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NYE, HARVEY NEWTON

THE REASONS CAUSING GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES TO  
JOIN OR DECLINE TO JOIN UNIONS: A  
COMPARATIVE STUDY OF AFGE LOCAL 997.

THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA, PH.D., 1979

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300 N. ZEEB ROAD, ANN ARBOR, MI 48106

THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA  
GRADUATE COLLEGE

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TO JOIN OR DECLINE TO JOIN UNIONS:  
A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF AFGE LOCAL

997

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HARVEY NEWTON NYE  
Norman, Oklahoma

1979

THE REASONS CAUSING GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES  
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997

APPROVED BY

Ronald Austin Hoag  
James E. Holden  
John W. H. H. H.  
Burt K. H. H.  
Robert E. Edwards

DISSERTATION COMMITTEE

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This study in no way represents official federal policy, views or opinions, nor the views of those who aided in its completion. The author assumes sole responsibility for its accuracy and conclusions.

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THE REASONS CAUSING GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES  
TO JOIN OR DECLINE TO JOIN UNIONS:  
A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF AFGE LOCAL

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Unions have existed in the federal government since the 1800's<sup>1</sup> and a few agencies of the executive branch were heavily organized by the early 1930's.<sup>2</sup> The Lloyd-LaFollette Act of 1912 is the only significant federal statute on labor-management relations in the federal service prior to Executive Order 10988, issued in 1962.<sup>3</sup> This Act permitted the association of federal employees with organizations for the purposes of seeking improvements in the conditions of work, compensation, leave, and the redress of grievances. Altogether this legislation gave a considerable impetus to the movement for federal employee unionization and is still the basic authority for much of the present organization and activity.<sup>4</sup>

Further, the federal sector labor-management relationship was specifically excluded from the private sector "Magna Carta", the Wagner Act.<sup>5</sup> As will be developed subsequently, this did not slow the

growth of membership or sentiment for union representation in the executive department.

The modern era of labor relations in the federal sector began in 1962. In January, 1962, President John F. Kennedy signed Executive Order 10988 which formalized policies governing relationships between employee organizations and the various departments and agencies of the executive branch of the federal government.<sup>6</sup> The provisions of E.O. 10988 have been the subject of numerous and varied evaluations by scholars and practitioners in the field of industrial relations. The late John F. Griner, President of the American Federation of Government Employees (AFGE), perhaps reflected the tone of the appraisals when he stated that while "...the order is by no means a perfect document and needs some adjustments..., the program under E.O. 10988 shows promise".<sup>7</sup>

President Kennedy's issuance of E.O. 10988 accomplished two significant factors immediately. First, it provided a common legal basis within the agencies of the executive department for labor-management relationships. Secondly, employees and employee organizations secured several rights which were not previously specified.

The Presidential Task Force on Employee-Management Relations in the Federal Service, led by its Chairman, Arthur J. Goldberg, found that union representation of federal non-postal civilian employees was somewhat less than 10 percent in 1961.<sup>8</sup> This figure had increased to approximately 58 percent by the end of 1977.<sup>9</sup> This rapid growth demonstrates that E.O. 10988 produced an atmosphere which encouraged unions to organize the federal sector and that pro-union sentiment was widespread among the federal sector workforce.

In many respects the development of the federal sector labor-management relations program parallels that of the private sector following the Wagner Act. In both cases, rapid expansion in bargaining units and membership occurred, further legal fine tuning was necessary, and something approaching a mature, balanced relationship appears to have been achieved.

The reader will recall that the Taft-Hartley Act (1947) and Landrum-Griffin Act (1959) made significant modifications to the Wagner Act aimed at balancing the powers of the parties to labor-management relations, and insuring democratic procedures within unions. A similar approach has been used in the development of the federal sector.

President Nixon issued E.O. 11491 in January, 1970, partially as a result of a full-scale review requested by the Civil Service Commission in 1967. This review was largely motivated by the displeasure of executive agencies and unions involved in the administration of E.O. 10988. E.O. 10988 provided general guidelines for establishing a federal labor-management relations program and was largely consultative in nature. A third-party, or dispute resolution, mechanism did not exist. E.O. 11491 sought to further define the nature of permissible federal labor relations actions, and provide a dispute resolution mechanism which was outside the control of agency management and the Civil Service Commission. This new order, E.O. 11491, entitled "Labor-Management Relations in the Federal Service", incorporated a number of significant changes.<sup>10</sup> Subsequently, E.O. 11616 in 1971<sup>11</sup> and E.O. 11838<sup>12</sup> issued in 1975 further defined the rights and obligations of the parties as well as to expand the scope of negotiations moderately. Subsequent to the research and writing of this study, Title VII of the Civil Service Reform Act of 1978 established the major elements of the federal labor relations program in public law.<sup>13</sup>

Significance of Federal  
Labor Relations

The biggest American employer is the United States government. As of the end of 1977, federal non-postal civilian employment was 2.066 million.<sup>14</sup>

These government employees functioning as citizens, as voters, and as a distinct economic group in a changing American society have been able to challenge the traditional claims of sovereign employer unilateralism and gradually establish an area of countervailing rights for themselves. Simply stated, it is the doctrine of sovereign immunity that no state may be sued by an individual without its consent. This doctrine, dating back to the Pharoahs, was deeply imbedded in English common law and generally followed by American courts after the Revolution.<sup>15</sup> In legal theory, these rights as expressed in legislation, executive orders, and agency regulations are concessions granted by the sovereign employer and may be overridden by him.<sup>16</sup>

However; a distinction must be made between the final authority of the sovereign employer in law and the reality of his capacity to exercise such power. The application of the sovereignty doctrine to the individual federal employee in the workplace is appropriate for discussion at this point. This application was very clearly stated by Imundo:<sup>17</sup>

A paradox exists when we consider that the government employee lives in a democratic society. However; when he is in the employ of the same government which guarantees and maintains his democratic rights, he finds that his rights as an employee are severely limited. Aside from the argument that the government has a sovereign status, another rationale is used to justify this paradox. This other rationale is that the government employee's share in the control of his working life should be exercised through his capacity as a voting citizen of the state, rather than as an employee of the state. The government employee through the use of his vote can exert political pressure upon the legislative and executive branches of government which establish the conditions of employment.

This argument is fallacious in that the political activities of government employees are rigidly controlled by the Hatch Acts passed by Congress in 1939 and 1940 and administered by the Civil Service Commission. The Hatch Acts make it illegal for government employees to be active in any real sense in political affairs. Under the Acts, they cannot hold office nor solicit or handle political contributions.

Herein lies the significance of federal sector labor relations.

The ability of the sovereign to exert authority is increasingly qualified by new institutions which acquire social roots, economic power, and political relationships that give them a life of their own.<sup>18</sup> Federal sector unionism has risen as the only practical way for the federal employee to exert significant influence on most matters affecting his working conditions.

#### Representation of Federal Employees

In spite of the limitations imposed by the sovereignty doctrine, it appears federal employees have embraced unionism to an extent never equalled in the private sector of the United States. Due to the popular methods of reporting membership data on private sector unions, it is difficult to make a direct comparison between representation in the federal and private sectors. The U.S. Statistical Abstract, in its reporting of labor union and association membership, uses an estimate of the average number of dues paying members of unions with headquarters in the United States. Certain unions do not report as members persons not required to pay dues, such as apprentices, retired workers, unemployed workers, and members of the Armed Forces.<sup>19</sup> Most authors writing on the private sector, write in terms of membership figures or members as a percent of non-agricultural employment. However; federal sector

unionism statistics are reported in terms of employees represented in bargaining units instead of actual or estimated membership. Data on individual union membership statistics may be gleaned from union newspapers, speeches by union leaders, and other miscellaneous sources. In numerous conversations with federal sector union officials, federal government labor relations officers, and Headquarters, U.S. Air Force personnel, the author has repeatedly heard the statement that membership accounts for approximately 50 percent of the total representational figure. For example, in late 1976, the National President, American Federation of Government Employees stated that AFGE membership was approximately 325,000.<sup>20</sup> At that time, AFGE represented 678,410 federal sector employees.<sup>21</sup>

Private sector union data reflects that the private sector movement reached its zenith in 1954, both in terms of strength in the total American private sector workforce, and as a percentage of employees in non-agricultural establishments.<sup>22</sup> As revealed in Table 1.1, union membership in the total American private sector workforce reached 25.4 percent and 34.7 percent in the non-agricultural workforce in 1954. Since that time, union strength in both categories has declined steadily although bolstered somewhat by the influx of public and federal sector employees in the late 1960's.

In contrast to the private sector experience, the federal sector unions underwent a remarkable period of growth in the 1960's. Table 1.2 portrays the growth of representation in the federal sector from 1962 through 1977. As indicated, the growth was spectacular during the period 1962 through 1968. Representation grew during this period from

an estimate of less than 10 percent in 1962 to 40 percent in 1968. During the 1968 - 1976 period, the growth slowed somewhat to only increase from 40 percent to 58 percent representation of the federal sector. This decline in the rate of representational growth can be partially attributed to the removal of postal employees from the federal labor relations program under the provisions of the Postal Reorganization Act of 1970. Prior to the promulgation of E.O. 10988, 84 percent of the approximately 600,000 postal employees were union members.<sup>23</sup> At the end of 1975, 87 percent of the approximately 600,000 postal employees were union members.<sup>24</sup> However; these representational statistics are still significant in comparison to a relative decline in private sector representation figures during the 1968 - 1972 period, as indicated in Table 1.1.

The federal sector has seen a corresponding increase in the number of bargaining units. The 26 bargaining units in existence in 1962 were in two units composed of employees in the Tennessee Valley Authority and 24 units composed of employees of the Department of the Interior. These units were established under particular laws governing specific governmental corporations such as the Tennessee Valley Authority, Bonneville Power Administration, and the Alaska Railroad. Procedures for these bargaining units were peculiar to the individual agencies and did not apply government-wide.<sup>25</sup> The growth in bargaining units made the most dramatic gain in the 1962 - 1968 period, rising from 26 to 2,395.<sup>26</sup> In the next nine years, a gain of 1,116 occurred (1968 - 1977). It should be noted at this point that the peak in bargaining units was actually reached in 1975, when a total of 3,608 bargaining units existed,



TABLE 1.1

NATIONAL UNION MEMBERSHIP AS A PROPORTION  
OF THE LABOR FORCE, 1930-1972<sup>a</sup>

Year	Total Union Membership (000)	Total Labor Force		Nonagricultural Establishment	
		Number (000)	Percent	Number (000)	Percent
1930	3,401	50,080	6.8	29,424	11.6
1932	3,050	51,250	6.0	23,628	12.9
1934	3,088	52,490	5.9	25,953	11.9
1936	3,989	53,740	7.4	29,082	13.7
1938	8,034	54,950	14.6	29,209	27.5
1940	8,717	56,180	15.5	32,376	26.9
1942	10,380	60,380	17.2	40,125	25.9
1944	14,146	66,040	21.4	41,883	33.8
1946	14,395	60,970	23.6	41,674	34.5
1948	14,319	62,080	23.1	44,891	31.9
1950	14,267	63,858	22.3	45,222	31.5
1952	15,892	65,730	24.2	48,825	32.5
1954	17,022	66,993	25.4	49,022	34.7
1956	17,490	69,409	25.2	52,408	33.4
1958	17,209	70,275	24.2	51,363	33.2
1960	17,049	72,142	23.6	54,234	31.4
1962	16,586 <sup>b</sup>	73,442	22.6	55,596	29.8
1964	16,841 <sup>b</sup>	75,830	22.2	58,331	28.9
1966	17,940	78,893	22.7	63,955	28.1
1968	18,916	82,272	23.0	67,915	27.9
1970	19,381 <sup>c</sup>	85,903	22.6	70,593	27.5
1972	19,435 <sup>c</sup>	88,991	21.8	72,764	26.7
1974	20,199 <sup>d</sup>	93,240	21.7	78,372	25.8

<sup>a</sup>Excludes Canadian membership.

<sup>b</sup>Includes a relatively small number of trade union members outside the United States. This figure was 105,000 in 1964.

<sup>c</sup>Statistics are from United States Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Handbook of Labor Statistics 1975-Reference Edition, (Washington: Government Printing Office), 1975, Table 158.

<sup>d</sup>1974 data derived from United States Department of Commerce, Statistical Abstract of the United States, (Washington: Government Printing Office), 1976, Table 618.

TABLE 1.2

PERCENTAGE OF FEDERAL EMPLOYEES  
IN EXCLUSIVE BARGAINING UNITS  
(EXCLUDING POSTAL SERVICE)

Year	Percent
1962	Less than 10
1963	Less than 10
1964	12
1965	16
1966	21
1967	29
1968	40
1969	42
1970	48
1971	53
1972	55
1973	56
1974	57
1975	59
1976	58
1977	58

Source. Compiled from data contained in Government Employees Relations Report (GERR), (Washington: Bureau of National Affairs), March 14, 1977, No. 699, p. 699:30, and the Federal Labor-Management Consultant, op. cit., March 24, 1978, p. 3.

as compared to 3,567 in 1976 and 3,511 in 1977.<sup>27</sup> Should it appear to the reader that union activity is confined to only a few agencies, Table 1.3 shows the numbers of exclusive bargaining units in major agencies, as reported in 1976.<sup>28</sup>

TABLE 1.3  
EXCLUSIVE RECOGNITIONS IN MAJOR AGENCIES

Agency	Exclusive Recognitions
Army	617
Navy	578
Veteran's Administration	357
Health, Education & Welfare	345
Air Force	249
Transportation	215
Interior	213
General Services Administration	169
Agriculture	156
Treasury	137
National Guard Bureau	127
Commerce	93
Defense Supply Agency	80
Housing & Urban Development	64
Total	3,400

These 3,400 bargaining units, in the 14 agencies listed, accounted for 1,100,204 or 92.4 percent of the 1,190,478 employees represented in 1976.<sup>29</sup>

Major Unions Representing

Federal Employees

The information reviewed above would appear to leave little room for doubt that in terms of total employees represented and numbers or pervasiveness of bargaining units, the federal government is extensively

represented. The reader might also inquire as to the unions representing these employees and whether federal unionism is a blue or white-collar phenomenon. As of 30 November 1976, the following major unions accounted for a vast majority of the federal representation.<sup>30</sup>

TABLE 1.4  
NUMBER OF BARGAINING UNITS  
BY MAJOR UNION  
(EXCLUDING POSTAL SERVICE)

Union	Number of Bargaining Units
American Federation of Government Employees (AFGE)	1,774
National Federation of Federal Employees (NFFE)	678
National Association of Government Employees (NAGE)	286
National Treasury Employees Union (NTEU)	105
International Association of Machinists (IAM)	92
Metal Trades Council (AFL-CIO) (MTC)	49

These 2,984 bargaining units, 83.6 percent of the 3,567 recognitions existing in 1976, cover 960,227 employees or 80.6 percent of the 1,190,478 employees in exclusive bargaining units.<sup>31</sup> The remaining 230,251 employees are represented by 88 different unions in 583 bargaining units.<sup>32</sup>

These same six organizations are reported to represent blue and white-collar employees as indicated below.<sup>33</sup>

TABLE 1.5

NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES REPRESENTED BY  
MAJOR UNIONS IN THE FEDERAL SECTOR  
(EXCLUDING POSTAL SERVICE)

Union	Total	Blue-Collar	White-Collar
AFGE	678,410	100,750	477,660
NFFE	133,549	31,473	102,076
NTEU	89,786	529	89,257
NAGE	82,642	31,746	50,896
MTC	58,453	55,342	3,111
IAM	33,492	29,871	3,621

An examination of these data indicates that representation is extensive in both the blue and white-collar areas. As of 30 November, 1976, 83 percent of blue-collar employees (384,820) were covered by exclusive recognition, while 51 percent (805,658) of the white-collar employees were represented.<sup>34</sup> While early federal unionism was considered to be primarily a blue-collar phenomenon, there can be little doubt that the white-collar government employee is now firmly in position, in numerical terms, to control the federal union movement.

As discussed earlier in this Chapter, it is the author's contention that the federal sector union movement has developed to assert employee beliefs at the highest policy making levels of the federal government. Given the pervasiveness and numerical strength of federal unions, there can be little doubt that the federal unions are capable of asserting themselves.

Federal Sector Work Stoppages

The legality or propriety of dispute resolution methods available to government employees throughout the history of federal sector labor relations has shown a steady move to more forceful assertions by government employees.<sup>35</sup>

There can be little doubt today that federal employees have the capability to seriously disrupt the supply of government services in almost all major agencies. This capability has been demonstrated on several occasions in the recent past. A total of 18 work stoppages in the federal government during the 1962-1974 time period, including incidents in the Postal Service, were reported by the Bureau of National Affairs.<sup>36</sup>

Although the magnitude and duration of these stoppages were insignificant when compared to the enormity of the federal workforce, they are significant because they occurred. In early 1977, the Federal Personnel and Compensation Division of the General Accounting Office issued a study, of strike contingency plans by federal agencies, to the Civil Service Commission.<sup>37</sup> This report reviews strikes or slow-downs occurring in the federal sector during the 1970-1976 period. According to the report, a considerable number of such job actions ranging from the air traffic controller's strike of 1970 to a 1976 strike in the Panama Canal Company indicates that although the federal government has not experienced many lengthy strikes by its employees, there have been many incidents which have seriously disrupted public services.<sup>38</sup>

The GAO briefly discussed the following examples of disruptions of labor supply.<sup>39</sup>

TABLE 1.6

WORK STOPPAGES OR STRIKES  
IN THE FEDERAL SECTOR  
1970-1976  
(EXCLUDING POSTAL SERVICE)

Year	Agency	Nature of the Job Action
1970	Federal Aviation Agency	Sick-out, March 25 - April 8, 1970
1970	Dept. of Defense, Philadelphia Naval Center	Sick-out, 19 employees, June 17, 1970
1971	Treasury Dept., Bureau of Customs	Refusal to work voluntary overtime, 90 employees, January, 1971
1971 - 1975	Federal Aviation Agency	Occasional slow-downs
1972	Internal Revenue Service, Data Service Center	Work stoppage, 51 employees, September 15, 1972
1973	Panama Canal Company	Slow-down and subsequent sick-out, 115 employees, 3 weeks in August, 1973
1973	Dept. of Defense, Army and Air Force Exchange Service	Strike, 61 employees, 5 days, May, 1973
1974	Dept. of Defense, Mare Island Naval Shipyard	Sick-out, 63 employees on May 1, 1974 and 38 employees on May 3, 1974
1974	Dept. of Defense, Puget Sound Naval Shipyard	Sick-out, 60 employees, 3 days, May, 1974
1976	Panama Canal Company	Strike, 500 employees, March 15 - 21, 1976
1976	Federal Aviation Agency	Slow-down, nationwide involvement, 5 days, 1976

There is no general requirement that federal agencies develop strike contingency plans. Of 14 departments and agencies contacted, the GAO found that seven had written policies, four had draft plans or documents under preparation, and the others had no plans. In further investigation, the GAO discovered that nine field activities of various agencies had some sort of contingency plan. The report concluded that "the possibility of strikes and related incidents, despite legal prohibitions and sound labor relations, should not be overlooked. Agency management should be prepared to deal with such incidents promptly and uniformly to lessen their effect..."<sup>40</sup>

From this review of work stoppages during the past decade, it may be concluded that federal employees and their unions possess, and have demonstrated, a bona fide capability to disrupt the flow of government services. It may be concluded that the federal sector is heavily organized and represented by unions which are representative of the mainstream of the American labor movement. It also appears that federal civilian employees are demonstrating a greater willingness to use proven measures from the private sector to assert their views.

#### Statement of the Problem

Imundo,<sup>41</sup> in his investigation of the reasons for federal employees joining unions, notes that government employees join unions for some of the same reasons as workers in the private sector. However; he quickly points out that the conditions of work in the federal government preclude many traditional explanations about the reasons people join unions. The role of the civil service system, government's maintenance of the sovereignty doctrine which is reflected in the federal labor relations practices, and the high proportion of white-collar union members (and



representation) in the government is in sharp contrast with the low proportion of white-collar union members in the private sector.<sup>42</sup> At one time in the recent past, it was also commonly believed that the typical bread and butter union appeals did not find widespread acceptance among white-collar employees. Recent writings have somewhat softened this position.

Imundo's study must be viewed as the most comprehensive and definitive study of reasons for federal employees joining unions. To date, no other author has replicated, validated, or expanded upon Imundo's findings. Although, Imundo utilized the same research design at Tinker Air Force Base, Oklahoma in 1971 and in a survey at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, Ohio in 1974,<sup>43</sup> with essentially the same results.

The problem addressed in this, the present, study is to determine the stated reasons why federal (Department of the Air Force) employees joined or did not join a specific Local of the American Federation of Government Employees (AFGE) and their perceptions of federal employee unions and officers of these unions. The word perception is used in this instance to mean an impression in the mind of the respondent, which was perceived by the senses and forms the basis for concepts.

#### Limitations

This study is limited in scope. It is not intended as an exposition of a general theory of federal employee motivation toward joining a labor union. The study is designed to determine the reasons for the sampled members to join or not join the AFGE and their perceptions of federal employee unions and officers, and to compare survey findings in the Maxwell Air Force Base - Gunter Air Force Station complex with

those of Imundo in his 1971 study at Tinker AFB, Oklahoma. While the differences between the Tinker and Maxwell-Gunter complexes must be recognized, it is felt that sufficient similarities exist to enable meaningful data comparisons to be made. The assumption is made that data provided by the respondents are accurate and truthful to the best of their knowledge.

### Definition of Terms

In subsequent discussions, terms describing conditions or events in federal sector labor realtions will be used. The definition of terms as given, are peculiar to the federal sector and the Section notation (where applicable) refers to a Section of E.O. 11491, as amended.<sup>44</sup>

Adverse Action - In the federal government, removals; suspensions for more than 30 days; reduction in grade, rank, or compensation; or furlough without pay for misconduct, nonperformance, or incompetence. Lesser disciplinary actions, such as short-term suspensions or reprimands, are not technically considered adverse actions. Under Civil Service Commission regulations and nearly all collective bargaining agreements, adverse and disciplinary action appeals procedures are separate from grievance procedures.

Allotment of Dues (Section 21) - The procedure whereby the dues of a labor organization are regularly deducted by the employing agency from the pay of the employees.

Appropriate Unit (Section 10b and c) - A group of employees which a labor organization seeks to represent for the purpose of negotiating agreements; a group of employees with a clear and identifiable community of interest and which promotes effective dealings and efficiency of

operations. It may be established on a plant, installation, craft, function or other basis.

Approval of Agreements (Section 15) - The requirement that negotiated agreements be approved by the head of the agency or his designee in order to assure compliance with applicable laws, existing published agency policies and regulations, regulations of other appropriate authorities, national or other controlling agreements at a higher level, and E.O. 11491, as amended.

Classified Employees - Salaried federal employees whose jobs have been classified as to the subject matter of work and graded as to the degree of difficulty and responsibility according to the position classification system created by the Classification Act of 1949. Most classified employees are in white-collar occupations, and all are paid under the General Schedule.

Collective Bargaining - The performance of mutual obligations of the employer and the exclusive representative to meet at reasonable times, to confer and negotiate in good faith, and to execute a written agreement with respect to terms and conditions of employment, except that by any such obligation neither party shall be compelled to agree to proposals, or be required to make concessions.

Confidential Employee (Section 3) - One whose responsibilities or knowledge in connection with the labor-management issues involved in collective bargaining, grievance handling, or the content union-management discussions would make his membership in the union incompatible with his official duties.

General Schedule - The scheme of pay for all federal jobs covered

by the Classification Act of 1949; abbreviated GS. Jobs are grouped into 18 pay grades, depending upon difficulty and responsibility of work. GS rates are set by Congress and are uniform throughout the federal service.

Grievance Procedure (Negotiated)(Sections 13, 17, 19) - A procedure applicable only to employees in the bargaining unit for the consideration and orderly resolution of disputes over the interpretation and application of agreements. E.O. 11491, as amended, requires the inclusion of such a procedure in all agreements.

Impasse Resolution (Section 17) - The employment of one or more techniques to resolve a negotiations impasse. Procedures include mediation, fact-finding, and arbitration and are intended as alternatives to strikes which are prohibited in the federal government.

Management Rights (Section 12b) - From management's viewpoint, "the right to manage"; the right to make day-to-day personnel decisions and to direct the workforce without notification to or consultation with the exclusive representative.

Mediation (Section 17) - A procedure for third party settlement of disputes. It involves the utilization of a third party to facilitate the reaching of an agreement between the parties at the bargaining table.

Meet and Confer Negotiations - A process of negotiating terms and conditions of employment intended to emphasize the differences between public and private employment conditions. Negotiations under "meet and confer" rules usually imply discussions leading to a unilateral adoption of policy by management, rather than by a written agreement.

National Consultation Rights (Section 19) - Consultation rights

at the agency headquarters level accorded to a qualifying labor organization requires the agency to notify representatives of the organization of proposed substantive changes in agency-wide personnel policies and have its views carefully considered.

Negotiability (Sections 4c(2), and 11 and 12) - The existence of the authority of an agency and a labor organization to negotiate an agreement on specified issues.

Professional Employee - One whose work is predominately intellectual and varied in nature, requires exercise of discretion and judgement and knowledge of an advanced nature customarily acquired at an institution of higher learning, and is of such a character that the output or result accomplished cannot be standardized in relationship to a given period of time. It is recognized generally that professionals are entitled to separate bargaining units unless they elect to be represented by the same unit as nonprofessional employees.

Scope of Negotiations (Section 11 and 12) - The issues concerning personnel policies and practices and other matters affecting working conditions about which an agency and a union may negotiate an agreement.

Standards of Conduct for Labor Organizations (Section 18) - A code governing internal democratic practices and fiscal responsibility, and procedures to which a labor organization must adhere in order to be eligible for recognition under E.O. 11491.

Unfair Labor Practices (Section 19) - Actions which agency management and labor organizations are to avoid in relating to each other throughout the collective bargaining relationship.

Wage Board Employees - Those employees in recognized trades or

crafts, or other skilled mechanical crafts, or in unskilled, semiskilled or skilled manual labor occupations, and other employees including foremen and supervisors in positions having trade, craft, or laboring experience and knowledge as the paramount requirement. Wage board employees are paid by the hour, and their wages are periodically adjusted in accordance with prevailing rates. Rates are determined through periodic wage surveys of the same or similar jobs within the proximate geographic area.

### Hypotheses

To achieve the objectives of this inquiry, the following hypotheses have been formulated.

1. The reasons why the sampled blue-collar and white-collar AFGE Local 997 members joined the union are significantly different from the reasons why workers in the private sector join unions.
2. The sampled blue-collar and white-collar AFGE Local 997 members joined the union for the same reasons.
3. The perception of the sampled blue-collar and white-collar AFGE Local 997 members of government employee unions is favorable.
4. The perception of the sampled blue-collar and white-collar AFGE Local 997 members of government employee unions is the same.
5. The perception of the sampled blue-collar and white-collar AFGE Local 997 members of government employee union officers is favorable.
6. The perception of the sampled blue-collar and white-collar AFGE Local 997 members of government employee union officers is the same.
7. The reasons why the sampled blue-collar and white-collar employees did not join the AFGE are significantly different from the reasons why workers in the private sector did not join unions.

8. The sampled blue-collar and white-collar non-union employees declined to join the AFGE for the same reasons.

9. The perception of government employee unions, of the sampled blue-collar and white-collar non-union member employees is the same.

10. The perception of government employee unions, of the sampled blue-collar and white-collar non-union employees who declined to join is favorable, but is not as favorable as the perception of union members by a significant margin.

11. The perception of the sampled blue-collar and white-collar non-union employees of government employee union officers is favorable but not as favorable as the perception of union members by a significant margin.

12. The perception of the sampled blue-collar and white-collar non-union employees of government employee union officers is the same.

Hypotheses 1 and 2 will be tested using data gathered in Part I of the questionnaire for union members, while hypotheses 3 through 6 will be tested using data gathered in Part II of the questionnaire. The responses obtained from non-union members will be used to test hypotheses 7 and 8, and Part II responses will be used to test hypotheses 9 through 12.

The survey methodology used to gather data and statistical methods used to test these hypotheses are described in the following section.

### Research Plan

This study is designed to analyze the stated reasons for selected federal sector civilian employees joining or not joining the AFGE

and their perceptions of federal employee unions and officers.

### Questionnaires

The survey data upon which this study is based was obtained from a sample of AFGE Local 997 member responses to a questionnaire which was sent to their homes. Non-union members of the workforce of Maxwell AFB/Gunter AFS, Alabama, where AFGE Local 997 holds exclusive recognition, were surveyed by a questionnaire sent to them in their work sections.

A questionnaire, designed for union member employees, containing all of the questions posed by Imundo<sup>45</sup> was adapted for use in this study (Appendix I). The questionnaire was developed in consultation with Dr. Donald A. Woolf, the author's chairman, Mr. Kenneth T. Blaylock, National President, AFGE, Mr. C.E. Lanthrip, President, AFGE Local 997, and Mr. David Alley, Labor Relations Officer, Maxwell AFB, Alabama. Part I of the questionnaire was tested and found valid and reliable by Imundo. Part II of the questionnaire is based on the Union Attitude Scale.<sup>46</sup>

A second questionnaire (Appendix II), designed for non-union member employees, was adapted from the questionnaire used for union member employees. The scope and organization of the questionnaire for non-union employees is the same as for union members. Part I questions were reworded so as to be appropriate for a non-union member.

The entire questionnaire for non-union members was pretested twice to detect for ambiguity of questions to the respondents and to further insure the relevance of the outcomes provided. The sample used to first pretest the questionnaire consisted of 12 non-union employees of Maxwell



AFB. The respondents were asked to identify any confusing or ambiguous elements and to note whether the outcomes or choices provided were complete. The information obtained from this pretest produced only minor changes in the wording of Part I questions. The second pretest consisted of a sample of 26 undergraduate management students. The students ranged in age from early 20's to mid-50's and were enrolled in an evening program at Troy State University. They were asked to respond to the questions and assume they were evaluating their present employment situation. This group was also asked to identify any confusing or ambiguous outcomes. The information obtained indicated no apparent deficiencies in the questionnaire.

The questionnaires include the following subject areas:

1. Social and demographic data.
2. Job environment factors.
3. AFGE membership status and participation.
4. Reasons for joining or not joining the AFGE.
5. Perceptions of the civil service system.
6. Adequacy of the scope of bargaining.
7. The right to strike issue.
8. Perceptions of the union as an institution.
9. Perceptions of union officers.

#### Analysis of Survey Results

A frequency distribution of responses by item and by class of respondent were obtained. Differences between and within groups were tested for significance by the use of the Chi-Square test. In those instances where the Chi-Square test was not appropriate due to very

small numbers of responses, simple numerical and percentage comparisons were used.

### Organization of the Study

Chapter II selectively reviews previous research on federal sector labor relations and pertinent research on why employees join unions. Several significant studies on various problems in federal labor relations have been written since 1937. These works are examined and discussed. Labor movement historians and various contemporary writers have searched for the motivations of employees to join unions. These writings, historical as well as contemporary, are surveyed, discussed, and synthesized in an attempt to develop a concise statement as to the reasons why white-collar and blue-collar workers in both the private and federal sectors join or have refused to join unions.

Chapter III presents a short review of the labor-management relationship existing between AFGE Local 997 and the Maxwell/Gunter complex. This review is developed through a survey of current literature, organizational documents, and interviews with key officials of the union and management. An analysis of the current labor-management contract, workforce characteristics, and membership composition is also presented.

Chapter IV contains the specific sample description, data analysis methodology, and presentation of the survey results for the selected factors influencing sampled employees to join or not join AFGE Local 997 and their perceptions of federal employee unions and officers. Following this, findings in the Maxwell/Gunter complex are compared with the findings and analysis of Imundo in his study of AFGE Local 916 at Tinker AFB, Oklahoma.

Chapter V is composed of a discussion of the significant findings and conclusions of this study, along with their implications for federal management, federal sector unions, and academicians.

Endnotes

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## CHAPTER II

### PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON FEDERAL LABOR RELATIONS AND REASONS FOR EMPLOYEES JOINING UNIONS

As was noted in the opening section of Chapter I, labor-management relations in the federal government and union organization of federal employees have existed to some extent since the early 1800's. However; it is interesting to note that very little academic attention was given to this facet of the American labor movement prior to World War II. Perhaps the lack of a legal or legitimate administrative basis for federal labor relations, until recently, accounts for this anomaly.

Employee motivation for joining unions was given literary attention at a much earlier date. However; it was not until the 1930's that actual field survey work was undertaken to record employees' stated reasons for joining unions. Since that time, a substantial amount of survey work has been done in this area, both in the private and federal sectors.

This chapter reviews, in order, previous research on federal labor relations and relevant literature on the previously recorded reasons for employees joining unions. It should be noted at this point that the terms employee and worker are used synonymously in this study.

Previous Research on Federal Labor Relations

Books and Monographs

Government as Employer, by Sterling Spero,<sup>1</sup> is the earliest comprehensive work which could be located on this subject. Spero provides a very thorough coverage of the history of early unionism in the Postal Department and other federal agencies. Spero devoted considerable space to the philosophical problems associated with federal unionism and concluded that the same basic problem existed in the federal sector as in the private sector. This problem centers around the desire of employees, through their union, to influence conditions in the workplace and the obligation of management to assure that the mission of the agency is expeditiously accomplished.

Morton R. Godine, in The Labor Problem in the Public Service: A Study in Political Pluralism,<sup>2</sup> addressed many of the issues raised by Spero and concludes that the significant problem to be resolved regarding federal labor-management relations is the determination of "...the extent to which the civil service may be accorded a measure of functional recognition without impairment of the inalienable duty of a representative government to retain ultimate control over the administrative machinery created for the accomplishment of public purpose."<sup>3</sup> This problem still looms as the major stumbling block to federal labor-management relations.

Paul P. Van Riper's History of the United States Civil Service,<sup>4</sup> published in 1958, reviews the history of the U.S. civil service from 1789 to 1958 in terms of the major political, social, and economic forces operating in our society. Van Riper's work is rich in detail and bibliographical references and synthesizes the "state of the Civil Service" in



each of the major periods of our history. He concludes that the American Civil Service is a political institution and that the problems of the civil service are political problems, capable only of political solution and guidance.<sup>5</sup> In regard to federal employee unionization, he concluded that there had been an increasing recognition of the rights of federal employees and increasing efforts in the agencies to improve employee relations.<sup>6</sup>

Wilson Hart's Collective Bargaining in the Federal Civil Service,<sup>7</sup> published on the eve of the issuance of E.O. 10988, contains an excellent account of developments in federal labor-management relations during the 1950's and early 1960's. Hart develops a comparative analysis of the federal and private sector labor relations programs from social, legal, and historical perspectives. Hart concluded that extension of full collective bargaining rights to federal employees was not desirable because of the possibility of employees using economic coercion, but that the federal government would benefit from a decentralization of authority for determining how various jobs of government should be done.

Management's Relations with Organized Public Employees,<sup>8</sup> edited by Kenneth O. Warner, presents a series of articles by academicians, union leaders, and public administrators on the state of public sector labor relations. Warner attempts in this monograph to present a balanced perspective of conditions at various levels of government. Published only months after the issuance of E.O. 10988 in 1962, only a brief discussion of the federal sector under E.O. 10988 was possible.

Willem B. Vosloo's Collective Bargaining in the United States Federal Civil Service<sup>9</sup> is in many respects an update of Spero's earlier

work. Vosloo, in reasoning similar to Spero, concluded that collective bargaining rights should be granted to federal employees in some areas, because the differences in federal and private sector labor-management relations was one of degree rather than substance.

A second monograph edited by Kenneth O. Warner, entitled Collective Bargaining in the Public Service: Theory and Practice,<sup>10</sup> is a series of perspectives offered by American and Canadian public administration practitioners and specialists. This publication appears to represent an attempt to present the state of the art at that time and offer a basis for comparison of American and Canadian experiences in public sector labor relations.

Felix A. Nigro's Management-Employee Relations in the Public Service,<sup>11</sup> briefly reviews the historical bases, both legal and philosophical, for public labor-management relations before proceeding to a discussion of environmental elements, political factors, and policy issues. Subsequently, Nigro develops a framework for negotiations and concludes with a discussion of impasse and grievance resolution procedures. Written in 1969, this book offers a good review of federal and other public labor relations programs.

Labor-Management Relations in the Public Service,<sup>12</sup> edited by Harold S. Roberts, is a multipart volume which is an outgrowth of a publication originally prepared by him in February, 1964 and revised in August, 1964 and January, 1967. Subsequently, the volume was updated again in 1970. Roberts provides a comprehensive treatment of the federal sector program, beginning with E.O. 10988. His coverage is unusual in that it includes procedural details, third part decisions, and personnel policy statements issued by the federal authorities.

In addition to the federal sector coverage, an excellent review of state and local legislation is included.

Murray B. Nesbitt's Labor Relations in the Federal Government Service<sup>13</sup> is the most recent, and one of the most comprehensive books to appear on the federal sector labor relations program. Nesbitt traces the history of federal labor relations from the 1830's to E.O. 10988, provides an excellent discourse on the sovereignty doctrine and its attenuation throughout the years, and concludes with detailed expositions on the substantive nature of federal labor relations today.

Numerous other current books on labor-management relations were reviewed. It was found that the vast majority of writers devote very little space to the federal sector. The federal sector is described in general terms, including representational statistics, current executive orders, and the major unions involved. For example, Rowan,<sup>14</sup> Sloane and Witney,<sup>15</sup> and Hagburg and Levine,<sup>16</sup> devoted limited space to the subject.

#### Unpublished Doctoral Dissertations

Imundo, writing in 1971, found only three dissertations which gave specific attention to federal government labor-management relations.<sup>17</sup>

"Unionism in the Federal Service", by Eldon Johnson,<sup>18</sup> was the first dissertation which attempted a comprehensive analysis of this subject. Johnson's central theme is the emergence, growth, objectives, and achievements of government unions. Johnson develops an excellent analysis of the emergence and decline of the National Federation of Federal Employees and the origins of the American Federation of Government Employees. In Chapter IV, Johnson provides an in-depth review of

the attitudes and objectives of federal unions. Although stopping short of enumerating reasons for federal employees joining unions, Johnson provides some insight into at least the union's perception of the need it fulfills for federal employees.

The second dissertation reviewed by Imundo is Murray Nesbitt's "The Civil Service Merit System and Collective Bargaining".<sup>19</sup> Nesbitt examines the issue of collective bargaining by unions within the framework of the merit system. In the study, Nesbitt studies the impact of union activities on the merit system at the federal, state, and local levels of government. Nesbitt concludes that union and management attitudes can be compatible under the merit system as long as extreme positions are avoided by both parties.<sup>20</sup>

The third dissertation discussed by Imundo in his review is, "The Legal Rights of Federal Employees to Unionize, Bargain Collectively, and Strike", by Mansour Ahmed Mansour.<sup>21</sup> Mansour analyzes the impact of E.O. 10988, based on Supreme Court decisions and legal opinions issued by the U.S. Attorney General's Office. The objectives of the study are to (1) point out the strengths and weaknesses in the existing legal environment and (2) to propose changes that will eliminate these weaknesses and strengthen government labor-management relations. Mansour concludes that the wording and interpretation of E.O. 10988 do not provide the operational environment conducive to meaningful collective bargaining. The sovereignty doctrine and management supremacy still inhibit the exercising of the rights of the employees.<sup>22</sup>

Imundo's dissertation, "Why Government Employees Join Unions: A Study of AFGE Local 916",<sup>23</sup> provides a comprehensive review of previous

research on federal government labor relations, a survey of research on the reasons private sector workers join unions, and an investigation as to the stated reasons for federal workers joining AFGE Local 916. In setting the stage for discussion of his findings in Local 916, he provides an analysis of the characteristics and constraints of collective bargaining within the federal government system. Imundo concludes that even though collective bargaining in the federal sector is constrained, the sampled members joined for essentially the same reasons stated by private sector labor union members.

"The Scope of Bargaining at United States Air Force Installations within the Forty-Eight Conterminous States Under Executive Order 11491: An Analysis and Projection", by Martin W. Marquardt<sup>24</sup> reviews the labor-management relationship existing under E.O. 11491, the historical influences on labor and management's focus on relevant issues in the scope of bargaining and analyzes the content of 120 collective bargaining agreements at 85 Air Force bases. Marquardt found that the goals of the Order, i.e., efficiency, participation, and communication, are in themselves abstract terms and were often viewed with differing emphasis by each of the parties. Management was found to emphasize efficiency, the union emphasized participation, and both parties tended to neglect communication.

"An Inquiry into the Evolving Federal Labor Relations System with Emphasis on Private Sector Comparisons and Contrasts", by William V. Rice, Jr.,<sup>25</sup> traces the evolution of the federal sector labor relations system from 1790 through experience under E.O. 11616. Rice details the impact of labor relations on federal management, constructs analogies

with private sector experiences, and devotes considerable attention to strikes and federal wage setting practices. He concludes that the Executive Order labor relations system is effective as a transitional device from the management dominated civil service system to an evolving system of collective bargaining patterned after the private sector, but that the real power to make substantive changes in the employment relationships in the federal sector still remains with management.

From the preceding review of literature, it seems apparent that writers have treated both general and specific issues relating to the federal labor relations program. The second major part of this Chapter is devoted to one of these specific issues; the reasons why employees organize or join unions. Logically, this question can be broken down into several components. It is necessary to consider the origins of the labor movement, and reasons for joining unions, from the perspectives of key historians, the stated reasons and opinions as to why private sector workers have joined unions, and finally the stated reasons federal sector employees have joined unions.

#### Why Employees Join Unions

The theoretical foundations of the labor movement, as formulated by various writers, only tangentially address the question of why workers join unions. The problem of the theoreticians in this regard was compounded, as noted by Morgan, by the segment of the labor movement with which they were most familiar, the differences in time and place of the origin of their respective writings, and by the differences in the background and training of the theorists.<sup>26</sup> The writings of the theorists,

obviously reflecting various social, economic, political, and legal perspectives, leads each to a personal philosophy of why workers form or join unions.<sup>27</sup>

### Theoretical Perspectives of Labor Historians

While Adam Smith is normally not included in a review of the writings of important labor historians, his discussion of worker associations, as they existed in the late eighteenth century, is noteworthy. Worker associations were seen as being primarily defensive rather than offensive relative to master's associations. Worker combinations were described as being more violent and aggressive than master's associations because of the inferior economic endurance of the workers. In Smith's judgement, workers were led to organize for purely economic reasons. Smith gave no attention to the possible desires of workers for enhanced social or political status, or psychological aspects. Further, Smith did not see any revolutionary, long-term goals either as motivational factors or as a consequence of labor combinations.<sup>28</sup>

Karl Marx saw the labor movement as a collectivist movement to end class struggle by eliminating the private entrepreneur and establishing a socialist state. In this evolution to the socialist state, Marx described the labor movement as having short and long range goals. The short range goal was to eliminate intra working class wage competition. Presumably this was based upon economic motives. The long range goal was seen as organizing, disciplining, and uniting the workers of the industrialized society so that the socialistic state would become a reality.<sup>29</sup> The motivation for workers to pursue this long range goal

appears to be based upon a perceived, by Marx, worker aspiration for social and political justice.

Sidney and Beatrice Webb advanced a theory of industrial democracy which held that the labor movement was both political and economic in nature.<sup>30</sup> The Webbs saw the political nature of the labor movement as being an extension of the worker's desire for representative democratic government into the workplace. The perceived "agitation for freedom of combination and factory legislation. . . (was) a demand for a 'constitution' in the industrial realm".<sup>31</sup> As to the economic basis for the labor movement, the Webbs believed it necessary to "take the worker out of competition" with his fellow workers. This was necessary due to the inadequate individual worker bargaining power in the free labor market. The primary means which labor would use to attain economic goals were restriction of members (control of the labor supply) and the common rule (union wage scale).<sup>32</sup> The Webbs differed slightly from Marx's interpretation of the future of the labor movement. They saw elimination of class conflict as being necessary, but differed with Marx in that labor unions would serve a continuing function in industrial society and that only socialization of major industries within a society was necessary. The motivation of workers to participate in the labor movement was their desire to elevate their economic and political status in industry.

Robert F. Hoxie believed there were diverse motivations for the forming of unions and the participation of workers. The motivations were dependent upon numerous economic, political, and social circumstances existing at a point in time. Hoxie developed a classification system which illustrated five principle types of unionism. According to Hoxie's



system, unions could be classified as business, uplift, revolutionary, predatory, or dependent.<sup>33</sup> Of the five types, business unionism was found to be the most prevalent type in the United States, and due to its pragmatic orientation, it was reasoned that the primary motivation for workers to join was based upon economic improvement and psychological security.<sup>34</sup>

John R. Commons agreed with Hoxie in regard to the essentially non-revolutionary nature of American business unionism and that the character of labor movements are shaped by the particular economic, political, and social factors operating in the environment.<sup>35</sup> The availability of free land, universal male suffrage, market expansion, and a complex form of federal government were seen as accounting for the great reliance upon economic action by the American labor movement. Commons further held that immigration and business cycles were responsible for the lack of class consciousness and a cohesive American labor movement.<sup>36</sup> Commons concluded that the Marxian explanation of the rise of unionism did not apply to the American scene and unionism was "simply an interest group that was striving to protect and better working conditions for its membership".<sup>37</sup> Commons gives an economic rationale for the emergence of unions and the participation of workers.

Frank Tannenbaum viewed "trade unionism as the conservative movement of our time."<sup>38</sup> This statement represented a tempered view of unions as compared to his earlier works<sup>39</sup> in which he theorized that workers, perceiving themselves to be downgraded and insecure because of the factory system, were overwhelmed with a sense of helplessness in the labor market. This gave rise to unions, which gave the workers a sense of belonging and allowed them to establish some measure of control in the workplace.

Following organization into unions, Tannenbaum was of the opinion that the social consequences of unionism could be revolutionary, and he saw the ultimate triumph of unionism over capitalism. However; he later modified his position due to a belief that American unionism should be considered a conservative counterrevolutionary movement because of its concern for pragmatic short-run goals such as organizing the unorganized, and improving wages, hours, and working conditions. Tannenbaum concluded that "No institution has survival value unless it conceives of itself as exercising a necessary moral role for the whole of society, and this moral role includes the economic, political, social, and other interests of man. . . Experience and time will teach and discipline the trade union movement, and it will ultimately develop a tradition and unwritten law that will describe its responsibilities as well as its prerogatives."<sup>40</sup> Tannenbaum provides a psychological, as well as economic motivation for workers joining unions. The workers perceive insecurity in the workplace and desire to make an impact upon the decision making process of the employer. An attendant economic benefit occurs because labor is organized, and better equipped to press for economic gains.

Selig Perlman also saw psychological and economic motivation as the mainspring of the American labor movement. According to Perlman:<sup>41</sup>

The scarcity consciousness of the manualist is a product of two main courses, one lying in himself and the other outside. The typical manualist is aware of his lack of native capacity for availing himself of economic opportunities as they lie amidst the complex and ever shifting situation of modern business. He knows himself neither for a born taker of risks nor for the possessor of a sufficiently agile mind ever to feel at home in the midst of the uncertain game of competitive business.

This "psychology of the laboring man is contrasted to the businessman's perception of unlimited economic opportunity and the constant

attempt of intellectuals to lead workers away from their lower idealism to one more transcendental and abstract."<sup>42</sup> The interaction of these three basic economic philosophies moulds the nature of national labor movements. In the United States, the development of stabilized unionism was delayed until the American Federation of Labor developed a job consciousness, until it came to assert a collective mastery over job opportunities, and wage earners disassociated themselves from producers.<sup>43</sup>

In a similar line of reasoning, John K. Galbraith stated that "private economic power is held in check by the countervailing power of those subject to it".<sup>44</sup> Economists have assumed in competition that market power exercised in the absence of competition would invite competitors who would eliminate such exercise of power. Competition was regarded as a self-generating regulatory force.<sup>45</sup> However; in those situations where a market had been pre-empted by a few large sellers, after entry of new firms had become difficult and after existing firms had accepted a convention against price competition, competition as a regulatory mechanism failed. This accentuated the need for a development of a countervailing power.<sup>46</sup> Galbraith saw unions developing as this countervailing power. Through organization, workers could enhance their bargaining position and enforce their demands upon the few buyers for their services in a specific market. This rationale supports economic and psychological reasons for development of unions and workers joining.

Chamberlain and Cullen<sup>47</sup> saw unions arising in response to a similar set of circumstances and serving a similar purpose. According to these writers, unions were established to protect the interests of their members and to give them some sense of security and independence

in the workplace.<sup>48</sup> Unions brought their members "functional democracy", or what has for a good many years been referred to as "industrial democracy".<sup>49</sup> This concept of functional democracy further reinforces Galbraith's countervailing power rationale and psychological and economic motivators for workers joining unions.

The perspectives of the labor historians appear to yield three primary motivations for workers joining unions. The historians advance economic, psychological, and political rationales. However; all of the propositions stem from scarcity, or limited economic opportunity, as the root cause of workers forming and joining labor unions.

Smith, Commons, and the Webbs appear to share similar views in that workers are motivated by a general dissatisfaction with economic conditions and band together to develop institutional controls that will guarantee greater job security, higher wages, and improved working conditions. Of the various methods used by workers to achieve these ends, labor unions have produced the best results.

Although implicitly recognizing the scarcity of economic opportunity as being the underlying cause, Hoxie, Tannenbaum, Perlman, Galbraith, and Chamberlain and Cullen see the resultant psychological insecurity of the worker as the prime motivator for collective action. This banding together to cope with insecurity resulted in the formation of the labor movement.

Marx, and to some extent the Webbs, saw a revolutionary objective for workers and unions. However; scarcity of economic opportunity was the basic cause for a clash between labor and management. The main question to be answered was the extent to which the working class would gain

control of the production process of society. Marx saw the working class as being the ultimate ruling class, while the Webbs conceded that perhaps only key segments of the industrial process should be socialized. Marx viewed labor's motivation for joining unions as being a quest for social justice in the long run, with economic goals as being short run and relatively inconsequential.

From the historian's viewpoint, economic, psychological, or political motivations may prevail, depending upon economic, social, and political conditions existing at a point in time. However; to become more definitive as to why workers in a particular society or group join unions at a point in time, data must be gathered from primary sources (the workers) in the target population.

#### Reasons Stated by Private Sector

##### Workers for Joining Unions

A considerable amount of research has been done to determine the stated reasons for blue and white-collar, private sector workers joining unions. The initial inquiries in this area were directed at blue-collar workers, perhaps because white-collar unionism was not generally prevalent outside of a few federal agencies, until the 1950's.

Reasons blue-collar workers join unions. Edwin M. Chamberlin's study in 1935 is the earliest reported study on this subject which could be located.<sup>50</sup> Chamberlin interviewed 200 male employees of Massachusetts textile mills, the sample being randomly drawn and consisting of 100 union members and 100 non-union members. During the interviews, each respondent was asked a series of 12 questions relating to the following

six subject areas:

1. Ability of the union to get results.
2. Trust and competence of union leaders.
3. Reasons for joining a union.
4. Labor-management relations.
5. Economic conditions.
6. Management's treatment of workers.

Of the 100 union members surveyed, the following response as to why the employee joined the union were recorded.

<u>STATEMENT</u>	<u>FREQUENCY</u>
1. Because fellow employee did	13
2. Union is the only way the working man can get results	55
3. Like to belong to such an organization	16
4. Feel more secure as a union member	16

Union men gave, in order of frequency of response, as reasons for joining: (1) results; (2 and 3) a liking for such organizations and a feeling of greater security, and (4) because fellow workers joined.

"Results" were cited first three and one-half times as often as the next most frequent cause.<sup>51</sup> However; non-union workers, in response to a request for reasons for which they would join the union, gave the following reasons in order of frequency:<sup>52</sup>

<u>STATEMENT</u>	<u>FREQUENCY</u>
1. Because fellow workers had joined	49
2. To gain a feeling of greater security	31
3. Union is the only way the working man can get results	13
4. Like to belong to such an organization	7

As the data above indicates, social (1) and psychological (2) reasons for joining were of greater importance to the non-union members than economic considerations (3). This is further confirmed by the finding that 90 percent of the union members and only 38 percent of the non-union employees believed that unions get results.<sup>53</sup>

An economic, or results, motivation for workers who have joined unions emerges as the strongest factor from Chamberlin's survey.

In the early 1940's, the Labor-Management Center at Yale University conducted a series of interviews with union and non-union workers, following an organizing campaign, in an attempt to learn why workers did or did not join a union.<sup>54</sup> The interviews revealed that the workers expressed the opinion that "one is living successfully if he is making progress toward the experience and assurance of:

1. The society and respect of other people,
2. The degree of creature comforts and economic security possessed by the most favored of his customary associates,
3. Independence and control over his own affairs,
4. Understanding of the forces and factors at work in his world,
5. Integrity"<sup>55</sup>

It was determined that the primary goal of workers was the satisfaction of the social need for respect of other people, rather than economic needs centered in higher wages and job security. However; economic needs may be strong motivators, depending upon the social group. The article stated: "A worker's willingness to join a union varies directly with the degree to which associations with and participation in the union would reinforce normal group attachments and interests, would involve practices consistent with the codes, the philosophy, the faith he shares with the group."<sup>56</sup>

If the social group values increases in economic and job related factors, the economic motivation may be very strong. Although statistics as to the exact frequency of responses were not included, it was indicated that many of the dissatisfactions expressed by workers were related to wages, hours, and working conditions.<sup>57</sup>

In a 1942 study by Link,<sup>58</sup> a nationwide sample of 1,000 individuals, primarily industrial workers and their wives, was interviewed. Of the interviews conducted, 70 percent were in homes of blue-collar workers and 30 percent in white-collar homes of comparable economic status. The distribution of union membership in the homes surveyed was as follows:<sup>59</sup>

	<u>Industrial Homes</u>	<u>Other Homes</u>	<u>Total</u>
Union members, percent	33.0	3.5	36.5
Non-union, percent	36.5	27.0	63.5
Total members	695	305	1,000

Of 387 individuals who expressed the opinion that all workers should be required to join or belong to a union, the primary reasons given are indicated below.<sup>60</sup>

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Union Homes</u>	<u>Other Homes</u>
1. Secure better working conditions, get better wages or hours	9.4	13	7
2. One man can't bargain for himself (collective bargaining)	8.4	14	5
3. Increases efficiency, better cooperation with management, men can work better	4.8	8	3



	<u>Total</u>	<u>Union Homes</u>	<u>Other Homes</u>
4. Protects worker's job, gives him security	2.8	4	2
5. Saves disputes, avoids disagreements, would be no more strikes	2.8	4	2
6. Helps the workers	2.4	4	2
7. If the unions are good ones	2.4	3	2

Three of the five most frequently given reasons above (1,2,4) are directly related to economic or job security factors. Statement 5 could be interpreted as an economic factor, but may be evidence of a generalized desire for stability and industrial peace.

Included in a research study conducted by the Industrial Relations Center of the University of Chicago during 1949-1950 was a study of members and officers of a midwest local of United Steelworkers of America.<sup>61</sup> Interviews were conducted with a leadership group, an active rank and file group, and an inactive rank and file group. A total of 114 interviews were conducted from a sample drawn from 1,400 employees in an integrated steel mill. It was estimated that 95 percent of the workers in the mill were union members.<sup>62</sup> In the leadership group, 28 men who satisfied the criterion for "belongness" in this group, i.e., holding a union office, committee chairmanship, past president of a local, were interviewed. An active member was defined as one who had attended between 4 and 7 union meetings in the last year.<sup>63</sup> The researchers found that 86 percent of the leadership group, 83 percent of the active members, and 63 percent of the inactive members had joined the union with some degree of conviction.

The most frequently stated reasons for joining were family background, prior work as union experience, and personal experiences within the plant.<sup>64</sup> The active members stated that the above reasons were most important in causing them to join, while some members indicated that informal group pressure played an important role in their decision to join. The researchers were of the opinion that if they had been able to study the motives for joining at the time of decision, they would have found a larger number of workers who joined without conviction and simply because it was the thing to do at the time.<sup>65</sup> Perhaps the most remarkable finding was that none of the 114 workers interviewed stated that he had joined the union in an attempt to get higher wages. Viteles<sup>66</sup> is of the opinion that some bias in the interview findings and interpretation was possible. His opinion is based on the backgrounds of the authors. One of the authors was at one time a member of the Amalgamated Lithographers and a past president of Local 6, United Auto Workers. Another had union experience with the UAW.

Seidman, London, and Karsh came to a conclusion which was similar in many respects to Bakke. They concluded that the social environment, values of the work group, and the background of the individual worker, are of importance in determining what motivates an individual in his decision to join or not join a union at a given point in time.<sup>67</sup>

Also conducting research among union members in 1949-1950, Arnold M. Rose surveyed the attitudes of members toward Teamsters Local 688, St. Louis, Missouri.<sup>68</sup> The 4,100 respondents were selected by a systematized, random procedure. For this sample, 475 names were selected from the Local membership files.<sup>69</sup> These individuals were interviewed by

Rose and his associates in their homes. A total of 392 interviews were completed. The work performed by the selected members included a wide range of jobs; packers, order-fillers, manufacturing, clerical, custodial, machine repair, truck driving, etc.<sup>70</sup> Rose was aware of other, similar research being done on reasons for joining and members attitudes toward unions. He noted that the membership of Local 688 had much in common with workers in the mass production industries. This commonality was due to the unskilled nature of their work and the fact that they could be easily replaced by the employer.<sup>71</sup>

The respondents were asked 129 questions evolved from the three questions of general concern raised in the study. The general questions were:<sup>72</sup>

1. For what reasons can workers feel a sense of solidarity with their union?

2. To what extent can union leaders and union experiences educate the rank and file to have attitudes considered by the leaders to be essential for successful trade unionism?

3. To what extent can a union buck a strong cultural pattern of which their members are a part when this opposition is deemed necessary for union solidarity and successful union operation?

Two of the questions asked by Rose in support of general question 1 (reasons workers can feel a sense of solidarity with their union) were, "why did you join the union", and "what do you consider to be the purposes of your union". The following responses to "why did you join the union" were recorded.<sup>73</sup>

## Reasons for Joining the Union

<u>Reason Given</u>	<u>Percentage of Respondents</u>
1. Had to - I work in a union shop	45.9
2. For my own benefit (general, but personal)	20.9
3. It is a good cause (general, but impersonal)	16.3
4. For higher wages	7.7
5. For better working conditions	6.6
6. For security	4.3
7. There is strength in numbers	3.3
8. The majority wanted it	2.8
9. No answer	1.3

From these responses, it was concluded that almost half the respondents (giving reasons 1 and 8) believed they joined the union involuntarily. Another very large proportion (37.2 percent) give only general and vague reasons for joining.<sup>74</sup>

In response to the second question "what do you consider to be the purposes of your union?", the following responses were recorded.<sup>75</sup> The percentages total to more than 100 percent because the respondent could give more than one answer to the question.

## Purposes of the Union

<u>Purpose Mentioned</u>	<u>Percentage of Respondents</u>
1. Get specific economic benefits (higher wages)	75.3
2. Get job security (including seniority)	31.1

<u>Purpose Mentioned</u>	<u>Percentage of Respondents</u>
3. Gain rights (fair deal, welfare, free speech, etc)	16.6
4. Get benefits off the job (recreational, medical, legal)	10.7
5. Organize labor (get solidarity for bargaining)	9.4
6. Raise standard of living	7.9
7. Make labor and management more cooperative	5.1
8. Increase fellowship among workers	3.8
9. Miscellaneous, don't know, no answer	2.6

The data above shows that members perceived wide ranges of benefits from union membership. Higher wages, or other economic benefits, was identified as the most important purpose of a union. However; a substantial number of the respondents spontaneously mentioned getting job security, gaining rights, and getting benefits off the job (such as opportunities for recreation, medical care, and legal advice).

Rose, in his conclusions, notes that worker loyalty to the union is dependent upon the success of the union in increasing the worker's income, security, and job satisfaction, and the amount of participation in union activity by the worker.<sup>76</sup> This is in agreement with the finding reported earlier that 75.3 percent of the respondents viewed the purpose of the union as obtaining greater economic benefits. Satisfaction with union efforts, and therefore solidarity, appears to increase with participation in union activities, implying that the union is performing a social function as well.<sup>77</sup>

Walker and Guest, in an examination of reasons why workers join or continue to support a union found that wages, hours, and job security were not applicable explanations.<sup>78</sup> This study, conducted in an automobile manufacturing plant, showed that 66 percent of the workers had a favorable attitude toward the union, but only 2 of 180 workers in the sample gave the union as the first reason for liking their job.<sup>79</sup>

Walker and Guest concluded that the traditional factors of wages, hours, and job security did not motivate these employees to join the union. Instead, they suggested that the union served to counterbalance a lack of personal satisfaction with the immediate work experience. The union was viewed as meeting, in part, the psychological and social needs which work in the plant had created. The union represented an emotional as well as economic dimension in the worker's attitudes . . . a kind of psychological bulwark against pace and boredom and against the bigness and impersonality of management.<sup>80</sup>

As was true in reviewing the writings of the labor historians, no single explanation as to why blue-collar workers join unions emerges from the above review of research on this subject.

Chamberlin and Link concluded that an economic, job security, or results motivation emerged as the strongest factor in the worker's decision to join a union. Bakke concluded that the values of the worker's social group are the controlling factors in the worker's decision to join a union. If the social group places high value on economic reward, this factor may come to the fore. However; social and psychological factors may be preeminent on other occasions. Seidman, London, and Karsh cited family background, prior work and union experience, and personal

experiences in the work environment as the most frequently stated reasons for joining. These authors also noted that some workers may have joined because it seemed to be the thing to do at the time, thus indicating social or psychological pressure. Similarly, Walker and Guest concluded that wages, hours, and working conditions considerations do not motivate employees to join unions. Rather, the union serves to counterbalance a lack of personal satisfaction in the work environment. The union meets psychological and social needs created by the industrial work environment. Rose found that almost one half of the workers in his study joined the union involuntarily, while approximately 20 percent joined for generalized personal reasons. These findings seem to indicate, since Rose was studying a union shop, that strong social group pressure to join was present. However; approximately 75 percent of these same workers saw the primary purpose of the union to be in obtaining greater economic benefits.

Reasons white-collar workers join unions. For thirty years following the end of World War II, the literature abounded with writings as to the reasons why white-collar workers had not and were not embracing unionism with the same fervor as their blue-collared brothers. The recent past has seen a change in direction of the writing on this subject. While no studies could be located on direct white-collar worker responses as to why they have joined unions, the literature now acknowledges that these employees are joining with increasing frequency. The percentages of white-collar workers are increasing both in terms of representation in the workforce and as a percentage of the labor movement.

As of April, 1976, the total civilian, noninstitutional workforce of the United States was 93,474,000.<sup>81</sup> Of the employed members of this

workforce, 50.1 percent were classified as white-collar employees. The percentage of white-collar workers has grown at a steady rate, from 43.4 percent in 1960. The classification, white-collar worker, as reported here includes professional and technical, managers, administrators, salesworkers, and clerical workers.<sup>82</sup> Within the white-collar occupations, male members now represent 49.2 percent of total employment, and females represent 50.8 percent. A trend toward female concentration in this category is evidenced by a 57.5 percent representation of males in 1960, and a 42.1 percent representation by females. Indicative of this female concentration also, is the fact that 63.3 percent of employed females are in white-collar jobs.<sup>83</sup> In terms of representation in the American labor movement, white-collar union membership has grown from 13.6 percent of total union membership in 1955 to 17.4 percent at the end of 1974. In absolute terms, white-collar union membership increased from 2,463,000 to 3,762,000 during this same period. The total American union membership increased by 3,894,000 during this period. Therefore, 33.4 percent of the total membership increase during this period may be attributed to increased white-collar unionization.<sup>84</sup>

White-collar workers were long held to fundamentally different, in motivation, from blue-collar workers. Although it was generally recognized that "workers organize into labor unions not alone for economic motives but also for equally compelling psychological and social ones, so that they can participate in making the decisions that initially affect them in their work and community life",<sup>85</sup> it was believed that special conditions existing in the white-collar occupations tended to moderate the desire of these workers to organize. In white-collar work it was



typical for working conditions to be physically less demanding, time-clock pressure less severe, paid vacations and holidays more numerous, and job security higher than the blue-collar occupations. It was also believed that since a majority of white-collar workers are women, and therefore less committed in a career sense, that white-collar men enjoyed enhanced promotion opportunity and stability of employment.

Further, because of association with management and opportunity for promotion into management, white-collar workers identified themselves with management.<sup>86</sup>

In addition to the motivational and work environment differences between blue and white-collar workers, the nature of the American labor movement was believed to be somewhat less than fully acceptable to many in the white-collar ranks. Sloane found two reasons for this diminished acceptability. First, due to seemingly irresponsible strikes, unstatesmanlike settlements, union leader criminality, and featherbedding, many potential white-collar unionists may have been alienated. Secondly, the labor movement has, in recent years, been represented by uninspiring, rather bureaucratic leadership which seems only dimly aware of the problems of white-collar workers and totally unimaginative as far as discovering any solutions.<sup>87</sup>

Douty,<sup>88</sup> also writing in 1969, expressed similar views in regard to white-collar unionism and unionism in general. With respect to white-collar unions, he concluded that the attitudes of white-collar workers with regard to unions and the need for an organized role in decision making will largely determine future events. With respect to unionism in general, he speculated that economic conditions in the years immediately

ahead do not seem calculated to produce an upsurge in organization. However; a substantially higher inflation rate and an unfavorable job market situation would provide impetus for organization. Looking at white-collar unionism from the perspective of today, it is apparent that both of Douty's conditions did occur and to some extent are still occurring.

Snyder saw the problem of organizing white-collar workers as consisting of four dimensions: the self-image of white collar workers; their perceived image of the union; the specific pressures in the unique organizing situation; and the resultant acceptance or rejection of the union as a personal choice by a majority of the group.<sup>89</sup> Snyder interviewed over 100 white-collar workers in the Detroit-area auto industry and found that a fundamental part of the white-collar worker's self-image is that his group has a distinctive identity. This group identity was based upon "important differences". The nature of these differences was concentrated in four areas: the "coarseness" of behavior and language of shopworkers; their lower social class; the higher education of white-collar workers; and the identification of white-collar workers with management. A further insight into the white-collar worker's self-image was found in the reasons for choosing white-collar work. Prominent mention was given, in priority order, to the possibility of advancement, the nature of the work itself (variety, challenge, interest), working conditions, greater job security, and the urging of parents who hoped their children would avoid factory work. Only seventeen percent of the unorganized white-collar group stated they had entered white-collar work by accident, this implying a significant commitment to their particular

occupational grouping stemming from conscious personal choice.<sup>90</sup>

In his discussion of unions as perceived by white-collar workers, Synder notes that the "assumed inherent incompatibility" between unions and white-collar workers must be evaluated in light of circumstances in the job situation. The possible repercussions of the work rationalization process in white-collar occupations was identified in this group's observation that what white-collar workers "liked least" was monotony on the job and the pressure of deadlines in work scheduling. Nearly 40 percent of the respondents stated that they had personally experienced increased work pressure during the last five to ten years.<sup>91</sup> The interviews revealed that the symbolic association of the term "union" in the minds of the respondents were:

<u>Symbolic Association</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Seniority and job protection	38
Strikes	19
Better working conditions	13
Violence, corruption, racketeering	13
Wage increases	6
Radicalism	6

Further, the interviews made clear that 78 percent of the respondents thought that unions, in total, had been responsible for more good than bad in America. Only nine percent felt that unions had negatively influenced American life, while 13 percent expressed an intermediate position.<sup>92</sup> A positive evaluation of unions also appeared in the opinion of 86 percent of the group that unions were necessary for hourly production workers. An additional five percent held them to be sometimes necessary.<sup>93</sup>

Kassalow, in a later writing, voiced a similar opinion, although it somewhat altered his previous position, regarding the potential of white-collar unionization. Wider acceptance of unionism by American society, the need to be represented in what is increasingly group-oriented and group decision making economy, and the increasing number of white-collar workers with some consequent loss of individualism are factors which tend to encourage the growth of white-collar unionism. However; the deeper hold of individualism and the generally superior economic status of the white-collar workforce continue to slow the rate of white-collar unionism growth.<sup>94</sup>

Writing from a slightly different perspective, Bollens<sup>95</sup> enumerated the reasons that white-collar workers should join unions. The value of union membership was categorized into five general areas.

1. Realization of a greater sense of job security.
2. Programs and policies which add to employee happiness and welfare, such as hospital insurance and educational programs.
3. Institution and supervision of means for assuring proper and comparable wage payments to all classes of employees.
4. Promotion of education of employees on the complex subject of labor legislation.
5. Provide a common ground for discussion of employee-employer relations with management.

These reasons are not based on academic research, but are included in the discussion of white-collar unionism as it related to the relationship between Westinghouse and the Federation of Westinghouse Independent Salaried Unions.

George S. Bain, writing on white-collar unionism in Great Britain, but drawing heavily upon American research on this subject, summarized his study by concluding:<sup>96</sup>

It is becoming increasingly fashionable to argue that with industrial progress, greater affluence, and more enlightened management, unions are losing their function .... Much of this argument assumes that the major, if not the only, function of trade unions is their ability to achieve economic benefits for their members.... White-collar workers value trade unions and join them not so much to obtain economic benefits as to be able to control more effectively their work situation. As their employment becomes more concentrated and bureaucratized, individual white-collar workers find that they have less and less ability to influence the making and the administration of the rules by which they are governed on the job. In order to rectify this situation, they join trade unions and engage in collective bargaining. Given that employment concentration and bureaucratization will continue, trade unions will be just as necessary to white-collar workers of the twentieth century as they were to the "sweated" manual workers of the nineteenth century.

Alfred Vogel, citing research by the Opinion Research Corporation, found a spreading erosion of confidence among clerical workers and a growing tendency to take a second look at what unions have to offer.<sup>97</sup> The ORC research was based on a "wide sample of 25,000 employees in over 90 companies; and the businesses surveyed represent a solid cross section of U.S. industry - banks, insurance companies, manufacturing companies, and utilities."<sup>98</sup>

The findings were reported as the perceived, by clerical workers, corporate responsiveness on key employee relations issues. Using average favorable ratings by clerical employees during the period 1955 - 1965 as the base, ratings since 1966 were expressed as positive or negative percentages. The following data reflects changes reported.<sup>99</sup>

<u>Employee Relations Issues</u>	<u>Percent Change Since 1966</u>
<b>Basic Employment Conditions</b>	
Pay	-17
Benefits	-16
Job Security	-14
Working Conditions	- 6
<b>Personnel Practices</b>	
Applies Policy Consistently	-17
Does Something About Problems and Complaints	-16
Promotes Environment Where Management and Employees Can Work Together	-14
Deals Fairly With Everyone	-12
Takes Employee Interests into Account When Making Important Decisions Affecting Their Work	- 9
Shows Fairness in Making Promotions	- 6
Shows Respect for the Individual	+ 2
Provides Chances for Getting Ahead	+ 3
<b>Communication</b>	
Lets Employees Say What They Mean to Higher-Ups	-17
Keeps Employees Informed in Advance on Changes Affecting Their Work	-10
Lets Employees Know What is Going On in the Company	- 4
Shows Willingness to Listen to Complaints	+ 5

These changes must be put in perspective by adding that ratings by engineers, managers, and hourly workers also declined during this period. However; the attitudes of clerical employees declined more sharply than

those of any group for which comparable information was collected.<sup>100</sup>

The findings reported above take on additional significance when compared with findings of the National Opinion Research Center.<sup>101</sup> In two nationwide surveys conducted in 1973 and 1974, samples consisting of persons 18 years or over, living in noninstitutionalized arrangements, were selected and contacted in door-to-door interviews. The respondents were asked to select the job characteristic they would most prefer from the following.<sup>102</sup>

1. High income
2. No danger of being fired
3. Short work hours and much free time
4. Chance for advancement
5. Important and meaningful work

Data for both white and blue-collar workers were reported, but was determined to be valid only for white males. The percentages of preferences among the five job characteristics reported for all white male workers were:<sup>103</sup>

<u>Job Characteristic</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
1. High income	15.75
2. No danger of being fired	7.61
3. Short work hours and much free time	5.34
4. Chances for advancement	18.42
5. Important and meaningful work	52.88
	N=749

This information was further analyzed to differentiate between white and blue-collar workers.<sup>104</sup>

<u>Job Characteristic</u>	<u>White-Collar</u>	<u>Percentage Blue-Collar</u>	<u>Difference</u>
1. High income	12.96	19.63	-6.67
2. No danger of being fired	3.66	11.96	-8.30
3. Short work hours and much free time	3.94	7.06	-3.12
4. Chances for advancement	17.46	19.02	-1.56
5. Important and meaningful work	61.98	42.33	+19.65
	N=355	N=326	

The data pertaining to white-collar employees was further analyzed by category of employee within the white-collar occupations. Results are expressed as percentages within the category.<sup>105</sup>

<u>Job Characteristic</u>	<u>Prof-Technical</u>	<u>Mgr-Admin-Sales</u>	<u>Clerical</u>
1. High income	7.53	15.34	21.74
2. No danger of being fired	3.42	1.23	13.04
3. Short work hours and much free time	4.11	4.29	2.17
4. Chances for advancement	13.70	19.02	23.91
5. Important and meaningful work	71.24	60.12	39.14
	N=146	N=163	N=46

Analysis of the data reported above reveals that the most dramatic difference between white and blue-collar workers is that white-collar workers appear more likely to prefer important, meaningful jobs, and less concern about the other job characteristics. The greatest disparity among the four characteristics in which the white-collar workers showed less concern was for "no danger of being fired". This result may partially be



explained by the generally lower turnover rate among white-collar occupations.<sup>106</sup>

Within the white-collar group, it appears that professional-technical workers are more likely than clerical workers to prefer important, meaningful work and less likely to be concerned about the danger of being fired. However; managerial-administrative-sales and clerical employees are more likely to prefer high income and chances for promotion than professional and technical workers. A comparison of all occupational categories within the white-collar group shows that professional-technical workers most often express a preference for important, meaningful work.<sup>107</sup>

In general terms, a considerable majority of the white-collar group considers it very important that jobs be interesting and provide a sense of accomplishment. However, there remains a considerable concern for high income, job security, short hours, and promotion opportunity.

Chamont reviewed the status of professional and white-collar unionism in the U.S. and found that the job concerns of white-collar workers are not fundamentally different from blue-collar workers. At the heart of the matter is the nature of modern employment, which is likely to consist of very routine, nonchallenging jobs. Here the problem for white-collar employees is in many ways identical to that of blue-collar workers. It is only natural that they should choose similar means to solve those problems. As the white-collar work force continues to expand, union organizing successes will continue.<sup>108</sup>

In the early writings on the potential for white-collar unionization, writers cited several reasons which led them to conclude that serious obstacles existed. It was commonly believed that white-collar

workers were fundamentally different from blue-collar workers due to education, family background, aspirations for advancement into management, and social group pressures (Golden and Ruttenberg, Kassalow (1966), and Douty).

By 1969, it appears that a concensus was beginning to emerge that conditions affecting white-collar workers had reached a point where unionization was being considered by white-collar workers as a viable alternative to solve work-related problems. It was noted that while the self-image of white-collar workers was still not highly conducive to unionization, other factors such as lagging white-collar pay, work rationalization, and the consequent perceived loss of individuality among white-collar workers were increasingly cited as reasons for unionization. Further, opinion surveys indicated that unionism was becoming more acceptable to white-collar employees (Snyder, Kassalow (1969)).

By the early 1970's, it was commonly agreed that white-collar unionism was a permanent part of the American labor movement. The writings since that time appear to show common rationales as to why white-collar employees have, and are, joining unions. These are:

1. There has been a loss of individuality in white-collar work.
2. This has been largely caused by work rationalization and increased time pressure in the white-collar occupations.
3. To stabilize or reverse this undesirable situation, white-collar employees must gain control of the workplace.
4. The most acceptable way to gain control of the workplace is through unionization and the collective bargaining process.

From the sources reviewed, it may be concluded that psychological,

social, and economic rationales may be used to explain white-collar unionization. However; under most circumstances the primary reason appears to be psychological. Social group pressure may also prevail, depending upon the values of the group, as was found among blue-collar workers. Economic factors appear to be a distant third in motivation.

### Reasons Why Federal Sector Workers

#### Have Joined Unions

In her widely quoted article, Christrup<sup>109</sup> says that many still have the misconception that workers join unions only for economic gain and that unions must have the power to force management to meet their demands, and that satisfied employees do not join unions. Therefore, since government employees cannot strike or bargain for wages, they join unions because they are dissatisfied. Christrup asserts that essentially, government workers are no different than private sector workers. They are motivated to join unions by social, psychological, and economic factors. However; since wages and benefits are determined by Congress or wage boards, the social and psychological reasons for joining unions become dominant for government workers.<sup>110</sup>

Warner summarized an explanation of why public, and federal employees join unions, as stated by supporters of employee organizations.<sup>111</sup>

Public managers are not perfect, so employees must find a vehicle that will represent their interests, speak to management, and protect their rights.

Merit systems are imperfect. Employees do not believe they receive the benefits and protection they deserve. Apart from benefits, employees believe they should have some say in daily activities in their workplace. Personnel policies and procedures are applied unevenly, depending on the whim of the administrator. Employees often feel it is almost impossible to gain a fair hearing in the organization. Through an employee organization, protests can be made without fear of reprisal and with greater chance of success.

Imundo, in two very similar studies conducted among union members at two Air Force bases, concluded that the generalization that federal employees join unions for the same reasons as private sector workers may be erroneous. He cites three conditions of work in the federal government which preclude many of the usual reasons workers join unions. The first is the historical role of the civil service system. Secondly, the federal government's adherence to the sovereignty doctrine limits collective bargaining. The third condition is the high proportion of white-collar union members in the federal sector, as contrasted to the relatively low proportion found in private sector unions.<sup>112</sup>

Both of Imundo's studies showed essentially the same results. It was determined that the sampled AFGE members (blue and white-collar) joined the union for significantly different reasons than private sector union members. Also, the sampled blue and white-collar members joined for the same reasons. Unlike persons in the private sector, the sampled members did not join because of social pressure. Both blue and white-collar members joined for psychological and economic reasons, primarily the protection of rights and increases in wages and benefits.<sup>113</sup> The studies also revealed that the appeals of union membership were strongest with persons at least 50 years old and weakest among persons under the age of 30. Most employees believed management does not treat them fairly or give them a chance to participate in decision making. They felt that joining the union was the best way to gain wage and benefit increases. Less than half thought the civil service system protected their rights.<sup>114</sup>

A more detailed presentation of Imundo's findings at AFGE Local 916 will be made in Chapter IV, when a comparison with the present

study's findings at AFGE Local 997 will be developed.

In a study of the attitudes of non-union member, federal white-collar employees, Imundo sought to provide insights into the reasons why they had not joined the union.<sup>115</sup> He further stated that the findings were also useful in suggesting ways in which the union representing the sampled workers could develop new promotional appeals and thereby increase the dues-paying membership.

This study, conducted at an Air Force base in Ohio, consisted of a ten percent sample (500) from which 170 useable responses (34%) were obtained. Imundo presented his findings in two categories, responses showing unions in a positive way and responses showing unions in a negative way. His findings are presented below.<sup>116</sup>

Workers Responses to Statements that Show  
Unions in a Positive Way

<u>Statement</u>	<u>Percentage of "Yes" Responses</u>	<u>Significance Level (<math>\chi^2</math>)</u>
A. Workers strongly identified unions with:		
1. Protecting worker's rights	74	.001
2. Being worthwhile	69	.001
3. Protecting jobs	64	.001
B. Workers moderately identified unions with:		
1. Being good for workers	56	.01
2. Helping people in trouble	55	.02
3. Being necessary in most organizations	51	.01
4. Keeping people from getting pushed around	50	.01

<u>Statement</u>	<u>Percentage of "Yes" Responses</u>	<u>Significance Level (X<sup>2</sup>)</u>
C. Workers least identified unions with:		
1. Being democratic	43	N.S.
2. Keeping management honest	38	N.S.
3. Being benevolent	25	N.S.

Worker Responses to Statements that Show<sup>117</sup>  
Unions in a Negative Way

<u>Statement</u>	<u>Percentage of Total "Yes" Responses</u>	<u>Significance Level (X<sup>2</sup>)</u>
A. Workers strongly identified unions with:		
1. Having too much power	64	.001
2. Forcing people to join who don't want to	55	.01
B. Workers moderately identified unions with:		
1. Making trouble	45	N.S.
2. Dues and fees being too high	42	N.S.
3. Being corrupt	41	N.S.
4. Being violent	37	N.S.
C. Workers least identified unions with:		
1. Being radical	29	N.S.
2. Holding back progress	28	N.S.
3. Being useless	4	.001

From demographic data also obtained in the survey, Imundo concluded that workers who were either born and educated or educated in Ohio were slightly more pro-union than the workers who were not born and educated

or educated in Ohio. Workers whose parents were satisfied union members were as a group pro-union. Workers whose parents were dissatisfied with their union experience were as a group anti-union. He found no significant difference in the attitudes toward unions of the workers who had been union members and those who had not been union members before coming to work for the Air Force.<sup>118</sup>

Commenting on the effect of length of employment on attitudes toward unions, Imundo observed that workers who had worked at the base for less than five years were as a group anti-union. Those with five to ten years time were slightly pro-union, the 11 to 15 group was neither significantly pro or anti-union, and the over 16 years group was pro-union.<sup>119</sup>

The data also revealed that workers under 30 years of age, as a group, were neither pro or anti-union. Those between 30 and 40 years of age were, as a group, pro-union and the over age 50 group were slightly pro-union.<sup>120</sup> In assessing the significance of the age groups, Imundo noted that the age 30 to 50 years workers represented 52 percent of the bargaining unit and had expressed significant dissatisfaction with their working conditions. This group was identified as the primary source of long term potential union members. Imundo reasoned that this group had not joined the union for two reasons.<sup>121</sup>

1. They were apprehensive of union power - believed that unions forced people to join who didn't want to, make trouble, and had dues and fees that were too high.

2. Workers are able to have union representation without paying union dues.

Although the special problems associated with the unionization of professional employees have not been addressed in this study, the potential

for this issue to gain importance for federal managers and union leadership cannot be overlooked.

In an attempt to gain some insights into the attitudes of non-union, scientists and engineers employed by the Air Force, Manley and McNichols conducted a survey of 540 scientists and engineers at an Air Force base in Ohio.<sup>122</sup> In commenting on the considerations which are believed to influence scientists and engineers to turn away from unionism, the authors noted that primary among these considerations is the professional's valuation of individualism, a valuation that is reinforced by the professional's formal education, as well as the professional and organizational reward systems under which he operates after receiving his degree. Also, by virtue of their education and socio-economic background, the scientist and engineer consider their interests to be closely associated with those of management and antithetical to those of organized labor.<sup>123</sup>

Fifty-three percent of the respondents indicated they would not join a union, 18 percent indicated they would join, and 29 percent were undecided. An interesting sidenote is that twice as many scientists or engineers (31 and 16 percent) indicated that they probably or definitely would join a union.<sup>124</sup>

Clearly, the respondents seemed convinced that unions can obtain greater benefits for employees and solve problems which the employees would not be able to resolve on their own. In response to the benefits questions, 75 percent agreed, 15 percent disagreed, and 10 percent were undecided. As to the ability of the union to solve problems beyond the capability of the employee, 67 percent agreed, 21 percent disagreed, and 12 percent were undecided. In substantially the same percentages, the



respondents seemed to hold just as strongly to the beliefs that membership in a union decreases an individual's professional status; and that after the union wins recognition, it will gain excessive power and attempt to force nonmembers to join; and that recognition of a union would result in employees being treated with less dignity and receiving less consideration as individuals.<sup>125</sup>

On the issue of strike rights for federal employees, 54 percent were against strikes in noncritical government jobs, while 28 percent were in favor of such strikes. Only 19 percent of the respondents were strongly against such strikes. The respondents under 30 years of age were, as a group, less opposed to strikes by federal employees than other groups.<sup>126</sup>

Forty-eight percent of the respondents expressed the belief that the civil service promotion system was fairly administered, while 53 percent held it to be ineffective. Further analysis, by age groups, recorded that the younger respondents seemed to be more favorably inclined toward the civil service promotion system than did older employees.<sup>127</sup>

To summarize this chapter on previous research on federal labor relations and reasons for employees joining unions, it may be stated, in the writer's opinion, that the literature reviewed on federal labor relations was of a traditional and descriptive nature. The coverage has been relatively constant, but of a nature to be primarily of historical rather than predictive value.

From the labor historian's viewpoint, it was discovered that various motivations may exist which cause employees to form or join unions. Economic, psychological, and political rationales have been

advanced. The strength of any one particular rationale or motivation appears to be dependent upon economic, social, and political conditions existing at a point in time.

The review of literature as to why private sector blue-collar workers joined unions revealed diverse motivations. However; it may be concluded that social motivations, followed by psychological and economic motivations, are paramount in the order indicated. White-collar workers in the private sector were found to have joined primarily for psychological reasons. Social reasons may exist, depending upon the values of the group. Economic motivation for joining the union appears to be a relatively weak factor.

To summarize the writings and research reviewed on the reasons for federal workers joining unions, Christrup and Warner advance social and psychological motivations for federal employees joining unions. Both authors recognize the importance of economics but reason that since economic factors cannot be negotiated in the federal sector, the economic factor is not a motivator.

Imundo disagrees with Christrup and Warner in that he found no significant social motivation existing for federal employees to join unions. Further, Imundo found no significant differences in reasons for joining stated by white or blue-collar workers surveyed.

The findings of Manley and McNichols, in their survey of non-union, professional scientists and engineers employed by the Air Force at one location, seem to reinforce Imundo's findings since 75 percent of this group agreed that federal unions were successful in getting increased economic benefits beyond the capability of the individual employee.

In the following chapter, the Maxwell AFB/Gunter AFS, Alabama complex (the employer of the employees which were surveyed), AFGE Local 997 (the exclusive representative of the employees at Maxwell/Gunter) and the labor-management relations environment at the time of the survey are reviewed. This review of background and conditions is believed to be appropriate, in order to provide insight into the attitudes and perceptions revealed by the survey data.

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### CHAPTER III

#### DESCRIPTION OF THE MAXWELL-GUNTER COMPLEX AND AFGE LOCAL 997

In Chapter II, research findings as to why federal employees have joined unions were reviewed. The purpose of this Chapter is to describe the setting in which these findings will be tested. The employer (Maxwell-Gunter complex), the union (AFGE Local 997), and the labor-management relations environment are discussed in detail.

##### The Maxwell-Gunter Complex

Maxwell AFB and Gunter AFS compose the Maxwell-Gunter complex of Air Force educational institutions and their supporting elements. Both installations are located on the outskirts of Montgomery, Alabama. Maxwell AFB is on the northwest corner of Montgomery, while Gunter AFS is on the eastern edge. The installations are approximately eight miles apart.

Air University, a major command element of the United States Air Force, is headquartered at Maxwell AFB and is the major mission element of the Maxwell-Gunter complex. The mission of the Air University is to conduct professional military and technical education, research, and doctrinal studies in designated fields.<sup>1</sup> Collocated with the Headquarters, Air University at Maxwell AFB are the following major organizations,

with functions as indicated.

#### Air War College

The Air War College has one ten month class per year consisting of 264 students. Each of the military services is represented, in the student body and on the faculty, along with selected civilian agencies of the federal government. The mission of the Air War College is to prepare senior officers for high command and staff positions by developing in them a better understanding of military strategy and national security policy, with emphasis on effective development and deployment of aerospace power.<sup>2</sup>

#### Air Command and Staff College

Air Command and Staff College conducts one forty week class per year consisting of 540 students. It also has representation from all the military services in the student body and faculty, along with selected civilian agencies of the federal government. Its mission is to prepare selected officers, in the grade of major and lieutenant colonel, for command and staff duties.<sup>3</sup>

#### Squadron Officer School

Squadron Officer School conducts four eleven week classes per year, with a student body of 684 per class. Students are Air Force officers in the grade of lieutenant or captain, or selected civilian federal employees. The mission of this school is to prepare junior officers for command and staff tasks in the Air Force, while providing a foundation for further professional development.<sup>4</sup>

#### Academic Instructor and Allied Officer School

The Academic Instructor and Allied Officer School is an organi-

zation with a dual mission. It conducts the Academic Instructor Course and prepares Allied officers for advanced training within Air University or other Air Force schools. The Academic Instructor Course is conducted seven times per year and has approximately 120 students per class. The Allied Officer Familiarization Course conducts three eight week classes per year, each consisting of approximately 35 students.<sup>5</sup>

#### Leadership and Management

##### Development Center

This Center, established as a successor to the Institute for Professional Development in 1975, conducts numerous professional development courses in diverse subject areas. The mission of the Center is to provide instruction and management consulting service in the field of leadership and management, including professional development, which will enhance effectiveness and productivity within the Air Force.<sup>6</sup>

##### Other Academic Units

Also located on Maxwell AFB, but not having on-base student population, are the headquarters of Air Force Reserve Officer Training Corps (AFROTC) and the Civil Air Patrol (CAP). The mission of the AFROTC is to recruit, educate, and commission officer candidates through a college campus program.<sup>7</sup> The mission of the CAP is to use its resources voluntarily to meet emergencies, to encourage aerospace education of the general public, and to motivate young men and women to ideals of leadership and service through aerospace education and training.<sup>8</sup>

Two other primary mission organizations are located at Gunter AFS. These organizations are the Extension Course Institute (ECI) and the Senior Non-Commissioned Officer Academy (SNCOA). The ECI,

established in 1950, has grown to become the largest correspondence school in the world with over 7,000,000 enrollments since 1950. ECI supports the formal training of the Air Force, including the Air Force Guard and Reserve components. All members of the Department of Defense and federal employees of other agencies are eligible for enrollment.<sup>9</sup> The SNCOA, the highest level of Air Force professional military education for non-commissioned officers, conducts five nine week classes per year consisting of 240 students per class. The SNCOA curriculum is designed to enhance personal and professional awareness of Air Force standards, policies, and programs within selected senior non-commissioned officers.<sup>10</sup>

#### Support Units

Supporting the mission organizations of the Air University at the Maxwell-Gunter complex, are the following organizations with functions as indicated.<sup>11</sup>

3800th Air Base Wing. This organization is responsible for providing logistical, facilities, security, and certain types of administrative support for the primary mission organizations of the Maxwell-Gunter complex. The Wing is headquartered at Maxwell AFB and maintains an operating location at Gunter AFS. Subordinate units consist of civil engineering, logistics, and security police squadrons. . .

1973rd Communications Squadron. All telephone, teletypewriter, radio, and automatic data information network facilities are maintained by this specialized unit. It is located at Maxwell AFB and services Gunter AFS by centrally dispatched crews.

3825th Academic Services Group. This Group, located at Maxwell

AFB, has a mission of providing certain academic support to the Air University schools and of directing and monitoring Air Force personnel assigned to the faculties of non-Air Force service schools (i.e., Army War College, Naval War College). The Group is organized into functional divisions as follows; Academic Publications, Audiovisual Media, Registrar, Non-Air Force Schools, and Television.

USAF Hospital, Maxwell. This hospital provides medical and dental services support to the military personnel and their dependents assigned to the Maxwell-Gunter complex through the hospital located on Maxwell and a small dispensary at Gunter.

#### American Federation of Government

##### Employees Local 997

Local 997 was chartered in July, 1948 by the American Federation of Government Employees (AFGE). It was formed by a group of 16 employees at Maxwell AFB, who were concerned about working conditions and the fact that employees had no voice or representation in the development or application of policy affecting their work situation.<sup>12</sup>

Since 1948, the Local has expanded at a rather slow, but constant rate, in terms of bargaining units and membership. Local membership is reported to be approximately 1,800 at this time, with approximately 700 of these members being employed by the Maxwell-Gunter complex.<sup>13</sup> Local 997 is an interdepartmental unit, in that it has been declared the exclusive bargaining agent for employees of the Veteran's Administration Hospital, Armed Forces Examining and Entrance Station, Federal Prison Camp, and Maxwell AFB-Gunter AFS, all in Montgomery, Alabama. Additionally it is the exclusive bargaining agent for Social Security Administration

District Offices in Montgomery, Opelika, Troy, and Alexander City, Alabama.<sup>14</sup> Within these bargaining units, the Local claims members in every career field and grade from janitors to engineers, from clerk typists to doctors. Further, the Local also claims the first exclusive recognition for a unit of Veteran's Administration non-supervisory physicians. Recognition was granted in 1972 and a contract was negotiated for this unit in November, 1972.<sup>15</sup>

In terms of membership, Local 997 is a medium size unit, in comparison to other AFGE Locals. Perhaps its most unusual characteristic is the diversity of bargaining units which has caused the creation of several additional Vice-President positions within the Local. The elected Local officers are a President, Executive Vice-President, Secretary-Treasurer, Sergeant-at-Arms, and a Vice-President representing each of the bargaining units. These Vice-Presidents are elected by the members of the bargaining units they represent, while the Executive Vice-President is elected by the general membership. All officers are elected annually.<sup>16</sup>

Local 997 maintains an office in the Montgomery Area Labor Temple, located at 1820 Mt. Meigs Road, Montgomery, Alabama. The President is a full-time, paid officer<sup>17</sup> and has a full-time, paid administrative assistant. The office is open daily from 8:00 a.m. to 4:30 p.m. to serve the needs of the membership. Monthly membership meetings are conducted at the Local office, on the third Monday at 7:00 p.m., as required by the By-Laws.<sup>18</sup> Attendance at the monthly meetings varies widely, depending upon the importance of the issues to be debated. Mr. Lanthrip estimates that typical attendance is in the 150-200 range. Another factor



contributing to poor attendance is the large number of members who live outside the city of Montgomery. Montgomery is surrounded by numerous small farming communities and car-pooling by residents of these towns to Maxwell and Gunter has been a common practice for many years.<sup>19</sup>

In spite of the poor attendance at meetings, Mr. Lanthrip believes that he is able to maintain adequate communication with the membership. The primary means of communication is by a monthly newsletter to the membership. Secondarily, the stewards serve as the primary word-of-mouth contact with the rank and file employees. Since Mr. Lanthrip devotes full-time to the Presidency, he is able to maintain frequent telephonic contact with the Chief Stewards of the various organizations. This enables the President to devote immediate attention to highly controversial issues which develop and usually achieve a rapid settlement which is acceptable to all parties.

A factor which appears to facilitate communications, and indeed the generally informal atmosphere in Local 997, is the long tenure of many of the employees in the bargaining units. The Maxwell-Gunter complex and other bargaining units have been able to maintain fairly constant levels of employment over the past two decades. This is due to the nature of their missions, which are not as subject to fluctuation as the missions of general military (basic) training centers, logistics and maintenance centers, and technical training centers. Indicative of the stability of the Maxwell-Gunter workforce, statistics maintained by the Civilian Personnel Office at Maxwell AFB reveal that the average length of service for both general schedule and wage grade employees is 17 years.<sup>20</sup>

Current Labor-Management  
Relations Environment

The labor-management relationship between Local 997 and the Maxwell-Gunter complex formally began in 1963 when the Local was first recognized under the newly promulgated E.O. 10988. The first contract was also signed in 1963.<sup>21</sup> From 1963 through 1976, a series of seven, two year contracts were negotiated. The current contract, negotiated in 1976, expires in 1979.<sup>22</sup> As detailed previously in this Chapter, the Maxwell-Gunter complex is an educational institution and exhibits a remarkable stability for a military organization.

The military faculty members and other permanently assigned military support personnel consist of 1,029 officers and 1,761 enlisted personnel.<sup>23</sup> The total civilian workforce is composed of 2,268 supervisory and non-supervisory, appropriated fund employees. This total includes general schedule and wage grade employees, but excludes all non-appropriated fund employees.

The Bargaining Unit

The bargaining unit, of which Local 997 is the exclusive bargaining agent, consists of all eligible employees paid from appropriated funds of Maxwell AFB and Gunter AFS who are serviced by the Maxwell AFB Civilian Personnel Office, excluding management officials, supervisors, professional employees, and employees engaged in personnel work, other than in a purely clerical capacity.<sup>24</sup> By applying this definition to the 2,268 civilian employees of the total workforce, the bargaining unit is determined to have 1,792 civilian employees. Of this number, 980 are general schedule and 812 are wage grade.<sup>25</sup> Expressed on a percentage

basis, the bargaining unit is 54.7 percent general schedule and 45.3 percent wage grade.

The skills mix existing in the workforce is typical of that found in most other Air Force support units. These range from predominately clerical in the colleges and schools, technical (i.e., computer programmers, analysts, plans and programs technicians, audio-visual and printing technicians, accountants, etc.) in the headquarters and specialized organizations, to the mechanical skills typically found in facilities maintenance units (i.e., plumbers, electricians, firemen, carpenters, groundskeepers, and security personnel).<sup>26</sup>

As noted previously, the Local President and civilian personnel officials have commented on the stability of the workforce in terms of tenure. Although precise turnover data is difficult to obtain, it was discovered that a total of 151 vacancies were filled competitively through merit principles below GS-10 and equivalent in all series and from all sources during the period 1 July 1976 through 30 June 1977.<sup>27</sup> This is difficult to interpret in terms of outside hires, although it can be said with some degree of certainty that at least 151 opportunities for promotion existed and perhaps two to three times this number if all vacancies were filled by internal promotion. Turnover is greatest in the lower level GS and WB grades. This is typical of experiences at other Air Force and federal installations and is attributed to higher turnover at the helper and apprentice levels of wage board employees and the lower level GS clerical jobs. One of the primary contributing factors in the GS area is the movement of wives of military personnel, who relinquish employment and follow their husbands to the next federal installation.<sup>28</sup>

Another factor which contributes to stability of the workforce is the considerable number of retired military personnel who are employed in both white and blue-collar skills. The Montgomery area is regarded, by military personnel, as an excellent retirement location due to the mild winter climate, relatively low cost of living, and the excellent medical and shopping facilities available to retirees at Maxwell AFB. While precise statistics as to the number of military retirees in the workforce were not available, it was estimated by civilian personnel staff members that the number varied from 5 to 8 percent of the total workforce, with the greatest concentration of this group being in the middle GS grades (GS 7-11) and the lower wage grades (WG 5-7).<sup>29</sup>

The representation of minority groups (including women) in the workforce is deserving of attention due to their strength and concentration in particular grades. The Maxwell-Gunter Equal Employment Opportunity Plan for Fiscal Year 1978 proved to be the most valuable and comprehensive document available on this subject for this study.<sup>30</sup> The plan reported statistics on the workforce, current as of 30 June, 1977. It was reported that 12.92 percent of the workforce is black (including black females), total (all) minority group representation is 13.45 percent, and that total female representation (including black females), is 34.8 percent.<sup>31</sup> In the GS grades, blacks account for 39.16 percent, minorities, 39.56 percent, and women, 5.56 percent.<sup>32</sup> Further review of the statistical appendix to the EEO Plan reveals that the GS 2 through 5 grades have the greatest concentration of minority, black, and female employees, while in the wage grade skills, WG 1 through 7 each has over 70 percent representation by minority and black employees.

Although not included in the bargaining unit, it is interesting to note that of 81 employees classified as wage grade supervisors (WS), only eight are black and three are white females, or 9.8 percent black representation and 3.7 percent female representation in the wage supervisor ranks.<sup>33</sup>

Other data, descriptive of the workforce and bargaining unit, indicates that the average age of GS employees is 46 years, and the WG average age is 52.6 years. Average years of service, for both categories, is 17 years, as previously noted. In the GS category, the average grade is 5.9, with the range being 1 through 16. The Wage Grade average grade is 7.9, with a range of 1 through 12. The educational level of the workforce data shows that 16.3 percent have less than completion of high school, 47.9 percent completed high school, 19.9 percent have some college, 6.7 percent have a bachelor's degree, and less than 2 percent have advanced degrees or credit.<sup>34</sup> The available data on age, service, and education did not report information for sex, minority status, or grade.

#### The Contract

The current labor-management contract between Local 997 and the 3800th Air Base Wing (representing the Maxwell-Gunter complex) was negotiated in late 1975 and early 1976, with an effective date of March 3, 1976.<sup>35</sup> As noted earlier in this Chapter, this is the eighth contract between the parties and has a duration of three years.

The contract, in comparison to numerous other federal sector contracts reviewed by the author during the past two years, is typical of that found at most military installations. The opening sections of the contract identify the parties, define the bargaining unit, and provide the philosophical basis for the bargaining relationship. Federal

sector contracts frequently use a restatement of the preamble of E.O. 11491 as a statement of purpose, as is done in this contract.<sup>36</sup>

In reviewing the contract, it may be broken down into the following conceptual areas.

Rights and obligations of the parties. Articles III, IV, and XXV of the contract address the rights and obligations of the parties and union security matters. Article III, Section 1, declares an obligation for both parties to consult on major policy matters, meet on the third Monday of each month, abide by existing and future federal directives, and to keep employees informed of their rights under the labor-management relations program and the contract. Section 2 contains a restatement of the reserved rights of management provisions of Section 12b, E.O. 11491,<sup>37</sup> authorizes duty time (up to eight hours per year per steward) for union-conducted steward training, and an employer obligation to publish material for the union in the unofficial section of the Maxwell/Gunter Bulletin<sup>38</sup> on a space-available basis. Section 3 specifies the right and obligation of the union to represent all employees of the bargaining unit without discrimination in regard to union membership status, right to be present at formal discussions between management and employees concerning grievances, personnel policies and practices, or other matters affecting general working conditions. Section 4 contains the employee rights statement essentially as stated in Section 1, E.O. 11491.<sup>39</sup> Article IV authorizes the union to appoint up to 45 stewards, provides full pay status for representational duties, and declares an employer obligation to meet with the stewards and attempt to resolve grievances at the lowest levels of the organization. Article

XXV provides for payroll deduction of union dues. The provision details procedures for authorization and termination of withholding on the first pay period after March 1 and September 1, and specifies that the government will be reimbursed for the deduction task in the amount of \$.02 per deduction per pay period.

Work conditions. Articles V, VII, IX, X, XV, XVI, XVII, and XIX are generally related in that they deal with work site and directly related matters and procedures. Article V contains safety and health provisions and requires the employer to; provide a safe and healthful work environment, provide protective equipment where necessary, provide free physical examinations for employees engaged in hazardous work, and regularly publish information concerning location of the regulations governing administration of the Federal Employees' Compensation Act. The union is authorized to appoint one representative to serve on the Accident Prevention Committee. The union committee member will be on official time (full pay) while meeting with the committee. Article VII provides that the employer will strive to provide adequate employee parking, lunch and washroom facilities, and bulletin board space for the union in work areas. Employee/supervisor relationships, as they relate to the supervisor's maintenance of employee records are specified in Article IX. The employee has the right to review his individual record card, maintained by the supervisor at any time. The supervisor must discuss any entry of detrimental nature with the employee. Further, at the time of the Employee Performance Rating, the employee may review his record card to determine if it contains unsubstantiated detrimental information. Article X (Details) requires that a temporary assignment (detail) to another full-time position for more than 30 consecutive

calender days and up to and including 120 days, will be recorded in the employee's personnel record. Also addressing work assignments is Article XV (Work Assignments and Position Description) which states that work assignments (regular and overtime) shall be commensurate with the requirements of the employee's assigned position description. The additional duties required by most position descriptions shall be defined as duties related to the employee's normal work assignments and qualifications. The position description shall be amended as the duties and responsibilities of the job change and each employee shall be furnished a copy of their current position description.

Article XVI, governing hours of work, is lengthy and consists of eight sections. In essence, management is required to post shift changes at least two weeks in advance, insure that when shifts are manned on a rotating basis each employee will have at least ten hours between the time he completes one shift and returns for the next, and insure two rest periods of 15 minutes during each shift. A provision is also included whereby those using tools or working in "dirty" areas are given 10 minutes clean-up time prior to the lunch break and 10 minutes for tool storage, is necessary. A section is devoted to the method of selection of employees assigned to a night, or uncommon, shift. Basically, volunteers will be selected in highest seniority order. In the event an insufficient number of employees volunteer, an inverse seniority order of selection will be used.

Since this bargaining unit includes the base fire department, a section is included to address the unique shift assignments of these employees. The basic work week is specified as an average of 72 hours



with a total of 144 hours during each pay period (two weeks). Each shift is defined as 8 hours productive work and 16 hours standby time (when possible). Variances from this schedule will be adjusted as soon as possible, to insure that the work week consists of 24 productive hours and 48 hours standby time.

Overtime provisions are detailed in Article XVII. The employer is required to distribute overtime assignments equitably among employees engaged in similar work in the same work unit. Advance notice of overtime to be performed on the weekend will be made no later than noon on Friday, except in emergencies. An employee called in for overtime or call-back duty will be paid a minimum of two hours overtime and relieved from duty immediately upon completion of the job for which he was called.

The final article under the general category of Work Conditions is Article XIX, Environmental Differential Pay. Management agrees to pay the appropriate percentage of Environmental Differential Pay (EDP), to employees exposed to hazards as defined in the Federal Personnel Manual. Employees and the union may submit requests to the employer for a determination as to whether the work qualifies for EDP. The civilian personnel office, after consultation with the Safety Office and Environmental Health Office will make a determination, within 30 days when possible. This decision is grievable under the terms of the contract. Further, the employer will not discontinue any EDP in effect, without prior consultation with the union.

Grievance and arbitration procedures. Two Articles, XXIII and XXIV, contain the grievance and arbitration procedures. Article XXIII sets forth the negotiated grievance procedure available to employees.

This negotiated procedure applies to all grievances, except those subject to statutory appeal procedures. The procedure consists of an oral or informal stage, in which the grievance must be filed within 15 days of the incident causing the grievance. In this informal stage, two steps of review, the first line supervisor and his immediate supervisor are given 5 days each to resolve the grievance. If a resolution satisfactory to the employee is not reached at one of the informal stages, a formal, written grievance may be filed. The formal procedure also consists of two stages. The grievance is submitted to the head of the organization (squadron, school, directorate, etc.) for decision. If a ruling acceptable to the employee is not received at this level, the final step involves a decision by the base commander (Commander, 3800th Air Base Wing). The five day maximum processing time also applies to each of the steps in the formal procedure. If the grievance is not settled during the formal stage, either party may refer the matter to arbitration. Article XXV (Arbitration) requires that a request for arbitration must be submitted within 30 calendar days after conclusion of the second stage of the formal grievance procedure. A list of five arbitrators will be requested from the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service (FMCS) within five work days of the request for arbitration. If the parties cannot agree upon a person from the list, an alternative striking procedure will be used. This selection procedure must be concluded within three work days after receipt of the list. If either party refuses to participate in the selection procedure or causes undue delay, the FMCS shall be empowered to make a direct designation of an arbitrator. The arbitrator's fees and related expenses shall be borne equally by the parties. The

decision of the arbitrator is binding, however; either party may file exceptions to the award with the Federal Labor Relations Council.

Civilian personnel rules and related matters. The contract provisions categorized under this heading generally pertain to civilian personnel matters, however; in some instances they overlap with provisions previously described under Work Conditions. Articles VI, VIII, XI, XII, XIII, XIV, XVIII, XX, and XXII are reviewed in this general category. Article VI (Incentive Awards) permits the union to appoint two employees to serve as members of the Incentive Awards Committee, in full pay status while meeting, provided the meeting occurs during their normal duty hours. Article VIII contains 17 sections which provide comprehensive coverage of merit promotion plans in effect in the Maxwell-Gunter complex. The article requires first consideration be given to employees of Maxwell-Gunter and volunteers from other Air Force bases, except in those situations where the positions require an Air Force wide area of consideration (GS-15 and above), or are subject to Air Force or DOD career programs requiring broader areas of consideration. The union has the right to provide one member of promotion panels, when established. This member will be an equivalent or higher grade than the position being considered. Promotion certificates will be limited to the top five candidates. Upon receipt of the certificate, the selecting official will make the selection within 10 days and notify those not selected of his reasons. Supervisors are charged to advise employees of their weaknesses and actions the employee may take to improve promotion potential. Although the article recognizes that supervisory positions are outside the bargaining unit, in filling supervisory positions where employees of the bargaining unit apply, the contract will apply.

Equal Employment Opportunity is covered by Article XI. This article contains a joint statement of policy on the subject of EEO, in which both parties agree not to discriminate based on age, race, color, religion, sex or national origin. An EEO Committee is established (consisting of 16 management members and one union member) which will meet quarterly to review the Maxwell-Gunter EEO Plan and recommend corrective action. Article XII provides a very general policy statement on career development. Basically, the parties agree to encourage employees to develop their potential for advancement. Management agrees to utilize job-related skills gained through self-development efforts and make every effort to adjust work schedules to allow participation in job-related training.

Article XIII, Reduction in Force, states that the employer will notify the union of impending reductions and make every effort to meet the new force level through reduced recruiting, reduced promotions, and normal attrition actions. Employees downgraded as a result of actions under this program will be given preferential treatment for reinstatement in their previous grade. In a similar vein, Article XIV, Use of Military and Contract Services, expresses an employer obligation to minimize the impact of these actions on the civilian workforce. The employer will consult with the union when contracting duties historically performed by the unit membership and will offer the union access to contract specifications and cost data as appropriate under current laws and directives.

Under the provisions of Article XVIII, Pay Provisions, the employee has an option of having his pay mailed to a bank or financial institution, the employee's home address, or picking up the check at

the Accounting and Finance Office. Article XX (Leave) states the procedure for requesting the various types of leave (sick, annual, leave without pay). The article is typical with the exception of a provision for leave without pay (LWOP) for employees to serve in a union post. In that case, an initial request for 30 days LWOP must be submitted. Approval will be granted, if the services of the employee can be spared. A second request for the period beyond 30 days may be processed in the same manner, and will normally be approved.

The final Article under this category, is XXII, dealing with Disciplinary Actions. Disciplinary actions are defined as oral admonishment, reprimands, suspensions, change to a lower grade, or removals or reduction in rank. Both parties agree that disciplinary actions must be of a constructive nature and be imposed only for just cause. The rights of the employee to have a witness present during any discussions is elaborated, as are the union's rights to be present at formal discussions. The employee has a right to decline union presence or representation at any point in disciplinary proceedings.

General provisions. In this concluding area, Articles XXI, XXVI, and XXVII are reviewed. Article XXI, Civic Responsibility, contains a joint policy statement which encourages voting in all elections, supporting charity and bond campaigns, and serving as blood donors. Employees are authorized up to four hours, without charge to leave, to donate blood. The employer agrees, under the provisions of Article XXVI, Publicizing the Agreement, to furnish copies of the contract to each employee within the unit and new employees as they are assigned to the unit. As noted earlier, Article XXVII, Duration of Agreement, sets the length

of the contract at three years. However; either party may reopen negotiations to amend the contract by giving notice not more than 90 days or less than 60 days prior to the 18 month anniversary date, or negotiations may be reopened at any time by mutual consent of the parties. If neither party serves notice to renegotiate the contract not less than 60 days prior to the expiration date, the contract will be automatically renewed for three years.

#### The Status of Current Union-Management Dealings

As has been inferred, and stated previously in this Chapter, the relationship existing between Local 997 and the Maxwell-Gunter complex has been peaceful and relatively constructive. No major problems existed in the past, nor do any appear to exist at this time.

Both labor and management look to the future with confidence that the present state of affairs will continue. Although two situations developed in 1977 which required close cooperation between labor and management, both were handled expeditiously. One of these problems arose due to the closure of Craig AFB at Selma, Alabama. Craig AFB, located approximately 40 miles west of Montgomery, had several hundred civilian employees who desired transfers to federal installations in the Montgomery area. Craig AFB was also represented by an AFGE Local. Local 997 and the Maxwell Civilian Personnel Office cooperated in the resettlement of these employees. During this same period, the Air Force announced a decision to contract out audio-visual services and motor pool maintenance and operations. Approximately 60 bargaining unit employees lost jobs as a result of the implementation of this decision. However, labor and management participated to minimize disruption in the workforce.

In reviewing Local 997's relationship with Maxwell-Gunter, Mr. Lanthrip cited the union's success in gaining a greater voice in the general management of the complex, which has resulted in a greater understanding of the bases for decisions necessary to administer day-to-day affairs. Specifically, he noted that gains had been scored in promotion procedures, working conditions, change of work hours, and environmental safety. As an overall assessment of the relationship, Mr. Lanthrip stated that relationships were usually very good with the civilian personnel officer, labor relations officer, and the base commander. However; he stated that relationships with some lower level supervisors were difficult at times. In comparison with other federal agencies, Mr. Lanthrip was of the opinion that the Air Force was the easiest to deal with, because its approach to labor-management relations was the most realistic.

Both the Civilian Personnel Officer, Mr. Martin, and the Labor Relations Officer, Mr. Alley, assessed the relationship in much the same manner as did Mr. Lanthrip. The relationship was viewed as basically good and based upon a shared spirit of bilateralism.

This Chapter has described the Maxwell-Gunter complex, AFGE Local 997, and the existing labor-management relations environment. This detailed treatment of information relative to the setting in which the survey data was gathered should provide the reader with greater insights into the meaning of the respondents' statements.

In the following Chapter, the responses of Local 997 members and non-union members of the Maxwell-Gunter workforce will be reviewed to determine why these employees did or did not join the union and their perceptions of federal employee unions and officers.

Endnotes

1. Air University Catalog, (Maxwell AFB, Alabama: Air University, September, 1976), p. 1.
2. Ibid., p. 5.
3. Ibid., p. 12.
4. Ibid., p. 22.
5. Ibid., p. 36-38.
6. Ibid., p. 43.
7. Ibid., p. 64.
8. Ibid., p. 83.
9. Ibid., p. 78.
10. Ibid., p. 29.
11. Ibid., p. 90.
12. Information obtained from Mr. C.E. Lanthrip, Sr., President, AFGE Local 997, July 6, 1977.
13. Ibid.
14. "Constitution and By-Laws", Interdepartmental Local 997, American Federation of Government Employees, p. 3.
15. AFGE Local 997 Membership Solicitation Letter supplied by the President, AFGE Local 997.
16. "Constitution and By-Laws", op. cit., p. 5.
17. Ibid., p. 8. The President begins at equal pay and benefits to a General Schedule (GS) - 8, Step 1. Step increases may be granted by a majority vote of the Local, when approving the annual budget.
18. Ibid., p. 16.
19. Mr. Lanthrip, op. cit.
20. Information obtained from Mr. David Alley, Labor Relations Officer, Maxwell AFB, July 6, 1977.
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid.



23. Information obtained by summarizing tables contained in Air University Fact Book, (Maxwell AFB, Alabama: Office of Management Analysis, June 30, 1977).

24. Agreement Between Maxwell AFB-Gunter AFS and AFGE Local 997, Article I, Section 2.

25. Mr. Alley, op. cit., July 6, 1977.

26. Interview with Mr. Joseph Martin, Civilian Personnel Officer, July 7, 1977.

27. Equal Employment Opportunity Plan, Maxwell AFB-Gunter AFS, Alabama, October 27, 1977, p. 17.

28. Mr. Martin, op. cit., July 7, 1977.

29. Information obtained through interviews with various members of the Civilian Personnel Staff, Maxwell AFB, Alabama, during the week of May 8, 1977.

30. EEO Plan, op. cit.

31. Ibid., p. 41-45.

32. Ibid.

33. Ibid.

34. Mr. Alley, op. cit.

35. Agreement Between Maxwell AFB-Gunter AFS and AFGE Local 997, March 3, 1976.

36. E.O. 11491, op. cit., p. 1.

37. Ibid.

38. The Maxwell-Gunter Bulletin is an official publication issued daily by the Director of Administration, 3800th Air Base Wing to publicize official notices, details, and general items of interest to the workforce.

39. E.O. 11491, op. cit.

## CHAPTER IV

### SURVEY OF SELECTED FACTORS INFLUENCING SAMPLED EMPLOYEES TO JOIN OR NOT JOIN AFGE LOCAL 997

This Chapter is devoted to the sampling technique, data analysis methodology, and the presentation and analysis of the survey findings. The Chapter concludes with a comparison of the findings of this study and Imundo's findings at Tinker AFB, Oklahoma.

#### Sample

The concept of this study was first presented to Mr. Kenneth T. Blaylock, at that time the 5th District National Vice President, American Federation of Government Employees, in early March, 1976. Mr. Blaylock agreed in principle and advised the author to contact Mr. C.E. Lanthrip, President, AFGE Local 997 in Montgomery, Alabama as to the feasibility of the project. Mr. Lanthrip, after consultation with Mr. Blaylock (now National President of AFGE), agreed to participate. In late March, 1976, Mr. Joseph Martin and Mr. David Alley, Maxwell AFB Civilian Personnel Officer and Labor Relations Officer respectively, agreed to allow the author access to necessary data within the Civilian Personnel Office and pledged their complete cooperation.

However; Air Force regulations require Headquarters, U.S. Air Force

approval of all surveys of civilian or military personnel. A request for approval to conduct this survey was forwarded through appropriate channels. A copy of the approval for this survey is included as Appendix III.

AFGE Local 997 is an interdepartmental Local representing employees of the Veterans Administration, Social Security Administration, and various other federal agencies, in addition to the Maxwell-Gunter complex. Therefore, to insure that only Maxwell-Gunter employees were sampled, it was necessary to screen the Local membership file. Local 997 membership files are maintained in ZIP code sequence. This allows the Local to take advantage of bulk mail rates of the Postal Service. Screening was not a major problem, since the total membership was approximately 1,800, of which approximately 700 were employees of Maxwell-Gunter. After careful consideration of the factors involved in sample selection, a 30 percent systematized sample of the union members employed at Maxwell-Gunter was selected and questionnaires (Appendix I) mailed to the home of the selected members on June 21, 1977.

Since the author is an active-duty Air Force officer, it was anticipated that a return address reflecting this fact might reduce the quantity or quality of the response. To minimize this possibility, the cover letter transmitting the questionnaire to the employee's home was printed on Troy State University, Montgomery, Alabama letterhead and returned to that University by postage-paid, self-addressed envelope. The author was at that time employed as an adjunct faculty member in the Troy State Business Department. Mr. Lanthrip publicized the survey through Local membership meetings in April and May, 1977 and in communications with stewards.

In accordance with the conditions specified in the survey approval letter from Headquarters, U.S. Air Force (Appendix III), it was necessary to provide a non-union member questionnaire to all employees in organizations selected for survey within the Maxwell-Gunter complex.

Organizations having a blue and white-collar mix comparable to the overall characteristics of the Maxwell-Gunter workforce and representing approximately 30 percent of the civilian workforce were selected for survey. A list of these organizations and the number of blue and white-collar workers assigned is included as Appendix IV. On June 22-23, 1977, sufficient quantities of the non-union member questionnaires (Appendix II) were distributed in the selected organizations to insure receipt by all members of the bargaining unit in those organizations. Self-addressed, stamped envelopes were provided for return of the questionnaires to Troy State University.

#### Data Analysis

Data analysis was performed primarily by converting the questionnaire responses to punched card format and subjecting the data to analysis by use of the CROSSTABS routing of the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences Program (SPSS)<sup>1</sup> contained in the IBM OS/360 computer system of the University of Oklahoma.

The nature of the population sampled and the design of the questionnaires limited the responses to discrete choices in all except two questions on each type of questionnaire. Therefore, the shape of the frequency distributions is nonparametric. The Chi-square ( $\chi^2$ ) test for significance is an excellent test for analyzing discrete, nonparametric statistics, because Chi-square makes no assumptions about the shape of

the distribution. The Chi-square test option of the SPSS program was used, with a .05 level of significance.

Chi-square analysis provides a method by which significant differences in the responses of the sampled blue and white-collar employees (both union and non-union) can be detected. This method provides information to determine if the sampled group's responses are statistically significant in deviation from an expected frequency distribution.<sup>2</sup>

The general formula for Chi-square is:

$$\chi^2 = \frac{(O - E)^2}{E}$$

Where: O = Observed frequency

E = Expected frequency

In order to test the observed frequency, it was necessary to construct an expected theoretical frequency. Due to the nature of the data, it was in fact necessary to construct two expected theoretical frequencies, as follows. First, a distribution was constructed assuming that the total number of responses per question would occur an equal number of times in each cell (for union and non-union members). The formula used is:

$$\frac{R(\text{total \# of responses})}{N(\text{total \# of cells})} = F(\text{\# of responses per cell})$$

Except for question 5, this method was used in analyzing the responses of both union and non-union respondents. Question 5 asked whether the respondent's job was classified as wage board or general schedule. Since the expected distribution as to wage board or general schedule job classification was known from Civilian Personnel Office data, the construction was derived from that data for question 5.

To determine whether a statistically significant response existed between blue-white collar or union-non-union membership status, their respective responses were compared for each of the 24 responses of Part I of the applicable questionnaire. In order to test whether significant differences existed between the proportional responses of blue-collar and white-collar members, a null hypothesis was used.

This hypothesis was:

There is no significant difference between the observed and expected responses of the sampled blue-collar and white-collar union members.

The following tabular format was used to test the null hypothesis.

Blue-Collar and White-Collar AFGE Members	(O) Observed Frequency	(E) Expected Frequency
1. Blue-collar	$O_1$	$E_1$
2. White-collar	$O_2$	$E_2$
Total (N)	$O_N$	$E_N$

Based upon the Chi-square formula:<sup>3</sup>

$$\chi^2 = \sum \frac{O^2}{E} - N$$

Where: O = Observed frequency in each cell

E = Expected frequency in each cell

N = Total number of responses

Expected cell frequencies for the matrix were derived using the following formula, based upon Downie and Heath.<sup>4</sup>

Observed Frequency				Expected Frequency			
A	B	C	R	$\frac{MR}{T}$	$\frac{NR}{T}$	$\frac{PR}{T}$	R
D	E	F	S	$\frac{MS}{T}$	$\frac{NS}{T}$	$\frac{PS}{T}$	S
G	H	I	W	$\frac{MW}{T}$	$\frac{NW}{T}$	$\frac{PW}{T}$	W
M	N	P	T	M	N	P	T

Based upon the Chi-square value obtained, the null hypothesis of no significant difference between the proportion of observed and expected responses in the blue-collar and white-collar respondents (both union and non-union) was either accepted or rejected. The results of this test are shown at the bottom of each table. The minimum probability value for rejection of the null hypothesis in this study is  $P \leq .05$

Part II (Union Attitude Scale) responses were analyzed in the same manner as Part I responses. Separate tabular and matrix formats were used for union and non-union employees.

The null hypothesis for testing of these responses was:

There is no significant difference between the observed and expected responses of the sampled blue-collar and white-collar respondents.

As a final step in the analysis, the findings revealed in Part I of the questionnaire completed by AFGE members was compared with Imundo's findings at Tinker AFB. The following tabular format was used.

Blue-Collar and White-Collar AFGE Members	(O) Observed Frequency	(E)* Expected Frequency
1, Blue-Collar	$O_1$	$E_1$
2, White-Collar	$O_2$	$E_2$
Total (N)	$O_N$	$E_N$

\* In this analysis, the expected frequency (E) was derived from Imundo's 1971 study at Tinker AFB.

The matrix format described earlier was also used in this situation for detection of intergroup statistical significance.

The null hypothesis for testing Maxwell-Gunter responses in comparison to the Tinker findings was:

There is no significant difference between the observed responses of blue-collar and white-collar AFGE members at Maxwell-Gunter and those of blue-collar and white-collar AFGE members at Tinker (1971).

The results of the data analysis were used to test the hypotheses formulated for this study. Although previously stated in Chapter I, the hypotheses are included below for the reader's convenience.

1. The reasons why the sampled blue-collar and white-collar AFGE Local 997 members joined the union are significantly different from the reasons why workers in the private sector join unions.
2. The sampled blue-collar and white-collar AFGE Local 997 members joined the union for the same reasons.
3. The perception of the sampled blue-collar and white-collar AFGE Local 997 members of government employee unions is favorable.
4. The perception of the sampled blue-collar and white-collar AFGE Local 997 members of government employee unions is the same.
5. The perception of the sampled blue-collar and white-collar AFGE Local 997 members of government employee union officers is favorable.
6. The perception of the sampled blue-collar and white-collar AFGE Local 997 members of government employee union officers is the same.
7. The reasons why the sampled blue-collar and white-collar employees did not join the AFGE are significantly different from the reasons why workers in the private sector did not join unions.
8. The sampled blue-collar and white-collar non-union employees declined to join the AFGE for the same reasons.



9. The perception of government employee unions, of the sampled blue-collar and white-collar non-union member employees is the same.

10. The perception of government employee unions, of the sampled blue-collar and white-collar non-union employees who declined to join is favorable, but is not as favorable as the perception of union members by a significant margin.

11. The perception of the sampled blue-collar and white-collar non-union employees of government employee union officers is favorable but not as favorable as the perception of union members by a significant margin.

12. The perception of the sampled blue-collar and white-collar non-union employees of government employee union officers is the same.

Survey Results, Analysis,  
and Comparisons

In this section, the responses of union members and non-union employees are analyzed by group and a comparison of the group responses is presented.

The responses obtained by the 448 useable questionnaires returned (132 AFGE members and 316 non-union employees) are believed to be representative of the AFGE Local 997 membership and the non-union employees of the Maxwell-Gunter complex. Of the 210 questionnaires mailed to union members, 132 useable questionnaires were returned (62.9 percent return rate). Within this AFGE member response, a 57.1 percent return rate for blue-collar members and a 68.6 percent return rate for white-collar members was recorded. Of the 691 non-union employee questionnaires distributed, 316 useable questionnaires were returned (45.7 percent

return rate). Within the non-union employee response, the return rate for blue-collar employees was 30.4 percent and 59.7 percent for white-collar employees.

According to the President of AFGE Local 997, attendance at Local membership meetings typically ranges from 150 to 200. Since the Maxwell-Gunter employee representation in the Local is approximately 700 of the 1800 total membership, and assuming the Maxwell-Gunter members attend with the same frequency as other sources of membership, it appears that approximately 82 of the Maxwell-Gunter members would be in attendance at the typical meeting. In percentage terms, only 11.7 percent of the membership might be expected to attend most of the meetings. Inspection of the data relative to attendance by the members at Local meetings in Table 4.9 of this Chapter reveals that 7.7 percent of the members attend between 8 and 12 meetings per year and 81.5 percent attend less than three meetings per year. This is believed to be supportive of the representativeness of the AFGE member response.

A comparison of the age and length of employment data for both the AFGE member and non-union employee responses with known data on the Maxwell-Gunter civilian workforce reveals no significant differences between the age of the blue or white-collar AFGE respondents and the general workforce characteristics. Using a weighted average of the frequency observed in the various age groupings in Table 4.7 and assuming that the average age of the over 50 group is 55 years (this appears reasonable since the normal retirement point for federal civilian employees is age 55 and 30 years service), it was determined that the average age of the blue-collar AFGE member respondent is 49 years and an average age of the white-collar member of 45.3 years. A comparison of these ages with the

known average ages of 52.6 and 46 years for blue and white-collar employees respectively in the workforce reveals that no significant differences exists. A similar comparison for the non-union employee respondents revealed that the average ages of blue and white-collar respondents were 46.1 years and 42.6 years for blue and white-collar groups respectively. No significant difference exists between these ages and the known workforce data.

A similar comparison in regards to the length of employment at Maxwell-Gunter was performed with the known 17 year average tenure of both blue and white-collar workers in the workforce. Chi-square analysis reveals no significant differences in the calculated 16.5 year and 13.06 year average tenure of the blue and white-collar union respondents and the known 17 year mean for the workforce. Similarly, the calculated 14.6 year and 10.56 year average tenure of the blue and white-collar non-union respondents was not significantly different from the known data.

In the first category to be discussed, the responses of members of AFGE Local 997 are presented below.

#### AFGE Member Responses

#### and Analysis

Seidman, London and Karsh<sup>5</sup> noted that union members listed family background as a significant influence in their joining a union. Imundo<sup>6</sup> concludes that collective association is a way of life in highly industrialized states. Children born and raised in a highly industrialized environment are exposed to these group values and are therefore more inclined to join a union than one whose early childhood was spent in a

rural or small town environment where presumably more individualistic values are prevalent.

In many of the northern and eastern states, highly labor intensive industries and major population concentrations have existed for decades. These same states are also strongholds of unionism. Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Michigan, New York, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and Missouri all have labor union membership in excess of 30 percent of their non-agricultural workforce membership.<sup>7</sup> In contrast, most of the states in the southeastern United States have less than 20 percent membership of their workforce in labor unions. Alabama has a 19.1 percent labor union membership. Comparatively, Alabama does not appear to be a pro-union state. In fact, the state has a "right to work" law.<sup>8</sup> These facts lead one to the conclusion that the Maxwell-Gunter complex would not be a fertile ground for unionism, if the majority of the sampled employees were born in Alabama. Information obtained from the Maxwell-Gunter Civilian Personnel Office reveals that 77.6 percent of the blue-collar workforce and 68.2 percent of the white-collar workforce was born in Alabama. The table below portrays responses to question 1.

TABLE 4.1

WERE YOU BORN IN ALABAMA?  
(AFGE MEMBER RESPONSE)

Inter Group	N	Yes		No	
		#	%	#	%
Blue-collar	60	49	81.7	11	18.3
White-collar	<u>72</u>	<u>48</u>	<u>66.7</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>33.3</u>
Total	132	97	73.5	35	26.5

Chi-square 3.049

Significance Level N.S.

<u>Intragroup</u>	<u><math>\chi^2</math></u>	<u>Significance Level</u>
Blue-collar	24.06	.01
White-collar	4.0	.05

In the intergroup portion of the table, the expected frequency was derived by use of the matrix format as discussed earlier in this Chapter. In the intragroup calculations, a uniform theoretical distribution was used (it was assumed that an equal probability for all possible responses existed). From the information presented above, it must be concluded that the sample is representative of the Maxwell-Gunter workforce. A significant difference does not exist between the birthplace of the blue and white-collar members. Further, the intragroup analysis reveals that the membership (and workforce) is a primarily Alabama born group.

Table 4.2 displays information relative to attending school in Alabama (question 2A).

TABLE 4.2

WHILE YOU WERE BETWEEN 7 AND 18 YEARS  
OLD, DID YOU ATTEND SCHOOL IN ALABAMA?  
(AFGE MEMBER RESPONSE)

Inter Group	N	Yes		No	
		#	%	#	%
Blue-collar	60	51	85.	9	15
White-collar	<u>72</u>	<u>52</u>	<u>72.2</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>27.8</u>
Total	132	103	78	29	22
Chi-square	2.416			Significance Level	N.S.
<u>Intragroup</u>		<u><math>\chi^2</math></u>		<u>Significance Level</u>	
Blue-collar		29.4		.01	
White-collar		14.22		.01	

The information above indicates that 78 percent of the sampled members attended school in Alabama during those years in which their basic attitudes toward social institutions were being formulated.

No significant difference existed between blue and white-collar members in this regard, however; strong intra-group tendency toward having attended school in Alabama is present. Given that Alabama has only 19.1 percent of its non-agricultural workforce in unions, it is noteworthy that AFGE Local 997 membership composes approximately 39 percent (700 of 1792) of the Maxwell-Gunter bargaining unit.

As noted previously in this Chapter, family background is viewed as a significant factor in forming one's opinion about unions. Children whose parents had positive experiences with labor unions are believed to be more prone to establish relationships with unions.<sup>9</sup> The table below presents information on the responses of the sampled AFGE members at Maxwell-Gunter (question 2B).

TABLE 4.3

WHILE YOU WERE BETWEEN 7 AND 18 YEARS OLD,  
DID EITHER OF YOUR PARENTS BELONG TO A LABOR UNION?  
(AFGE MEMBER RESPONSE)

Inter Group	N	#	Yes %	#	No %	#	Don't Know %
Blue-collar	60	16	26.7	38	63.3	6	10
White-collar	70	20	28.6	42	60	8	11.4
Total	130	36	27.7	80	61.5	14	10.8
Chi-square	0.162						
					Significance Level	N.S.	
<u>Intragroup</u>		<u>X<sup>2</sup></u>			<u>Significance Level</u>		
Blue-collar		26.8			.01		
White-collar		24.83			.01		

No significant difference exists between the recorded blue and white-collar responses. In view of the 19.1 percent participation of Alabama residents in labor unions, it is to be expected that a largely Alabama born group of respondents would state that relatively few 27.7 percent of their parents had belonged to a union.

In keeping with the Seidman, London, and Karsh hypothesis and Imundo's findings at Tinker (both previously cited) it is expected that these members would report that their family perceived the union as being helpful. Table 4.4 contains the responses recorded for question 2C.

TABLE 4.4

IF YES, WAS THE UNION HELPFUL?  
(AFGE MEMBER RESPONSE)

Inter Group	N	Yes #	Yes %	No #	No %	Don't Know #	Don't Know %
Blue-collar	17	15	88.2	2	11.8	0	0
White-collar	20	18	90	0	0	2	10
Total	37	33	89.2	2	5.4	2	5.4
Chi-square	4.056				Significance Level	N.S.	
<u>Intragroup</u>		<u>X<sup>2</sup></u>			<u>Significance Level</u>		
Blue-collar		22.17			.01		
White-collar		27.86			.01		

These responses indicate a very strong belief that the union was helpful to the parent(s) of the sampled members. This supports Seidman, London, and Karsh and is in consonance with Imundo(Tinker).<sup>10</sup> There is no significant difference between the blue and white-collar responses. However; the incidence of the favorable response is almost identical

among blue and white-collar respondents (88.2 and 90 percent respectively).

Favorable experience with a union during other work situations is seen as a positive factor which may motivate an employee to reestablish his union affiliation. Question 3 of the questionnaire was designed to gather data relative to prior union membership.

TABLE 4.5

BEFORE YOU BEGAN TO WORK AT MAXWELL-GUNTER,  
DID YOU EVER BELONG TO A UNION?  
(AFGE MEMBER RESPONSE)

Inter Group	N	Yes		No	
		#	%	#	%
Blue-collar	58	26	44.8	32	55.1
White-collar	<u>71</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>25.4</u>	<u>53</u>	<u>74.6</u>
Total	129	44	34.1	85	65.9
Chi-square	6.997	Significance Level .03			
<u>Intragroup</u>		<u>X<sup>2</sup></u>	<u>Significance Level</u>		
Blue-collar		27.21	.01		
White-collar		60.54	.01		

As was to be expected from the demographic data previously noted in the Maxwell-Gunter union membership, the majority of the sampled members had not previously belonged to a union. However; there was a significantly higher proportion of blue-collar members who had some prior affiliation with a union. It is interesting to note that the 34.1 percent overall proportion of Local 997 indicating prior union membership is quite comparable to Imundo's finding of 36 percent of the membership of Local 916 at Tinker indicating prior union association. This was not an unexpected finding, since the representation of labor unions in the



non-agricultural workforces of Alabama and Oklahoma are quite similar (19.1 and 15 percent respectively).

There are numerous inferences in the literature and empirical evidence available to the author which seem to indicate that the length of tenure in an organization positively influences the probability of members joining a union. Question 4 furnished data relative to the length of time the sampled members have been employed at Maxwell-Gunter.

TABLE 4.6

HOW LONG HAVE YOU WORKED AT MAXWELL-GUNTER?  
(AFGE MEMBER RESPONSE)

Inter Group	N	Less than 5 Years		5-10 Years		11-15 Years		Over 15 Years	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Blue-collar	60	4	6.7	10	16.7	13	21.7	33	55
White-collar	<u>72</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>22.2</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>11.1</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>41.7</u>
Total	132	22	16.7	26	19.7	21	15.9	63	47.7
Chi-square	10.624	Significance Level .01							
<u>Intragroup</u>		<u><math>\chi^2</math></u>		<u>Significance Level</u>					
Blue-collar		31.598		.01					
White-collar		16.27		.01					

There is a significant difference in the length of time blue and white-collar union members have been employed at Maxwell-Gunter. The length of tenure of blue-collar members is significantly higher. Precise information as to the characteristics of the entire Maxwell-Gunter workforce was not available, however; it was revealed that the average length of time employed for blue and white-collar segments of the population was

Further insight as to the influence of age on the attitudes of AFGE members may be obtained from the data in the following table.

HOW OLD ARE YOU?  
(AFGE MEMBER RESPONSE)

Inter Group	N	Less Than 30		30-40		41-50		Over 50	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Blue-collar	60	2	8.3	11	18.3	8	13.3	39	65
White-collar	<u>72</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>11.1</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>8.3</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>47.2</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>33.3</u>
Total	132	10	7.6	17	12.9	42	31.8	63	47.7
Chi-square	23.843	Significance Level .01							

<u>Intragroup</u>	<u><math>\chi^2</math></u>	<u>Significance Level</u>
Blue-collar	28.68	.01
White-collar	29.78	.01

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A significant difference does exist between the blue-collar and white-collar responses. Examination of the data indicates that older blue-collar workers are more inclined to join the AFGE than any other category. This high (65 percent of the over 50 category) response may also be indicative of an AFGE organizing thrust aimed primarily at blue-collar workers when it was initially certified as the collective bargaining agent. There is some support for this also in that the highest proportional representation of white-collar members is in the 41-50 year group. However; it is also evident from this data that the AFGE has been more successful in organizing white-collar workers under 30 years of age than the corresponding age group of blue-collar workers. This agrees with the responses on tenure (Table 4.6). The finding that the greatest representation is in the over 50 group for blue-collar and 41-50 group for white-collar also appears reasonable since the average age of blue-collar workers at Maxwell-Gunter is 52.6 years and the average age of white-collar workers is 46 years.<sup>13</sup> As an overall assessment of this data, several points should be noted. First, since the normal retirement point for federal civilian employees is age 55 (assuming they have 30 years service), there appears to be an impending wave of retirements among blue-collar workers in the next five years. Secondly, this will be closely followed by a similar action in the white-collar union membership group. This seems to indicate a substantial loss in terms of Local membership since 47.7 percent of the membership is over 50

years of age. Finally, an aggressive recruiting campaign will be necessary to sustain the Local at Maxwell-Gunter. Similar support for the belief that AFGE achieved its early success at Maxwell-Gunter through the blue-collar ranks may be found in the responses to question 7.

TABLE 4.8

HOW LONG HAVE YOU BEEN A MEMBER OF THE AMERICAN  
FEDERATION OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES (AFGE)?  
(AFGE MEMBER RESPONSE)

Inter Group	N	Less Than 2 Years		2-5 Years		6-10 Years		Over 10 Years	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Blue-collar	60	8	13.3	9	15	5	8.3	38	63.3
White-collar	<u>72</u>	8	<u>11.1</u>	26	<u>36.1</u>	10	<u>13.9</u>	28	<u>38.9</u>
Total	132	16	12.1	35	26.5	15	11.4	66	50
Chi-square	10.434					Significance Level		.01	
<u>Intragroup</u>			<u>X<sup>2</sup></u>			<u>Significance Level</u>			
Blue-collar			33.94			.01			
White-collar			18.2			.01			

The null hypothesis must also be rejected in this instance. The blue-collar members have been in the union significantly longer than their fellow white-collar members. This finding is in accord with the length of time employed and age data previously discussed. The relatively greater success of the Local in organizing younger (and junior in terms of tenure) white-collar workers is very evident in the 2-5 year group, where 36.1 percent of the white-collar response to this question was observed.

The frequency of attendance at union meetings is generally considered

indicative of the level of commitment to the union. The following table presents responses to question 8.

TABLE 4.9

HOW MANY OF THE SCHEDULED MEETINGS OF  
THE AFGE DO YOU ATTEND EACH YEAR?  
(AFGE MEMBER RESPONSE)

Inter Group	N	Less Than 3		4-7		8-12	
		#	%	#	%	#	%
Blue-collar	58	42	72.4	8	18.8	8	13.8
White-collar	72	64	88.9	6	8.3	2	2.8
Total	130	106	81.5	14	10.8	10	7.7
Chi-square	7.025				Significance Level	.03	
<u>Intragroup</u>		<u>X<sup>2</sup></u>			<u>Significance Level</u>		
Blue-collar		40.58			.01		
White-collar		100.34			.01		

The blue-collar portion of the Local membership is significantly more active than the white-collar segment. This appears to be generally supportive of data previously discussed in this survey. Due to the inter-departmental nature of Local 997 and the previously noted wide fluctuation of attendance at meetings, it is impossible to determine whether this data is representative of the entire Local. However; since job classification, age, and tenure data are representative of the Maxwell-Gunter workforce, it appears reasonable to conclude that this data is representative of AFGE members employed at Maxwell-Gunter.

The survey data discussed, in this Chapter, to this point has

dealt with the demographic and organizational characteristics and considerations. The next thirteen questions (tables) address various issues directly related to why the sampled AFGE members joined the AFGE. In reviewing the reasons other authors have identified as important in influencing workers to join unions, various rationales have emerged. Primarily these may be categorized as social, psychological, and economic. The data presented in the following table addresses the informal group pressure aspect of the social rationale.

TABLE 4.10

DID YOU JOIN THE AFGE BECAUSE  
YOUR FRIENDS WERE MEMBERS?  
(AFGE MEMBER RESPONSE)

Inter Group	N	Yes		No		Don't Know	
		#	%	#	%	#	%
Blue-collar	59	11	18.6	46	78	2	3.4
White-collar	<u>72</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>16.7</u>	<u>60</u>	<u>83.3</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
Total	131	23	17.6	106	80.9	2	1.5
Chi-square	2.628	Significance Level					
<u>Intragroup</u>		<u><math>\chi^2</math></u>		<u>Significance Level</u>			
Blue-collar		54.05		.01			
White-collar		58.17		.01			

There is no significant difference between the responses of blue and white-collar members to this question. The conclusion may be drawn that informal group (social) pressure was not a strong factor influencing these members to join. Chamberlin, Bakke, Seidman, London and Karsh, Rose, Christrup all found evidence of social pressure on the decision to

join unions. Chamberlin found social pressure to be the least frequent reason given.<sup>14</sup> Bakke<sup>15</sup> found that the primary goal of workers was the satisfaction of the social need for respect of other people. Seidman, London, and Karsh<sup>16</sup> noted that some members indicated that informal group pressure played an important part in their decision to join. Rose concluded that social reasons were a very strong factor in motivating employees of a union shop to join.<sup>17</sup> Christrup reasoned that since federal employees cannot bargain for economic benefits, social and psychological reasons must be paramount. In regard to white-collar employees, Snyder and Kassalow<sup>18</sup> observed that there was a perceived loss of individuality which could be supportive of a greater need for social group support in the workplace.

If workers joined due to pressure from friends, this would be direct evidence of informal group pressure to join. Table 4.11 contains responses of the sampled members to question 10.

TABLE 4.11

DID YOU FEEL THAT YOU WERE PRESSURED BY  
YOUR FRIENDS INTO JOINING THE AFGE?  
(AFGE MEMBER RESPONSE)

Inter Group	N	Yes		No		Don't Know	
		#	%	#	%	#	%
Blue-collar	59	5	8.5	52	88.1	2	3.4
White-collar	<u>72</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>11.1</u>	<u>64</u>	<u>88.9</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
Total	131	13	9.9	116	88.5	2	1.5
Chi-square	2.669	Significance Level N.S.					
<u>Intragroup</u>		<u>x<sup>2</sup></u>		<u>Significance Level</u>			
Blue-collar		78.65		.01			
White-collar		101.34		.01			

There is no significant difference in the responses of blue and white-collar union members on this question. It must be concluded that formal group pressure from friends of the respondents was not a significant factor in influencing their decision to join the AFGE.

Question 11 was designed to gather data as to the influence of other group pressure to join the AFGE.

TABLE 4.12

DID YOU FEEL THAT YOU WERE PRESSURED BY PEOPLE OTHER  
THAN YOUR FRIENDS INTO JOINING THE AFGE?  
(AFGE MEMBER RESPONSE)

Inter Group	N	#	Yes %	#	No %	#	Don't Know %
Blue-collar	59	8	13.6	51	86.4	0	0
White-collar	<u>62</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2.8</u>	<u>68</u>	<u>94.4</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2.8</u>
Total	131	10	7.6	119	90.8	2	1.5
Chi-square	6.806					Significance Level	.03
<u>Intragroup</u>		<u>X<sup>2</sup></u>				<u>Significance Level</u>	
Blue-collar		75.25				.01	
White-collar		121.01				.01	

There is a significant difference between the blue and white-collar response to this question. The blue-collar respondents did perceive a substantial pressure (compared to that perceived by the white-collar respondents) to join the AFGE. Obviously, the exact source of this pressure cannot be determined. However; it is conceivable that union officers and shop stewards were able to strongly influence the blue-collar workers.

From the data presented in response to questions 9, 10, and 11 (Tables 4.9, 4.10, and 4.11) it does not appear that social group pressure



(either informal or formal) was a significant source of motivation causing the sampled workers to join the AFGE. Only 17.6, 9.9, and 7.6 percent of the respondents to each question indicated that this influence was present. In only one instance (were you pressured by other than your friends) was there a significant difference between the blue and white-collar responses. In this particular case (Table 4.11) the intragroup deviation for the blue-collar group was significantly different from a uniform expected distribution and in a negative direction.

Questions 12 through 21 of the questionnaire distributed to the sampled AFGE members are designed to assess the strength of psychological and economic motivations for joining the AFGE. The psychological and economic rationales represent the most prevalent positions taken in the literature. Specifically in regard to the psychological motivation, questions 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, and 19 are directly relevant. The next two questions to be discussed (12 and 13) are more general in nature and address both psychological and economic motivation.

TABLE 4.13

DID YOU JOIN THE AFGE BECAUSE YOU BELIEVE  
THAT IT CAN HELP YOU PERSONALLY?  
(AFGE MEMBER RESPONSE)

Inter Group	N	Yes		No		Don't Know	
		#	%	#	%	#	%
Blue-collar	60	58	96.7	2	3.3	0	0
White-collar	<u>72</u>	<u>54</u>	<u>75</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>13.9</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>11.1</u>
Total	132	112	84.8	12	9.1	8	6.1
Chi-square	12.49	Significance Level .01					

<u>Intragroup</u>	<u><math>\chi^2</math></u>	<u>Significance Level</u>
Blue-collar	108.4	.01
White-collar	56.34	.01

There is a significant difference in the responses of the blue and white-collar respondents to this question. However; both groups expressed a strong positive sentiment and appear very strongly convinced that the union can help them personally. This is in accordance with Chamberlin's<sup>19</sup> finding that a "results" motivation was paramount, Rose's<sup>20</sup> finding that "for my own benefit" was second only to "had to - work in a union shop", and Walker and Guest's<sup>21</sup> finding that the union was a psychological bulwark against pace and boredom of the workplace. Bain<sup>22</sup> noted that white-collar workers value trade unions and join them not so much to obtain economic benefits as to be able to control more effectively their work situation.

In a similar vein, question 13 addressed the belief in the purposes of labor unions.

TABLE 4.14

DID YOU JOIN THE AFGE BECAUSE YOU BELIEVE  
IN THE PURPOSES OF LABOR UNIONS?  
(AFGE MEMBER RESPONSE)

Inter Group	N	Yes		No		Don't Know	
		#	%	#	%	#	%
Blue-collar	59	55	93.2	4	6.8	0	0
White-collar	<u>72</u>	<u>50</u>	<u>69.4</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>19.4</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>11.1</u>
Total	131	105	80.2	18	13.7	8	6.1
Chi-square	12.628	Significance Level .01					

<u>Intragroup</u>	<u><math>\chi^2</math></u>	<u>Significance Level</u>
Blue-collar	94.05	.01
White-collar	43.01	.01

There is a significant difference between the blue and white-collar responses to this question. However; both groups strongly believe in the purposes of labor unions. The significance lies in the proportionately stronger positive response of the blue-collar group. The purpose of a union is obviously subject to numerous interpretations by the individual respondent. However; in view of the findings of Chamberlin, Rose, and Walker and Guest, it appears that the purpose lies in the economic or psychological realm. This is especially true since the responses given in regard to joining for social reasons were so weak.

TABLE 4.15

BEFORE JOINING THE AFGE, DID YOU FEEL THAT MANAGEMENT  
HAD BEEN UNFAIR IN DEALING WITH WORKERS?  
(AFGE MEMBER RESPONSE)

Inter Group	N	Yes		No		Don't Know	
		#	%	#	%	#	%
Blue-collar	69	40	67.8	12	20.3	7	11.9
White-collar	<u>72</u>	<u>56</u>	<u>77.8</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>11.1</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>11.1</u>
Total	131	96	73.3	20	15.3	15	11.5
Chi-square	2.265					Significance Level	N.S.
<u>Intragroup</u>		<u><math>\chi^2</math></u>		<u>Significance Level</u>			
Blue-collar		31.65		.01			
White-collar		41.51		.01			

There is no significant difference in the responses of the blue

and white-collar respondents, however; both feel fairly strongly that management had been unfair prior to their joining the AFGE. It is noteworthy that the white-collar response is stronger in this direction than the blue-collar response. The response of both groups is a strong indication that a feeling of psychological insecurity motivated the members to join. Additional support for this statement may be found in the responses to question 15 in the following table.

TABLE 4.16

BEFORE JOINING THE AFGE, DID YOU FEEL THAT MANAGEMENT  
WOULD NOT PAY ATTENTION TO WHAT WORKERS HAD TO SAY?  
(AFGE MEMBER RESPONSE)

Inter Group	N	Yes #	Yes %	No #	No %	Don't Know #	Don't Know %
Blue-collar	59	38	64.4	14	23.7	7	11.9
White-collar	<u>72</u>	<u>52</u>	<u>72.2</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>22.2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5.6</u>
Total	131	90	68.7	30	22.9	11	8.4
Chi-square	1.858					Significance Level	N.S.
<u>Intragroup</u>		<u><math>\chi^2</math></u>				<u>Significance Level</u>	
Blue-collar		26.45				.01	
White-collar		52.01				.01	

As was true in the preceding, but similar, question no significant difference exists between the blue and white-collar responses. However; both groups give evidence that the membership is firmly convinced of the value of union representation and psychological protection. It is interesting to note that the white-collar group felt even more strongly in this regard than the blue-collar group. Prior to 1969 it was commonly believed

that white-collar workers were fundamentally different from their blue-collar brothers. Snyder, Bain, and Vogel all found evidence that psychological motivations were becoming increasingly important to the white-collar class of workers.

Questions 16 and 17 address the issue of whether the AFGE had had an impact on the nature of labor-management relations at the organizational as well as the personal level. The response to question 16 is contained in the table below.

TABLE 4.17

SINCE THE AFGE HAS BEEN THE EXCLUSIVE BARGAINING  
AGENT FOR MAXWELL-GUNTER EMPLOYEES, HAS  
MANAGEMENT TREATED THE EMPLOYEES MORE FAIRLY?  
(AFGE MEMBER RESPONSE)

Inter Group	N	Yes #	%	No #	%	Don't Know #	%
Blue-collar	59	42	71.2	9	15.3	8	13.6
White-collar	<u>72</u>	<u>35</u>	<u>51.4</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>20.8</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>27.8</u>
Total	131	79	60.3	24	18.3	28	21.4
Chi-square	5.726					Significance Level	N.S.
<u>Intragroup</u>		<u>X<sup>2</sup></u>				<u>Significance Level</u>	
Blue-collar		37.45				.01	
White-collar		11.09				.02	

No significant difference exists between the blue and white-collar responses. The same positive response in regard to the impact of the union is present in this case. The blue-collar response is somewhat stronger in this regard.

The relatively large "Don't Know" response may be attributable to a

considerable number of members who have entered the Maxwell-Gunter work-force after the AFGE was certified as the collective bargaining agent. Data on the perception that the union gets better treatment for the individual is contained in the following table (question 17).

TABLE 4.18

SINCE YOU JOINED THE AFGE, DO YOU FEEL THAT MANAGEMENT  
PAYS MORE ATTENTION TO WHAT YOU HAVE TO SAY?  
(AFGE MEMBER RESPONSE)

Inter Group	N	Yes		No		Don't Know	
		#	%	#	%	#	%
Blue-collar	60	38	63.3	18	30	4	6.7
White-collar	<u>71</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>40.8</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>38</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>21.1</u>
Total	131	67	51.1	45	34.4	19	14.5
Chi-square	8.514	Significance Level					
<u>Intragroup</u>		<u>X<sup>2</sup></u>		<u>Significance Level</u>			
Blue-collar		29.2		.01			
White-collar		4.79		N.S.			

A significant difference exists between the blue and white-collar responses. The blue-collar members appear strongly convinced that the union has had a significant impact upon the relationship between their group and management. The white-collar member, as a group, did not express a significantly different opinion. There are several possible explanations for this. Due to the relatively shorter length of employment of a considerable number of white-collar workers (Table 4.6), it is possible they do not have a meaningful base for comparison. It is also possible that the nature of subjects negotiated and the degree of

vigor of union action in selected areas have combined to yield a greater impact in blue-collar related matters. Further, it is conceivable that the white-collar group is more psychologically secure and perceives less need for union representation.

Questions 18 and 19 are designed to determine whether the members believe that the Civil Service Commission protects the rights of individual government employees and whether the CSC should be discontinued. Since one of the purposes of the CSC is to protect the rights of government employees, it should be perceived by the employees as providing essentially the same type of psychological security as the union. Substantially negative responses to questions 18 and 19 would indicate that the CSC is not performing this major purpose and is not providing a significant level of psychological security for the employees.

TABLE 4.19

DO YOU FEEL THAT THE CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION PROTECTS  
THE RIGHTS OF INDIVIDUAL GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES?  
(AFGE MEMBER RESPONSE)

Inter Group	N	Yes		No		Don't Know	
		#	%	#	%	#	%
Blue-collar	59	28	47.5	25	42.4	6	10.2
White-collar	<u>72</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>46</u>	<u>63.9</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>11.1</u>
Total	131	46	35.1	71	54.2	14	10.7
Chi-square	7.454	Significance Level					
<u>Intragroup</u>		<u>X<sup>2</sup></u>		<u>Significance Level</u>			
Blue-collar		14.25		.01			
White-collar		32.34		.01			

A significant difference exists between the blue and white-collar union members on this issue. The blue-collar group is of the opinion that the Civil Service Commission protects their rights, while the white-collar members express a strong opinion that they are not receiving suitable protection. The indication is that the white-collar group perceives a much stronger need for representation by the union in federal personnel and administration matters.

TABLE 4.20

DO YOU FEEL THAT THE CIVIL SERVICE SYSTEM  
SHOULD BE DISCONTINUED?  
(AFGE MEMBER RESPONSE)

Inter Group	N	#	Yes %	#	No %	#	Don't Know %
Blue-collar	58	2	3.4	48	82.8	8	13.8
White-collar	<u>72</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>8.3</u>	<u>50</u>	<u>69.4</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>22.2</u>
Total	130	8	6.2	98	75.4	24	18.5
Chi-square	3.237					Significance Level	N.S.
<u>Intragroup</u>		<u>X<sup>2</sup></u>				<u>Significance Level</u>	
Blue-collar		65.84				.01	
White-collar		44.34				.01	

Contrary to the finding in Table 4.19, no significant difference exists between blue and white-collar responses to question 19. Both groups expressed a strong opinion that the Civil Service Commission should not be discontinued. Comparison of the strength and direction of the responses to these two questions indicate that the sampled members express substantial concern that the Civil Service Commission does not adequately



protect the rights of individual employees. However; it does appear to offer a significant amount of protection. This is evidenced by the responses in Table 4.19.

The responses to questions 14 through 21, when considered in the aggregate, lead to the conclusion that the sampled employees do perceive the union as providing a significant amount of psychological protection. The conclusion must be drawn that the psychological motivation was a strong reason for these employees joining the union.

The third major reason identified in this study for employees joining unions relates to the general economic issue. Questions 21 and 22 are designed to gather data relative to the importance of this factor to the sampled AFGE members.

TABLE 4.21

DO YOU FEEL THAT MEMBERSHIP IN THE AFGE IS THE BEST WAY  
TO GET WAGE AND FRINGE BENEFIT INCREASES FROM THE GOVERNMENT?  
(AFGE MEMBER RESPONSE)

Inter Group	N	Yes #	%	No #	%	Don't Know #	%
Blue-collar	59	49	83.1	5	8.5	5	8.5
White-collar	<u>70</u>	<u>46</u>	<u>65.7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>11.4</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>22.9</u>
Total	129	95	73.6	13	10.1	21	16.3
Chi-square	5.652					Significance Level	N.S.
<u>Intragroup</u>		<u>x<sup>2</sup></u>				<u>Significance Level</u>	
Blue-collar		64.55				.01	
White-collar		34.91				.01	

Both blue and white-collar members voice a strong opinion that

AFGE membership is the best way to obtain economic benefits. The white-collar group was not as strong in a positive direction, however; a clear majority is evident. The overall 73.6 percent positive response to this question, coupled with the 80.2 percent overall positive response in Table 4.14 (did you join the AFGE because you believe in the purposes of labor unions) leads to the conclusion that there is a strong indication the sampled members view the union as a means of obtaining greater economic benefits and joined for that reason.

TABLE 4.22

DO YOU BELIEVE THAT THE AFGE, ACTING FOR YOU, SHOULD BARGAIN  
WITH MANAGEMENT TO GET WAGE AND FRINGE BENEFIT INCREASES?  
(AFGE MEMBER RESPONSE)

Inter Group	N	Yes #	Yes %	No #	No %	Don't Know #	Don't Know %
Blue-collar	59	54	91.5	2	3.4	3	5.1
White-collar	<u>71</u>	<u>62</u>	<u>87.3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5.6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>
Total	130	116	89.2	6	4.6	8	6.2
Chi-square	0.616			Significance Level		N.S.	
<u>Intragroup</u>		<u>x<sup>2</sup></u>			<u>Significance Level</u>		
Blue-collar		88.45			.01		
White-collar		91.88			.01		

The data above lend further credence to the proposition that the sampled AFGE members joined for economic reasons. Although federal employee unions cannot engage in direct negotiations with federal authorities on economic issues, these members express an overwhelming opinion that such negotiations should occur.

The data reviewed in this Chapter to this point clearly indicates that psychological and economic motivations for joining unions emerge as the major reasons for these members joining unions. The strength of their conviction as to asserting themselves through a strike, if necessary, to obtain these psychological and economic benefits is of interest to academicians and federal administrators. As noted in Chapter I, federal employees have indicated an increasing willingness to engage in walkouts, strikes, slowdowns and other measures in recent years.<sup>23</sup> Questions 22 and 23 are designed to assess the inclination of AFGE Local 997's membership to engage in a strike if sufficient justification existed.

TABLE 4.23

DO YOU FEEL, WHEN ALL ELSE FAILS, GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES  
SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO GO ON STRIKE THE SAME AS WORKERS  
OUTSIDE OF GOVERNMENT ARE ALLOWED TO STRIKE THEIR EMPLOYERS?  
(AFGE MEMBER RESPONSE)

Inter Group	N	#	Yes %	#	No %	#	Don't Know %
Blue-collar	59	28	47.5	26	44.1	5	8.5
White-collar	<u>72</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>43.1</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>34.7</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>22.2</u>
Total	131	59	45	51	38.9	21	16
Chi-square	4.69					Significance Level	N.S.
<u>Intragroup</u>		<u>X<sup>2</sup></u>				<u>Significance Level</u>	
Blue-collar		16.25				.01	
White-collar		4.75				N.S.	

A significant difference between the blue and white-collar responses to this question does not exist. However; 45 percent of the sampled members do believe they should be allowed to strike, as a last resort tactic.

The blue-collar member is slightly in favor of a right to strike, with relatively few being undecided (8.5 percent). The white-collar group is also in favor of a strike right, with 22.2 percent undecided. The overall response indicates the positive and negative sentiment in regard to the strike issue is fairly close, with a substantial (16 percent) of the sampled employees being undecided. This is interesting considering the prohibition against strikes in the federal sector and the traditional conservatism associated with a southern born and educated workforce.

TABLE 4.24

IF THE AFGE CALLED A STRIKE, BECAUSE OF A PROBLEM WITH  
MANAGEMENT, WOULD YOU GO OUT ON STRIKE?  
(AFGE MEMBER RESPONSE)

Inter Group	N	#	Yes %	No #	%	Don't Know #	%
Blue-collar	59	28	47.5	18	30.5	13	22
White-collar	71	17	23.9	25	35.2	29	40.8
Total	130	45	34.6	43	33.1	42	32.3
Chi-square	8.89						
							Significance Level .01
<u>Intragroup</u>		<u>X<sup>2</sup></u>					<u>Significance Level</u>
Blue-collar		5.85					N.S.
White-collar		3.12					N.S.

There is a significant difference between the blue and white-collar response to this question. However; significant deviation from a theoretical distribution within either the blue or white-collar group did not exist. It is interesting to note that the same (47.5) percentage of blue-collar workers indicated they would go on strike as indicated they

should have a strike right. The total response (of both groups) to this question is almost equivalent to a uniform distribution. This appears to indicate relatively strong opinions in favor of and against the strike issue, with a sufficient number of "undecided" who could cast very decisive votes in a critical situation. This leads to the conclusion that the actual decision to strike would depend upon the nature and degree of importance associated with a given labor-management situation.

Although the primary motivations (social, psychological, and economic) were addressed by questions in the survey instrument, it was felt that a question which allowed the respondent an opportunity to express other sources of motivation for joining the AFGE was necessary. The responses to this question are shown in the following table.

TABLE 4.25

THE MAIN REASON THAT I JOINED THE AFGE WAS:  
(AFGE MEMBER RESPONSE)

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Generalized Reasons

1. Better representation by the union. (Psychological and economic)
2. Civil Service is run by people and people don't always follow the law. (Psychological)
3. The union is the only real way for a government employee to grieve. (Psychological)
4. Employees should support their union because it protects them and gets economic benefits. (Psychological and economic.)

Group	N	<u>Reasons</u>							
		1		2		3		4	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Blue-collar	23	7	30.4	4	17.4	3	13.1	9	39.1
White-collar	<u>32</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>40.6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>15.6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>21.9</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>21.9</u>
Total	55	20	36.4	9	16.3	10	18.2	16	29.1

Chi-square 2.369

Significance Level N.S.

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No significant difference exists between the blue and white-collar responses to this question. The generalized reasons used to categorize the data were synthesized from the actual narrative responses provided by the respondents. As was true in other questions, no indication was given of a social motivation for joining the union. The two most prevalent responses (numbers 1 and 4) support generalized psychological and economic reasons for joining or supporting unions. Reasons 2 and 3 address a psychological need on the part of the respondents. Reason 2 is further confirmation of the previously expressed lack of faith in the Civil Service Commission's obligation to protect the rights of employees. Reason 3 appears indicative of a basic lack of confidence by individual members in their own ability to pursue their grievances with management. Even though only 55 (41.7 percent) of the respondents completed this narrative question, the pattern of responses clearly follow the rationales indicated by other questions.

To conclude Part I of the questionnaire, question 25 gave the respondents an opportunity to express any other opinions or sentiments. Only 25 of the 132 respondents provided an answer to this question. The responses were grouped into generalized statements, with the frequency observed as indicated in Table 4.26 on the following page. Comments 1 and 2 are supportive of the psychological and economic rationales for joining the AFGE. Although the frequency of response to this question precluded an assessment of the level of significance, 64 percent of the total comments obtained by this question are in support of comments 1 and 2.

TABLE 4.26

IS THERE ANYTHING ELSE THAT YOU MIGHT TELL  
ME THAT MIGHT BE HELPFUL?  
(AFGE MEMBER RESPONSE)

Comment	Frequency Observed	
	Blue-collar	White-collar
1. Administration of the Civil Service System at base level is controlled by those who favor a selected few.	3	7
2. Unions are responsible for most gains in wages, fringes, and the protection of rights.	2	4
3. AFGE will not back its members consistently.	1	1
4. Union demands are excessive.	2	0
5. Miscellaneous pro-union statements.	3	2
Total	11	14

The responses to the 25 questions of Part I of the questionnaire mailed to the homes of the union members have been presented and analyzed in the preceding portion of this Chapter. To gain insights into the impressions or perceptions of these same AFGE members in regard to government employee unions and the officers of these unions, Part II of the questionnaire (Appendix I) was utilized. The responses to this Part are included in Table 4.27 on the following pages. The respondent was asked to indicate "Yes" if the words or statement described unions or union officers as he or she saw them, "No" if the statement did not describe the subject, and to select "?" if the respondent was undecided or did not know.

TABLE 4.27

UNION ATTITUDE SCALE  
(PART II)  
(AFGE MEMBER RESPONSE)

Unions:	Observed Frequency			Chi-square	Significance Level	
	Yes	No	Don't Know		Intra Group	Inter Group
1. Help people in trouble	109	5	14	0.559		N.S.
Blue-collar	47	3	6	64.77	.01	
White-collar	62	2	8	90.99	.01	
2. Are democratic	99	10	23	3.109		N.S.
Blue-collar	47	6	7	54.7	.01	
White-collar	52	4	16	51.998	.01	
3. Hold back progress	5	106	21	14.783		.01
Blue-collar	5	52	3	76.9	.01	
White-collar	0	54	18	40.0	.01	
4. Have too much power	8	98	26	1.072		N.S.
Blue-collar	4	42	14	38.8	.01	
White-collar	4	56	12	65.332	.01	
5. Are good for workers	109	12	11	6.670		.05
Blue-collar	54	5	1	87.1	.01	
White-collar	55	7	10	60.246	.01	
6. Dues and fees are too high	20	83	29	0.323		N.S.
Blue-collar	8	39	13	27.7	.01	
White-collar	12	44	16	25.332	.01	



Unions:	Observed Frequency			Chi-square	Significance Level	
	Yes	No	Don't Know		Intra Group	Inter Group
7. Force people to join who don't want to	9	110	13	3.142		N.S.
Blue-collar	5	52	3	76.9	.01	
White-collar	4	58	10	72.998	.01	
8. Make trouble	7	110	15	2.667		N.S.
Blue-collar	4	52	4	76.87	.01	
White-collar	3	58	11	73.582	.01	
9. Are useless	5	118	9	0.964		N.S.
Blue-collar	3	54	3	86.78	.01	
White-collar	2	64	6	100.46	.01	
10. Keep management honest	79	17	36	7.565		.05
Blue-collar	39	11	10	27.124	.01	
White-collar	40	6	26	24.434	.01	
11. Keep people from getting pushed around	91	10	31	4.408		N.S.
Blue-collar	46	5	9	51.232	.01	
White-collar	45	5	22	33.66	.01	
12. Are corrupt	7	94	31	4.303		N.S.
Blue-collar	5	45	10	47.556	.01	
White-collar	2	49	21	77.955	.01	
13. Are benevolent	35	47	47	2.899		N.S.
Blue-collar	12	25	21	4.593	N.S.	
White-collar	23	22	26	0.367	N.S.	

Unions:		Observed Frequency			Chi- square	Significance Level	
		Yes	No	Don't Know		Intra Group	Inter Group
14.	Are violent	8	107	16	2.3		N.S.
	Blue-collar	5	50	5	67.566	.01	
	White-collar	3	57	11	71.908	.01	
15.	Are necessary in most organizations	94	16	22	19.786		.01
	Blue-collar	53	6	1	82.277	.01	
	White-collar	41	10	21	20.542	.01	
16.	Are radical	12	102	18	4.541		N.S.
	Blue-collar	6	50	4	67.575	.01	
	White-collar	6	52	14	50.407	.01	
17.	Are worthwhile	103	18	11	6.558		.05
	Blue-collar	51	8	1	74.356	.01	
	White-collar	52	10	10	48.992	.01	
18.	Protect jobs	101	12	19	1.371		N.S.
	Blue-collar	46	7	7	50.749	.01	
	White-collar	55	5	12	61.191	.01	
<u>Union Officers:</u>							
19.	Are honest	69	7	42	12.35		.01
	Blue-collar	34	7	13	22.33	.01	
	White-collar	35	0	29	12.594	.01	
20.	Are hardworking	88	7	26	3.277		N.S.
	Blue-collar	42	5	9	41.994	.01	
	White-collar	46	2	17	46.197	.01	

Union Officers:		Observed Frequency			Chi- square	Significance Level	
		Yes	No	Don't Know		Intra Group	Inter Group
21.	Are crooks	8	90	23	6.062		.05
	Blue-collar	7	40	9	36.689	.01	
	White-collar	1	50	14	59.494	.01	
22.	Are helpful	96	7	18	14.577		.01
	Blue-collar	46	7	3	60.484	.01	
	White-collar	50	0	15	40.127	.01	
23.	Are high-livers	17	56	47	9.869		.01
	Blue-collar	12	29	14	9.418	.01	
	White-collar	5	27	33	20.067	.01	
24.	Are up-to-date	83	19	17	0.071		N.S.
	Blue-collar	37	9	8	30.11	.01	
	White-collar	46	10	9	41.026	.01	
25.	Are effective	82	15	23	1.645		N.S.
	Blue-collar	37	9	9	28.512	.01	
	White-collar	45	6	14	39.18	.01	
26.	Ask advice from members	62	24	33	4.877		N.S.
	Blue-collar	30	14	10	12.443	.01	
	White-collar	32	10	23	11.294	.01	
27.	Make too much money	14	54	52	8.729		.01
	Blue-collar	9	30	16	12.474	.01	
	White-collar	5	24	36	22.559	.01	

Union Officers:	Observed Frequency			Chi- square	Significance Level	
	Yes	No	Don't Know		Intra Group	Inter Group
28. Are arrogant	5	86	29	0.417		N.S.
Blue-collar	2	41	12	44.771	.01	
White-collar	3	45	17	42.227	.01	
29. Are dependable	81	12	28	12.613		.01
Blue-collar	43	8	5	49.665	.01	
White-collar	38	4	23	26.806	.01	
30. Are opinionated	32	45	43	1.205		N.S.
Blue-collar	15	23	17	1.89	N.S.	
White-collar	17	22	26	1.883	N.S.	
31. Are efficient	73	14	33	0.957		N.S.
Blue-collar	36	6	13	26.876	.01	
White-collar	37	8	20	19.605	.01	

Part II is divided into two sections. The first (questions 1 through 18) gathers data relative to the union as an institution and characteristics which directly affect the member, while the second section (questions 19 through 31) is designed to determine the member's assessment of union officers. The response to each question was analyzed in the same manner used for the questions in Part I of the questionnaire.

In assessing the responses of the sampled members, it should be noted that the test of intergroup significance compares the blue-collar and white-collar responses to a matrix derived distribution, while the intragroup significance level indicated in the table results from a comparison against a uniform theoretical distribution. A "Yes" response

to questions 1, 2, 5, 10, 11, 13, 15, 17, and 18 indicates a favorable impression while a "No" response to questions 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12, 14, and 16 indicates a favorable impression.

In the responses to the first 18 questions, regarding government employee unions, a .01 intragroup level of significance for blue and white-collar respondents was recorded for each question. This is strongly supportive of a conclusion that both blue and white-collar members view the union as an institution which is of great value to them personally and is achieving the objectives they believe appropriate for the union. Questions 1, 5, 10, 11, 13, 15, 17, and 18 are generally supportive of psychological and economic rationales for the existence of labor unions and generally appear to support the conclusion arrived at from Part I data that these employees joined for psychological and economic reasons. Significant differences between the blue and white-collar responses were recorded for questions 3, 5, 10, 15, and 17. Inspection of the data relevant to these questions reveals that a substantially large "Don't Know" response by the white-collar group was responsible for this difference in every case.

In regard to impression of union officers, the data for questions 19 through 31 were similarly reviewed. A positive of "Yes" response to questions 19, 20, 22, 24, 25, 26, 29, and 31 indicates a favorable impression. A negative or "No" response to 21, 23, 27, 28, and 30 similarly indicates a favorable impression. A significant response (at the .01 level) was recorded for blue and white-collar respondents to each question in this section pertaining to union officers, except for question 30. Significant differences were detected between the blue and white-collar

responses to questions 19, 21, 22, 23, 27, and 29. As was found in the investigation of the differences in this regard relating to the impression of government employee unions, these differences on each question were attributable to a proportionately larger "Don't Know" response by the white-collar group.

The data provides very strong support for the conclusion that both the sampled blue and white-collar members have a favorable impression of government employee union officers. The questions posed in regard to these union officers addressed the concepts of efficiency, effectiveness, integrity, and public image. In all of these concepts, a clear majority indicated a very positive image.

In summary, this investigation into the reasons these federal employees joined the union leads the author to the conclusion that psychological and economic motivations were strong and that no significant evidence for a social motivation was found. Further, these members hold a very favorable impression of federal employee unions and their officers.

#### Non-Union Employee Responses and Analysis

The analysis of the non-union member responses in the following part of this Chapter is designed to provide insights into why these employees have not joined a union, distinguish important differences between the union member and non-union member segments of the Maxwell-Gunter workforce, and to assess the impressions of these non-union members regarding federal employee unions and their officers. Where appropriate, findings in the union member population will be compared with

non-union employee responses. The non-union employee data was gathered by use of the confidential questionnaire (Appendix II) as described in Chapter I.

As previously discussed in this Chapter, family background and early life experiences are believed to be highly important in formulating one's attitudes toward unions.<sup>24</sup> The expectation emerges that since Alabama is a "right to work" state, the majority of workers born and educated in Alabama would not be inclined to join or favor union activity. The following table presents data as to whether the sampled non-union employees were born in Alabama.

TABLE 4.28

WERE YOU BORN IN ALABAMA?  
(NON-UNION EMPLOYEE RESPONSE)

Inter Group	N	Yes		No	
		#	%	#	%
Blue-collar	100	66	66	34	34
White-collar	<u>216</u>	<u>126</u>	<u>58.3</u>	<u>90</u>	<u>41.7</u>
Total	<u>316</u>	<u>192</u>	<u>60.8</u>	<u>124</u>	<u>39.2</u>
Chi-square	1.378	Significance Level N.S.			
<u>Intragroup</u>	<u>X<sup>2</sup></u>	<u>Significance Level</u>			
Blue-collar	10.24	.01			
White-collar	6.0	.02			

No significant difference exists between the blue and white-collar responses. A majority of both blue and white-collar respondents were born in Alabama. However; a lower percentage of the non-union members (60.8 percent) were born in Alabama than the union members (73.5 percent, Table 4.1).

TABLE 4.29

WHILE YOU WERE BETWEEN 7 AND 18 YEARS OLD,  
DID YOU ATTEND SCHOOL IN ALABAMA?  
(NON-UNION EMPLOYEE RESPONSE)

Inter Group	N	Yes		No	
		#	%	#	%
Blue-collar	100	71	71	29	29
White-collar	<u>216</u>	<u>149</u>	<u>69</u>	<u>67</u>	<u>31</u>
Total	316	220	69.9	96	30.4
Chi-square	0.053	Significance Level N.S.			
<u>Intragroup</u>	<u>X<sup>2</sup></u>	<u>Significance Level</u>			
Blue-collar	17.64	.01			
White-collar	31.12	.01			

The blue and white-collar responses to this question are practically the same. A slightly higher percentage attended school in Alabama than were born in the state. This was also true of the union members (73.5 percent were born in Alabama and 78 percent attended school there). A Chi-square analysis of the differences in the union and non-union responses to being born in Alabama or attending school there was performed and no significant differences were detected.

Following the line of reasoning previously developed to the effect that family background, early life experiences, and education influence one's attitude toward unions, the expectation arises that few of the non-union employees would have come from a "union" family.

Data relative to the employee's parent(s) participation in union activity is contained in Table 4.30 on the following page.



TABLE 4.30

WHILE YOU WERE BETWEEN 7 AND 18 YEARS OLD, DID  
EITHER OF YOUR PARENTS BELONG TO A UNION?  
(NON-UNION EMPLOYEE RESPONSE)

Inter Group	N	Yes		No		Don't Know	
		#	%	#	%	#	%
Blue-collar	100	21	21	61	61	18	18
White-collar	215	40	18.6	156	72.6	19	8.8
Total	315	61	19.4	217	68.9	37	11.7
Chi-square	6.404					Significance Level	.04
<u>Intragroup</u>		<u><math>\chi^2</math></u>				<u>Significance Level</u>	
Blue-collar		34.94				.01	
White-collar		135.45				.01	

A significant difference exists between the blue and white-collar response. The percentage of both groups indicating a positive response are essentially the same, however; the "No" response by the white-collar group is substantially larger. The responses to this question were compared to the corresponding response by the sampled union members and no statistically significant difference was recorded.

The responses of those indicating "Yes" in response to the question above were analyzed in Table 4.31, on the following page. No significant difference exists in the response in Table 4.31. However; the data reflects that a significant majority of both blue and white-collar respondents did perceive their parents' experience with the union as being favorable. This is evidenced by the intragroup analysis which is significant at the .01 level in both cases. Comparing the union member response to this data, no significant difference between the groups was detected.

TABLE 4.31

IF YES, WAS THE UNION HELPFUL?  
(NON-UNION EMPLOYEE RESPONSE)

Inter Group	N	Yes #	Yes %	No #	No %	Don't Know #	Don't Know %
Blue-collar	21	14	66.7	4	19	3	14.3
White-collar	<u>38</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>76.3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>10.5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>13.2</u>
Total	59	43	72.9	8	13.6	8	13.6
Chi-square	0.909					Significance Level	N.S.
<u>Intragroup</u>		<u>X<sup>2</sup></u>				<u>Significance Level</u>	
Blue-collar		10.58				.01	
White-collar		30.84				.01	

In comparing the union member and non-union employee responses to being born in Alabama, attending school in that state, and their parents experience with unions, it must be concluded that these factors are not significant in regard to whether the respondent joined the union. The following table reflects data gathered by question 3 of the questionnaire.

TABLE 4.32

BEFORE YOU BEGAN TO WORK AT MAXWELL-GUNTER,  
DID YOU EVER BELONG TO A UNION?  
(NON-UNION EMPLOYEE RESPONSE)

Inter Group	N	Yes		No	
		#	%	#	%
Blue-collar	100	26	26	74	74
White-collar	<u>216</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>15.3</u>	<u>183</u>	<u>84.7</u>
Total	<u>316</u>	<u>59</u>	<u>18.7</u>	<u>257</u>	<u>81.3</u>
Chi-square	4.493	Significance Level .03			

<u>Intragroup</u>	<u><math>\chi^2</math></u>	<u>Significance Level</u>
Blue-collar	23.04	.01
White-collar	104.17	.01

A significantly higher proportion of blue-collar respondents had been union members prior to joining the Maxwell-Gunter workforce. No data is available in this survey as to their assessment of that experience in terms of whether they perceived it to be beneficial. However; a comparison of the data in this table with the data for union members indicates that a significantly higher proportion of union members indicated previous union experience. This could be interpreted as meaning these non-union members did not perceive their prior affiliation with the union as being beneficial.

Question 4 provided data shown in the following table on the length of time the sampled non-union employees have worked at Maxwell-Gunter.

TABLE 4.33

HOW LONG HAVE YOU WORKED AT MAXWELL-GUNTER?  
(NON-UNION EMPLOYEE RESPONSE)

Inter Group	N	Less than 5 Years		5-10 Years		11-15 Years		Over 15 Years	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Blue-collar	100	18	18	24	24	7	7	51	51
White-collar	216	80	37	44	20.4	32	14.8	60	27.8
Total	316	98	31	68	21.5	39	12.3	111	35.1
Chi-square	22.282				Significance Level .01				

A significant difference exists between the blue and white-collar

responses. In this instance, as was true for the union members, the blue-collar respondents have been employed at Maxwell-Gunter longer than the white-collar respondents. As previously noted in the discussion of the length of tenure of the sampled union members, length of employment may be an influencing factor in joining a union. To assess this factor in the Maxwell-Gunter workforce, the aggregate responses to this question by members and non-union members were compared as follows.

TABLE 4.34

HOW LONG HAVE YOU WORKED AT MAXWELL-GUNTER?  
(UNION MEMBER/NON-MEMBER COMPARISON)

Inter Group	N	Less than 5 Years		5-10 Years		11-15 Years		Over 15 Years	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Non-member	316	98	31	68	21.5	39	12.3	111	35.1
Member	<u>132</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>16.7</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>19.7</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>15.9</u>	<u>63</u>	<u>47.7</u>
Total	<u>448</u>	<u>120</u>	<u>26.8</u>	<u>94</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>60</u>	<u>13.4</u>	<u>174</u>	<u>38.8</u>
Chi-square	11.992	Significance Level .01							

There is a significant difference in the responses of the groups to this question. A relatively large proportion of the non-members have been employed for less than five years, while a relatively large portion of the members have been employed over 15 years. These findings seem to support the psychological reason for joining a union. The longer a member has been a member of an organization, the greater is his vested interest. The individual appears to perceive a greater need for protection of this interest and a greater degree of dependence upon a person or institution to provide this protection. If the preceding statement is

correct, it follows that the union members would be proportionately older than the non-union employees. The following tables contain data on this point.

TABLE 4.35

HOW OLD ARE YOU?  
(NON-UNION EMPLOYEE RESPONSE)

Inter Group	N	Less than 30 Years		30-40 Years		41-50 Years		Over 50 Years	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Blue-collar	100	11	11	16	16	24	24	49	49
White-collar	<u>216</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>15.7</u>	<u>47</u>	<u>21.8</u>	<u>72</u>	<u>33.3</u>	<u>63</u>	<u>29.2</u>
Total	316	45	14.2	63	19.9	96	30.4	112	35.4
Chi-square	11.762 Significance Level .01								

TABLE 4.36

HOW OLD ARE YOU?  
(UNION MEMBER/NON-MEMBER COMPARISON)

Inter Group	N	Less than 30 Years		30-40 Years		41-50 Years		Over 50 Years	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Non-member	316	45	14.2	63	19.9	96	30.4	112	35.4
Member	<u>132</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>7.6</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>12.9</u>	<u>42</u>	<u>31.8</u>	<u>63</u>	<u>47.7</u>
Total	448	55	12.3	80	17.9	138	30.8	175	39.1
Chi-square	9.625 Significance Level .02								

There is a significant difference in the non-union employee blue and white-collar responses (Table 4.35). The blue-collar group is significantly older. This was expected, since the average age of the Maxwell-Gunter blue-collar worker is 52.6 years and the average white-collar age

is 46 years. In comparing the union/non-union group responses (Table 4.36), a significant difference was also found. The union membership is significantly older than the non-union population. This may be evidence in support of the psychological reason for joining unions.

The questions discussed above dealt with demographic and organizational characteristics of the non-union sample. Questions 7 through 12 of the non-union questionnaire address reasons why the employees did not join the AFGE.

Usually before joining or contributing to any organization an individual will need information as to the purpose and scope of the organizations activities and what the individual should realize in benefits from his affiliation. Surveying a group of employees to determine why they have not joined an organization should not presuppose that the individual has knowledge or has been specifically asked to join. However; since Local 997 has been the exclusive bargaining agent for Maxwell-Gunter since 1963 and almost all federal bulletin boards at Maxwell-Gunter display union literature, it is very doubtful that any employee is unaware of the presence of Local 997. Table 4.37 (question 7) on the following page supplies data as to whether the sampled employees have been specifically asked to join the AFGE.

A statistically significant difference in the blue and white-collar responses in Table 4.37 does not exist. Although a majority of both groups (57.6 percent total) have been asked to join, this is somewhat surprising in that one would suppose all members of the workforce would have been asked to join at some point in Local 997's history. In view of the long average tenure of the workforce, it appears that the Local has not

TABLE 4.37

HAVE YOU EVER BEEN ASKED TO JOIN THE AMERICAN  
FEDERATION OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES (AFGE)?  
(NON-UNION EMPLOYEE RESPONSE)

Inter Group	N	Yes #	%	No #	%	Don't Know #	%
Blue-collar	100	62	62	34	34	4	4
White-collar	<u>216</u>	<u>120</u>	<u>55.6</u>	<u>92</u>	<u>42.6</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>1.9</u>
Total	316	182	57.6	126	39.9	8	2.5
Chi-square	3.004			Significance Level		N.S.	
<u>Intragroup</u>		<u>x<sup>2</sup></u>		<u>Significance Level</u>			
Blue-collar		50.99		.01			
White-collar		100.9		.01			

been overly aggressive in recruiting. Questions 8, 9, and 10 gather data relative to social pressures not to join the AFGE. The response to question 8 is in the following table.

TABLE 4.38

DID YOU DECLINE TO JOIN THE AFGE BECAUSE MOST OF  
YOUR FRIENDS WERE NON-MEMBERS?  
(NON-UNION EMPLOYEE RESPONSE)

Inter Group	N	Yes #	%	No #	%	Don't Know #	%
Blue-collar	95	11	11.6	71	74.7	13	13.7
White-collar	<u>201</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>6.5</u>	<u>173</u>	<u>86.1</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>7.5</u>
Total	296	24	8.1	244	82.4	28	9.5
Chi-square	5.723			Significance Level		N.S.	
<u>Intragroup</u>		<u>x<sup>2</sup></u>		<u>Significance Level</u>			
Blue-collar		72.59		.01			
White-collar		251.58		.01			

There is no statistically significant difference in the blue and white-collar response to this question. The response to this question provides no support for informal group pressure as a factor in declining to join the AFGE. The observed chi-square value for the intergroup test approaches, but does not equal the .05 tabled value of 5.991. Although not significant, the data does give an indication that the informal group association pressure is higher among blue-collar workers than in the white-collar group. Further insight into this issue is revealed in the response to question 9 in the following table.

TABLE 4.39

DID YOU FEEL THAT YOU WERE PRESSURED BY  
YOUR FRIENDS NOT TO JOIN THE AFGE?  
(NON-UNION EMPLOYEE RESPONSE)

Inter Group	N	Yes		No		Don't Know	
		#	%	#	%	#	%
Blue-collar	95	10	10.5	78	82.1	7	7.4
White-collar	<u>203</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>187</u>	<u>92</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>6.9</u>
Total	298	12	4	265	88.9	21	7
Chi-square	15.379	Significance Level					
<u>Intragroup</u>		<u><math>\chi^2</math></u>		<u>Significance Level</u>			
Blue-collar		100.78		.01			
White-collar		315.19		.01			

A significant difference exists between the blue and white-collar responses. The pressure by friends not to join the AFGE was greater among the sampled blue-collar members. However; in overall terms only 10.5 per cent of this group gave an indication that this was a significant factor



in their decision not to join.

Another possible source of influence or pressure not to join lies within the organization and association with persons the respondent would not necessarily include in the category of friends. Question 10 data, in the following table, addresses this category of association.

TABLE 4.40

DID YOU FEEL THAT YOU WERE PRESSURED BY PEOPLE OTHER  
THAN YOUR FRIENDS NOT TO JOIN THE AFGE?  
(NON-UNION EMPLOYEE RESPONSE)

Inter Group	N	#	Yes %	No #	%	Don't Know #	%
Blue-collar	95	8	8.4	76	80	11	11.6
White-collar	<u>204</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>1.5</u>	<u>189</u>	<u>92.4</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>5.9</u>
Total	299	11	3.7	265	88.6	23	7.7
Chi-square	12.415				Significance Level	.01	
<u>Intragroup</u>		<u>x<sup>2</sup></u>			<u>Significance Level</u>		
Blue-collar		92.28			.01		
White-collar		323.55			.01		

The blue-collar group is subjected to a significantly higher level of other group pressure not to join the AFGE than the white-collar group.

In assessing the strength of social pressure not to join the AFGE, it must be concluded that while social pressure is not a paramount factor, it does exist and is significantly more evident in the blue-collar group. Questions 12 and 13 (Tables 4.41 and 4.42) address a combination of psychological and economic considerations.

TABLE 4.41

DID YOU DECLINE TO JOIN THE AFGE BECAUSE YOU FELT  
THAT MEMBERSHIP COULD NOT HELP YOU PERSONALLY?  
(NON-UNION EMPLOYEE RESPONSE)

Inter Group	N	Yes #	%	No #	%	Don't Know #	%
Blue-collar	95	35	36.8	43	45.3	17	17.9
White-collar	<u>205</u>	<u>77</u>	<u>37.8</u>	<u>114</u>	<u>55.6</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>6.8</u>
Total	<u>300</u>	<u>112</u>	<u>37.3</u>	<u>157</u>	<u>52.3</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>10.3</u>
Chi-square	9.029					Significance Level	.01
<u>Intragroup</u>		<u>X<sup>2</sup></u>				<u>Significance Level</u>	
Blue-collar		11.09				.01	
White-collar		75.18				.01	

A significant difference exists between the blue and white-collar responses. However; this significance appears to result from a larger "Don't Know" response by the blue-collar group. The "Yes" responses, indicating the belief that the union was of no benefit to the respondent are almost identical. The 37.3 percent affirmative response to this question is far in excess of any positive response observed in the social considerations questions. Question 13 data, in the following table, supplies additional information regarding the psychological factor. There is no significant difference in the blue and white-collar response in Table 4.42. However; the observed 14.6 percent total "Yes" response must be considered important. This response plus the 37.3 percent observed in the preceding question combine to indicate that 51.9 percent of the respondents do not feel a personal need for a union or that they object to the purposes of labor unions.

TABLE 4.42

DID YOU NOT JOIN THE AFGE BECAUSE YOU ARE OPPOSED  
TO THE PURPOSES OF LABOR UNIONS?  
(NON-UNION EMPLOYEE RESPONSE)

Inter Group	N	Yes		No		Don't Know	
		#	%	#	%	#	%
Blue-collar	95	15	15.8	69	72.6	11	11.6
White-collar	<u>206</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>14.1</u>	<u>167</u>	<u>81.1</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>4.9</u>
Total	301	44	14.6	236	78.4	21	7
Chi-square	4.934					Significance Level	N.S.
<u>Intragroup</u>		<u>x<sup>2</sup></u>			<u>Significance Level</u>		
Blue-collar		65.59			.01		
White-collar		215.97			.01		

In view of the previously discussed level of union representation in the Alabama workforce, the fact that the state has a right to work law, and the high percentage of these non-union employees who were born in Alabama, this finding lends support to a conclusion that these employees do not have a strong psychological need for a union and express significant reservations about the propriety of labor union activity.

Questions 13 and 14 (Tables 4.42 and 4.43) assess the respondent's perception of the purposes of unions and the relationship between the workers and management. The response to question 14, contained in the following (4.43) table provides additional insight into the psychological needs aspect. A significant difference exists in the blue and white-collar responses in Table 4.43. Over twice as many blue-collar respondents are of the opinion that management has been unfair to the workers.

TABLE 4.43

DO YOU FEEL THAT MANAGEMENT HAS BEEN UNFAIR  
IN DEALING WITH WORKERS?  
(NON-UNION EMPLOYEE RESPONSE)

Inter Group	N	Yes		No		Don't Know	
		#	%	#	%	#	%
Blue-collar	96	41	42.7	38	39.6	17	17.7
White-collar	<u>212</u>	<u>40</u>	<u>18.9</u>	<u>114</u>	<u>53.8</u>	<u>58</u>	<u>27.4</u>
Total	308	81	26.3	152	49.4	75	24.4
Chi-square	19.503	Significance Level					
<u>Intragroup</u>		<u>X<sup>2</sup></u>		<u>Significance Level</u>			
Blue-collar		10.69		.01			
White-collar		41.96		.01			

The relatively large portion (27.4 percent) of "Don't Know" response in the white-collar group contributes to the intergroup significance. Further data addressing this issue is contained in the following table.

TABLE 4.44

DO YOU FEEL THAT MANAGEMENT PAYS ATTENTION  
TO WHAT WORKERS HAVE TO SAY?  
(NON-UNION EMPLOYEE RESPONSE)

Inter Group	N	Yes		No		Don't Know	
		#	%	#	%	#	%
Blue-collar	98	39	39.8	44	44.9	15	15.3
White-collar	<u>215</u>	<u>88</u>	<u>40.9</u>	<u>67</u>	<u>31.2</u>	<u>60</u>	<u>27.9</u>
Total	313	127	40.6	111	35.5	75	24
Chi-square	8.063	Significance Level					
		.01					

<u>Intragroup</u>	<u><math>\chi^2</math></u>	<u>Significance Level</u>
Blue-collar	15.06	.01
White-collar	6.0	.05

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Again, a significant difference exists between the blue and white-collar responses. The largest proportion of the white-collar group is of the opinion that management does pay attention to what they have to say, while another relatively large proportion of this group is undecided.

In assessing the combined responses to question 13 and 14 it must be concluded that the blue and white-collar groups have different opinions regarding their interaction with management. In previous discussions in this study, it has been noted that white-collar employees typically identify more closely with management. It is perhaps due to this presumed rapport (due to education, similarity of work, and social background) that the white-collar group perceives management's actions differently and is able to communicate more frequently and effectively with management.

Questions 15 and 16 (Tables 4.45 and 4.47) supply data to assess the non-union group's opinions as to the labor-management relationship at Maxwell-Gunter.

A significant difference exists between the blue and white-collar responses in Table 4.45. The primary source of significance appears to lie in the "Don't Know" response of the white-collar group. Further evidence of this is that the intragroup analysis of blue-collar responses is not significant, while the white-collar intragroup analysis is far in excess of the significance level even at .01. As was true in the discussion of this question as it related to the AFGE member, the relatively large number of white-collar employees who have been in the Maxwell-Gunter

TABLE 4.45

SINCE THE AFGE HAS BEEN THE EXCLUSIVE BARGAINING  
AGENT FOR MAXWELL-GUNTER, HAS MANAGEMENT  
TREATED THE EMPLOYEES MORE FAIRLY?  
(NON-UNION EMPLOYEE RESPONSE)

Inter Group	N	Yes		No		Don't Know	
		#	%	#	%	#	%
Blue-collar	98	32	32.7	30	30.6	36	36.7
White-collar	<u>216</u>	<u>37</u>	<u>17.1</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>15.3</u>	<u>146</u>	<u>67.6</u>
Total	<u>314</u>	<u>69</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>63</u>	<u>20.1</u>	<u>182</u>	<u>58</u>
Chi-square	26.368	Significance Level .01					
<u>Intragroup</u>		<u>x<sup>2</sup></u>		<u>Significance Level</u>			
Blue-collar		0.625		N.S.			
White-collar		114.2		.01			

workforce less than ten years have no logical base for comparison since they were not familiar with the pre-AFGE represented Maxwell-Gunter workforce. A comparison of the AFGE members responses to this question and the non-union employee responses is contained in the following table.

TABLE 4.46

SINCE THE AFGE HAS BEEN THE EXCLUSIVE BARGAINING  
AGENT FOR MAXWELL-GUNTER, HAS MANAGEMENT  
TREATED THE EMPLOYEES MORE FAIRLY?  
(UNION MEMBER/NON-MEMBER COMPARISON)

Inter Group	N	Yes		No		Don't Know	
		#	%	#	%	#	%
Non-member	314	69	22	63	20	182	58
Member	<u>131</u>	<u>79</u>	<u>60.3</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>18.3</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>21.4</u>
Total	<u>445</u>	<u>148</u>	<u>33.3</u>	<u>87</u>	<u>19.5</u>	<u>228</u>	<u>51.2</u>
Chi-square	34.769	Significance Level .01					

A significant difference exists between the member/non-member total responses. Due to the large number of non-members who were undecided, this difference must be viewed with skepticism.

The following table contains the responses to question 16, which also bears on the labor-management relationship.

TABLE 4.47

DO YOU FEEL THAT MANAGEMENT PAYS MORE ATTENTION  
TO WHAT AFGE MEMBERS HAVE TO SAY?  
(NON-UNION EMPLOYEE RESPONSE)

Inter Group	N	Yes		No		Don't Know	
		#	%	#	%	#	%
Blue-collar	96	36	37.5	38	39.6	22	22.9
White-collar	<u>215</u>	<u>48</u>	<u>22.3</u>	<u>71</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>96</u>	<u>44.7</u>
Total	311	84	27	109	35	118	37.9
Chi-square	14.735	Significance Level					
<u>Intragroup</u>		<u>X<sup>2</sup></u>		<u>Significance Level</u>			
Blue-collar		4.75		N.S.			
White-collar		16.01		.01			

A statistically different response between the blue and white-collar groups was observed. For the reasons given in discussion of question 15, this finding must be viewed with skepticism. The intragroup blue-collar response was not significant. Again, the primary source of significance appears to lie in the "Don't Know" response by the white-collar group.

One of the primary functions of the Civil Service system is to protect the rights of federal civilian employees. The perception of how well this function is being performed may provide insight into the

satisfaction of psychological security needs in the sampled employees. Questions 17 and 18 of the questionnaire provide data on this subject.

TABLE 4.48

DO YOU FEEL THAT THE CIVIL SERVICE SYSTEM PROTECTS THE  
RIGHTS OF INDIVIDUAL GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES?  
(NON-UNION EMPLOYEE RESPONSE)

Inter Group	N	Yes		No		Don't Know	
		#	%	#	%	#	%
Blue-collar	95	41	43.2	38	40	16	16.8
White-collar	<u>212</u>	<u>124</u>	<u>58.5</u>	<u>62</u>	<u>29.2</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>12.3</u>
Total	<u>307</u>	<u>165</u>	<u>53.7</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>32.6</u>	<u>42</u>	<u>13.7</u>
Chi-square	6.203					Significance Level	.04
<u>Intragroup</u>		<u>X<sup>2</sup></u>				<u>Significance Level</u>	
Blue-collar		11.65				.01	
White-collar		69.22				.01	

A significant difference exists between the blue and white-collar responses. The white-collar group expresses a greater degree of conviction that the Civil Service system does protect individual employee rights. The blue-collar group, as revealed in the intragroup analysis, is also of this opinion.

A comparison of the aggregate union member/non-union member responses in Table 4.49 highlights the observed differences in perception of these groups.

A significant difference exists in Table 4.49 between the sampled union members and non-union member employees. The non-union employees indicate a strong opinion that the Civil Service system does protect them



TABLE 4.49

DO YOU FEEL THAT THE CIVIL SERVICE SYSTEM PROTECTS THE  
RIGHTS OF INDIVIDUAL GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES?  
(UNION MEMBER/NON-UNION COMPARISON)

Inter Group	N	Yes		No		Don't Know	
		#	%	#	%	#	%
Non-member	307	165	53.7	100	32.6	42	13.7
Member	<u>131</u>	<u>46</u>	<u>35.1</u>	<u>71</u>	<u>54.2</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>10.7</u>
Total	438	211	48.1	171	39.1	56	12.8
Chi-square	9.638					Significance Level	.01
<u>Intragroup</u>		<u>X<sup>2</sup></u>				<u>Significance Level</u>	
Non-member		74.24				.01	
Member		37.11				.01	

and the union members are almost equally strong in their opinion that it does not protect them. Given the assumption that employees have psychological security needs, this opinion of the performance of this protective function may be a significant factor in influencing the individual employee to join or not join a union.

Question 18 (Table 4.50) provides insight into the continued value or utility of the Civil Service system in providing psychological security for the employees.

No significant difference exists between the blue and white-collar response to this question. Both groups are firmly of the opinion that the Civil Service system should not be discontinued. In assessing the combined responses to questions 17 and 18, it must be concluded that the non-union employees express some reservation (32.6 percent) that their

TABLE 4.50

DO YOU FEEL THAT THE CIVIL SERVICE SYSTEM  
SHOULD BE DISCONTINUED?  
(NON-UNION EMPLOYEE RESPONSE)

Inter Group	N	Yes		No		Don't Know	
		#	%	#	%	#	%
Blue-collar	100	6	6	78	78	16	16
White-collar	<u>215</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>182</u>	<u>84.7</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>9.3</u>
Total	<u>315</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>260</u>	<u>82.5</u>	<u>36</u>	<u>11.4</u>
Chi-square	3.045	Significance Level					
<u>Intragroup</u>		<u>X<sup>2</sup></u>		<u>Significance Level</u>			
Blue-collar		92.21		.01			
White-collar		253.97		.01			

rights are being protected, they are firmly of the opinion that the Civil Service system should be continued. A comparison of the aggregate union member/non-union employee response to this question is included in the following table.

TABLE 4.51

DO YOU FEEL THAT THE CIVIL SERVICE SYSTEM  
SHOULD BE DISCONTINUED?  
(UNION MEMBER/NON-MEMBER COMPARISON)

Inter Group	N	Yes		No		Don't Know	
		#	%	#	%	#	%
Non-member	315	19	6	260	82.5	36	11.4
Member	<u>130</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>6.2</u>	<u>98</u>	<u>75.4</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>18.5</u>
Total	<u>445</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>358</u>	<u>80.5</u>	<u>60</u>	<u>13.5</u>
Chi-square	2.008	Significance Level					

No significant difference exists between the union member and non-union employee response to this question. Both groups are firmly of the opinion that the Civil Service system should be continued. The intra-group data for this table was not included. This leads to the conclusion that while there is a significant difference in opinion as to whether the Civil Service system adequately performs its protective function, the system is beneficial and necessary.

Questions 19 and 20 (Tables 4.52 and 4.54) address economic considerations. As previously noted, social, psychological, and economic considerations have been identified as motivators or reasons for joining unions.

TABLE 4.52

DO YOU FEEL THAT MEMBERSHIP IN THE AFGE IS THE BEST WAY TO  
GET WAGE AND FRINGE BENEFIT INCREASES FROM THE GOVERNMENT?  
(NON-UNION EMPLOYEE RESPONSE)

Inter Group	N	Yes		No		Don't Know	
		#	%	#	%	#	%
Blue-collar	100	36	36	39	39	25	25
White-collar	<u>215</u>	<u>42</u>	<u>19.5</u>	<u>92</u>	<u>42.8</u>	<u>81</u>	<u>37.7</u>
Total	315	78	24.8	131	41.6	106	33.7
Chi-square	10.96	Significance Level					
<u>Intragroup</u>		<u>X<sup>2</sup></u>		<u>Significance Level</u>			
Blue-collar		3.30		N.S.			
White-collar		19.19		.01			

A significant difference does exist between the blue and white-collar response to this question. The primary source of significance

appears to be in the relatively large "Don't Know" response of the white-collar group. This phenomenon had been observed in earlier questions and leads the author to the conclusion that the non-union employee group is highly divided on this question. Intragroup analysis reveals that no significant difference exists in the blue-collar response. A comparison of the aggregate union member/non-union member response is in the following table.

TABLE 4.53

DO YOU FEEL THAT MEMBERSHIP IN THE AFGE IS THE BEST WAY TO GET  
WAGE AND FRINGE BENEFIT INCREASES FROM THE GOVERNMENT?  
(UNION MEMBER/NON-MEMBER COMPARISON)

Inter Group	N	Yes		No		Don't Know	
		#	%	#	%	#	%
Non-member	315	78	24.8	131	41.6	106	33.7
Member	<u>129</u>	<u>95</u>	<u>73.6</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>10.1</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>16.3</u>
Total	444	173	39	144	32.4	127	28.6
Chi-square	49.45	Significance Level .01					
<u>Intragroup</u>		<u>X<sup>2</sup></u>		<u>Significance Level</u>			
Non-member		13.39		.01			
Member		95.07		.01			

A highly significant difference exists between the member/non-member response to this question. It is evident that the union members are convinced that AFGE membership is highly beneficial in gaining economic benefits. The non-union employees appear to be of the opinion that the AFGE does not have a significant impact on their wages and fringes. However; a relatively large proportion appear to be undecided on the issue.

The following table provides data as to whether the non-union employees believe the AFGE should engage in bargaining on economic issues.

TABLE 4.54

DO YOU BELIEVE THAT THE AFGE SHOULD BARGAIN WITH MANAGEMENT  
TO GET WAGE AND FRINGE BENEFIT INCREASES?  
(NON-UNION EMPLOYEE RESPONSE)

Inter Group	N	Yes		No		Don't Know	
		#	%	#	%	#	%
Blue-collar	100	56	56	23	23	21	21
White-collar	<u>213</u>	<u>97</u>	<u>45.5</u>	<u>47</u>	<u>22.1</u>	<u>69</u>	<u>32.4</u>
Total	313	153	48.9	70	22.4	90	28.8
Chi-square	4.622	Significance Level N.S.					
<u>Intragroup</u>		<u><math>\chi^2</math></u>		<u>Significance Level</u>			
Blue-collar		16.15		.01			
White-collar		17.69		.01			

No significant difference in the opinions of the blue and white-collar respondents was detected. However; both groups are of the opinion that AFGE should bargain with the government on economic issues. In considering this finding and the non-union response to question 19, it seems clear that the non-union employees sampled are unconvinced of the effectiveness of AFGE's current activities in the wage and benefit area, but are of the opinion that bargaining (as opposed to lobbying) should occur. This appears to lend support to the conclusion that the non-union employee feels a need for assistance in the satisfaction of economic needs but does not see the AFGE as being a viable means of satisfying this need. A tabular analysis of differences between union/non-union employees on this

question is not included since both group responses were significant in the same direction.

Questions 21, 22, and 23 address the strike issue and are designed to gather data on the perceived propriety of the strike issue.

TABLE 4.55

DO YOU FEEL, WHEN ALL ELSE FAILS, GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES SHOULD  
BE ALLOWED TO GO ON STRIKE THE SAME AS WORKERS OUTSIDE  
THE GOVERNMENT ARE ALLOWED TO STRIKE THEIR EMPLOYERS?  
(NON-UNION EMPLOYEE RESPONSE)

Inter Group	N	Yes		No		Don't Know	
		#	%	#	%	#	%
Blue-collar	100	25	25	58	58	17	17
White-collar	<u>213</u>	<u>61</u>	<u>28.6</u>	<u>114</u>	<u>53.5</u>	<u>38</u>	<u>17.8</u>
Total	313	86	27.5	172	55	55	17.6
Chi-square	0.603	Significance Level N.S.					
<u>Intragroup</u>		<u>X<sup>2</sup></u>		<u>Significance Level</u>			
Blue-collar		28.64		.01			
White-collar		17.36		.01			

No significant difference in the blue and white-collar response to this question was detected. Both groups are strongly opposed to a strike by federal employees. This was not unexpected since these employees are members of a predominantly Alabama born and educated workforce and the fact that the sampled AFGE members had also expressed a strong sentiment against the strike issue on the equivalent question (Table 4.23).

A significant difference exists between the blue and white-collar responses to the question presented in Table 4.56 on the following page.

TABLE 4.56

IF THE AFGE CALLED A STRIKE, BECAUSE OF A PROBLEM WITH  
MANAGEMENT, WOULD YOU GO OUT ON STRIKE?  
(NON-UNION EMPLOYEE RESPONSE)

Inter Group	N	Yes		No		Don't Know	
		#	%	#	%	#	%
Blue-collar	100	22	22	49	49	29	29
White-collar	<u>213</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>11.3</u>	<u>116</u>	<u>54.5</u>	<u>73</u>	<u>34.3</u>
Total	313	46	14.7	165	52.7	102	32.6
Chi-square	6.298					Significance Level	.04
<u>Intragroup</u>		<u>X<sup>2</sup></u>				<u>Significance Level</u>	
Blue-collar		11.91				.01	
White-collar		59.69				.01	

Both groups express a strong opinion that they would not strike, however; the white-collar group is stronger in their negative opinion. As observed in Table 4.24, the union member group showed a significant difference between the blue and white-collar group opinion in regard to going out on strike. The union member white-collar group was also opposed to strikes.

Question 23 (Table 4.57) is designed to test the importance of the the strike right as an indication that the AFGE could take decisive action in a labor-management dispute and whether employees would join if this right existed. A significant difference exists between the blue and white-collar responses in Table 4.57. However; both responses are in the same direction and the significance results from a stronger "No" response by white-collar group. This negative response to the issue of joining because of the strike right, a negative response to the question of going on strike

TABLE 4.57

WOULD YOU JOIN THE AFGE IF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES  
HAD THE RIGHT TO STRIKE?  
(NON-UNION EMPLOYEE RESPONSE)

Inter Group	N	Yes		No		Don't Know	
		#	%	#	%	#	%
Blue-collar	99	25	25.3	48	48.5	26	26.3
White-collar	<u>208</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>9.6</u>	<u>129</u>	<u>62</u>	<u>59</u>	<u>28.4</u>
Total	<u>307</u>	<u>45</u>	<u>14.7</u>	<u>177</u>	<u>57.7</u>	<u>85</u>	<u>27.7</u>
Chi-square	13.427					Significance Level	.01
<u>Intragroup</u>		<u>X<sup>2</sup></u>				<u>Significance Level</u>	
Blue-collar		10.24				.01	
White-collar		87.17				.01	

and the propriety of the strike right for government employees leads to the conclusion that the sampled non-union employees do not believe federal employees should have a strike right and would not engage in a strike if called by the AFGE.

Question 24 provided the non-union respondent the opportunity to express a narrative rationale for not joining the AFGE. The responses to this question are contained in the following table.

TABLE 4.58

THE MAIN REASON THAT I DID NOT JOIN THE AFGE WAS:  
(NON-UNION EMPLOYEE RESPONSE)

Generalized Reasons

1. Unions are not necessary for government employees.
2. AFGE Local 997 is ineffective.



3. I was not asked to join.
4. I was a member and resigned.
5. Miscellaneous reasons (not sure, dues too high, second job at night).

Group	N	Reasons									
		1		2		3		4		5	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Blue-collar	32	10	31.2	8	25	6	18.7	3	9.4	5	15.7
White-collar	<u>94</u>	<u>54</u>	<u>57.4</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>9.6</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>12.8</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>7.4</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>12.8</u>
Total	126	64	50.8	17	13.5	18	14.2	10	8	17	13.5
Chi-square	7.648					Significance Level N.S.					

No significant difference exists between the blue and white-collar response to this question. The generalized reasons used to categorize the data were synthesized from the actual narrative responses provided by the sampled employees. Reason 1 appears to be supportive of the previously observed perception by the non-union employees that the union could not help them personally. Reason 2 is also supportive of this same response (could not help me personally). Reason 3 is indicative of the previously noted 39.9 percent of the sampled non-union employees who have never been asked to join. Reason 4 may be interpreted to mean that the respondent was unfavorably impressed with Local activity or did not perceive significant benefits from membership. Reason 5 indicated a variety of reasons, however; no particular reason was listed more than twice. Although a considerable number (126) of the respondents did answer this question, it is felt that the number of responses is too low to be considered representative or suitable for the purposes of drawing meaningful conclusions.

To conclude Part I of the non-union member questionnaire, question

25 gave the respondents an opportunity to express any other opinions or sentiments. Only 46 of the 316 non-union employees provided an answer to this question. The responses were grouped into generalized statements with the frequency observed as indicated in the following table.

TABLE 4.59

IS THERE ANYTHING ELSE THAT YOU MIGHT TELL ME  
THAT MIGHT BE HELPFUL?  
(NON-UNION EMPLOYEE RESPONSE)

Comment	Frequency Observed	
	Blue-collar	White-collar
1. Union activity is inappropriate for government employees.	3	7
2. Civil service system is adequate to protect our rights.	1	7
3. Unions are too powerful in this country.	3	9
4. Need more information about the AFGE before deciding to join or not.	1	4
5. AFGE doesn't act on cases of interest to employees.	4	7
Total	<u>12</u>	<u>34</u>

Comments 1 and 2 are supportive of the opinions noted in response to questions 11 and 12 of the non-union questionnaire. The opinion that unions could not help the employee personally, or the employee was opposed to the purposes of labor unions emerge as the two most important reasons of this group declining to join the AFGE. Comment 3 may be interpreted as further support for a conclusion that the non-union employees have strong reservations about the purposes of labor unions. Comments 4 and 5 appear to address issues pertaining to the Local, but comment 4 does

support the previously noted large number of respondents who indicated they had not been asked to join. Due to the small number of responses to this question, no valid conclusion can be derived.

The responses to the 25 questions of Part I of the questionnaire for non-union employees have been presented and analyzed in this section. To gain insights into the impressions or perceptions of these non-union employees in regard to government employee unions and the officers of these unions, Part II of the questionnaire (Appendix II) was utilized. The responses to this Part are included in the following table. The respondent was asked to indicate "Yes" if the words or statement described unions or union officers as perceived by the respondent, "No" if the statement did not describe the subject, and to select "?" if the respondent was undecided or did not know.

TABLE 4.60  
UNION ATTITUDE SCALE  
(PART II)  
(NON-UNION EMPLOYEE RESPONSE)

Unions:	Observed Frequency			Chi-square	Significance Level	
	Yes	No	Don't Know		Intra Group	Inter Group
1. Help people in trouble	148	47	101	3.713		N.S.
Blue-collar	51	18	25	19.515	.01	
White-collar	97	29	76	36.193	.01	
2. Are democratic	114	61	126	11.054		.01
Blue-collar	46	23	27	9.463	.01	
White-collar	68	38	99	27.367	.01	

Unions:	Observed Frequency			Chi- square	Significance Level	
	Yes	No	Don't Know		Intra Group	Inter Group
3. Hold back progress	40	149	114	4.319		N.S.
Blue-collar	18	48	31	14.156	.01	
White-collar	22	101	83	49.694	.01	
4. Have too much power	77	126	101	11.965		.01
Blue-collar	24	52	20	19.0	.01	
White-collar	53	74	81	13.281	.01	
5. Are good for workers	146	41	118	2.747		N.S.
Blue-collar	52	14	31	22.656	.01	
White-collar	94	27	87	39.318	.01	
6. Dues and fees are too high	89	60	155	10.996		.01
Blue-collar	36	25	36	2.531	N.S.	
White-collar	53	35	119	56.694	.01	
7. Force people to join who don't want to	50	182	73	0.990		N.S.
Blue-collar	17	61	20	36.636	.01	
White-collar	33	121	53	61.68	.01	
8. Make trouble	49	148	107	0.214		N.S.
Blue-collar	16	48	32	16.0	.01	
White-collar	33	100	75	33.23	.01	
9. Are useless	48	165	92	7.839		.02
Blue-collar	22	54	21	17.031	.01	
White-collar	26	111	71	52.42	.01	

Unions:		Observed Frequency			Chi- square	Significance Level	
		Yes	No	Don't Know		Intra Group	Inter Group
10.	Keep management honest	85	83	137	0.415		N.S.
	Blue-collar	28	28	41	3.531	N.S.	
	White-collar	57	55	96	15.492	.01	
11.	Keep people from getting pushed around	108	76	122	1.441		N.S.
	Blue-collar	35	28	35	0.999	N.S.	
	White-collar	73	48	87	11.317	.01	
12.	Are corrupt	53	121	130	2.695		N.S.
	Blue-collar	18	44	35	10.906	.01	
	White-collar	35	77	95	24.477	.01	
13.	Are benevolent	47	76	180	4.392		N.S.
	Blue-collar	12	31	52	25.031	.01	
	White-collar	35	45	128	75.549	.01	
14.	Are violent	42	151	113	3.997		N.S.
	Blue-collar	11	56	30	31.906	.01	
	White-collar	31	95	83	33.564	.01	
15.	Are necessary in most organizations	103	108	93	5.68		N.S.
	Blue-collar	39	37	21	6.093	.05	
	White-collar	64	71	72	0.55	N.S.	
16.	Are radical	48	144	112	8.97		.02
	Blue-collar	16	56	24	28.0	.01	
	White-collar	32	88	88	30.302	.01	

Unions:	Observed Frequency			Chi- square	Significance Level	
	Yes	No	Don't Know		Intra Group	Inter Group
17. Are worthwhile	140	56	108	1.712		N.S.
Blue-collar	46	21	30	10.031	.01	
White-collar	94	35	78	26.984	.01	
18. Protect jobs	136	56	112	1.734		N.S.
Blue-collar	44	21	31	8.312	.02	
White-collar	92	35	81	26.506	.01	
<u>Union Officers:</u>						
19. Are honest	101	42	140	9.665		.01
Blue-collar	42	13	32	14.964	.01	
White-collar	59	29	108	48.937	.01	
20. Are hardworking	121	52	138	12.341		.01
Blue-collar	50	19	27	16.187	.01	
White-collar	71	33	101	34.16	.01	
21. Are crooks	33	123	145	3.912		N.S.
Blue-collar	11	46	38	21.031	.01	
White-collar	22	77	107	53.868	.01	
22. Are helpful	129	36	136	9.005		.02
Blue-collar	49	15	31	18.093	.01	
White-collar	80	21	105	53.926	.01	
23. Are high livers	61	59	179	14.371		.01
Blue-collar	21	30	44	8.406	.02	
White-collar	40	29	135	99.91	.01	

Union Officers:		Observed Frequency			Chi- square	Significance Level	
		Yes	No	Don't Know		Intra Group	Inter Group
24.	Are up-to-date	107	23	172	7.354		.05
	Blue-collar	40	11	44	20.281	.01	
	White-collar	67	12	128	97.594	.01	
25.	Are effective	109	44	146	20.5		.01
	Blue-collar	45	21	28	4.676	.05	
	White-collar	64	23	118	66.778	.01	
26.	Ask advice from members	78	49	173	17.93		.01
	Blue-collar	34	23	38	3.781	N.S.	
	White-collar	44	26	135	100.425	.01	
27.	Make too much money	57	57	188	37.114		.01
	Blue-collar	21	36	39	5.812	N.S.	
	White-collar	36	21	149	141.926	.01	
28.	Are arrogant	50	83	168	0.298		N.S.
	Blue-collar	16	28	51	19.781	.01	
	White-collar	34	55	117	54.793	.01	
29.	Are dependable	83	43	175	15.175		.01
	Blue-collar	38	17	40	10.156	.01	
	White-collar	45	26	135	99.734	.01	
30.	Are opinionated	114	23	166	29.754		.01
	Blue-collar	52	13	31	23.812	.01	
	White-collar	62	10	135	114.289	.01	
31.	Are efficient	84	50	166	12.001		.01
	Blue-collar	37	19	39	7.593	.05	
	White-collar	47	31	127	77.808	.01	

Part II is divided into two sections. The first section (questions 1 through 18) gather data relative to the union as an institution and characteristics which directly affect the member, while the second section (questions 19 through 31) is designed to determine the non-union respondents assessment of union officers. The responses to each question were analyzed in the same manner used for the questions in Part I of the questionnaire.

In assessing the responses of the sampled non-union employees, it should be noted that the test of intergroup significance compares the blue and white-collar responses to a matrix derived distribution, while the intragroup significance level indicated in the table results from a comparison against a uniform theoretical distribution. A "Yes" response to questions 1, 2, 5, 10, 11, 13, 15, 17 and 18 indicates a favorable impression while a "No" response to questions 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12, 14 and 16 indicates a favorable impression.

In the responses to the first 18 questions regarding government employee unions, a significant difference between the blue and white-collar responses was detected in five questions. Of these questions where significant difference occurred (questions 2, 4, 6, 9 and 16), four questions (2, 4, 9 and 16) address labor unions as institutions. In question 2, a significant response emerges that unions are democratic, however; a relatively large "Don't Know" response in the white-collar group creates a significance difference in the intergroup analysis. In the response to question 4 (unions have too much power), a similar situation to that in question 2 occurred. The perception is that unions do not have too much power. Question 6 (union dues and fees are too high)



contains the same large "Don't Know" response by the white-collar group while the blue-collar group is fairly equally divided on the question. The conclusion must be that the non-union respondents are undecided or do not know whether dues and fees are too high. Question 9 (unions are useless) evoked a similar response from both groups in "Yes" or "No" terms, but the white-collar group again voiced a relatively large "Don't Know" response. This appears to be the primary source of the significant difference. Question 61 (unions are radical) produced a similar situation. As noted above, questions 2, 4, 9 and 16 addressed institutional characteristics of unions. Although there was a significant difference in the blue and white-collar responses, the overall group responses on all of these questions were indicative of a favorable impression of unions. The remainder of the questions in this Part were also significant in a direction indicating a favorable impression of unions. Non-significant responses in intragroup analysis was recorded in the blue-collar group on questions 6, 10, and 11 and on question 15 for the white-collar group, however; the combined group response was significant.

In regard to impressions of union officers, the data for questions 19 through 31 were similarly reviewed. A positive or "Yes" response to questions 19, 20, 22, 24, 25, 26, 29 and 31 indicates a favorable impression. A negative or "No" response to questions 21, 23, 27, 28, and 30 similarly indicates a favorable impression. A significant difference exists between the blue and white-collar responses to questions 19 through 31, except on questions 21 (union officers are crooks) and 28 (union officers are arrogant). However; this significance is not in a positive or negative direction. Inspection of the data reveals very large "Don't Know"

responses to each of the questions 19 through 31. In view of this, the conclusion that the sampled non-union employees have had insufficient contact with union officers to be able to formulate a definite opinion appears to be indicated.

In summary, the non-union employee responses to Part II of this questionnaire lead to the following conclusions.

1. The sampled non-union employees have a favorable impression of government employee unions.

2. The sampled non-union employees are undecided in regard to their impression of government employee union officers.

These conclusions are similar to those of Imundo in his study of non-union Air Force white-collar employees at Wright-Patterson AFB, Ohio.<sup>25</sup> His findings in that study indicated a favorable impression of government employee unions by white-collar employees, however; only 55 percent of the respondents indicated they believed union officers to be honest. He did not reveal responses to their opinions of other characteristics of union officers.

To facilitate comparison of the union member and non-union member responses to Part II of the questionnaires, Table 4.61 was prepared. This table was constructed from the aggregate union member (Table 4.27) and aggregate non-union member (Table 4.60) responses to Part II questions. For ease of comparison, the responses were arrayed in terms of favorability or "Don't Know". Chi-square analysis for intergroup significance was performed, using a matrix derived distribution for each question. Inspection of data in this table reveals that the sampled union members held a significantly more favorable impression of federal employee unions and their

officers than did the sampled non-union member employees. This was true for all 31 questions at the .01 level of significance or beyond.

TABLE 4.61  
COMPARISON OF RESPONSES TO  
UNION ATTITUDE SCALE  
(UNION MEMBER/NON-MEMBER COMPARISON)

Unions:	Favor- able	Unfavor- able	Don't Know	$\chi^2$	Signifi- cance Level
1. Help people in trouble	257	52	115	46.37	.01
Union member	109	5	14		
Non-member	148	47	101		
2. Are democratic	213	71	149	50.64	.01
Union member	99	10	23		
Non-member	114	61	126		
3. Hold back progress	255	45	135	37.04	.01
Union member	106	5	21		
Non-member	149	40	114		
4. Have too much power	224	85	127	42.57	.01
Union member	98	8	26		
Non-member	126	77	101		
5. Are good for workers	255	53	129	49.21	.01
Union member	109	12	11		
Non-member	146	41	118		
6. Dues and fees are too high	143	109	184	77.93	.01
Union member	83	20	29		
Non-member	60	89	155		

Unions:		Favorable	Unfavorable	Don't Know	$\chi^2$	Significance Level
7.	Force people to join who don't want to	292	59	86	23.26	.01
	Union member	110	9	13		
	Non-member	182	50	73		
8.	Make trouble	258	56	122	45.73	.01
	Union member	110	7	15		
	Non-member	148	49	107		
9.	Are useless	283	53	101	50.29	.01
	Union member	118	5	9		
	Non-member	165	48	92		
10.	Keep management honest	164	100	173	40.62	.01
	Union member	79	17	36		
	Non-member	85	83	137		
11.	Keep people from getting pushed around	199	86	153	44.05	.01
	Union member	91	10	31		
	Non-member	108	76	122		
12.	Are corrupt	215	60	161	37.51	.01
	Union member	94	7	31		
	Non-member	121	53	130		
13.	Are benevolent	82	123	227	19.61	.01
	Union member	35	47	47		
	Non-member	47	76	180		
14.	Are violent	258	50	129	39.87	.01
	Union member	107	8	6		
	Non-member	151	42	113		

<u>Unions:</u>		Favor- able	Unfavor- able	Don't Know	$\chi^2$	Signifi- cance Level
15.	Are necessary in most organizations	197	124	115	52.88	.01
	Union member	94	16	22		
	Non-member	103	108	93		
16.	Are radical	246	60	130	34.21	.01
	Union member	102	12	18		
	Non-member	144	48	112		
17.	Are worthwhile	243	74	119	43.06	.01
	Union member	103	18	11		
	Non-member	140	56	108		
18.	Protect jobs	237	68	131	37.67	.01
	Union member	101	12	19		
	Non-member	136	56	112		
<u>Union Officers:</u>						
19.	Are honest	170	49	182	19.14	.01
	Union member	69	7	42		
	Non-member	101	42	140		
20.	Are hardworking	209	59	154	37.05	.01
	Union member	88	7	26		
	Non-member	121	52	128		
21.	Are crooks	213	41	168	39.33	.01
	Union member	90	8	23		
	Non-member	123	33	145		
22.	Are helpful	225	43	154	46.49	.01
	Union member	96	7	18		
	Non-member	129	36	136		

Union Officers:		Favor- able	Unfavor- able	Don't Know	$\chi^2$	Signifi- cance Level
23.	Are high-livers	115	78	226	31.22	.01
	Union member	56	17	47		
	Non-member	59	61	179		
24.	Are up-to-date	190	42	189	62.85	.01
	Union member	83	19	17		
	Non-member	107	23	172		
25.	Are effective	191	59	169	38.06	.01
	Union member	82	15	23		
	Non-member	109	44	146		
26.	Ask advice from members	140	73	206	33.62	.01
	Union member	62	24	33		
	Non-member	78	49	173		
27.	Make too much money	111	71	240	30.34	.01
	Union member	54	14	52		
	Non-member	57	57	188		
28.	Are arrogant	169	55	197	70.08	.01
	Union member	86	5	29		
	Non-member	83	50	168		
29.	Are dependable	164	55	203	57.65	.01
	Union member	81	12	28		
	Non-member	83	43	175		
30.	Are opinionated	68	146	209	57.07	.01
	Union member	45	32	43		
	Non-member	23	114	166		

Union Officers:	Favorable	Unfavorable	Don't Know	X <sup>2</sup>	Significance Level
31. Are efficient	157	64	199	40.14	.01
Union member	73	14	33		
Non-member	84	50	166		

In summarizing this survey of the factors influencing the sampled employees to join or not join AFGE Local 997, the following conclusions are reached.

1. Psychological and economic factors emerge as strong reasons for the sampled AFGE members joining the union. No evidence to support a social motivation was found. Both blue and white-collar members joined for the same reasons.

2. Blue and white-collar union members have a favorable perception or impression of government employee unions and their officers.

3. The sampled non-union blue and white-collar employees did not join the AFGE because of beliefs that the union could not help them personally and personal opposition to the purposes of labor unions (a combination of psychological and economic reasons).

4. The blue and white-collar non-union employees sampled held a favorable perception of government employee unions but were largely undecided in regard to government employee union officers.

The following section of this Chapter compares appropriate portions of the sampled AFGE member responses discussed earlier in this Chapter with responses observed by Imundo at Tinker AFB, Oklahoma in 1971.

## Comparison of AFGE Local 997 and AFGE

## Local 916 Findings

This section compares relevant portions of the sampled AFGE Local 997 membership responses with those obtained by Imundo<sup>26</sup> in his 1971 study of AFGE Local 916 at Tinker AFB, Oklahoma. Although it is recognized that changing conditions in personnel administration, the equities of pay and fringe benefits, and generalized perception changes in the workforce may influence responses, it is believed that the motivations for joining unions are fundamental to the basic character of a workforce (in this case Civil Service employees of the U.S. Air Force) and are relatively unchanging in the short run.

Tinker AFB was in 1971, and still is, a major logistics depot of the U.S. Air Force. It utilizes a wide variety of skills in its civilian employee workforce. The range of duties performed range from procurement, storage and distribution of contractor produced goods, to light manufacturing, and major aircraft engine overhaul. At the time of Imundo's survey, Tinker had 23,078 employees.<sup>27</sup> Tinker is located at a major metropolitan area and draws its workforce from this area and surrounding urban and rural communities. Oklahoma had a relatively low rate of union representation in its non-agricultural workforce at the time of the survey (16.7 percent)<sup>28</sup> and now has a 15 percent representation.<sup>29</sup>

The Maxwell-Gunter complex, as described in Chapter III of this study,<sup>30</sup> composes the major elements of Air University. Air University is a unit dedicated to conducting professional military and technical education, research and doctrinal studies in designated fields. The skills mix existing in the workforce is typical of that found in most other Air Force Base support units. These range from predominantly clerical in the



colleges and schools, technical (i.e. computer programmers, analysts, plans and programs technicians, audio-visual and printing, accountants, etc.) in the headquarters and specialized organizations, to the mechanical skills typically found in facilities maintenance units (i.e. plumbers, electricians, firemen, carpenters, groundskeepers, and security personnel). At the time of this survey, the Maxwell-Gunter workforce consisted of 2,268 employees,<sup>31</sup> 1,792 of which were in the bargaining unit. The Maxwell-Gunter complex is located at the edge of a sizeable metropolitan area and draws its workforce from this area and surrounding smaller communities. Alabama ranks slightly higher than Oklahoma in the percentage of union membership in its non-agricultural workforce (19.1 percent compared to 15 percent).

In comparing the organizations in other terms, it should be noted that the blue-collar/white-collar mix in the Tinker workforce was 70 and 30 percent respectively.<sup>32</sup> The corresponding figures for the Maxwell-Gunter complex is 45.3 percent blue-collar and 54.7 percent white-collar. The average age of the Tinker workforce in 1971 was 43 years.<sup>33</sup> The average age of white-collar employees at Maxwell-Gunter is 46 years and the blue-collar average age is 52.6 years.

Although a statistical analysis was performed on all questions of the union member questionnaire, using percentages of responses obtained by Imundo as the expected frequency, only those relating to reasons for joining the AFGE will be presented and discussed. This is deemed advisable in the interest of brevity and understanding. It is not the contention of the author that these samples are from the same workforce. However; enough similarities are believed to exist to make the comparison meaningful.

In reviewing the comparison made of the demographic profiles of the two surveys, it should be noted that a significantly higher proportion of respondents in the Local 997 survey were born in Alabama than observed at Tinker (born in Oklahoma). However; Imundo's conclusion was that he was observing an Oklahoma born workforce.<sup>34</sup> Essentially the same condition existed in attending school in the state (Alabama or Oklahoma).<sup>35</sup>

A significantly higher proportion of both the blue and white-collar union members at Maxwell-Gunter indicated their parents had belonged to a union than the sampled members at Tinker. The same held true for the union being helpful to the parents.<sup>36</sup> There was no significant difference in the proportions which belonged to a union prior to coming to work at Maxwell-Gunter and Tinker.

In regard to the frequency of attendance at AFGE meetings, the blue-collar respondents at Maxwell-Gunter were significantly more active in attendance than the blue-collar respondents at Tinker. No significant difference existed between the white-collar groups.

Questions 9 through 23 of the questionnaires used in this study and the Tinker study to survey union members are identical. In the following tables, the expected frequency is the aggregate group response observed by Imundo at Tinker.

In Table 4.62, a significant difference exists between the responses of the Maxwell-Gunter and Tinker AFGE members. The Maxwell-Gunter members did perceive more social (informal group) pressure to join than did the Tinker group. However; this social pressure did not appear to be a significant factor in either study.<sup>37</sup> The intragroup

analysis reveals that the source of the significance is attributable to the blue-collar group.

TABLE 4.62

DID YOU JOIN THE AFGE BECAUSE  
YOUR FRIENDS WERE MEMBERS?  
(MAXWELL-GUNTER/TINKER COMPARISON)

Inter Group	Percentage Observed			Percentage Expected		
	Yes	No	Don't Know	Yes	No	Don't Know
Blue-collar	18.6	78	3.4	10	88	1
White-collar	<u>16.7</u>	<u>83.3</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>89</u>	<u>0</u>
Total	35.3	161.3	3.4	20	177	1
Chi-square	19.146			Significance Level .01		
<u>Intragroup</u>	<u>X<sup>2</sup></u>			<u>Significance Level</u>		
Blue-collar	14.292			.01		
White-collar	4.854			N.S.		

In Table 4.63 a significant difference exists between the responses of the Tinker<sup>38</sup> and Maxwell-Gunter groups. Although this measurement of the relative importance of social group pressure to join was perceived greater in the Maxwell-Gunter group (the source of the significance lies within the white-collar group response), this form of social motivation does not emerge as a major reason for joining.

Also, in Table 4.64 a significant intergroup difference exists between the Maxwell-Gunter and Tinker<sup>39</sup> responses. The white-collar responses are almost identical, with a slightly higher indication of this form of social pressure being detected in the Maxwell-Gunter blue-collar response.

TABLE 4.63

DID YOU FEEL THAT YOU WERE PRESSURED BY  
YOUR FRIENDS INTO JOINING THE AFGE?  
(MAXWELL-GUNTER/TINKER COMPARISON)

Inter Group	Percentage Observed			Percentage Expected		
	Yes	No	Don't Know	Yes	No	Don't Know
Blue-collar	8.5	88.1	3.4	0	98	1
White-collar	<u>11.1</u>	<u>88.9</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>98</u>	<u>0</u>
Total	19.6	177	3.4	1	196	1
Chi-square	106.255			Significance Level .01		
<u>Intragroup</u>	<u>X<sup>2</sup></u>			<u>Significance Level</u>		
Blue-collar	3.4			N.S.		
White-collar	102.855			.01		

TABLE 4.64

DID YOU FEEL THAT YOU WERE PRESSURED BY PEOPLE  
OTHER THAN YOUR FRIENDS INTO JOINING THE AFGE?  
(MAXWELL-GUNTER/TINKER COMPARISON)

Inter Group	Percentage Observed			Percentage Expected		
	Yes	No	Don't Know	Yes	No	Don't Know
Blue-collar	13.6	86.4	0	8	90	1
White-collar	<u>2.8</u>	<u>94.4</u>	<u>2.8</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>95</u>	<u>1</u>
Total	16.4	180.8	2.8	10	185	2
Chi-square	8.628			Significance Level .02		
<u>Intragroup</u>	<u>X<sup>2</sup></u>			<u>Significance Level</u>		
Blue-collar	5.064			N.S.		
White-collar	3.564			N.S.		

In reviewing the responses to questions 9, 10, and 11 (relating to social pressure to join), it must be concluded that social pressure to join the AFGE was detected in both workforces but was not a primary motivation to join in this study or Imundo's Tinker findings. However; evidence of social motivation was significantly stronger at Maxwell-Gunter than at Tinker.

Questions 12 and 13 (Tables 4.65 and 4.66) deal with a combination of psychological and economic motivation.

TABLE 4.65

DID YOU JOIN THE AFGE BECAUSE YOU BELIEVE  
THAT IT CAN HELP YOU PERSONALLY?  
(MAXWELL-GUNTER/TINKER COMPARISON)

Inter Group	Percentage Observed			Percentage Expected		
	Yes	No	Don't Know	Yes	No	Don't Know
Blue-collar	96.7	3.3	0	85	9	4
White-collar	<u>75</u>	<u>13.9</u>	<u>11.1</u>	<u>81</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>5</u>
Total	171.7	17.2	11.1	166	22	9
Chi-square	14.168			Significance Level .01		
<u>Intragroup</u>	<u>X<sup>2</sup></u>			<u>Significance Level</u>		
Blue-collar	6.22			.05		
White-collar	7.948			.02		

In response to the question above, the blue-collar group difference results from a significantly higher number of Maxwell-Gunter blue-collar responses that the union could help them personally. The opposite occurred in the white-collar response. The significance of the white-collar response appears to be highly influenced by a "Don't Know" response by

the Maxwell-Gunter group which is over twice as large as the Tinker white-collar group.<sup>40</sup> Both the Maxwell-Gunter and Tinker groups expressed a very strong belief that the union could help them personally.

TABLE 4.66

DID YOU JOIN THE AFGE BECAUSE YOU BELIEVE  
IN THE PURPOSES OF LABOR UNIONS?  
(MAXWELL-GUNTER/TINKER COMPARISON)

Inter Group	Percentage Observed			Percentage Expected		
	Yes	No	Don't Know	Yes	No	Don't Know
Blue-collar	93.2	6.8	0	86	8	5
White-collar	<u>69.4</u>	<u>19.4</u>	<u>11.1</u>	<u>80</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>8</u>
Total	162.6	26.2	11.1	166	18	13
Chi-square	13.223			Significance Level .01		
<u>Intragroup</u>	<u>X<sup>2</sup></u>			<u>Significance Level</u>		
Blue-collar	1.782			N.S.		
White-collar	11.441			.01		

As was observed in the response in Table 4.65, the blue-collar group at Maxwell-Gunter expressed a significantly higher level of agreement with the question. Similarly, the white-collar Maxwell-Gunter group expressed a lower degree of belief that they joined due to a belief in the purposes of unions. However; in both groups, at both locations, this question evoked a very large positive response. It must be concluded, in view of the responses to questions 12 and 13 in both studies that the belief the union could help the employee personally and agreement with the basic purposes of unions emerge as highly significant factors in the decision of the sampled AFGE members to join the union. This supports

psychological and economic reasons for joining.

Questions 14 and 15 (Tables 4.67 and 4.68) provide further insight into the psychological reasons, and relative strength, in comparing the two groups.

TABLE 4.67

BEFORE JOINING THE AFGE, DID YOU FEEL THAT MANAGEMENT  
HAD BEEN UNFAIR IN DEALING WITH WORKERS?  
(MAXWELL-GUNTER/TINKER COMPARISON)

Inter Group	Percentage Observed			Percentage Expected		
	Yes	No	Don't Know	Yes	No	Don't Know
Blue-collar	67.8	20.3	11.9	80	12	8
White-collar	<u>77.8</u>	<u>11.1</u>	<u>11.1</u>	<u>65</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>8</u>
Total	145.6	31.4	23	145	37	16
Chi-square	20.949			Significance Level .01		
<u>Intragroup</u>	<u>X<sup>2</sup></u>			<u>Significance Level</u>		
Blue-collar	9.5			.01		
White-collar	11.448			.01		

A significant difference does exist between the responses of the Maxwell-Gunter and Tinker groups. A lower proportion of the blue-collar group at Maxwell-Gunter believed that management had treated them unfairly before joining the AFGE than the corresponding group at Tinker.<sup>41</sup> A higher proportion of the Maxwell-Gunter members voiced this opinion in the white-collar ranks than was observed at Tinker. A larger "Don't Know" response at Maxwell-Gunter appears to contribute substantially to the intergroup significance. Data at both locations indicate a strong

opinion that management had treated the respondents unfairly before they joined the AFGE.

TABLE 4.68

BEFORE JOINING THE AFGE, DID YOU FEEL THAT MANAGEMENT WOULD  
NOT PAY ATTENTION TO WHAT WORKERS HAD TO SAY?  
(MAXWELL-GUNTER/TINKER COMPARISON)

Inter Group	Percentage Observed			Percentage Expected		
	Yes	No	Don't Know	Yes	No	Don't Know
Blue-collar	64.4	23.7	11.9	84	9	6
White-collar	<u>72.2</u>	<u>22.2</u>	<u>5.6</u>	<u>69</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>7</u>
Total	136.6	45.9	17.5	153	32	13
Chi-square	34.839			Significance Level .01		
<u>Intragroup</u>	<u><math>\chi^2</math></u>			<u>Significance Level</u>		
Blue-collar	34.384			.01		
White-collar	0.455			N.S.		

A significant difference exists between the Maxwell-Gunter and Tinker group responses.<sup>42</sup> This difference is attributable to a significantly lower perception on the part of the Maxwell-Gunter blue-collar group that management would not pay attention to what workers had to say. A substantial majority of blue and white-collar respondents at both locations indicated they felt management would not pay attention to what workers had to say.

In assessing the meaning contained in the responses to questions 14 and 15, it must be concluded that the sampled members at both locations were of the opinion that management had been unfair in dealing with workers before they joined the union and that management would not pay attention



to what workers had to say. This conclusion supports the psychological reason for these members joining the AFGE.

Questions 16 and 17 provided responses as to whether the members believed management had treated employees more fairly since the AFGE had been the exclusive bargaining agent and whether the members felt that management paid more attention to what they had to say after joining the AFGE. In response to both questions, at both locations,<sup>43</sup> the members were of the opinion that management had treated them more fairly since being represented by AFGE and paid more attention to what they had to say since joining the AFGE.

Questions 18 and 19 addressed the issues of whether the Civil Service system protects the rights of individual government employees and whether the Civil Service system should be discontinued. The Tinker group<sup>44</sup> held a significantly stronger opinion that the Civil Service system does not protect the rights of individual employees than the Maxwell-Gunter group. Both groups further expressed a strong and significant opinion that the Civil Service system should not be discontinued in response to question 19.

Questions 20 and 21 (Tables 4.69 and 4.70) are directed toward the economic motivation for the sampled members joining the AFGE. In Table 4.69 the Tinker group<sup>45</sup> was significantly stronger in its belief that AFGE membership is the best way to get wage and fringe benefit increases. However; both groups appear firmly convinced that the AFGE is highly beneficial in terms of gaining economic benefits. Question 21, in Table 4.70, addresses the desirability of the AFGE engaging in collective bargaining with the government on economic issues.

TABLE 4.69

DO YOU FEEL THAT MEMBERSHIP IN THE AFGE IS THE BEST WAY TO GET  
WAGE AND FRINGE BENEFIT INCREASES FROM THE GOVERNMENT?  
(MAXWELL-GUNTER/TINKER COMPARISON)

Inter Group	Percentage Observed			Percentage Expected		
	Yes	No	Don't Know	Yes	No	Don't Know
Blue-collar	83.1	8.5	8.5	83	8	8
White-collar	<u>65.7</u>	<u>11.4</u>	<u>22.9</u>	<u>76</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>12</u>
Total	148.8	19.9	31.4	159	18	20
Chi-square	11.554			Significance Level .01		
<u>Intragroup</u>	<u>X<sup>2</sup></u>			<u>Significance Level</u>		
Blue-collar	0.062			N.S.		
White-collar	11.491			.01		

TABLE 4.70

DO YOU BELIEVE THAT THE AFGE, ACTING FOR YOU, SHOULD BARGAIN  
WITH MANAGEMENT TO GET WAGE AND FRINGE BENEFIT INCREASES?  
(MAXWELL-GUNTER/TINKER COMPARISON)

Inter Group	Percentage Observed			Percentage Expected		
	Yes	No	Don't Know	Yes	No	Don't Know
Blue-collar	91.5	3.4	5.1	89	6	4
White-collar	<u>87.3</u>	<u>5.6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>80</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>11</u>
Total	178.8	9	12.1	169	14	15
Chi-square	4.338			Significance Level N.S.		
<u>Intragroup</u>	<u>X<sup>2</sup></u>			<u>Significance Level</u>		
Blue-collar	1.48			N.S.		
White-collar	2.84			N.S.		

In Table 4.70, both groups at both locations indicated a very strong opinion that AFGE should engage in bargaining with the government on economic issues. The Maxwell-Gunter group was slightly, but not significantly, stronger in this opinion than the Tinker group.<sup>46</sup> The combined responses produced by questions 20 and 21 provide very strong evidence that the economic motivation was a highly significant factor in influencing members of both surveys to join the AFGE.

Questions 22 and 23 (Tables 4.71 and 4.72) are designed to assess opinions relative to the strike right and propriety of strikes by federal employees.

TABLE 4.71

DO YOU FEEL THAT, WHEN ALL ELSE FAILS, GOVERNMENT EMPLOYERS  
SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO GO ON STRIKE THE SAME AS WORKERS  
OUTSIDE OF GOVERNMENT ARE ALLOWED TO STRIKE THEIR  
EMPLOYERS?  
(MAXWELL-GUNTER/TINKER COMPARISON)

Inter Group	Percentage Observed			Percentage Expected		
	Yes	No	Don't Know	Yes	No	Don't Know
Blue-collar	47.5	44.1	8.5	35	53	10
White-collar	<u>43.1</u>	<u>34.7</u>	<u>22.2</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>63</u>	<u>10</u>
Total	90.6	78.8	30.7	60	116	20
Chi-square	46.883			Significance Level .01		
<u>Intragroup</u>	<u>X<sup>2</sup></u>			<u>Significance Level</u>		
Blue-collar	6.183			.05		
White-collar	40.7			.01		

A highly significant difference exists between the Maxwell-Gunter and Tinker<sup>47</sup> groups on this question. Both the blue and white-collar

Maxwell-Gunter groups indicated a significantly higher opinion that federal employees should have the strike right. However; no group at Maxwell-Gunter or Tinker held this view as a majority. It is believed that the shift in opinion noted is of great interest and indicative of a coming majority opinion that the strike right should be granted in the government.

TABLE 4.72

IF THE AFGE CALLED A STRIKE, BECAUSE OF A PROBLEM  
WITH MANAGEMENT, WOULD YOU GO OUT ON STRIKE?  
(MAXWELL-GUNTER/TINKER COMPARISON)

Inter Group	Percentage Observed			Percentage Expected		
	Yes	No	Don't Know	Yes	No	Don't Know
Blue-collar	47.5	30.5	22	26	45	28
White-collar	23.9	35.2	40.8	18	52	29
Total	71.4	65.7	62.8	44	97	57
Chi-square	35.896			Significance Level .01		
<u>Intragroup</u>	<u><math>\chi^2</math></u>			<u>Significance Level</u>		
Blue-collar	23.735			.01		
White-collar	12.161			.01		

As was true in the question 22 response, a highly significant difference exists in the comparison of the Maxwell-Gunter and Tinker responses.<sup>48</sup> The Maxwell-Gunter group expresses a significantly higher opinion that they would go out on strike. The presence of a very large "Don't Know" response exists in both groups.

In summary, this comparison of the findings of Imundo at Tinker in 1971 and the findings of this inquiry at the Maxwell-Gunter complex leads to the following conclusions.

1. Social reasons for joining the AFGE were present to a stronger degree in the Maxwell-Gunter findings than at Tinker. However; in both cases the social reasons were insignificant in comparison to other reasons given.

2. A combination of psychological and economic reasons emerge as the primary reason the Maxwell-Gunter and Tinker groups joined the AFGE.

3. A large majority of both groups analyzed were of the opinion that management had been unfair and paid more attention to them after they joined and that they were not adequately protected by the Civil Service system. A large majority of both groups believed that the AFGE should bargain on economic issues.

4. A significant difference was evident in the opinion of the Maxwell-Gunter and Tinker groups on the propriety of the strike right for federal employees and an expression of a willingness to strike. The Maxwell-Gunter group gave a higher positive response to both the strike right and the act of striking. However; a majority in support of these issues did not exist.

The following Chapter tests the hypotheses of this study and offers a summary and conclusions.

Endnotes

1. William R. Klecka, Norman H. Nie and C. Hadlai Hull, SPSS Primer: Statistical Package for the Social Sciences, (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1975), p. 70ff.

2. N.M. Downie and R.W. Heath, Basic Statistical Methods, (New York: Harper & Row, 1970), pp. 196-214.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. J. Seidman, J. London, and B. Karsh, "Why Workers Join Unions", op. cit., p. 76.

6. Louis V. Imundo, Jr., Why Government Employees Join Unions: A Study of AFGE Local 916, op. cit., p. 170

7. U.S. Department of Commerce, Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1977, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1978), Table No. 619, p. 384.

8. Ibid.

9. J. Seidman, J. London, and B. Karsh, op. cit.

10. Imundo, op. cit., Table 9, p. 175.

11. Mr. Alley, op. cit., July 6, 1977.

12. Imundo, op. cit., Table 13, p. 179.

13. Mr. Alley, op. cit.

14. Chapter II, p. 44.

15. Ibid., p. 46.

16. Ibid., p. 48.

17. Ibid., p. 49.

18. Ibid., p. 58.

19. Ibid., p. 44.

20. Ibid., p. 52.

21. Ibid., p. 53.

22. Ibid., p. 60.

23. Chapter I, p. 14.
24. Chapter IV, p. 114.
25. Louis V. Imundo, Jr., "Attitudes of Non-Union White-Collar Federal Government Employees Toward Unions", Public Personnel Management, (January-February 1974), pp. 87-92.
26. Louis V. Imundo, Jr., Why Government Employees Join Unions: A Study of AFGE Local 916, op. cit.
27. Ibid., p. 152.
28. Ibid., p. 170.
29. U.S. Department of Commerce, Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1977, op. cit.
30. Chapter III, p. 82.
31. Chapter III, p. 89.
32. Louis V. Imundo, Jr., Why Government Employees Join Unions: A Study of AFGE Local 916, op. cit., Table 40, p. 245.
33. Ibid., p. 181.
34. Ibid., Table 34, p. 239.
35. Ibid., Table 35, p. 240.
36. Ibid., Tables 36 and 37, p. 241-242.
37. Ibid., Table 17, p. 184.
38. Ibid., Table 18, p. 185.
39. Ibid., Table 19, p. 186.
40. Ibid., Table 20, p. 187.
41. Ibid., Table 22, p. 190.
42. Ibid., Table 23, p. 191.
43. Ibid., Imundo's data is contained in Tables 24 and 25, pp. 193-194.
44. Ibid., Tables 26 and 27, pp. 196-197.
45. Ibid., Table 28, p. 198.

- 46. Ibid., Table 29, p. 200.
- 47. Ibid., Table 30, p. 201.
- 48. Ibid., Table 31, p. 202.



## CHAPTER V

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Approximately seven years have passed since the publication of Imundo's inquiry into the reasons members of AFGE Local 916 at Tinker AFB, Oklahoma joined the AFGE. Given the evolving nature of federal sector labor-management relations and personnel administration, it was deemed desirable to partially replicate Imundo's research design in another AFGE Local and determine the motivation of that selected group of members for joining. Further, the literature yields only two inquiries into the opinions of non-union federal employees. One of these dealt with attitudes of non-union white-collar employees<sup>1</sup> and the other with attitudes of federal scientists and engineers toward unions.<sup>2</sup> A study had not been done which compared blue and white-collar union member opinions and motivations with blue and white-collar non-union members of the same workforce. Similarly, no published study provided a comparison of union member and non-union employee perceptions of government employee unions and officers of these unions.

The first three Chapters of this study are devoted to establishing the significance of federal labor relations, previous research on federal labor relations, and reasons for workers joining or not joining unions

and describing the labor-management relationship existing at the site of the survey. Chapter IV described the sample and data analysis methodology, presented the findings based on this survey, and compared selected questions in the survey with Imundo's findings at Tinker AFB.

In this concluding Chapter, the hypotheses formulated for this study are tested and accepted or rejected. Although the data is believed to be representative of the AFGE union membership and non-union employees in the bargaining unit at the Maxwell-Gunter complex, the extension of the conclusions to other locales of the federal government must be done with extreme caution. The conclusions stated in this study are not intended as a general theory of federal employee motivation for joining or declining to join a union.

The data pertaining to the sampled members of AFGE Local 997 and non-union employees reveals the following findings which are considered of significance.

1. Of the 73.5 percent of the union member respondents who were born in Alabama, 78 percent also attended school there.

2. Only 27.7 percent of the union member respondents indicated that one of their parents had been a union member. Of these, 89.2 percent stated the union had been beneficial to their parent(s).

3. Of the sampled union members, 34.1 percent had belonged to a union at some point in their work history prior to working at Maxwell-Gunter.

4. Over 47 percent of the union member respondents had been employed at Maxwell-Gunter for over 15 years and the same percentage were also over 50 years old. The highest level of representation occurs

in the over 50 age group for blue-collar employees and the 41-50 age group for white-collar employees.

5. Various forms of social pressure appears to account for about 25 percent of the union member respondents' decision to join.

6. The strongest reasons to join, as revealed by the data, appears to be psychological and economic. The belief that the union could help the member and a belief in the purposes of labor unions were very strong (84.8 percent and 80.2 percent respectively). The importance of the psychological reason for joining is strengthened by the 73.3 percent of the union member response that management had been unfair to workers and 68.7 percent who felt management would not pay attention to workers before they joined the union. Further, 54.2 percent of the sampled union members were of the opinion that the Civil Service system does not protect their rights. Similarly, 73.6 percent of the union member respondents expressed the opinion that AFGE membership is the best way to get higher economic benefits and 89.2 percent believed the AFGE should bargain with the government for these benefits.

7. As to the propriety of the strike in the government, 45 percent of the union member respondents expressed the opinion they should be allowed to strike and 34.6 percent indicated they would go on strike.

8. The sampled union members expressed a highly favorable opinion of government employee unions and the officers of these unions.

9. Of the 60.8 percent of the non-union respondents who were born in Alabama, 69.9 percent also attended school there.

10. Only 19.4 percent of the non-union respondents indicated their parents had belonged to a union. Of this group, 72.9 percent stated that the union had been beneficial to their parents.

11. A small proportion (18.7 percent) of the sampled non-union employees had belonged to a union before entering the Maxwell-Gunter workforce.

12. The largest percentage (35.1) of the non-union respondents had been employed at Maxwell-Gunter over 15 years. The next largest grouping occurred at the less than five years level (31 percent).

13. Less than 15 percent of the non-union members indicated any form of social pressure upon them not to join the AFGE.

14. A substantial proportion (37.3 percent) of the non-members indicated they declined to join because they didn't believe the union could help them personally. Another 14.6 percent indicated they declined due to opposition to union purposes.

15. In regard to the relationship between labor and management, 49.4 percent of the non-union respondents were of the opinion that management had not been unfair in dealing with workers and 40.6 percent felt that management paid attention to what the workers said. This appears to indicate the satisfaction of some psychological needs in the relationship between workers and management.

16. Only 22 percent of the non-union respondents believed that management treated workers better since AFGE began representing them and only 27 percent felt management paid more attention to AFGE members.

17. A majority (53.7 percent) of the non-union respondents felt that the Civil Service system protected their rights and strongly opposed its discontinuance.

18. The non-union respondents were not convinced that the AFGE is effective in securing higher economic benefits (only 24.8 percent

indicated the AFGE was the best way to obtain higher benefits). However; 48.9 percent of the respondents believed AFGE should bargain with the government.

19. The strike is not accepted as a legitimate practice by the non-union respondents. Only 27.5 percent believed the strike right should exist, and only 14.7 percent indicated they would go on strike. Almost 15 percent indicated they would join the AFGE if it had a right to strike.

20. The non-union respondents expressed a favorable impression of federal employee unions and were undecided in their impression of federal employee union officers.

Based on the findings of this study, the following hypotheses are accepted or rejected as indicated.

Hypothesis 1 - The reasons why the sampled blue-collar and white-collar AFGE Local 997 members joined the union are significantly different from the reasons why workers in the private sector join unions.

Accepted. Bakke, Seidman, et. al., Walker and Guest, and Rose found that social pressure or the satisfaction of a social need was a strong motivator in the decision of private sector workers to join unions. These same writers also found evidence of attendant psychological motivations. Chamberlin and Link found an economic or results motivation to be the strongest factor. It was concluded in Chapter II of this study that white-collar workers join primarily for psychological reasons, with social and economic reasons being relatively less important. In reviewing the findings of this study, it must be concluded that both blue and white-collar union member respondents joined for psychological and economic reasons. Social reasons appeared very weak in comparison to psychological and economic reasons.

Hypothesis 2 - The sampled blue-collar and white-collar AFGE Local 997 members joined the union for the same reasons.

Accepted, in view of the rationale given in response to Hypothesis 1 above and the fact that no significant difference exists in the blue and white-collar union member responses contained in Tables 4.15, 4.16, 4.21 and 4.22 in Chapter IV. These questions address psychological and economic issues respectively.

Hypothesis 3 - The perception of the sampled blue-collar and white-collar AFGE Local 997 members of government employee unions is favorable.

Accepted. The blue and white-collar union members responses to the first 18 questions of Part II of the questionnaire used for union members were significant in the hypothesized direction (Table 4.27).

Hypothesis 4 - The perception of the sampled blue-collar and white-collar AFGE Local 997 members of government employee unions is the same.

Accepted. Significant differences were recorded between the blue and white-collar responses to only five of the 18 questions. Inspection of the data revealed that a substantially large "Don't Know" response by the white-collar union member group was responsible for this difference in all five questions (Table 4.27).

Hypothesis 5 - The perception of the sampled blue-collar and white-collar AFGE Local 997 members of government employee union officers is favorable.

Accepted. The blue and white-collar union member responses to 12 of the 13 questions pertaining to this hypothesis in Part II of the union member questionnaire were significant in the hypothesized direction (Table 4.27).

Hypothesis 6 - The perception of the sampled blue-collar and white-collar AFGE Local 997 members of government employee union officers is the same.

Accepted. Although significantly different responses were recorded between blue and white-collar responses in six of the 13 questions pertaining to union officers in Part II of the union member questionnaire, an investigation of the differences revealed that the significance was attributable to a proportionately larger "Don't Know" response by the white-collar group.

Hypothesis 7 - The reasons why the sampled blue-collar and white-collar employees did not join the AFGE are significantly different from the reasons why workers in the private sector did not join unions.

Accepted. Bakke concluded that the values of the worker's social group were the controlling factor in the decision to join a union. It follows that if the worker's social group did not value collective (union) actions, this would emerge as a strong reason for not joining. Seidman, London and Karsh saw family background, prior work and union experience, and personal experience in the workplace as being important factors. It follows that a lack of prior association with the union, a relative lack of union experience in the family experience and a relatively high level of satisfaction with psychological and economic conditions in the workplace would serve to demotivate the worker toward union membership. Chamberlin and Link concluded that economic and job security concerns were the primary motivators for joining a union. In the investigation into the reasons private sector white-collar workers have joined unions, it was concluded that psychological reasons were the most important.

Economic and social factors were deemed to be relatively less important.

In assessing the responses of the sampled non-union employees to questions relating to the points raised above, the following is significant. Almost 61 percent of the respondents were born in Alabama and 69.9 percent went to school there. Only 19.4 percent indicated one of their parents had belonged to a union and only 18.7 percent indicated they had belonged to a union prior to their current job. This indicates that the respondents come from a social background which is not pro-union.

This is in agreement with the expectation based upon the literature. Various forms of social pressure did not emerge as a significant reason for not joining (Tables 4.38, 4.39, and 4.40). In response to questions 12 and 13 of the non-union employee questionnaire, a total of 51.9 percent of the respondents indicated they were either opposed to the purposes of unions or did not believe a union could help them personally (Tables 4.41 and 4.42). Non-union employee responses in Tables 4.43, 4.44, 4.48 and 4.50 support a conclusion that the psychological needs of the sampled employees are being met. Tables 4.52 and 4.53 indicate that the respondents do not believe the AFGE is effective in gaining economic benefits but would like to see it engage in real bargaining on economic issues. This supports a conclusion that even though some economic dissatisfaction may exist in the non-union employees, the AFGE is not perceived as a viable means of gaining satisfaction. In summary, the sampled non-union blue and white-collar employees did not join the union for a combination of psychological and economic reasons. Social pressure not to join was not a significant factor.

Hypothesis 8 - The sampled blue-collar and white-collar employees declined to join the AFGE for the same reasons.



Accepted. Tables 4.38, 4.39 and 4.40 reveal social pressure was not a major reason for not joining the AFGE. As stated in the response to Hypothesis 7, the psychological and economic needs of the employees appear to be satisfactorily met by the employer.

Hypothesis 9 - The perception of government employee unions, of the sampled blue-collar and white-collar non-union employees is the same.

Accepted. As noted in the analysis of Part II of the non-union questionnaire (Table 4.60), there was a significant difference in the blue and white-collar response in only four of the 18 questions. All group responses were in the same direction.

Hypothesis 10 - The perception of government employee unions, of the sampled blue-collar and white-collar non-union employees who declined to join is favorable, but is not as favorable as the perception of union members by a significant margin.

Accepted. Although four of the 36 intragroup analyses in the first 18 questions of Part II, non-union questionnaire (Table 4.60) were not significant, it must be concluded that an overall favorable impression of government employee unions does exist. Inspection of the data in Table 4.61 reveals that the sampled AFGE members hold a significantly more favorable perception than do the non-union respondents.

Hypothesis 11 - The perception of the sampled blue-collar and white-collar non-union employees of government employee union officers is favorable but not as favorable as the perception of union members by a significant margin.

Rejected. Data contained in questions 19 through 31 (Part II) of the non-union questionnaire responses (Table 4.60) reveals that the

sampled non-union employees are undecided as to their perception of government employee union officers.

Hypothesis 12 - The perception of the sampled blue-collar and white-collar non-union employees of government employee union officers is the same.

Accepted. Although as noted in the discussion of Hypothesis 11 above, this is meaningless in terms of favorability of perception. It must be concluded the perception of both blue and white-collar non-union employees is undecided.

### Conclusions

The federal sector labor-management relationship is still undergoing a difficult maturation process. The federal sector unions are hopeful of an expanded scope of bargaining, and younger members now entering the federal workforce have difficulty accepting the constraints of the sovereignty doctrine and the Civil Service system. Federal sector management is faced with increasing demands to do more with less and is seeking additional ways of enhancing productivity.

The findings of this study, in the AFGE member group, indicate serious reservations about the relationship between themselves and management. The Civil Service system is not viewed as being a reliable protector of their rights and a large majority believe the scope of bargaining should be expanded to include economic issues.

The primary reasons for these sampled members joining the AFGE were a combination of economic and psychological. This is strongly supportive of the conclusion that workers view the union as necessary to assert their views and secure economic gains.

The strike is gaining acceptability among federal employee union members as a means of asserting views and gaining economic demands. The data in this survey reveals that over one third of the union members would actually go on strike. This number is sufficient to have a serious impact on the capability of an organization to meet its production goals.

The sampled union members are convinced of the necessity for government employee unions and hold highly favorable perceptions of the unions and their officers.

It appears that federal employee unions have a secure future in representing federal employees and will more closely resemble private sector unions in objectives and tactics in the future.

The possibility of actions on the part of the federal government to meet demands for economic bargaining and a "better" system than the Civil Service system does not appear promising. In fact, the opposite appears more likely.

A majority of the non-union employees indicated they declined to join because of a lack of belief that the union could help them personally or opposition to the purposes of labor unions. Social pressure did not emerge as a significant factor in declining to join. This finding plus a substantial positive response to those questions relating to satisfaction of psychological and economic needs indicate that management is perceived, by the non-union employees, as satisfying the psychological and economic needs of these employees.

Although the non-union members expressed a favorable opinion of government employee unions, there is doubt that these unions are effective within the constraints of the current federal labor-management relationship. This is evidenced by the finding that only 24.8 percent of this

group indicated they considered the AFGE the best way to gain economic benefits. Further, almost half of the non-union employees were of the opinion that AFGE should bargain with the government for economic benefits.

Non-union member employees do not view the strike as an acceptable means for federal employees to assert themselves. As noted earlier, only 27.5 percent believe the strike right should exist and an even smaller percentage indicated they would go on strike. However; this percentage which indicated they would strike, acting in concert with AFGE members, could result in over half of the workforce actually going on strike.

The non-union employees hold a favorable perception of federal employee unions. They are just not convinced that these unions can directly benefit them in the current labor-management environment. If there is a degradation in management's satisfaction of the psychological and economic needs of employees, many of these employees will join a union. If the federal employee unions achieve an expanded scope of bargaining, they may be able to attract new members based on anticipated gains.

At the local level, it appears that the relationship between AFGE Local 997 and the Maxwell-Gunter complex could continue relatively unchanged for the next few years. However; the Maxwell-Gunter workforce is aging, as well as the Local membership. A substantial turnover must occur in the next few years. Aggressive recruiting action must be taken by the Local if it is to maintain its place in the labor force. The attitudes of these new members and the succeeding generation of managers at Maxwell-Gunter will no doubt be influenced by the opinions revealed in this survey. Tougher bargaining by the union and more effective human resource management by the new managers will no doubt occur.

If managers are to be more effective in meeting the needs of employees, and therefore thwarting union organizing initiatives, they must concentrate on psychological and economic needs. Given that federal managers must work within the system in the short run, and can only recommend action to agency management in the long run, it appears that operating managers could address the satisfaction of psychological and economic needs as follows.

In the satisfaction of psychological needs the manager must know his employees, listen to what they have to say, and insure they get a fair hearing on all issues. It is not necessary that the employee win every action he pursues. However; it is important that the employee understands the Civil Service system and the rationale for decisions made. The unfortunate perception that the Civil Service system is an oppressive tool of management is all too prevalent.

In the satisfaction of economic needs, the federal manager must assist employees in advancing within the system. Obviously most economic rewards are outside the control of the lower level manager. However; as was noted in regard to the satisfaction of psychological needs, the manager must know his people. They all have skills, aspirations, and potential for advancement. The manager must show the employee how he can qualify himself for greater economic rewards in the federal system.

Management must not be a passive, custodial function. It must be an aggressive, results-oriented approach to achieving optimum efficiency in federal operations. People are obviously one of the primary elements in the production function. An enlightened, sincere, people oriented management can maximize the human factor in the production function.

Due to the privacy rights of individuals, the sensitivity of labor-management relations in government organizations, and the relative lack of academic interest in federal labor relations, an insufficient amount of research is being conducted in this area. Additional research is needed on an expanded departmental, geographical, and longitudinal basis in federal labor relations. This is an area of activity which can no longer be regarded as another form of "company" unionism. The consequences of shortfalls in the operation of the federal labor relations system have the potential for disastrous consequences for every American.

Endnotes

1. Louis V. Imundo, Jr., "Attitudes of Non-Union White-Collar Federal Employees Toward Unions", op. cit.

2. Roger Manley and Charles W. McNichols, "Attitudes of Federal Scientists and Engineers Toward Unions", Monthly Labor Review, April, 1975, pp. 57-60.

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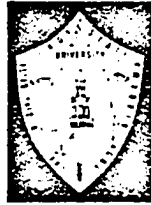
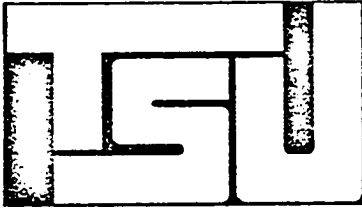
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Lanthrip, C.E., Sr., President, AFGE Local 997, July 6, 1977.

## APPENDIX I



# THE TROY STATE UNIVERSITY SYSTEM

FOUNDED 1887

TROY STATE UNIVERSITY IN MONTGOMERY, MAXWELL  
BUILDING 625  
MAXWELL AFB, ALABAMA 36112  
Phone: (205) 834-7140

Dear AFGE Member

I am presently writing a research report on government employee unions, as a part of a degree program at the University of Oklahoma. A summary of this research report will also be furnished to the Division of Business, Troy State University, Montgomery, AL. By completing the attached questionnaire, you can add to our knowledge of the purposes served by government employee unions. This survey has been reviewed and approved by the President of AFGE Local 997 and the National President of AFGE.

The attached questionnaire will only take a few moments of your time to answer and requires only that you check the best answer, according to your opinion. Your answers are strictly confidential and can in no way be related to you as an individual. Please do-not sign your name to the questionnaire or put your return on the envelope.

I would appreciate return of the questionnaire, in the addressed, postage-paid envelope, within one week after receipt.

Your cooperation will be sincerely appreciated.

Sincerely

HARVEY N. NYE  
Adjunct Instructor  
Business Division

PRIVACY ACT STATEMENT  
FOR USAF SCN 77-100B

In accordance with paragraph 30, AFR 12-35, the following information is provided by the Privacy Act of 1974.

The authority for collection of this data is 5 U.S.C. 301, 10 U.S.C. 8012, and DOD Instruction 1100.13, 17 April 1968.

The purpose for which this data is gathered is purely academic. Data collected will be summarized, subjected to various statistical analyses, and incorporated into a doctoral dissertation being prepared for submission to the Graduate School of Business, University of Oklahoma.

The statistical summaries produced as a result of this survey may be used in the future on a routine basis by others conducting research in this area.

Participation in this survey is purely voluntary. Any individual desiring not to furnish the information requested may do so without fear of personal identification or any future adverse impact.



Confidential Questionnaire  
(Part I)

Please check the one best answer:

1. Were you born in Alabama?  
A. ☐ Yes B. ☐ No
2. While you were between 7 and 18 years old:  
A. Did you attend school in Alabama?  
☐ Yes ☐ No  
B. Did either of your parents belong to a labor union?  
☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ Don't Know  
C. If yes, did they feel that the union was helpful to them?  
☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ Don't Know
3. Before you began to work at Maxwell/Gunter, did you ever belong to a union?  
A. ☐ Yes B. ☐ No
4. How long have you worked at Maxwell/Gunter?  
A. ☐ Less than 5 years C. ☐ 11 to 15 years  
B. ☐ 5 to 10 years D. ☐ Over 15 years
5. Is your job classified as:  
A. ☐ Wage Board B. ☐ General Schedule
6. How old are you?  
A. ☐ Less than 30 years C. ☐ 41 to 50 years  
B. ☐ 30 to 40 years D. ☐ Over 50 years
7. How long have you been a member of the American Federation of Government Employees (AFGE)?  
A. ☐ Less than 2 years C. ☐ 6 to 10 years  
B. ☐ 2 to 5 years D. ☐ Over 10 years

8. How many of the scheduled meetings of the AFGE do you attend each year?
- A. ( ) Less than 3                      C. ( ) 8 to 12
- B. ( ) 4 to 7
9. Did you join the AFGE because your friends were members?
- A. ( ) Yes   B. ( ) No   C. ( ) Don't Know
10. Did you feel that you were pressured by your friends into joining the AFGE?
- A. ( ) Yes   B. ( ) No   C. ( ) Don't Know
11. Did you feel that you were pressured by people other than your friends into joining the AFGE?
- A. ( ) Yes   B. ( ) No   C. ( ) Don't Know
12. Did you join the AFGE because you believe that it can help you personally?
- A. ( ) Yes   B. ( ) No   C. ( ) Don't Know
13. Did you join the AFGE because you believe in the purposes of labor unions?
- A. ( ) Yes   B. ( ) No   C. ( ) Don't Know
14. Before joining the AFGE, did you feel that management had been unfair in dealing with workers?
- A. ( ) Yes   B. ( ) No   C. ( ) Don't Know
15. Before joining the AFGE, did you feel that management would not pay attention to what workers had to say?
- A. ( ) Yes   B. ( ) No   C. ( ) Don't Know
16. Since the AFGE has been the exclusive bargaining agent for Maxwell/Gunter employees, has management treated the employees more fairly?
- A. ( ) Yes   B. ( ) No   C. ( ) Don't Know
17. Since you joined the AFGE, do you feel that management pays more attention to what you have to say?
- A. ( ) Yes   B. ( ) No   C. ( ) Don't Know

18. Do you feel that the Civil Service System protects the rights of individual government employees?  
A. ( ) Yes B. ( ) No C. ( ) Don't Know
19. Do you feel that the Civil Service System should be discontinued?  
A. ( ) Yes B. ( ) No C. ( ) Don't Know
20. Do you feel that membership in the AFGE is the best way to get wage and fringe benefits increases from the government?  
A. ( ) Yes B. ( ) No C. ( ) Don't Know
21. Do you believe that the AFGE, acting for you, should bargain with management to get wage and fringe benefit increases?  
A. ( ) Yes B. ( ) No C. ( ) Don't Know
22. Do you feel that, when all else fails, government employees should be allowed to go on strike the same as workers outside of government are allowed to strike their employers?  
A. ( ) Yes B. ( ) No C. ( ) Don't Know
23. If the AFGE called a strike, because of a problem with management, would you go out on strike?  
A. ( ) Yes B. ( ) No C. ( ) Don't Know
24. The main reason that I joined the AFGE was:

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25. Is there anything else you might tell me that might be helpful?

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## (Part II)

Think of your impression about government employee unions. How well do the following words describe unions as you see them? In the blank beside each phrase below, put an "X" in the column for "Yes" if it describes government employee unions as you see them, for "No" if it doesn't describe them, for "?" if you cannot decide or don't know.

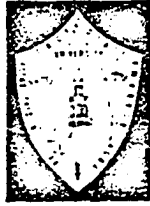
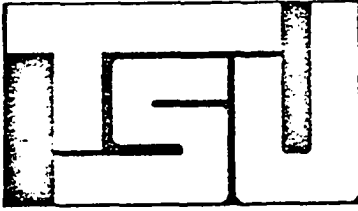
Unions:

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>?</u>	<u>No</u>
1. Help people in trouble.....			
2. Are democratic.....			
3. Hold back progress.....			
4. Have too much power.....			
5. Are good for workers.....			
6. Dues and fees are too high.....			
7. Force people to join who don't want to.....			
8. Make trouble.....			
9. Are useless.....			
10. Keep management honest.....			
11. Keep people from getting pushed around.....			
12. Are corrupt.....			
13. Are benevolent.....			
14. Are violent.....			
15. Are necessary in most organizations.....			
16. Are radical.....			
17. Are worthwhile.....			
18. Protect jobs.....			

Union officers:

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>?</u>	<u>No</u>
19. Are honest.....			
20. Are hardworking.....			
21. Are crooks.....			
22. Are helpful.....			
23. Are high-livers.....			
24. Are up-to-date.....			
25. Are effective.....			
26. Ask advice from members.....			
27. Make too much money.....			
28. Are arrogant.....			
29. Are dependable.....			
30. Are opinionated.....			
31. Are efficient.....			

## APPENDIX II



# THE TROY STATE UNIVERSITY SYSTEM

FOUNDED 1887

TROY STATE UNIVERSITY IN MONTGOMERY, MAXWELL  
BUILDING 625  
MAXWELL AFB, ALABAMA 36112  
Phone: (205) 834-7140

Dear Employee

I am presently writing a research report on government employee unions as a part of a degree program at the University of Oklahoma. A summary of this research report will also be furnished to the Division of Business, Troy State University, Montgomery, AL. By completing the attached questionnaire, you can add to our knowledge of the purposes served by government employee unions. If you are an AFGE member, do-not complete this questionnaire, since you may receive a questionnaire through AFGE Local 997.

The attached questionnaire will only take a few moments of your time to answer and requires only that you check the best answer, according to your opinion. Your answers are strictly confidential and can in no way be related to you as an individual. Please do-not sign your name to the questionnaire or put your return address on the envelope.

I would appreciate return of the questionnaire, in the addressed, postage-paid envelope, within one week after receipt.

Your cooperation will be sincerely appreciated.

Sincerely

HARVEY N. NYE  
Adjunct Instructor  
Business Division

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FOR USAF SCN 77-100A

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The statistical summaries produced as a result of this survey may be used in the future on a routine basis by others conducting research in this area.

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Confidential Questionnaire  
(Part I)

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2. While you were between 7 and 18 years old:  
A. Did you attend school in Alabama?  
☐ Yes ☐ No  
B. Did either of your parents belong to a labor union?  
☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ Don't Know  
C. If yes, did they feel the union was helpful to them?  
☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ Don't Know
3. Before you began to work at Maxwell/Gunter, did you ever belong to a union?  
A. ☐ Yes B. ☐ No
4. How long have you worked at Maxwell/Gunter?  
A. ☐ Less than 5 years C. ☐ 11 to 15 years  
B. ☐ 5 to 10 years D. ☐ Over 15 years
5. Is your job classified as:  
A. ☐ Wage Board B. ☐ General Schedule
6. How old are you?  
A. ☐ Less than 30 years C. ☐ 41 to 50 years  
B. ☐ 30 to 40 years D. ☐ Over 50 years
7. Have you ever been asked to join the American Federation of Government Employees (AFGE)?  
A. ☐ Yes B. ☐ No C. ☐ Don't Know
8. Did you decline to join the AFGE because most of your friends were non-members?  
A. ☐ Yes B. ☐ No C. ☐ Don't Know

9. Did you feel that you were pressured by your friends not to join the AFGE?  
A. ( ) Yes B. ( ) No C. ( ) Don't Know
10. Did you feel that you were pressured by people other than your friends not to join the AFGE?  
A. ( ) Yes B. ( ) No C. ( ) Don't Know
11. Did you decline to join the AFGE because you felt that membership could not help you personally?  
A. ( ) Yes B. ( ) No C. ( ) Don't Know
12. Did you not join the AFGE because you are opposed to the purposes of labor unions?  
A. ( ) Yes B. ( ) No C. ( ) Don't Know
13. Do you feel that management has been unfair in dealing with workers?  
A. ( ) Yes B. ( ) No C. ( ) Don't Know
14. Do you feel that management pays attention to what workers have to say?  
A. ( ) Yes B. ( ) No C. ( ) Don't Know
15. Since the AFGE has been the exclusive bargaining agent for Maxwell/Gunter employees, has management treated the employees more fairly?  
A. ( ) Yes B. ( ) No C. ( ) Don't Know
16. Do you feel that management pays more attention to what AFGE members have to say?  
A. ( ) Yes B. ( ) No C. ( ) Don't Know
17. Do you feel that the Civil Service System protects the rights of individual government employees?  
A. ( ) Yes B. ( ) No C. ( ) Don't Know
18. Do you feel that the Civil Service System should be discontinued?  
A. ( ) Yes B. ( ) No C. ( ) Don't Know
19. Do you feel that membership in the AFGE is the best way to get wage and fringe benefit increases from the government?  
A. ( ) Yes B. ( ) No C. ( ) Don't Know

20. Do you believe that the AFGE should bargain with management to get wage and fringe benefit increases?

A. ( ) Yes B. ( ) No C. ( ) Don't Know

21. Do you feel, when all else fails, government employees should be allowed to go on strike the same as workers outside of the government are allowed to strike their employers?

A. ( ) Yes B. ( ) No C. ( ) Don't Know

22. If the AFGE called a strike, because of a problem with management, would you go out on strike?

A. ( ) Yes B. ( ) No C. ( ) Don't Know

23. Would you join the AFGE if government employees had the right to strike?

A. ( ) Yes B. ( ) No C. ( ) Don't Know

24. The main reason that I did not join the AFGE was:

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25. Is there anything else that you might tell me that might be helpful?

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## (Part II)

Think of your impression about government employee unions. How well do the following words describe unions as you see them? In the blank beside each phrase below, put an "X" in the column for "Yes" if it describes government employee unions as you see them, for "No" if it doesn't describe them, for "?" if you cannot decide or don't know.

<u>Unions:</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>?</u>	<u>No</u>
1. Help people in trouble.....			
2. Are democratic.....			
3. Hold back progress.....			
4. Have too much power.....			
5. Are good for workers.....			
6. Dues and fees are too high.....			
7. Force people to join who don't want to.....			
8. Make trouble.....			
9. Are useless.....			
10. Keep management honest.....			
11. Keep people from getting pushed around.....			
12. Are corrupt.....			
13. Are benevolent.....			
14. Are violent.....			
15. Are necessary in most organizations.....			
16. Are radical.....			
17. Are worthwhile.....			
18. Protect jobs.....			

Union officers:

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>?</u>	<u>No</u>
19. Are honest.....			
20. Are hardworking.....			
21. Are crooks.....			
22. Are helpful.....			
23. Are high-livers.....			
24. Are up-to-date.....			
25. Are effective.....			
26. Ask advice from members.....			
27. Make too much money.....			
28. Are arrogant.....			
29. Are dependable.....			
30. Are opinionated.....			
31. Are efficient.....			

### APPENDIX III

DEPARTMENT OF THE AIR FORCE  
HEADQUARTERS UNITED STATES AIR FORCE  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

20314



REPLY TO  
ATTN OF: DPCE

30 MAR 1977

SUBJECT: Request for Survey Coordination, Union Attitude Questionnaire  
(Major Nye) (Your ltr, 10 Mar 77)

TO: HQ USAF/DPMYPS

1. The survey is approved subject to the following conditions.

a. Survey of union members. This survey must include the same privacy act and volunteer statement used in the survey of non-union members. In addition, the letter to the union member respondents must include this statement: "This survey has been reviewed and approved by the President of AFGE Local 997 and the national President of AFGE."

b. Survey of non-union members. This survey must be administered in a way to preclude even an implication that Air Force management knows whether or not an employee is a union member. If such information is available to or maintained by management, it must be destroyed.

(1) The letter intended for non-union member respondents must be addressed to "Dear Employee" rather than to a specifically named employee.

(2) The letter must state that if the respondent is a union member he or she should disregard the letter since he or she will receive a different questionnaire under AFGE Local 997 approval.

2. The letters may be sent through regular distribution channels, provided in group meetings, or made available at several pick-up points. Whatever method is used, copies must be provided to all employees to preclude any identification of whether or not an employee is a union member.

*Robert T. McLean*  
ROBERT T. McLEAN  
Chief, Labor & Employee Relations Division  
Directorate of Civilian Personnel

Cy to: AU/ELV



DEPARTMENT OF THE AIR FORCE  
HEADQUARTERS AIR FORCE MILITARY PERSONNEL CENTER  
RANDOLPH AIR FORCE BASE, TEXAS 78148



REPLY TO  
ATTN OF: DPMYPS

8 MAY 1977

SUBJECT: Request for Survey Approval (Your Ltrs, 13 Apr 77 and  
2 Mar 77)

TO: HQ AU/EDV

1. In conjunction with HQ USAF/DPCE, we have completed reviewing the two surveys submitted by Maj Nye. Necessary changes to the surveys are covered in their letter of 30 Mar 77, Atch 1, which you have received. Following compliance with the changes, the surveys are approved. Union Attitude Questionnaire intended for non-union members is assigned survey control number USAF SCN 77-100A. The Union Attitude Questionnaire designed for union members is assigned USAF SCN 77-100B. Both questionnaires expire 31 Jul 1977.

2. Request one copy of resulting analysis be forwarded to this office.

FOR THE COMMANDER

WILLIBRORD T. SILVA, Lt Col, USAF  
Chief, Research Division

1 Atch  
HQ USAF/DPCE Ltr, 30 Mar 77

Cy to: HQ USAF/DPCE

1st Ind, AU/EDV

11 MAY 1977

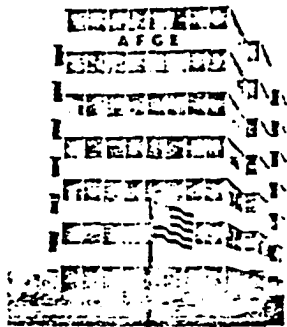
TO: LMDC/DPM (Major Nye)

This letter confirms earlier telecon approval of your surveys. Please provide AU/EDV one copy of the completed research for subsequent forwarding to AFMPC.

JOHN T. MEEHAN  
Director, Evaluation & Research  
DCS/Education







J. F. GRINER BUILDING

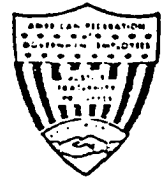
# AMERICAN FEDERATION OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

AFFILIATED WITH THE AFL-CIO

KENNETH T. BLAYLOCK  
NATIONAL PRESIDENTJOSEPH D. GLEASON  
EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENTNICHOLAS J. NOLAN  
NATIONAL SEC. TREAS.

1325 MASSACHUSETTS AVE., N.W. • WASHINGTON, D. C. 20005

Telephone: (202) 737-8700



FOREST B. WOOTEN  
NATIONAL VICE PRESIDENT  
5TH DISTRICT  
WEST CLINTON BLDG., RM. 432  
2109 CLINTON AVENUE, WEST  
HUNTSVILLE, ALABAMA 35505  
PHONE: (205) 535-5550

IN REPLY PLEASE REFER TO:

June 27, 1977

L-977

Major Harvey N. Nye  
Deputy Director, Professional  
Personnel Management Course  
Leadership & Management Development Center  
Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama 36112

Dear Major Nye:

It was a pleasure talking with you by telephone this morning and I am looking forward to meeting you in person.

Enclosed is a copy of President Blaylock's letter dated June 8, 1977 which is self-explanatory.

I concur with your proposed survey for Maxwell Air Force Base and the question that Mr. Blaylock added as reflected in his letter.

I will be looking forward to working with you in the future.

Sincerely,

FOREST B. WOOTEN  
National Vice President  
Fifth District

# AMERICAN FEDERATION OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

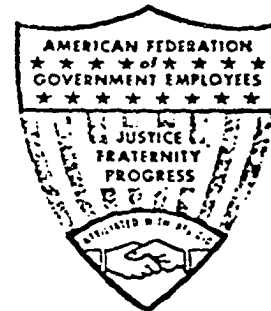
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1325 MASSACHUSETTS AVE., N.W. · WASHINGTON, D. C. 20005  
Telephone: (202) 737-8700



IN REPLY PLEASE REFER TO:

1/997

*file*

June 8, 1977

Mr. Forest B. Wooten  
AFGE National Vice President  
West Clinton Bldg., Rm. 432  
2109 Clinton Avenue West  
Huntsville, Alabama 35805

Dear Forest:

This refers to your recent correspondence seeking approval of a survey to be conducted at Maxwell Air Force Base.

I discussed the survey with Major Nye yesterday, and requested that AFGE receive the statistical results of the survey. I also added a question to the non members, as follows: "Would you join AFGE if Federal employees had the right to strike"?

I am furnishing Local President Lanthrip with a copy of this letter, for his information.

Will see you next week during the NEC Meeting.

Sincerely and fraternally,

*K. T. Blaylock*  
Kenneth T. Blaylock  
National President

cc: LP Lanthrip

#### APPENDIX IV

ORGANIZATIONS SELECTED FOR  
SURVEY OF NON-UNION MEMBERS  
OF MAXWELL-GUNTER CIVILIAN WORKFORCE

<u>Organization</u>	<u>General Schedule</u>	Number of Employees in Job Classification	
		<u>Wage Board</u>	<u>Total</u>
Civil Air Patrol	39	10	49
3800 Civil Engineering Squadron	101	98	199
1973 Communications Squadron	23	17	40
Air University Library	47	13	60
Air Command & Staff College	32	0	32
Leadership & Management Development Center	21	5	26
Air Force Commissary	12	83	95
3800 Logistics Squadron	<u>87</u>	<u>103</u>	<u>190</u>
Total	<u>362</u>	<u>329</u>	<u>691</u>
Percent of Total	52.4	47.6	100