow. Over one-quarter felt that working people should have no more

Of those favoring more power, about two-fifths felt that the  
y should have the power, and nearly half believed there would be  
representation or that the working man would get more benefits if  
more power. Somewhat less than a tenth of the membership believed  
litical power is presently ideally balanced between labor and man-

Scattered responses showed a belief that workers have enough  
w and that more power would lower taxes, but perhaps the govern-  
ld become socialistic or communistic. Close to five percent  
that labor was not capable of wielding more power, but slightly  
t that labor's power should be on a par with that of monied people.

ost two-thirds stated that the government's job was to provide  
an opportunity to get ahead on their own; however, almost three-  
lt the government should guarantee every person a decent and steady



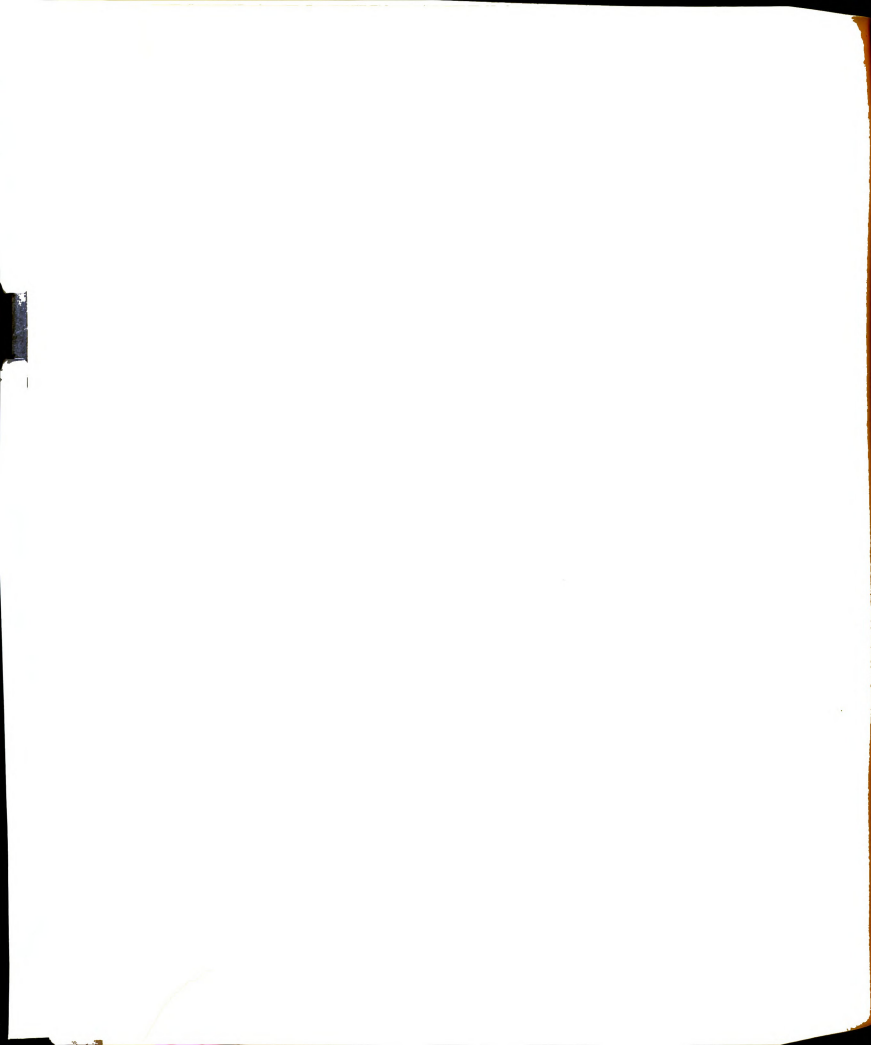
and standard of living. The most frequently given reason for opposition to a government guarantee was "you have to make your own way;" one-seventh feared it would destroy initiative; one-tenth feared dictatorship or authoritarianism. Most of those favoring a government guarantee believed that such a guarantee would provide more security for the working man, avoid economic problems, eliminate unemployment, or eliminate depressions.

Nearly sixty percent of the membership favored a guaranteed annual wage; thirty percent did not. Of those favoring a guaranteed annual wage, most would accomplish it by collective bargaining, a few by legislation.

In spite of the fact that nearly one-fifth of the members would accept a guaranteed wage by legislation, only four percent favored government control of industry. The most frequently given reasons for opposition to private control were: the government's job is government, government control would be communistic, socialistic or dictatorial, there are too many controls by government, we are doing all right this way, and historical precedent.

The above findings indicate that the members of Local 724 have political and economic attitudes consistent with traditional American workers. A number liked the idea of having the government provide them with a good job; fewer wanted the government to have ultimate authority over how much money they would make. Most of the members liked their present situation while some felt that employers treat workers unfairly, very few would have government replace the private employer.

The findings show Local 724 to be very similar to other unions in similar comparable studies have been made. If there is any important exception it is found in the rather conservative political attitudes of the majority of Local 724 members.





## CHAPTER IV

### TYPES OF ORIENTATIONS TOWARD UNIONISM AND SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF UNION MEMBERS

Before testing the hypotheses to be dealt with in this chapter, it would perhaps be well to make one major point. The great majority of members of the local felt that they needed the union. Using the same question as that employed by Rose -- Do you think you need the union to protect you from the employer for you, or could you do just as well by yourself? -- we found that almost seven-eighths indicated a need for the union; and the remainder felt they could do as well or better by their own efforts. Nine-tenths of the members of the AFL local studied by Rose evinced a need for the union.<sup>1</sup>

Sayles and Strauss also found enthusiasm for union membership.

Most every worker interviewed was sold on his union. He was convinced that he needed it for protection against arbitrary management and as an instrument to obtain economic security. There was almost unanimous agreement that "Without the union we would be lost. The company could really take advantage of us."<sup>2</sup>

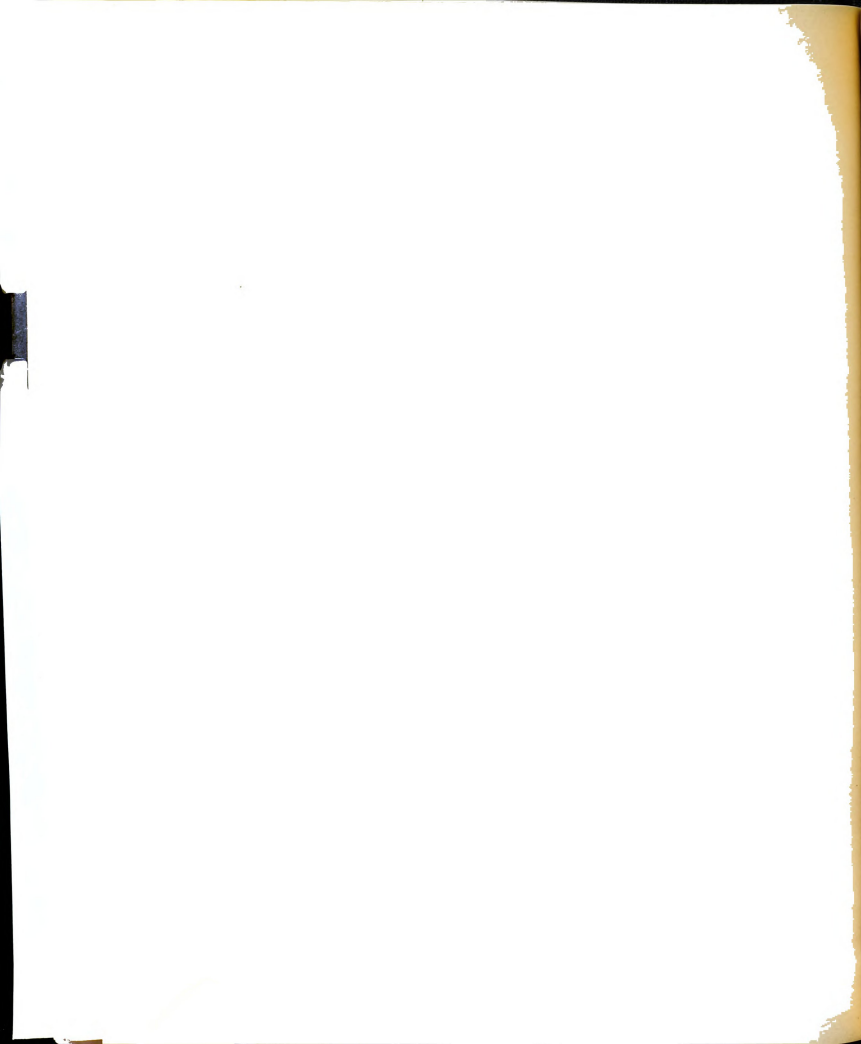
Local 724 a few members volunteered that they "could not demand anything without the union," and others stated that they needed "organ-

izational help. Almost one-fifth gave a general pro-union response, not capable of any specific classification; and almost two-fifths answered in terms of

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1. Harold M. Rose, Union Solidarity, The University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1952, p. 60.

2. Leonard R. Sayles and George Strauss, The Local Union, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1953, p. 222.



g the need for a pressure group, e.g., "The union gives us more  
ence."

While some members may see a particular local function as more im-  
portant to them, the local may serve many functions for some of its mem-

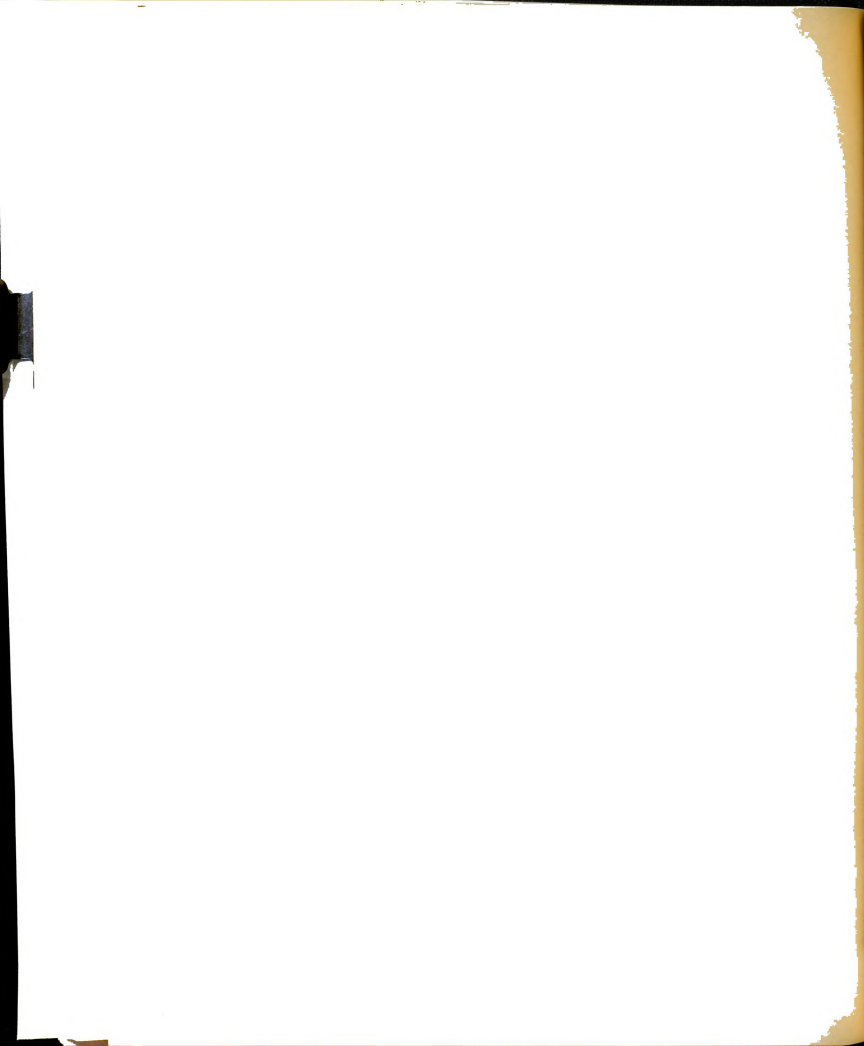
The establishing of union orientations, as discussed in the second  
chapter, was an attempt to learn what member expectations of the local  
were. Assuming that the expectations or orientations have been satis-  
factorily determined, a test of the guiding hypotheses of this research  
was made in order.

#### A. Hypothesis Number I

HYPOTHESIS: DIFFERENT "TYPES" OF UNION MEMBERS HAVE A DIFFERENT PRIORITY  
ORIENTATIONS TOWARD THE LOCAL UNION.

At the initiation of this research, the writer pre-established five  
empirical orientations; ideological or political, traditional or economic,  
indifferent, apathetic, and hostile. While thought was given to the possible  
overlapping of categories or evidence of mixed orientation, little thought  
was given an unknown category comprising those cases which did not "fit"  
the pre-established classifications. Since, as discussed in Chapter  
II, many cases originally were classified in mixed and unknown orientations,  
an attempt was made to learn more about those cases. That effort led to  
the classification of cases into the five previously posited empirically  
determined orientation categories.

The analysis leading to a discovery of the component characteristics  
of "social type" is based primarily upon inspection of chi-square tables,  
usually with reference to the representation in any given cell and with  
reference to significant row and table chi-square values. Where overrepresen-  
tation occurs in more than one cell in any row, the greater overrepresentation



l be stressed. Nineteen basic characteristics were selected.<sup>3</sup> In addition to these, the degree of integration of members, and officer and rank-and-file differences will be considered in subsequent sections.

## 1. Social Characteristics and Orientations Toward Unionism

### a. Demographic Factors

A cursory examination of literature, prior to the present analysis, tended to indicate that younger members would be likely to emphasize the political function of the union. It could be expected perhaps that these members would take pride in being members of a "fighting organization." It might also be expected that older members, now past the peak of their productive capacity, would look to the union for its protective function. Further, since younger workers are likely to seek social contacts and recreational outlets for their energies it might also be anticipated that they would exhibit a social orientation. Table 3 shows little consistent relationship between age and orientation toward unionism. However, two discernible tendencies are apparent. First, members under thirty-five are most likely to be apathetic. Second, those in the 35-54 age classification indicated a strong tendency toward hostility. While this age group includes only slightly more than one-half of the membership, it includes two-thirds of the hostile members.

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<sup>3</sup>The nineteen basic social characteristics are: age, race, marital status, father's occupation, amount of education, place father was reared, place of birth, place of longest residence, present residence, length of residence in the Lansing area, organizational participation, degree of vocational training, length of vocational training, seniority, unemployment in present department, unemployment, desire for different job, aspiration for self employment. Sex is omitted since so few female cases were included in the sample.

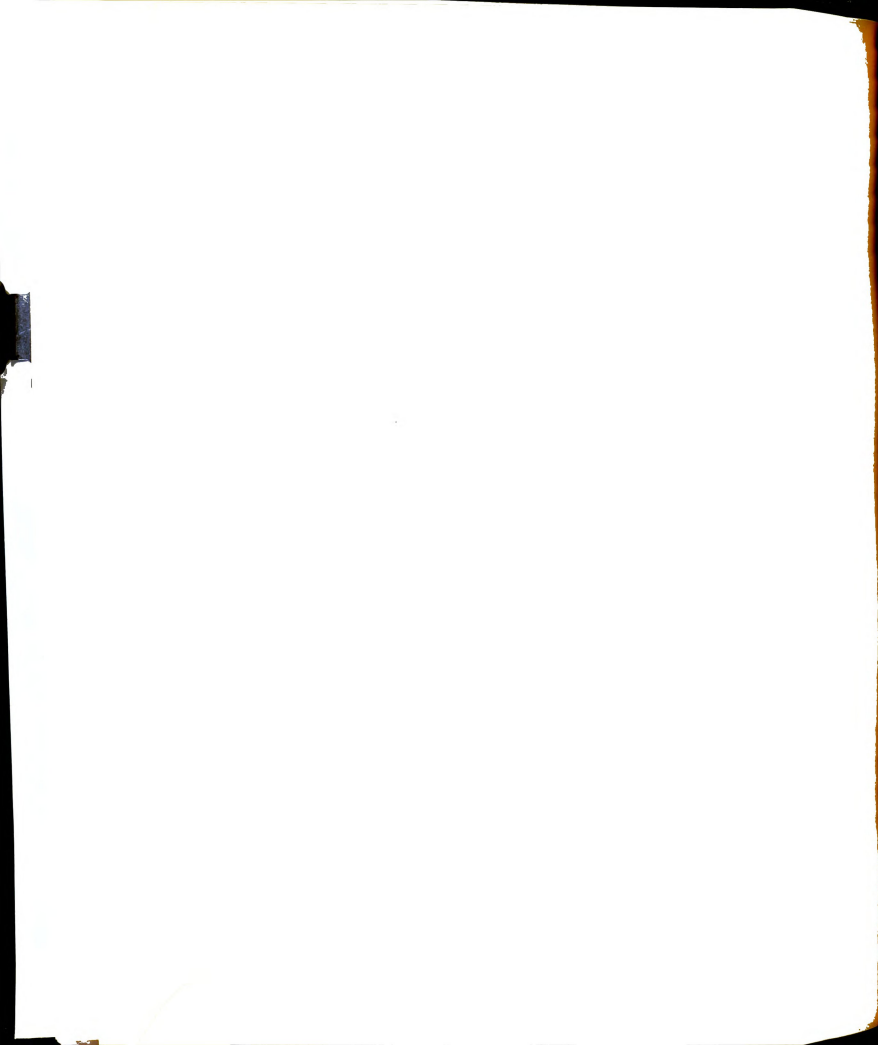


TABLE 3  
ORIENTATION TOWARD UNIONISM BY AGE

Union orientation	Age			Total	Row $\chi^2$
	Under 35	35-54	55 and over		
Political	13	22	7	42	.047
Economic	8	18	4	30	.507
Religious	8	11	4	23	.299
Intellectual	14	17	4	35	1.453
Hostile	1	8	3	12	3.077
Total	44	76	22	142	5.383

Chi square = 5.383

.75 P .70





Traditionally the Negro's work life has not been particularly pleasant. He has had little in way of job security and at times has been even less fortunate regarding wages. In view of these facts one might have anticipated that the Negro worker would be both politically and economically oriented. As in most industrial cities, Lansing has Negro neighborhoods; and the Negro worker probably spends most of his leisure time there, not expecting to use union facilities for his social life and recreation. Possibly a prior unpleasant experience might have produced some hostile Negro members. Seidman reports on union discrimination against Negro workers.

Most widespread and shameful has been the discrimination against Negroes. In a 1930 publication of the National Urban League there is a list of 24 national and international unions, 15 of them railroad workers, that exclude Negroes through provisions in their constitutions or rituals. ... Other unions admit Negroes to membership but discriminate against them in a variety of ways, as by restricting their opportunities to advance to skilled work, segregating them into Negro locals, or making them ineligible to hold office or to serve as delegates to conventions.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> indicates no consistent association between race and type of union membership. It does indicate, however, that the Negro was likely to emphasize the economic orientation toward unionism. This table also reveals that white members comprised over nine-tenths of the apathetic group and that none of the Negro members showed hostility toward the union.

1 Status: It might well be expected that married members, particularly those with children, would look to the union for job security as a vehicle to economic advancement. Further, the union might be

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Wight Bakke and Clark Kerr, Unions, Management and the Public, Bruce and Company, New York, 1949, p. 194.

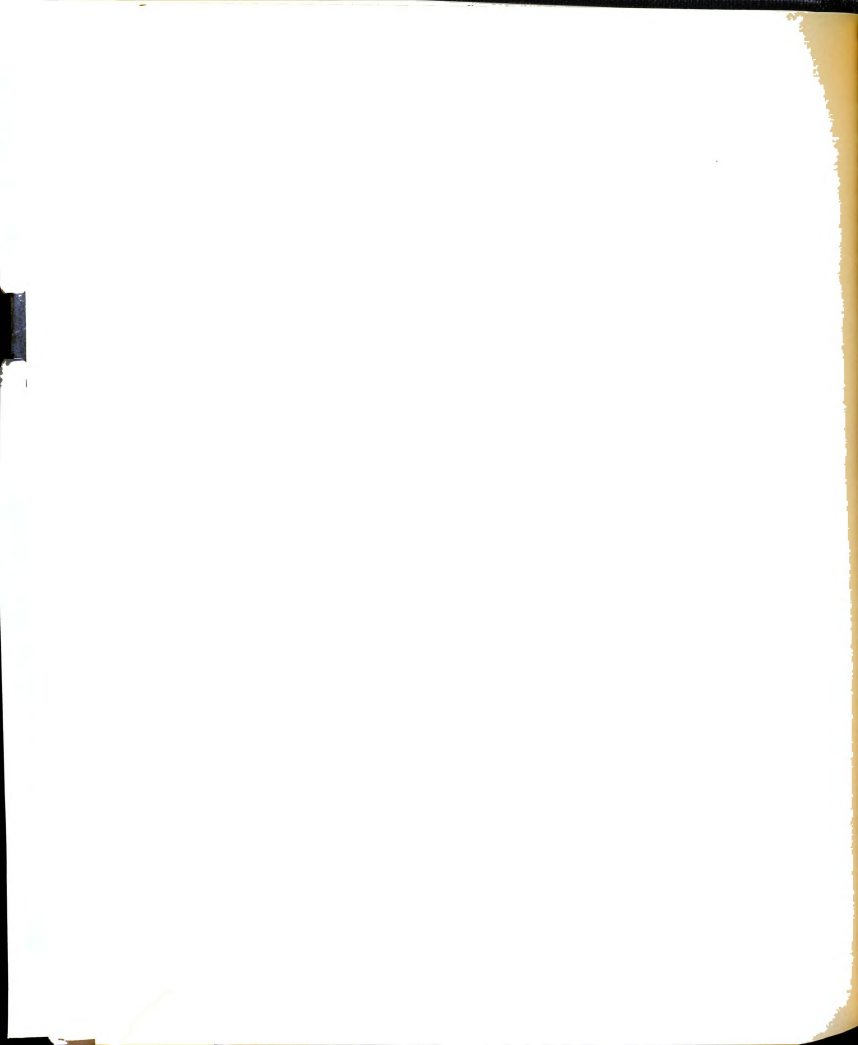
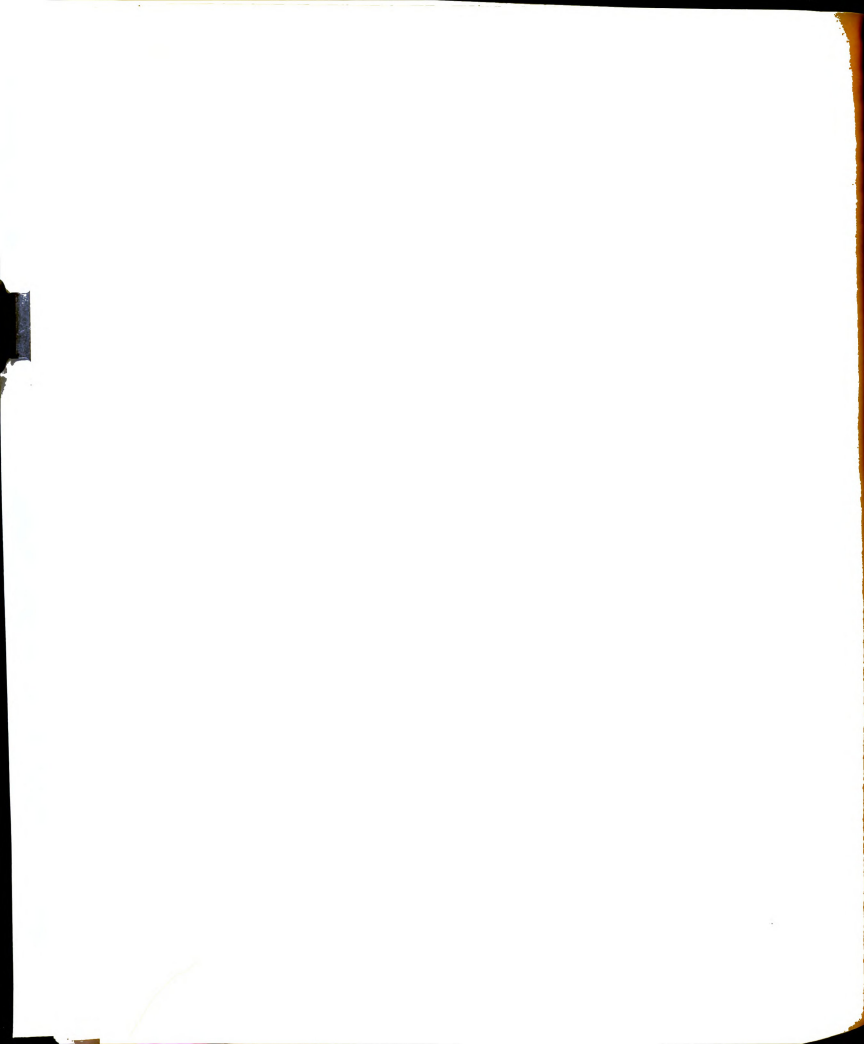


TABLE 4  
ORIENTATION TOWARD UNIONISM BY RACE

Union orientation	Race		Total	Row $\chi^2$
	Negro	White		
Political	6	36	42	.100
Economic	6	24	30	1.459
Social	3	20	23	.002
Aesthetic	3	32	35	.535
Attitude	0	12	12	1.740
Total	18	124	142	3.836

Chi square = 3.836

.50 P .30



the best bulwark against loss of any economic gains already realized. In addition, one might anticipate that the unmarried would be the best source of the socially oriented as well as of apathetic or hostile members. Although Table 5 indicates no significant association between marital status and political orientation it can be seen, in accordance with anticipation, that the married members were most likely to express the political orientation. On the other hand, the unmarried members were overrepresented in the economic orientation. While the tendency is very slight, there was also some indication that the unmarried were somewhat more likely to be hostile toward the union.

#### b. Socio-economic Background

Father's occupation: There is little doubt but that one's first impressions of the world of work derive from home contacts. These impressions, though modified by other experiences, are later carried into one's own work setting. It might be expected, then, that sons of manual workers would have stronger pro-union sentiments as indicated by the political and economic orientations, while sons of white collar workers would be either apathetic or hostile members. Workers from farm families might also show apathy or hostility. An examination of Table 6 reveals, however, that there is basically no association between orientation toward unionism and father's occupation. There is a very slight tendency for sons of white collar workers toward the economic orientation and for farmers' sons toward the social orientation. Contrary to expectation, it was not sons of the petit bourgeois, but rather it was the sons of manual workers who showed apathy or hostility.

Amount of education: The least educated worker, perhaps having been informally taught that he is disadvantaged by little education, may be

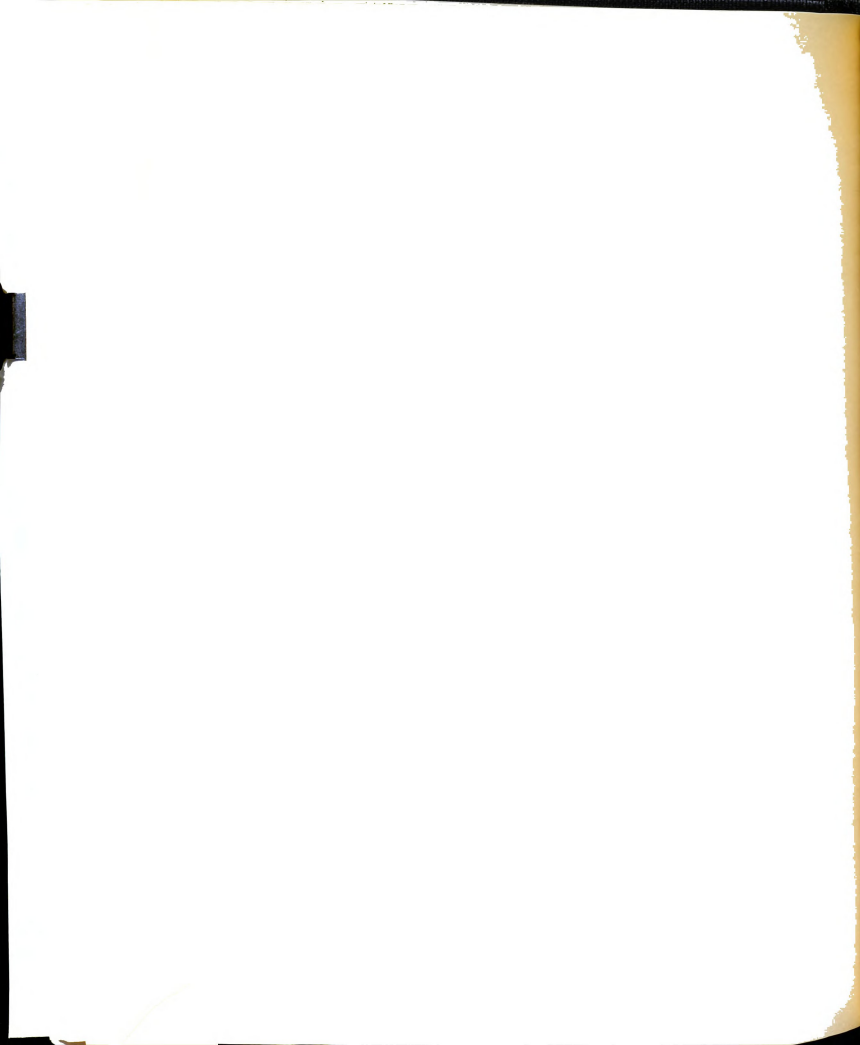


TABLE 5

## ORIENTATION TOWARD UNIONISM BY MARITAL STATUS

Union orientation	Marital Status		Total	Row $\chi^2$
	Married	Other		
Political	38	4	42	1.146
Economic	23	7	30	1.406
Social	20	3	23	.104
Aesthetic	30	5	35	.038
Style	9	3	12	.827
Total	120	22	142	3.521

Chi square = 3.521

.50 P .30

Other = Single, divorced, unknown

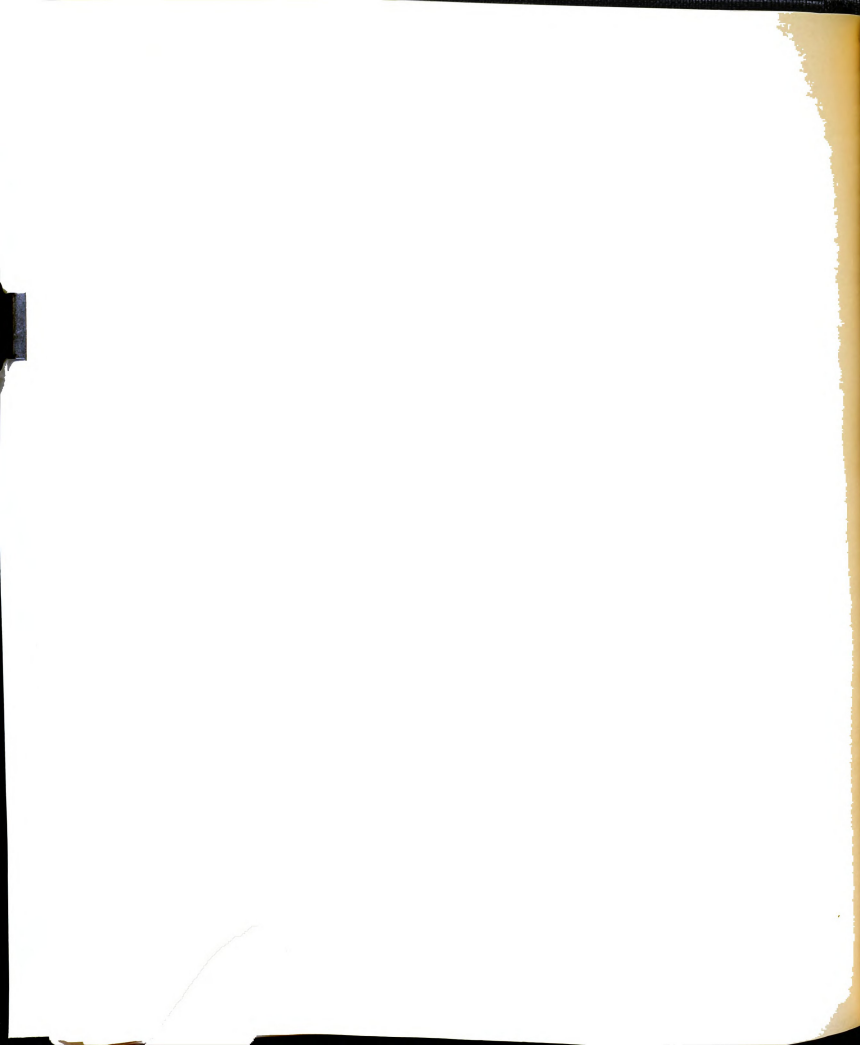




TABLE 6

## ORIENTATION TOWARD UNIONISM BY FATHER'S OCCUPATION

Union Orientation	Father's Occupation				Total	Row X <sup>2</sup>
	White Collar	Farmer	Manual	Indeterminate		
Political	4	18	7	13	42	1.097
Economic	4	12	8	6	30	1.128
Social	1	9	4	9	23	2.410
Psychic	3	14	10	8	35	.762
File	2	3	4	3	12	1.750
Total	14	56	33	39	142	7.147

Chi square = 7.147

.90 P .80

White Collar = includes Professional; Wholesale & Retail Dealers;  
Other Proprietors, Managers, & Officials; Clerks and  
Kindred Workers.

Farmer = Farm Owners and Tenants.

Manual = Skilled Workers & Foremen; Semi-skilled; and Unskilled.

Indeterminate = Indeterminate; Don't know; Deceased; No Response.



pected to turn to the local as his protector. The highly educated may be expected to be divided, one group showing "liberal" tendencies and the other, upwardly mobile, displaying a "conservative" leaning, antagonistic toward the union. Table 7 shows no significant association between amount of education and union orientation. Two slight tendencies, however, are suggested. First, workers of high school education predominated among the economically oriented. Second, while the high school educated were most highly represented in the hostile group, the college educated tended toward both hostile and economic orientations.

#### c. Residential History

Place father was reared: Perhaps as important as father's occupation in affecting a given attitudinal direction in the son, is the father's own residential history. The son's expectation of the union could be a function of whether the father's formative experiences were in rural or urban, north or south, or possibly foreign setting. Table 8 is extremely complex for the size of the sample; this complexity exaggerates the probability value of the table. Thus the findings should be couched only in terms of slight tendencies. Members whose fathers were reared in Michigan exhibited greater political orientation toward the union. The sons of southern fathers appeared to be both economically and socially oriented. Those members who were of foreign parentage were apathetic toward the local; and those who were the sons of fathers born in the north, in states other than Michigan, accounted for two-thirds of the members who demonstrated hostility.

Place of birth: Table 9 is subject to the same criticism as was Table 8, but it shows that about half of the members were born in Michigan. The

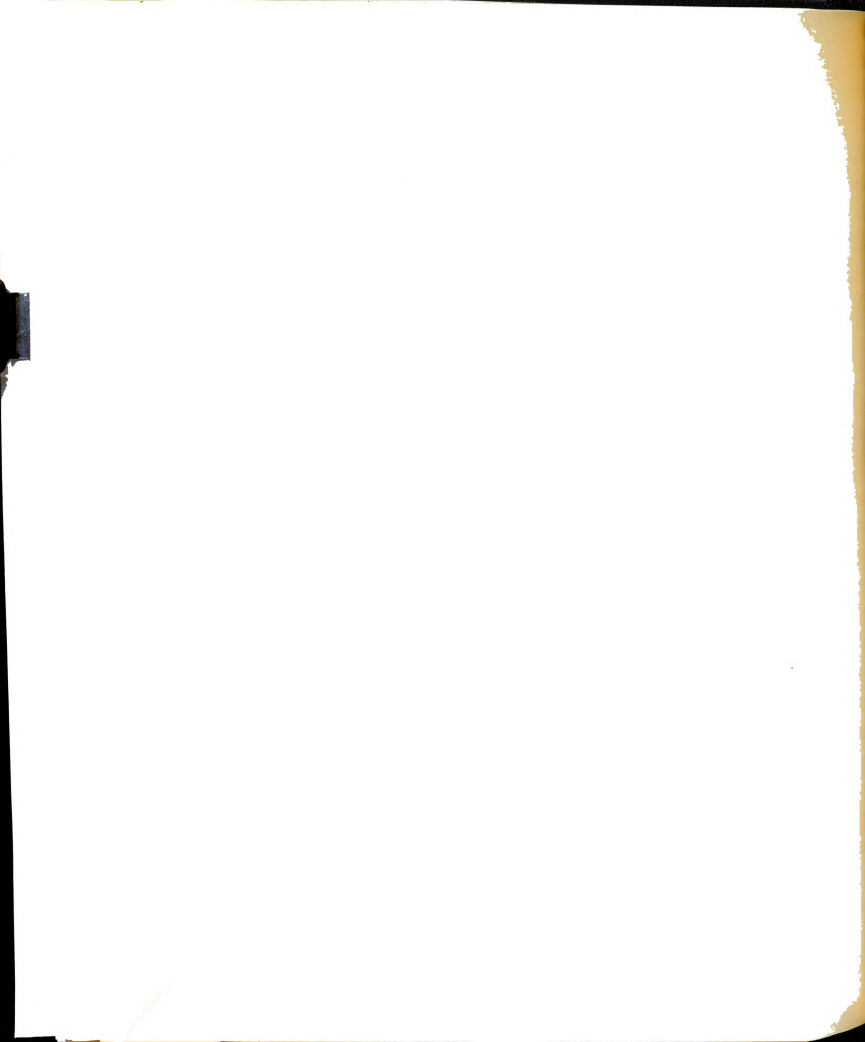


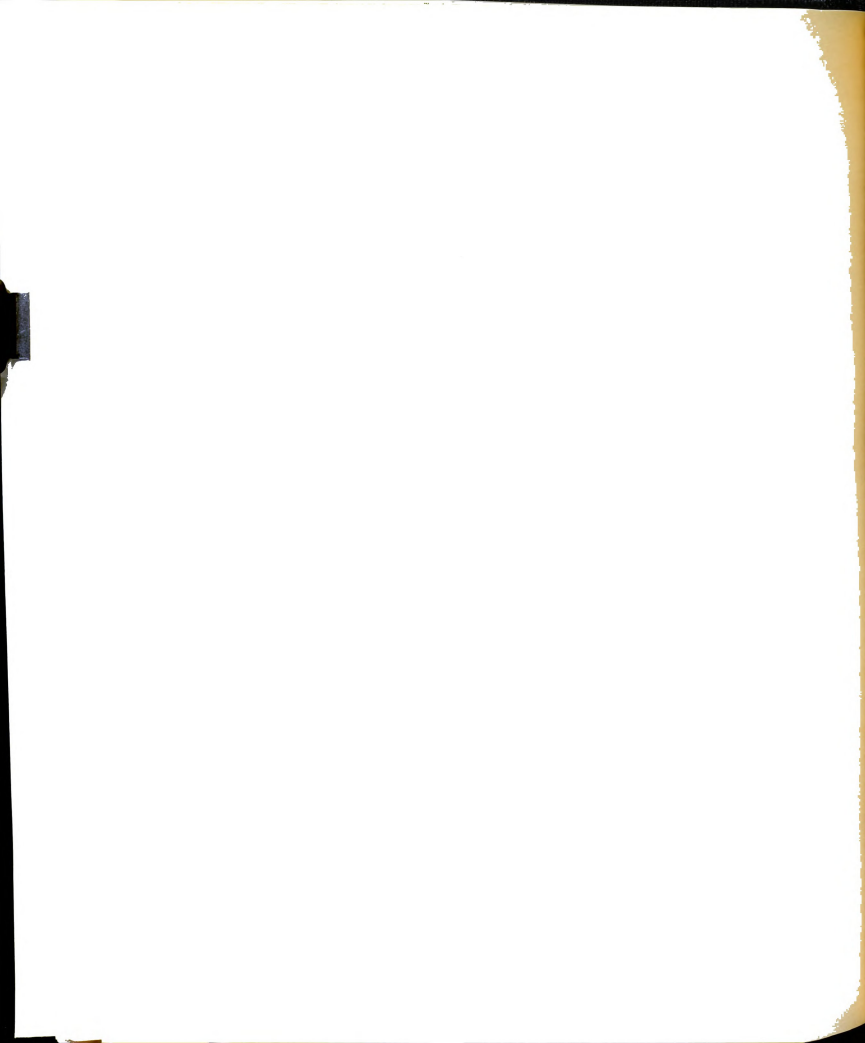
TABLE 7

## ORIENTATION TOWARD UNIONISM BY AMOUNT OF EDUCATION

Education	0-8	9-12	13-16	Total	Row $\chi^2$
High school	20	20	2	42	.287
Some high school	10	18	2	30	1.303
High school graduate	12	10	1	23	.688
College	17	17	1	35	.704
Postgraduate	3	7	2	12	3.737
Total	62	72	8	154	6.719

Chi square = 6.719

.70 P .50

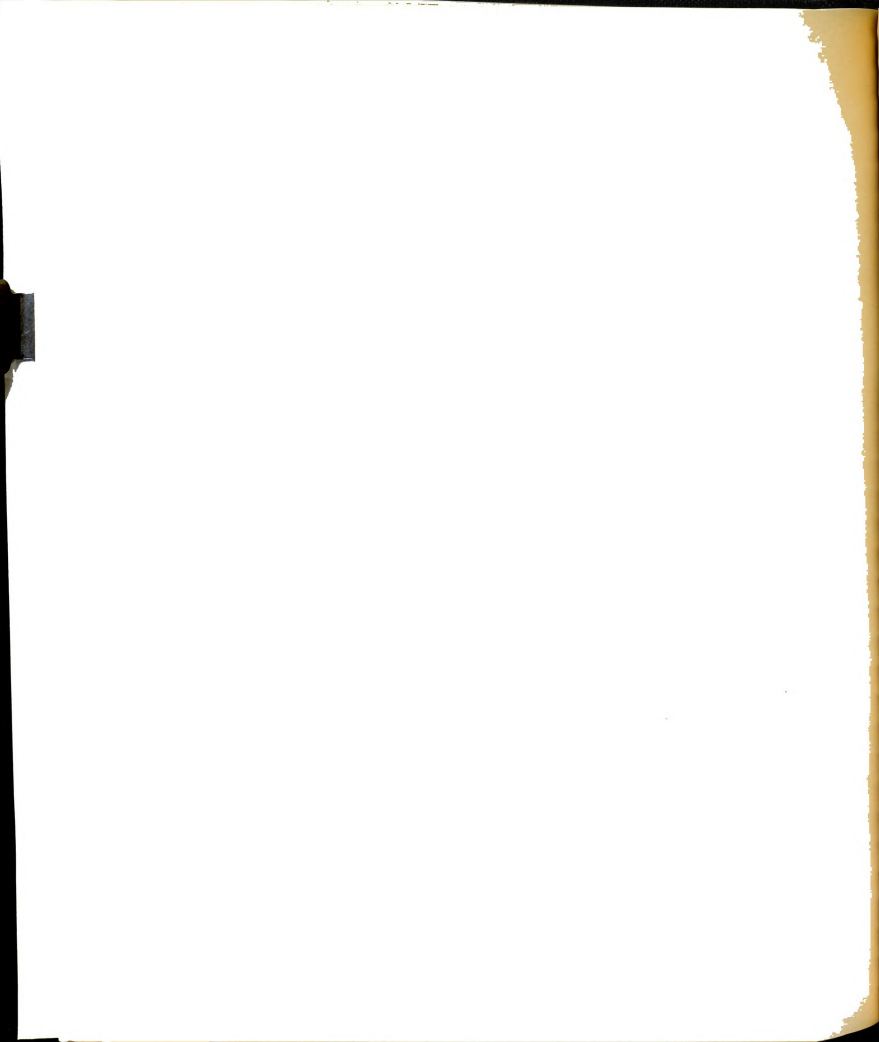


ORIENTATION TOWARD UNIONISM BY PLACE FATHER WAS REARED

Union Orientation	Place Father Was Reared							Total	Row $\chi^2$
	Lansing	Rural Mich.	Urban Mich. (Non-Mich)	North South	Foreign Mich.	U.S. or No Res- ponse			
Political	4	7	2	9	3	4	3	42	3.746
Economic	1	4	3	5	4	2	3	30	2.538
Social	0	3	3	2	3	3	0	23	6.341
Apathetic	3	4	4	4	6	5	1	35	3.646
Hostile	0	1	1	8	1	1	0	12	18.127
<b>Total</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>142</b>	<b>34.398</b>

Chi square = 34.398

.20 P .10





Union Orientation	Place of Birth					Total	Row $\chi^2$
	Lansing	Rural Mich.	Urban Mich. (Non-Mich.)	North Foreign	U.S. or Mich.		
Political	2	6	5	9	11	2	5.397
Economic	8	4	3	4	8	3	6.918
Social	3	3	5	2	8	1	3.672
Apathetic	6	8	9	4	4	2	5.059
Hostile	1	4	1	6	0	0	13.581
Total	22	25	23	25	31	8	34.627

Chi square = 34.627

.10 P .05



born in Lansing emphasized the economic function of the union and the southerner most often exhibited the social orientation. Members in other urban areas of Michigan were most likely to demonstrate and those born in the North, in states other than Michigan, were oriented.

longest residence: One might expect that place of longest residence would be more discriminating than place of birth in reference to opinion toward unionism. Such an hypothesis possibly is upheld by this study, for the chi-square value for Table 10 is considerably greater than the value for the preceding table.

Coming from Warner's study it might be expected that members who were reared in foreign countries would emphasize the union's social function at times a major function of unions in Europe. Warner stressed the relationship between social activities and solidarity. However, a small proportion of the workers in Warner's study were of foreign extraction, English, French, Italian, and Greek.<sup>5</sup> No estimate of association between foreign residence and union orientation can be made in the present study for the sample includes only eight members who were foreign born and four who have resided longest in other countries.

Those from the North, outside of Michigan, were most prone toward economic orientation. Contrary to expectation, those who had lived longest in the Lansing area showed the social orientation or were hostile to unionism. Those from other Michigan cities were frequently apathetic

Lloyd Warner and J. O. Low, The Social System of the Modern Factory, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1947, pp. 41 and 229.

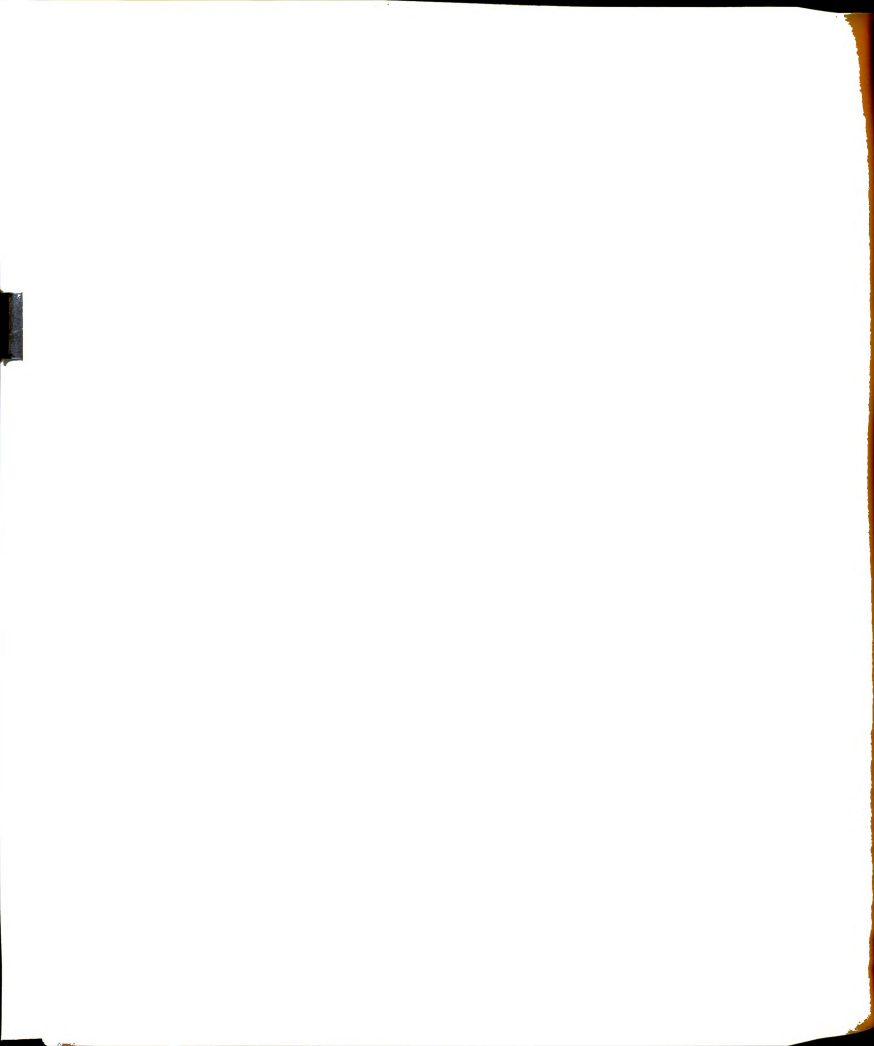


## ORIENTATION TOWARD UNIONISM BY PLACE OF LONGEST RESIDENCE

Union Orientation	Lansing	Place of Longest Residence				U.S. or Mich.	No Res- ponse	Total	Row $\chi^2$	
		Rural Mich.	Urban Mich.	North (Non-Mich.)	South Foreign					
Political	17	1	3	4	6	2	9	0	42	9.751
Economic	17	0	0	5	7	0	1	0	30	11.716
Social	13	1	2	1	5	0	1	0	23	2.833
Apathetic	16	5	8	0	3	1	1	1	35	18.140
Hostile	7	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	12	3.530
Total	70	8	14	11	21	4	13	1	142	45.970

Chi square = 45.970

.02 P .01



Present residence: This item was divided into two dwelling areas, central city and fringe. It is generally expressed that workers who live far away from the plant or the union hall can be classified among the apathetics. Yet these same members may indicate a need for the union's economic aid since the cost of fringe residence may be higher than that of Lansing proper. Table 11 indicates that the more than one-hundred central city dwellers were overwhelmingly in the majority in emphasizing economic orientation. There is, on the other hand, indication of a tendency for fringe dwellers to be apathetic toward the union.

Length of residence in Lansing area: It would seem logical that members with recent residence in the Lansing area would be most likely to look to the union for benefits. This would apply since they would probably have local social ties, would not "know the boss," and could expect little more than the "going rate" for wages. While there appears to be little correlation between length of residence in Lansing and union orientation, Table 12 shows first that a majority of the members have been in the area twenty years or longer. This group provided many members who indicated economic orientation. As expected, those with one through three years' residence in Lansing were highly represented among the members who exhibited apathetic orientation. The most significant fact revealed by this table is the relationship between one's having lived in the Lansing area for through nineteen years and the existence of the apathetic orientation. In addition, it is significant that those of longest residence in the area accounted for three quarters of the hostile members.

Residential participation: This factor, though not an item of residential history, may be expected to be somewhat related. It is unlikely





TABLE 11

## ORIENTATION TOWARD UNIONISM BY PRESENT RESIDENCE

Present Residence		Total	Row $\chi^2$
Central City	Fringe		
29	13	42	.377
28	2	30	6.183
15	8	23	.760
23	12	35	1.008
9	3	12	.019
104	38	142	8.347

Chi square = 8.347

.10 P .05

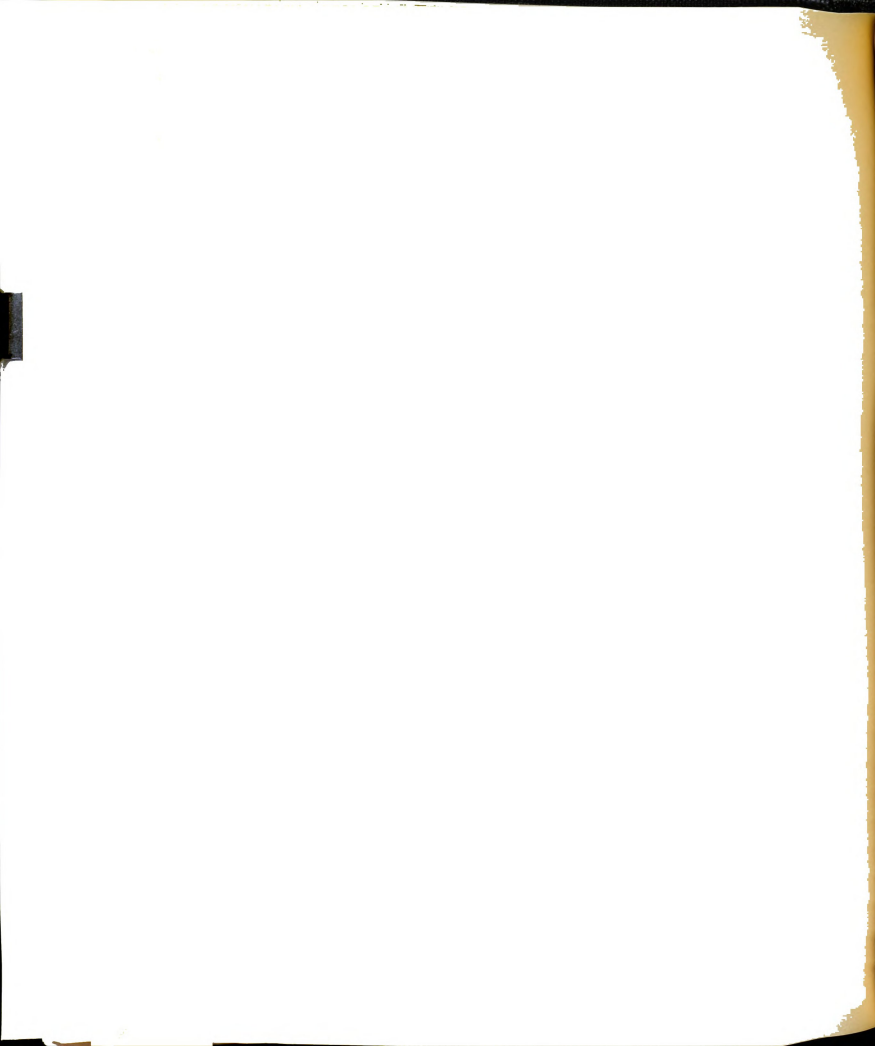


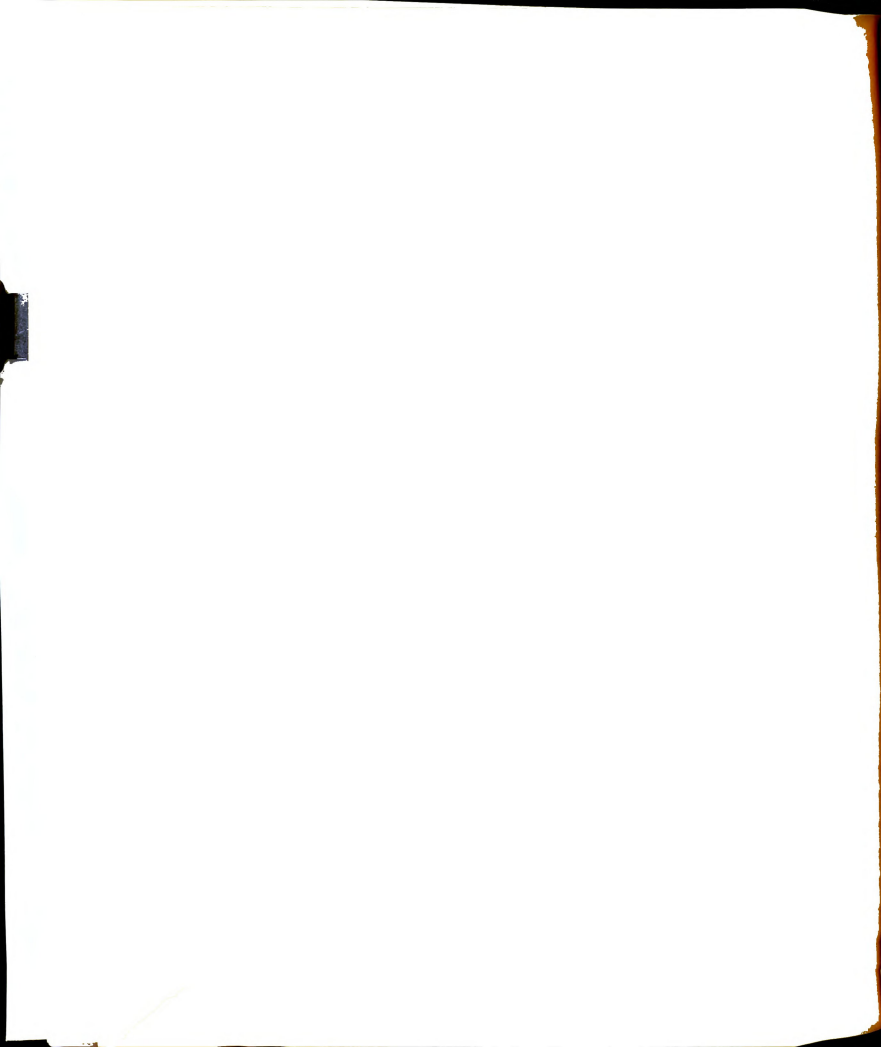
TABLE 12

## ATTITUDE TOWARD UNIONISM BY LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN LANSING AREA

Occupation	Time in Lansing Area					Total	Row $\chi^2$
	Less than 1 year	1-3	4-9	10-19	20 or more		
Local	1	5	8	8	20	42	1.207
State	0	5	2	5	12	24	2.602
Out of State	0	5	3	3	12	23	2.314
Foreign	2	4	4	12	13	35	6.904
Other	0	0	2	1	9	12	4.206
Total	3	19	19	29	72	142	17.233

Chi square = 17.322

.50 P .30



ent arrivals in the area will participate in organizations other than their local union or church. It is possible of course that some may have memberships in other national and international associations. It might be anticipated that those without other associations would seek the social activities of the union. Table 13 indicates no significant association between participation in other organizations and political orientation, but three tendencies are suggested. First the worker "fairly active" in organizations other than the union was likely to have a political orientation. Second, those active in other organizations were likely to express an economic orientation toward the union. Third, members active in other organizations were even more prone to demonstrate hostility toward the union. A comparison revealed slightly less difference among members of varying degrees of activity in other organizations than between those who had affiliations and those who did not.

#### d. Occupational Factors

##### 1. Skill and Training

Level of skill: The worker's degree of skill, according to popular opinion, should be an important variable related to his orientation toward the union. Semi-skilled and unskilled workers are most readily replaceable on the job and may be expected to stress a need for the union in both protective and economic areas. These same workers probably feel the need to associate with fellow workers, for ordinarily they may be excluded from other kinds of participation. When one thinks of the traditionally held upward orientation of the white collar, clerical worker and his relationship to the boss, it is understandable that he might be apathetic



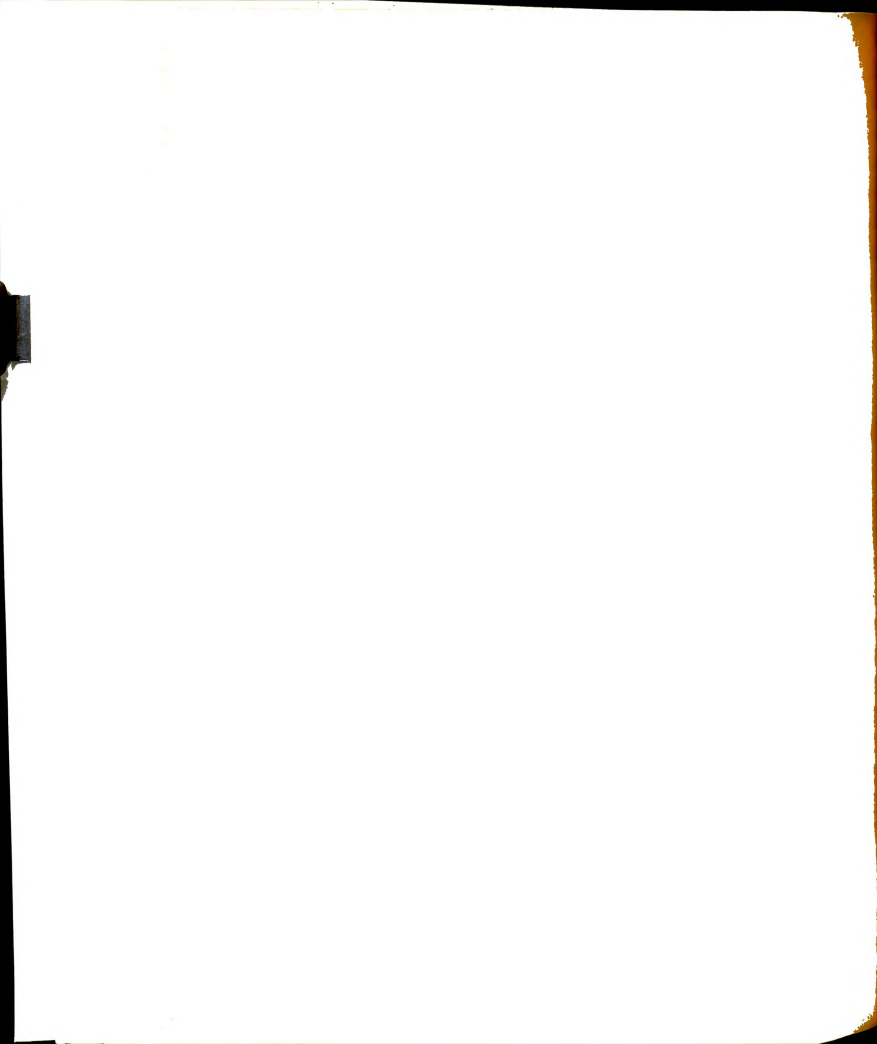
TABLE 13

## ATTITUDE TOWARD UNIONISM BY ORGANIZATIONAL PARTICIPATION

Attitude	Organizational Participation				Total	Row $\chi^2$
	Active	Fairly Active	Inactive	None & No Response		
Optimistic	7	5	6	24	42	1.772
Neutral	9	1	3	17	30	1.604
Pessimistic	4	3	3	13	23	1.138
Indifferent	7	2	4	22	35	.454
Unsure	5	0	1	6	12	3.148
Total	32	11	17	82	142	8.116

Chi square = 8.116

.80 P .75





hostile toward the union. Mills discusses the white collar-boss  
ship.

relation to the "boss" is an often crucial and unusually compli-  
matter. On the one hand, the technological and educational  
parity of white collar work to the work of the boss; the physical  
ness to him, the prestige borrowed from him; the rejection of  
worker types of organization for prestige reasons; the greater  
ileges and securities; the hope of ascent—all these, when they  
c predispose the white-collar worker to identify with the boss.<sup>6</sup>

research showed little association between degree of skill and exis-  
either the political or economic orientation. On the other hand,  
does indicate some tendency for the semi-skilled to be socially  
d. A slight tendency also appears in the association between a  
degree of skill and the apathetic orientation. As expected, clerical  
seemed most likely to have a hostile orientation.

onal training: Vocational training might be thought to be related  
on orientation since workers with such training may wish to believe  
an fend for themselves. It would perhaps be expected that trained  
s would be either apathetic or hostile members. However, Table 15  
that in this local no such association existed.

h of vocational training: A comparison of the findings for those  
ave had vocational training was indicative of two minor tendencies.  
e 16 shows first that those members who have had over a year of such  
hing were most frequently politically oriented. Second, it shows  
those members with less than one year of vocational training were  
ined toward apathy.

<sup>6</sup>C. Wright Mills, White Collar, Oxford University Press, New York,  
1951, p. 305.

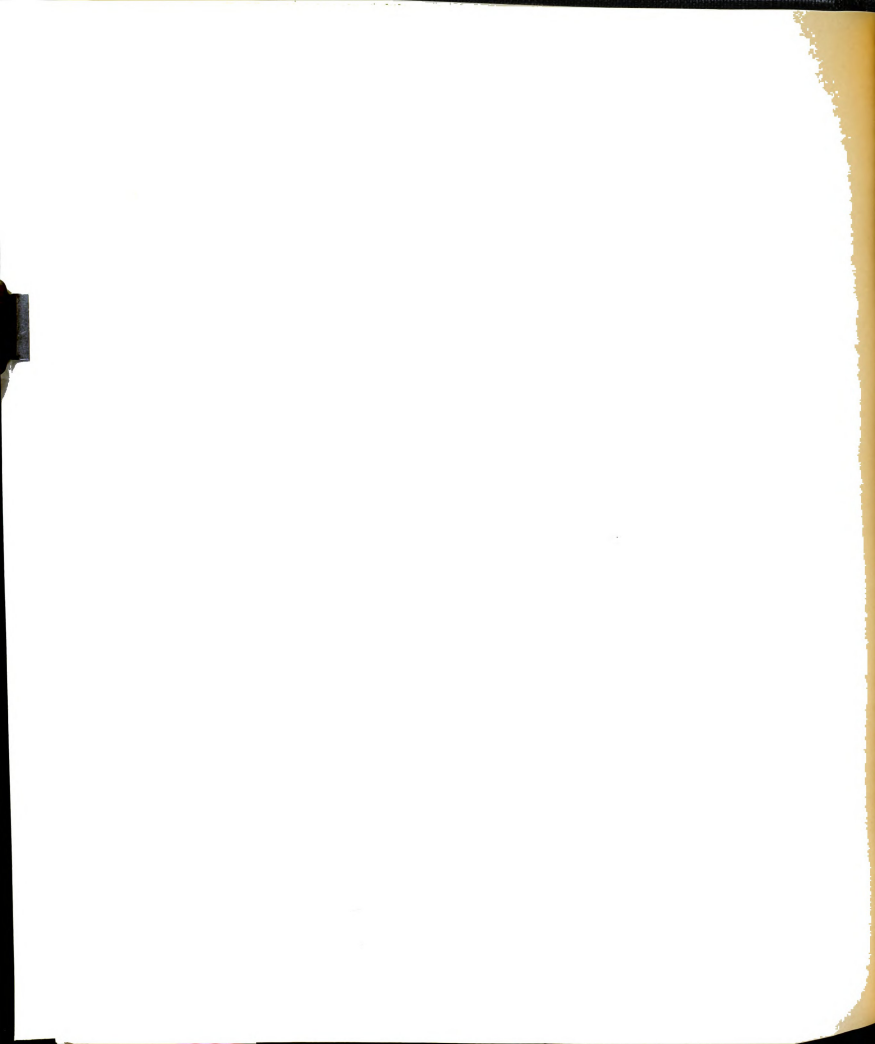


TABLE 14

## ORIENTATION TOWARD UNIONISM BY DEGREE OF SKILL

Orientation	Clerical	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Unskilled	Total	Row $\chi^2$
ical	2	12	20	8	42	.497
mic	2	8	15	5	30	.252
	1	5	14	3	23	2.136
tic	2	14	14	5	35	1.575
e	3	4	2	3	12	8.168
l	10	43	65	24	142	12.628

Chi square = 12.628

.50 P .30

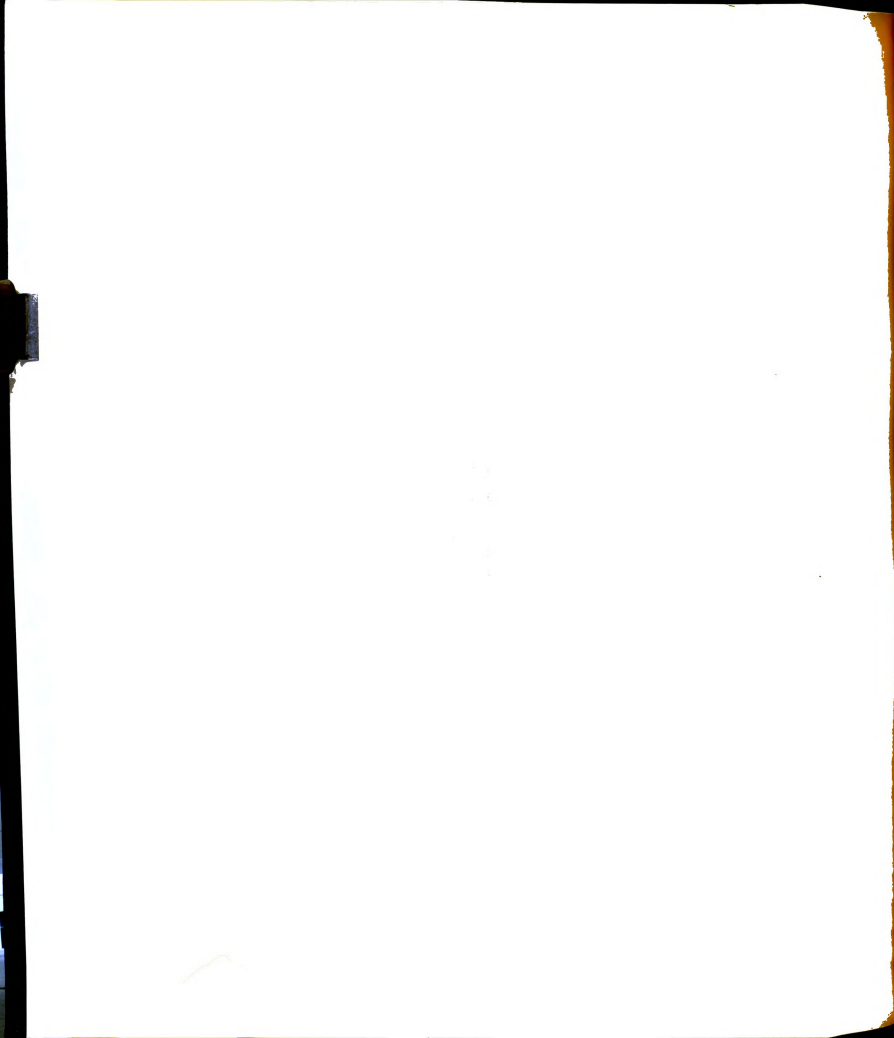


TABLE 15

## ORIENTATION TOWARD UNIONISM BY VOCATIONAL TRAINING

Orientation	Vocational Training		Total	Row $\chi^2$
	No	Yes		
Technical	31	11	42	.206
Economic	22	8	30	.198
General	18	5	23	.030
Artistic	28	7	35	.204
Unemployed	10	2	12	.292
Total	109	33	142	0.930

Chi square = 0.930

.95 P .90

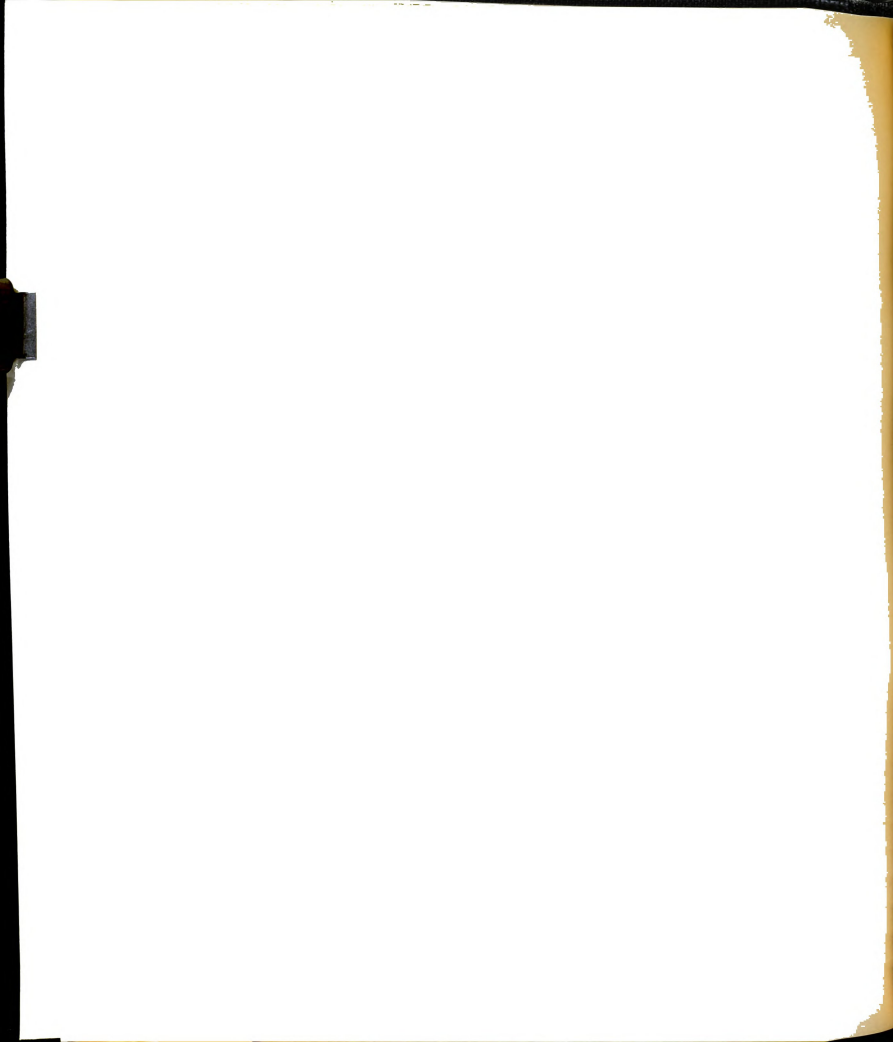


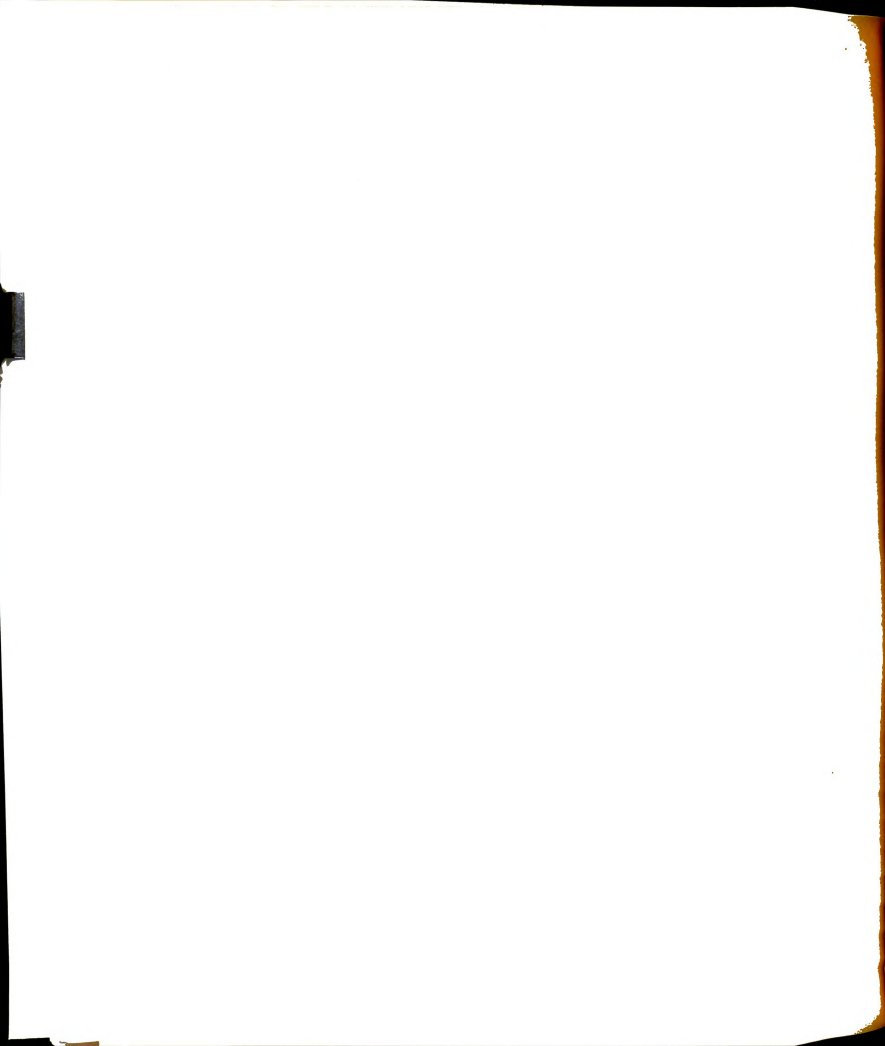
TABLE 16

## ORIENTATION TOWARD UNIONISM BY LENGTH OF VOCATIONAL TRAINING

Union Orientation	Length of Vocational Training			Total	Row $\chi^2$
	1 year or less	over 1 year	No Response		
Political	3	7	32	42	2.130
Economic	4	3	23	30	.132
Social	3	2	18	23	.141
Technical	5	2	28	35	1.081
Other	1	1	10	12	.190
Total	16	15	111	142	3.674

Chi square = 3.674

.90 P .80





## 2. Occupational Stability

Seniority: Long-time unionists have often bemoaned the "fact" that newer members do not appreciate the union's efforts and therefore display apathy. New members, however, could be illustrative of political or economic orientation dependent upon the factors used to "sell" them on the union. In addition, if recency of membership coincides with recency of arrival in the area, it could be expected that these members would seek union sponsored recreational functions. Table 17 shows no over-all association between seniority and type of orientation. However, some slight tendencies appear. Members of one through four years of seniority emphasized the political orientation. The most recent members stressed the union's economic function. Those of most seniority were socially oriented. Those who have been in the union for ten through nineteen years were most frequently apathetic members.

Length of employment: This factor will not be identical with seniority for in many cases members were working in their present places of employment prior to the entry of the union. Further, data gathered for this analysis referred to time in present department; in such cases the members' seniority may appear to exceed length of employment. While Table 18 discloses little association between length of employment and orientation toward unionism, several tendencies are indicated. Members with one through four years tenure were inclined to be politically and economically oriented. As in the case of seniority those of longest job tenure indicated the social orientation. Those members of one through four years of tenure, as well as showing political and economic orientations tended to include a number of apathetic members. The group employed five through nine years showed the greatest propensity toward hostility.

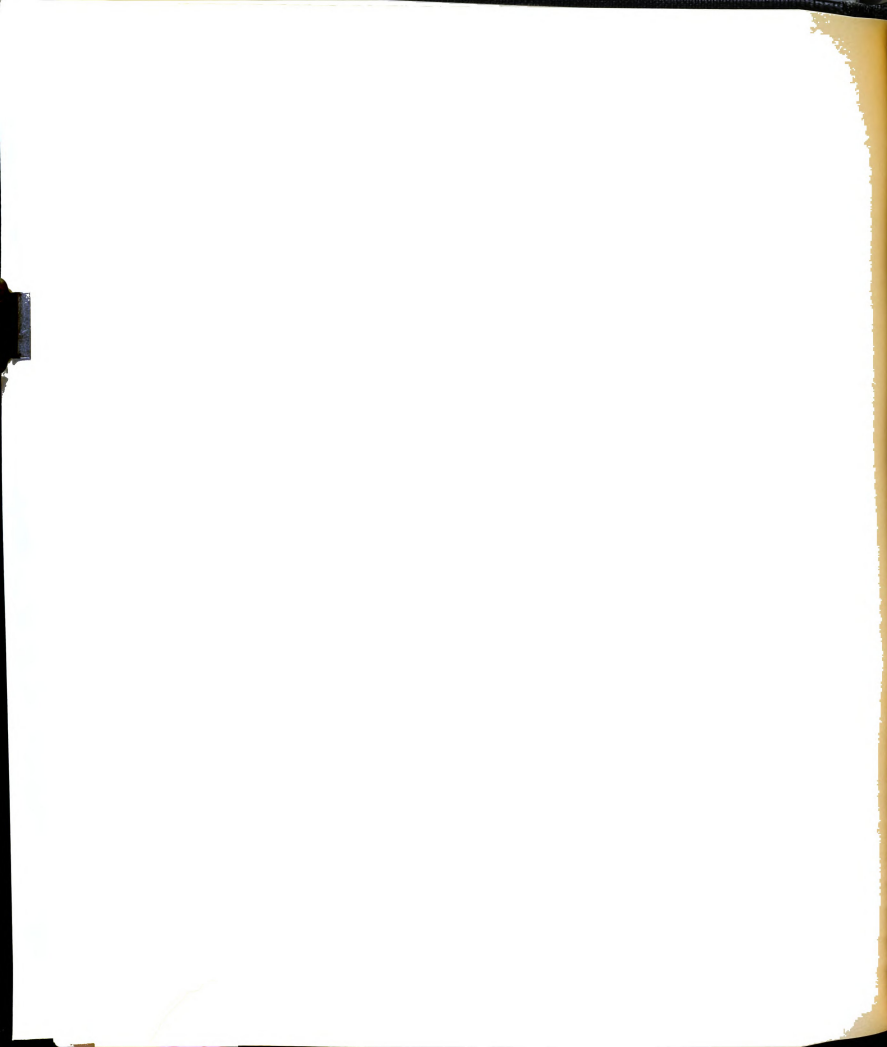


TABLE 17  
ORIENTATION TOWARD UNIONISM BY SENIORITY

on Less Than 1 year	Seniority					Total	Row $\chi^2$
	1-4	5-9	10-19	20 or more	Unknown		
1	15	12	12	1	1	42	1.845
3	10	7	10	0	0	30	2.399
1	4	4	8	2	2	23	6.509
3	10	8	13	1	0	35	1.618
1	4	3	3	0	1	12	1.923
9	44	35	46	4	4	142	14.294

Chi square = 14.294

.90 P .80

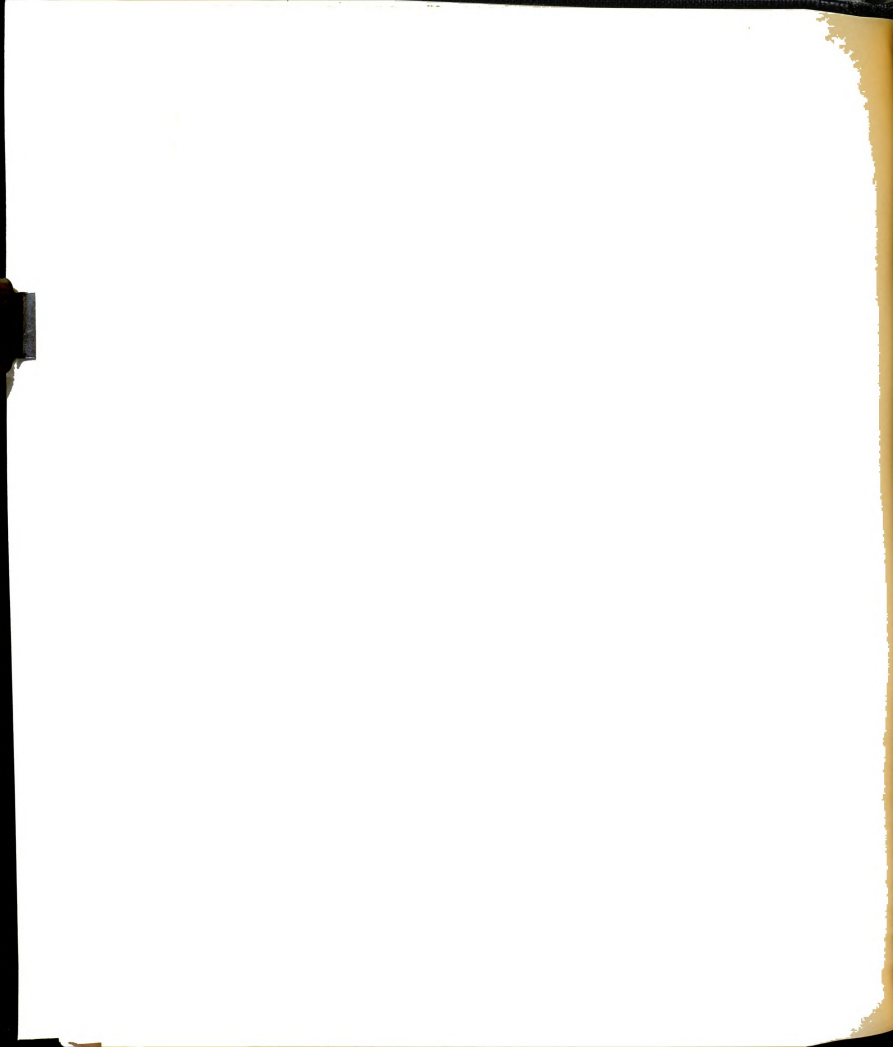


TABLE 18

## ORIENTATION TOWARD UNIONISM BY LENGTH OF EMPLOYMENT

Orientation	Length of Employment					No Response	Total	Row $\chi^2$
	Less Than 1 year	1-4	5-9	10-19	20 or more			
Political	1	15	10	11	3	2	42	5.265
Economic	3	11	6	7	3	0	30	1.053
Social	2	6	5	6	4	0	23	1.775
Technical	3	14	5	11	2	0	35	3.464
File	1	1	6	1	3	0	12	10.203
Total	10	47	32	36	15	2	142	21.760

Chi square = 21.760

.50 P .30



ment: Members who have been involuntarily unemployed could readily be expected to exhibit either the political or economic orientations toward the union, especially the former. The union perhaps most often presents itself as protection against arbitrary firing or lay-off by management. Table 19, however, indicates no relationship between occurrence of unemployment and existence of the political, economic, social, or hostile orientations. As might be expected, from the conversation of union officials, those men without a history of unemployment were a good source of apathetic members.

### 3. Occupational Aspirations

for different job: It might be assumed that workers who have other occupational aspirations would look to the union for aid. This thought would lead one to believe that those members who desire other jobs would profess the political or economic orientation toward the union. Table 20 shows no significant association between desire for a different job and union orientation; however, those desirous of other jobs accounted for two-thirds of the apathetic members. These may be apathetic because of a belief that the union cannot or will not aid them. Those who reported no desire for other occupational mobility comprised two-thirds of the hostile members. This hostility may derive from a feeling of frustration or defeat.

ration for self-employment: Perhaps those who do not desire self-employment are the occupational realists. This group comprises over seven-tenths of the membership. Those who desire self-employment no doubt conceive of their present jobs as temporary and might therefore tend to be apathetic toward the union. Many expressing out-of-plant occupational

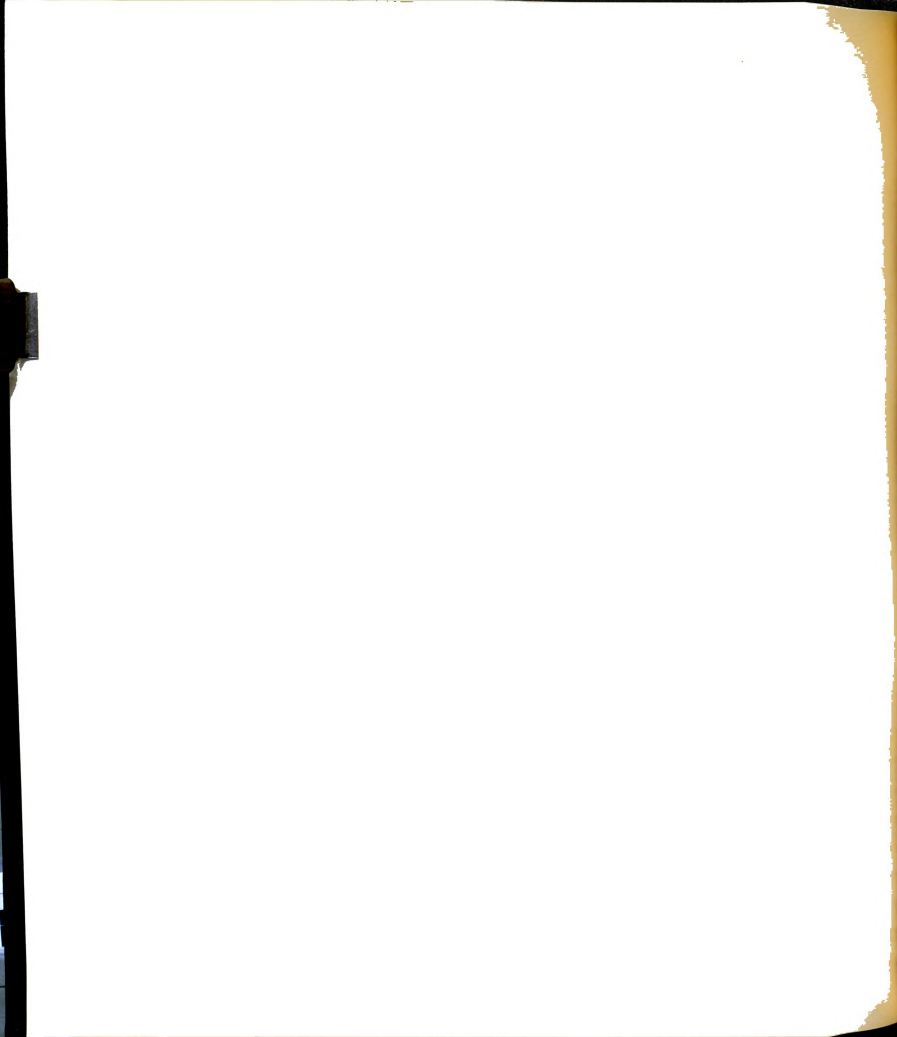




TABLE 19

## ORIENTATION TOWARD UNIONISM BY UNEMPLOYMENT

	Unemployment		Total	Row $\chi^2$
	Yes	No		
1	25	17	42	.054
	20	10	30	.369
	16	7	23	.668
c	18	17	35	1.425
	8	4	12	.144
	87	55	142	2.660

Chi square = 2.660

.70 P .50

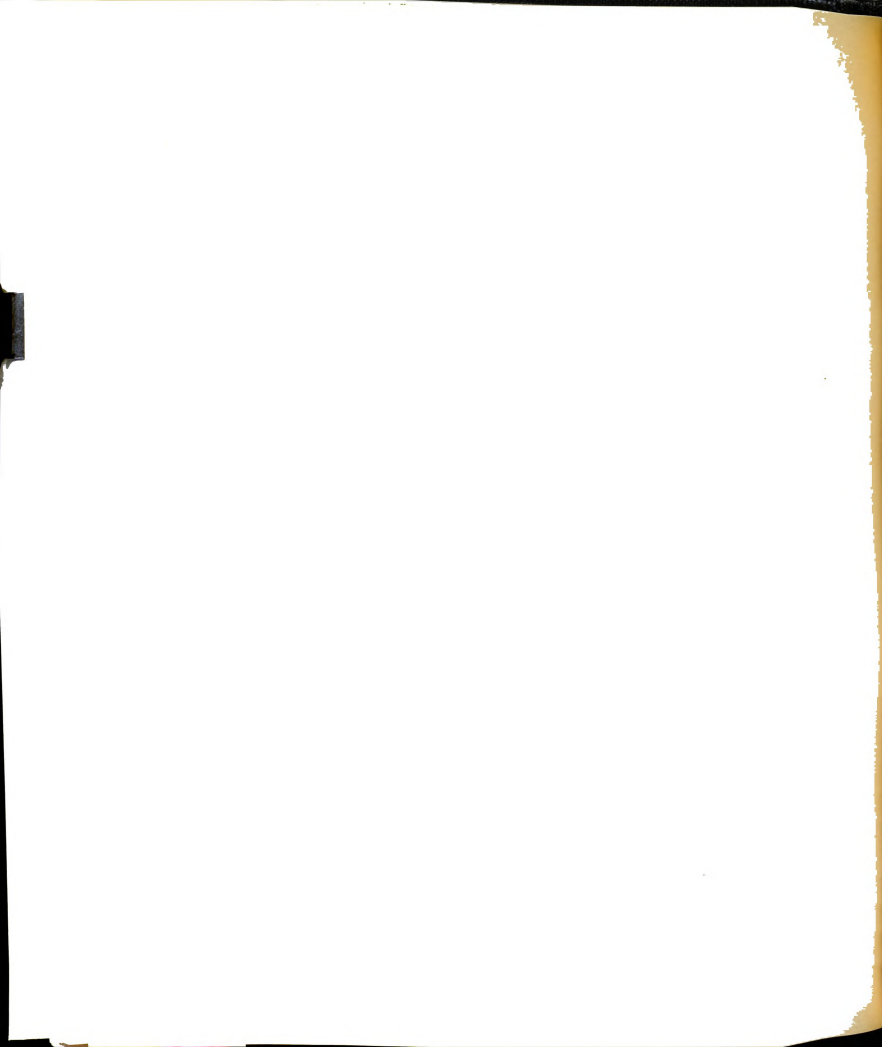


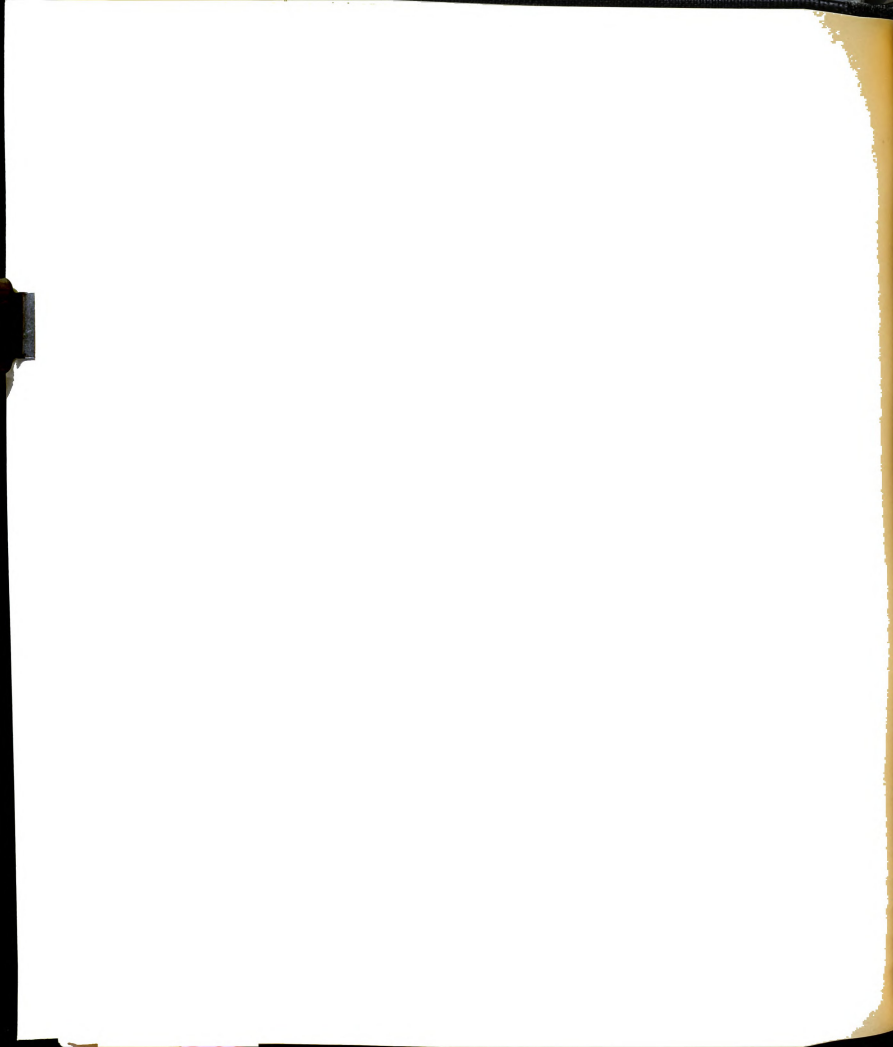
TABLE 20

## ORIENTATION TOWARD UNIONISM BY DESIRE FOR DIFFERENT JOB

Orientation	Desire for Different Job			Total	Row $\chi^2$
	No	Yes	Don't Know		
al	20	22	0	42	.660
c	14	14	2	30	6.225
	11	12	0	23	.366
ic	11	24	0	35	3.416
	8	4	0	12	2.332
	64	76	2	142	12.999

Chi square = 12.999

.20 P .10



may only be verbalizing for self benefit. Robert Guest reports:

Workers do not look for nor do they expect jobs which will give them a higher economic and social status within the existing organization. ... In the long range picture, assembly line workers entertain hopes, on the verbal level at least, which are in keeping with the deeply rooted American tradition of opportunity. They want to quit the present job altogether and strike out on their own. Yet to leave means facing the unknown. ... Others appear to resolve it, the dilemma wanting to leave but fearing the unknown, simply by day-dreaming out "going into an independent business of my own," knowing full well the idea is out of reach.<sup>7</sup>

According to the present study, no significant association between aspiration for self employment and union orientation was found. Table 21 points to a very slight tendency toward the political orientation on the part of those who did not desire self-employment. It would seem that if one is destined to remain in the plant, union protection would be beneficial. The relationship indicated by the data is that those desirous of self-employment were overrepresented in the apathetic orientational category.

## 2. Summary

Generally speaking the findings of this research do not permit general acceptance of the hypothesis that different "types" of union members have different priority of orientations toward the local union. No social relationship as related to orientation toward unionism was adequately established. However, certain tendencies did stand out. These tendencies may well serve as a point of departure for future research. Should this be the case, the researcher would of necessity refine the instrument used in gathering the data and draw a tighter research design in the relationship to the formulation of the sub-hypotheses dealt with in this section. The present

Robert H. Guest, "Work Careers and Aspirations of Automobile Workers,"  
American Sociological Review, Volume 19, April 1954, p. 163. Appositive mine.

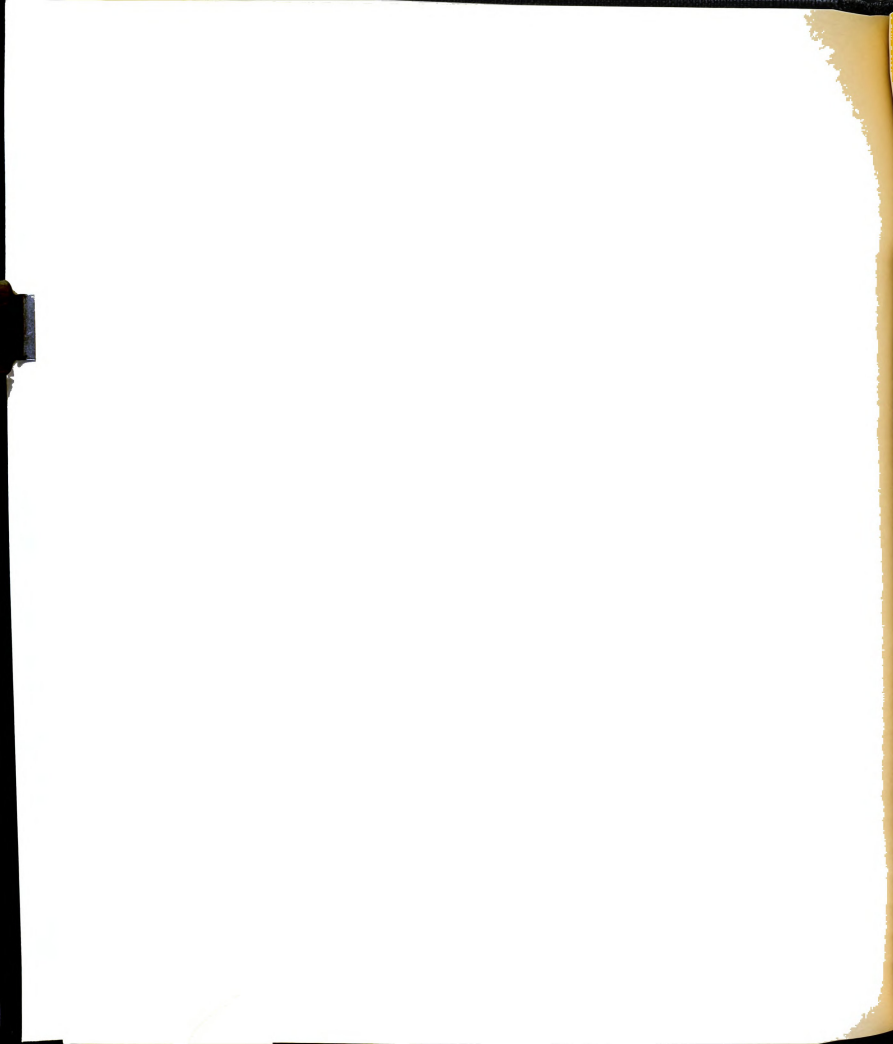


TABLE 21

## ORIENTATION TOWARD UNIONISM BY ASPIRATION FOR SELF EMPLOYMENT

Union Orientation	Aspiration for Self Employment		Total	Row $\chi^2$
	Yes	No		
Technical	8	34	42	1.068
Economic	9	21	30	.241
Political	5	18	23	.222
Genetic	13	22	35	2.233
Religious	2	10	12	.552
Total	37	105	142	4.316

Chi square = 4.316

.50 P .30





tory study suggests the possibility of numerous important relationships between orientation toward unionism and selected social characteristics of local union members.

#### a. Political Orientation

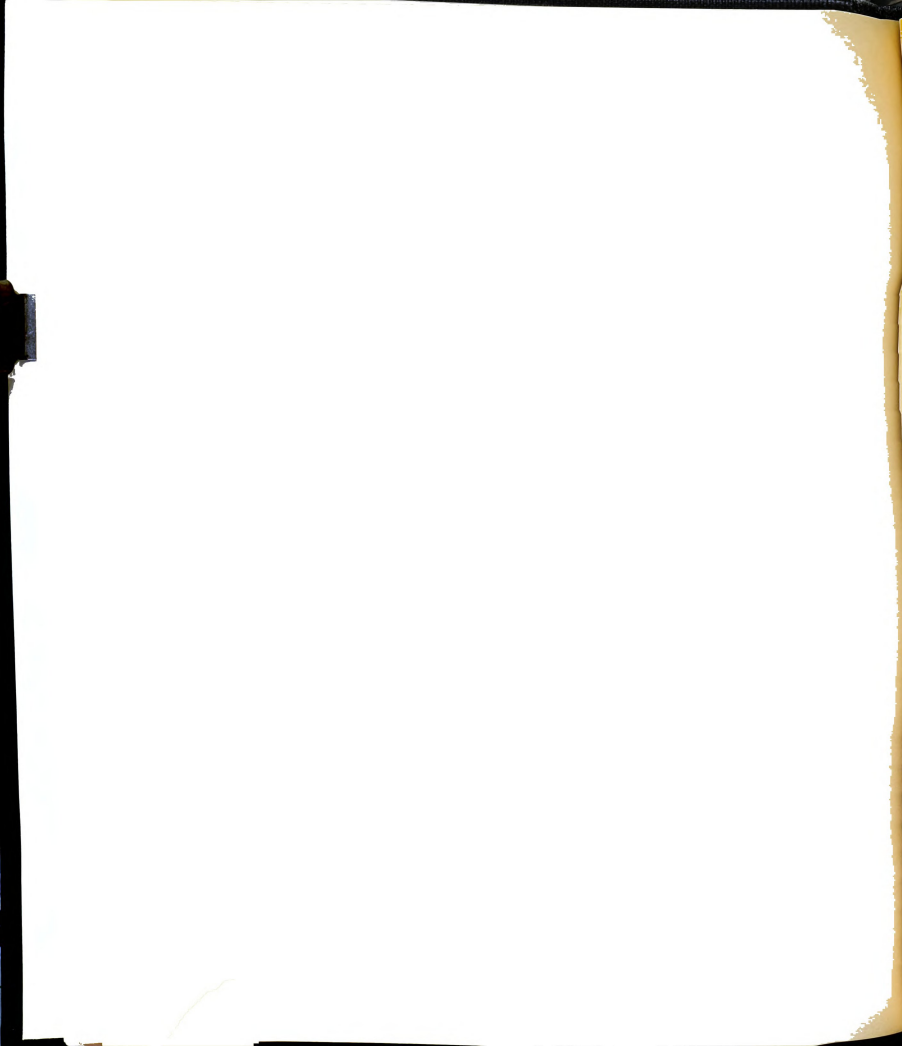
Members with this orientation stress the protective or security aspects of the union. They were primarily the married men whose fathers were reared in Lansing. They belonged to organizations other than their union and were fairly active in those organizations. These were men who had had over a year of vocational training and had one through ten years seniority. They obviously felt that they would be life-time employees, if not life-time manual workers; for they expressed no desire for self-employment.

#### b. Economic Orientation

Members with this orientation are those who look to union as a means to financial gains. Negro members, unmarried members, and those whose fathers were non-manual workers dominated in the economic orientation. In addition they tended to be those with some high school education and whose fathers were reared in the South. The members themselves were most likely to have been born in Lansing or in the North outside of Lansing. The economically oriented resided in Lansing proper and had lived in the area for twenty years or more. Unionists active in other areas of the city were also likely to indicate the economic orientation. In addition, very new members of this local tended to exhibit this orientation.

#### c. Social Orientation

The socially oriented seek union sponsored social and other recreational activities and generally seem to prefer the company of their fellow unionists.



pressive of this orientation were the sons of southern farmers, southern born. Generally they had been in the Lansing area for to three years. In addition, however, those who had lived in longer than in any other area and semi-skilled workers with ten years of seniority also showed the social orientation.

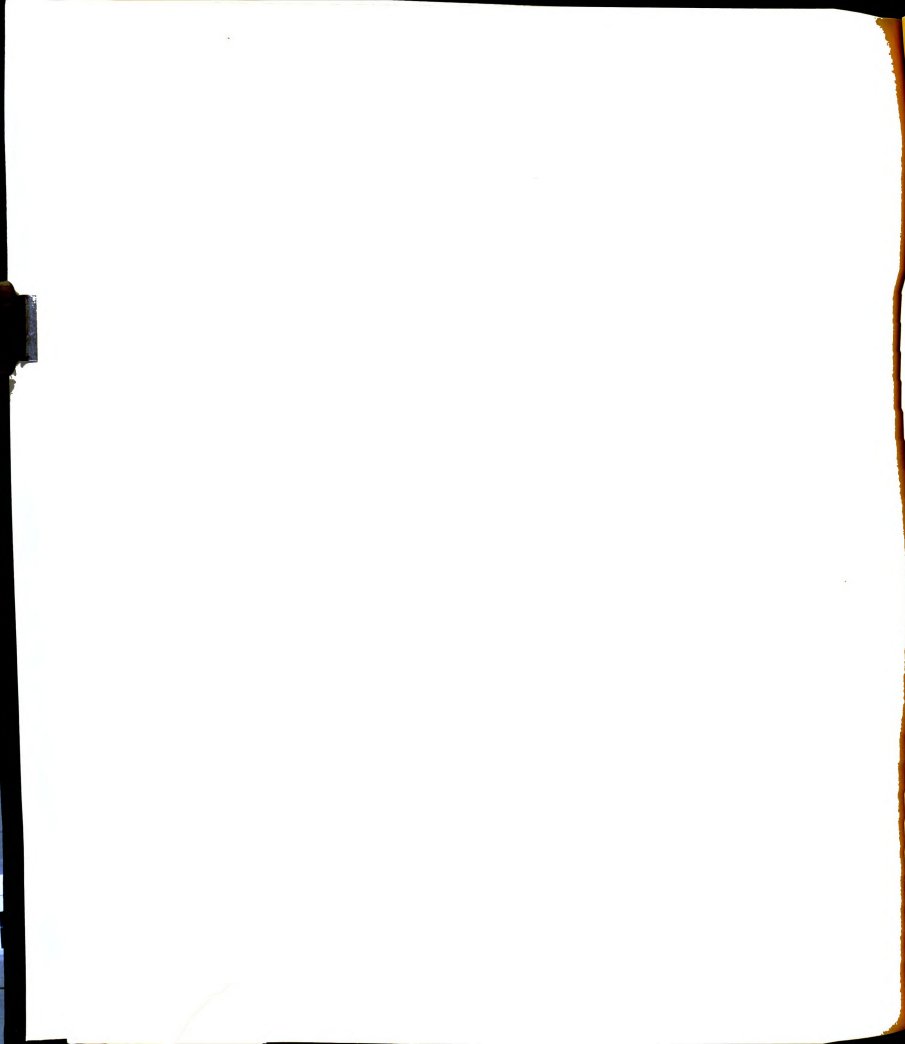
#### d. Apathetic Orientation

apathetic is by definition one who takes little active part in affairs. He is one whom local officers will have "to reach" if they substantial attendance other than at time of crisis. Actually, the man's participation in his union democracy differs little from that of rank-and-file national citizens. He is lackadaisical in attendance voting, willing to let others run the union. Miller and Form on apathy:

During the organizing phase of unionization or during a wage demand, strike, or grievance, union matters are of dominant interest. ... During most of the workers' waking hours may be preoccupied with union matters. When crises are over, however, the union preoccupation participation of the average worker is limited to an occasional (when compulsory) monthly or bimonthly meeting of the local. The activity of the rank-and-file union member in noncritical periods is limited to knowledge.

In all associations, there are active leaders, enthusiastic followers, and apathetic followers.<sup>8</sup>

The present research actually gives more information about apathetic workers than about those exhibiting any other orientation. Important differences were indicated for fourteen of the nineteen social characteristics studied.

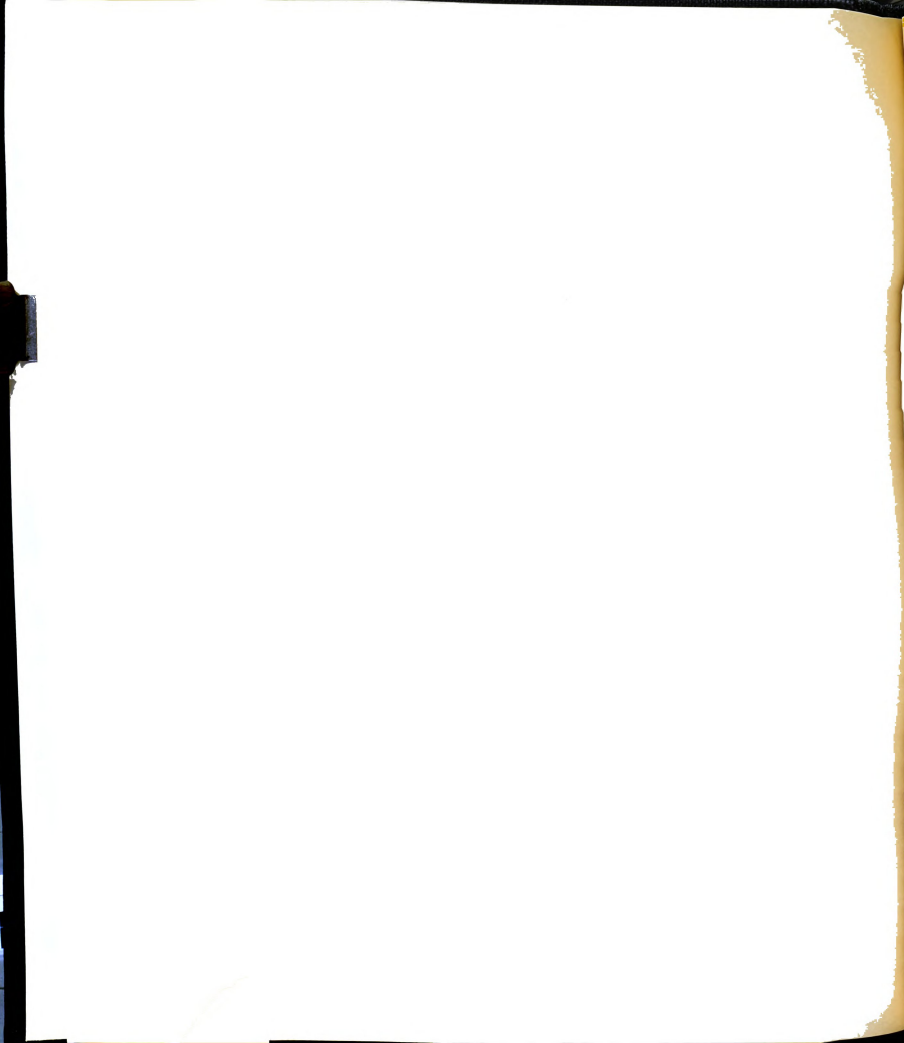


hetic members tended to come from the youngest group of unionists. Members apparently had "other things to do" with which active union participation would have interfered. Members of the white race dominated the sample. Their fathers were most likely to have been foreign born workers. The apathetics came primarily from among those born and raised in Michigan cities other than Lansing. They frequently lived in the area of Lansing and had been in the area for ten to nineteen years. These workers who may have felt that union seniority policies impeded their progress often showed apathy. These unionists had had a slight amount of vocational training, but had ten to nineteen years seniority. They had not suffered from unemployment, another reason why they may have had a feeling of need for the union. In addition apathetics, desiring a better job, also expressed an aspiration for self-employment. They represent the most mobile and upward aspiring group in the sample.

#### e. Hostile Orientation

Hostile members were perhaps as difficult to characterize as was the apathetic group. A cursory survey of the data showed that there were a few in this category. There are in the schedules a number of anti-union responses, but these are scattered and rather inconsistent. Obviously the union does not keep everyone happy all of the time, and some anti-union attitudes found in other segments of the society are taken into the local union membership.

Members most likely to show hostility were in the thirty-five to fifty-five age group, were white and unmarried. Their fathers frequently were manual laborers who have been manual laborers from northern states other than Michigan. Members who expressed hostility were born in the North, but had lived



in the Lansing area, having been there for twenty years or longer. Hostile orientation were most likely to have been active in other positions, to have been clerical workers, to have had no desire for a job.

#### B. Hypothesis Number II

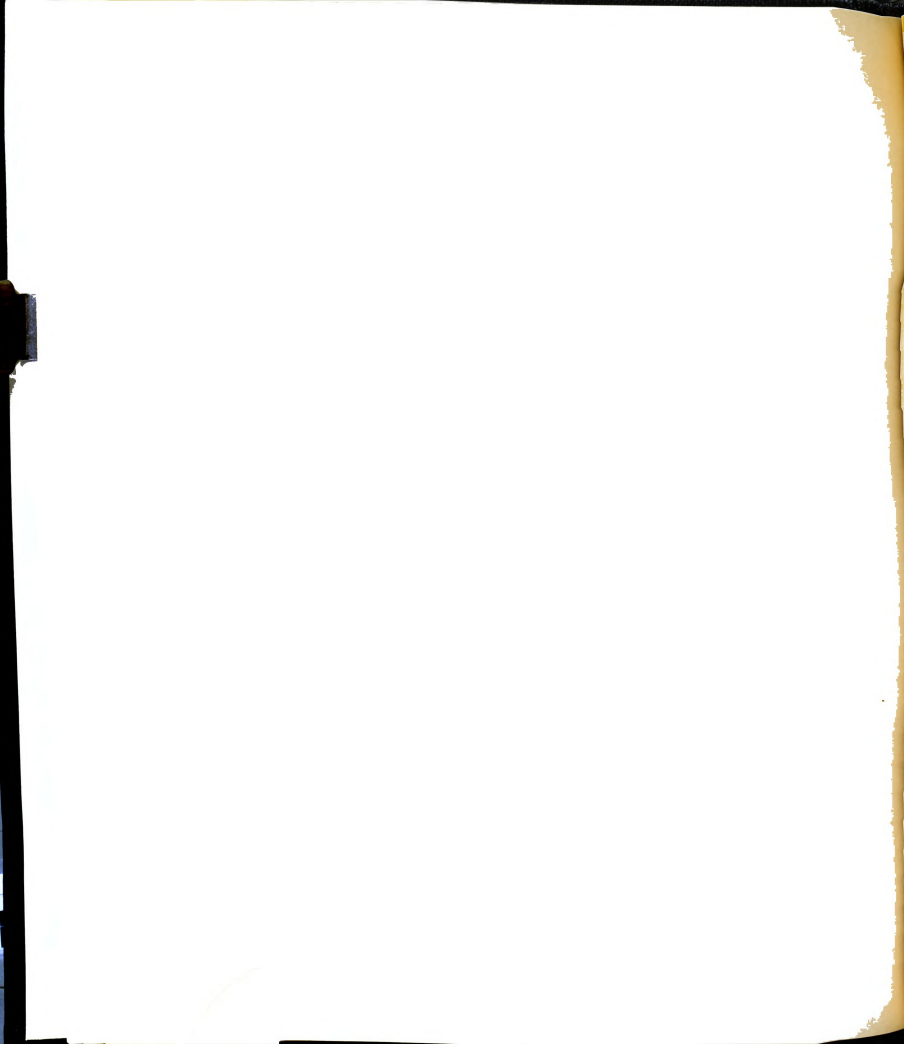
HYPOTHESIS: THERE IS A RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE WORKER'S SOCIAL INTEGRATION PARTICIPATION AT THE WORK PLANT, NEIGHBORHOOD, AND COMMUNITY LEVELS AND ORIENTATION TOWARD THE LOCAL UNION.

In the first major subdivision of the chapter there has been an attempt to find out something about the union man partially in regard to what he thought the union to mean to him. In addition, knowledge of his social characteristics was sought insofar as they were related to his orientation. It was felt that more would be known about him if an effort were made to find out a little of how he feels he gets along with those with whom he does associate. The degrees of integration in the plant, neighborhood, and community to be discussed below are believed to be important, for they are the areas of interaction which account for a significant portion of the working individual's behavior. Further, knowledge of the members' orientation (724) should be more refined if a relationship between degree of integration and orientation can be established.

The writer has tried to provide an over-all index of integration at various levels of interaction for members who show various orientations toward the union.<sup>9</sup> This index was arrived at by arbitrarily assigning a value of three to high, two to medium, and one to low. An average value

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pp. 47-50 for how the degrees of integration were determined.





was classed as high, less than two as low. It should perhaps be noted here that generally the relationships to be discussed are not statistically significant. However, some important tendencies are indicated.

### 1. Degree of Integration in the Work Plant

The chi-square value for Table 22 is statistically significant. This indicates a potential relationship between a member's degree of integration at the work plant level and the expression of a political orientation toward the union. The moderately well integrated at this level of integration appeared to be politically oriented. Those of moderate integration at the plant level also leaned toward the economic orientation. The data presents compelling evidence that those of highest integration at the plant were socially oriented. The most poorly integrated at the plant level are the apathetic and hostile members. It is obvious that the orientation toward the union is reflected in the member's lack of friendly contacts with fellow union members on or off the job.

### 2. Degree of Integration in the Neighborhood

Table 23 indicates a slight relationship between degree of integration in the neighborhood and expression of either the political or economic orientations toward the union. Here it is seen that members who showed a high degree of integration in the neighborhood exhibited a social orientation toward the union. Others of a low degree of neighborhood integration showed at least a tendency toward apathy. Members who were moderately well integrated in the neighborhood accounted for all of the hostile members.

### 3. Degree of Integration in the Community

The data shows a positive relationship between degree of integration and orientation toward the union is hardly borne out by the data in Table 24.

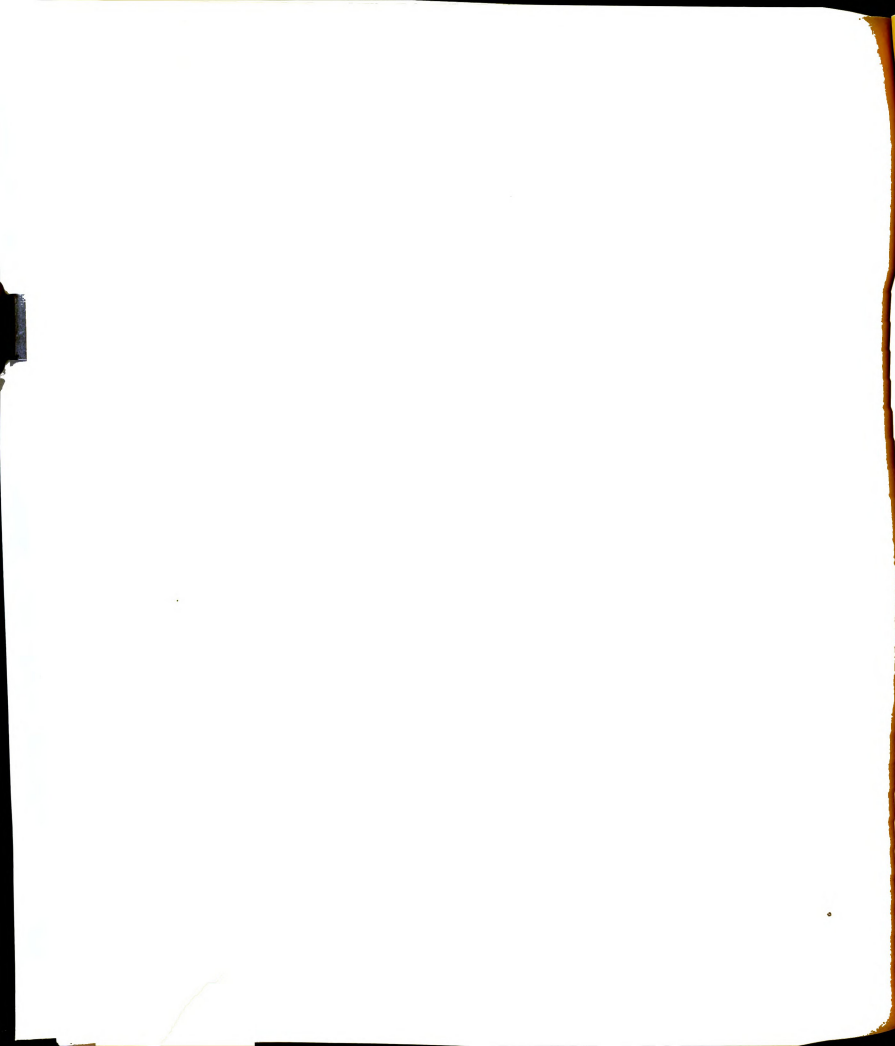


TABLE 22

DEGREE OF PLANT INTEGRATION FOR TYPES OF  
ROLE ORIENTATION TOWARD UNIONISM

Role Orientation	Plant Integration			Total	Row $\chi^2$
	High	Medium	Low		
al	11	29	2	42	1.778
c	8	22	0	30	3.842
	12	9	2	23	9.436
ic	4	24	7	35	4.971
	0	7	5	12	12.891
	35	91	16	142	32.918

Chi square = 32.918

.001 P 0

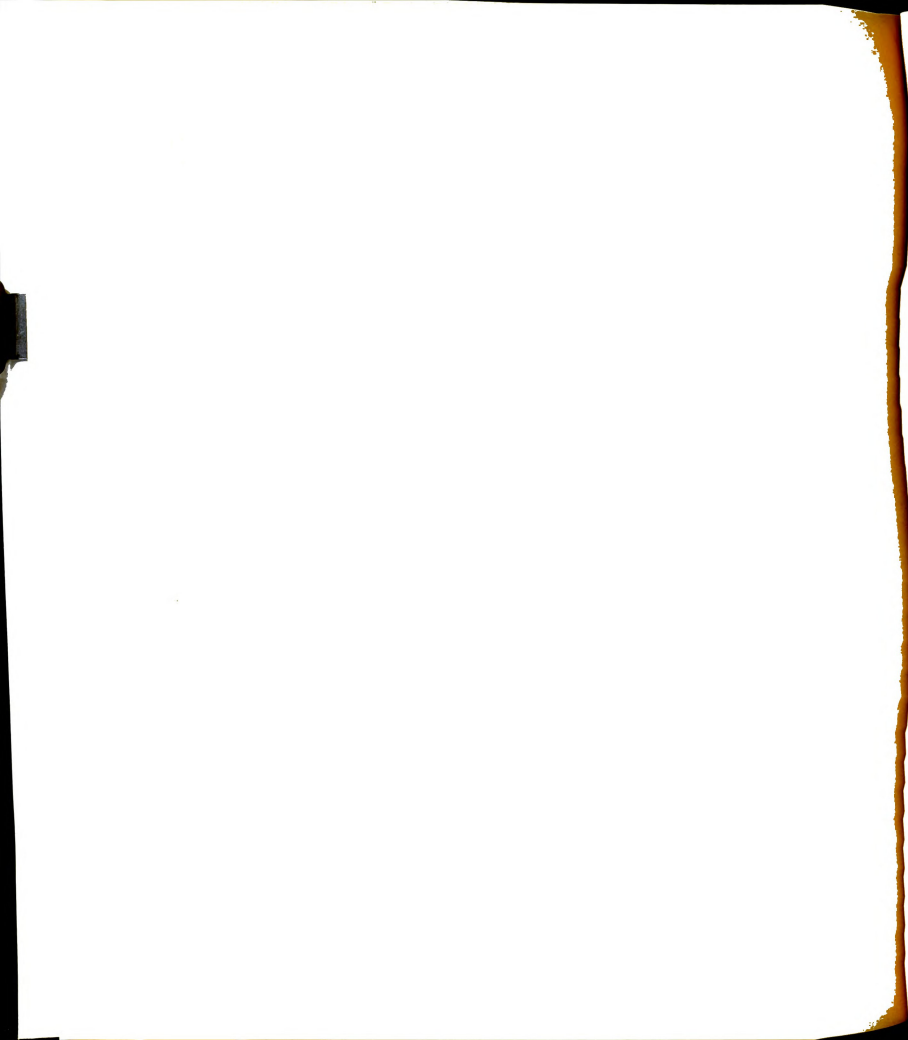


TABLE 23

DEGREE OF NEIGHBORHOOD INTEGRATION FOR TYPES OF  
ROLE ORIENTATION TOWARD UNIONISM

n ation	Neighborhood Integration			Total	Row X <sup>2</sup>
	High	Medium	Low		
al	6	31	5	42	.748
c	5	21	4	30	.474
	2	14	7	23	3.147
ic	6	21	8	35	1.577
	0	12	0	12	5.204
	19	99	24	142	11.150

Chi square = 11.150

.20 P .10

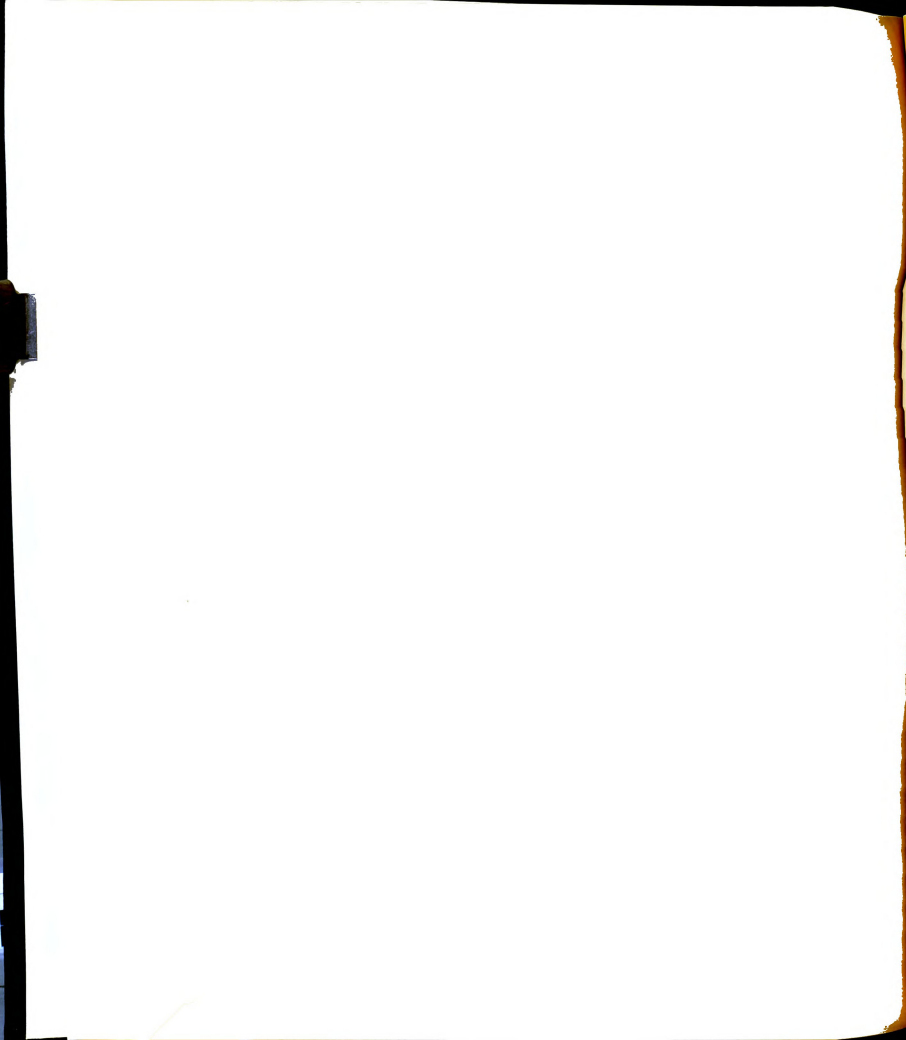


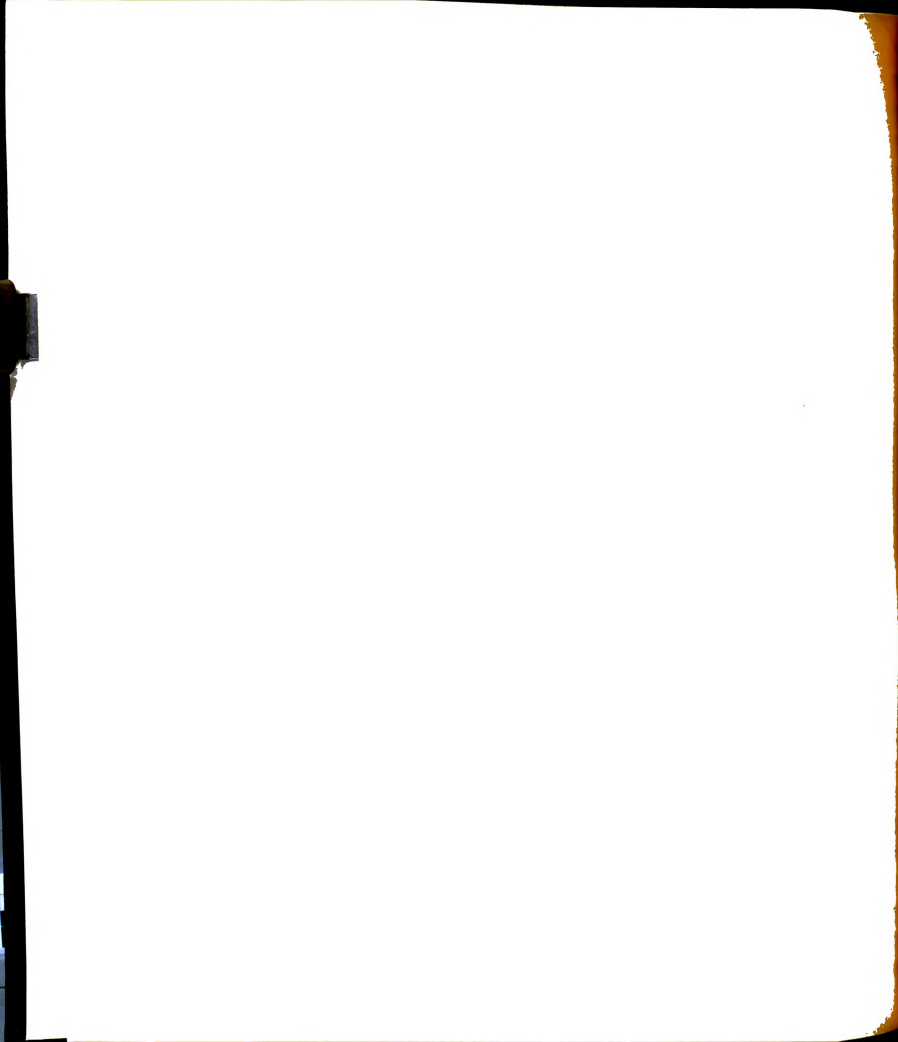
TABLE 24

DEGREE OF COMMUNITY INTEGRATION FOR TYPES OF  
ROLE ORIENTATION TOWARD UNICISM

Role Orientation	Community Integration			Total	Row $\chi^2$
	High	Medium	Low		
Utilitarian	8	29	5	42	.144
Altruistic	5	23	2	30	1.019
Individualistic	3	16	4	23	.605
Selfish	5	25	5	35	.216
Other	3	7	2	12	.864
Total	24	100	18	142	2.848

Chi square = 2.848

.95 P .90





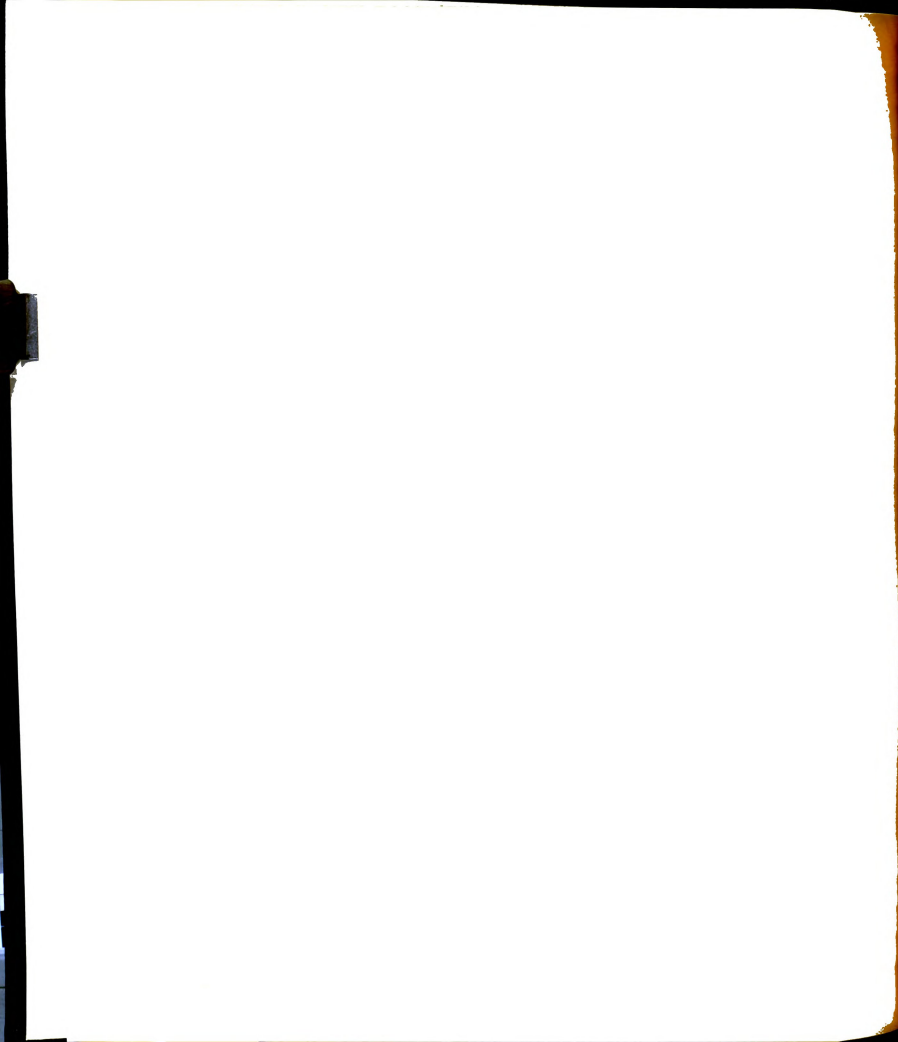
a slight tendency appears. Members who were moderately integrated in the community tended to be economically oriented.

#### 4. Summary

The findings for Local 724 generally do not permit the general acceptance of the hypothesis that there is a relationship between the worker's degree of integration or participation at the work plant, neighborhood, and family levels of interaction and his orientation toward the union. A significant association between degree of integration at the work plant and type of orientation toward the union was evidenced by the low chi-square value of Table 22. Other tables indicated associations that were statistically significant. However, the writer feels that degree of integration is perhaps a paramount social characteristic and that evidence pointed up by this research should not be discarded as unimportant. Smith and Strauss seem to imply that a high degree of integration transfers over from one area of interaction to another.

In larger communities it is still possible for workers in a department to live near each other. This greatly increased the social unity of the group involved. A recent study of a local union in a large shipyard showed that high participation on the part of machinists was in part a result of their living close together and having built a tight social network which extended beyond the plant.<sup>10</sup>

Even if of this it probably should not have been expected that a given degree of integration would transfer directly from one to the other two levels. Yet it may be expected that workers who have intimate ties at the plant level may have similar ties in other interactional arenas, though not to the same degree. Smith, Form, and Stone state that social relationships do exist and contribute to social integration



ity. They found that local intimacy is likely to be higher in some areas, but that persons of low income, though they achieve a high degree of local intimacy, have intimate social relationships which show a high degree of spatial dispersion. In addition, they found that most urban workers have both local and city-wide ties.<sup>11</sup>

Considering only those factors for which the most apparent tendencies are shown in Tables 22, 23, and 24 it can be seen that the politically oriented members showed moderate integration in the plant. Those members of the socially oriented orientation showed moderate integration at both the plant and neighborhood levels. The socially oriented appeared to be well integrated at the plant level, but poorly integrated in the neighborhood. This finding agrees with the previously cited finding of Smith, Form, and Stone.

Members who were apathetic members were most likely to be poorly integrated, showing low integration at both plant and neighborhood levels. Hostile members displayed a tendency toward poor integration at the work plant but a high degree of integration in the neighborhood. Workers with this orientation, it may be recalled, were white collar workers who probably lived in the "better" sections of the city. Thus this finding appears to be consistent with studies of social intimacy in an urban area.<sup>12</sup>

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Joel Smith, William H. Form, and Gregory P. Stone, "Local Intimacy in a Middle-Sized City," American Journal of Sociology, Volume 60, pp.

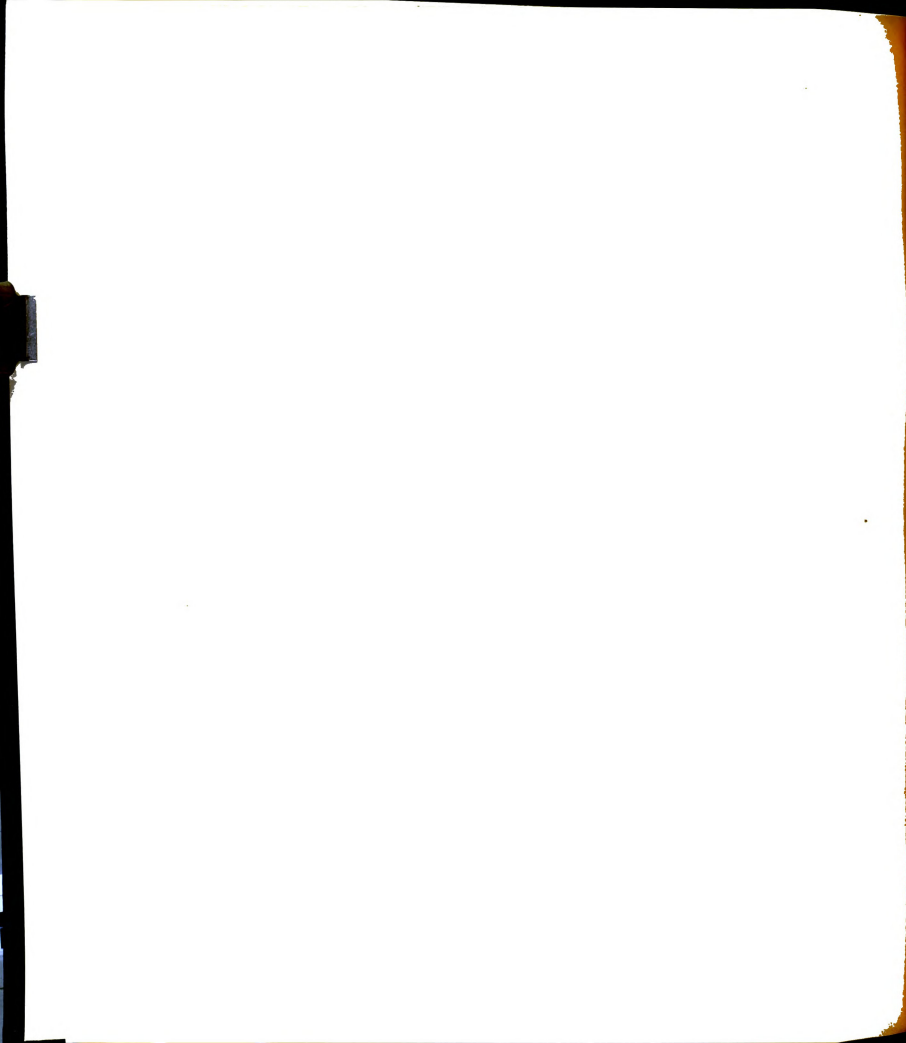
See also William H. Form, Joel Smith, Gregory P. Stone, and Robert Whig, "The Compatibility of Alternative Approaches to the Delimitation of Urban Sub-Areas," American Sociological Review, Volume 19, pp.

The authors' analysis shows that "lowest intimacy sections were located in the oldest section of the city and along some thoroughfares."

bid.



se of political, economic, and social orientations show an over-all integration of two. If other lesser tendencies were included in analysis, the index value would be somewhat above that average figure. c and hostile members have an index value below two, indicative er-all low degree of integration.



## CHAPTER V

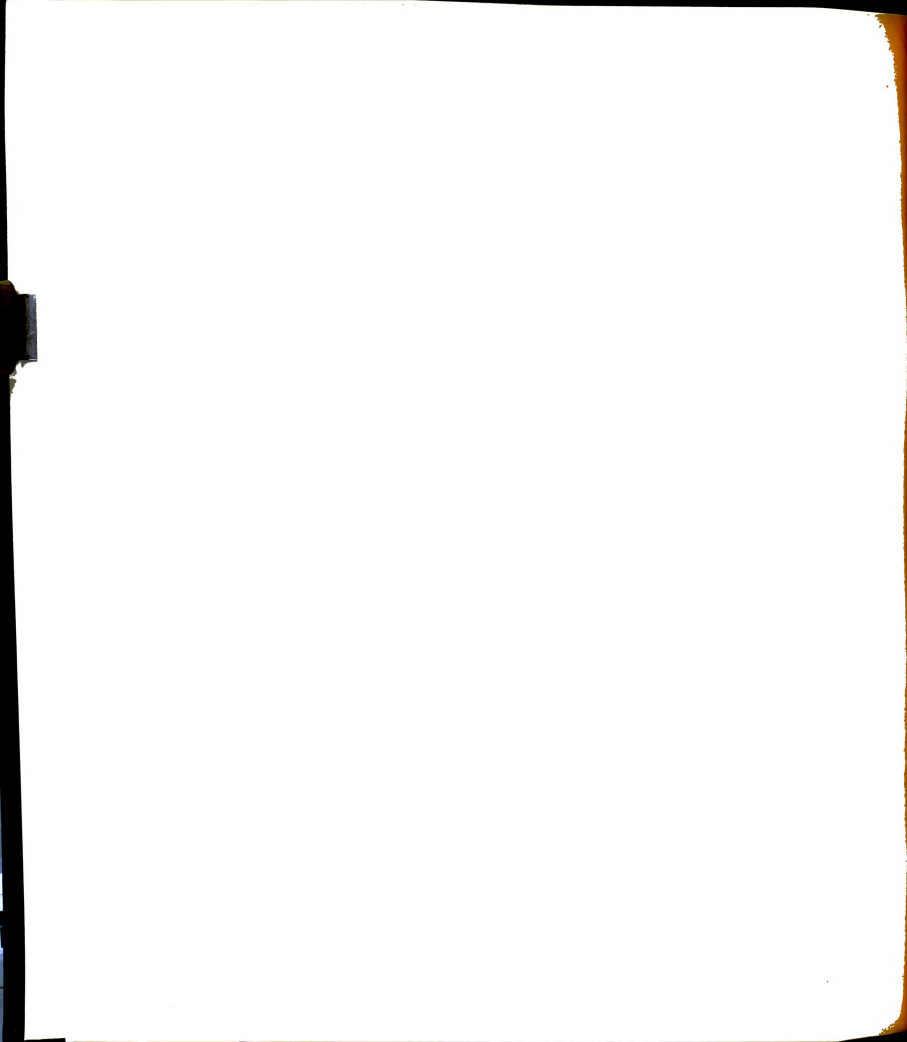
### ATTITUDES OF ACTIVE AND INACTIVE MEMBERS

#### A. Some Comments on Participation

paucity of studies in this area of interest has already been noted, there are some few which have been completed and others in progress at present time. One which should prove important is being conducted at the University of Chicago. It is an interdisciplinary approach to a study of attitudes of union membership; data is in the process of being analyzed. Completed studies, most comparable to the interests of this thesis, are those of Sayles and Strauss and Rose have provided most guidance to the present study. As previously mentioned, other somewhat related studies have been conducted and some of the questions used in the present schedule.<sup>1</sup> In the present report for information from the few studies which have been undertaken, much of what is said about union members must be conjecture. What information is available is more likely to deal with differences between officers and rank-and-file than with any differences which exist within the rank-and-file group. Most of the interviewing which takes place is with officers and those, usually, national and international rather than local. Thus, actually, little is known about what the rank-and-file think and not much more about the thoughts of local officials. The officers of Local 724 have shown themselves to be "progressive"

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Footnote 1 in Chapter III.





re and have encouraged this study because they are interested in participation on the part of rank-and-file members. The feeling expressed that if the local officers had more information about attitudes toward the local, etc., positive programs toward that could be undertaken. The intent for this study does not seem to differ from that for the study at the University of Chicago for which the following objectives were stated.

to build greater rank and file participation and involvement in union affairs, to develop improved techniques and skills of communication between rank and file and officers, to identify the structural and administrative problems that impede the effective operation of the union, and to broaden the base of union leadership by creating programs that will train and utilize these new leaders.<sup>2</sup>

It states that there is "very little rank and file participation in the most elementary union activities."

The determination of active or inactive in this study is based on no more than what the writer would consider to be the bare minima of participation. The actives are the "regular" voters and those in "regular" attendance at meetings. It can be assumed, however, that these include the most active of the members of Local 724. In discussing participation Rose says:

Participation is not only a matter of meeting attendance, but also of such things as speaking up from the floor at a meeting, supporting the union committee during periods of contract negotiation, reading and understanding the contract, and serving on picket lines during times of strike.<sup>3</sup>

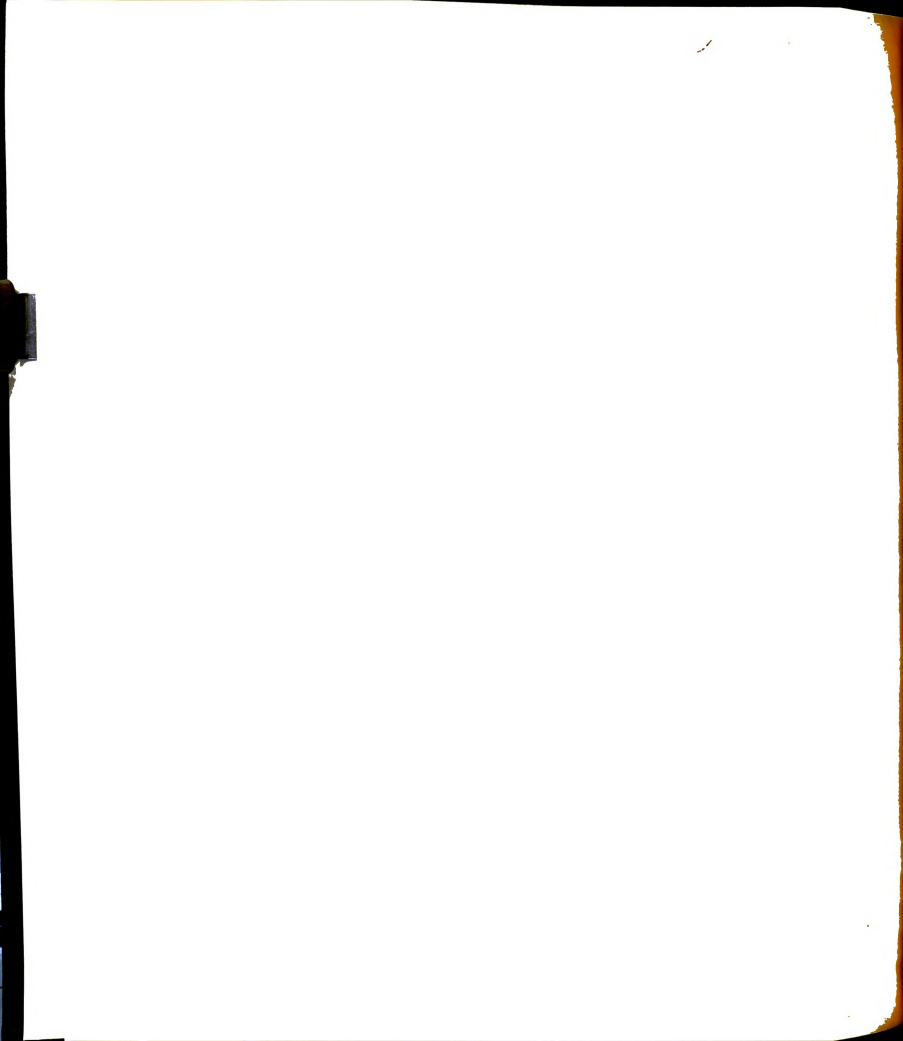
Les and Strauss take in a little more of the union man's behavior in their definition.

Participation we mean expenditure of time on union affairs. Participation is more than emotional involvement in unionism: it is doing.

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Monthly Labor Review, Volume 76, p. 593.

Gold M. Rose, Union Solidarity, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1952, pp. 48-49.



ere are many degrees of doing, ranging in scope from paying dues, reading union newspapers, filing grievances, going on strike, bringing the family to picnics--all these can be classified as forms of union activity.<sup>4</sup>

inactive, as used here, refers to those members who both vote and attend meetings less than one half of the time. In this chapter no distinction is made between officer and non-officer, but perhaps most of what is known about degrees of activity in any local comes from the local officers. They frequently complain that they can get the members to do nothing. This holds not only for local unions, but for such organizations as civic organizations, social clubs, churches, and athletic organizations.

Those officers who apparently harbor resentment because of rank-and-file failure to be active could possibly benefit from a couple of suggestions which come from the Industrial Center at the University of Chicago, incorporated in training programs.

First, local officers are urged to view their participation and involvement problems "not so much in terms of 'lazy' members as in terms of the need to stimulate membership participation and involvement with imaginative programs and activities."

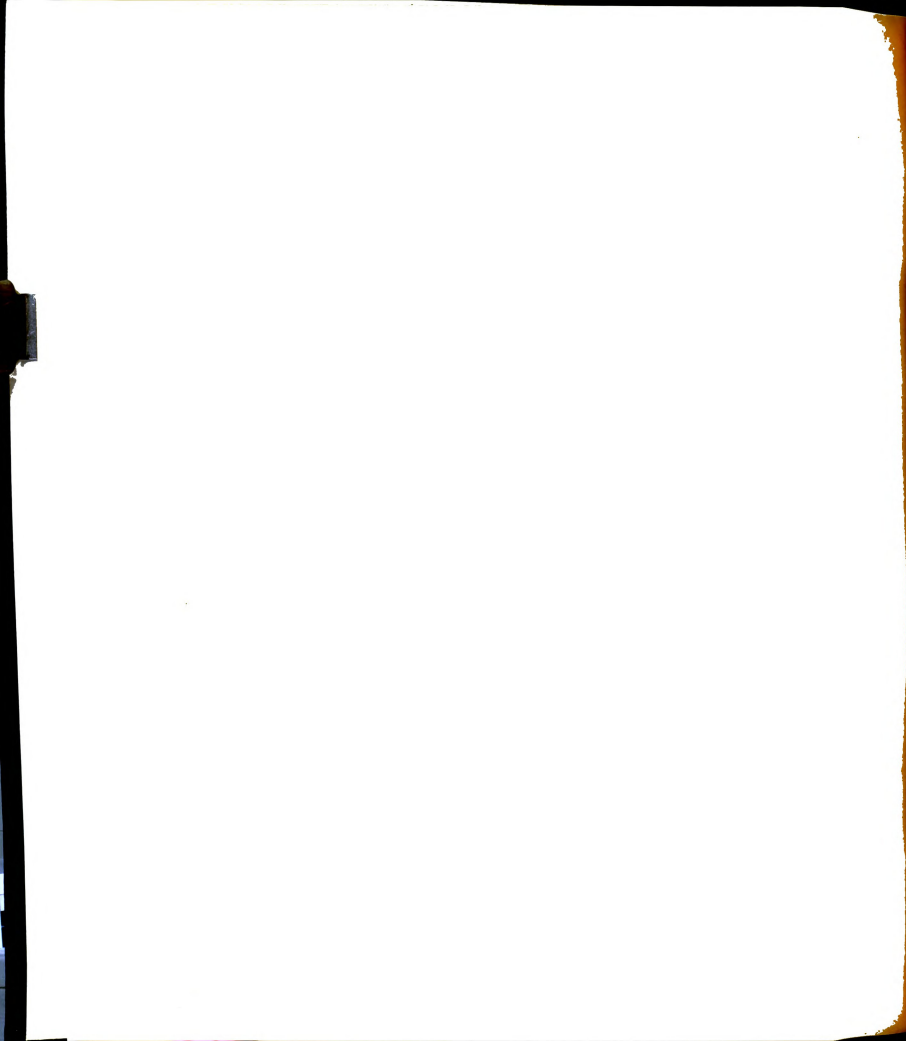
Second, because intralocal union communication is usually a serious problem, positive methods of improvement, such as making stewards a more crucial part of the communication chain of the local are discussed.<sup>5</sup>

This weakness in communication could easily account for any problems of inactivity that the officers of Local 724 feel exist. Needless to say, in a local small enough to permit primary interaction, channels of communication other than informal might not be necessary. Local 724, because of its size, needs formal channels for its communication process.

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Leonard R. Sayles and George Strauss, The Local Union, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1953, p. 191.

Monthly Labor Review, Volume 76, p. 594.

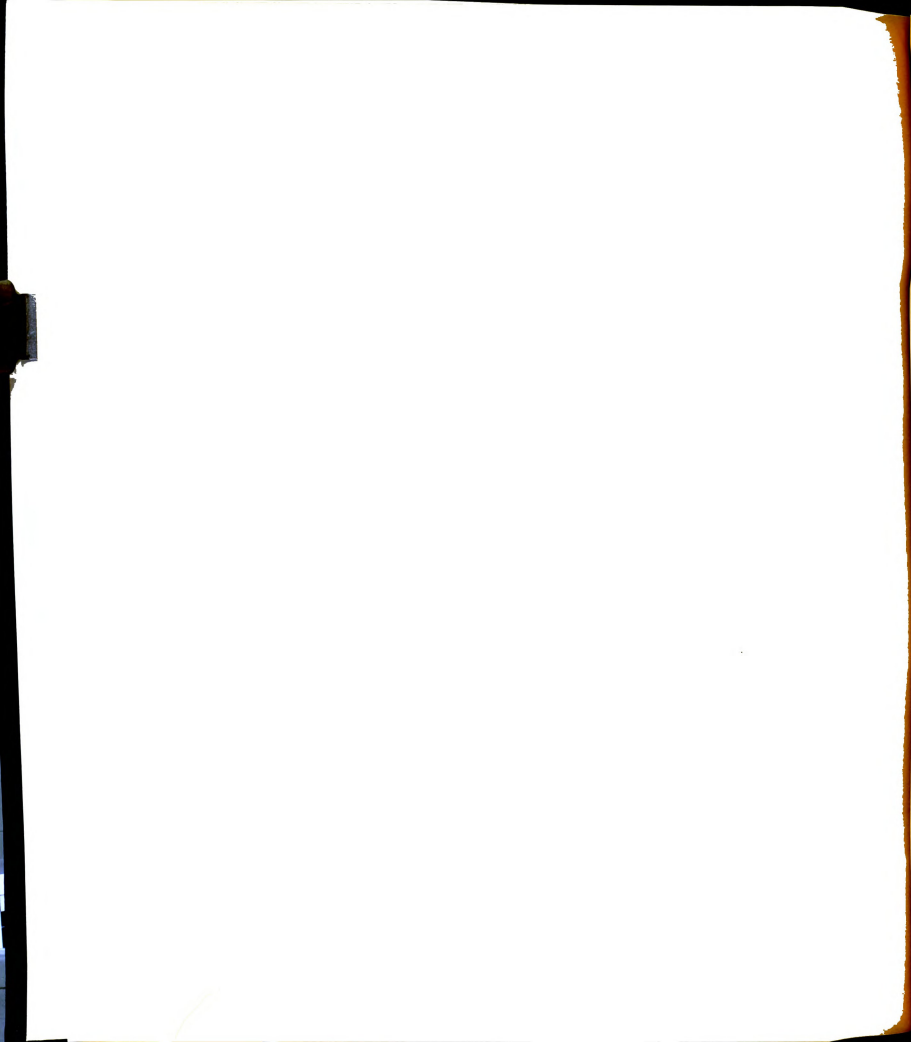


tion, this local, similar to any amalgamated local, is plagued by segmentation. With the existence of multiple units within the chain of command is of necessity more complicated, and fluent communication is beset by this internal structural peculiarity as well as of the need to overcome the spacial dimension.

One of the writer's anticipations when the study was initiated was that he would be dealing with a local which was rather homogeneous. The study of member units of Local 724 illustrates the error, and a listing of jobs held by members indicates considerable diversity. This heterogeneity further complicates attempts to increase activity or participation; he is dealing with a sociological principle when he says increased heterogeneity increases problems of coordination. Officers may find it difficult to try to plan programs which will be satisfactory to the majority when so much variation exists.

This chapter attempts to analyze some of the attitudes of the local membership with only a distinction between varying degrees of union acti-

The areas investigated are felt to be some that are of primary importance to the members, as decided by discussions with experts and with local union officers. It is further hoped that knowledge of attitudes in these areas will be contributory to an understanding of the situation of this particular local. The difficulty of planning and implementing worthwhile programs may be alleviated by learning more about membership attitudes. At times expression of attitudes on an issue may well have a directional influence; or attitudes in conflict with reality may indicate a need for an educational program. For example, members expressed dissatisfaction with what it cost them to be



s of Local 724. The monthly dues, when the interviewing was done, two dollars and fifty cents. Over five-sixths felt that the amount was about right. The dissatisfied (14.1%) expressed the opinion that the amount was too great. This segment is large enough for union officers to be concerned. While information on how dues are spent is available to members, perhaps they would be better satisfied if they were informed more fully concerning that expenditure. Conceivably they may be correct in their feelings that dues are too high.

There are fewer complaints about the initiation fee (\$5.00) with less than five percent stating that it is too high. Over four-fifths of the membership think it is about right. Responses concerning assessments are a most cogent example of the membership's lack of knowledge. Almost two-fifths have attitudes toward assessments, but over one-third report that there are none. The one-third who felt that assessments were about right may mean that "about right" and "none" are to be equated. As far as the writer knows, there had never been an assessment on members of Local 724, at least not prior to the time when the interviewing for this study was done. These are examples concerning the issue of local finances, and the writer is confident that there is erroneous thinking and misinformation in other areas as well. Dissatisfaction may well be diminished in these areas with an intensive presentation of facts. Participation would be increased and interest stimulated once these dissatisfactions are brought to light and acted upon.

#### Role Orientation as Related to Degree of Local Union Activity

The writer hypothesized that actives would tend to be those with political, economic, and social orientations. It was also hypothesized





those with apathetic and hostile orientations would be the inactives. Table 25 it is evident that there is a significant association between the level of union activity and orientation toward unionism. As anticipated, the most active members were highly represented among those with political, economic, and social orientations, while the moderately active and inactive members were concentrated among members who displayed the apathetic and hostile orientations. That these findings are unlikely to be due to the operation of chance factors is demonstrated by a probability value as low as .001.

The inactive category may very well include members who were at one time more active. However, for one reason or another, they may have become inactive in union affairs. Many may believe they have nothing to contribute or would not be permitted to contribute if they did attend. Unfortunately for the local officer who wants high participation, participation tends to wane unless continually stimulated. Sayles and Strauss say: "The most new locals start life being democratic and then go through a period of decline in which they lose some of their youthful vigor. However, this decline goes further in some locals than in others. ... Immediately after a new union is organized, interest is high and this is reflected in meeting attendance, as it is in other union activities. But once the original excitement has passed and the first contract is negotiated, meetings become increasingly dull. Attendance picks up when the contract is being negotiated or a strike is imminent, but there is a trend for negotiations to become less dramatic. As relations with management become more "mature" there is less to fight about."<sup>6</sup>

Close relates participation of a member to the belief in the democracy of the local.

Participation in union activities is a matter of whether or not the members believe they should be active in the union and whether or not they believe that their activity has any effect in guiding the

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<sup>6</sup>Sayles and Strauss, *op. cit.*, pp. 244-245.

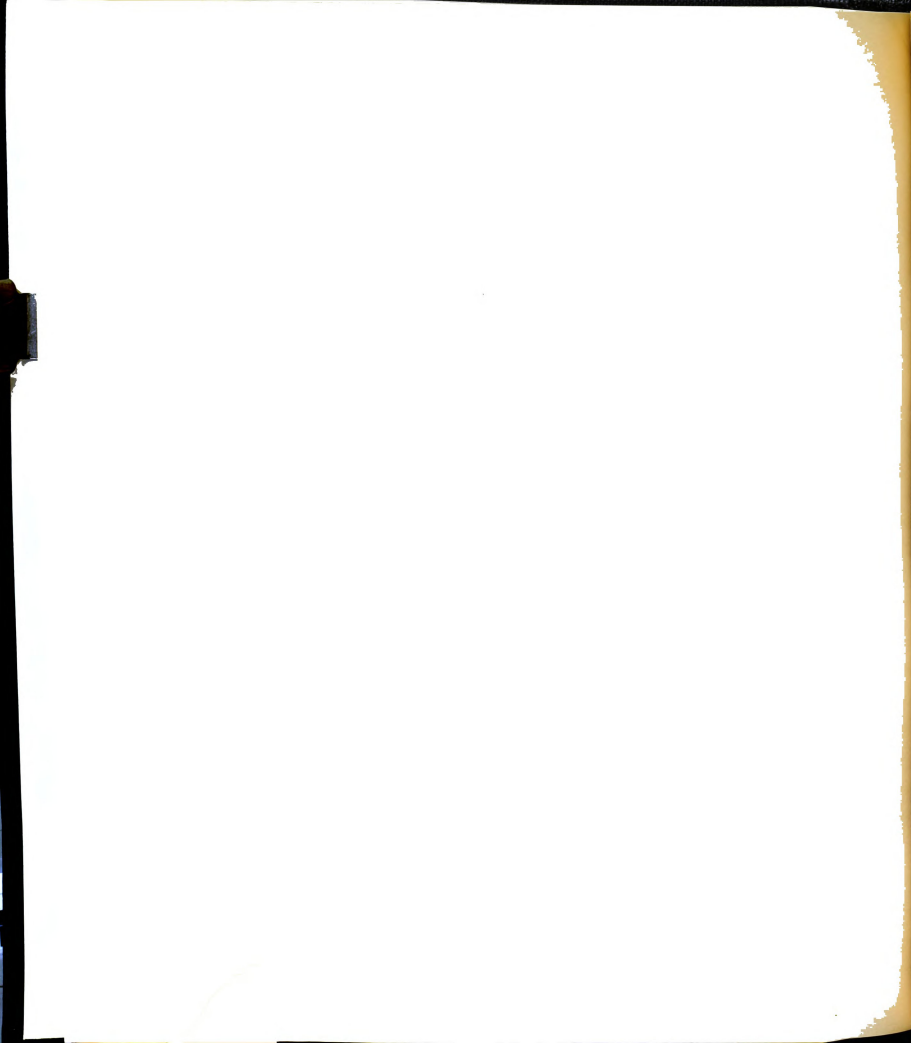


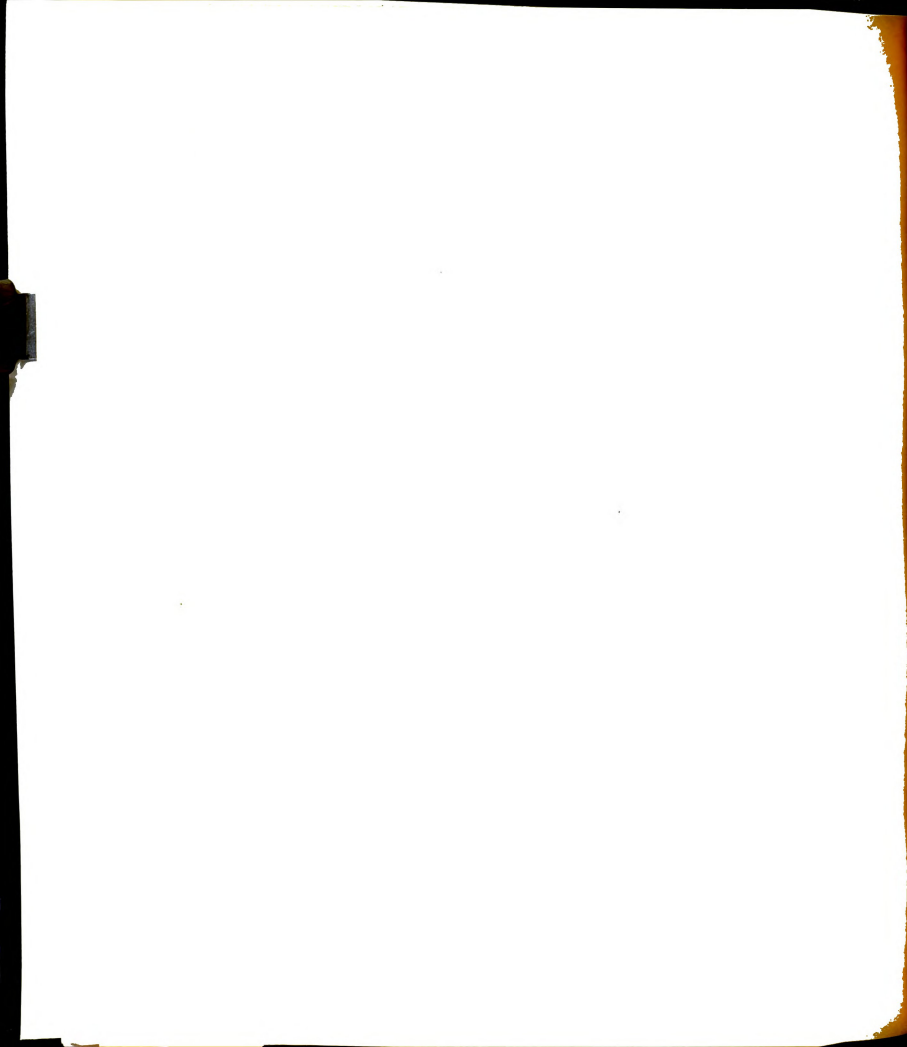
TABLE 25

## ORIENTATION TOWARD UNIONISM FOR DEGREE OF ACTIVITY

Orientation	Degree of Activity			Total	Row $\chi^2$
	Active	Medium	Inactive		
Cal	25	9	8	42	1.798
ic	20	6	4	30	3.672
	18	2	3	23	7.925
ic	7	16	12	35	12.055
e	0	7	5	12	11.756
	70	40	32	142	37.206

Chi square = 37.206

.001 P  $\bar{c}$



ion's policies. In other words, participation is connected with the members' belief that union democracy is desirable and that union democracy exists.<sup>7</sup>

### C. Hypothesis Number III

THESES: ACTIVE MEMBERS AS OPPOSED TO INACTIVE MEMBERS, PERCEIVE THE IMPORTANCE OF UNION ORGANIZATION DIFFERENTLY.

#### 1. Meaning of Union

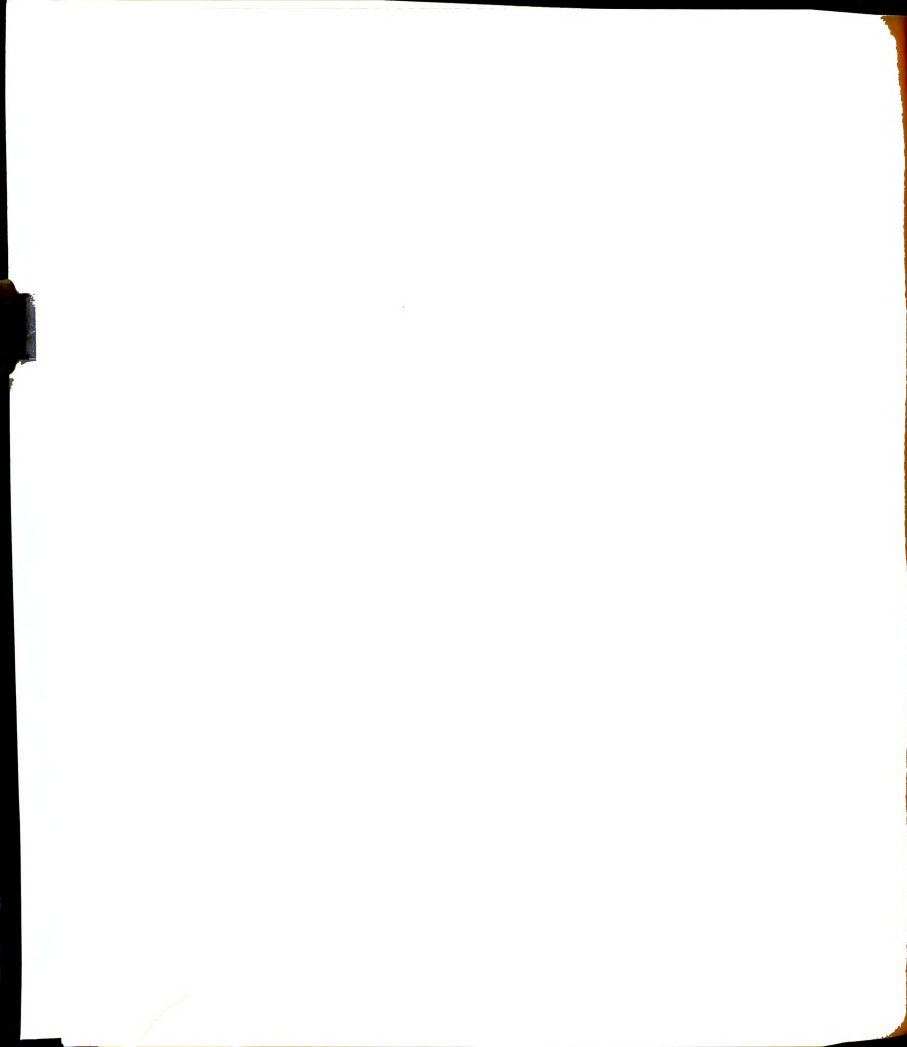
Except when the American citizen is trying to prove a point, he probably seldom behaves as if he were the government or that he, and others like him, control the governmental process. The same is no doubt true of the average union member. The expression, "Let George do it," symbolizes the existence of some anonymous somebody who will see to it that things will be handled smoothly. The anonymous somebody is probably "the union" or perhaps the union officers. Identification of members with "the union" is a continuing problem for local officials. Rank-and-file members are less likely than union officers to consider themselves part of a social movement, and it is doubtful whether they internalize the idea that "it's your union" more than the average citizen usually thinks "it's my government." In discussing the importance of the worker's identification with the union,

Rose states:

to the extent that the individual worker identifies himself with his union, he gains psychological rewards from the union's large-scale activities, and these rewards are in turn a stimulus to further identification. If the union wins a controversy, the average member gains not only in material advantage but also in a sense of achievement. If the union loses, the member has not lost much more than he would have lost if he were never a member of the union, and he has had the

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Rose, op. cit., p. 54.



psychological satisfaction of having participated in an effort to improve his position.<sup>8</sup>

Mayles and Strauss are convinced that workers do make a distinction between officers and union. Many comments made would be almost treasonous in nature if such a distinction were not possible. Speaking of expressions of antagonism and suspicion they say:

These feelings could be directed against the union but, since most members are clearly convinced of the union's value, it is psychologically preferable to express them against the officers, particularly if, as Gorer suggests, the officers are culturally approved scapegoats. For many members this ambivalence of attitude is resolved by saying: "The union is good -- it's the officers who are spoiling it."<sup>9</sup>

Members were asked the following question: "When you use the term 'union,' do you usually mean other members like yourself or the officers?" The results indicate that the potential for solidarity and united action in Local 724 should indeed be high since, as indicated in Table 26, over seventy-five percent of the members actually identified themselves with "the union," rather than with the union and officer. The table indicates that there is no association between activity in union affairs and what "union" meant to the members. This can be interpreted to mean that officers in the local are not faced with a basic problem of changing the meaning of "union" for members who are not active in union affairs.

## 2. Treatment of Workers by Employers

In an approach to this area a rather general question was asked-- "Do you think working people are usually treated fairly or unfairly by employers?"

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...ose, op. cit., p. 10.

...ayles and Strauss, op. cit., pp. 232-233.

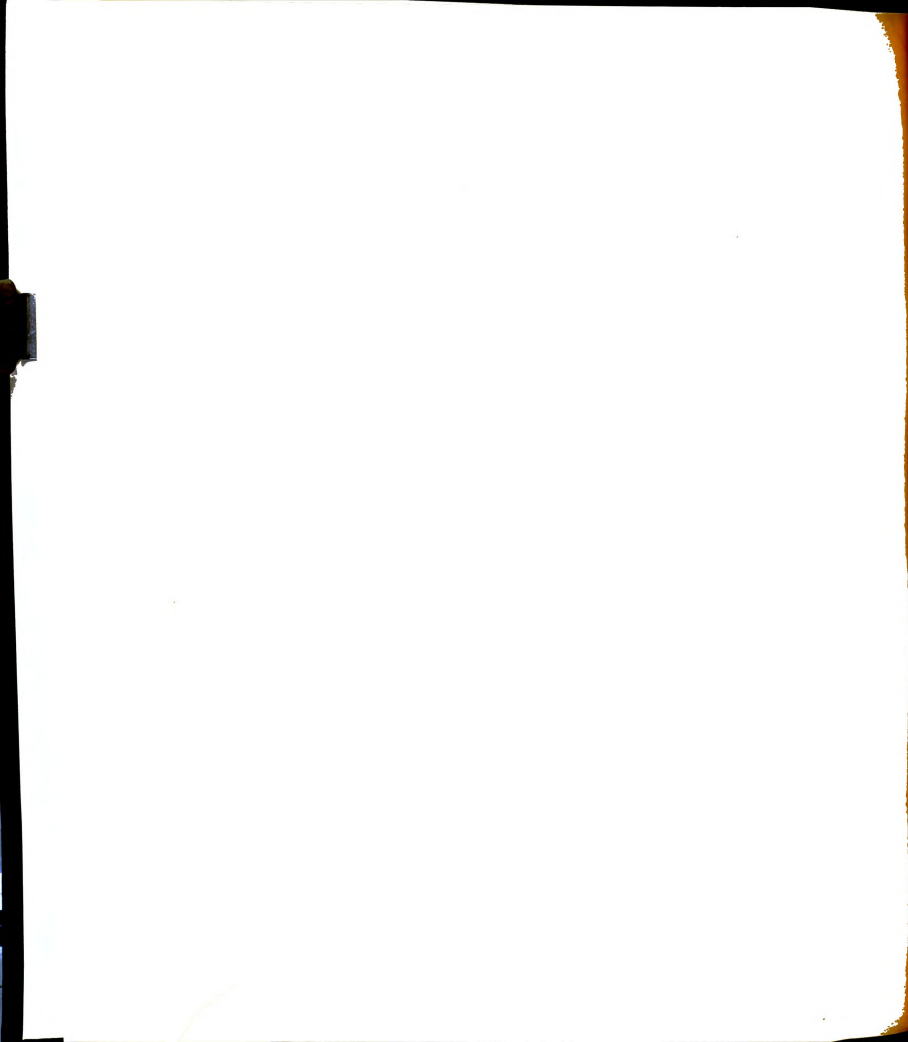




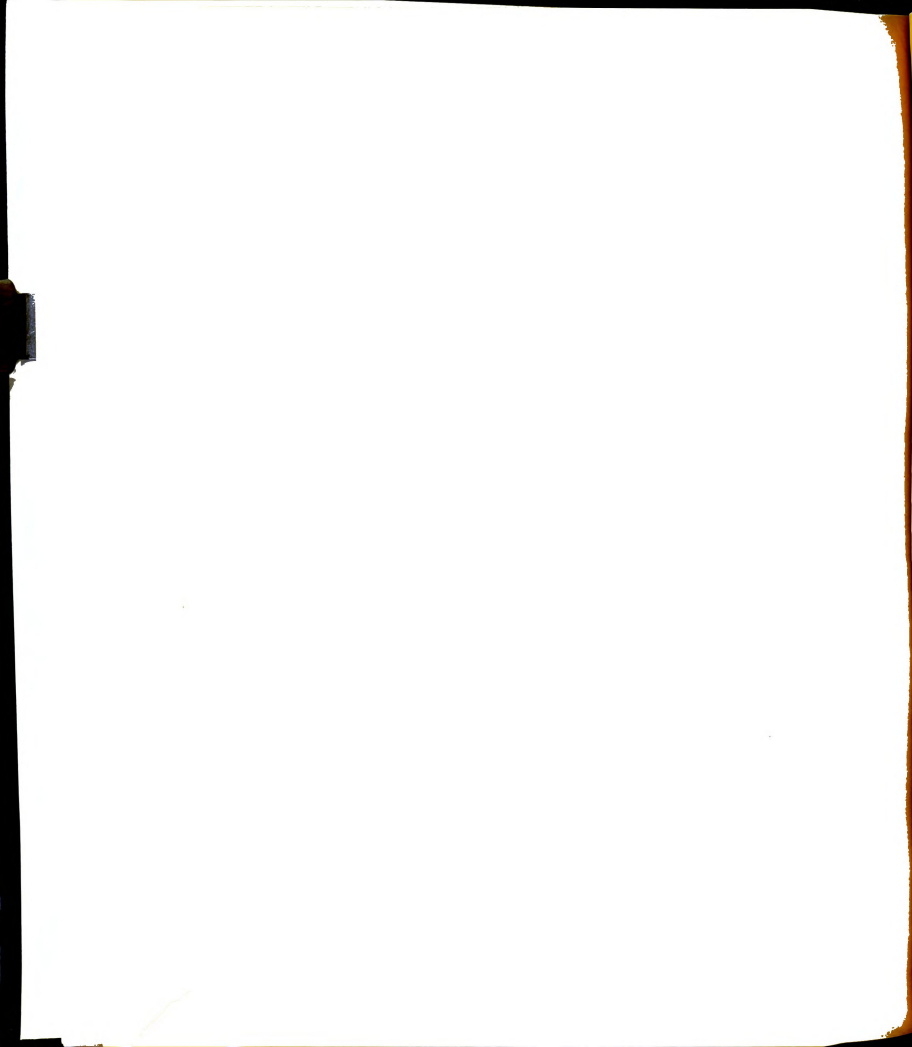
TABLE 26

## MEANING OF UNION FOR DEGREE OF ACTIVITY

Meaning of Union	Degree of Activity			Total	Row $\chi^2$
	Active	Medium	Inactive		
Members	52	32	23	107	.177
Officers	9	5	5	19	.159
Non-members	9	3	4	16	.706
Total	70	40	32	142	1.042

Chi square = 1.042

.95 P .90



Many members related this question to some of their own experiences. As noted in Chapter III, about seventy percent felt they were usually treated fairly. The treatment they received was probably at the hands of foremen. Reynolds would certainly concur with the latter statement.

The importance of good supervision can hardly be overstated. To the worker, the foreman is "the boss" -- the only living embodiment of that vague creature, "the company." The worker knows and cares little about higher levels of management. He is unimpressed by general statements of company policy. The personnel manager may announce regularly every week how much the company loves him; but how the foreman actually treats him is what really matters. If the "boss" is good, the company is good.<sup>10</sup>

The relatively few (12%) who reported unfair treatment by employers include some who are perennially in some kind of difficulty. There are, of course, those who look to the union to keep a running battle with management alive. In the words of a British factory's managing director:

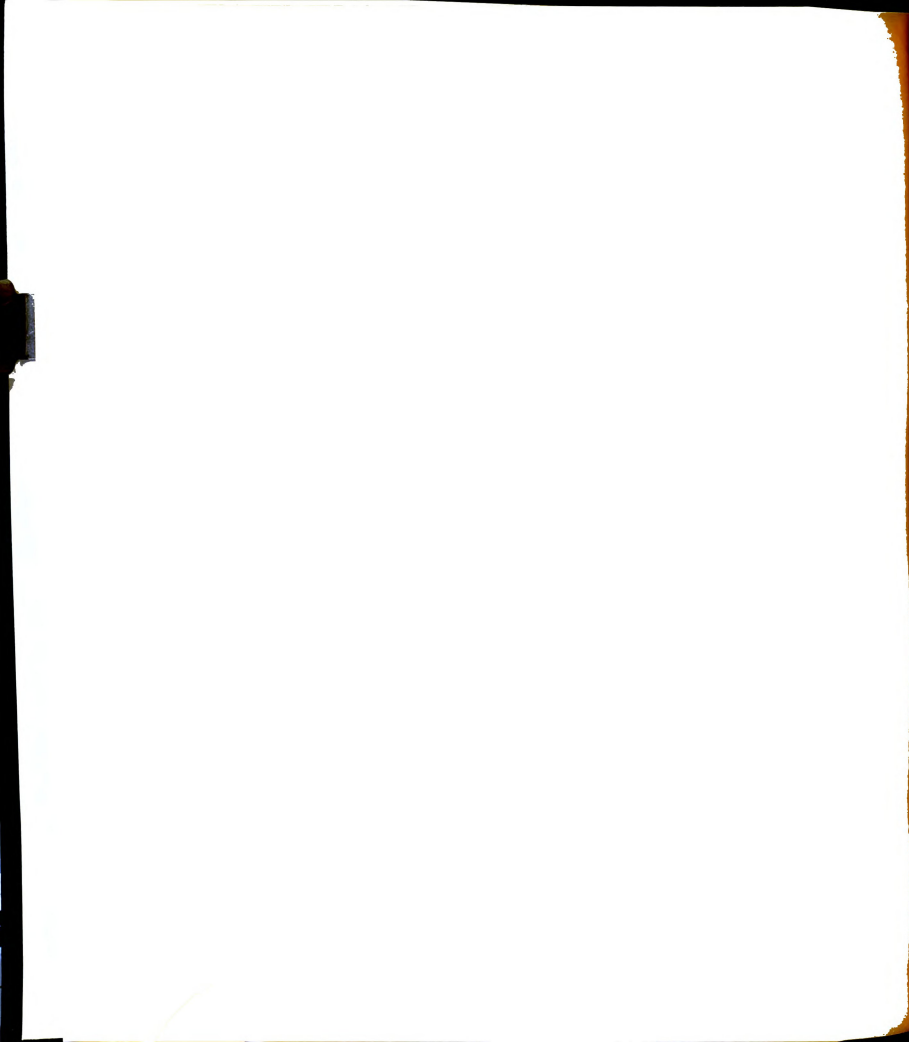
... Works Councils, committees, and trade union movements have in the past so often arisen out of the hard feelings created by inefficient or selfish management that many people still regard them merely as a weapon with which to fight management. They frequently look upon management as something which needs fighting all the time.<sup>11</sup>

It would appear from Brewer's study of 4375 cases of severance from employment, done before unions were very capable of protecting the employee's interests, that workers had little cause for alarm concerning unfair treatment leading to discharge. The study presents a list of the most common causes for discharge: incompetence, insubordination, general unreliability, absenteeism, and laziness. The statistics confirmed the assertion sometimes made that nearly twice as many employees are discharged for moral shortcomings,

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<sup>10</sup>Lloyd G. Reynolds, Labor Economics and Labor Relations, Prentice-Hall, New York, 1949, p. 45.

<sup>11</sup>Elliott Jaques, The Changing Culture of a Factory, The Dryden Press, New York, 1952, p. 30.



ts of character, as for lack of ability to do the work.<sup>12</sup> It is that had Brewer provided some definition of "causes," the reader in a much better position to know how secure the workers' jobs and whether unions were really needed to protect them.

For this study Table 27 indicates no statistically significant association between degree of union activity and the workers' evaluations of how they were treated by their employers. However, the data tend to show that inactive union members were more likely to perceive treatment by employers as fair whereas greater proportions of the moderately active and active members were found among those who evaluated employer treatment as unfair.

There is surely some feeling in this industrial society that one cannot be loyal to union and company at one and the same time. Other studies, like as this one, seem to indicate the fallacy of such a belief. The relationship between company and worker is no doubt emphasized, at times exaggerated, when there is an attempt to organize a plant; but before long the antagonisms must be reduced or both company and union will suffer. The worker must have jobs; the company must have production. The state of mind of the majority of members concerning direction of their loyalties is pointed out by Mayles and Strauss.

The average worker may resent being dominated by his boss, but he is grateful for his job. This ambivalence crops up again and again.... Some believed that the only thing really wrong with the company was the personal selfishness of one or two people. "If only these were removed, things might be very different." Thus the only purpose of

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John M. Brewer, "Causes of Discharge," The Vocational Guidance Review (Occupations), January 1928, 149-150, as taken from The Personnel Journal, Vol. VI, No. 3, October 1927.

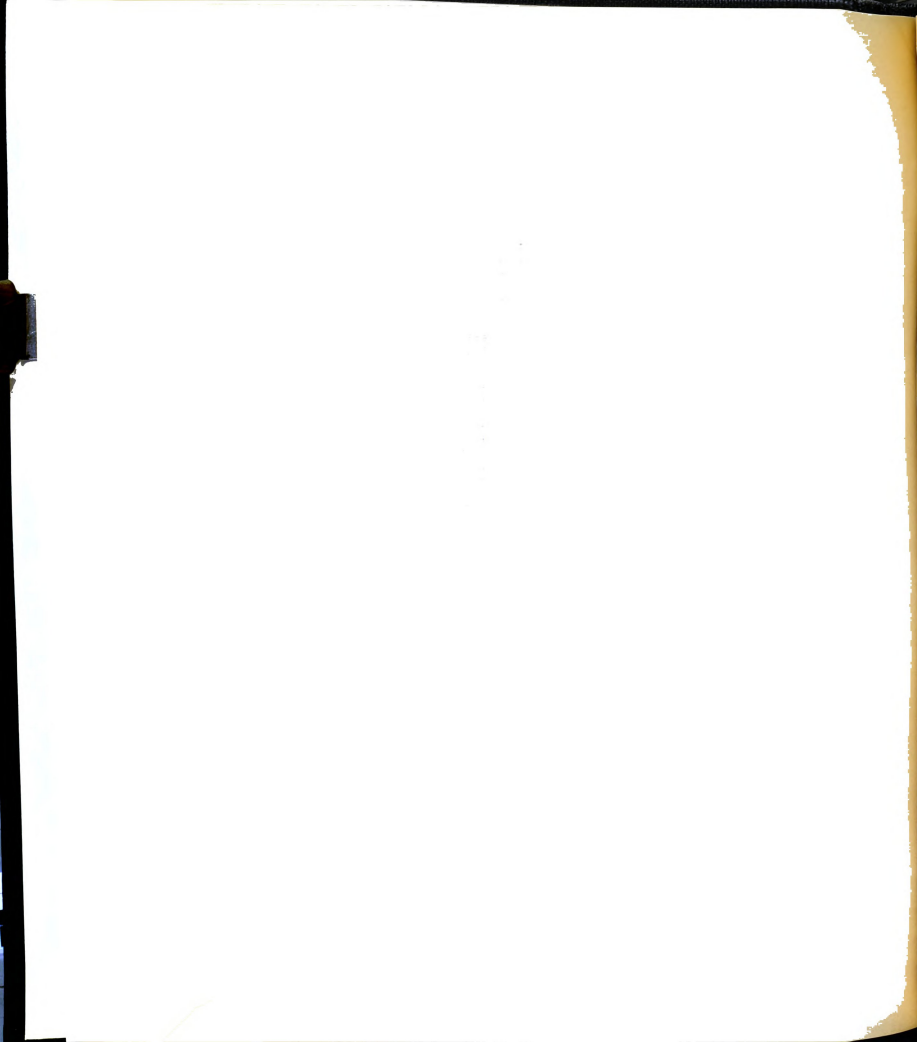


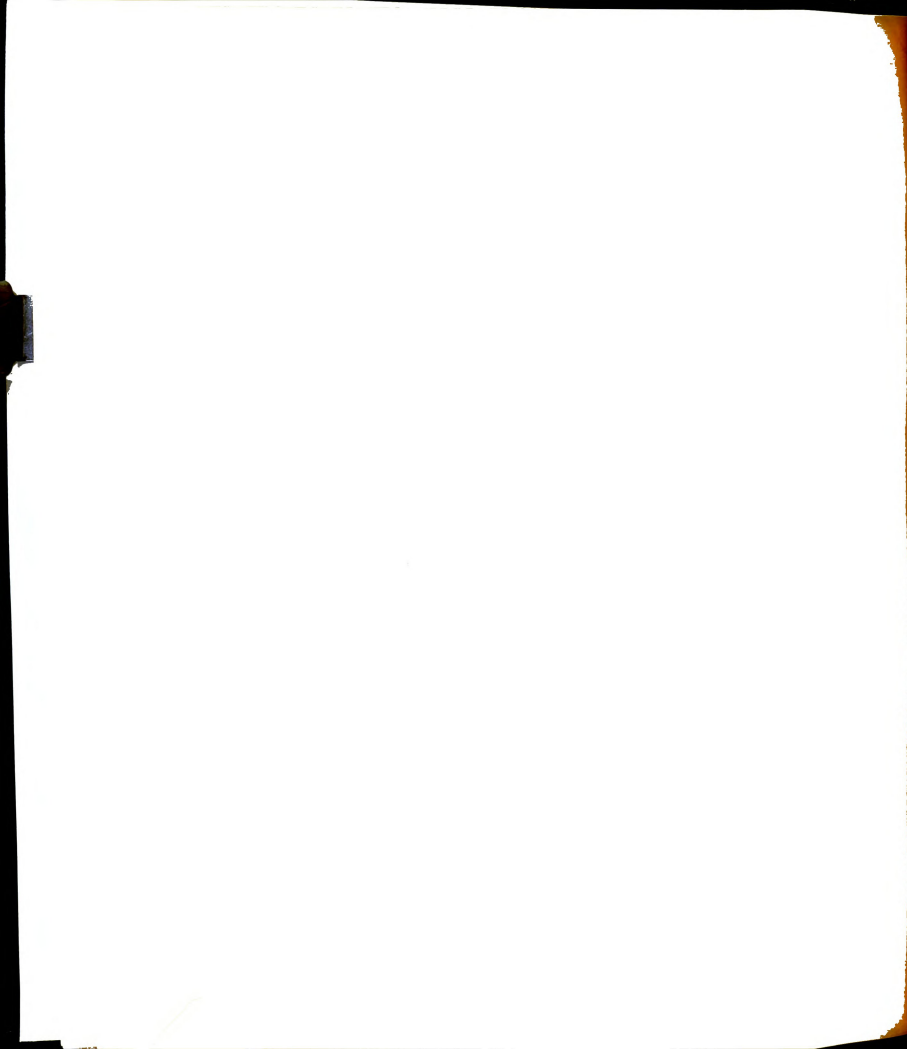
TABLE 27

## TREATMENT OF WORKERS BY EMPLOYERS FOR DEGREE OF ACTIVITY

Treatment of Workers by Employers	Degree of Activity			Total	Row $\chi^2$
	Active	Medium	Inactive		
...	52	28	20	100	.433
...	11	8	6	25	.295
...	7	4	6	17	1.586
...	70	40	32	142	2.314

Chi square = 2.314

.70 P .50





union, as they saw it, was to deal with these few obstinate individuals who refused to treat their employees like men.

worker attitudes toward company and union are ambivalent and conditional. Although they want to be independent of the company, they fear by becoming too active in the union, they will place in jeopardy benefits they have already won. ... To some extent these feelings are displaced in the form of hostility against the officers.<sup>13</sup>

Similar attitudes seem to have existed in Teamsters Local 688.

A question may be raised as to whether the high degree of worker solidarity is associated with antagonism toward the employer. ... Evidence which arises from this study seems to suggest that there is no inflexible antagonism toward employers on the part of the large majority of workers. ... Workers do fear arbitrary treatment and dismissal by the employer, and there is consequently some hostility. ... Their position seems to be that the union should protect them against employers, but that the union should also be fair to employers.<sup>14</sup>

Members of Local 724, most likely to believe there was usually mistreatment of workers, were in fact those least active. They intended to refrain from remedying the situation which they disliked. They believed that their participation in local affairs would be wasted, and that the local could not help.

### 3. Treatment of Members by Union

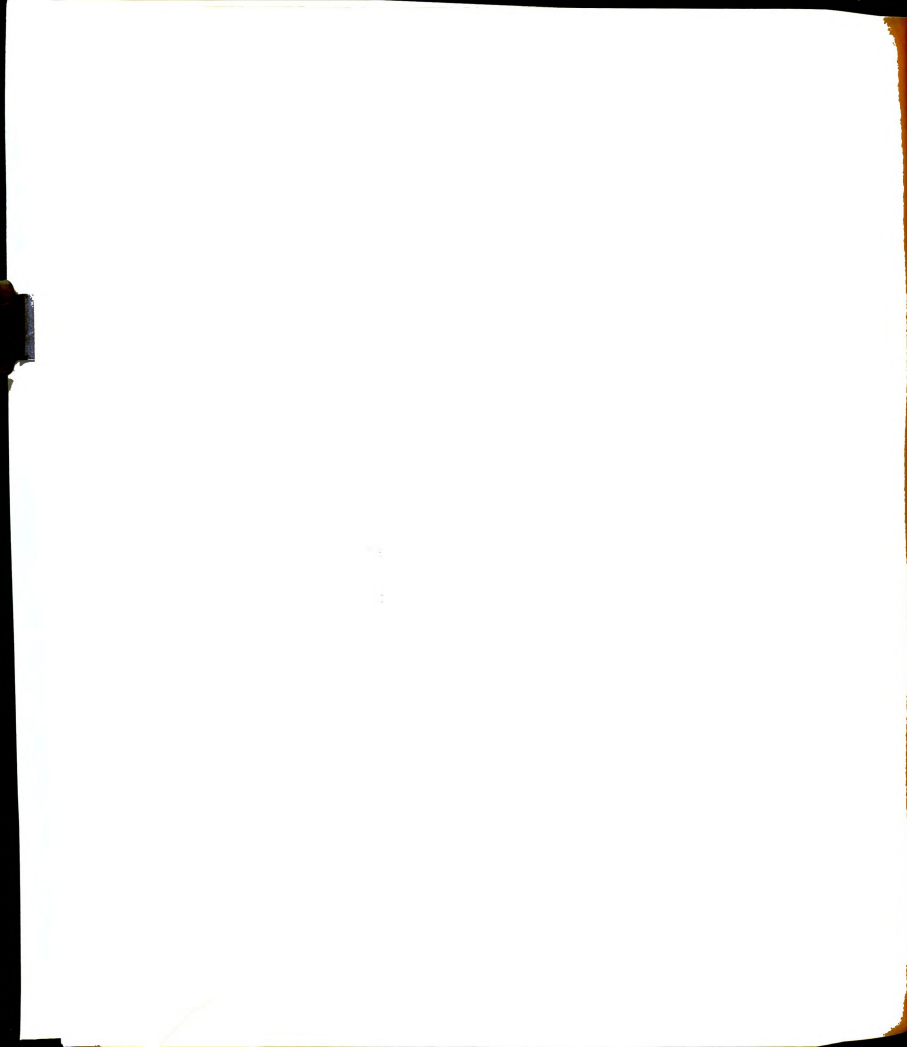
The ambivalence in loyalty between union and company is a problem for management and union. Dual loyalty to company and union is illustrated by a finding in the Illini City study.

In general, the rank-and-file worker seems to describe the company in favorable terms. Favorable reports outweigh unfavorable by a ratio of one to one for all but two of the establishments, and these by a narrow margin. Similarly the average worker perceives his union in a favorable manner, although the mean percentages of approval

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Sayles and Strauss, op. cit., pp. 226-227, 229.

Rose, op. cit., pp. 65-66.



lower. Perhaps all this means is that people living with a given  
 ty tend to adapt to it and to find it satisfactory.<sup>15</sup>

his subject, members were asked: Do you think the union treats  
 ers of the union fairly? This question is somewhat comparable to  
 ion above which deals with the fairness of treatment by manage-

data in Table 28 indicate that over half of the members felt that  
 ion always treated its members fairly, while only about ten percent  
 t this was true only "some of the time." However, there appears  
 t moderate association between degree of union activity and the  
 evaluations of their treatment by the union. Although not a  
 cally significant association, there appears to be a slight ten-  
 r moderately active members to be overrepresented among those who  
 t the union did not always treat its members fairly.

oubtedly there are some union members who resent the union not  
 ause they feel they should be accomplishing for themselves, but  
 ontrol the union is able to exert over them. Certainly some would  
 members if the modified union shop did not exist. For at least a  
 r workers must become members and regularly pay their dues. In  
 spect members of Local 724 are similar to members of many other

A study of 602 contracts, conducted by the National Industrial  
 nce Board, showed that in eleven and one-half percent of the con-  
 "maintenance of membership" existed.<sup>16</sup>

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Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, Labor-Management Re-  
in Illini City, Champaign, Illinois, 1954, Vol. 2, p. 51.

"How Unions Control Workers," U.S. News and World Report, March 27,  
 p. 86, 89-90.

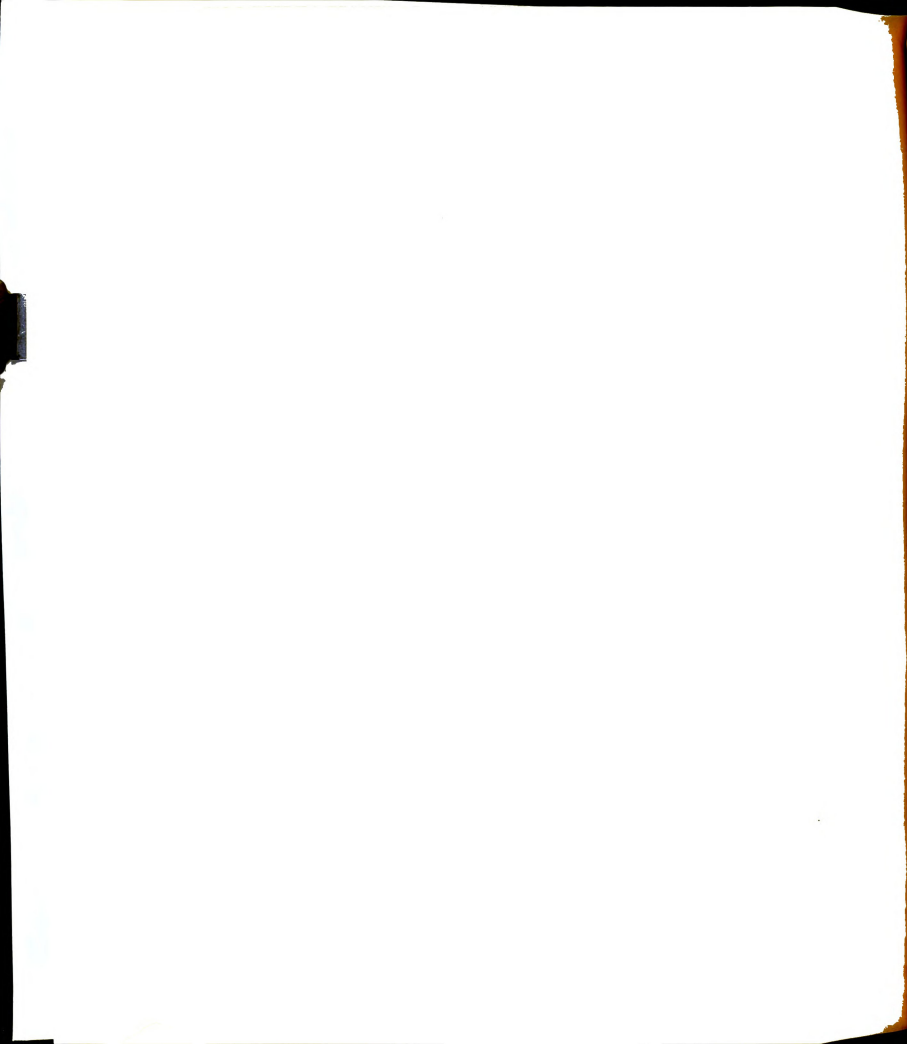


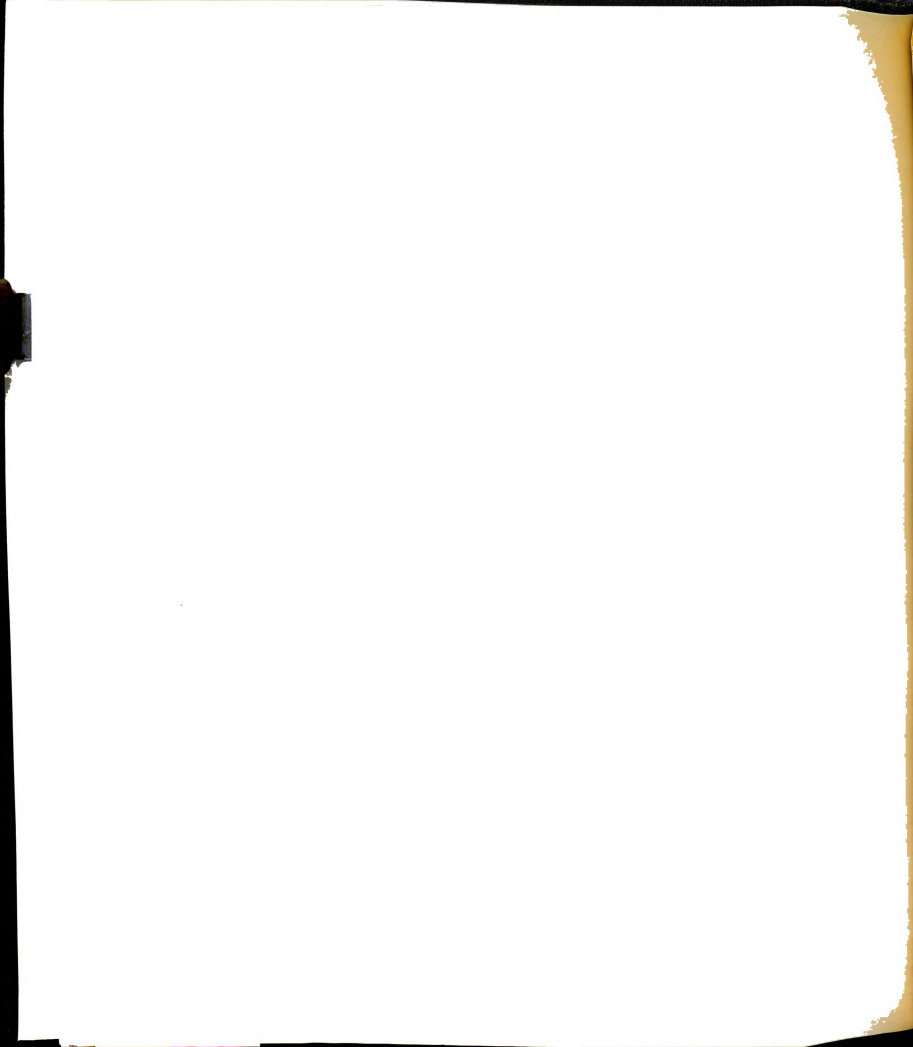
TABLE 28

FAIR TREATMENT OF MEMBERS BY UNION  
FOR  
DEGREE OF ACTIVITY

Treatment of by Union	Active	Medium	Inactive	Total	Row $\chi^2$
en and the time	4	6	4	14	2.519
	26	15	8	49	1.081
	40	18	20	78	1.112
ow	0	1	0	1	2.448
	70	40	32	142	7.160

Chi square = 7.160

.50 P .30



e a worker has been a member beyond a year, he is committed to  
 ip for the remainder of his employment or for as long as the plant  
 ized. He could learn something of the disciplinary powers of the  
 ion. Article 34, Section 5 of the Constitution of the International  
 ovides an example:

l Unions may levy fines for non-attendance at membership meetings  
 for other reasons, provided that such fines do not exceed one dollar  
 00), and further provided that the provisions for such fines (1) are  
 uly adopted by the Local Union, (2) are approved by the Internation-  
 xecutive Board, and (3) are administered on a reasonable and non-  
 ssive basis. In cases where the facts involving the application  
 such fines are not in dispute, the Local Union is empowered to provide  
 the forfeiture of the membership of the delinquent member for non-  
 ment thereof without the necessity of proceeding by the filing of  
 rges and the conduct of a trial.<sup>17</sup>

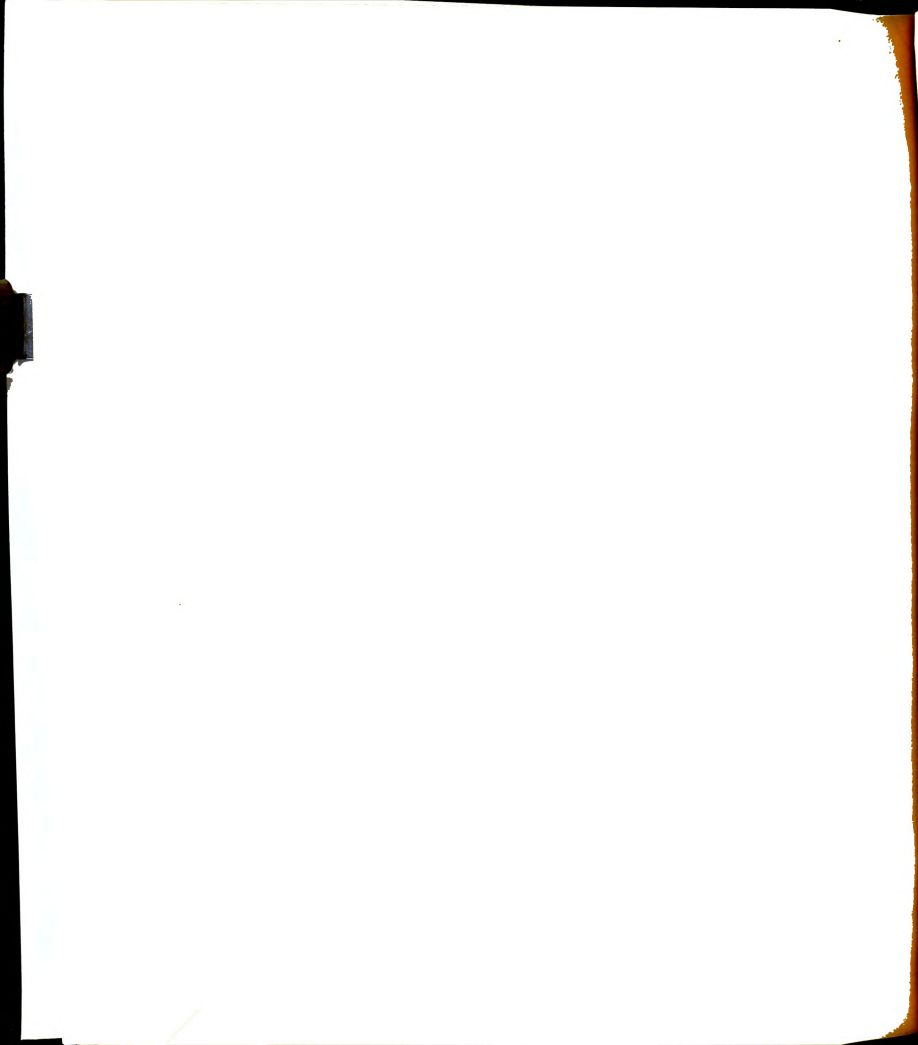
#### 4. Equality of Opportunity to Become Officer

e issue of how democratic or undemocratic a particular union is is  
 tly subjected to debate. Those of antithetical views, in discussion,  
 the extreme cases. The union, any union, is probably less bureau-  
 than anti-unionists claim. Moreover, it is probably less democratic  
 has been depicted by many speakers and writers with pro-union sym-  
 s. The functions which the union must perform for its members, and  
 elf if it is to survive, demand a measure of authority which at  
 s incompatible with virginal democracy. Richard Lester says:

e functions that unions have to perform are bound to affect their  
 ernal management. In bargaining, they are dealing with business  
 rms, in which the president has complete authority over subordinates.  
 conflicts with management, solidarity of the membership may be  
 sential. In some cases, secrecy is an important element of strategy,  
 pecially in the matter of strikes. Often in negotiations or strikes,  
 cisions must be made quickly. Democratic processes not only involve

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For the procedure for conduct of the trial of a member charged with  
 eaking of the constitution see Article 48, pp. 90-98.





closure but also are time consuming. Union leaders may feel compelled to act first and obtain rank-and-file approval later. Business executives make commitments without a ratifying vote by the stockholders. Moreover, if unions are to be responsible, businesslike organizations they must be in a position to insist that their members live to signed agreements.<sup>18</sup>

article by Herbert Shepard discusses a study in the Toronto District of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. It deals with the criteria determining the extent of democratic control in a labor union. While discussion relates to the district level, there is little reason to think that these same criteria are not applicable to the local union.

Maintenance of communication through-out the organization  
 Recognition by officers of the sentiments and interests of diverse groups among the membership  
 Ability of rank and file to displace by means of elections, officers who offend their sentiments or fail to advance their interests.<sup>19</sup>

Members of Local 724 were asked: Do you think all members have a fair chance to become union officers if they want the job? Table 29 shows that a preponderant majority (84.5%) believed all members had a fair chance to become officers. While the degree of association between degree of activity and fairness of access to officerships does not satisfy the criterion of statistical significance, the data indicate that the active members had greater confidence in mobility opportunity to officerships in the local. Almost nine-tenths of the active members believed there was opportunity for such mobility. Just over one-tenth of the active as opposed to one-fifth of the inactive members did not believe all members had a fair chance to become officers.

<sup>18</sup>Richard A. Lester, Labor and Industrial Relations, The MacMillan Company, New York, 1951, pp. 143-144.

<sup>19</sup>Herbert A. Shepard, "Democratic Control in a Labor Union," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 54, 1949, p. 311. See also p. 313.

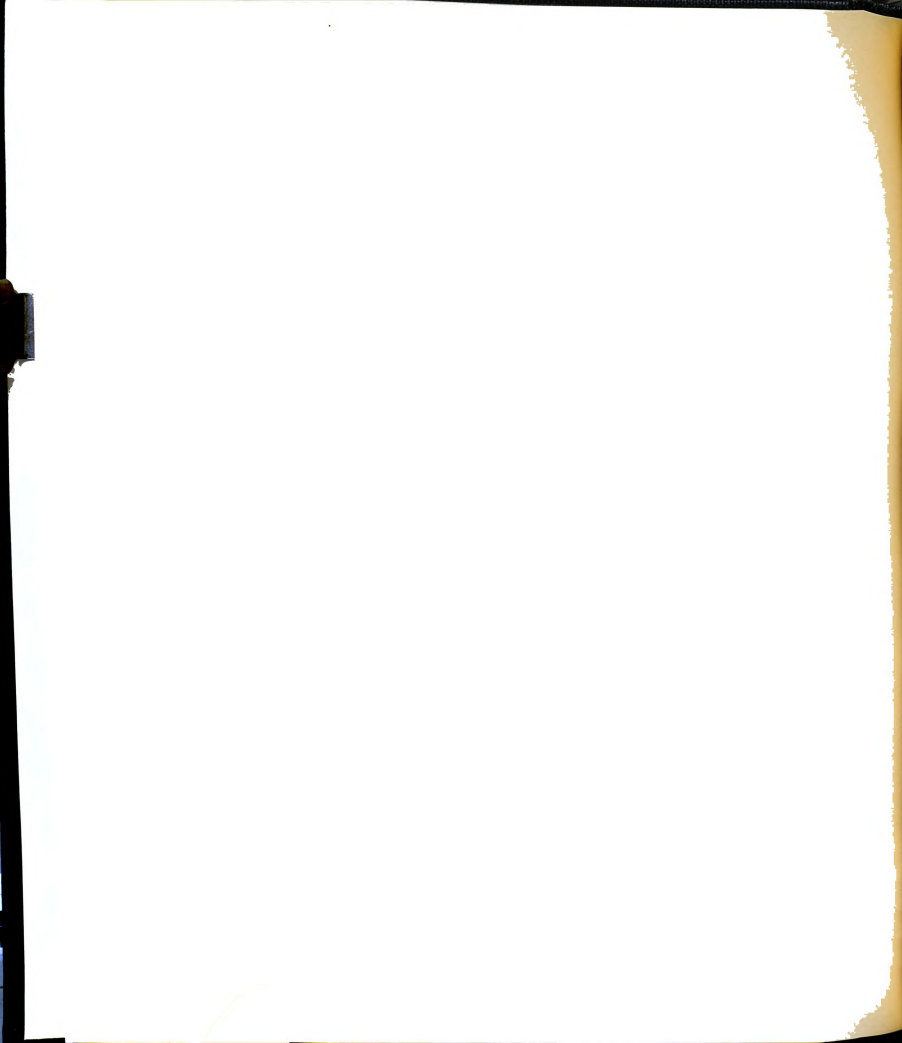


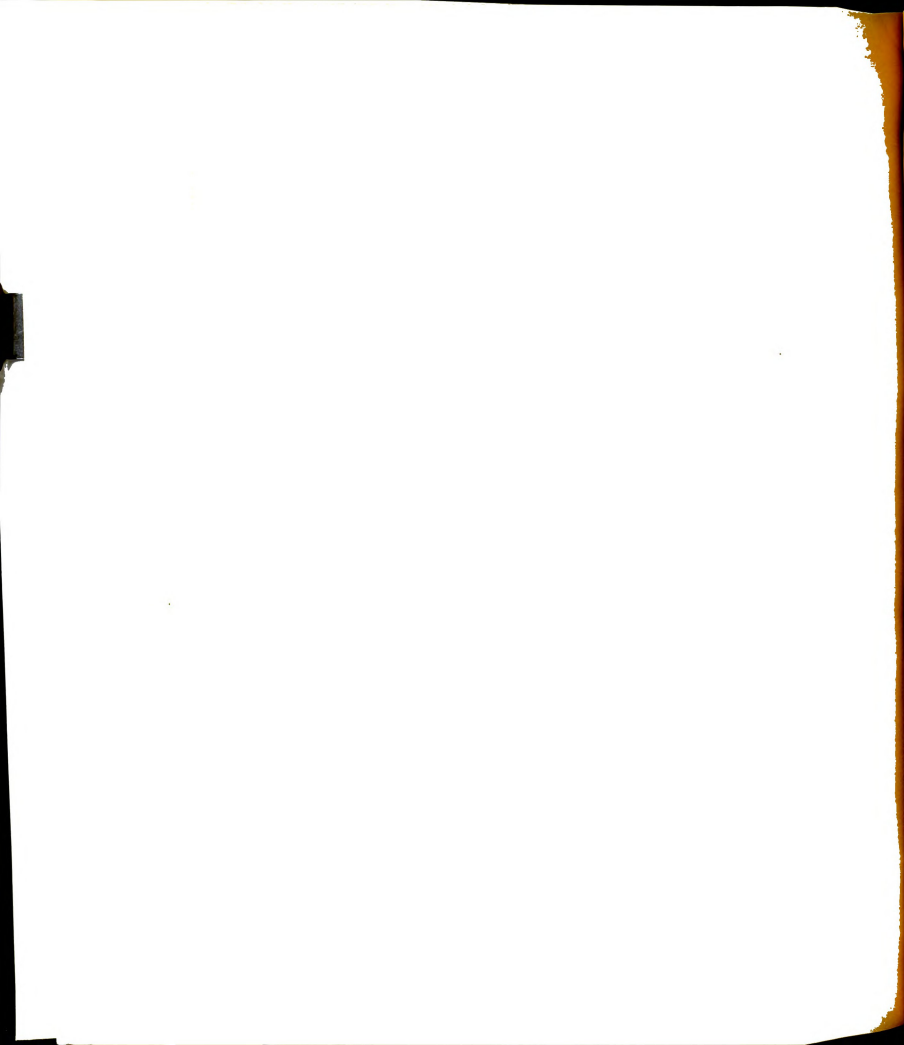
TABLE 29

EQUAL OPPORTUNITY TO BECOME OFFICER  
FOR  
DEGREE OF ACTIVITY

Opportunity to become officer	Degree of Activity			Total	Row $\chi^2$
	Active	Medium	Inactive		
	8	5	6	19	.914
	62	34	24	120	.479
Low and onse	0	1	2	3	4.058
	70	40	32	142	5.451

Chi square = 5.451

.30 P .20



## 5. Attribution of Union Success and Failure

While members of an organization are often eager to allow others to take responsibility, they often do not hesitate to take credit for the success of a given venture. Most assuredly someone will get the blame if the venture is unsuccessful. While one might expect the same pattern of responses to questions on the meaning of "union" and the attribution of successes and failures, that is not the case. If union means members, why are not union successes and failures are not more often attributed to the organization? The scapegoat explanation seems to stand up well. In cases where officers have been successful in fighting for particular issues which dissatisfy another group of members. In this event a success is a success for some members, a "defeat" for others, and a defeat for the organization. Bayles and Strauss document this point.

A more complicated case concerns an industrial union which won unusual "piece rate" incentive rates for "labor pool" jobs. As a result, unskilled men obtained earnings nearly double those of skilled workers in the same plant. ...Of course, the men in the "pool" argued that their high earnings were entirely the result of hard work rather than faulty management setting. Union leaders were in a quandry. If they were a party to reducing the earnings of the men in the labor pool they would be accused of playing management's game. On the other hand, the skilled workers were protesting that the union was "just run for the benefit of those unskilled pieceworkers."<sup>20</sup>

In this study of Local 724 the members were asked: Do you feel that the gains and losses in your union result from the quality of the organization or the quality of the leadership?

Table 30 reveals that more members attribute successes and failures to the quality of leadership than to either the organization or to a combination of

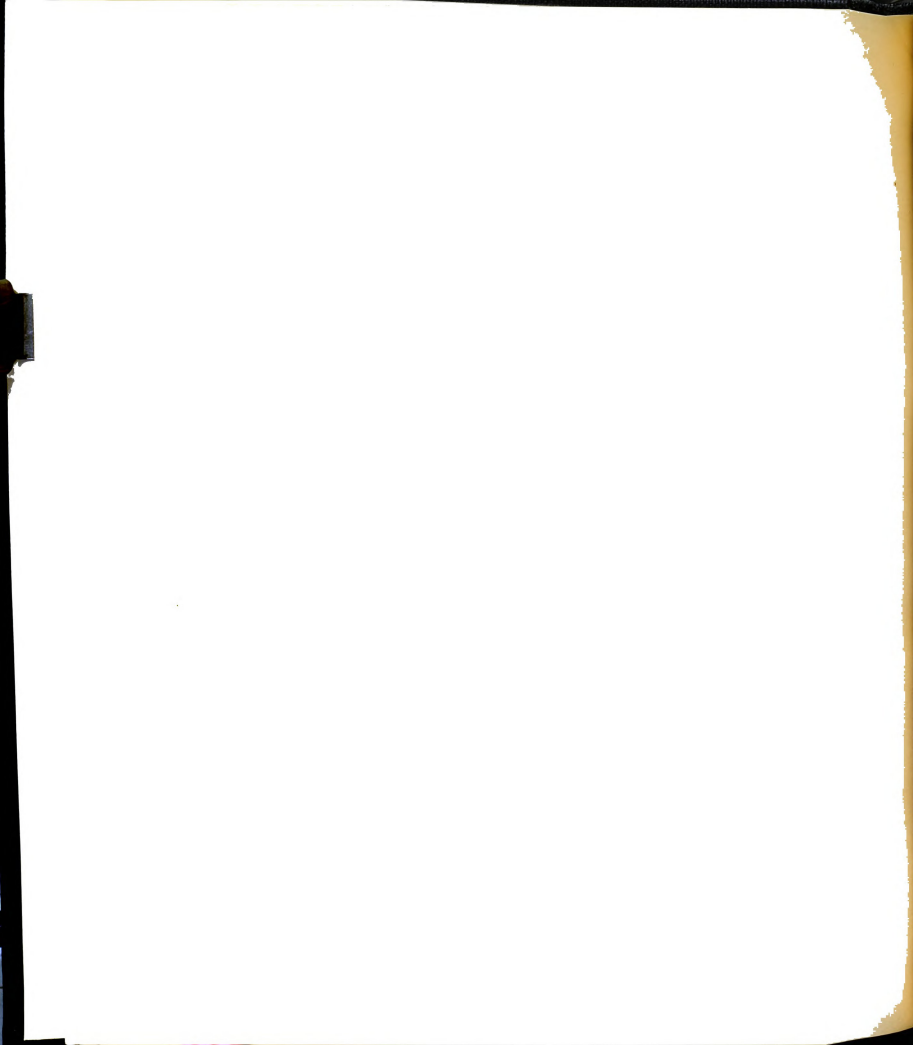


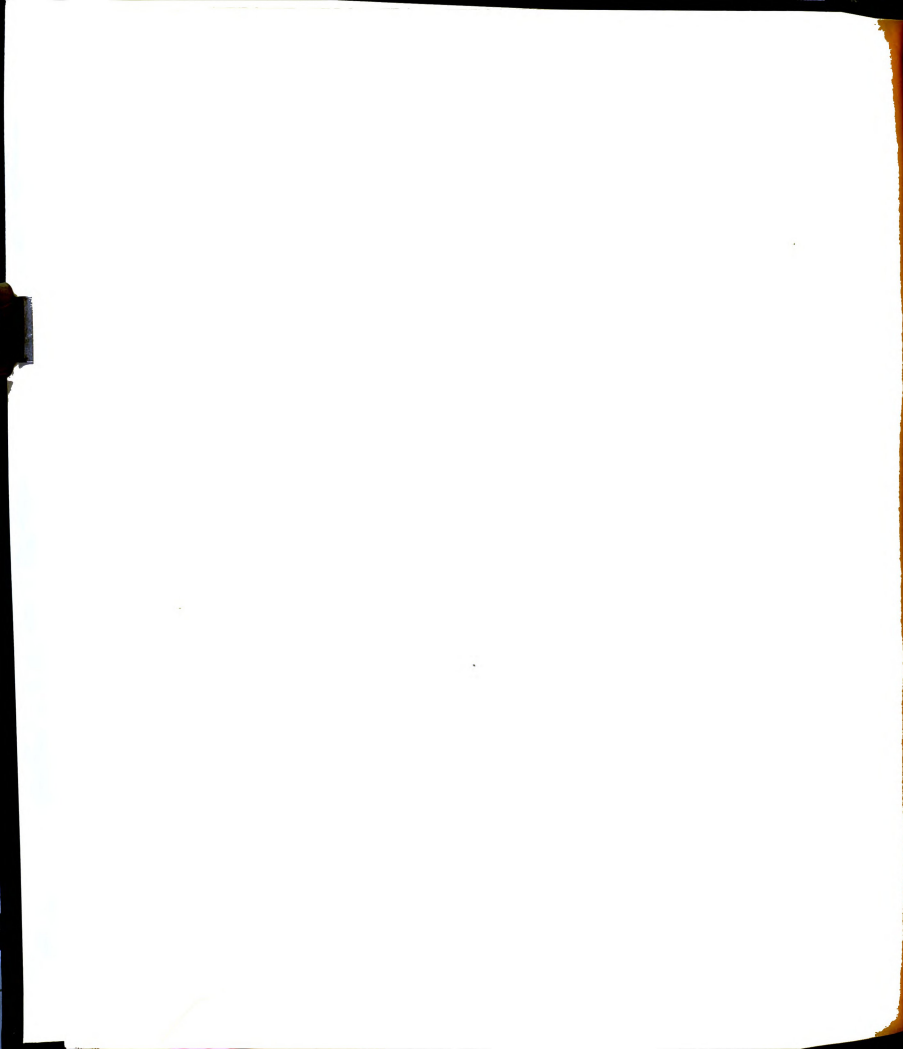
TABLE 30

ATTRIBUTION OF UNION SUCCESS AND FAILURE  
FOR  
DEGREE OF ACTIVITY

Degree of Union and Failure	Degree of Activity			Total	Row $\chi^2$
	Active	Medium	Inactive		
ation	26	10	6	42	2.899
hip	20	19	13	52	2.669
	19	8	8	35	.531
ow	5	3	5	13	1.891
	70	40	32	142	7.990

Chi square = 7.990

.30 P .20

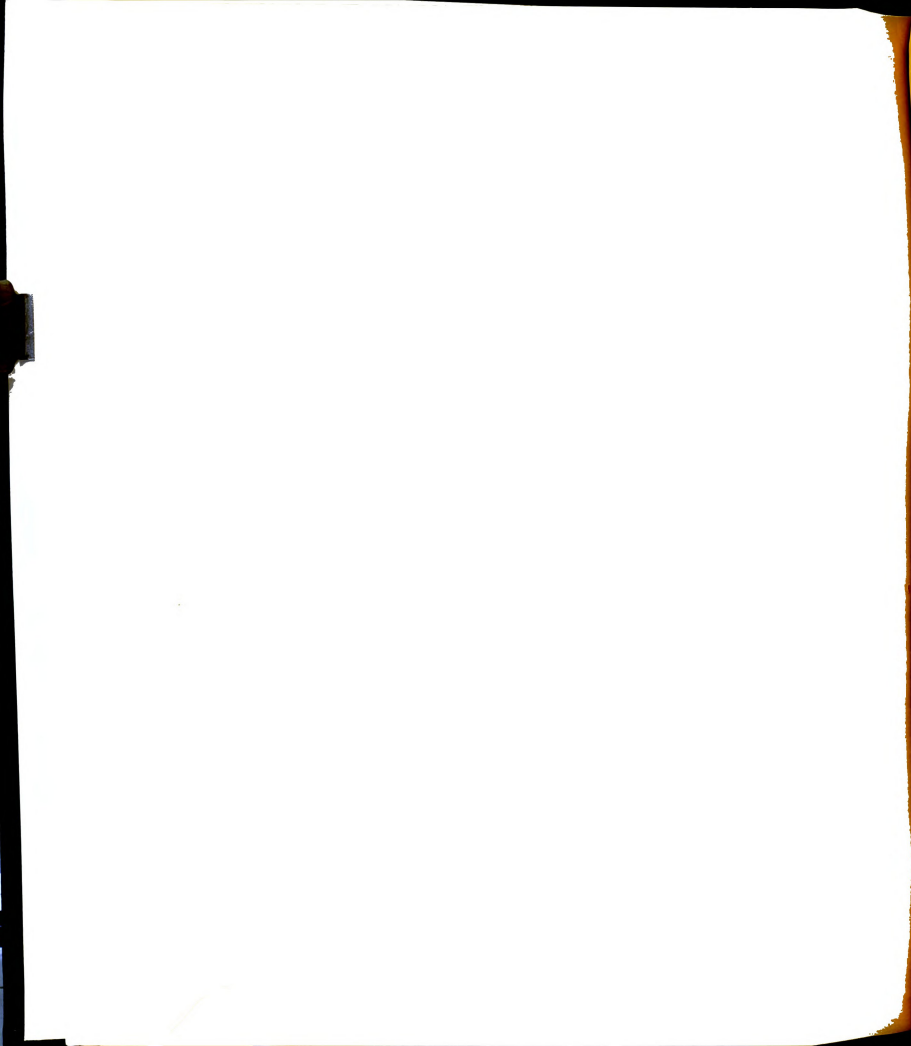




tion and leadership. However, sizable representations appear in the responses. The writer had felt that active members would be more likely to emphasize the importance of the organization. While the data do not satisfy the criterion for statistical significance, a probability of 30 - 20 points to a tendency to uphold that position. The moderate active members tended to attribute successes and failures to the leadership. The inactive members also tended to give leadership as an answer but they were even more likely not to know to whom successes or failures should be attributed.

#### 6. Local 724 Compared to Other Lansing Locals

The idea of favorable attitude toward the local may be discerned from the responses to the following question: How well would you say your local compares with other locals in Lansing in bargaining with employers? Comparisons which members of a local are able to make within their community are extremely important to them and to the union. How well the worker's local compares with others may in fact be the key to an understanding of the intensity of his participation or lack of it. If his neighbors, and even acquaintances, out in the community are "doing better" than members of another local, his loyalty to his own local is considerably weakened. After all, if one of the functions of the local is to enable the member to maintain his self respect, it is understandable that this is difficult in face of unfavorable comparison with other locals which the member is familiar. Why belong to a local which cannot "do you at least even" with others in the locality? In this study the members were asked nothing directly about their own wages, i.e., how well they compared with others paid in Lansing. They were asked about working



ons and fringe benefits. These areas were discussed just prior to  
 ing of the question being discussed. The comparisons which members  
 de may be based on these items alone; but even so, there is little  
 to doubt that the comparisons are unimportant. Ross' discussion  
 comparison should apply as well to comparison of other factors.

comparisons are important to the worker. They establish the line  
 between a square deal and a raw deal. He knows that he cannot earn  
 t he would like to have, but he wants what is coming to him. In  
 ighly competitive society, it is an affront to his dignity and a  
 eat to his prestige when he receives less than another worker with  
 m he can legitimately be compared. At times he is not sure what  
 es a legitimate comparison, and needs guidance on the point; this  
 one source of moral authority enjoyed by the union leader. ...

proposition might be offered that "face" and prestige are bargained  
 e closely than money, especially in a period of general prosperity.<sup>21</sup>

Table 31 indicates a significant association between degree of union  
 ty and the members' comparisons of their local with other local  
 in the city. While one might expect active members to give the  
 favorable responses, the data seems not to bear out that idea.

Local 724 it was chiefly the least active members who compared the  
 unfavorably with other locals in the city. The inactives also pro-  
 ne dominant group among those who did not know what the comparison  
 e. The moderately active members were most overrepresented in the  
 iving favorable responses and least likely to respond unfavorably.  
 were actually also slightly overrepresented in the group stating  
 able comparison. This probably shows that some actives claim a  
 o criticize the local even though such criticism is not expected

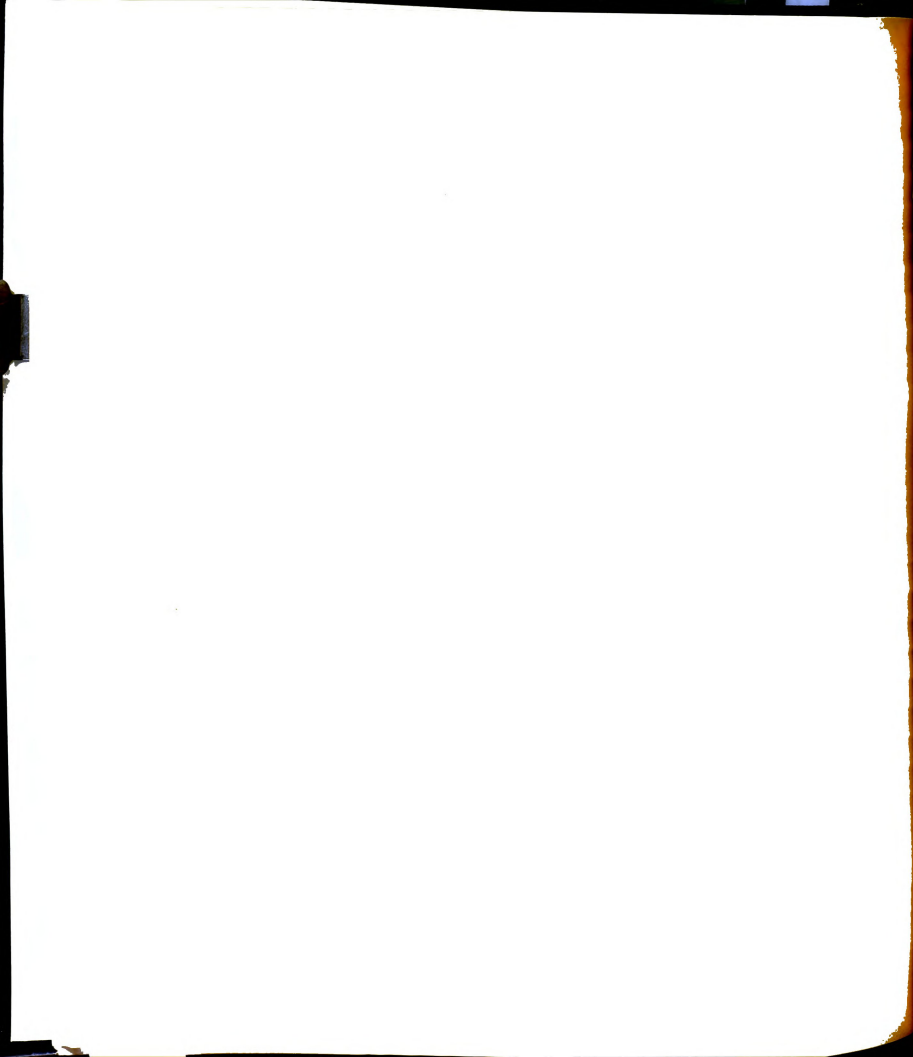


TABLE 31

COMPARED TO OTHER LANSING LOCALS FOR DEGREE OF ACTIVITY

Compared to Lansing Locals	Degree of Activity			Total	Row $\chi^2$
	Active	Medium	Inactive		
Favorable	9	1	6	16	4.486
Neutral & Favorable	56	35	19	110	1.936
Unfavorable	5	4	7	16	4.327
Total	70	40	32	142	10.749

Chi square = 10.749

.05 P .02



The negative responses of these active members, though few of the actives), should not be completely discounted.

He makes a generalization which holds for most of the specific studied here.

More a member participates in his union, the more favorable is his attitude toward it. This generalization, . . . , has implications for unions everywhere in the United States. It cannot be said, of course, whether participation is the cause of high evaluation or whether high evaluation is the cause of higher participation. Nevertheless, the fact that the two are definitely associated would indicate that unions with high membership participation are likely to have greatest solidarity.<sup>22</sup>

#### 7. Local Union Accomplishment on Specific Items

While members of Local 724 rated their union favorably in general, an attempt was made to get their appraisal of the union's effectiveness on several specific issues. The issues selected in consultation with union leaders were: unemployment insurance, better working conditions, life insurance, health insurance, vacations, life insurance, and guaranteed annual wage. It might be well to emphasize that these issues are especially relevant to those workers who experience seasonal unemployment and are exposed to a greater than average amount of accidents and unhealthy working conditions.

##### a. Unemployment Insurance

Table 32 indicates that members were divided in their evaluation of union accomplishment on the item of unemployment insurance. While nearly half believed the union had done a good or excellent job in this area, the other half evaluated union achievement as fair or poor. The table

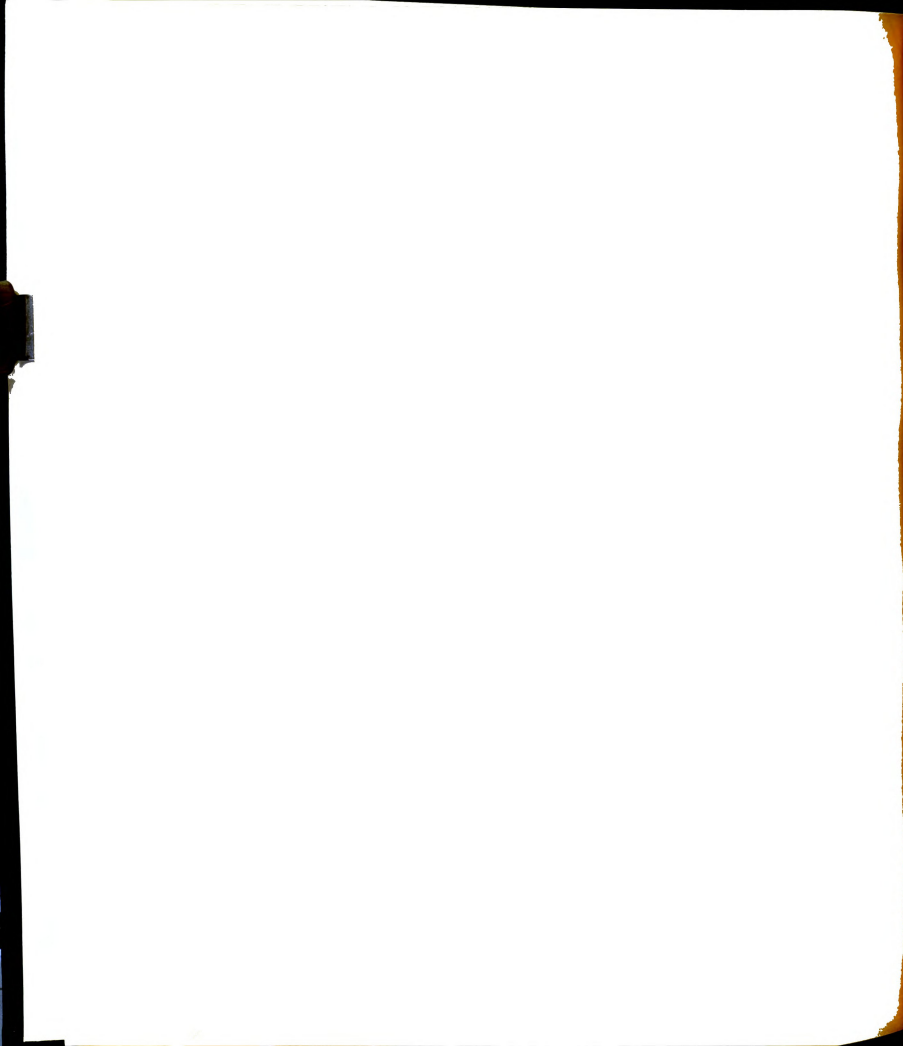




TABLE 32

DEGREE OF UNION ACCOMPLISHMENT IN OBTAINING UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE  
FOR  
DEGREE OF ACTIVITY

Degree of Union Accomplishment in Obtaining Unemployment Insurance	Degree of Activity			Total	Row $\chi^2$
	Active	Medium	Inactive		
Low & Poor	15	15	6	36	3.304
	20	8	12	40	1.945
Excellent	33	12	9	54	3.035
Low & No	2	5	5	12	5.298
	70	40	32	142	13.582

Chi square = 13.582

.05 P .02



es a significant association between degree of union activity and  
ion of union accomplishment on this issue. As was expected, active  
were most likely to give the most favorable evaluation. The moderate-  
ve were prone toward a poor rating, and the inactive members were  
resented among those giving an evaluation of fair.

#### b. Better Working Conditions

ong with wages and hours, working conditions have been traditional  
or collective bargaining. The effect of success or failure on this  
s felt by the member on a daily basis. Those familiar with the kind  
that many members of Local 724 perform will know that good working  
ons are at times especially difficult to obtain. This would be true  
management set good working conditions as a goal on a par with the  
of profit. It will be recalled that about six percent of the members  
their jobs, among other reasons, because of good working conditions.  
twenty-two percent disliked their jobs because of poor working con-  
s such as dirt and heat. In spite of this latter figure only seven  
t reported that the union had done nothing about working conditions  
t the union's accomplishment had been poor. Almost three-tenths  
ed fair accomplishment, and nearly two-fifths gave the local credit  
od or excellent accomplishment. The remainder admittedly did not  
r gave no response.

able 33 reveals a significant association between degree of union  
ty and evaluation of union accomplishment in the area of working  
ions. The actives provided the majority of these who gave the union  
or excellent rating; they were most underrepresented among those  
a rating of fair. The moderately active most frequently rated local

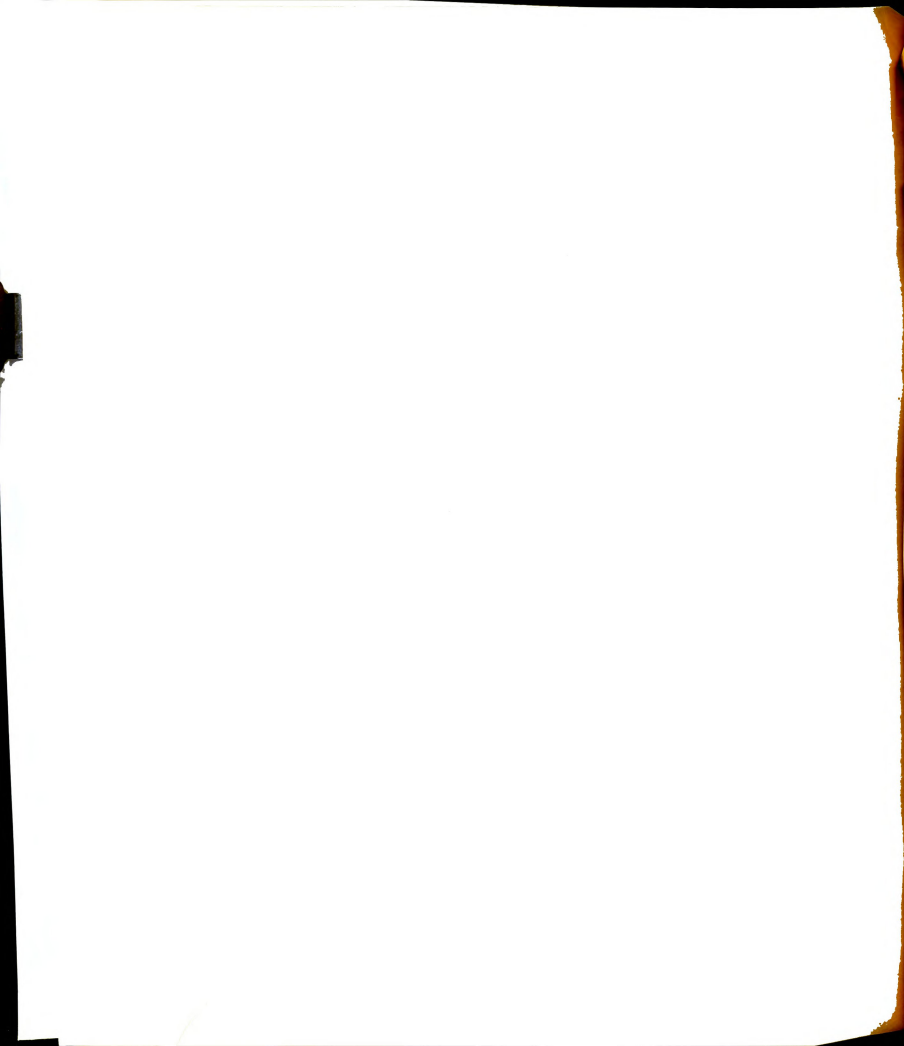


TABLE 33

DEGREE OF UNION ACCOMPLISHMENT IN OBTAINING BETTER WORKING CONDITIONS  
FOR  
DEGREE OF ACTIVITY

Degree of Union Accomplishment in Obtaining Better Working Conditions	Degree of Activity			Total	Row $\chi^2$
	Active	Medium	Inactive		
Very Poor	3	7	0	10	9.202
Poor	17	10	15	42	4.173
Excellent	46	23	15	84	1.343
Low & No	4	0	2	6	2.368
	70	40	32	142	17.086

Chi square = 17.086

.01 P .001



ishment as nothing or poor, while inactive members seemed most likely to evaluate accomplishment as fair. Inactives were least likely to evaluate achievement as good or excellent.

#### c. Accident Insurance

This item and the two to follow deal with some of the fringe benefits which many members of Local 724 receive. These are items which have been issues in the collective bargaining process within relatively recent years. Three-fifths of the members were satisfied that the accomplishment of the union had been good or excellent. Five percent rated it poor, and most eight percent stated that the union had done nothing. Others do not respond or do not know. Despite these differences, Table 34 shows a strong association between degree of union activity and member evaluation concerning accident insurance.

#### d. Health Insurance

It might be expected that the pattern of responses for health insurance would closely resemble that for accident insurance. These two items are covered under the same insurance policy. However, an examination of the contracts reveals that all members of Local 724 apparently do not enjoy the same degree of coverage on these two items. This could lead to unsatisfactory comparisons within the amalgamated local itself. Differences in coverage could account for any discrepancies in evaluation of accident and health insurance programs.

While Table 35 shows that almost two-thirds of the members were satisfied with the union's gains in the field of health insurance coverage, about one-quarter of the members rated union achievement as fair and only half as





TABLE 34

DEGREE OF ACCOMPLISHMENT IN OBTAINING ACCIDENT INSURANCE  
FOR  
DEGREE OF ACTIVITY

Accomplishment in Insurance	Degree of Activity			Total	Row $\chi^2$
	Active	Medium	Inactive		
Good & Poor	8	6	4	18	.256
	13	7	7	27	.188
Excellent	46	23	18	87	.450
Know Response	3	4	3	10	1.500
1	70	40	32	142	2.394

Chi square = 2.394

.90 P .80



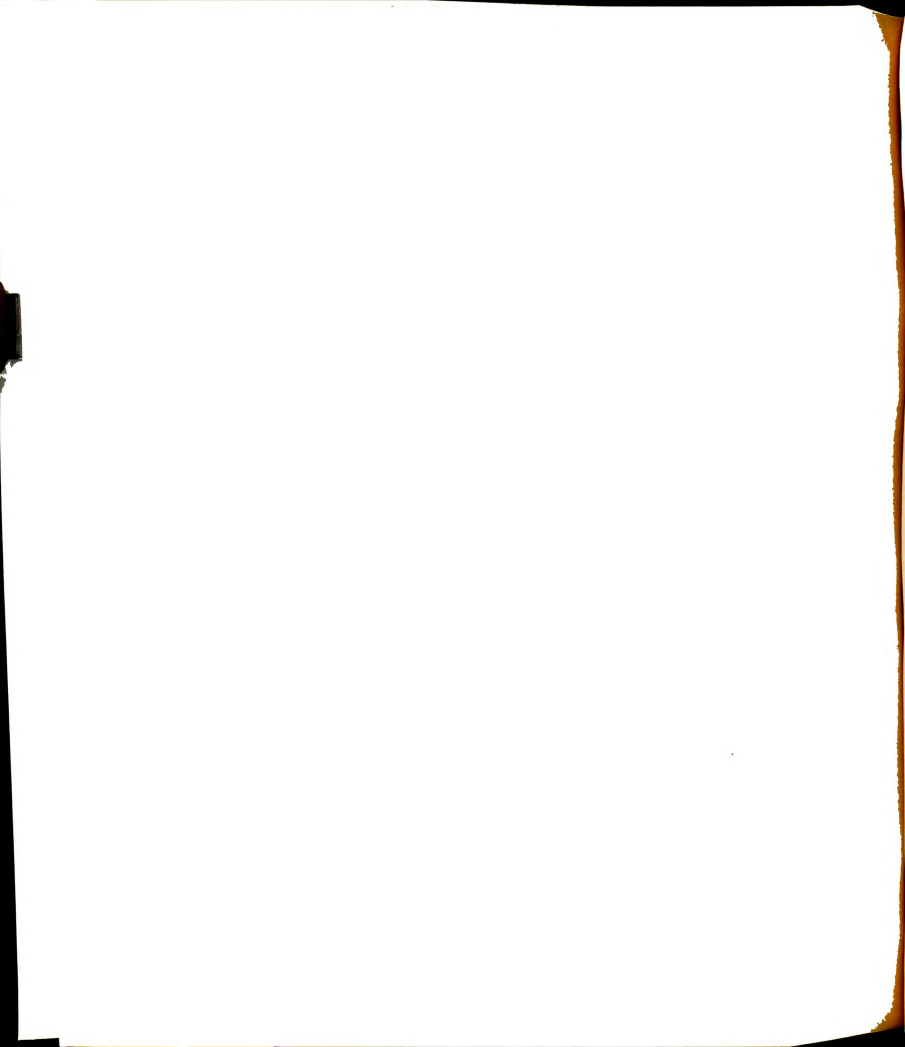
TABLE 35

DEGREE OF UNION ACCOMPLISHMENT IN OBTAINING HEALTH INSURANCE  
FOR  
DEGREE OF ACTIVITY

Accomplishment Insurance	Degree of Activity			Total	Row $\chi^2$
	Active	Medium	Inactive		
Nothing	6	8	3	17	3.007
	15	7	12	34	3.339
Excellent	47	21	15	83	1.881
Know	2	4	2	8	2.338
1	70	40	32	142	10.565

Chi square = 10.565

.20 P .10



expressed dissatisfaction. While the table does not show a significant association between degree of union activity and evaluation of union accomplishment for health insurance, some tendencies do appear. Active members again predominated among those giving favorable evaluations. The highly active most frequently responded unfavorably, and the inactive members leaned toward an evaluation of fair.

#### e. Vacations

The number of favorable responses concerning this item is similar to that found for other items. Table 36 shows the majority were satisfied with the union's efforts in obtaining vacations. One-sixth felt that union accomplishment was no better than "fair;" and showing slightly more dissatisfaction than for previously discussed items, one-fourth reported the accomplishment as poor. The data show no association between degree of union activity and union achievement in obtaining vacations.

#### f. Additional Items

In addition to the issues discussed above, union accomplishment for other benefits, life insurance and the guaranteed annual wage, were presented to the members for evaluation. These however are not analyzed in this presentation of gross findings, for in the case of life insurance benefits receive differential treatment in the copies of the contracts available to the members. Concerning the guaranteed annual wage, the union had not yet made a concerted drive for that benefit when this study was initiated.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>23</sup>The data on which the discussion in this section is based may be found in Appendix B.



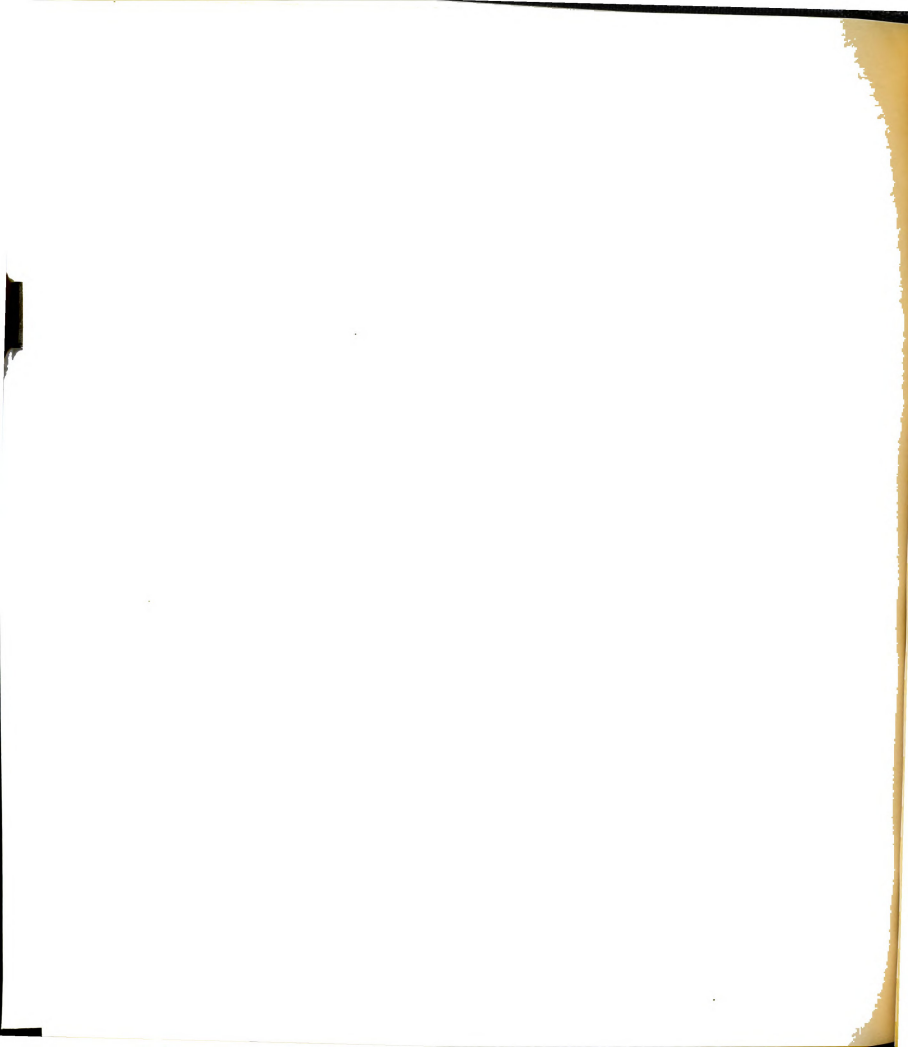
TABLE 36

EVALUATION OF UNION ACCOMPLISHMENT IN OBTAINING VACATIONS  
FOR  
DEGREE OF ACTIVITY

Accomplishment ns	Degree of Activity			Total	Row $\chi^2$
	Active	Medium	Inactive		
& Poor	16	11	10	37	.6378
	11	8	4	23	.6355
Excellent	43	21	17	81	.4681
low	0	0	1	1	3.5355
	70	40	32	142	5.2769

Chi square = 5.2769

.70 P .50



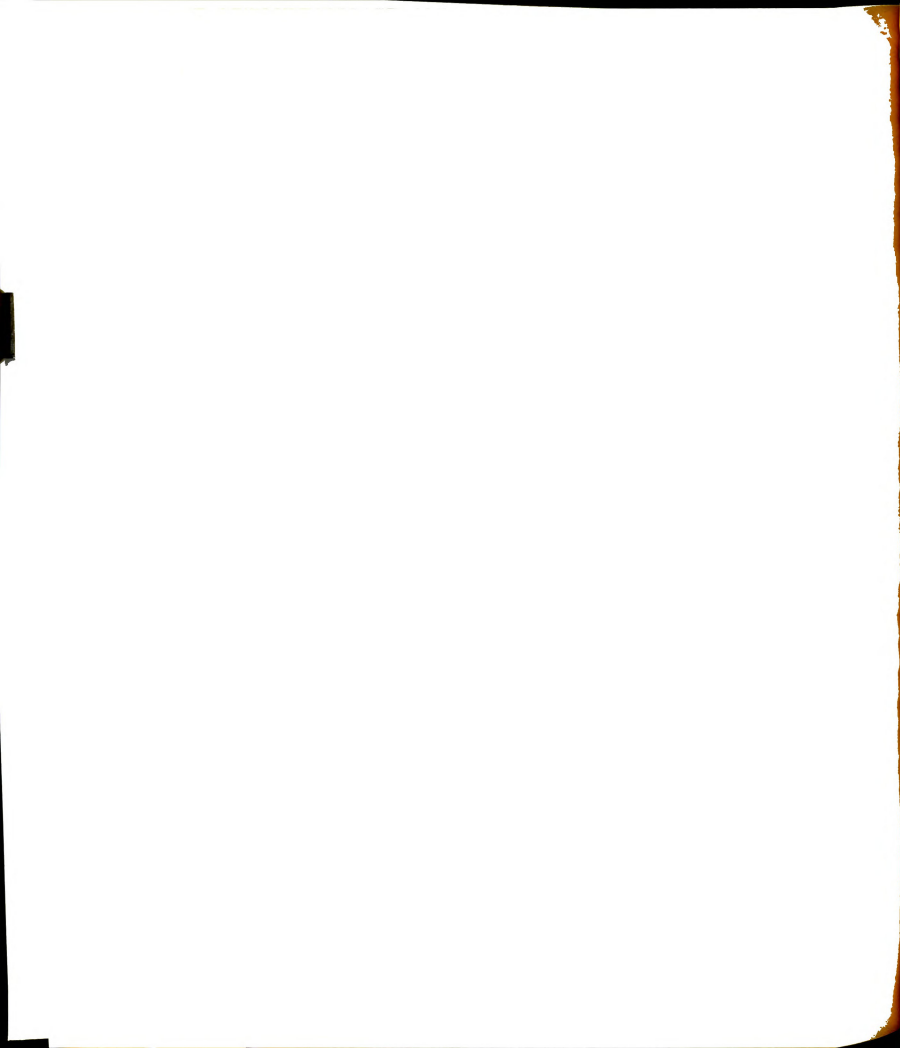


) Life insurance: The majority of the members expressed satisfaction at the union had accomplished in obtaining life insurance benefits. Over one-fifth felt that union achievement had been fair and about one-fifth rated the effort as poor or reported that the union had accomplished nothing on this issue. The remainder did not know.

) Guaranteed annual wage: This issue was just being presented for membership consumption when this study was initiated. The inside of the cover of UAW-CIO Ammunition, May, 1953, carries a drawing and prominent print emphasizing the importance of the guaranteed annual wage.

On the subject of the guaranteed annual wage none of the members reported that the union's accomplishment had been excellent. However, 16.6 percent stated that the union's effort had been good. About 33.3 percent felt that the accomplishment had been fair. Quite correctly, when as tangible evidence was concerned, the majority reported that the union had done nothing on this item. Members who reported favorably either had their local to "look good" or had information unavailable to other members.

3) Items suggested by members: The members have suggested a number of items which they thought the local was working for while this study was in progress. There were twenty-seven respondents who offered suggestions. Thirteen of these reported that the local was working on a pension plan or a lower retirement age. Three said the local was working to get a wage increase. One thought the union was striving for profit sharing plan. Ten gave a variety of responses such as more safety, less interference from foremen, and split vacations.



#### g. An Index of Union Effectiveness

In preparing an index of union effectiveness, values were assigned to responses given by the members. Values of one through five were assigned to responses of nothing, poor, fair, good, and excellent respectively. These values were multiplied by the number of members giving each response, totaled, and divided by the number of respondents. The total was then divided by seven, the number of issues on which the members expressed an evaluation. Those cases for which there is no response and for which the response is "don't know" have been omitted. The average index of union effectiveness on seven issues is 3.12 which shows a very slight inclination toward a favorable evaluation of unionism. On two issues, unemployment insurance and guaranteed annual wage, the index is below a rating of fair, on the latter between poor and nothing. Eliminating the item of guaranteed annual wage, on which the union had not yet made a concerted effort, the overall index is somewhat more favorable, 3.39.

#### D. Conclusion

The data support the general idea that there is a relationship between the degree of union activity and role orientation toward unionism. However, on the basis of statistical evidence, the hypothesis that active members as opposed to inactive members perceive the effectiveness of union activities differently cannot be completely accepted. The hypothesis must be refined in accordance with the activities of the local union. The data indicate a statistically significant association between the degree of union activity and comparison of Local 724 to other unions in the area, union accomplishment in obtaining unemployment insurance, and union accomplishment in obtaining better working conditions.



While not statistically significant other important tendencies appear to indicate slight association between degree of union activity and the members' perceptions of his local. Such association is found for the members' evaluation of opportunity to become an officer, the members' perception of success and failure, and the union's accomplishment in obtaining health insurance.

Little or no association was found to exist between degree of union activity and the meaning of union, evaluation of treatment of workers by officers or union, and union accomplishment in obtaining accident insurance policies.

Despite a failure to find significant associations in many instances, the data show important directional tendencies to exist between degree of union activity and the members' perceptions and evaluations of their union. Disclosure of such tendencies was a primary function of the statistical analysis.



## CHAPTER VI

### ATTITUDES OF OFFICERS AND NON-OFFICERS

#### A. Local Union Officers

##### 1. Who the Officers Are

The cases which were classified as officer in this study include president, secretary and treasurer, international representative, chairman, steward, committeeman, and committee officer. This designation of officers is very similar to that of local union leaders as defined by Chinoy.<sup>1</sup>

One may object to the equating of officers and leaders, but it can hardly be denied that these are the actors by whom most tasks are accomplished at the local level. Their behavior is reflected in the daily implementation of the agreement, and their cumulative experience may spell the difference between "success" and "failure" at contract time.

Generally it can be expected that these are the most active of the membership. The Constitution of the International specifies a high degree of activity for them if they intend to continue in elective office.

Article 34, Section 6. Local unions shall make reasonable provisions in their by-laws or in case Local Unions have no by-laws, rules governing the attendance at meetings by members holding any Local Union elective position. The Local Union shall establish penalties that may include automatic removal from such office or position upon their failure to attend a stipulated number of meetings as required

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<sup>1</sup>Eli Chinoy, "Local Union Leadership" in Alvin W. Gouldner, editor, Essays in Leadership, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1950, p. 158.





by their by-laws or rules. Local Union by-laws so amended or rules established where Local Union by-laws do not exist must be submitted to and approved by the International Executive Board before becoming effective.

Local 724 has complied with this requirement of the Constitution insofar as executive officers are concerned by a provision in its by-laws.

Article VII, Section 2. It shall be mandatory that all elected Executive officers of Amalgamated Local 724, UAW-CIO attend at least eight (8) regularly scheduled Executive Board and Local Union meetings per year.

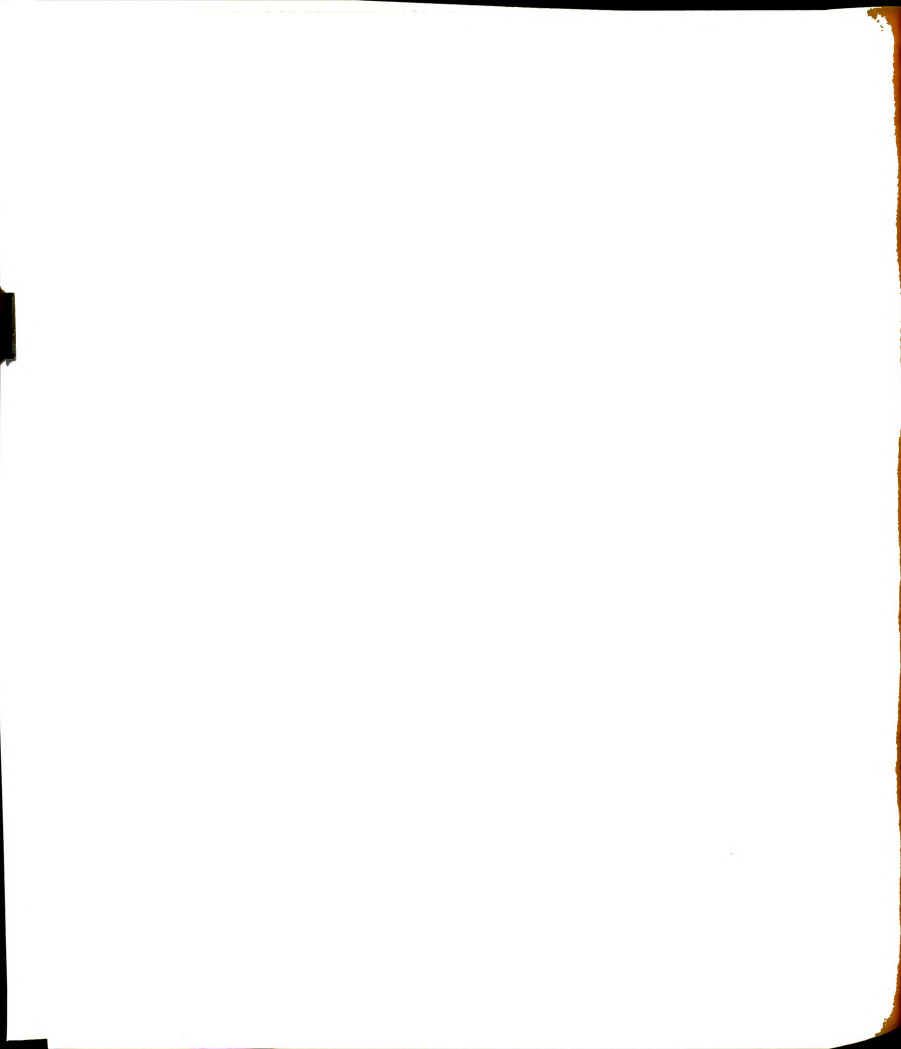
Section 3. If the officer does not attend the established number of meetings, he shall be automatically removed from his office, and he shall not be eligible to run for any elective position for the remainder of the term of office from which he was so removed.

In addition to this requirement for executive officers, provision is found in the by-laws which has the effect of keeping committee members active, at least, if the committees themselves are functioning.

Article XI, Section 5. Any member of a committee who fails to attend three (3) consecutive meetings of the committee without excuse acceptable to the committee shall be removed from the committee and a new member elected at the next Executive Board meeting of the Local Union, subject to approval of the membership.

These provisions point out the fact that there is a tendency, even among some local leaders, to be somewhat apathetic toward the duties which they have been elected to perform. It is possible, of course, that some officers would actually prefer to be rank-and-file members but reluctantly ran for office. Literature in the field reports difficulty in getting members to hold office.

Acceptance of union office involves certain social demands and obligations that in the eyes of many workers make it undesirable and a task to be avoided. Active participation can entail an enormous investment of time, even though it may only be necessary because



too few members volunteer their services and a relative handful must carry the burden.<sup>2</sup>

It will be remembered that over five-sixths of the members felt that every member had an equal opportunity to become an officer. Without questioning the beliefs of the respondents, it must be admitted that such is not the case. Experience shows that union office cannot be held by just anyone. The answers strongly indicate the belief that the machinery for getting into office is formally available, but they say nothing of the need of a candidate to have a following, the prestige requirement for nomination, or the effect that machine politics may have in determining the outcome of an election.

Undoubtedly most local officers come from the rank-and-file, usually after having served in a relatively minor capacity. Committee membership may serve as a stepping stone to local officialdom. The same appears to be true for officers above the local level. Barbash indicates:

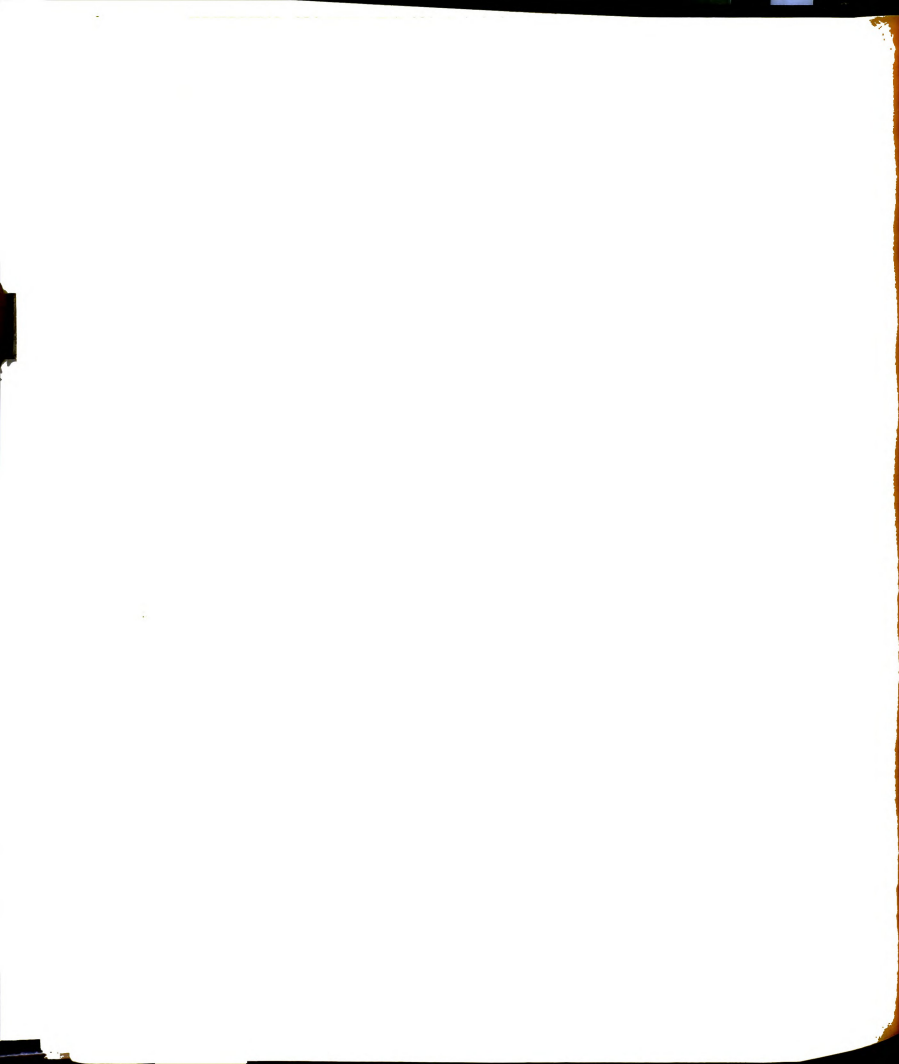
A further imperative of union leadership, which stems from the political character of unionism, is the fact that leadership almost always works its way up from the ranks. The personal following that is the indispensable ingredient of leadership is not at the beck and call of any Johnny-come-lately, and is only available to the men who have worked their way up within the union.<sup>3</sup>

While activity in the local appears necessary to advancement within the local, the efficiency of the machine may preclude mobility of members of an opposing faction. In one local, top officials had been members of the education committee. After these officers had reached the "top," the education committee no longer functioned regularly. Appointive members

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<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 159.

<sup>3</sup>Jack Barbash, "Imperatives of Union Leadership," in Robert Lubin, Human Relations in Administration, Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York, 1951, p. 110.



to the committee were drawn almost equally from the opposing factions, the faction in power slightly in control. This vehicle to upward mobility in the local was thereby eliminated.

In spite of the above incident, studies show that active members are most likely to become officers. Local leaders become active for a variety of reasons, many of them similar to the reasons for which workers become union members. Seidman presents some of the reasons.

The local leaders were asked, "How did you happen to become active?" The interview data, supplemented by observation of the local and its leaders, provides the following reasons: (1) resentment against treatment by managerial personnel; (2) dissatisfaction with working conditions or wages; (3) failure to receive desired or expected promotions; (4) lack of other available leaders; (5) prior union sympathy; (6) desire to obtain personal power, recognition, or financial gain; and (7) unsatisfactory marital or home experience.<sup>4</sup>

Sayles and Strauss have pointed out three factors that are particularly important to an understanding of who gets elected.

1. Pay Rate. Our research indicates a general tendency for union leaders to be selected from higher paid and more skilled workers. Union wide officers often hold the highest paid jobs under the jurisdiction of the local; stewards are the highest paid in their department.
2. Seniority. Seniority and age are almost as important as pay in determining a worker's chance of being elected to union office. ... Superseniority permits younger officers to keep their jobs when older non-officers are laid off. Members are reluctant to permit a relatively young worker to gain such complete seniority protection.
3. Communications. Wherever there is rivalry for office a given candidate's chances for success depend to a considerable extent upon his communications opportunity. ... Other things being equal, those who have the greatest chance to talk to others are most likely to become leaders.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>Joel Seidman, Jack London, and Bernard Karsh, "Leadership in a Local Union," American Journal of Sociology, Volume 56, 1950-51, pp. 229-237.

<sup>5</sup>Leonard R. Sayles and George Strauss, The Local Union, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1953, pp. 144, 147, 148.



Other factors, which probably have some influence on who is selected as an officer, may be what Sayles and Strauss have presented as the social characteristics of local union administrators.

(1) middle class family connections, (2) a desire to progress in education, (3) residence in rural, suburban, or at least non-working class sections of town, (4) a disapproving attitude toward gambling, (5) a high number of associational memberships, (6) middle-class part-time jobs.<sup>6</sup>

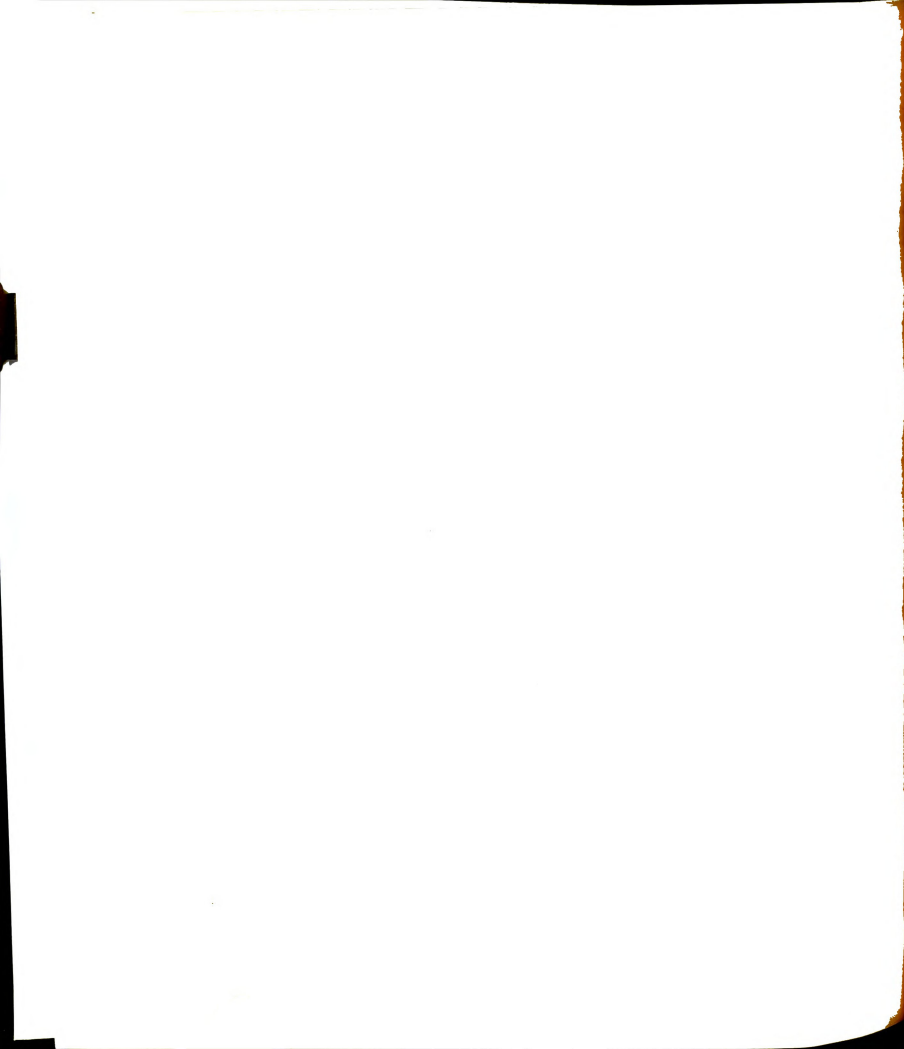
It seems obvious that there is more to getting elected than merely having an opportunity to get on the ballot, but certainly that opportunity is a partial measure of the degree of democracy within the local union.

In the final analysis it is all members of the local who have an opportunity to participate directly in the selection of local officers. While voting participation in Local 724 appeared to be relatively high, it could perhaps be more so if more members knew how often local elections are held. Data which may be found in Appendix B show that almost one-third of the members definitely did not know how often local elections were held. An additional fifteen percent did not respond to the question. Thus a little over one-half know that local elections were held once each year.

Apparently proximity to a political situation leads to increased knowledge. Almost four-fifths knew that unit elections are held once each year. The remainder responded that they did not know, gave an incorrect response, or did not answer the question. When local by-laws provide for local-wide and unit elections on the same ballot, it must be discouraging for the active and interested union members to note the above discrepancies unless they as a group prefer limited participation and thus enjoy uncontested control. Article VIII of the By-Laws provides:

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<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 126.





Section 1. Nominations for local Executive officers shall take place at the May general membership meeting of the local union. The election shall take place in May or June.

Section 2. It shall be mandatory that all units elect their unit Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Bargaining Committee, on the same day and date that the local union has its annual election for local union officers.

Section 3. Each unit shall have its own ballot. It shall list the candidates for the local union officers at the top of the ballot, to be followed by the candidates for Unit Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Bargaining Committee, etc.

One of the reasons for attempting to determine whether the attitudes of officers and rank-and-file members differ is attributable to the writer's interest in learning something more about these recognizably different groups. It is understandable that some segmentation should develop as a result of the relationships which exist. In modern society bureaucratic tendencies will inevitably result when numbers of people are involved. While democracy is the keynote at the local level, some bureaucratic characteristics must exist if the local is to function other than intermittently. Decisions must be made between local meetings and usually without rank-and-file participation. Ultimately, at least ideally, all decisions for the local must have membership approval. When this is not regularly obtained, rank-and-file members soon note a cleavage appearing between themselves and the officers. Although many may object to what has been decided without them, they probably would not have been available if asked to play a role in the decision making process. This is not to condone behavior on the part of officers who might well obtain rank-and-file participation. On the other hand, officers probably consider themselves the doers. It is possible that many of them feel that they are almost solely responsible for whatever is accomplished. Much of their decision making takes place under circumstances in which the interaction is less formal and primary in nature. Such



situations may readily lead to the development of in-group feelings quite impossible of attainment by the mass of rank-and-file members. The latter may in fact resent the clique-like relationships which exist among the officers. With suspicions aroused, segmentation can increase noticeably, and for every pair of "we" groups in existence one can expect corresponding "they" groups. Speaking of cleavage between officers and the rank-and-file, Sayles and Strauss say:

When the union is new its leaders are anxious to recruit people to help them. Anyone with sufficient time and energy can participate, not only in the ratification of decisions already made but in the decision making process itself. But as it grows older a twofold change takes place. The leaders tend to restrict the number with whom they consult before making a decision; the rank and file increasingly look upon the officers as "they" rather than "we," a group separate and distinct from themselves.<sup>7</sup>

Miller and Form also document this point.

This segmentation or cleavage between officers and members is reinforced by the fact that officers are relatively few in number. Consequently, they get to know one another rather well. The interaction among them between meetings is much higher than their interaction with rank and file. As full-time paid officers, their isolation from rank and file may be almost complete. Under these circumstances union officers tend to support each other and stick together as a group.<sup>8</sup>

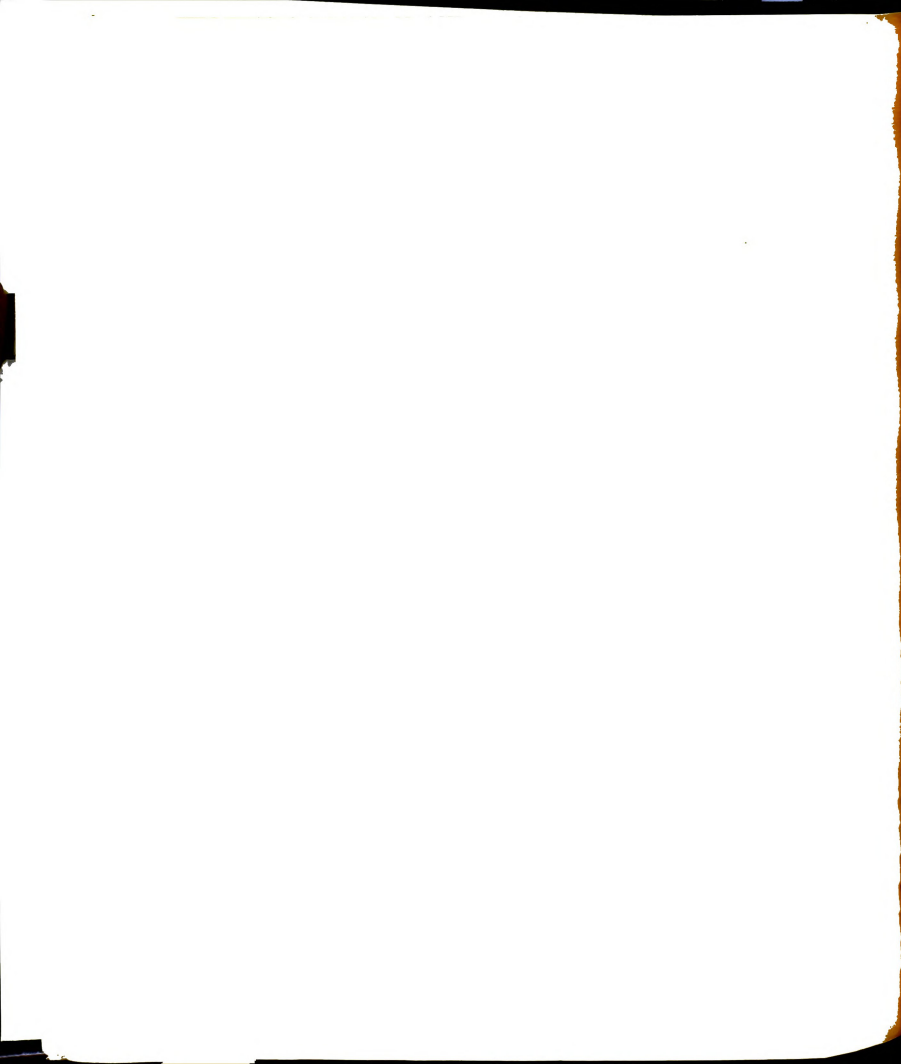
## 2. Need for Officers

Since the rank-and-file members, at best, usually take part in only the most elementary of union activities, someone has to "watch the store." This somewhat tedious and even more thankless task falls to the local officials. When the "store goes unwatched" they are reminded that they hold

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<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 245.

<sup>8</sup>Delbert C. Miller and William H. Form, Industrial Sociology, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1951, p. 251.



an office and more often than not their duties may be recalled for them. It is little short of remarkable that as many things get done with so few working at them on a full-time basis.

Of course, not all that is accomplished results from the efforts of full-time officials, but for the most part they are responsible for the coordination of the over-all process. What they coordinate is usually that which is done by part-time leaders who are included here in the officer category. Grievances must be processed, agreements made, discipline maintained, disbursements paid, and records kept. Further, the local officer is a public relations man at the community level, a liaison between his own and nearby locals, and a link in the chain-of-command to state and national arenas. The kinds of tasks to which the labor leader must devote himself are pointed out by Sylvia Kopald.

For a union is not a single thing but an organization with a three-fold character. It is in the first place, a business organization. ...

In addition to its business character the union functions as a fighting organization. ...

Finally, the union is a political organization. ...<sup>9</sup>

Selekman speaks of what the labor leader's expected performance is and of the conflicting roles he must play if he would live up to expectation.

For the labor leader's central objective remains unchanged; it is simple, clear cut, dynamic: improvement in conditions of working and living for his members. In pursuing that objective, however, in the stage of administration quite as much as in the organizing stage, the good union executive must fill a variety of conflicting roles. He must be the potent commander of a fighting organization, the rallying leader of a fraternal society, the democratic director of a political association, and the efficient business administrator of what amounts to a marketing

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<sup>9</sup>Sylvia Kopald, "Democracy and Leadership," in E. Wight Bakke and Clark Kerr, Unions, Management and the Public, Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1949, pp. 180-184.



cooperative: a group of men acting together to sell their own product, which is labor.<sup>10</sup>

Selekman comes closer than does Kopald to agreeing with Arthur Ross concerning reference to the sale of labor. One of Ross' major contentions concerns the political nature of the union. "The central proposition, then, is that the trade union is a political agency operating in an economic environment." Later Ross says "..., but the union does not sell labor. It participates in the establishment of the price of labor, but the sale is made between the worker and the employer."<sup>11</sup> Respondents in this study were asked to agree or disagree with the statement: A main purpose of the union local is to set a price for a man's labor. About three-fifths agreed with the statement. Exactly one half as many disagreed. The remainder either did not know or did not respond. What is important is that so many members felt quite dependent upon the union, expecting the local to set the wage for them.

### 3. Education for Leadership

In spite of the difficulty involved in recruiting officers from the rank-and-file, that is still the only source. Education committees in locals all over the country have the task of informing and educating rank-and-file members. This was undoubtedly the initial training toward holding office for the vast majority of the present local officials and will continue to be such in the future. Following this initial phase many potential

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<sup>10</sup>Benjamin M. Selekman, Labor Relations and Human Relations, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1947, p. 180.

<sup>11</sup>Arthur M. Ross, Trade Union Wage Policy, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1948, pp. 12, 28.

officers will be permitted or requested to attend one of a growing number of labor schools, short courses, and conferences. These are the places wherein many who might have become "average" or even apathetic members will be developed into the labor leaders of the future. The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union initiated officers' Qualification Courses as far back as 1937. There are obviously many things which officers need to know about their union and its policies, workers and their needs, management and its principles, the "public" and its attitudes, and school systems and their teachings if the officer would perform his prescribed functions effectively. Some surely hold office who are not informed on these issues. Mark Starr offers a warning which applies equally to officers of all ranks.

The trade union leader must be aware of the dangers which come to the individual wielding power. The individual "dressed in a little brief authority" may well mistake his own decisions for the voice of destiny and may arrogate to himself a larger mandate than his members ever conferred upon him. While being aware of the corruption which comes to men in the exercise of power, the union leader cannot escape the responsibility of leadership and of trying to anticipate changes which are going to affect his organization and the community materially.<sup>12</sup>

Not only are present rank-and-file members being trained for eventual leadership, but present officers are being trained to perform the functions of their offices more effectively. At the same time, training is intended to give the individual a feeling for membership in a larger movement.

Major emphasis is on provoking thought and awareness, as means of stimulating the individual to be more active and more effective in his office. ...

Most important of all, in the staff's opinion, is the creation of a sense of belonging and of being part of a broad and important movement.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>Mark Starr, "Education for Labor Leaders," Forum, Volume CVII, June, 1947, pp. 502-505.

<sup>13</sup>M. M. Smith, "C.I.O. Training for Active and Effective Local Leadership," Monthly Labor Review, Volume 74, 140-144.



Needless to say, the labor schools offer tremendous opportunity for the teaching of the fundamentals of democracy and the development of leadership potential, not only for local unions but for the communities of which these locals are a part.

#### 4. Some Attitudes About Officers

As has been stated, the majority of the members indicated satisfaction with the quality of their officers at the local, regional, and international levels. Most felt that international officers are not too radical, too conservative, too interested in their own success, or too indifferent to doing a good job. Only one-seventh felt that international officials were generally radical; one-tenth felt they were too conservative, and almost one-fifth believed that these officials were too interested in their own success. However, in spite of these criticisms, considerably fewer (5.6%) felt that the officials were too indifferent about a good job. The remoteness of the international level is again evidenced by the number of members who could not give an opinion. When asked to evaluate international officers, over one-quarter of the members gave a non-directional response.

If any single group of officers received more credit for having tried to obtain economic benefits, it was local officers. Almost three-tenths said that local officers have done more for them than any other group "in the whole union set-up." About one-seventh said it is the international representatives, and an equal number attributed most economic effort to the work of international officers. The largest group, over one-third felt that the effort had been shared equally at all levels.



The officer no doubt has some ideas as to how he differs from rank-and-file members. If the union functions effectively he, as an administrator, can claim much of the credit. He probably feels that the union's success is in large measure the result of his acumen. Ordinarily he fights for the job because he feels he is qualified to perform the required duties, and usually the rank-and-file elect him because they are in accord with his belief. Gouldner has presented some of the basic attitudes which progressive leaders hold.

The union is viewed as that institution through which the progressive leader works for his "principles," and for "humanity." The progressive leader believes that his own goals are qualitatively different from those of the ordinary worker's in that they are superpersonal. The progressive leader places the greatest importance upon the fulfillment of those obligations which he has voluntarily undertaken or which inhere in his office.

The progressive leader believes that the offices in his union should be occupied by people who have ascended from the rank-and-file.

"Modesty," "humility," and other forms of self-effacement are deemed necessary virtues to be manifested by the progressive leader during the daily conduct of interpersonal relations.<sup>14</sup>

##### 5. The Orientations of Officers of Local 724

While it might be expected that officers as opposed to rank-and-file members would exemplify the political, economic, or social orientations, Table 37 indicates no significant association between the holding of office and union orientation. The principal tendency indicated by the data is that non-officers accounted for almost nine-tenths of the apathetic members.

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<sup>14</sup>Alvin W. Gouldner, "Attitudes of 'Progressive' Trade-Union Leaders," American Journal of Sociology, Volume 52, 1947, 389-392.



TABLE 37

## ORIENTATION TOWARD UNIONISM FOR NON-OFFICER AND OFFICER

Union Orientation	Non-Officer	Officer	Total	Row $\chi^2$
Political	32	10	42	.039
Economic	22	8	30	.293
Social	16	7	23	.825
Apathetic	31	4	35	2.476
Hostile	9	3	12	.043
Total	110	32	142	3.676

Chi square = 3.676

.50 P .30



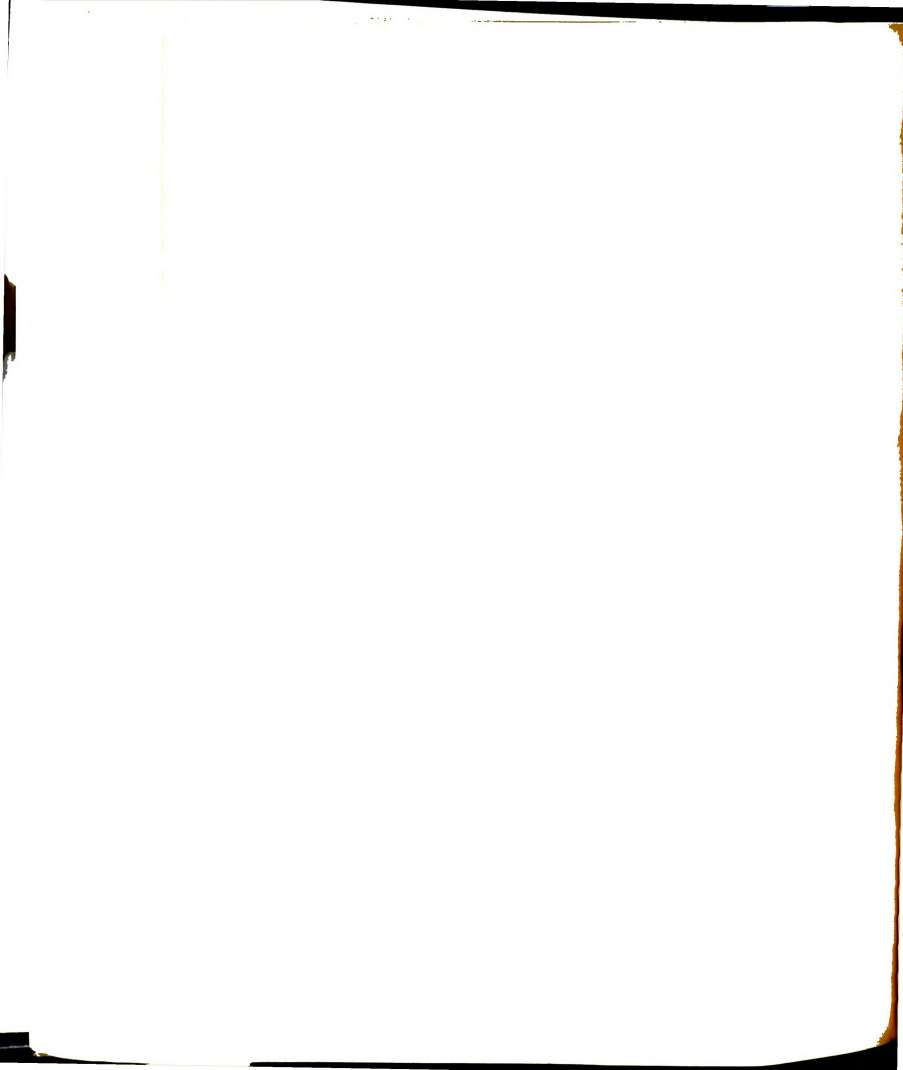
## B. Hypothesis Number IV

HYPOTHESIS: OFFICERS, AS OPPOSED TO NON-OFFICERS, PERCEIVE THE EFFECTIVENESS OF UNION ORGANIZATION DIFFERENTLY.

Eleven factors were used to compare the perceptions of officers with those of rank-and-file members as was the case when the perspectives of active and inactive members were compared. The factors for which responses were analyzed include: the meaning of union, treatment of workers by employers, treatment of members by the union, the equality of opportunity to become an officer, attribution of union success and failure, a comparison of Local 724 to other Lansing locals, and evaluation of union accomplishment in obtaining unemployment insurance, better working conditions, accident insurance, health insurance, and vacations.

### 1. Meaning of Union

When some union leaders hold that union means leaders rather than members, they are probably more than half right. This is particularly true when accomplishments are related to whose efforts were involved. These efforts can be measured in terms of time expended, both formally and informally, in the pursuit of union affairs. Officers are certainly in a position to realize their importance to the organization, and this importance is likewise recognized by many rank-and-file members. Rank-and-file members, as individuals, no doubt realize that even if they were not members the union would continue to operate. Further, after a man has worked a full shift, it can hardly be expected that he devote continuous time to union endeavors. There are such "work horses," but generally workers will not devote much time to administrative details and could not perform those functions if they would.





While unionism as a whole is the spontaneous outcome of the conditions, needs and problems of the workers, the rank and file in general are not in a condition to formulate methods for meeting needs or solving problems, and, apart from the direction of competent leaders, have not the intelligence to combat employers successfully. Therefore, unionism as a fact, in its constructive aspects is taught to the rank-and-file by the leaders. Only when the union is weak and the leaders unsuccessful do the rank-and-file take control.<sup>15</sup>

Officers, then, as long as they are successful, may stay in power term after term. This of course lends continuity to the union-management relationship, and it may mean smoother relations at contract time and during the life of a contract.

One should not forget that what "Tom got for us" ten years ago may be looked upon today as what "the union got for us." Here union and officers become the same thing.

Three quarters of the members of Local 724 meant "members" when they used the term union. However, Table 38 indicates no significant association between the holding of office and perception of the union. The writer had anticipated that officers would take a firm middle ground and respond that union meant both officers and members. Such a response would serve to obscure any positional segmentation and would have been socially acceptable. On the contrary, the data show no positional segmentation regarding the meaning of union.

## 2. Treatment of Workers by Employers

Table 39 compares the rank-and-file and officer evaluations of the employer's treatment of workers. The chi-square value for the table indicates small differentiation between the groups on this factor. There seems,

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<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 177.



TABLE 38  
 MEANING OF UNION  
 FOR  
 NON-OFFICER AND OFFICER

Meaning of Union	Non-Officer	Officer	Total	Row $\chi^2$
Members	83	24	107	.0006
Officers	14	5	19	.1563
Both	13	3	16	.1331
Total	110	32	142	.2900

Chi square = .2900

.90 P .80

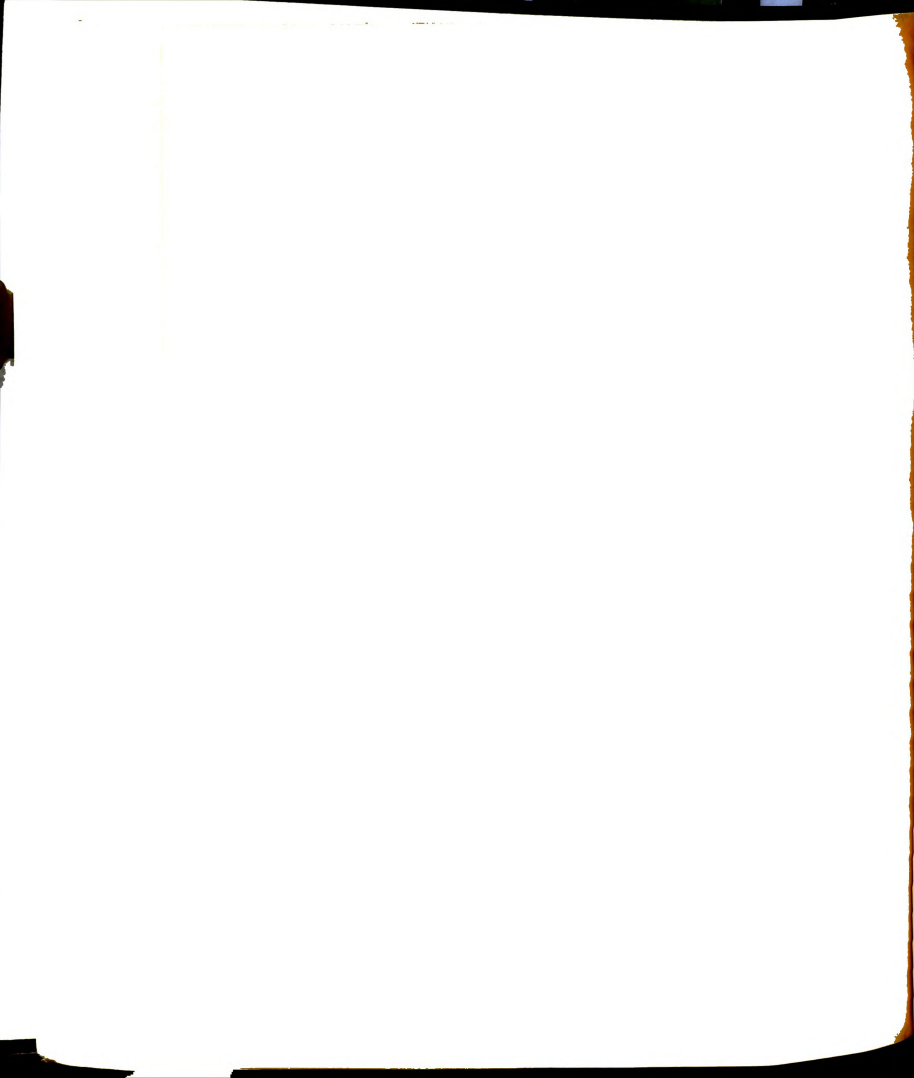
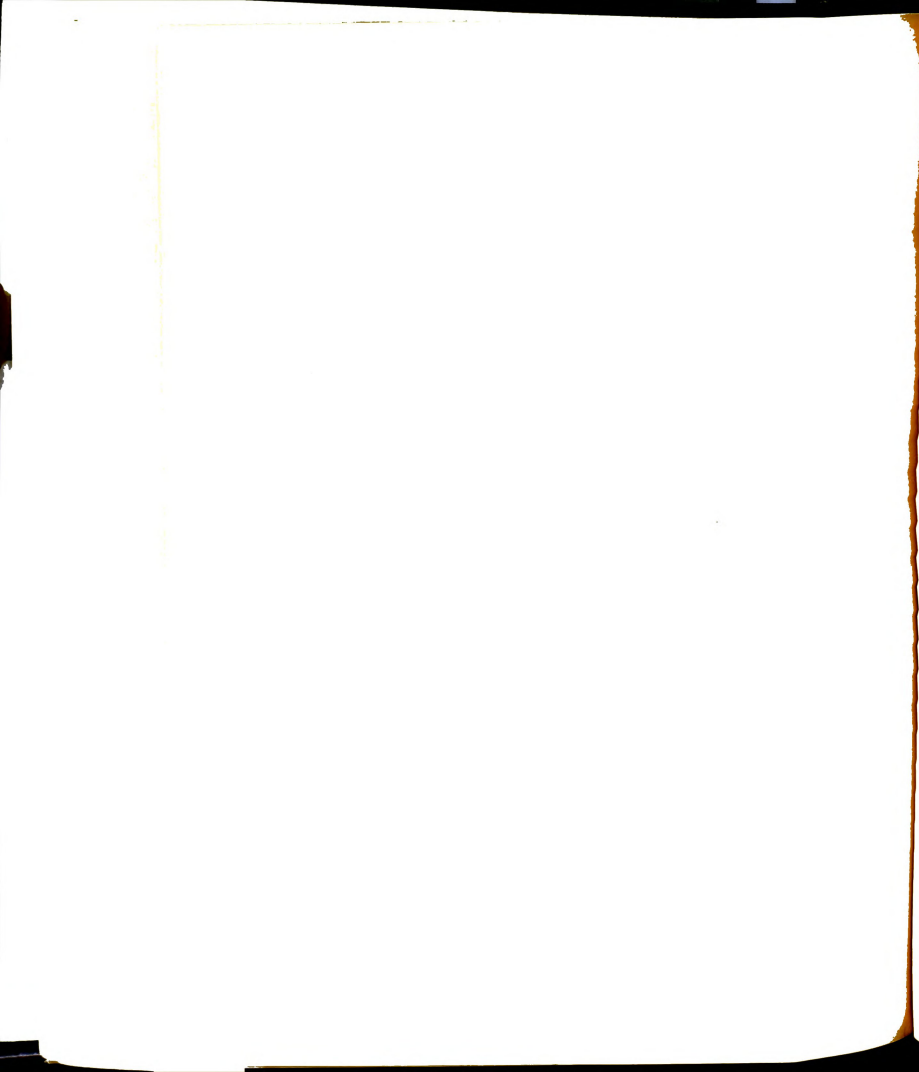


TABLE 39  
 TREATMENT OF WORKERS BY EMPLOYERS  
 FOR  
 NON-OFFICER AND OFFICER

Treatment of Workers by Employers	Non-Officer	Officer	Total	Row $\chi^2$
Fairly	80	20	100	.367
Don't Know & Others	17	8	25	1.276
Unfairly	13	4	17	.010
Total	110	32	142	1.653

Chi square = 1.653

.20 P .10



however, to be a slight tendency in the hypothesized direction, that officers are somewhat more critical of employers than are non-officers. It may be more accurate to state that the officers stand out as people who prefer to respond in a qualified fashion. These are those who hesitate to respond directly, perhaps not using "fairly" or "unfairly" at all, or perhaps they respond with a do not know. This type of question possibly puts the officer on the defensive; he must constantly justify the existence of the union and that of the position which he occupies.

### 3. Treatment of Members by Union

It can be assumed that when members are asked if they think the union treats all members fairly that their responses refer to the treatment which members feel they are accorded by the local officers. In any event the officers, while subject to removal, are still the local disciplinarians. It is they who hold "court" and interpret the constitution and local by-laws. It may be they who "did not fight hard enough" on a particular grievance or who permitted an enforced vacation for Joe while Jim stayed on the job. These are the kinds of issues and evaluations which can lead to an unfavorable attitude toward the union. Caplow remarks:

Industrial sociologists have been repeatedly struck by the fact that the worker's attitude toward the union -- in mass industry -- is not much friendlier than toward management, even where the union is effective and commands a deep loyalty.<sup>16</sup>

As suspicion can lead to segmentation, so can segmentation lead to impersonal relationships. These in turn may lead to unfriendliness.

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<sup>16</sup>Theodore Caplow, The Sociology of Work, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1954, p. 121.





Caplow points to what could be a contributory factor; in speaking of the rank-and-file--officer relationship, he says:

The union functionaries with whom he comes into contact are met as functionaries, exercising a certain power and enjoying a certain superiority. How their formal role of representing the worker will be perceived depends largely upon the accidents of personal relations--for example, the popularity of a foreman. They man easily come to be regarded as part of the intangible They to whom the manual worker is subject in so many ways.<sup>17</sup>

Table 40, while not indicative of a significant association, does reveal a slight, but important tendency. As expected, non-officers were most likely to report unfavorable treatment of members by the union and officers were somewhat inclined to report that the union always treats members fairly. In any event the majority of officers and non-officers felt that members are always treated fairly.

Four percent stated that the union had to treat members fairly; about five percent complained that partiality was shown to friends of the local officer or to members who were friends of the company, and one-sixth rationalized "unfair" treatment by remarking that anyone can make a mistake or some members do not cooperate.

#### 4. Equality of Opportunity to Become Officer

A question relating to this factor must be somewhat difficult for an officer to answer without some qualifying comment. A response in one direction may tend to serve as evidence of the officer's being overimpressed with his own importance. Response in the other direction could appear as self-condemnation in regard to his performance of functions expected of him. In this question, for example -- Do you think that all members have

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<sup>17</sup>Ibid., p. 208.

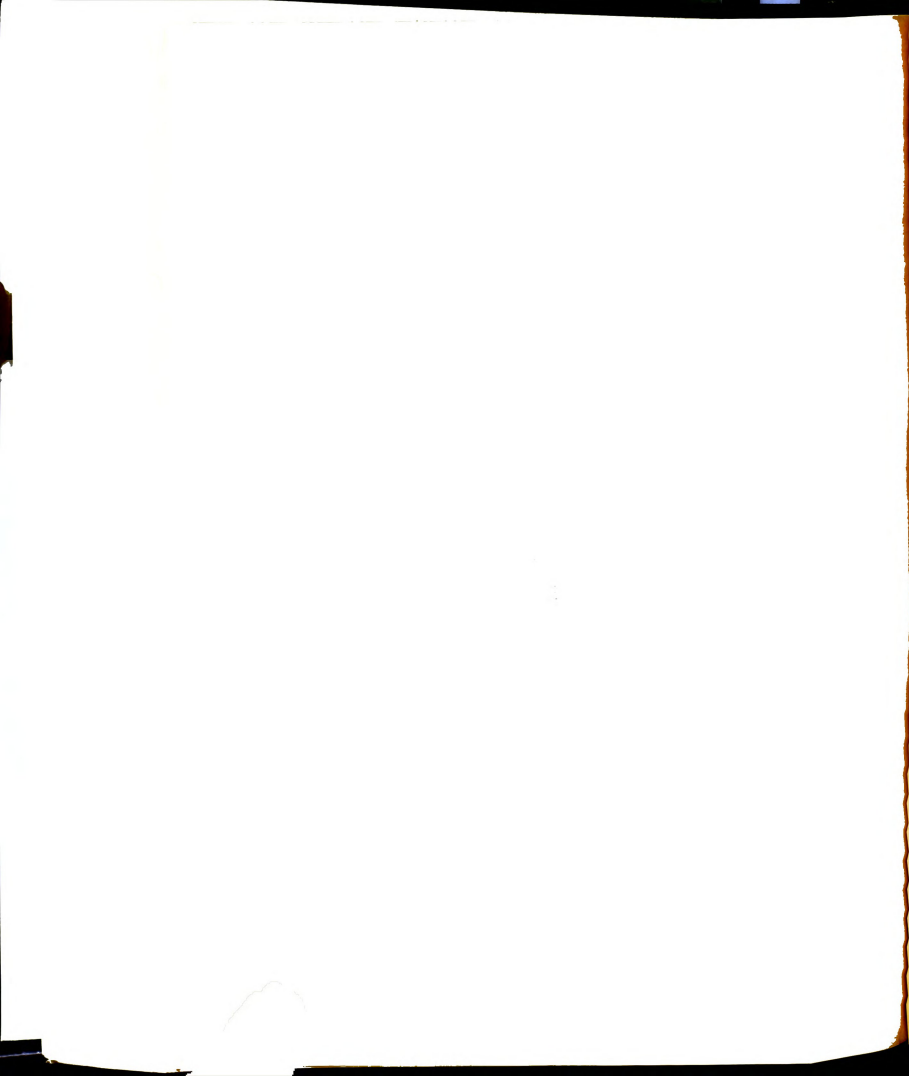


TABLE 40  
 FAIR TREATMENT OF MEMBERS BY UNION  
 FOR  
 NON-OFFICER AND OFFICER

Fair Treatment of  
 Members by Union

	Non-Officer	Officer	Total	Row $\chi^2$
Not Often & Some of the Time	13	1	14	1.893
Usually	37	12	49	.107
Always	60	18	78	.013
Don't Know	0	1	1	3.348
Total	110	32	142	5.361

Chi square = 5.361

.20 P .10



a fair chance to become union officers if they want the job? -- should the officer answer negatively, it might be interpreted as an admission at least of his acquiescence to undemocratic practices in the local. Should he respond affirmatively, he might be accused of being willing to have just anyone as a union official. Fair could mean "pretty good" to one and existence of equality of opportunity to another.

Table 41 shows little association between position in the local and evaluation of opportunity to become an officer. It can be seen, however, that over four-fifths of the rank-and-file members and an equal percentage of officers believed that mobility to officerships was available to all members. The few officers who felt that everyone did not have an equal opportunity stated that to be an officer one needed seniority and that some members were not capable of holding office. The Constitution of the International requires that a member must have a year of seniority before he can become a candidate for office.

No member shall be eligible for election as an Executive Officer of the Local Union until he has been a member in continuous good standing in the Local union for one (1) year immediately prior to the nomination, except in the case of a newly organized Local Union.<sup>18</sup>

While pay rate and seniority seem to be important factors in the selection of union officers it should be remembered that over half of the members of Local 724 felt that the present officers were elected because of their ability. This must include "mental ability." It may be true that many of the officers come from among the "sharper" members. Hoxie's comment, though somewhat harsh, emphasizes apparent officer -- non-officer differences in knowledge.

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<sup>18</sup>Article 36, Section 4.



TABLE 41  
 EQUAL OPPORTUNITY TO BECOME OFFICER  
 FOR  
 NON-OFFICER AND OFFICER

Equal Opportunity  
 To Become Officer

	Non-Officer	Officer	Total	Row $\chi^2$
No	14	5	19	.156
Yes	93	27	120	.000
Don't Know & No Response	3	0	3	.863
Total	110	32	142	1.019

Chi square = 1.019

.70 P .50





The rank and file are ignorant and impulsive; they do not know anything about business and market conditions and trade. They think all business is making enormous profits, and that there is no limit to the amount they can squeeze out for themselves if strong enough.<sup>19</sup>

### 5. Attribution of Union Success and Failure

Investigation of this factor actually relates to who should get credit and who does get blame. One might contemplate that either credit or blame would go to those who make most of the decisions. Were the union completely democratic, there would be little question. The membership, i.e., the organization to most members, would be making all of the decisions. Officers could not be blamed or praised. However, officers, some at least, do make most of the decisions which must be made between regular meetings. This leaves them open at times to stinging criticism. Miller and Form direct attention to the need for officer freedom and a rank-and-file anxiety in the face of such freedom.

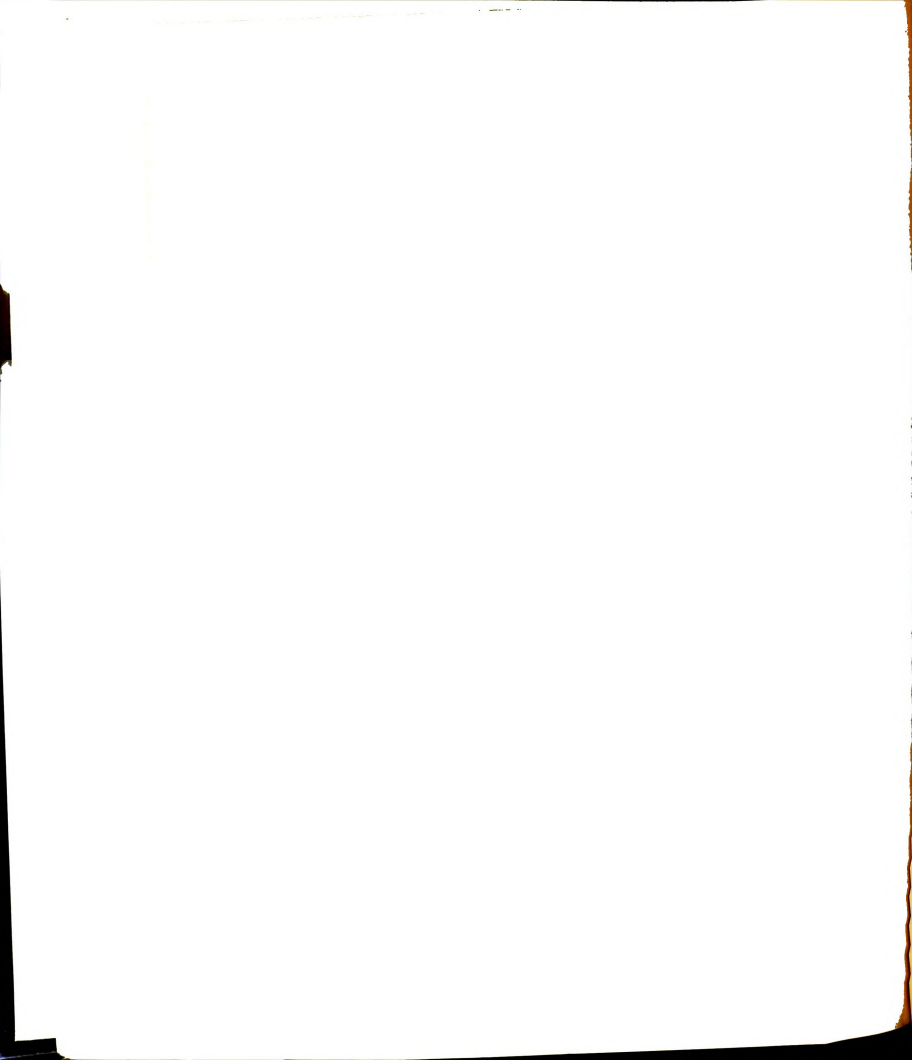
The mass of the membership of the union cannot exercise all of its authority. It cannot rest assured that officers will not overstep their assigned powers. The fact that union deals with emergencies means that officials must have power to act quickly. Different officials must have power at different times. The grievance committee or executive board may occupy the focus of attention during some periods. Its members must have almost independent power during bargaining sessions. In another situation, the business agent or international representative must have power.<sup>20</sup>

As has been shown previously, members of Local 724 attribute success and failure to three sources, the quality of the organization, its leadership, and a combination of these. Of these, leadership receives the nod most frequently.

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<sup>19</sup>Robert F. Hoxie, Trade Unionism in the United States, Second Edition, D. Appleton-Century Company, New York, 1936, p. 179.

<sup>20</sup>Miller and Form, op. cit., p. 246.



The data in Table 42 indicate that there were no strong differences between rank-and-file members and officers concerning sources of union effectiveness, for the probability value of the chi-square is just below the .20 level. The only tendency to appear is that officers seemed to feel that they should have been given more credit than the rank-and-file was willing to accord them.

#### 6. Local 724 Compared to Other Lansing Locals

Those who set policy for the local union, whether by democratic or bureaucratic process, are faced with a dilemma when they do so. Their efforts in bargaining are inevitably toward the creation of a favorable comparison with nearby locals. Those locals within one's own community are the most important elements for comparison; for in spite of efforts to obtain company-wide or industry-wide bargaining, the local, with its familiarities, is still the principle bargaining area. In trying to make their union "look good" bargainers may incur company antagonisms which may be difficult to overcome in the future. Should they avert this by bargaining for only nominal gains, they may alienate members of their own local and be returned to rank-and-file life. Further the bargainers and their fellow members could be subject to the "jeers" of members of a more "successful" local union. Actually, the union-management relationship in a given plant may be quite contributory to the reputation which that plant holds in the community. The worker would perhaps like to work in the "best plant in town;" this might be impossible if his union has done "too well" for him on a specific issue.

As Table 43 indicates, only one of thirty-two officers has rated Local 724 unfavorably when compared to other locals in Lansing. Non-officers

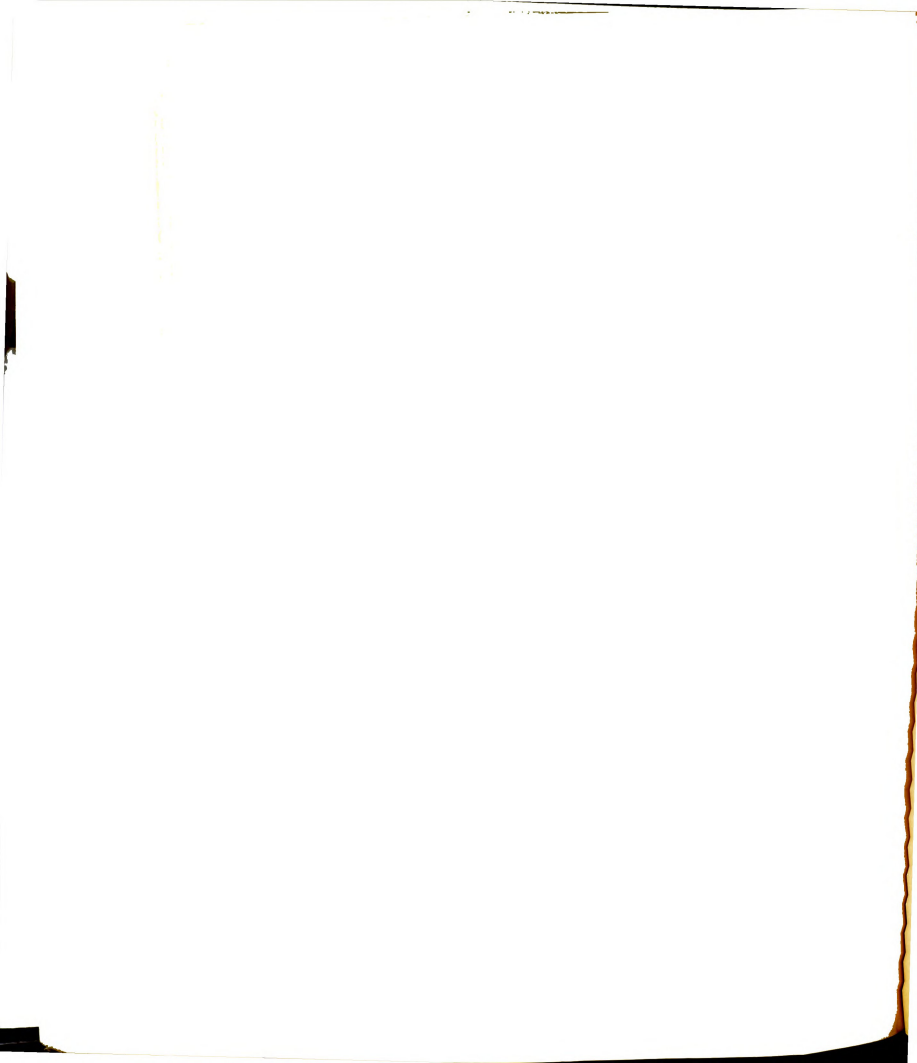


TABLE 42  
 ATTRIBUTION OF UNION SUCCESS AND FAILURE  
 FOR  
 NON-OFFICER AND OFFICER

Attribution of Union  
 Success & Failure

	Non-Officer	Officer	Total	Row $\chi^2$
Organization	33	9	42	.0288
Leadership	37	15	52	1.1851
Both	27	8	35	.0019
Don't Know	13	0	13	3.7825
Total	110	32	142	4.9983

Chi square = 4.9983

.20 P .10



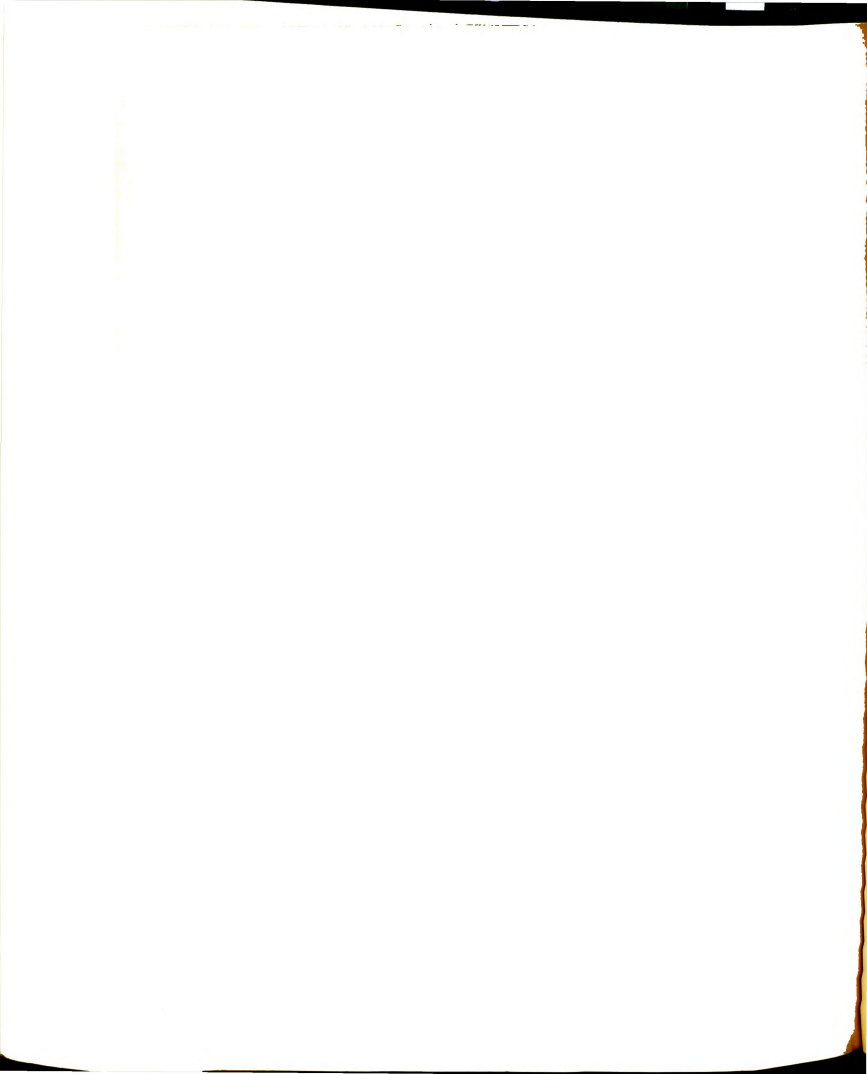
TABLE 43  
 LOCAL COMPARED TO OTHER LANSING LOCALS  
 FOR  
 NON-OFFICER AND OFFICER

Local Compared to  
 Other Lansing Locals

	Non-Officer	Officer	Total	Row $\chi^2$
Very Unfavorable & Unfavorable	15	1	16	2.437
Favorable & Very Favorable	84	26	110	.077
Don't Know	11	5	16	.691
Total	110	32	142	3.205

Chi square = 3.205

.30 P .20





were predominant among those who rated the local unfavorably, almost one-seventh of their number having given an unfavorable evaluation. Officers, though slightly more likely to compare their local favorably with others nearby, were somewhat overrepresented in the group which did not know how the local compared with others.

#### 7. Local Union Accomplishment on Specific Issues

In recent years there has been a slight swing away from a strict interest in job control and wages alone. There has been a growing concern for benefits which cost management money that does not show up in the worker's pay envelope. Members were asked, e.g. How good a job do you think the union has done in providing unemployment insurance? The responses discussed below concern items of collective bargaining presently very important and familiar to union members. These were chosen as representative of those benefits which would be most familiar. While some of the items lean toward what may be called social welfare issues, this writer sees them as but a part of the union's growing economic function.

##### a. Unemployment Insurance

Table 44 indicates no consistent association between whether one is an officer and evaluation of union accomplishment in obtaining unemployment insurance. Yet officers appeared to be curiously divided on this particular issue. While the way in which some have responded may be a function of the amount of knowledge they have on the issue, it would hardly be expected that officers would admit that the local had done poorly or had done nothing toward obtaining unemployment insurance. Perhaps they attributed what had been accomplished to pressure applied at a higher level.

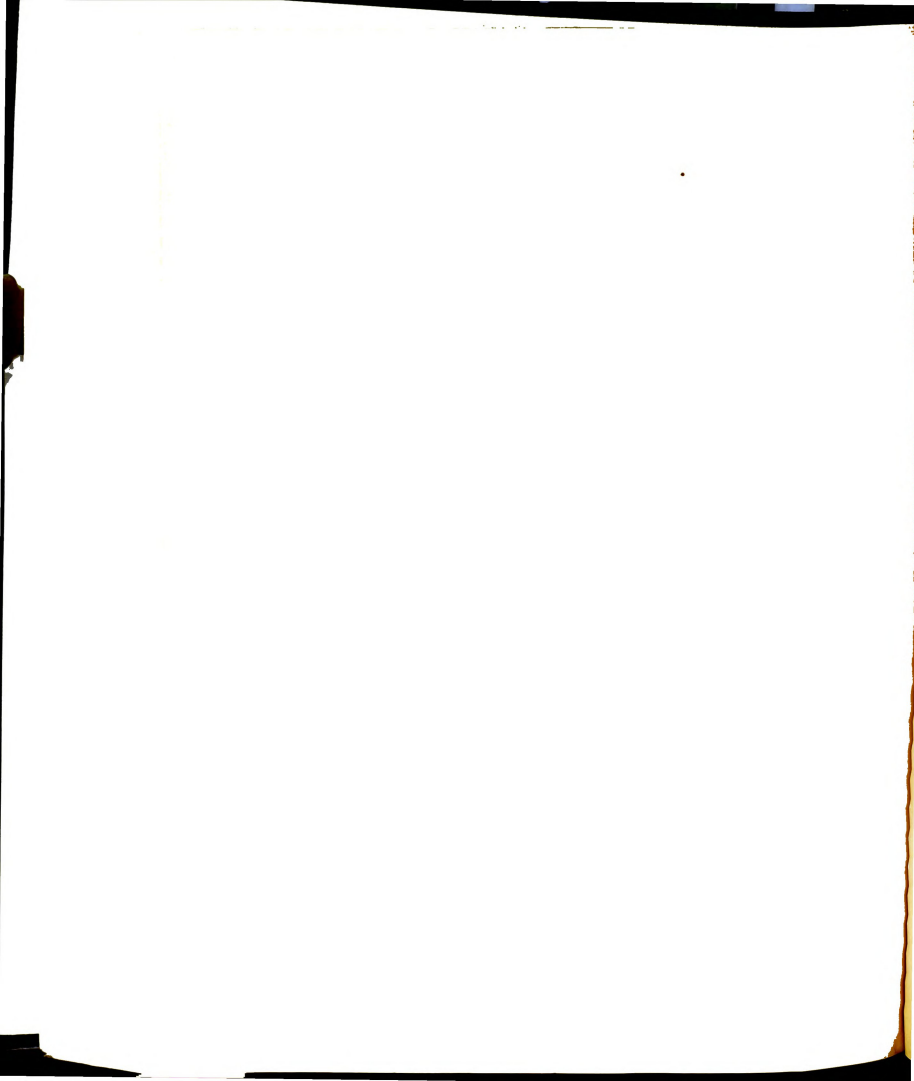


TABLE 44

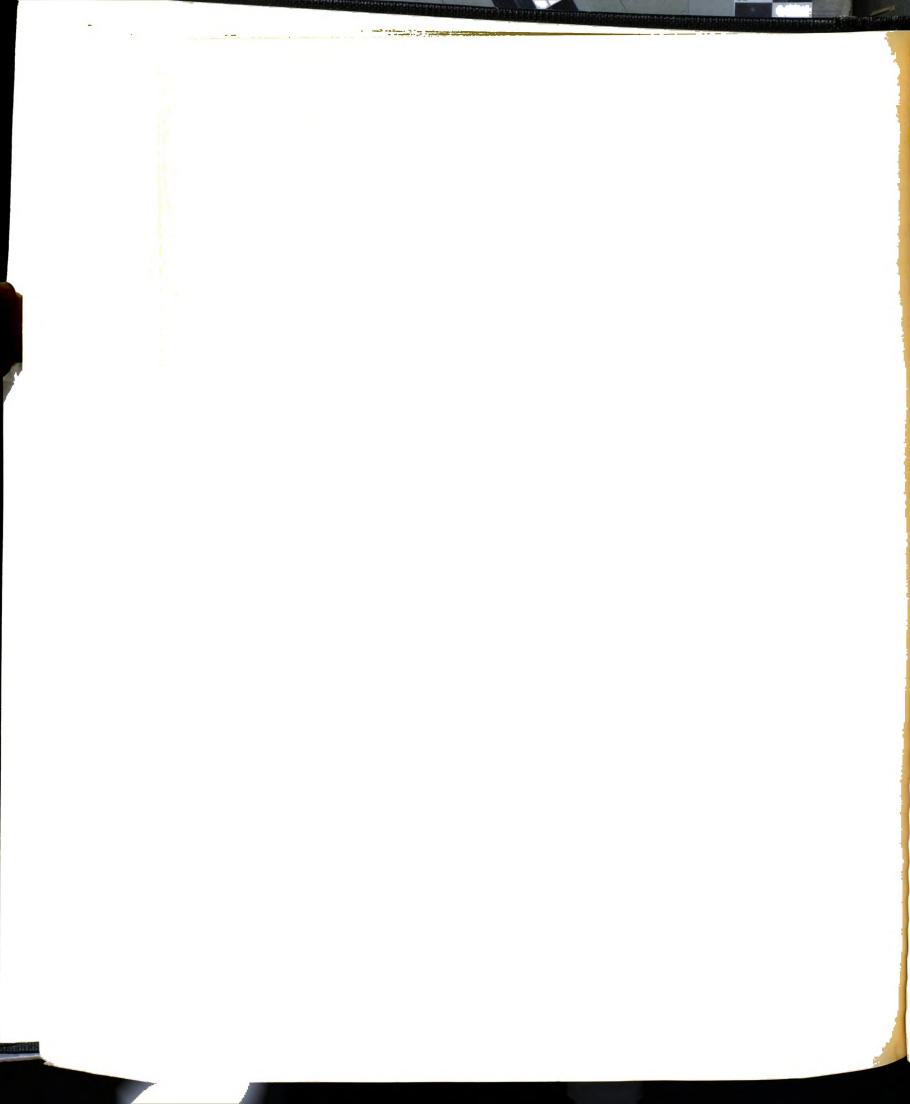
EVALUATION OF UNION ACCOMPLISHMENT IN OBTAINING UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE  
FOR  
NON-OFFICER AND OFFICER

Union Accomplishment  
Unemployment Insurance

	Non-Officer	Officer	Total	Row $\chi^2$
Nothing & Poor	26	10	36	.569
Fair	32	8	40	.149
Good & Excellent	40	14	54	.355
Don't Know & No Response	12	0	12	3.484
Total	110	32	142	4.557

Chi square = 4.557

.30 P .20



Officers were slightly overrepresented in the group reporting unfavorably, but were likewise so in the group reporting good or excellent accomplishment. Rank-and-file members were quite likely to report the accomplishment as fair, or they reported that they did not know. No officer case was found amongst those who could not evaluate the accomplishment.

#### b. Better Working Conditions

Table 45 presents data on how rank-and-file members and officers evaluated the local union's traditional function of obtaining good working conditions. There it is seen that no significant association exists between position in the union and evaluation of union accomplishment. However, it can be seen that over two-thirds of the officers rendered a favorable evaluation; this proportion exceeds the proportion of favorable responses from officers concerning any of the other specific issues. The officers appeared to be proud of "their" success on this traditional item for collective bargaining. Simultaneously, however, officers were overrepresented among those who did not know what evaluation to make. Rank-and-file members could consider this unforgivable, especially if it could be shown that some officers did not consider the comparison important, or were too far removed from the work situation to be able to compare conditions prevailing in their units with those attained in other shops.

#### c. Accident Insurance

Briefly discussed in the preceding chapter was the fact that health and accident coverage for members varies among units. This fact may help explain why officers rather than non-officers were more likely to feel that the local's accomplishment had been only fair on this issue. Should the



TABLE 45

EVALUATION OF UNION ACCOMPLISHMENT IN OBTAINING BETTER WORKING CONDITIONS  
FOR  
NON-OFFICER AND OFFICER

Union Accomplishment  
Better Working Conditions

	Non-Officer	Officer	Total	Row $\chi^2$
Nothing & Poor	9	1	10	.896
Fair	36	6	42	1.641
Good & Excellent	62	22	84	.643
Don't Know & No Response	3	3	6	2.602
Total	110	32	142	5.782

Chi square = 5.782

.20 P .10

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officer, as he is expected to be, be familiar with coverage in the various units, he would perhaps feel that a rating of fair would be as good as conscience would allow.

Table 46 reveals little differentiation between the rank-and-file and officers in evaluating the results of union effort on this issue. However, since about three-fifths of the non-officers and over half of the officers rated accomplishment as good or excellent, it could be interpreted that most were generally satisfied with the local's overall efforts in this area. Still, about an eighth displayed considerable dissatisfaction.

#### d. Health Insurance

The data in Table 47 show very little differentiation between rank-and-file members and officers in evaluating union achievement in the field of health insurance. As in the case of accident insurance, the majority of the members evaluated union achievement on this issue favorably, and only one-eighth indicated dissatisfaction.

#### e. Vacations

Table 48 shows little difference in attitudes between the rank-and-file and officers in regard to union achievement in obtaining vacations. Over three-fifths of the officers commended the union for its endeavors on this issue, and favorable evaluation came from over half of the rank-and-file. About one quarter of each group gave an unfavorable evaluation.

### C. Conclusion

The data indicate that the hypothesis that officers, as opposed to non-officers, perceive the effectiveness of union organization differently cannot be completely accepted. However, some tendency toward differential

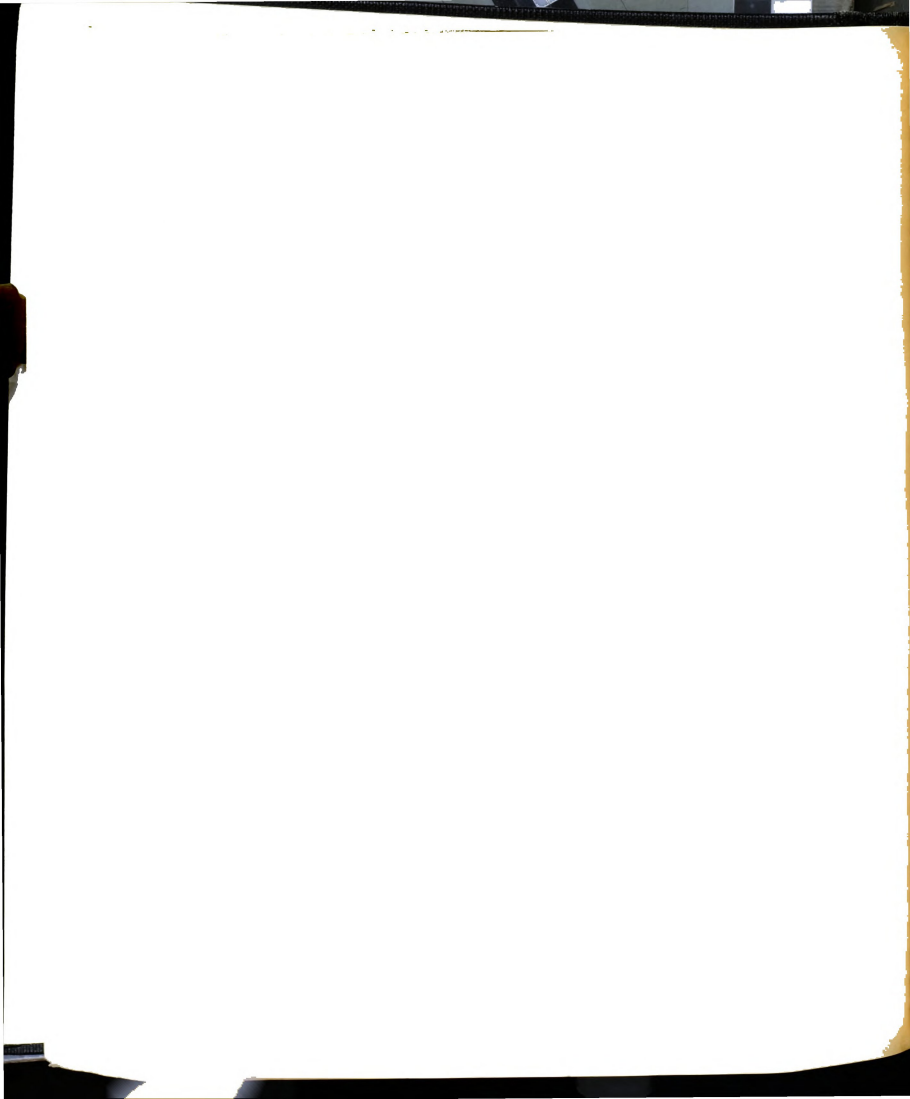


TABLE 46

EVALUATION OF UNION ACCOMPLISHMENT IN OBTAINING ACCIDENT INSURANCE  
FOR  
NON-OFFICER AND OFFICER

Union Accomplishment  
Accident Insurance

	Non-Officer	Officer	Total	Row $\chi^2$
Nothing & Poor	14	4	18	.001
Fair	19	8	27	.782
Good & Excellent	68	19	87	.025
Don't Know & No Response	9	1	10	.896
Total	110	32	142	1.704

Chi square = 1.704

.70 P .50



TABLE 47

EVALUATION OF UNION ACCOMPLISHMENT IN OBTAINING HEALTH INSURANCE  
FOR  
NON-OFFICER AND OFFICER

Union Accomplishment  
Health Insurance

	Non-Officer	Officer	Total	Row $\chi^2$
Poor & Nothing	13	4	17	.010
Fair	27	7	34	.073
Good & Excellent	65	18	83	.035
Don't Know	5	3	8	1.032
Total	110	32	142	1.150

Chi square = 1.150

.80 P .70

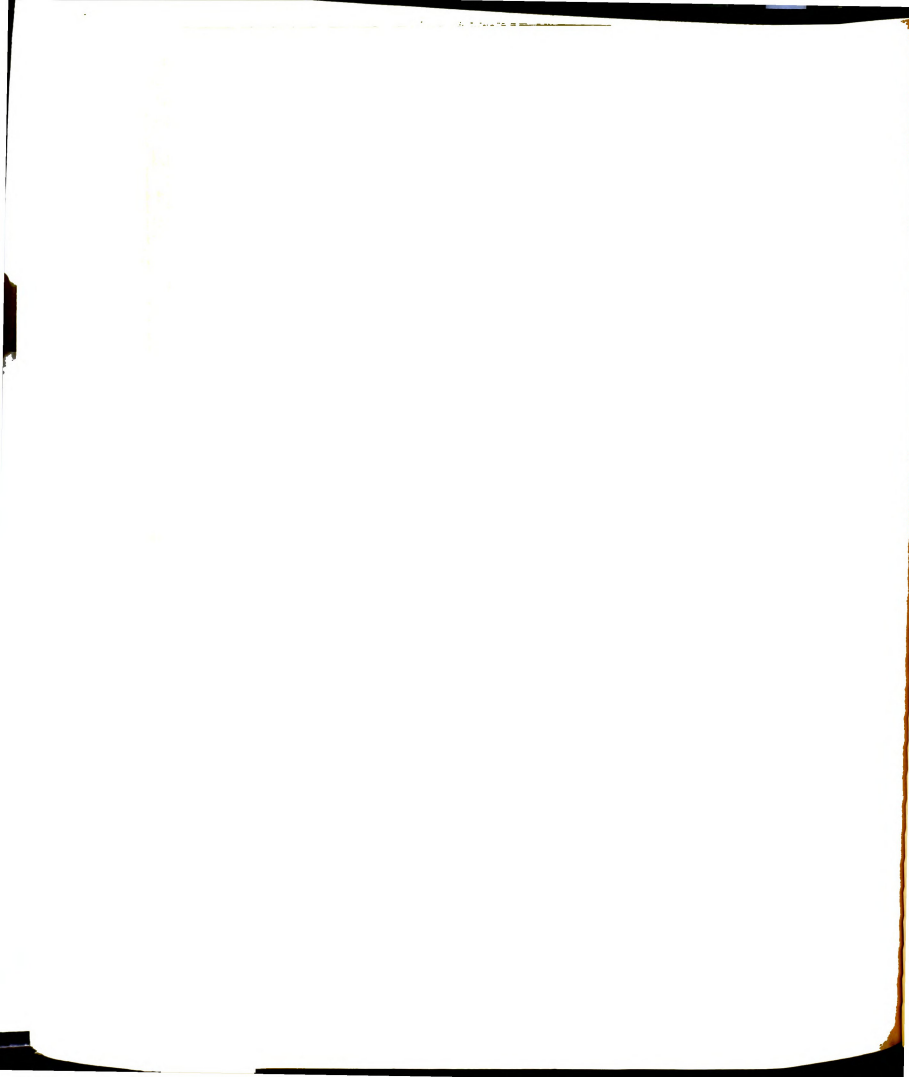
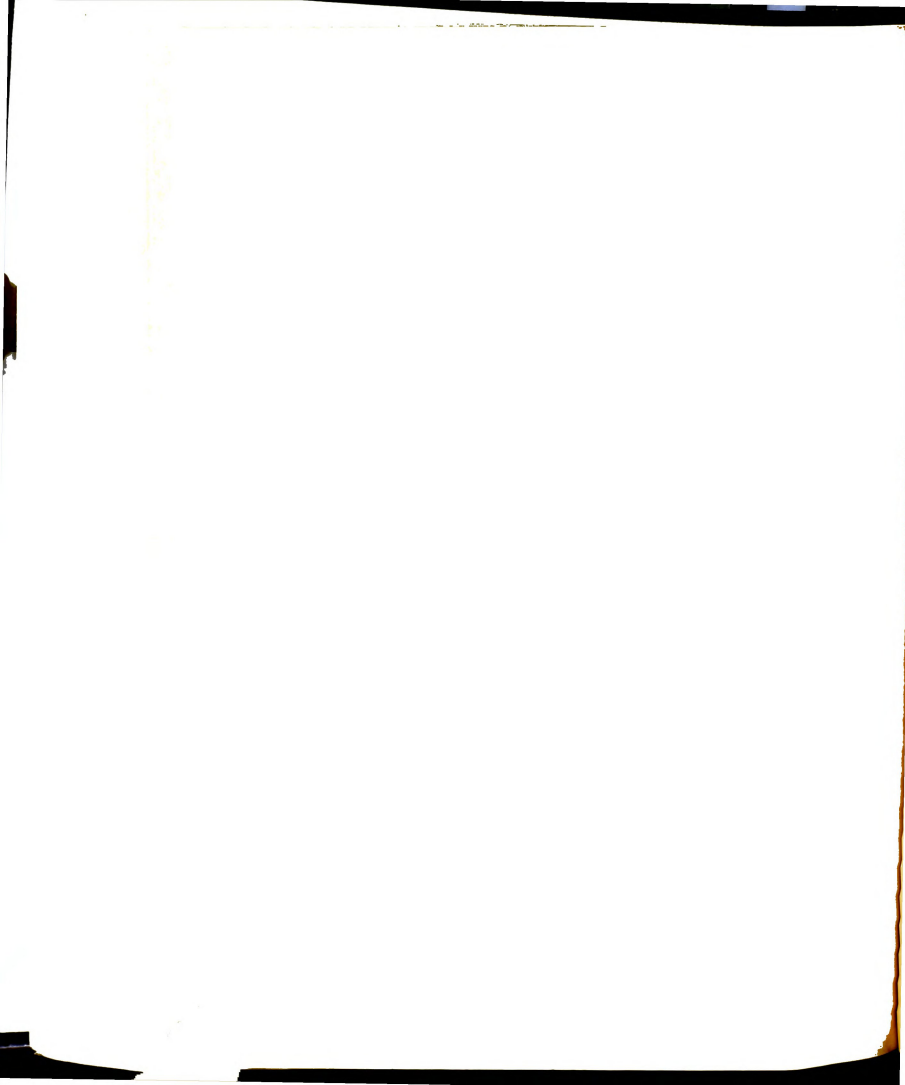


TABLE 48  
EVALUATION OF UNION ACCOMPLISHMENT IN OBTAINING VACATIONS  
FOR  
NON-OFFICER AND OFFICER

Union Accomplishment Vacations	Non-Officer	Officer	Total	Row $\chi^2$
Nothing & Poor	29	8	37	.018
Fair	19	4	23	.347
Good & Excellent	61	20	81	.214
Don't Know	1	0	1	.287
Total	110	32	142	.866

Chi square = .866

.90 P .80

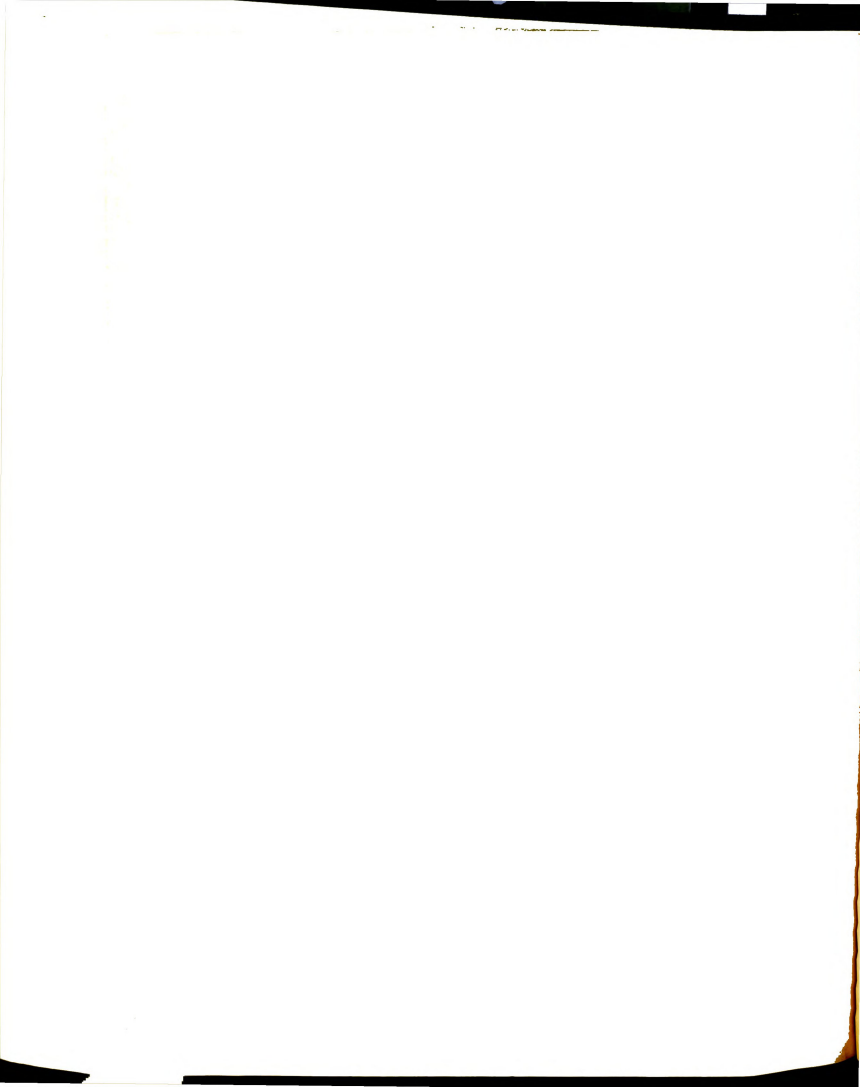




attitudes was indicated for the following factors: treatment of workers by employers, treatment of members by the union, attribution of union success and failure, comparison of Local 724 to other Lansing locals, and union accomplishment in obtaining unemployment insurance and better working conditions.

The hypothesis perhaps should be restated to read: Where segmentation between officers and the rank-and-file is great, the two groups perceive the effectiveness of union organization differently. Where segmentation is small, as appeared to be the case in Local 724, the differentials in perception of effectiveness are reduced.

This analysis in reality shows that in Local 724, though differences in attitudes of officers and non-officers did exist, these attitudes were not quite as diverse as they are often depicted. This investigator is led, by these findings, to believe that he either studied an unusual local union or that "assumptions appearing as fact" are more widespread than he had believed. This is not to deny the importance of those differences which did exist; for a few influentials, operating from choice positions, could possibly wreak havoc not only within the local, but could make or break the local in the eyes of the larger community. A local is most secure when officers and rank-and-file see eye-to-eye. The degree to which rank-and-file and officers are in accord is one measure of the effectiveness of local leadership.



## CHAPTER VII

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

#### A. The Nature of the Study

One does not have to be a member of a labor union to be involved in almost daily discussions about labor unions, their policies and practices. Inevitably the discussions are resolved to comments about union members and what they are like. Perhaps differences between rank-and-file and officers are considered or the treatment which rank-and-file receive at the hands of the officers. Many feel that the rank-and-file have more to fear from officers than from management. They suggest that management would never lead workers politically astray, but only in the "right" direction. Unfortunately many persons who voice strong opinions have absolutely no factual knowledge upon which to base their opinions. They do not know a union man, but they know how he is treated and what he is like. On the other hand there are persons who know many union men; some are self-styled experts who report only of the fraternal nature of unions. This study has had fact-finding as one of its purposes. The expressions of the members themselves have been sought. Their identities have been safeguarded. It is hoped, and there seems little reason to doubt, that their answers are straight-forward. If this is accepted as fact, there is here a sample of uncoerced responses, a better guide to knowledge than an infinite amount of hearsay.

It must be understood that the union is primarily a product of the workingman. Not only did he receive little or no help in creating it,



but he had to struggle to keep its life from being snuffed out. The growth of the labor movement is marked by violence, unfriendly court decisions, the influence of company spies, and the visits of "missionaries." Protective legislative policy reduced many of these practices to a minimum. Yet many in the nation were and still are convinced that the unions are generally bad for the national welfare. Union growth in numbers and power forced anti-union people to seek important reasons for curtailing further expansion. Killingsworth speaks of some of the attitudinal concomitants of large unions.

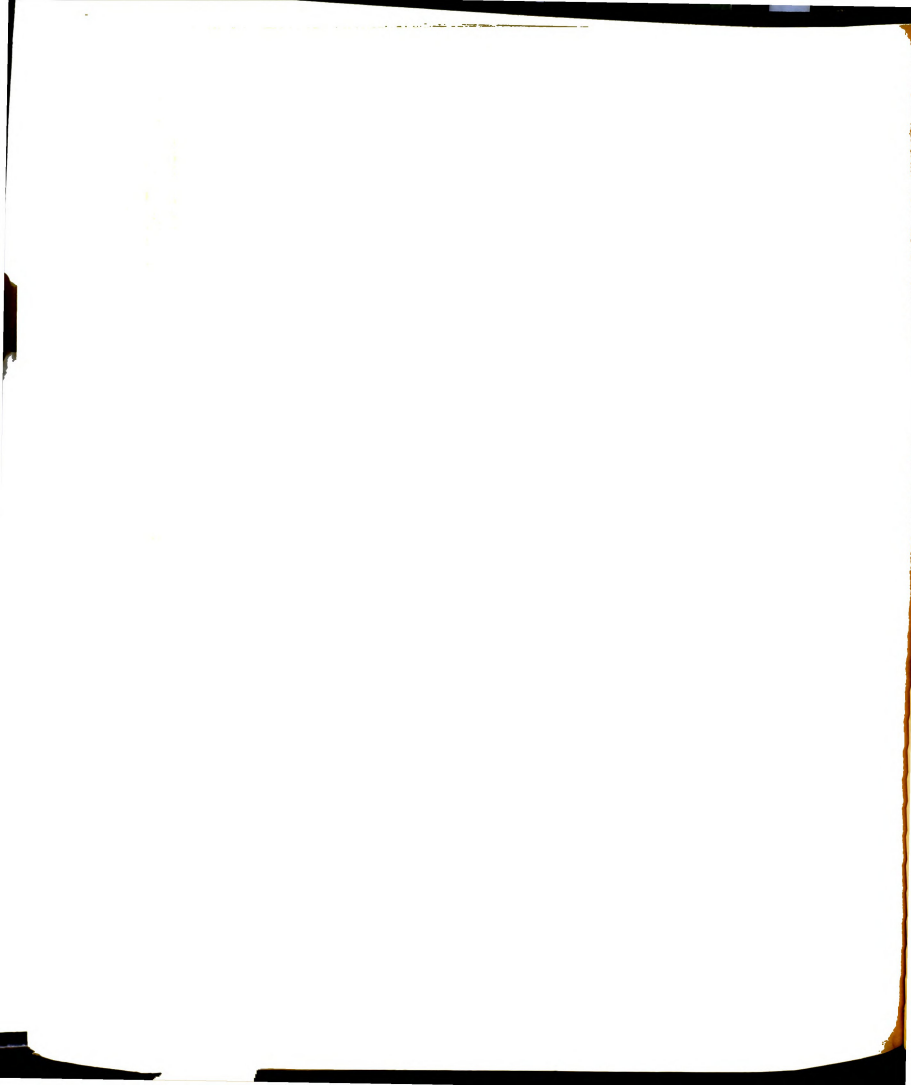
Moreover, now that many unions are large scale organizations, sometimes with little contact between the rank-and-file and the leadership, many people have been converted to what might be called the "racket theory" of unionism. Much union organization is considered the result of false promises, persuasion, and threats by "outside agitators," "professional trouble makers," and "Reds." The union organizer, according to this theory, can usually find a few malcontents in any establishment; and, under the protective labor laws, once this minority is organized, it can exert telling pressure on the contented majority--by strikes and threats of strikes, picketing, boycotting, and physical violence.<sup>1</sup>

With such attitudes abroad, it is understandable that leaders of labor organizations would be suspicious of an outsider who wished to study any part of their institution.

Further, while a student may present himself as an impartial observer, there is little reason for a union member to accept that at face value. Traditionally, ties between academicians and business and industrial leaders have existed, but not between academicians and labor leaders. Students have persistently been subject to the thought-ways of the businessman, accomplished through the schools, at all levels, and through all

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<sup>1</sup>Charles C. Killingsworth, State Labor Relations Acts, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1948, p. 18.



of the mass media. This, to say the least, gives the union man cause for anxiety.

Labor people, particularly the leaders, are forced to fight a constant battle to prove the respectability of their institution. They must show that their policies, practices, and goals harmonize with those of the rest of the society. One local in Lansing offered proof by permitting college students to sit-in on local meetings. It was reported that one student, taking notes on the proceedings, prefaced with "Comrade" the name of each speaker taking part in discussion. Little wonder that the writer was not permitted to conduct this study amongst members of that local.

Even when permission to do a study is granted, some of the desired data is difficult to obtain. This is particularly true in regard to the history of the local. Eby helps explain this difficulty. He points out that most leaders clear their files regularly, for they are not writing for history. Many of the pamphlets which are produced are purely for propaganda purposes, either for membership or public consumption. While the most important documents are those prepared for the convention by the international president or executive board, most information which the researcher wants is best obtained from lower echelons within the union ranks. Eby suggests keeping questionnaires short; but more important for an understanding of unionism, one must get to know the people involved.<sup>2</sup>

This study is essentially a study of but a small part of the larger union institution. In fact, it deals only with some of the attitudes

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<sup>2</sup>Kermit Eby, "Research in Labor Unions," American Journal of Sociology, Volume 56, 1950-51, 222-228.





and behavior patterns, both formal and informal, found within a given local. Apart from a fact finding venture this study sought to determine what orientations members have toward the local, how social characteristics are related to these orientations, and how these orientations are related to varying degrees of integration exhibited by members at different behavioral levels. In addition an effort was made to explore differences in attitudes as expressed by active as opposed to inactive members and officers as opposed to rank-and-file members.

Herbert Blumer has listed three "legitimate and important kinds of social theory" two of which are specifically represented in this study. The first of these is the attempt to find facts which may help clarify an aspect of the world of work. Blumer speaks of the need for "meaningful clarification of basic social values, social institutions, modes of living and social relations." The dynamic nature of the union, even at the local level, makes it worthy of continuous study for this purpose. A second kind of theory, toward which this study is not so intentionally directed, is "policy" theory. "It is concerned with analyzing a given social situation, or social structure, or social action as a basis for policy or action." Those familiar with the local union know full well that officers and non-officers alike are in part policy makers. Some may see fit to utilize the findings of this study, particularly those interested in the local's educational programs. The writer has implicitly attempted to theorize along these lines as he has sought to interpret some of the findings.

The endeavor to establish the existence of certain categories and to show their interrelationships bears on what Blumer refers to as the

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The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It is noted that the records should be kept in a clear and concise manner, and that they should be accessible to all authorized personnel. The document also emphasizes the need for regular audits and reviews to ensure the accuracy and integrity of the data.

In addition, the document outlines the procedures for handling any discrepancies or errors that may arise. It is stated that any such issues should be reported immediately to the appropriate authority, and that steps should be taken to investigate and resolve the problem as quickly as possible. The document also provides guidance on how to prevent such errors from occurring in the first place.

Finally, the document concludes by reiterating the importance of maintaining accurate records and the need for regular audits and reviews. It is stated that these practices are essential for ensuring the reliability and accuracy of the data, and for maintaining the integrity of the organization's financial records.

f theory in empirical science."

oretical schemes are essentially proposals as to the nature of such classes and of their relations where this nature is problematic or unknown. Such proposals become guides to investigation to see whether they or their implications are true. Thus, theory exercises compelling influence on research -- setting problems, staking out objects and leading inquiry into asserted relations. In turn, findings of fact test theories, and in suggesting new problems invite the formulation of new proposals.<sup>3</sup>

The justifications for a study such as this are obvious. The investigation deals with a study of the validity of "facts" which are merely "known." Moreover, it deals with the ascertaining of relationships which have been hypothesized to exist between empirically determinable classifications or categories. The testing of the hypotheses conceivably contributes to the fund of knowledge generated by research which has adhered to the canons of empirical science, as these are applicable in the study of phenomena recognized as amenable to investigation by members of a given discipline.

The sociologist has, as his laboratory, any area of human interaction which can be meaningfully interpreted and researchably delimited by his concepts, his fundamental tools of analysis. The "elements" with which he may deal are many, necessitating a division of labor within the field if multiple "elements" are to be analyzed. Such a division of labor has led to the titles of rural, urban, educational, and industrial sociologist. The latter has chosen to delve into various aspects of the world of work; and while relatively new to the list of possible titles, he uses the theory,

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<sup>3</sup>Herbert Blumer, "What is Wrong with Social Theory," American Sociological Review, Volume 19, 1954, 3-10.



arch methods, and techniques previously developed by the older members of the broader discipline.

Attempts directed toward proof in industrial sociology are as fraught with difficulty as are other segments of the discipline, and the locating of tentative relationships has consumed much of the industrial sociologists' time. Homans concurs when he discussed differences between industrial sociologists and social psychologists.

Industrial sociologists are concerned with discovery more than with proof. It is true that preoccupation with proof can have strange results. It affects the choice of questions to be studied. Investigators seize on hypotheses just because they can be given quantitative demonstration, although a problem does not become more significant by being easy to handle elegantly. We should make what is important mathematical and not what is mathematical important. ...

This is the stage that industrial sociology has reached at the present time: identification of the variables and some rough notion of their relations in particular cases.<sup>4</sup>

Since Homans wrote the above, there have been new efforts at quantification and control of variables. Yet findings, for the most part, must still be presented as things plausible rather than in terms of compulsive proof.

When all the data for this study were collected, there was still a problem of classifying the cases even though such classification had been considered when the schedule was constructed. The investigator decided to "filter" the cases into established categories, but in many instances very few cases resulted in most classifications. There were large mixed and unknown categories. Cases were redistributed using less rigid qualifications for "placement." While much of the interpretation derives

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<sup>4</sup>George C. Homans, "The Strategy of Industrial Sociology," American Journal of Sociology, Volume 54, 1948-49, pp. 330-337.

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from "Verstehen sociology," there has likewise been an attempt at "scientific" analysis.

#### B. A Review of Findings

It should be recalled that the findings of this study are based upon responses of a sample of members. That sample is approximately six percent of the non-rural membership of a local union. Since this is the case, although the writer has spoken of attitudes of the membership, neither the entire membership nor necessarily representative cases from all segments of the membership were canvassed. Any generalizations one would care to draw would at best apply only to the city dwelling and fringe dwelling members. In spite of the limitations of the sample, findings seem not to deviate greatly from those obtained in other studies.

The reader has perhaps noted that positive, descriptive hypotheses, rather than null hypotheses have guided this research. The use of null hypotheses would perhaps have been a more cautious approach, but actually little more would have been learned than has been found here. When a number of variables are involved it is unlikely that the hypotheses which the researcher would have liked to "prove" were the only possible alternatives. Hagood and Price discuss the logic of the null hypothesis.

...we can by statistical methods come nearer to proving that something is not true about a universe than that something is true. This means that often we shall use a negativistic approach. If we want to establish one hypothesis, we shall not test it directly but shall formulate the opposite hypothesis which we shall call the null hypothesis, and test it on the basis of the evidence from our sample. If the evidence is such as to cause us to reject or discard the null hypothesis and if the hypothesis we wanted to establish is the only

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Alternative hypothesis, then the rejection of the null hypothesis is the equivalent of confirmation of the original hypothesis.<sup>5</sup>

The guiding hypotheses of this study been stated as null hypotheses would have been accepted, since the findings generally were not statistically significant.

### 1. Significant Findings

Despite the fact that many over-all tables do not show significant relations, there are significant relationships indicated by numerous tests of the tables.

The economically oriented were likely to have been born in the Lansing and lived in Lansing proper when the interviewing was being done. They showed moderate integration in the work plant.

The socially oriented members were well integrated at the work plant and showed a high degree of union activity.

Apathetic members were most likely to be those who had lived longest in rural parts of Michigan. Members from urban Michigan showed apathy

more frequently than did former rural residents. The apathetics

were often from the group having resided in the Lansing area for ten to

twenty years. Those with an apathetic orientation were poorly integrated

in the work plant and were least active in union affairs.

The hostile members were either born in the North outside of Michigan

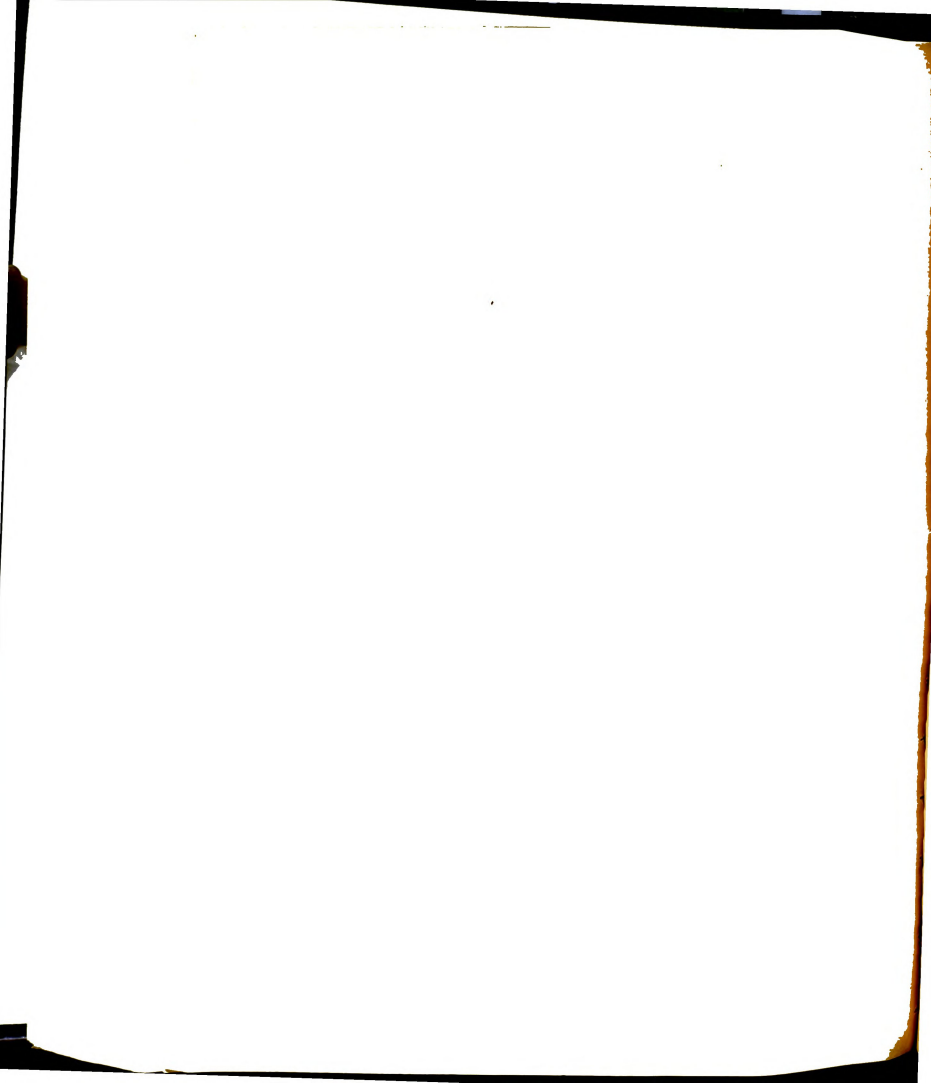
in rural Michigan.<sup>6</sup> Whyte's findings indicate that hostility toward

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Margaret Jarman Hagood and Daniel O. Price, Statistics for Sociology, New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1952, pp. 237-238.

William Foote Whyte, "Who Goes Union and Why," Personnel Journal, February, 1944, pp. 215-230. See also Fred H. Blum, Toward A Democratic Process, Harper and Brothers Publishers, New York, 1953, p. 43.

Whyte implies that the farm boys' hostility will subside as the union gains in their behalf.



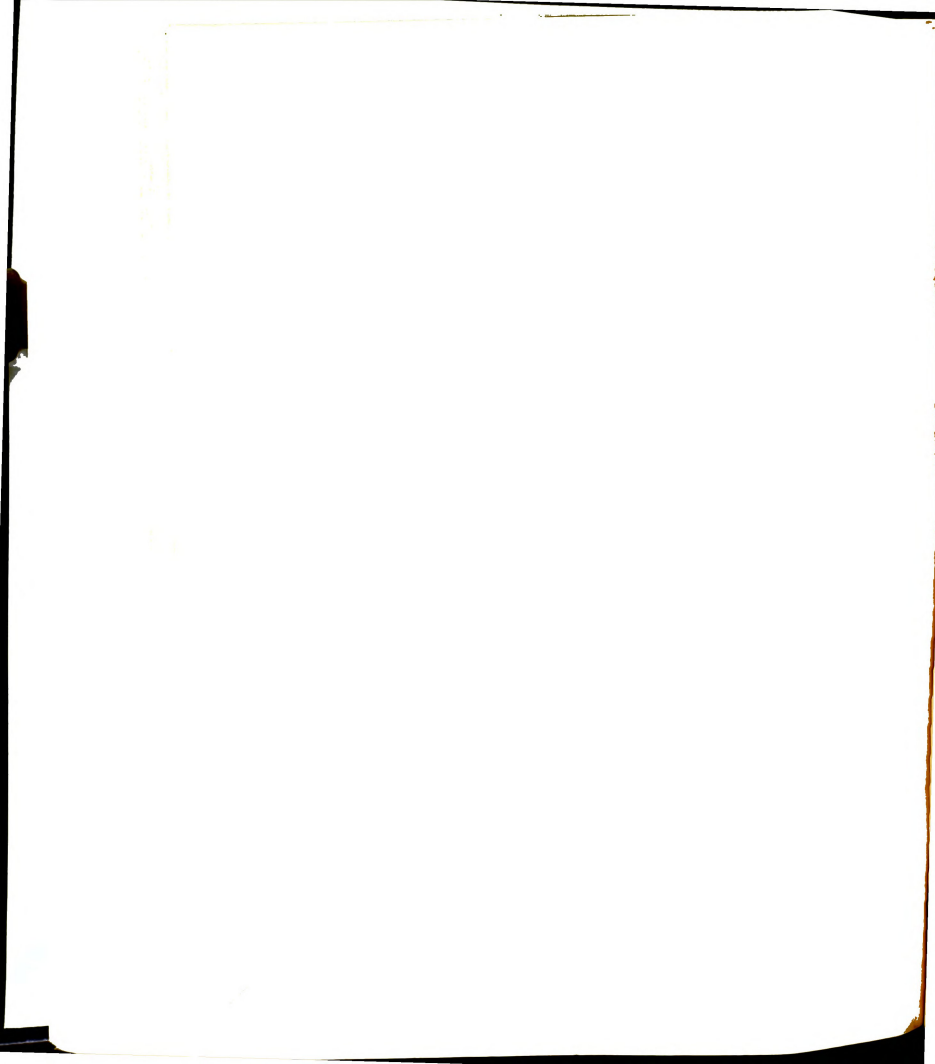
union on the part of farm boys may be expected. Hostile members, like apathetic members, were poorly integrated in the work plant; yet they appeared to have a moderate degree of integration in the neighborhood. Those showing activity were relatively inactive in the union, but they were slightly more active than were the apathetic members.

Other findings indicate that inactive members were prone to compare their local unfavorably with others nearby. Furthermore, regarding union accomplishment in obtaining better working conditions, inactives evaluated their achievement as fair while unfavorable evaluation was most likely to be given by moderately active members.

## 2. General Tendencies

Generally speaking, the members of Local 724 are satisfied with their work and community life. While there are those expressing dissatisfaction on a given issue, they are always in the minority. The members like the community in which they live, partially evidenced by the length of time they have lived in the Lansing area. Their particular neighborhoods are not appealing to them. There is some indication that high neighborhood integration is related to hostility toward the local.

On the job the "likes" of some are the "dislikes" of others, showing that working conditions, pay, and other requirements vary considerably. Here, however, general satisfaction reigns. Members like the departments in which they work and the jobs they do. Walker's discussion of job satisfaction and dissatisfaction is very similar to the findings of this study. It is noted that dissatisfaction stems from wanting easier, less monotonous work, from working alone, and from noise and heat. Satisfaction derives from being part of, or having membership in, the hot mill crew," inherent



responsibilities of the job, and variety of problems met. Good pay, knowledge and skill, easy work, and being used to the job add up to work satisfaction.<sup>7</sup> Many look forward to no other kind of work, either by choice or necessity. Members believe that employers usually treat workers fairly; this is particularly true of active members. Officers show a slight tendency to disagree with this idea.

There is general acceptance of the idea that the union treats all members fairly. Non-officers dominate slightly the group which disagrees. Findings of the interdisciplinary study in Illini City remarkably parallel the findings of this research. Speaking of attitudes and beliefs of union members that study reports:

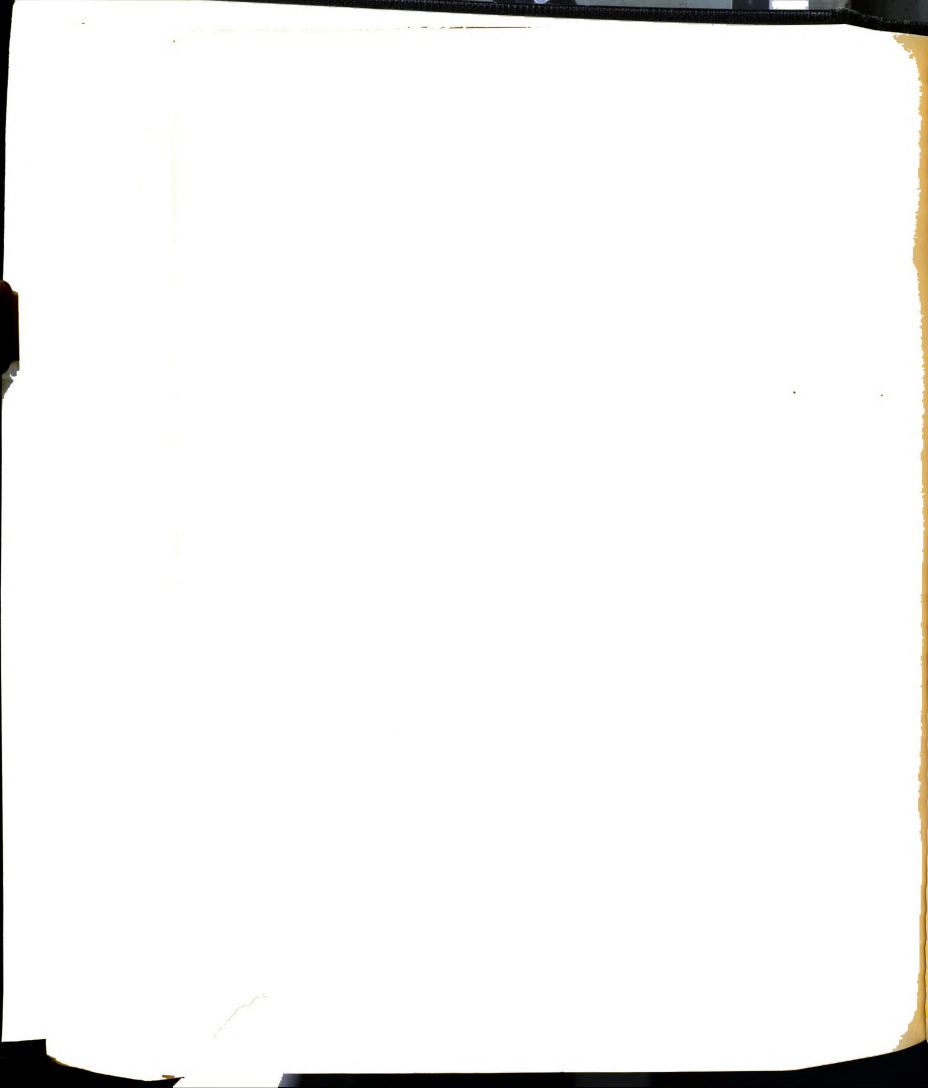
They were very strongly in favor of the union and felt that it had greatly improved their position, although there was some feeling that the officers were too cautious at times. Despite this general approval there was low participation in meetings and little interest in holding office. They had a strong feeling that the officers were fair and did not show favoritism in representing workers and administering the contract.<sup>8</sup>

It seems evident that a relatively high degree of democracy exists in Steeltown, 1974, and members are in accord with the local's efforts to attain their goals. The major disagreement with union policy seems to exist on the issue of seniority as a means to promotion. More than one-half of the members believe that promotion should be determined primarily on the basis of ability. Yet one of unionism's major emphases has been on the maintenance of seniority. There has been an attempt to convince younger

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Charles R. Walker, Steeltown, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1950, p. 60.

Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, Labor-Management Relations in Illini City, University of Illinois, Champaign, 1954, Volume 1, p. 52.



workers that they will need this protection when they are no longer able to produce at the rate of their youthful capability. Much has been said of discrimination against older workers. Pollak would have one wonder whether such discrimination exists. He reports that if this discrimination does exist, it is very small. He believes that acceptance of overstatement of the problem is related to a culturally based preference for youth and a general fear of old age. He points out that zealous reformers are responsible for the confusion with which the situation has been presented.<sup>9</sup>

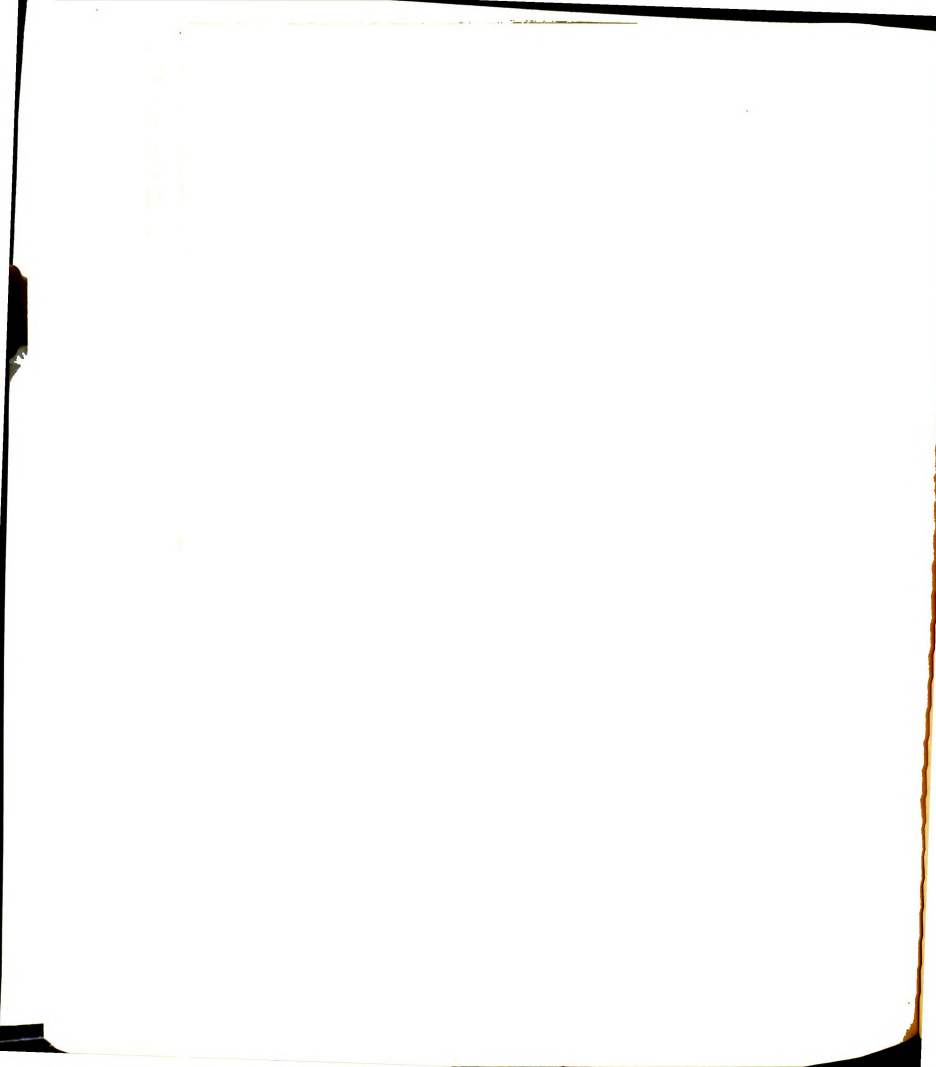
Another disagreement is in the area of the political activity of the union. A large minority, two-fifths, believed that the union should not be active in politics; almost one-third of these believed that "business and politics do not mix."

In general rank-and-file attribute the local's success and failure to the quality of the organization; officers tend to attribute responsibility to themselves. Nevertheless, both groups compare their local favorably with other locals in Lansing, and the local's accomplishment on specific issues is met with marked satisfaction. While satisfaction is general, officers are more inclined toward giving responses favorable to the local. It should be pointed out that neither the officer nor rank-and-file group is extreme in either its praise or criticism. An over-all index of union effectiveness is indicative of pro-local attitudes.

Irwin Ross conducted a poll amongst journalists specializing in labor reporting to list their choices for "best" and "worst" labor

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<sup>9</sup>Otto Pollak, "Discrimination Against Older Workers in Industry," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 50, 1944-45, pp. 99-106. The date of Pollak's report may have influenced his findings.





ns. Criteria for evaluation included, success on wages, union re-  
 for public interest, existence of internal democracy, and improve-  
 of life of the members. The UAW-CIO appeared with the AFL Ladies  
 ent Workers and AFL Machinists on the "best" list. The question of  
 makes a union "good" or what makes it "bad" is worth thinking about  
 ly as an exercise in developing greater understanding of the prob-  
 and aspirations of labor organizations. These problems and aspira-  
 s shape the union.<sup>10</sup>

Not only do members of Local 724 generally give their local a good  
 g, but they are part of an international union which has received  
 st" evaluation from impartial "specialists." Satisfaction at the  
 level may be reflected in the policies and practices of the inter-  
 nal. One should remember that most international officers and many  
 workers have had their initial training in unionism as members of  
 unions. For good or bad they are likely to carry that training and  
 experiences with them as they move to higher echelons and play a  
 active role in the formulation of general union policy.

### C. Inferences and Suggestions

This study shows that members displaying the political, economic,  
 social orientations show an over-all index of highest integration at  
 work plant, neighborhood and community levels of interaction. By  
 at those members who show apathy or hostility toward the union pre-  
 te among those who are demonstrative of a composite low degree of  
 ation. These findings may perhaps be surprising to supporters of



essor Mayo. Critical of Mayo, Hart states:

...it is not only within the plant that the "disordered dust of individuals" reorganizes itself into informal groups to resist managerial pressure, but that outside the plant the same disordered dust is also organizing itself into formal organizations called unions that every day, as they find more and more outlets for their activities, take on increasingly the character of social institutions.<sup>11</sup>

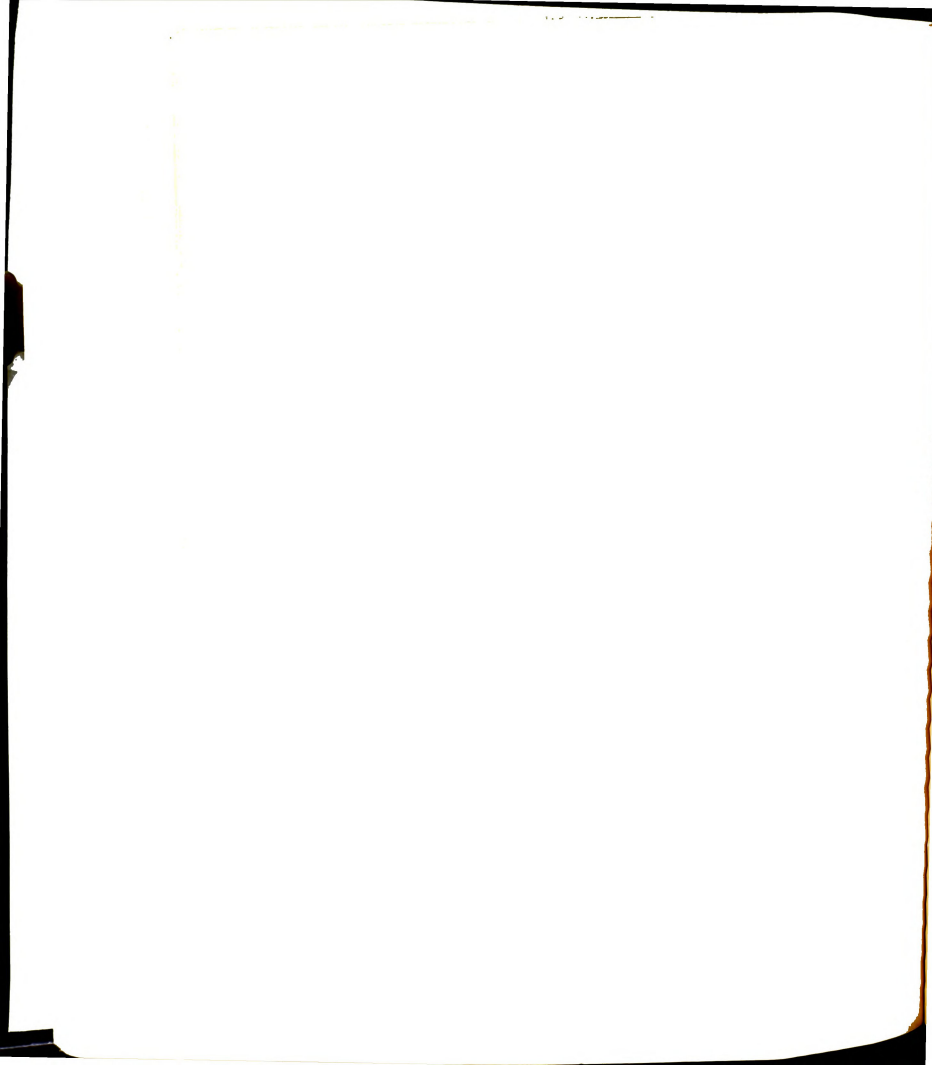
ers of Local 724 who express positive relationships to the union, together by the union at the work plant level appear unlikely to "disordered dust" in broader areas of interaction.

Those members who exemplify high integration are also those who are the unionists. Since the officers and active members are most favorable toward the local, it would appear that the union's propaganda campaign toward respectability would best be waged by these members who have positive, respectable affiliations. This, it seems, would be particularly for active rank-and-file members who would be least suspected of having vested interests in union expansion.

As indicated, attitudes most favorable toward local operation and accomplishment are expressed by the most active members. Since many of the members appear to be officers one might conclude that their responses bias the findings in favor of the union. There is one fact which makes such a conclusion questionable. When officers were compared to non-officers with respect to attitudes concerning democracy within the local, opportunity to become an officer, treatment of members by the union, and accomplishment on specific issues, no differences were found to be statistically significant. On the other hand, when actives, including officers, were compared to inactives, three tables showed statistical

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<sup>11</sup>C.M.W. Hart, "Industrial Relations Research and Social Theory," *American Journal of Economics and Political Science*, Volume 15, pp. 57-58.

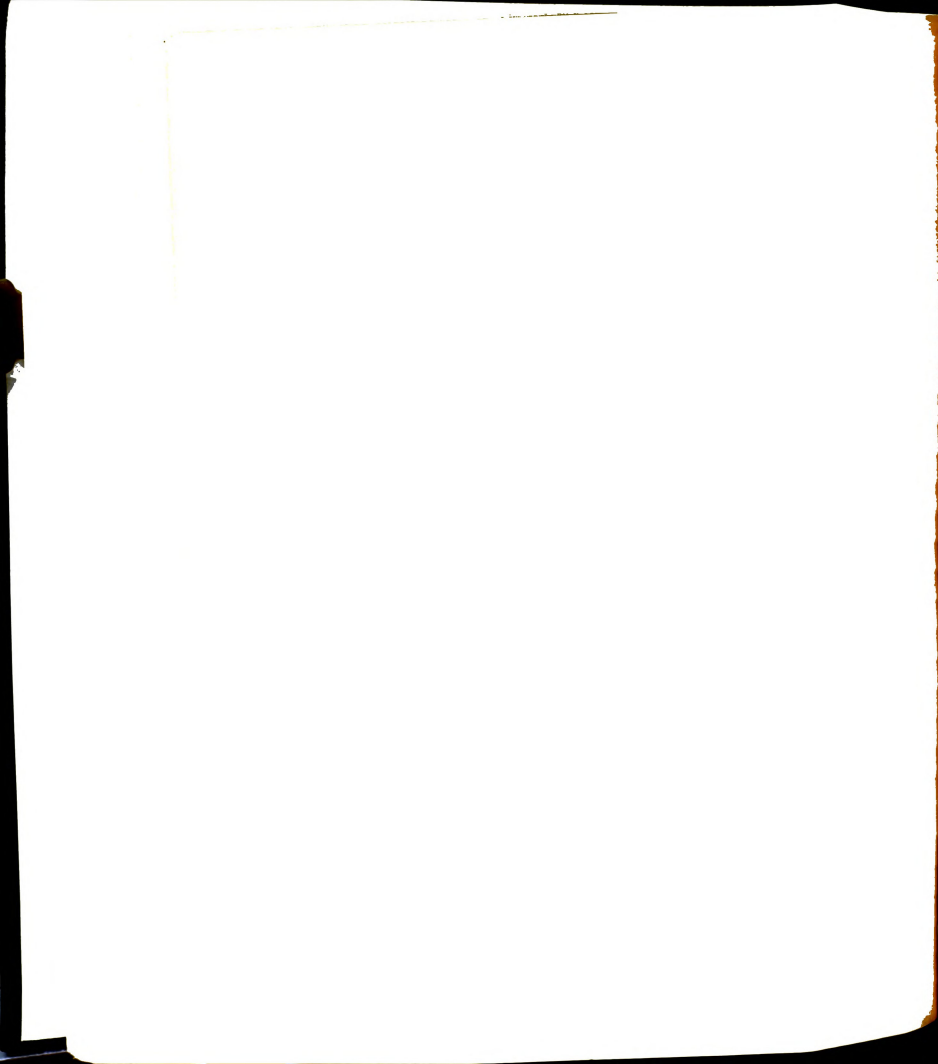


gnificance, and generally these tables were closer to statistical significance than were those comparing officer and non-officer attitudes. This means that while officers are favorably disposed toward the union, there are some rank-and-file members, the actives, who are similarly so inclined.

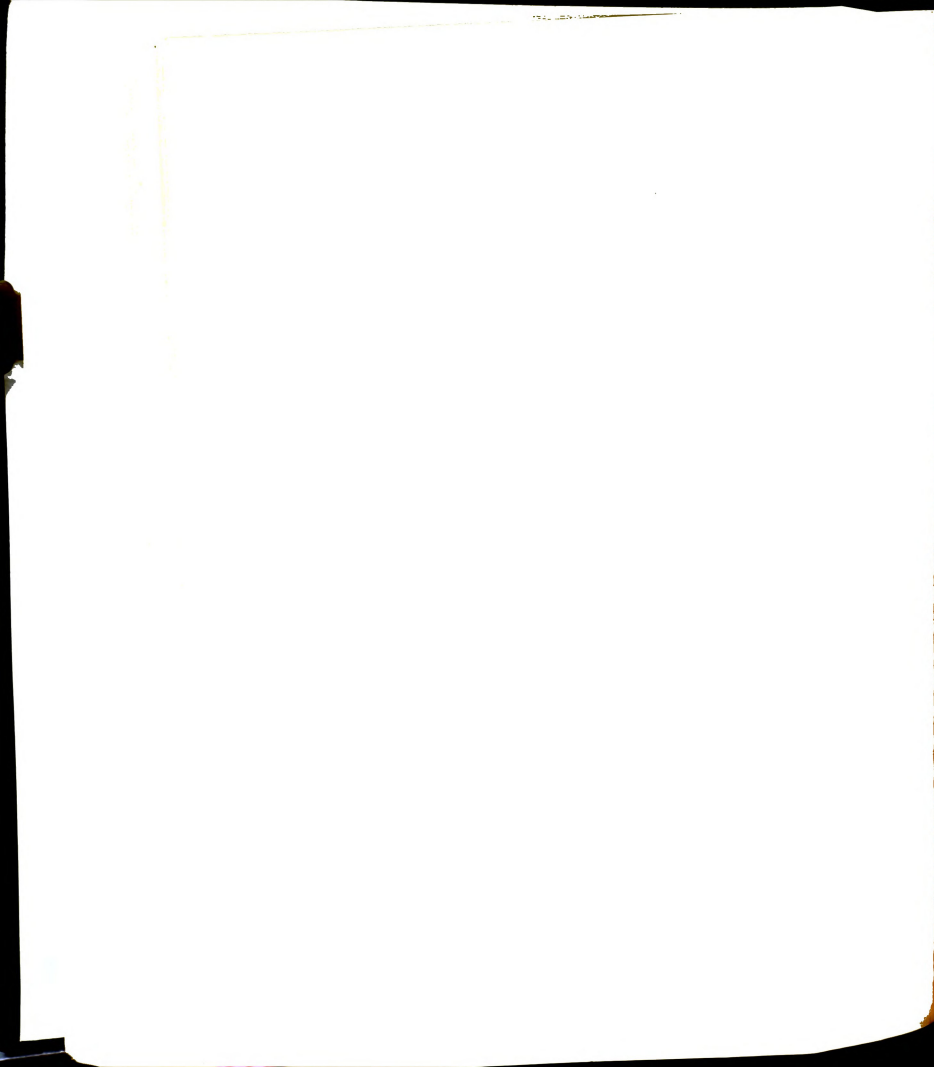
A study of this sort seldom if ever exhausts the data which was collected. Those operations which have been performed sought merely to test a few of the many hypotheses which could have been formulated for the study of a local union. One might have hypothesized, for example, that there was a relationship between the holding of union office and the existence of selected social characteristics.

One could hypothesize a relationship between seniority and the holding of office or directly test an hypothesis relating orientation to attitudes about union accomplishment. Certainly more research can be done regarding orientations and social characteristics. Refinements would have to be made for establishing the orientational categories; this exploratory study has demonstrated some of the problems involved. With knowledge of social types and related orientations, local officers and members should be in a better position to plan programs "aimed" toward those types and their interests.

It is hoped that this study has answered as well as raised some questions pertinent to understanding a small segment of the world of unionism and that other students of the subject will find the reception which this writer ultimately received. The nation will know more about the union and the union man, and the union men will know more about themselves as an increased amount of internal study is permitted. As findings

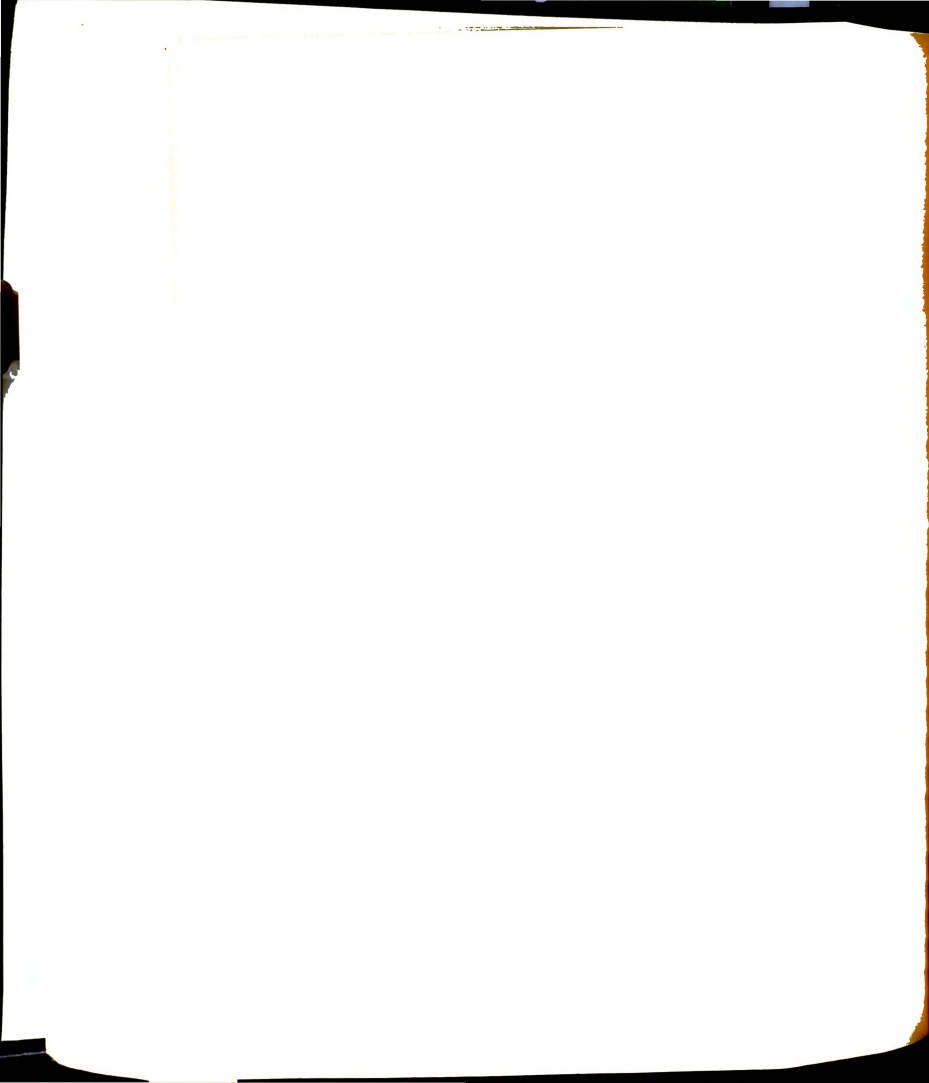


are presented, it will probably become more apparent that most unions have little to hide. Only with this will come the respectability which the union man seeks. The need for continued study is implicit in the dynamic nature of the union movement and of the operation of the local union. The discovery of changing attitudes and the investigation of changing structures and patterns of behavior are important if the local is to operate smoothly, efficiently, democratically.





APPENDIX A



LETTERS OF INTRODUCTION

LETTER NO. 1

Dear Member of Local 724:

On behalf of the membership of Local 724, UAW-CIO, we are pleased to announce the official approval by our Local Union of a survey of member participation in Local Union activities. The survey is a jointly sponsored project of Michigan State College Department of Sociology and Local 724, UAW-CIO.

This letter will introduce \_\_\_\_\_, an official interviewer for the Social Research Service of Michigan State College, and your full cooperation with the interviewer will be greatly appreciated. This survey will be of value only if you give completely honest answers.

You will be interested to know that as a result of the methods and techniques used in classifying the information in the survey, no one will be able to identify your interview. Again, we invite your cooperation in this survey.

Sincerely and Fraternaly,  
SIGNED  
Harold Darrow, President  
Amalgamated Local 724, UAW-CIO

LETTER NO. 2

The bearer of this letter is \_\_\_\_\_, an official interviewer of the Social Research Service at Michigan State College.

The Department of Sociology at the College and Local 724 of the United Automobile Workers are jointly sponsoring this study of membership participation in local union activities. Your cooperation will be greatly appreciated.

Rest assured that no one will be able to identify your interview. All information given will be treated statistically and kept in strictest confidence. This survey will be of greatest value only if you give completely honest answers.

If you have any questions about this survey or your interviewer you may call Dr. William H. Form at the College: Ph. ED-2-1511, ext. 7444, or Ph. 5-3869 at your local union.

Sincerely yours,  
SIGNED  
William H. Form,  
Professor



## UNION MEMBERS IN THEIR COMMUNITY

### Interview Instructions

al:

Be sure that you interview only the union member whose name is given to you. It will not always be possible, but it is preferable that you interview that person privately.

The schedule number will correspond to the name (interviewee) given to you. Check this so that we may keep our records correct.

Alternative responses on the schedule are preceded by a,b,c, etc. Mark the response given by encircling the appropriate letter.

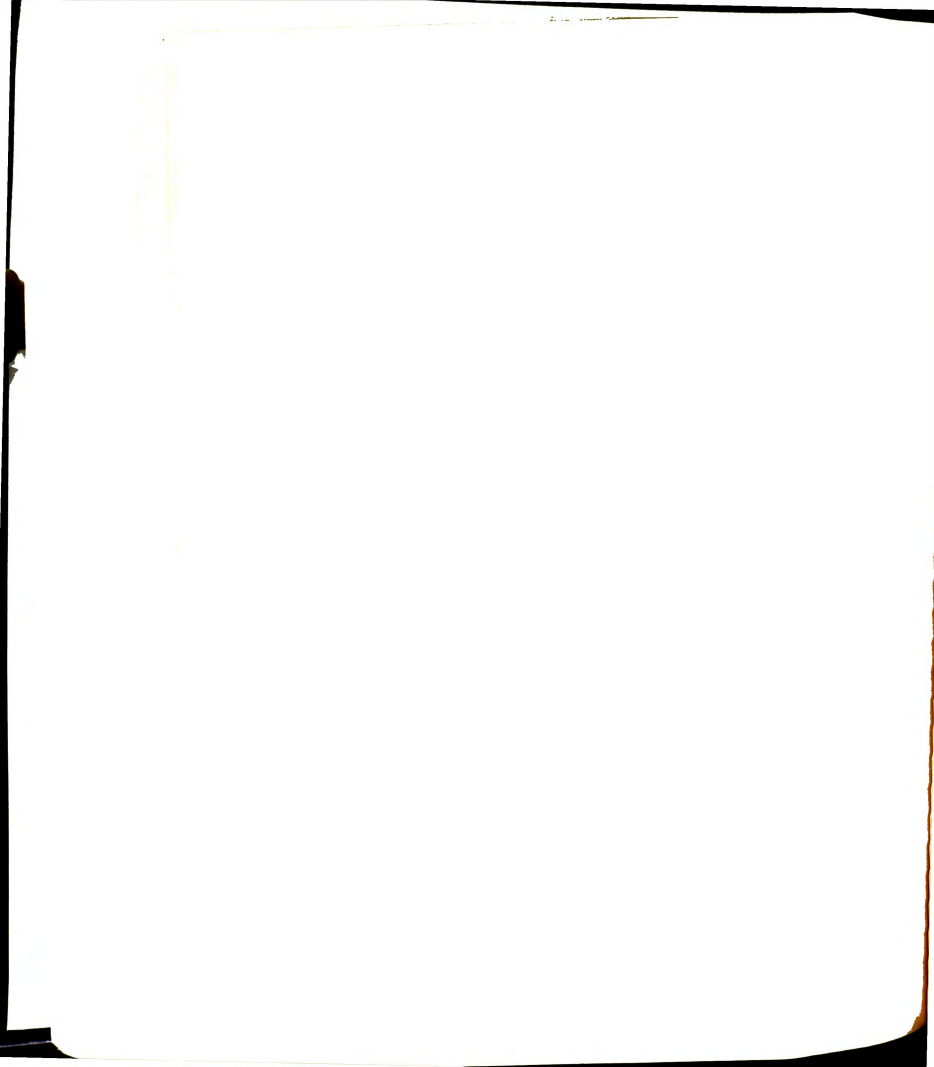
In questions where more than three specific responses are possible, cards are provided for presentation to the interviewee. Have him select the response which he feels most nearly applies to him.

Space provided for "Any remarks" should be used to record any qualifying statement which the interviewee may make; e.g., he may feel that the list of alternative responses is inadequate.

Instructions to you, incorporated in the schedule, are entirely capitalized. These, of course, are not to be read to the interviewee.

Compare question #13 with question #32. Question #13a. begins with "IF YES", and questions 32a., 32b., and 32c. begin with "IF YES". In the former case #13a precedes "Any remarks". To permit you to "catch" comments pertinent to the initial response, "Any remarks" precedes the a,b,c, etc. sections of a question when there is more than one other section which you must handle.

If you need additional space, please number the response and use the back of the sheet.



fic:

1

Question #2 - Get town and state

Question #4 - For cases outside of the city, you might indicate that you mean the Lansing Area.

Question #6a - Is designed to help categorized the worker as skilled, semi-skilled, or unskilled.

}

Question #12 - As in #6a, skill category is what is wanted.

t

Question #17a - Get town and state

}

Question #24a - Merely record "yes" or "no" in the space provided if the respondent has ever held an elective office. Duration of memberships refers to membership in the particular union and not to duration in office.

}

Question #29a - Length of time refers to the time in the office named. Unit refers to the plant in which the man was working at the time of his election. Again, record only elective offices.

}

Question #31a - To get response to "Degree of Activity of Committee" you might ask, "How active was that committee?", "Attendance at Meetings", "How often did you attend the committee meetings?" Record as "all, over half, about half", etc.

}

Question #33b - To record in the table, find out if the activity listed is sponsored primarily by the Unit or the Amalgamated Union as a whole. Record U or A after the activity.

}

Question #33c - Here again, since some activities are sponsored by the Unit, others by the Amalgamated, be sure to list the activities on the proper line.

}

Question 35 - Probe as in Question #16.

1870

The following is a list of the names of the persons who have been  
 elected to the office of the President of the University of Chicago  
 since the year 1890. The names are arranged in chronological order  
 of their election.

Year	Name
1890	William Rainey Harper
1896	William Rainey Harper
1902	William Rainey Harper
1908	William Rainey Harper
1914	William Rainey Harper
1920	William Rainey Harper
1926	William Rainey Harper
1932	William Rainey Harper
1938	William Rainey Harper
1944	William Rainey Harper
1950	William Rainey Harper
1956	William Rainey Harper
1962	William Rainey Harper
1968	William Rainey Harper
1974	William Rainey Harper
1980	William Rainey Harper
1986	William Rainey Harper
1992	William Rainey Harper
1998	William Rainey Harper
2004	William Rainey Harper
2010	William Rainey Harper
2016	William Rainey Harper
2022	William Rainey Harper



1  
Question 39b - Ignore the lines appearing in this question and encircle the appropriate response.

3  
Question #48 - Probe to learn whether the interviewee thinks the local officers were elected because of leadership ability, "personal magnetism", duration of membership, etc.

2  
Question #54 - "Fellow members" refers to fellow union members.

6  
Question #55 - In cases where the respondent lives outside of Lansing it may be necessary to check more than one space; e.g., most friends may live in his neighborhood and outside of Lansing.

7  
Question #59 - The word "men" has been used intentionally instead of "union". This will give the respondent an opportunity to use the term "union" in his response. If he asks what is meant by "the men", tell him the men at the plant where you work.

19 and 20

Question 71 through 77 - N nothing  
P poor  
F fair  
G good  
E excellent



Union Members in Their Community

File Number \_\_\_\_\_

My name is \_\_\_\_\_. I'm working for a study done by Michigan State College. We're concerned about workers' participation in Union activities, their recreational activities, what they think about their jobs and Lansing, and things like that. We have permission from the Amalgamated Union and Michigan State College to do a study of this and would appreciate it if you would give a few minutes of your time to answer some questions about these things. (Your name has been taken from a hat, so to speak, so no one will know who you are. Your name will never appear with these answers, so you can be perfectly frank in answering these questions. Anything you say will be very valuable for our survey and we will appreciate any help you can give us.)

We would like to know something about how you feel about Lansing and how you feel about your job.

How long have you lived in the Lansing area? \_\_\_\_\_

Where were you born? \_\_\_\_\_

Where have you lived most of your life? \_\_\_\_\_

What do you think of Lansing as a place to live? \_\_\_\_\_

a. What do you think of Lansing as a place to work? \_\_\_\_\_

Are you married or single?

a Married 5a. IF MARRIED, How many children do you have? \_\_\_\_\_

b Single

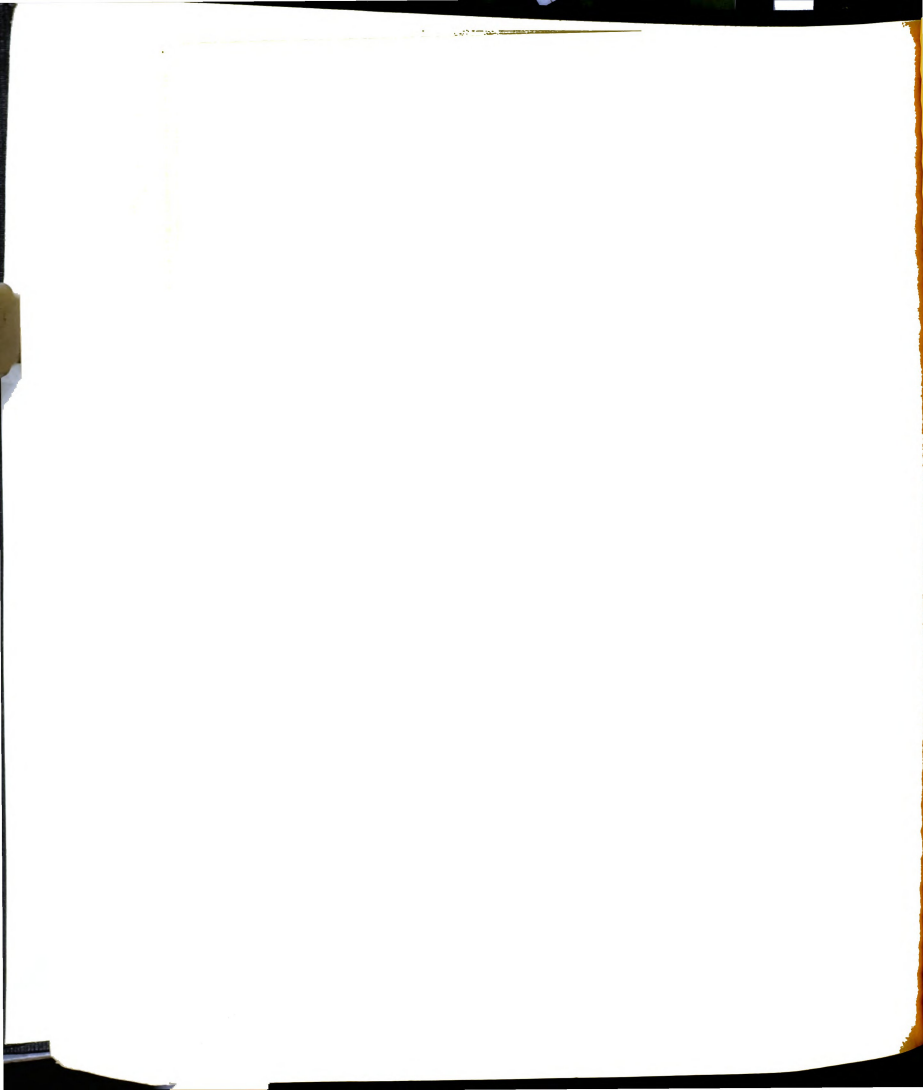
c Divorced

d Widowed

e Separated

What is your occupation? TITLE \_\_\_\_\_

a. Could you tell me briefly exactly what you do? \_\_\_\_\_



What is the name of the department you work in? (NOTE: NAME, NOT NUMBER)

---

How long have you been employed there? \_\_\_\_\_

What do you think of that department as a place to work? \_\_\_\_\_

---

How well satisfied would you say you are with your job?

- Very dissatisfied
- Dissatisfied
- Fairly satisfied
- Satisfied
- Very satisfied

a. Is there anything you especially like about your job? \_\_\_\_\_

---

b. Is there anything you especially dislike about your job? \_\_\_\_\_

---

When you speak of promotion, what are the things you usually think of?

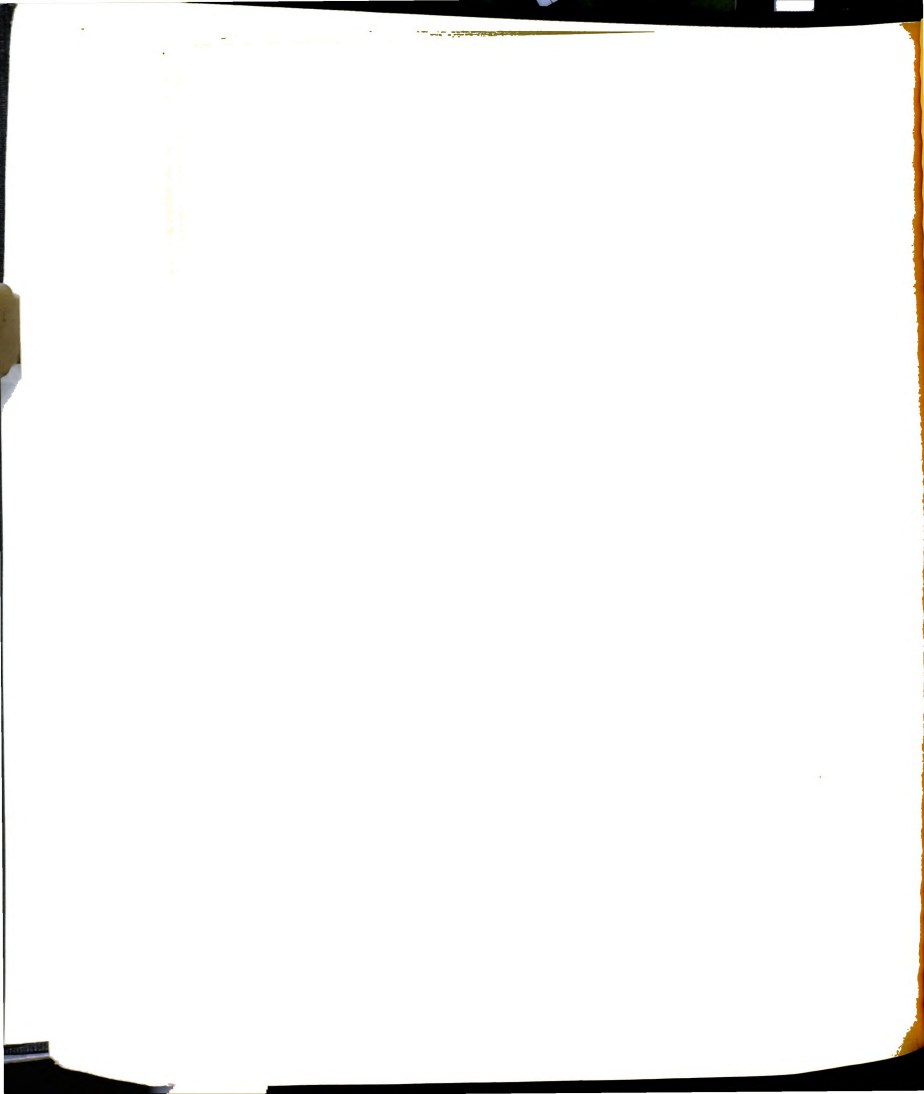
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a. How do you think a man's promotion should be determined?

---

I'd like to know something about other full-time jobs that you've held.

CHART FOR JOB HISTORY ON FOLLOWING PAGE.









Do you look forward some day to doing some kind of work which is different from what you do now?

- a No
- b Yes
- c Any remarks \_\_\_\_\_

14a. IF YES, What type of work? \_\_\_\_\_

14b. IF YES, What do you especially like about that type of work?

Would you mind telling me how old you are? Age \_\_\_\_\_

How many years of school have you completed? (NOTE: DON'T ACCEPT GENERAL RESPONSE OF "GRADE SCHOOL" OR "HIGH SCHOOL"; PROBE FOR NUMBER OF YEARS COMPLETED.)

Number of years \_\_\_\_\_

16a. Have you had any vocational training outside of regular school?

- a No
- b Yes
- c Any remarks \_\_\_\_\_

16b. IF YES, What kind was it? \_\_\_\_\_

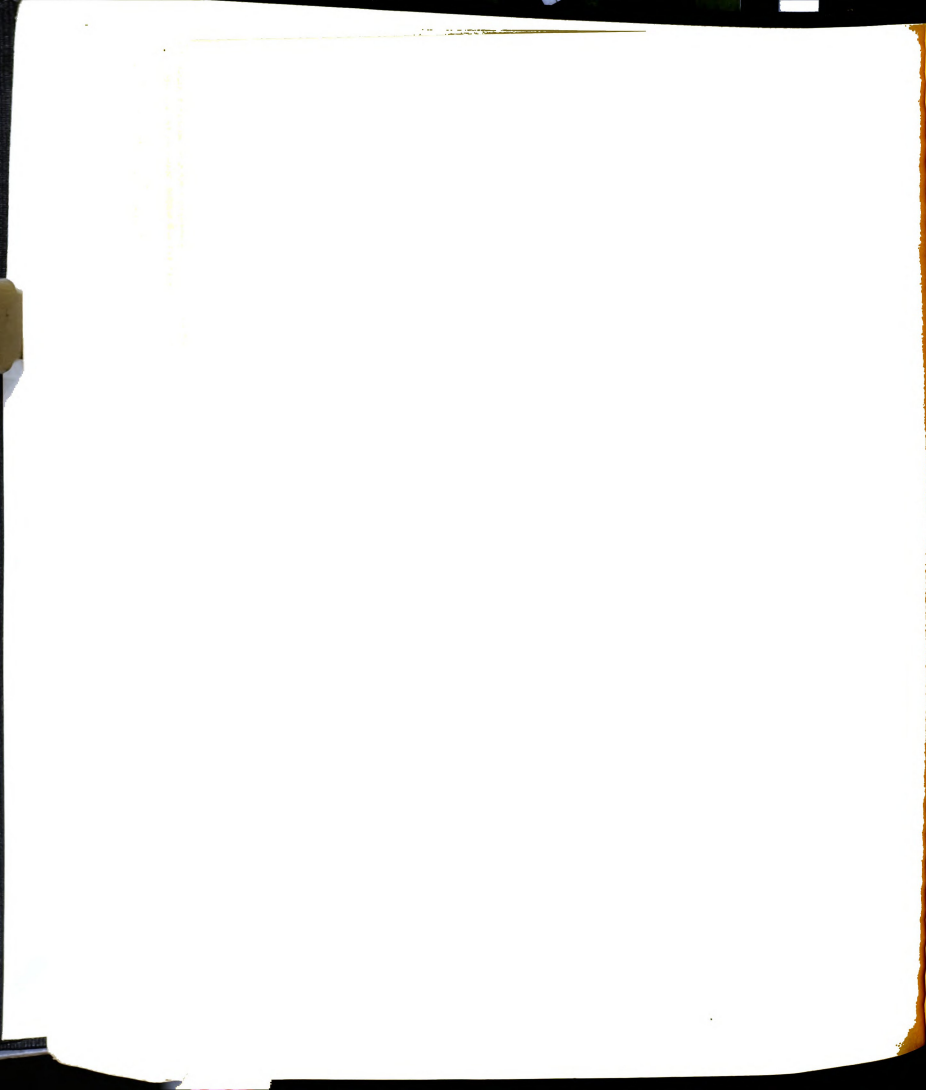
16c. IF YES, How long a training period? \_\_\_\_\_

What kind of work did your father do when you were about 15 years old?

17a. Where was your father brought up? \_\_\_\_\_

17b. Was he ever a union member?

- a No
- b Yes
- c Don't know



IF YES, What union(s)? \_\_\_\_\_

How did he feel about unions generally? \_\_\_\_\_

like to know something about your participation in union activities.

Were you willing or unwilling to join the union when you first were employed where you now work?

a Willing

b Unwilling

Any remarks \_\_\_\_\_

What is the main reason for your answer? \_\_\_\_\_

Are there any other reasons? \_\_\_\_\_

How long have you been a member of this union? \_\_\_\_\_

Would you say you are an:

a active union rooster

b active supporter

c ordinary member

d dislike unions

e dislike unions very much

Why do you feel this way? \_\_\_\_\_

Do you think of "free riders" or "hitchhikers"? \_\_\_\_\_

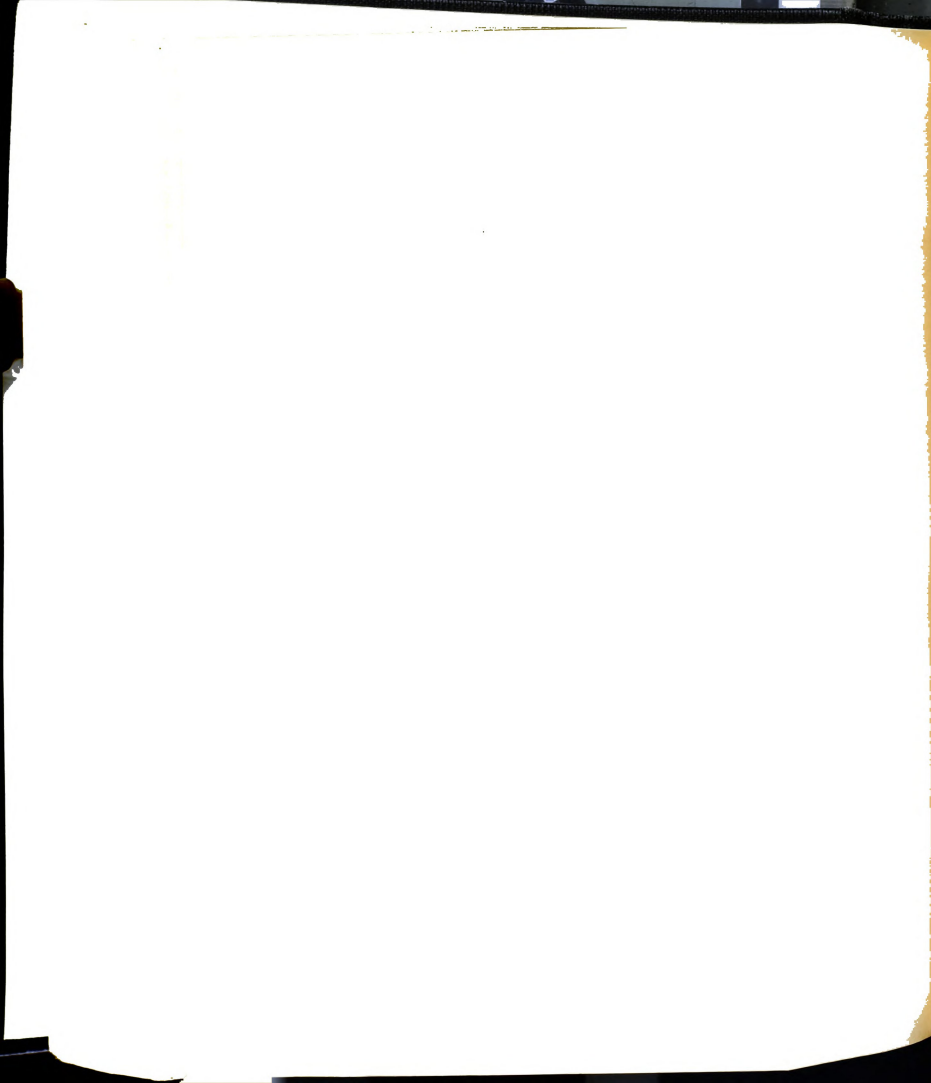
Do fellows in the union treat "free riders" or "hitchhikers" any differently than they treat each other?

a No

b Yes

c Some of them

IF YES OR SOME OF THEM, What kind of different treatment do they get?



often would you say you attend union meetings?

- all of the time
- more than half of the time
- about half of the time
- less than half of the time
- once or twice a year
- less than once a year
- never

RESPONSE TO QUESTION 22 IS d, e, f, or g ASK, Why don't you go e often?

---



---

. IF a, b, or c ASK, What kinds of programs would you like to see added?

---



---

e you even been a member of another union?

- No
- Yes
- Any remarks \_\_\_\_\_

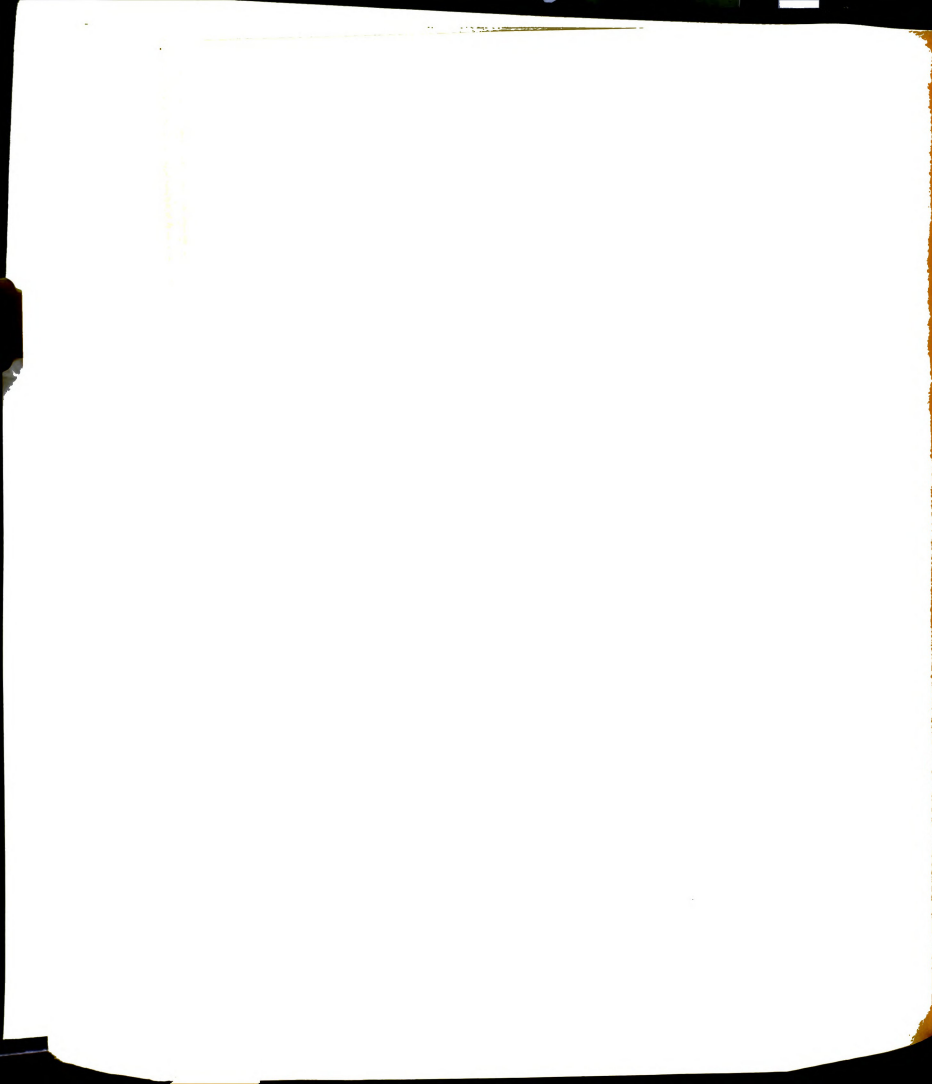
. IF YES, RECORD IN TABLE.

Name of Union	Ever an Officer?	Duration of Membership

t kinds of services do you think the union should provide for its bers, which it doesn't provide them now? \_\_\_\_\_

you think the union's initiation fee is:

- too high
  - about right
  - too low
  - no opinion or don't know
- 26a. Any remarks \_\_\_\_\_



about the dues?

- too high
- about right
- too low
- are none
- no opinion or don't know

. Any remarks \_\_\_\_\_

about assessments?

- too high
- about right
- too low
- are none
- no opinion or don't know

. Any remarks \_\_\_\_\_

Have you ever been elected to an office in your present union?

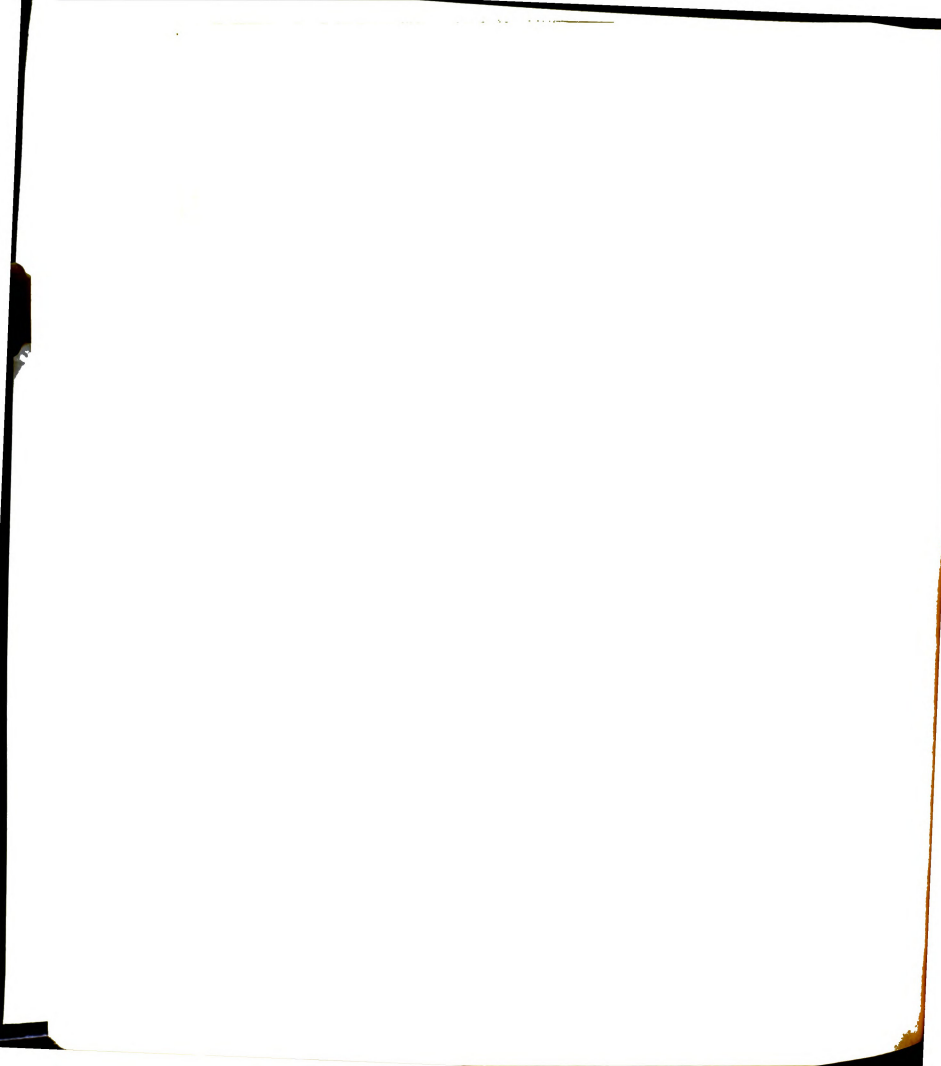
- No
- Yes
- Any remarks \_\_\_\_\_

. IF YES, RECORD IN TABLE

Office	Length of Time	Unit

NO TO QUESTION 29, Would you like to become a union officer in your present union?

- No
- Yes
- Any remarks \_\_\_\_\_





IF YES, Which office? \_\_\_\_\_

you ever been on a committee in your union?

No

Yes

Any remarks \_\_\_\_\_

IF YES, RECORD IN TABLE

Name of Committee	Degree of Activity of Committee	Attendance at Meetings

you ever served on a committee made up of both union and manage-people in your present union?

No

Yes

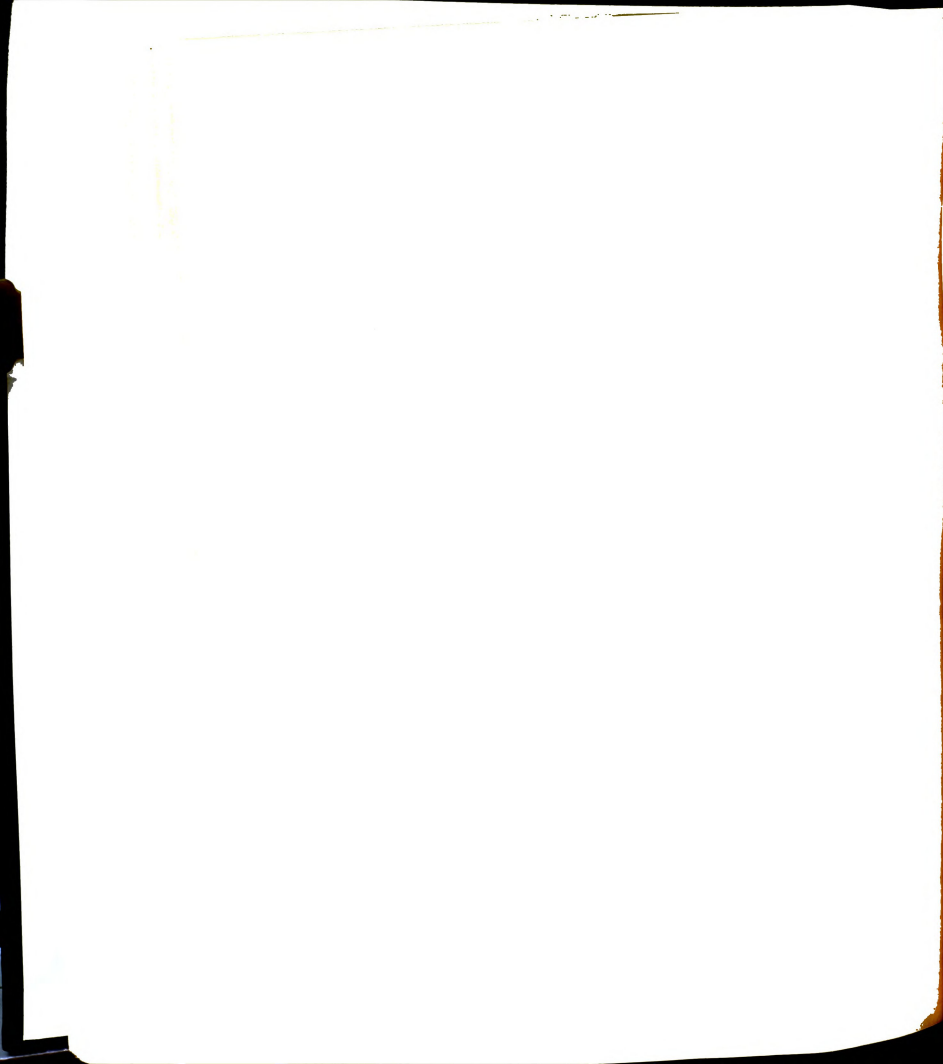
Any remarks \_\_\_\_\_

IF YES, What kind of committee was it? \_\_\_\_\_

IF YES, What kind of a job do you think you did? \_\_\_\_\_

IF YES, Why do you feel that way? \_\_\_\_\_

kinds of recreational activities do you take part in? \_\_\_\_\_



a. IF MENTIONED, Are any of these sponsored by the union?

- a No
- b Yes
- c Don't know

b. IF YES, Which ones? (RECORD IN TABLE BELOW)

Union sponsored activities	Unit or Amalgamated	How often held?	Percent of times attended?

c. What other kinds of recreational activities does the union sponsor?

t \_\_\_\_\_

Amalgamated \_\_\_\_\_

How often are there elections for local union officers?

t \_\_\_\_\_

Amalgamated \_\_\_\_\_

d. How often do you vote in these elections?

- most of the time
- half of the time
- less than half of the time
- almost never
- never

Any remarks ABOUT VOTING OTHER THAN FOR OFFICERS \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_



RIED)- - - - - Let's go back to your (wife, husband) for a moment.

FILE, GO TO QUESTION 37)

How many years of schooling has your (wife, husband) completed?  
(PROBE FOR NUMBER OF YEARS) Number of years \_\_\_\_\_

a. Has (she, he) had any vocational training outside of regular school?

No

Yes

Any remarks \_\_\_\_\_

b. IF YES, What kind was it? \_\_\_\_\_

c. IF YES, How long a training period? \_\_\_\_\_

d. What does (she, he) think about unions? \_\_\_\_\_

e. Has your (wife, husband) ever been a union member?

No

Yes

Any remarks \_\_\_\_\_

f. IF YES, What union(s)? \_\_\_\_\_

g. IF YES, How long was (she, he) a member? (each union) \_\_\_\_\_

h. In the way, do you receive the Lansing Labor News?

No

Yes

Any remarks \_\_\_\_\_

i. IF YES, Would you say you

usually read it all the way through  
read some parts all of the time  
look at it most of the time  
read it once in a while  
never read it



b. Does your shop have a column in the News?

- a Yes
- b No
- c Any remarks \_\_\_\_\_

c. (IF RESPONSE TO 37a IS b, c, or d) What "sections" of the paper do you read?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

do you think most of the people in the plant read the Lansing Labor News?

- a No
- b Yes
- c Any remarks \_\_\_\_\_

a. How would you suggest that the paper be improved to increase the interest of readers?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

do you think the union should be active in politics?

- a No
- b Yes
- c Any remarks \_\_\_\_\_

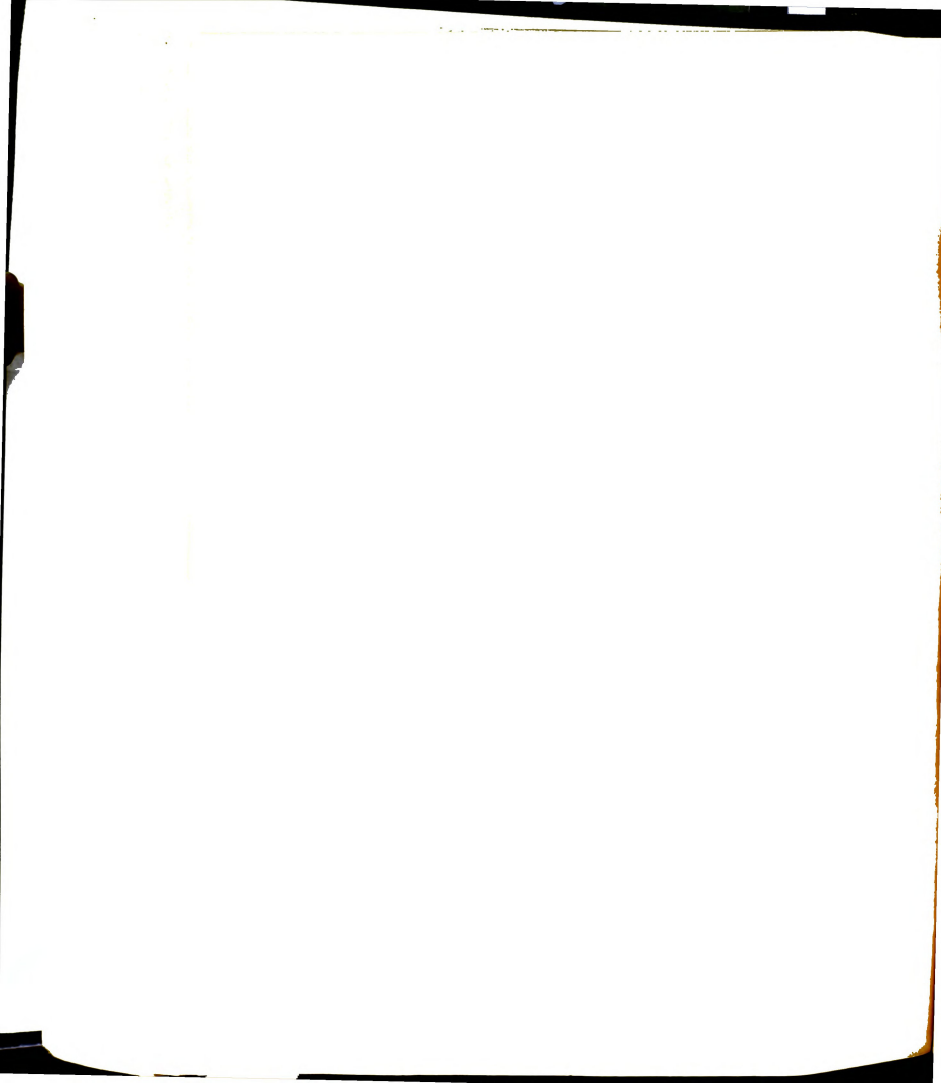
a. Why do you feel this way? \_\_\_\_\_

b. If unions are going to participate in politics anyway, would you prefer that they exert most pressure at the

- a local level? \_\_\_\_\_
- b state level? \_\_\_\_\_
- c national level? \_\_\_\_\_

do you think the union should have its own political party, or do you think that it should back candidates from the present parties?

- a Own party
- b Back candidates
- c Other responses; specify \_\_\_\_\_





do you think the country would be better off if the working people had more power and influence in government, or would you say that it'd all be better off if the working people had no more power than they have now?

- a More power
- b No more power
- c Don't know
- d Other \_\_\_\_\_

a. Why do you feel this way? \_\_\_\_\_

do you think the government's job is to see to it that there are opportunities for each person to get ahead on his own or do you think the government ought to guarantee every person a decent and steady job and standard of living?

- a Get ahead on own
- b Guarantee job, etc.
- c Don't know
- d Other \_\_\_\_\_

a. Why do you feel this way? \_\_\_\_\_

do you favor a guaranteed annual wage?

- a Yes
- b No
- c No opinion

a. IF YES, How would you like to see it accomplished?

- a By legislation
- b Collective bargaining
- c Other, specify \_\_\_\_\_

do you think working people are usually treated fairly or unfairly by employers?

- a Fairly
- b Unfairly
- c Don't know or no opinion
- d Other \_\_\_\_\_



do you think we'd be better off if the government took over and ran  
 the mines, factories, and industries or that we'd be better off under  
 private ownership?

- a. Government
- b. Private
- c. Don't know
- d. Other \_\_\_\_\_

a. Why do you feel this way? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

How would you like to know a little bit about the way you think your union  
 is run.

do you think that all members have a fair chance to become union  
 officers if they want the job?

- a. No
- b. Yes
- c. Any remarks \_\_\_\_\_

a. Why do you feel this way? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

do you think the union treats all members of the union fairly?

- a. Not often
- b. Some of the time
- c. Usually
- d. Always

a. (IF RESPONSE IS a, b, or c) Why is this the case? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

do you think the present local officers were elected? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

How would you say your union is run?

- a. Poorly
- b. Fair
- c. Good
- d. Very good
- e. No opinion

1875

1876

1877

1878

1879

1880

1881

1882

1883

How would you rate the quality of the local union officers?

- a Poor
- b Fair
- c Good
- d Excellent

a. How about international representatives and regional directors?

- a Poor
- b Fair
- c Good
- d Excellent

b. How about the international union officials?

- a Poor
- b Fair
- c Good
- d Excellent

Do you feel that international union officials are generally radical?

- a No
- b Yes
- c Don't know

Are they too conservative?

- a No
- b Yes
- c Don't know

Are they too interested in their own success?

- a No
- b Yes
- c Don't know

Are they too indifferent to doing a good job?

- a No
- b Yes
- c Don't know

How often do you think anyone is thrown out of your local union unjustly?

- a Never
- b Hardly ever
- c Fairly often
- d Quite often









- 1a. Which of these activities do you engage in most often?  
(LIST MOST FREQUENT FIRST, USING ABOVE LETTERS TO INDICATE  
ACTIVITY)
- 

Where do most of your friends live?

<u>Location of Friends</u>	<u>Most</u>	<u>Some</u>	<u>None</u>
Neighborhood	_____	_____	_____
Other places in Lansing	_____	_____	_____
Outside of Lansing	_____	_____	_____

1a. How many of these friends did you first meet at your place of work?

- a Most of them  
b More than half of them  
c About half of them  
d Less than half of them  
e Only a few of them  
f None of them

1b. How many of your friends are people you work with?

- a Most of them  
b More than half of them  
c About half of them  
d Less than half of them  
e Only a few of them  
f None of them

1c. How do you think of your neighborhood as a place to live? \_\_\_\_\_

---

2. Would you tell me something about the relations which the  
workers have with management at the plant where you work.

2a. Have you read the agreement (the contract) between your union and the  
company?

- a No  
b Yes  
c Any remarks \_\_\_\_\_
- 

2a. IF YES, How well would you say you understand it?

- a Very well  
b Pretty well  
c Not very well  
d Not at all



you feel that the plant or company rules are fair?

- a. Very unfair
- b. Unfair
- c. Fair
- d. Very fair
- e. No opinion

f. IF UNFAIR, OR VERY UNFAIR, Why do you feel this way? \_\_\_\_\_

What do you think is the best way of settling disputes between the union and management?

a. Why do you feel this way? \_\_\_\_\_

b. What disputes do you have in mind? \_\_\_\_\_

When you use the term "union" do you usually mean other members like yourself or the officers?

- a. Members
- b. Officers

Do you think you need a union to buck the employer for you, or could you do as well by yourself?

- a. We need the union
- b. Could do almost as well by myself
- c. Could do just as well by myself
- d. Could do better by myself
- e. Other SPECIFY \_\_\_\_\_

a. Why do you feel this way? \_\_\_\_\_

Do you feel that the gains or losses in your union result from the quality of the organization or the quality of the leadership?

- a. Organization
- b. Leadership
- c. Both
- d. Don't know
- e. Any remarks \_\_\_\_\_

1875  
1876  
1877  
1878  
1879  
1880  
1881  
1882  
1883  
1884  
1885  
1886  
1887  
1888  
1889  
1890  
1891  
1892  
1893  
1894  
1895  
1896  
1897  
1898  
1899  
1900

What do you think should be the most important job of the union?

---

- a. What is next? \_\_\_\_\_
- b. Can you think of any other important duties that the union ought to perform for the men? \_\_\_\_\_
- 

What do you think are the main things that your union local should work for right now? \_\_\_\_\_

---

Have you ever participated in a strike?

- a. No
- b. Yes
- c. Any remarks \_\_\_\_\_

a. According to the U.A.W. constitution does the average member have a voice in calling a strike?

- a. No
- b. Yes
- c. Any remarks \_\_\_\_\_

b. Is there anybody in the local who has more voice in calling a strike than the average member?

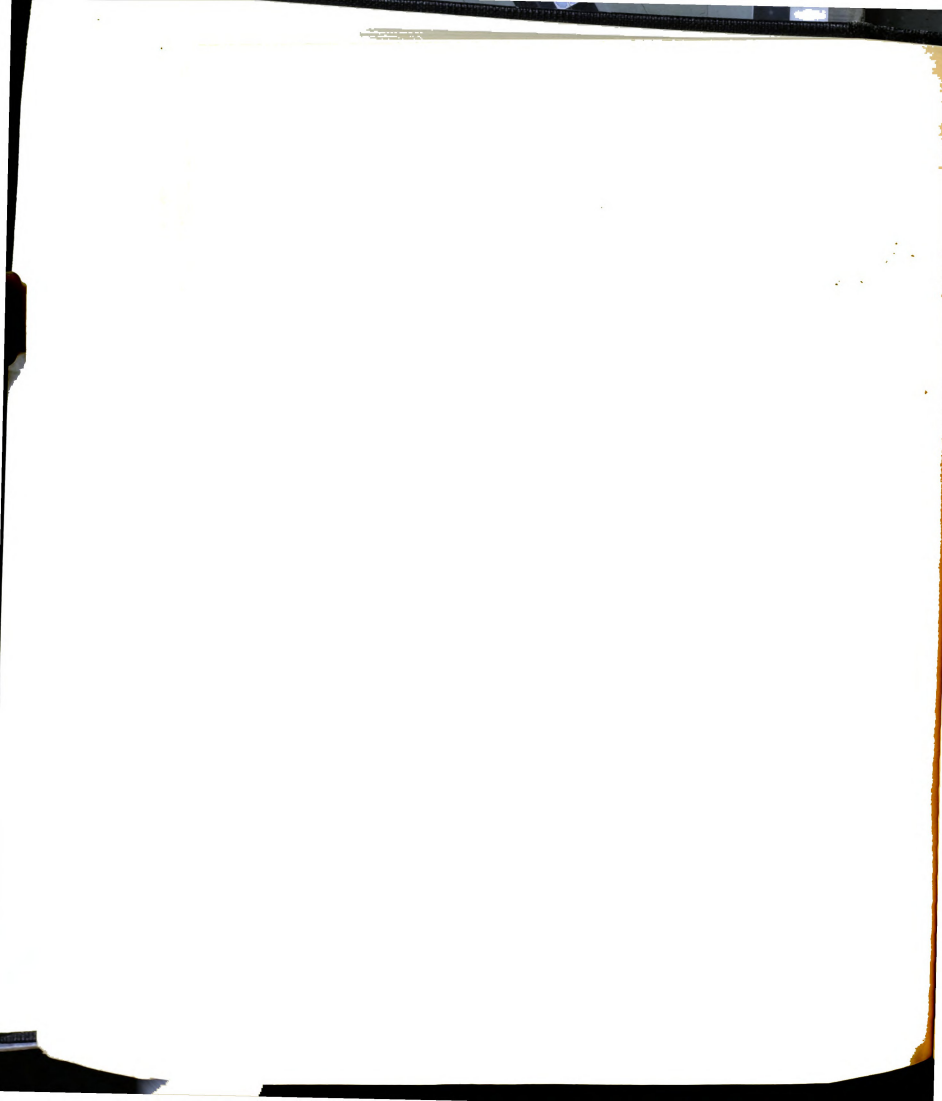
- a. No
- b. Yes IF YES, Who? \_\_\_\_\_

How are grievances generally processed:

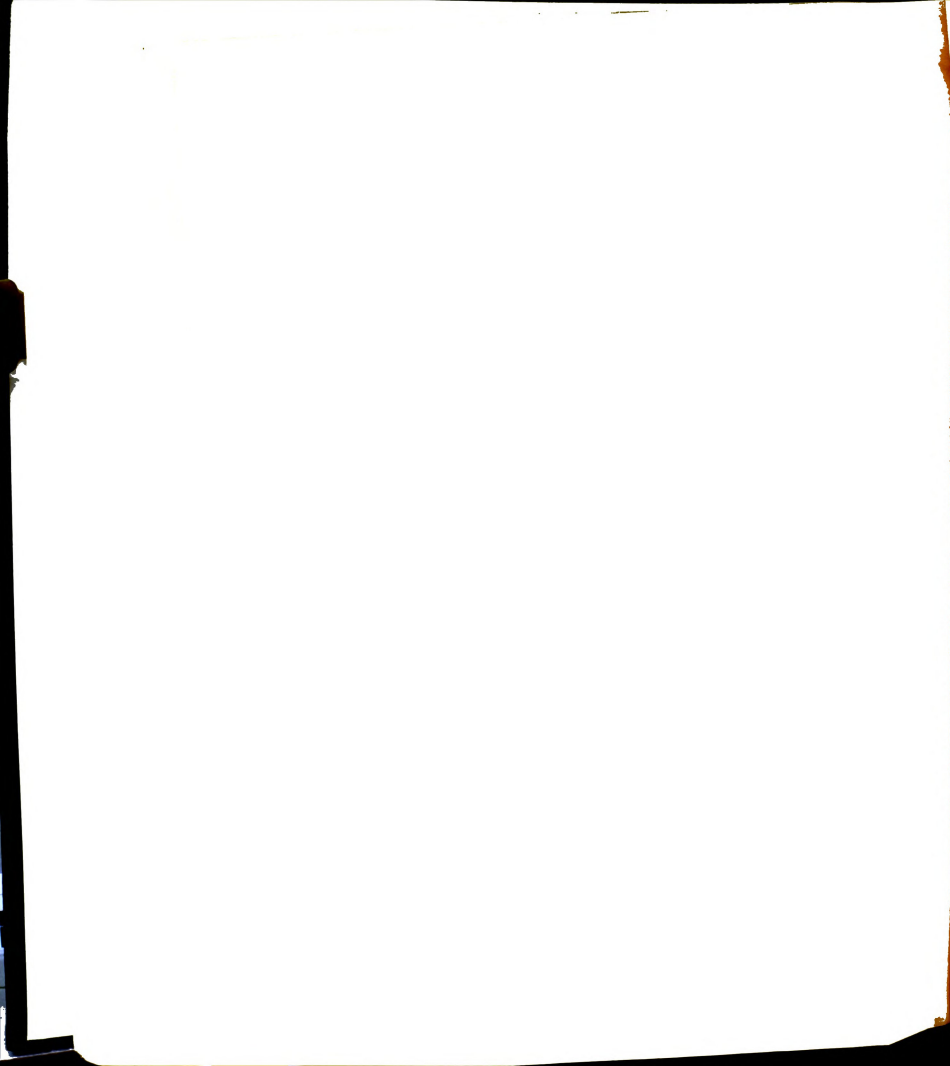
- a. Very slowly?
- b. Slowly?
- c. Quickly?
- d. Very quickly?

How effective do you feel the present grievance procedure is?

- a. Not effective
- b. Fairly effective
- c. Effective
- d. Very effective









- ) Unemployment insurance                    N    P    F    G    E
- ) Vacations                                    N    P    F    G    E
- ) Guaranteed annual wage                    N    P    F    G    E
- ) Better working conditions                    N    P    F    G    E

Do you think of some other things the union is working for?

- a No
- b Yes IF YES, What others? \_\_\_\_\_

How well would you say your local compares with other locals in bargaining with employers?

- a Very unfavorable
- b Unfavorable
- c Favorable
- d Very favorable
- e Don't know
- f Any remarks \_\_\_\_\_

How well would you say your international compares with other internationals in bargaining with employers?

- a Very unfavorable
- b Unfavorable
- c Favorable
- d Very favorable
- e Don't know
- f Any remarks \_\_\_\_\_

Interview: \_\_\_\_\_

Interview: \_\_\_\_\_

Name of interviewee: \_\_\_\_\_

Address about interview: \_\_\_\_\_

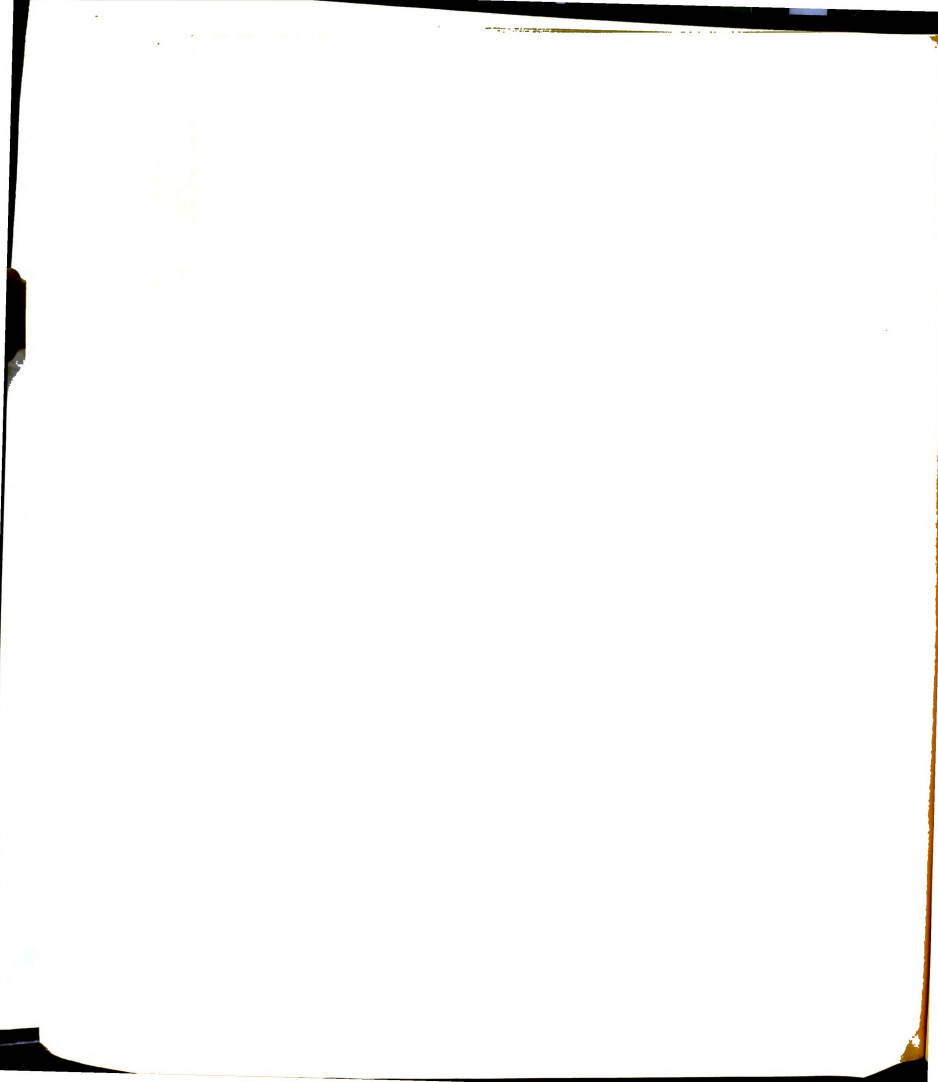
Signature required: \_\_\_\_\_

Interviewer: PRINT NAME \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

TELEPHONE \_\_\_\_\_



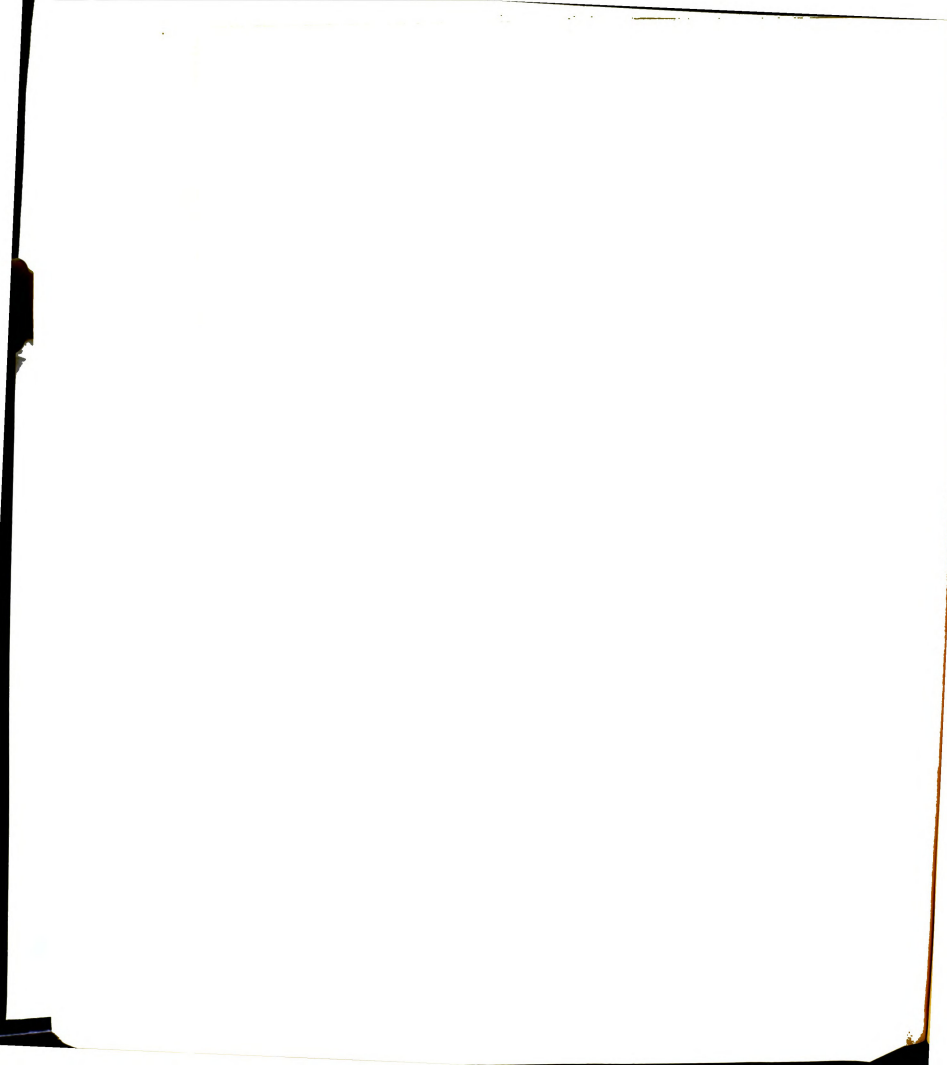


## DATA FOR CHAPTER III

## THE MEMBERS OF LOCAL 724

A. Willingness to Join			4. Place Father Was Reared		
1. Willing		129	Lansing		8
Reasons*			Rural Michigan		19
Pay	26		Urban Michigan		13
Working Conditions	19		North (non-Mich.)		28
Protection vs. M'gmt.	28		South		35
Need representation	17		Foreign		17
Helps me at my work	20		U.S. or Michigan		15
Security	7		Total		<u>135</u>
Social pattern	11		5. Fathers' Occupations		
Seniority protection	5		Professional		4
General pro-union	35		Farm owners and tenants		56
Had no choice	2		Wholesale and retail dealers		3
2. Unwilling		10	Other, prop, mgrs., and off.		5
Reasons			Clerks and kindred workers		2
Had no choice	7		Skilled workers & foremen		19
Strikes	2		Semi-skilled workers		11
Too radical	4		Unskilled workers		3
No special benefits	5		Indeterminate		25
3. Others			Total		<u>128</u>
Total		<u>3</u>	6. Fathers' Attitude Toward Unionism		
		<u>142</u>	Favorable		43
			Mixed feelings		8
			Unfavorable		11
			Total		<u>72</u>
B. Who They Are			7. Length of Time in Lansing Area		
1. Age			Less than 1 yr.		3
Under 25		10	1-3 yrs.		19
25-34		34	4-9 yrs.		19
35-44		40	10-19 yrs.		29
45-54		36	20-39 yrs.		58
55-60		11	40 yrs. or more		14
65 and over		10	Total		<u>142</u>
Total		<u>141</u>	8. Present Residence		
2. Place of Birth			Central City		104
Lansing		22	Fringe		38
Rural Michigan		25	Total		<u>142</u>
Urban Michigan		23	9. Amount of Education		
North (non-Mich.)		25	None		2
South		31	Some grammar school		23
Foreign		8	Completed gramm. sch. (8 yrs.)		37
U.S. or Michigan		8	Some high school		38
Total		<u>142</u>	Completed high school		34
3 Longest Residence			Some college		5
Lansing		70	Completed college		3
Rural Michigan		8	Total		<u>142</u>
Urban Michigan		14			
North (non-Mich.)		11			
South		21			
Foreign		4			
U.S. or Michigan		13			
Total		<u>141</u>			

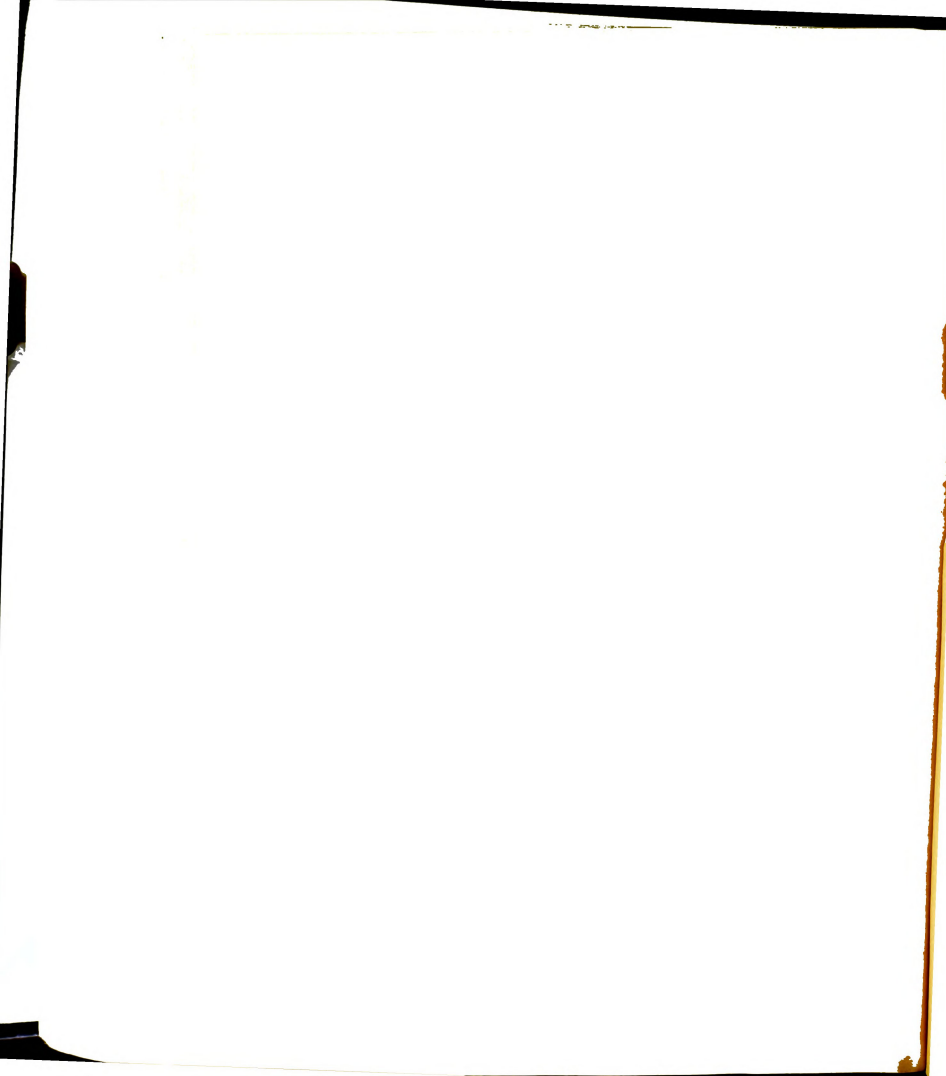
\*Many totals will not equal 142 since many members have given more than one answer and only actual, relevant responses are listed.



10. Marital Status		17. Degree of Skill	
Married	120	Skilled	43
Single	14	Semi-Skilled	65
Other	8	Unskilled	24
Total	<u>142</u>	Clerical	10
11. Number of Children		Total	<u>142</u>
0	14	18. Desire for Different Job	
1-3	78	No	64
4 or more	27	Yes	76
Total	<u>119</u>	Total	<u>140</u>
12. Amount of Wives' Education*		19. Desire for Self Employment	
None	1	Private Business	28
Some grammar school	8	Farming	10
Completed gramm. sch. (8 yrs.)	23	Total	<u>38</u>
Some high school	37	20. Unemployment	
Completed high school	41	Yes	87
Some college	9	No	55
Completed college	3	Total	<u>142</u>
Total	<u>122</u>	21. Strike Participation	3
13. Vocational Training of Wives*		22. Organizational Affiliations	
No	29	Religious	30
Yes	93	Civic	3
Total	<u>122</u>	Fraternal	26
14. Wives' Attitude Toward Union		Sporting	9
Very favorable	17	Other	17
Favorable	42	Total	<u>85</u>
Indifferent	2	23. Race	
Unfavorable	3	White	124
Very unfavorable	2	Negro	18
Knows nothing about unions	12	Total	<u>142</u>
Good in theo., faults in prac.	9	24. Previous Union Affiliation*	
Total	<u>87</u>	No	84
15. Length of Employment		Yes	57
(present department)		Total	<u>142</u>
Less than 1 yr.	10	A.F.L.	36
1-4 yrs.	47	C.I.O.	12
5-9 yrs.	32	Other	7
10-19 yrs.	36	Foreign	3
20 yrs. or more	15	Total	<u>58</u>
Total	<u>140</u>	25. Offices Held in Local 724*	
16. Occupational Mobility		Vice President	2
Number of Previous Jobs		Unit chairman	5
1 or 2	95	Secretary or treasurer	4
More than 2	35	International representative	1
Total	<u>130</u>	Stewards and committeemen	23
Vertical Mobility		Committee officers	5
Up	36	Total	<u>40</u>
Down	4		
Fluctuating up	6		
Fluctuating down	10		
Same	31		
Indeterminate	43		
Total	<u>130</u>		

\*More than one response possible

\*Two respondents gave answers for former wives.



## C. Basic Union and Leisure

## Time Activity

## 1. Union Activity

## a. Attendance at Meetings

All of the time	23
More than half the time	15
About half the time	37
Less than half the time	20
Once or twice per year	26
Less than once per year	6
Never	14

## Total

141

## b. Reasons for Poor Attendance

Not important, too much time	13
Work nights on another job	18
Conduct at meetings	10
Other things to do	21
Phys. handicap, lang. barrier	7
Satisfied with officers	6
Anti union or officers	4
Family conflicts with meetings	1

## Total

80

## c. Additional Programs Desired

Have everything or none	24
More recreation & social	12
Educational & speakers	4
Emphasize present programs	7
Clinic, nursery	3
Others	5

## Total

55

## d. Voting in Union Elections

Most of the time	93
Half of the time	12
Less than half the time	7
Almost never	8
Never	19

## Total

139

## e. Service on Union Committees

No	117
Yes	24

## Total

141

## f. Understanding of Contract

Very well	41
Pretty well	58
Not very well	12
Not at all	4

## Total

115\*

## g. Reading of Labor News

No	14
Yes	128

## Total

142

## 2. Leisure Time Activities

## a. Recreational Participation

(Most Frequent)

Visiting	32
Parties	4
Tavern	8
Sports	30
Cards	16
Movies	5
T.V.	13

## Total

108

## b. Activity in Formal Organizations

Active	32
Fairly active	11
Inactive	17

## Total

60

## D. Selected Attitudes

## 1. Attitudes about Work and Community

## a. Evaluation of Lansing Area

## 1. Lansing as a Place to Live

Excellent	13
Very good	29
Good	76
Fair	5
Poor	1
Very poor	2

## Total

116

## 2. Lansing as a Place to Work

Excellent	11
Very good	25
Good	84
Fair	18
Poor	1
Very poor	0

## Total

139

## 3. Evaluation of Neighborhood

Excellent	9
Very good	22
Good	72
Fair	30
Poor	7
Very poor	0

## Total

140

## b. Evaluation of Work Plant

## 1. Evaluation of Department

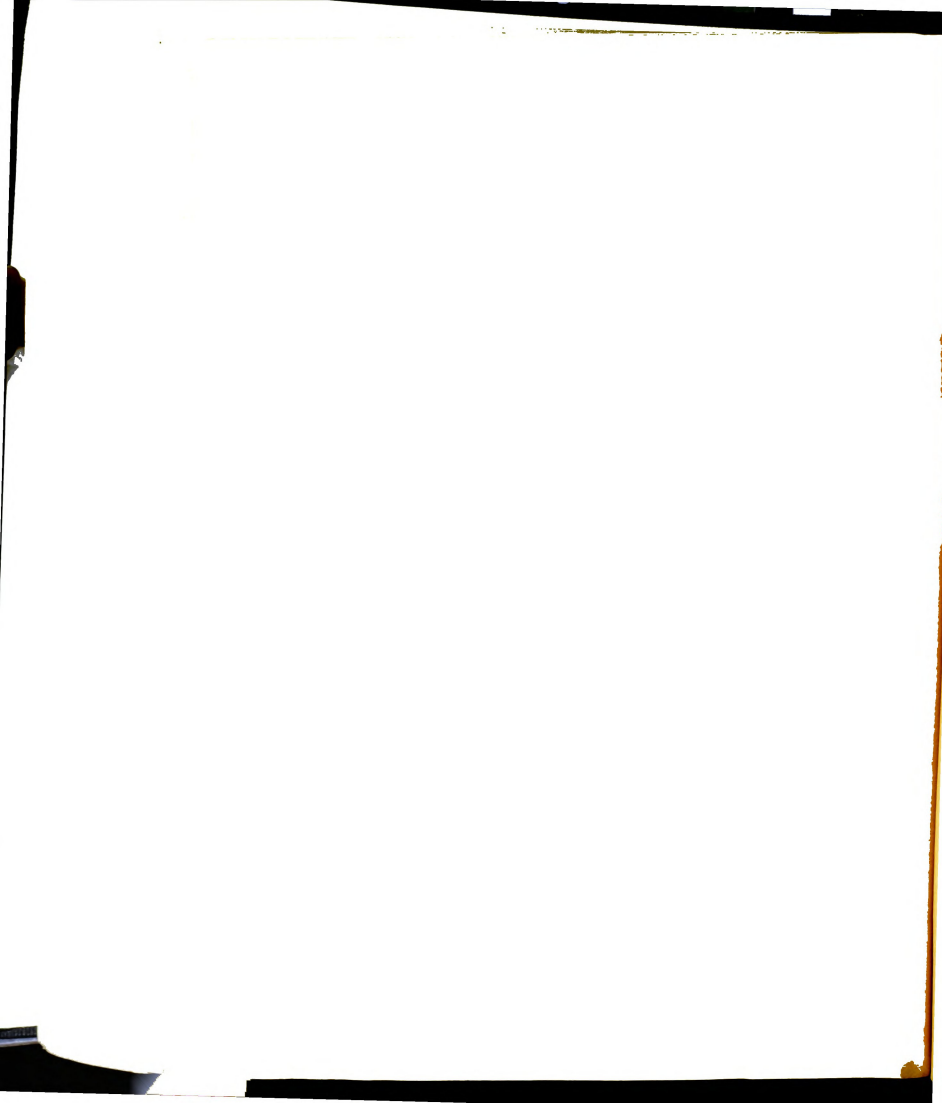
Excellent	3
Very good	31
Good	77
Fair	23
Poor	3
Very Poor	0

## Total

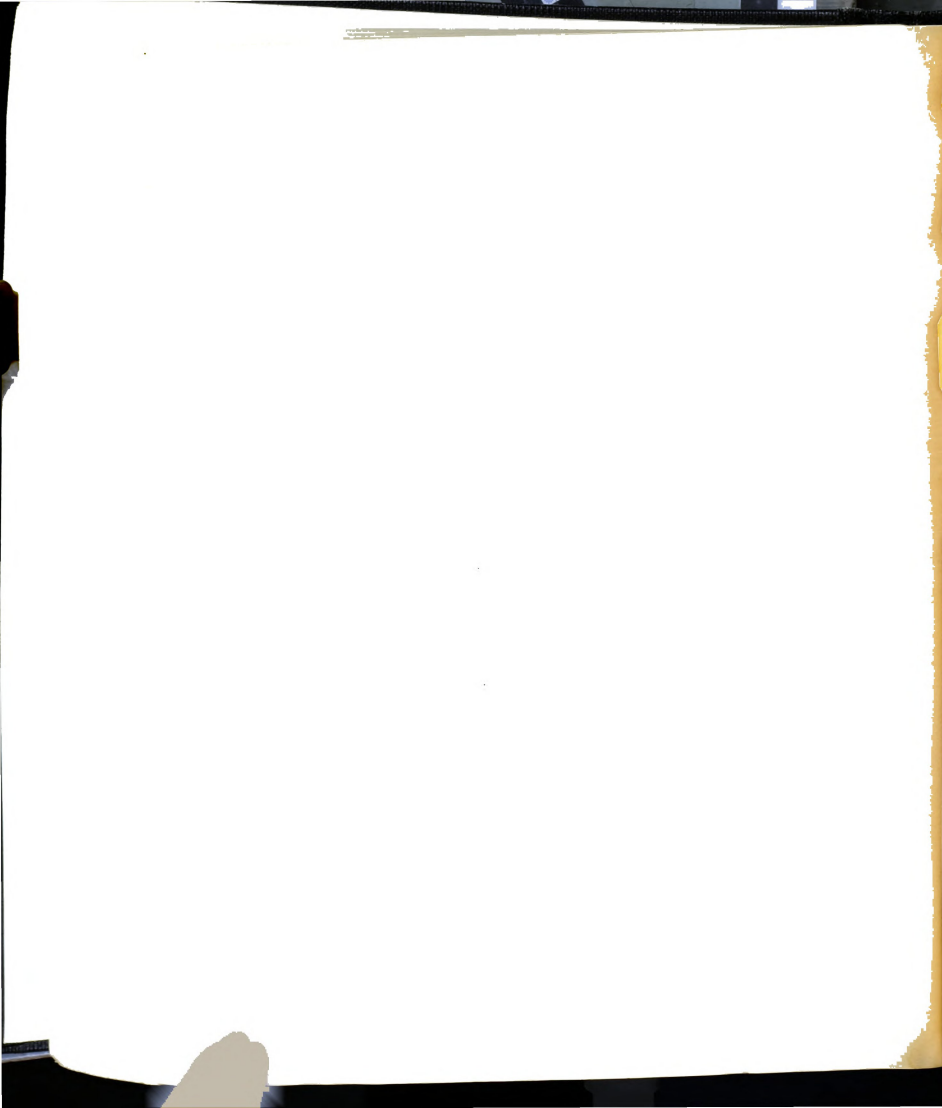
137

\*Only 107 report having read their contracts.

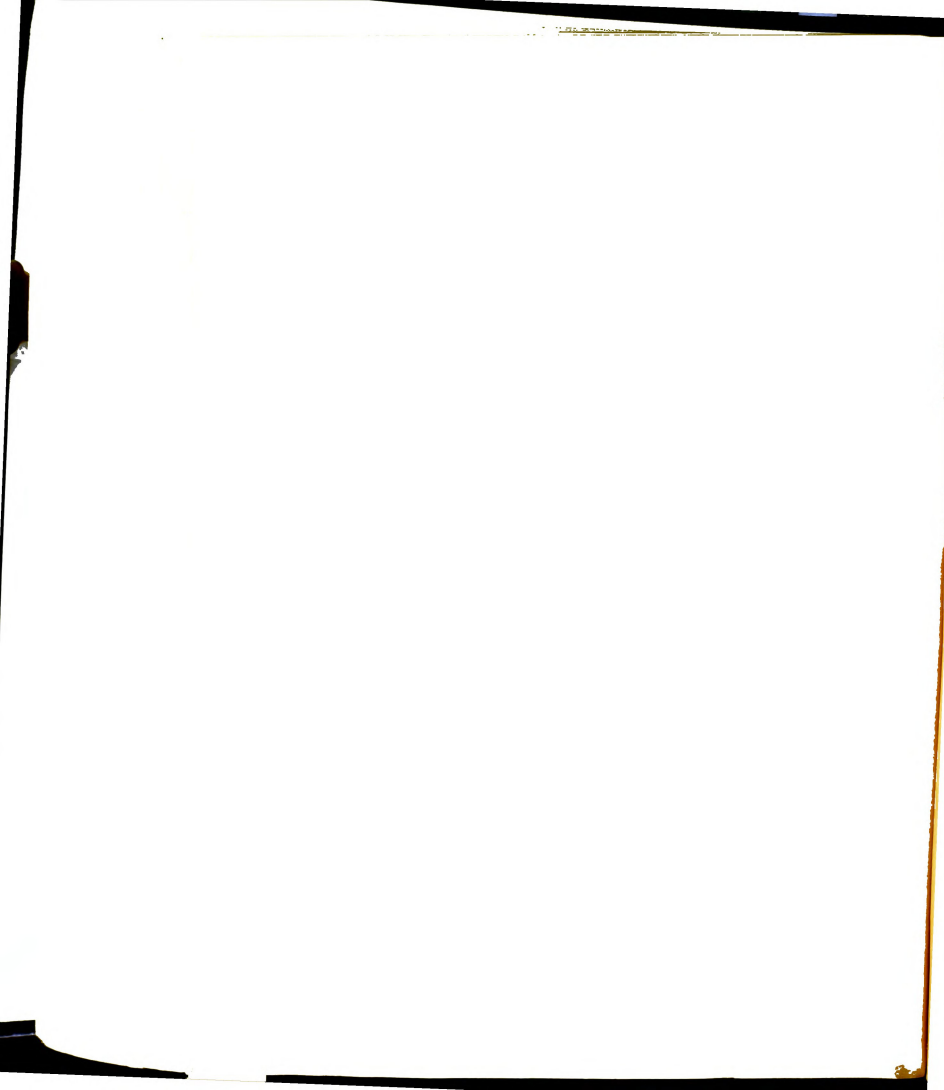




2. Job Satisfaction					
Very Satisfied	59				
Satisfied	54				
Fairly satisfied	24				
Dissatisfied	2				
Very dissatisfied	3				
Total	<u>142</u>				
a. Reasons for Satisfaction					
Pay	19				
Freedom	13				
Coworkers	15				
Type of work	57				
Supervision	3				
Hours & working conditions	12				
Pride in work & skill	7				
Total	<u>126</u>				
b. Reasons for Dissatisfaction					
Pay	5				
Lack of freedom	2				
Coworkers	3				
Type of work	14				
Supervision	3				
Hours and working conditions	34				
Total	<u>61</u>				
c. Meaning of Promotion					
More money	5				
Moving to supervision	14				
Better job, easier, variety, etc.	36				
More skilled work	8				
Self employment	2				
Don't think about it or don't want any	27				
Others	30				
Total	<u>122</u>				
d. Determination of Promotion					
Ability	80				
Seniority	16				
Ability and seniority	31				
Social ability	17				
Education	4				
Experience	4				
Others	9				
Total	<u>161</u>				
e. Occupational Aspirations					
No	64				
Yes	76				
Total	<u>140</u>				
f. Type of Work Desired					
Private business	28				
Farming	10				
Promotion	5				
More skilled work	14				
Total	<u>57</u>				
g. Treatment by Company					
Fairly	100				
Unfairly	17				
Fairly (qualified)	23				
Total	<u>140</u>				
h. Fairness of Company Rules					
Very fair	23				
Fair	110				
Unfair	4				
Very unfair	2				
Total	<u>139</u>				
2. Attitudes about Officers & Unions					
a. Attitudes about Officers					
1. Desire to Hold Office					
No	81				
Yes	27				
Total	<u>109</u>				
Reasons					
Too much grief	4				
Too time consuming	6				
Too much responsibility	8				
Self criticism(not capable)	5				
Others	9				
Total	<u>32</u>				
2. Office Desired					
President	1				
Secretary-treasurer	1				
Unit chairman	1				
Steward or committeeman	18				
Any office	4				
Committee chairman	2				
Total	<u>27</u>				
3. Opportunity to Be Officer					
No	19				
Yes	120				
Total	<u>139</u>				
4. Reason Present Officers Elected					
Ability	79				
Education, interest	9				
Experience	6				
Popularity, friends	34				
Social skills	7				
Active participation	6				
Other	6				
Total	<u>147</u>				
5. Rating of Local					
Very good	21				
Good	53				
Fair	55				
Poor	5				
Total	<u>134</u>				



6. Quality of Officers			6. Self Evaluation of Attitude	
a. Local			Toward Local	
Excellent		6	Active union rooter	32
Good		67	Active supporter	33
Fair		56	Ordinary member	74
Poor		8	Dislike unions	2
Total		<u>137</u>	Total	<u>141</u>
b. International Rep. and Regional Directors			7. Attitude Toward Free-riders	
Excellent		7	Favorable	2
Good		70	Unfavorable	66
Fair		27	It's their business	17
Poor		4	Don't have any, don't know the expression, etc.	31
Total		<u>108</u>	Total	<u>118</u>
c. International Union Off.			8. Treatment of Free Riders	
Excellent		8	Not treated differently	60
Good		65	Treated differently	16
Fair		32	Some treated differently	11
Poor		2	Total	<u>87</u>
Total		<u>107</u>	Kind of Treatment	
b. Attitudes about Union			Ostracism, cold shoulder	20
1. Meaning of Union			Other	9
Members		107	Total	<u>29</u>
Officers		19	9. Strike Decision	
Both		16	(By average member)	
Total		<u>142</u>	No	22
2. Union Treatment of Members (Treated fairly?)			Yes	110
Always		78	Total	<u>132</u>
Usually		49	(By others)	
Some of the time		12	Local officers	16
Not often		2	Strike committee	2
Total		<u>141</u>	International officers	3
3. Unjust Expulsion of Member			Others	13
Never		116	Total	<u>34</u>
Hardly ever		14	10. Attitudes about Grievance Procedure	
Quite often		1	a. Effectiveness	
Total		<u>131</u>	Very effective	29
4. Attribution of Success or Failure			Effective	56
Organization		42	Fairly effective	41
Leadership		52	Not effective	10
Both		35	Total	<u>136</u>
Total		<u>129</u>	b. Speed	
5. Comparison of Local 724 to Other Lansing Locals			Very quickly	16
Very favorable		25	Quickly	79
Favorable		85	Slowly	30
Unfavorable		10	Very slowly	7
Very favorable		6	Total	<u>142</u>
Total		<u>121</u>	c. Preferred Method for Settling Disputes	
			Arbitration	13
			Collective bargaining	29
			Union aid	44
			Grievance procedure	51
			Talk to foreman	4
			Other	6
			Total	<u>147</u>



## 3. Attitudes About Politics and Government

## a. Union Should be Active in Politics

No	60
Yes	74
Indifferent	3
Total	<u>137</u>

## 1. Reasons for Activity

Helps working man	9
Labor needs rep.	40
Politics controls everything	4
Others	21
Total	<u>74</u>

## 2. Reasons for Inactivity

Business and politics don't mix	19
People should vote as individuals	17
Others	26
Total	<u>62</u>

## b. Level at Which Unions Should Exert Political Pressure

Local	27
State	17
National	45
All levels	23
Other combinations	4
None at all	5
Total	<u>121</u>

## c. Direction of Labor Vote

Should have own party	21
Should back other candidate	98
Other	13
Total	<u>132</u>

## d. Desirability of Power for Labor

More power	69
No more power	39
Other	10
Total	<u>118</u>

## e. Responsibility of Gov't to Labor

Provide opportunity to get ahead	92
Guarantee job	42
Other	4
Total	<u>138</u>

## f. Accomplishment of Guaranteed Annual Wage\*

Legislation	26
Collective bargaining	50
Other	7
Total	<u>83</u>

## g. Government Control of Industry

Favor	6
Do not favor	123
Other	2
Total	<u>131</u>

\*Eighty-one members favored a guaranteed annual wage.



## DATA FOR CHAPTER IV

TYPES OF ORIENTATIONS TOWARD UNIONISM AND  
SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF UNION MEMBERS

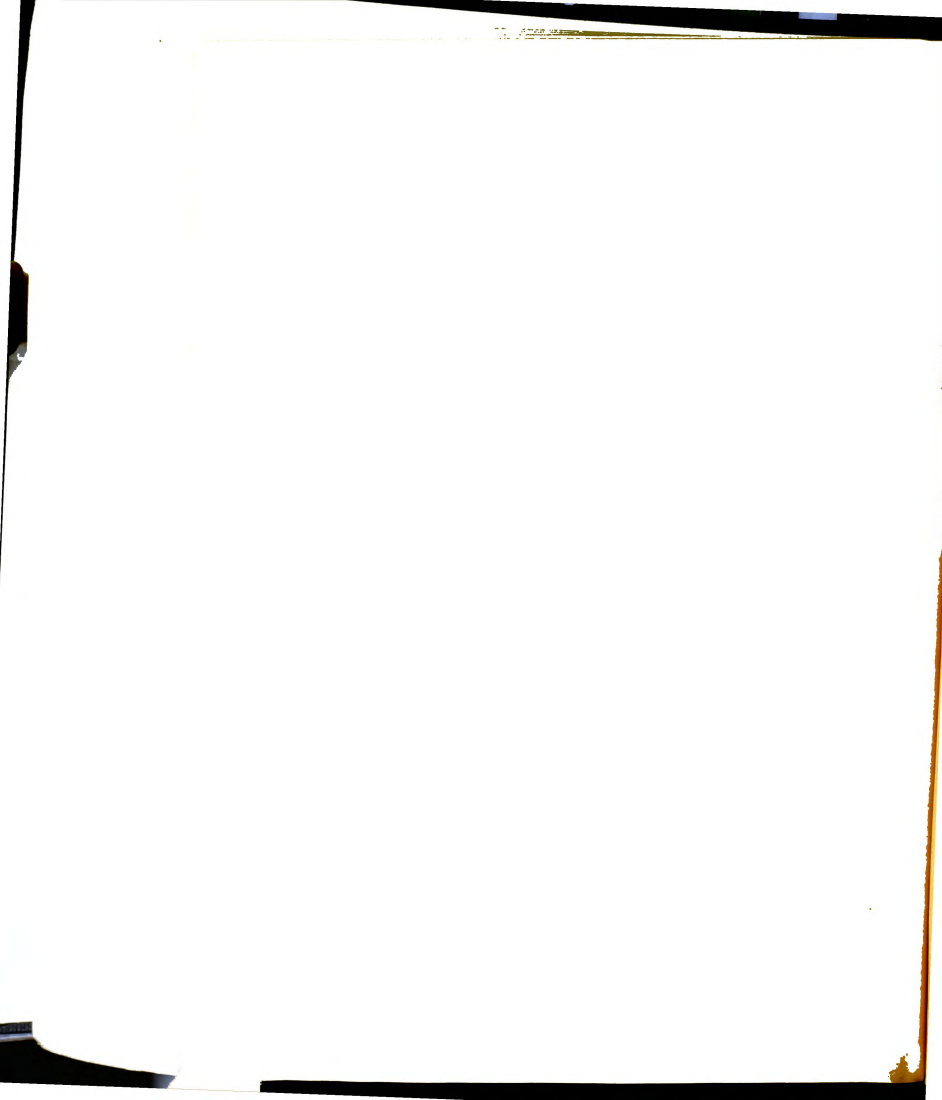
Need for Union		b. Reason for Unfavorable	
Need the union	123	Attitude	
Could do almost as well		Good man can apply pres-	6
by myself	6	sure	4
Could do just as well by myself	8	Know the bosses	2
Could do better by myself	5	No trouble in plant	12
Total	<u>142</u>	Other	<u>21</u>
a. Reasons for Favorable Attitude		Total	
Couldn't demand anything			
without union	9		
Need organization	12		
Union does good job	2		
Union gives us more influence	56		
General pro-union	27		
Total	<u>116</u>		

## DATA FOR CHAPTER V

## ATTITUDES OF ACTIVE AND INACTIVE MEMBERS

A. Fees		2. Better Working Conditions	
1. Dues		Nothing	2
Too high	20	Poor	8
About right	118	Fair	42
Too low	3	Good	66
Total	<u>141</u>	Excellent	18
2. Initiation Fee		Total	<u>136</u>
Too high	6	3. Accident Insurance	
About right	116	Nothing	11
Too low	5	Poor	7
Isn't any	7	Fair	27
Total	<u>134</u>	Good	75
3. Assessments		Excellent	12
Too high	8	Total	<u>132</u>
About right	47	4. Health Insurance	
Too low	0	Nothing	8
Aren't any	57	Poor	9
Total	<u>112</u>	Fair	34
B. Local Union Accomplishment on		Good	71
Specific Items		Excellent	12
1. Unemployment Insurance		Total	<u>134</u>
Nothing	23	5. Life Insurance	
Poor	13	Nothing	10
Fair	40	Poor	11
Good	50	Fair	32
Excellent	4	Good	66
Total	<u>130</u>	Excellent	12
		Total	<u>131</u>





6. Vacations		8. Items on Which Union	
Nothing	23	is Working	
Poor	14	Better pension plan	13
Fair	23	Wage increase	3
Good	75	Profit sharing	1
Excellent	6	General benefits	10
Total	<u>141</u>	Total	<u>27</u>
7. Guaranteed Annual Wage			
Nothing	80		
Poor	12		
Fair	12		
Good	9		
Excellent	0		
Total	<u>113</u>		

## DATA FOR CHAPTER VI

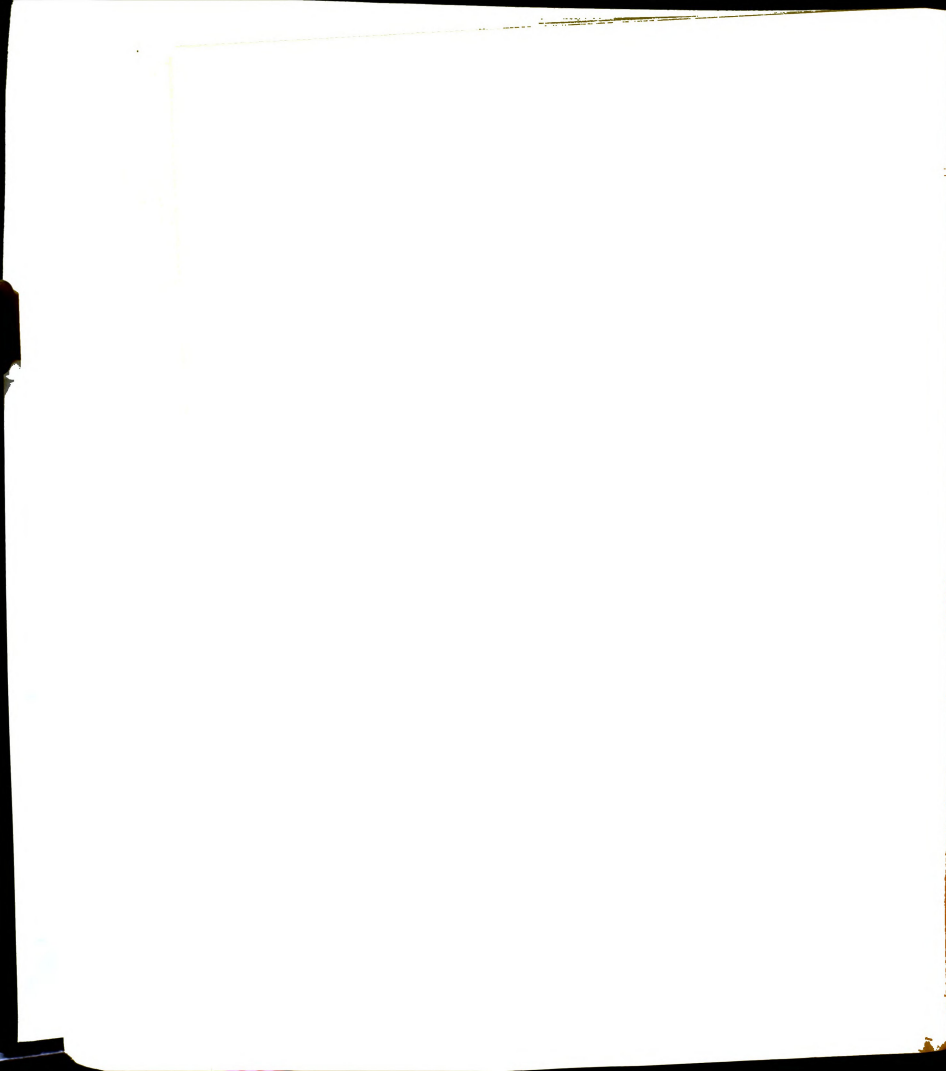
## ATTITUDES OF OFFICERS AND NON-OFFICERS

A. Frequency of Elections		C. Interpretation of Behavior of Inter-	
1. Unit		national Union Officials	
Twice a year	3	1. Too radical?	
Once a year	113	Yes	20
Once every two years	5	No	78
Do not know	11	Do not know	40
Total	<u>132</u>	Total	<u>138</u>
2. Local		2. Too conservative:	
Twice a year	0	Yes	14
Once a year	76	No	85
Once every two years	10	Do not know	36
Do not know	35	Total	<u>135</u>
Total	<u>121</u>	3. Too interested in their	
		own success?	
		Yes	8
B. A Main Purpose of the Union		No	93
1. To struggle with the company for		Do not know	40
power to control conditions on		Total	<u>141</u>
the job.		4. Too indifferent to doing a	
Agree	104	good job?	
Disagree	31	Yes	8
Total	<u>135</u>	No	93
2. To get economic benefits		Do not know	40
for its members		Total	<u>141</u>
Agree	131		
Disagree	6	D. Officers Responsible for Economic Gains	
Total	<u>137</u>	Local	42
3. To set a price for a man's		International representatives	20
labor.		International officers	21
Agree	86	None of these	2
Disagree	43	All of these equally	53
Total	<u>129</u>	Total	<u>138</u>

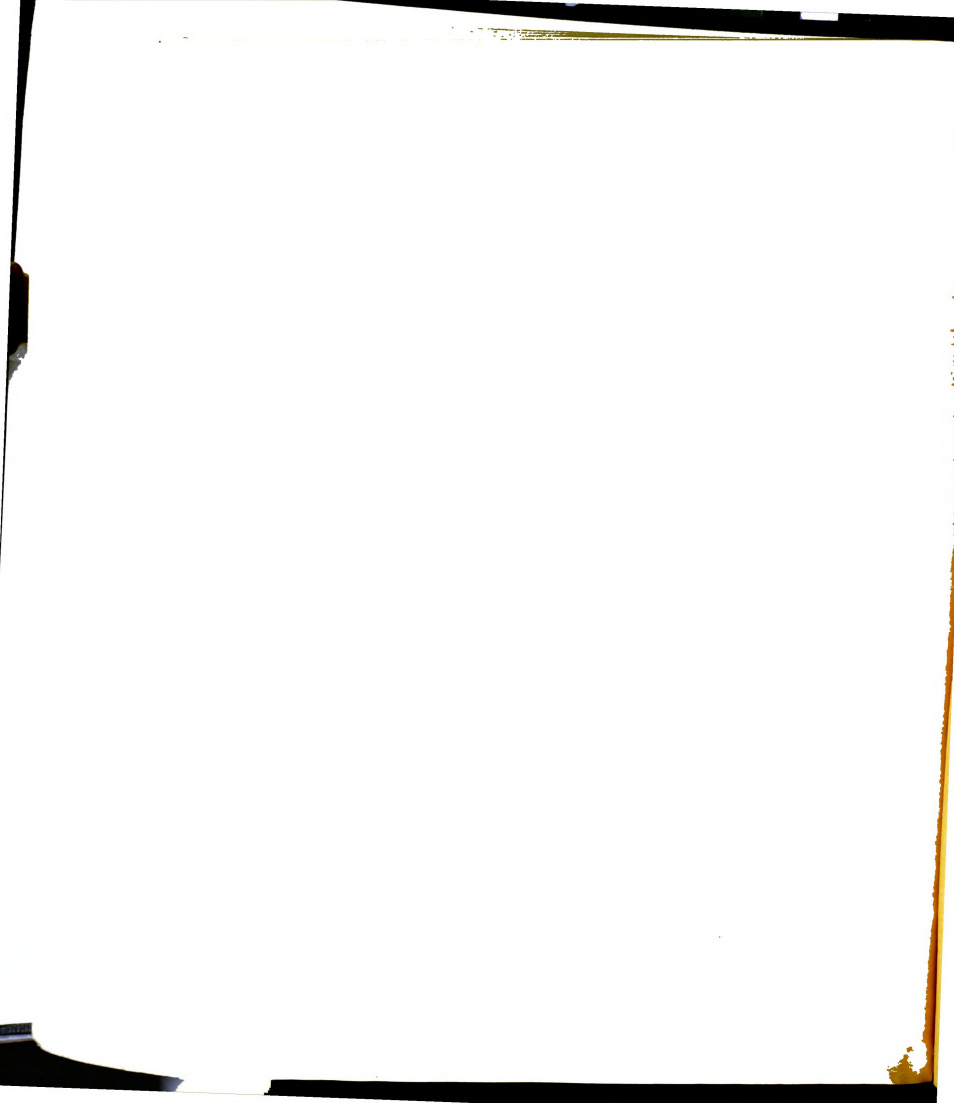


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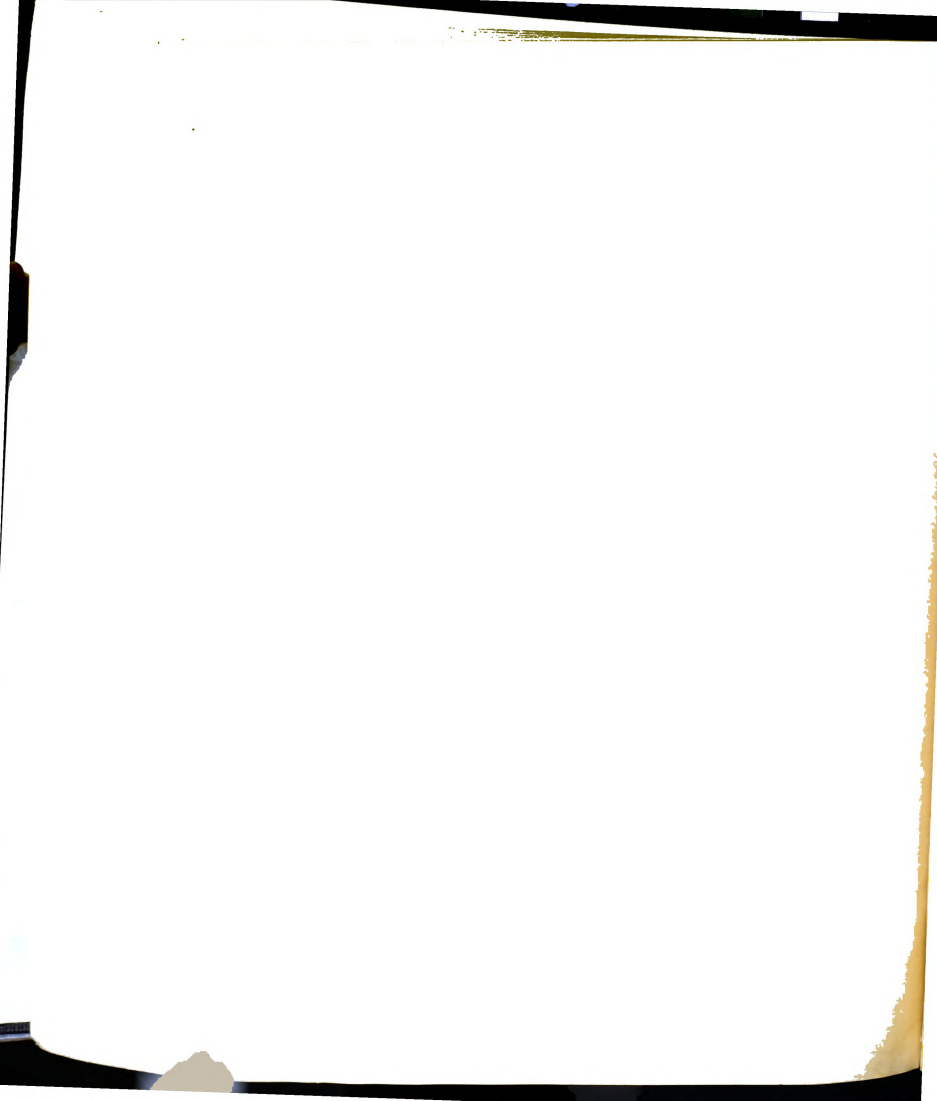


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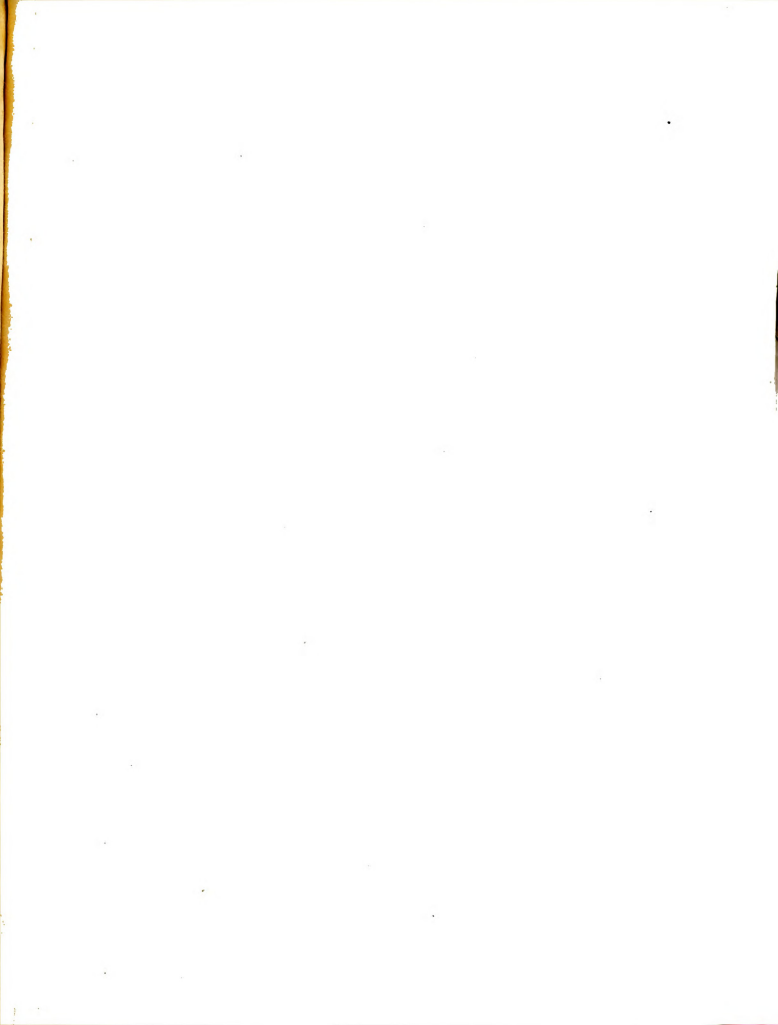
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