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UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

THE DETERMINANTS OF COMMUNITY COLLEGE FACULTY

ATTITUDES TOWARD UNIONIZATION

A Dissertation

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

By

GREGORY THOMAS GOLDEY

Norman, Oklahoma

1999

UMI Number: 9949710



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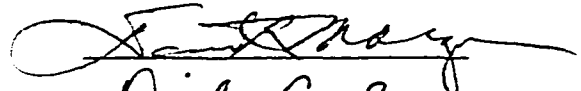
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THE DETERMINANTS OF COMMUNITY COLLEGE FACULTY  
ATTITUDES TOWARD UNIONIZATION

A Dissertation APPROVED FOR THE  
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

BY

  
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Dil Carl  
\_\_\_\_\_  
H. Gabel  
\_\_\_\_\_  
David Ray  
\_\_\_\_\_  
H. Gabel  
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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First, I would like to thank the chair of my committee, Dr. David Morgan, for making it possible for me to complete this project. His attention to detail and timely correspondence proved invaluable, especially in the face of impending deadlines. I would also like to thank Dr. David Carnevale, member of my committee, who raised my consciousness about the effectiveness of unions to empower workers, including college and university faculty. His enthusiasm for working towards economic and social justice for all workers has influenced not only this dissertation but also my interest in political science and everyday work life. I would also like to thank Dr. Gary Copeland for his help with this dissertation and his direction through my graduate coursework and comprehensive examinations. His prodding at a crucial point in my graduate career allowed me to complete this journey. I would also like to thank the other members of my committee, including Dr. David Ray, and Dr. Will Scott, for their guidance as well as their time spent reading and commenting on this dissertation. In addition, I want to thank Geri Rowden and Debbie Else for helping me through the bureaucratic hurdles of academe.

I am especially indebted to my wife, Connie Hardesty, for her encouragement and patience, and especially for

serving as my editor. I would not have completed this project without her help. I am also indebted to Elizabeth, Katie, and Shelby for putting up with a grumpy dad for the last two years. I would also like to thank my parents, Jean and Louise Goldey for their support.

Finally, I would like to thank the my colleagues at Oklahoma, Larry Carter, Steve Kean, Nathalie Gagnere, Eric Frankland, Angela Harnden, and James LaPlant for their friendship over the years. Best of luck to you all.

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## CHAPTER 1

### UNIONIZATION AND ACADEME

#### Introduction

The labor movement has been the major source of empowerment for workers in the American politico-economic system. However, because of United States labor law unions are, in many cases, voluntary associations based on the principle of freedom of association and thus experience difficulties in recruiting and maintaining membership, similar to other voluntary organization.

Union members generally are not representative of the labor force as a whole. Historically, the American labor movement derived its strength from northern blue-collar workers with little representation from professional white-collar workers, including college and university faculty. While the 1970's saw significant increases in faculty unionism (Garbarino 1980), the rates remain significantly lower than the rates for other public employees. Unionization has not been widely used as a source of empowerment for faculty in higher education.

This study analyzes the differences between faculty who are union members and non-members in order to identify why some faculty members join unions and others do not. In

addition, faculty attitudes toward unionization are examined to determine why some faculty members hold more positive feelings for unions than others. Specifically, C. Wright Mills's (1951) theory of white-collar unionism is used as a point of departure to analyze the factors affecting attitudes toward unionization among full-time teaching faculty working in the Kentucky community college system. Relying on Mills's theory, the study attempts to answer the question, *What influence do union exposure, socioeconomic background, political identification, and the experience of political organizational factors have on faculty attitudes toward unionization and the decision to join the Kentucky Community College Faculty Association/ American Federation of Teachers (KCCFA/AFT)?*

Scholars in management and psychology, rather than political science, have conducted much of the recent research on faculty attitudes toward unionization. Much of the previous research has focused on the effects of individual demographic characteristics (age, sex, race), as well as general job and organizational factors (job satisfaction, pay, benefits, academic rank, discipline) on faculty attitudes. However, this research has neglected to adequately examine the influences of individual

socioeconomic background, political identification and activism, perceived political activities of unions, and the experience of the political organizational structure on attitudes (opportunities for advancement, power, trust). The present study draws on, and expands, Mills's theory, addressing some of these inadequacies of current research.

In his classic work, White Collar (1951), C. Wright Mills identified three major factors affecting white-collar employees' acceptance or rejection of unions. First, white-collar employees reject unions because, traditionally, unions have not been available to them. Many white-collar employees do not join unions because they tend to identify with their bosses and reject anything that is associated with blue-collar work or workers. In addition, at a more practical level, federal labor law prohibits roughly 20% of all white-collar workers from organizing because they work in supervisory positions (Kochan et al. 1994). However, Mills states that contacts with union people tend to be the most important antidote for anti-union sentiments among those white-collar workers who are allowed to organize. Thus, it is important to examine the effect of contact with family or friends that are union members on faculty attitudes toward unions and the odds of union membership.

Second, individuals' political party affiliations, as

well as those of other family members, may buttress union feelings. Mills makes the point that, in most cases, white-collar employees come in contact with political rhetoric before they are exposed to union proposals. Exposure to liberal or leftist political rhetoric should make employees more receptive to pro-union messages. Although Mills assumes that partisanship is a good predictor of liberal rhetoric, this study looks at ideology separately because of changes in the Democratic Party since the 1950's. Any attempt to assess the influences on faculty attitudes towards unions also must take account of party affiliation as well as political ideology.

Third, according to Mills (1951, 307), "not job dissatisfaction in general, but a specific kind of job dissatisfaction--the feeling that as an individual he [or she] cannot get ahead in his [or her] work-- is the job factor that predisposes the white-collar employee to go pro-union." In order to assess the influences on faculty attitudes towards unions must also examine economic and non-economic concerns, power, and trust between faculty and administration.

Specifically this study identifies and analyzes the determinants of faculty attitudes about unionization. In addition, the differences between members of the KCCFA/AFT

and non-members are examined to determine why some faculty join unions and others do not. Survey questionnaires were sent to all full-time teaching faculty working in the Kentucky community college system. The survey provides information regarding individual faculty demographic characteristics, political attitudes and involvement, socioeconomic status, family and work-related variables, and attitudes toward unionization.

To develop a relatively comprehensive view of faculty job satisfaction, the survey instrument used in the present study incorporates the work of previous studies that examined non-economic job satisfaction factors (Hammer and Berman 1981; Deshpande 1995; Feuille and Blandin 1974; Kochan 1979; Mills 1951; Rodriguez and Rearden 1989; Weiss et. al. 1967) as well those analyzing economic job satisfaction factors (Allen & Keavney 1981; Ladd & Lipset 1973). Instruments from previous research were used to develop multiple measurements of political identification (Green & Schickler 1993), political ideology (Ladd & Lipset 1973; Jacoby 1991) and political activity (Verba et al. 1995). In addition, socioeconomic characteristics (Miller 1983; Mills 1951) and demographic information were collected on faculty members.

The project is divided into six chapters. Chapter one



is an introduction to the project, briefly outlining the study. Chapter two is a brief history of the union movement in the United States. In addition to a general discussion of the labor movement, chapter two looks at white-collar and/or professional unions as well as providing a brief overview of the efforts of the KCCFA/AFT. Chapter three provides a review of the literature and develops the theoretical framework for the study. Chapter four describes the population under study and the methods used to collect and analyze the data used in the project. Chapter five is a presentation of the results of the analysis, followed by a discussion and conclusions in chapter six.

#### Why Faculty Unions?

Union membership in the United States has declined dramatically over the past forty years, falling from 38% of the overall workforce to a low of 14% in the early 1990's (Craver 1993; Tyler et al. 1994). If unions are to rejuvenate themselves, they will have to rely more heavily on recruiting members from non-traditional occupations. In the past, unions have been able to organize large numbers of unskilled assembly line workers and skilled craftworkers working for particular industries (e.g., auto, steel, and coal). However, because of the reduced manufacturing base in the United States caused by technological changes,

corporate downsizing, and jobs lost to anti-union or right to work southern states and/or foreign countries, unions have been forced to change their organizing strategies. Unions are now focusing more of their efforts on organizing workers in the service industry, including public employees. Public sector organizing and its growth of membership has been a bright spot for unions. From 1986 to 1991 union membership in the public sector has increased 300% to 37% of the workforce (Social Democrats, USA 1995).

One potentially significant public sector group that may be receptive to organizing efforts and that may benefit substantially from such efforts is college and university faculty. In 1994 the number of faculty covered by union contracts was below the 37% for public employees in general (Tyler et al. 1994). With the exception of a couple of statewide efforts, most successful attempts at organizing college faculty have come from community colleges and non-Ph.D. granting regional public institutions. Over 80% of all unionized faculty are located in ten states, with approximately 50% located in just two states, New York and California (Annunziato 1994).

Given the current state of academe; attacks on tenure, introduction of new technologies, speed ups, and use of part-time faculty to save on costs, community colleges and

regional universities may be a fertile ground for organizing efforts. The status of faculty is in the process of being renegotiated under the new model for academe, where productivity gains take precedent over traditional academic concerns. Administrators have stated the need for changes in labor relations in order to have the flexibility needed to adjust to current and future fiscal constraints (Nelson 1995; Rhoades 1996; Rhoades and Slaughter 1997; Tirelli 1997).

Under this new model many administrators are questioning the value of tenure for faculty, given their needs for increased flexibility. Tenure is under attack on two fronts. First, many state legislatures are examining the possibility of post-tenure review. The possibility of implementing post-tenure review has some in academe wondering about the implications it would have regarding academic freedom (Gamson 1997; KCCFA/AFT 1997; Perley 1997). Second, some states including Minnesota and Florida have recently put forward proposals to eliminate tenure, or make it optional (Gage 1995a). Perley (1997) has pointed out that academic freedom and tenure are inseparable and faculty need to make sure that their colleagues as well as policymakers understand the connection. According to a study commissioned by the Association of Governing Boards

called "Renewing the Academic Presidency," pathways other than tenure should be examined. In that study, shared governance with faculty was identified as the source of many ills in the university (Perlman 1997). If this is the case, then who should be involved in the decision-making process in the future regarding governance issues, including tenure?

The introduction of technology into the academic workplace could have far reaching implications for faculty as well. Although technology can be a great resource for students and educators through increased access to data, there may also be a potential downside. For example, a college or university under fiscal duress may see technology as a way to teach more students without additional costs using traditional telecourses which have been used for years, interactive compact discs, and/or through distance learning via compressed video. In 1996 Kentucky Governor Paul Patton suggested that, given the technology presently available, a good calculus teacher that currently teaches 50 students per semester should be able to teach 5,000 (MSU Faculty Senate Connection 1996). There are also efforts to develop Virtual Universities where students can earn degrees without attending a college campus (Johnston and Krauth 1996). Programs like these have been proposed by policymakers in many states leading to a good deal of

concern among college faculty. The American Federation of Teachers (AFT) has made a concerted effort to alert faculty to the potential hazards regarding the introduction of technology (Monaghan 1995). According to the AFT, is it crucial that faculty are on board from the beginning with input regarding the intellectual property rights of faculty participating in development of canned telecourses and interactive compact discs or release time for developing distance learning courses taught via the internet or compressed video.

Finally, given the fiscal constraints under which colleges and universities are currently asked to operate the use of adjunct, or part-time faculty, is a cost-saving option that is increasingly being used by administrators (Atkinson 1996; Gamson 1997; Martin 1997). Although the use of part-time instructors is increasing system-wide in higher education, it is particularly problematic for lower-tier regional universities and community colleges. Approximately 40% of higher education faculty are now part-time. But the percentage is much higher for community colleges, with system-wide rates ranging from 54% (Tirelli 1997) to 65% (Staples 1997). The use of part-timers is even higher in some states like Vermont at 100 percent, Nevada at 80.5 percent, and Colorado at 74.1 percent (Tirelli 1997).

Increased use of part-time faculty denies instructors access to full-time tenure track positions, and it adds to the workload of remaining full-timers who are left to perform service for their departments and/or colleges.

In some ways the plight of academics is similar to that of American craftworkers at the turn of the century. They are subject to "attack from employers eager to cut costs, increase output, and secure a more compliant work force" (Haydu 1988, 1). Unlike the collegial institutions of the past, today's colleges and university faculty, like their counterparts in other white collar occupations, are subjected to more bureaucratized organization structures led by a permanent administrative cadre trained as managers, not academics (Mills 1951; Aronowitz 1973; Derber 1994). "The self governing faculty, if it ever existed, has given way to the bureaucratic and corporate control, with top management powers clearly removed from the knowledge workers" (Derber 1994, 131).

The key to success for many of these cost-cutting measures is to transform the model from one in which "[p]rofessions are conceptualized as monopolies of expertise with control over the domain of work" (Rhoades 1996, 628) to a more Tayloristic model where control comes from management. According to Braverman (1976), deskilling has

four dimensions: 1) workers lose the right to design and plan work, 2) work is fragmented into meaningless segments, 3) tasks are redistributed among unskilled or semi-skilled workers, and 4) the organization is transformed from a craft system to Taylorized forms of labor control. By weakening or eliminating tenure, introducing technology, and increasing the use of part-time workers administrators have taken steps deskill, or deprofessionalize, higher education teaching positions thereby extending their control over faculty. This situation, combined with the fiscal constraints placed on academe, places faculty in a vulnerable position. Thus faculty may find it necessary to stand together as a whole to protect their status.

Tyler et al. (1994) identifies three reasons why higher education faculty might choose to organize. First, elementary and secondary school teachers, who are heavily organized, have been successful in gaining recognition, higher pay, and increased power. The research on pay differential between unionized and non-unionized faculty are mixed. Some studies show as much as a 4 to 7 percent pay advantage for unionized faculty (Villa and Blum 1996). Other studies indicate that differential is somewhat smaller or may even be negative for unionized faculty (Rees 1993). Positive union effects may be masked because salaries at

Ph.D. granting research institutions may be higher as a result of additional monies received through grants (Villa and Blum 1996). Because faculty employed at many regional four-year institutions and at community colleges are primarily teachers rather than researchers, they are less likely to receive supplemental pay through grant-writing activities. Therefore, because most unionized faculty are located at non-Ph.D. granting four year institutions and community colleges, the effects of unions on pay differentials may be somewhat understated. Villa and Blum (1996) point out that the effect of unionization may be limited because overall budget amounts are determined by legislatures, and unions can merely negotiate the distribution of funds received. Therefore, in an era where higher education budgets are flat or declining in real terms, there may be little that unions can do to have an effect on overall wage increases. But there has been some progress in reallocating pay within the systems that are unionized. For example, some studies have shown that wage differentials between males and females is lower at unionized institutions (Gomez-Mejia 1984; Villa and Blum 1996). In addition, full and associate professors at unionized institutions receive more economic benefits than their lower ranking counterparts because of the need to



correct inequities caused by wage compression (Lillydahl and Singell 1993).

Second, the union provides continuity in conflicts with bureaucratic administrators. Traditionally, the faculty senate has been the vehicle through which faculty would exercise power. But as research has shown there is a perception that faculty senate has become less influential, especially under the academic capitalism model (Newfield 1997; Rhoades and Slaughter 1997). In many respects the faculty senate may simply be acting as a company union, operating at the discretion of the administration. In an era where the interests of faculty and full-time professional non-academic administrators are growing further apart, new organizational arrangements may be needed to protect the status of college and university faculty. This is true at regional universities and especially so at community colleges where administration has monopsonistic<sup>1</sup> power over faculty. Employees at these institutions have less job mobility than their counterparts at Ph.D. granting institutions because of the emphasis on teaching rather than research. Research is a way for faculty at higher tier institutions to move up the academic ladder by moving from institution to institution because of their reputation

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1 Defined by Kearney (1984) as a monopoly in the labor market exercised

within the discipline (Gamson 1997; Jacobs 1972). However, because of the emphasis on teaching at regional universities and community colleges, the research culture has not developed thereby limiting mobility of faculty. One of the alternatives to the collegial model may be for faculty to organize and collectively bargain with administration and/or lobby policymakers directly.

Third, unions provide defense against the use of speed up strategies in university operations. The idea of adopting Tayloristic principles in higher education to increase faculty productivity is not new. In 1909 Massachusetts Institute of Technology President Henry S. Pritchett contacted Frederick Taylor "seeking advice on sponsoring 'an economic study of education'" (Newfield 1997, 44). Taylor suggested that Pritchett contact Morris Cooke, and in 1910 issued his report, Academic and Industrial Efficiency. Cooke's report stated that,

academic efficiency was in principle no different from that of industrial efficiency. . . . Organizational efficiency demanded that the worker not produce 'any longer by his own initiative,' but 'execute punctiliously' the orders given by management, 'down to their minutest details'. . . . Professors 'must be governed and measured by the same general standards that generally obtain in other occupations' (quoted in Newfield 1997, 44).

Although the move to adopt Cooke's suggestions was not

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...by the employer.

initially successful, it has recently gained momentum. As previously stated, the use of part-time faculty is increasing as are teaching loads and class sizes (Newfield 1997; Rhoades 1996; Tirelli 1997). In order to combat these moves on the part of administration to maximize faculty output, many observers argue that faculty may need to look beyond traditional structures like faculty senate.

According to Newfield (1997), unions are better than faculty senate at "defending against management (59). . . handling hierarchy by seeking financial control (61). . . and showing why general tenure is a general benefit" (63). In a study of 211 college and university collective bargaining agreements, Rhoades (1996) found that there was extensive managerial discretion regarding the employment of part-time faculty, a key component in administration's speed-up model. However, Rhoades (1996) pointed out that it is the unions that are fighting to limit the use of part-time faculty as well as to provide rights for those that are currently employed. In addition to Tyler's (1994) justifications, it can be argued that unions may also offer security against attacks on tenure and academic freedom from outside academe by lobbying policymakers directly on behalf of faculty, rather than depending on administration.

In addition to being a potential benefit for faculty in

higher education, increased union membership may benefit workers in general. This is especially true if faculty unions operate within a social movement model rather than traditional business unionism. Under the business unionism model unions are primarily concerned with the immediate needs of their own members. Under the social movement model unions attempt to increase the well being of their members by not only negotiating with their employers, but also by building coalitions with other workers and lobbying policymakers outside their organization in order to frame member benefits to improve the public good. Johnston (1994, 4) has shown that social movement unionism is especially important to public employees because they "depend for power less on their market position and on coalitions in the labor market than on their political position and involvement in the coalitions that govern public agencies."

In addition, as a practical matter workers as a whole might benefit from increased union membership density. When organized labor is in a relatively powerful position it has successfully lobbied for many policies, including improved working conditions and increase wages, that benefit all workers, including those who are not union members. Freeman and Medoff (1984) have shown that unions are much more successful in the political process when they lobby for laws

that help the workforce in general and social legislation, rather than pressing for specific extensions of union power. However, with union membership at a mere 14 percent of the workforce, labor's voice may not be as effective as it once was. Without the voice of a healthy labor movement, union supporters argue that union and non-union workers may not have adequate representation in the policy process and may suffer as a result. Unions provide a vital function within democratic market economies and it is "inconceivable that existing institutions or others that might be created could take over the functions of unions" (Sjgen 1994, 511). As Mills (1951, 323) stated in White Collar, "if the future of democracy in America is imperiled, it is not by any labor movement, but by its absence, and the substitution for it of a new set of vested interests."

Mancur Olson, a public choice economist, points out that organizations like unions, once they have reached a threshold level of representation, become more concerned with general societal needs rather than simply specific labor issues. According to Olson (1982, 53), "encompassing organizations have some incentive to make the society in which they operate more prosperous, and an incentive to redistribute income to their members with as little excess

burden as possible..." This is in sharp contrast to the current state of affairs in the United States. Without the countervailing effects of encompassing organizations, many have noted that we are beginning to see a segregated society in which the haves, with their ever increasing share of the economic pie, are locked away in gated communities with private security, maintenance, and educational services, having little connection with the have-nots living outside the their walls (Reich 1991; Barlett and Steele 1997; Soros 1997).

Continuation of this scenario could devastate public services such as police and fire protection, and maintenance of infrastructure. Its effects have already begun to impact primary and secondary public education. As Kozol (1992) has shown, the traditional flight to the suburbs has been carried a step further by incorporation of cities to facilitate separation of services, especially schools. Although post-secondary education has not been impacted to this degree, Gamson (1997) found that tightening the budgets at community colleges and regional universities has had an effect on faculty and students. A two-tiered system is emerging. Many authorities insist that a social institution such as organized labor must act as a representative for the "broad publics" to counter the power of corporations and

those at the top of the economic ladder.

Therefore, if unions are to become all encompassing organizations concerned with the plight of the "broad publics", in addition to the immediate needs of their members, they will have to increase membership beyond the current low levels. Because of structural changes occurring in the United States economy, unions will need to grow membership by recruiting new members from groups like higher education faculty, as well as other professionals who have not seen unions as an viable option to protect their benefits and/or status. In order to gain a better understanding of whether there is an opportunity for successful organizing efforts at institutions of higher education, this study examines the determinants of faculty attitudes toward unions and union membership.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT: A BRIEF HISTORY**

#### Introduction

Since the late eighteenth century the labor movement has been the major source of empowerment for workers in the United States' politico-economic system. However, as the result of United States labor law, unions in most cases are voluntary associations based on the principle of freedom of association. Thus, similar to any voluntary organization, unions experience difficulties in recruiting and maintaining membership. In order to understand the labor movement in the United States, or any other social movement for that matter, it is imperative to understand the historical context within which it evolved. The following chapter provides a brief historical overview of organizing efforts in the United States, including those in academe. It examines how unionizing efforts have ebbed and flowed over time, influenced by structural changes in the workforce as well as changes in the political landscape. It also provides a brief history of the Kentucky Community College Faculty Association/American Federation of Teachers (KCCFA/AFT).



### Beginning

"[T]he interests of the journeymen are separate and in some respects opposite to those of the employers" (Perlman 1922, 5). This statement from an 1817 publication written by the New York Printer's Society illustrates the sentiments expressed by U.S. workers as early as 1786 when Philadelphia printers "turned out" for a minimum wage. These beliefs continue to be expressed by some workers today. The fact is the interests of owners and/or their representatives are often different from and in conflict with those of the workers. The quoted statement makes a subtle point by using the plural journeymen, rather than the singular journeyman. It indicates workers' recognition that they are more likely to be successful in negotiating their interests with owners and/or their representatives if they stand collectively rather than individually. The theoretical constructs of most mainstream economics assume that individual workers can negotiate with owners for wages and/or other job-related issues based upon market forces guided by Adam Smith's pre-corporate invisible hand. Those who support unions argue that these constructs have little, if any, relevance in the real world. The inequitable power relations between

employees and their employers require collective negotiation on the part of workers to effectively pursue their interests within the context of United States political economy.

From the earliest days in Colonial America there has been tension between employers and their workers. For a relatively short period of time indentured servants from the British Isles served as an adequate supply of labor for the colonies. Indentured workers traded passage to the colonies in return for their commitment to work for sponsors for as many as seven years. However, this system was subject to abuse by those recruiting workers in the British Isles and by the sponsors once the workers reached the colonies. For example, the word kidnapping originated in England as a result of the "harsh mode of peopling the colonies" (Dulles 1966, 4). Although there was much talk of freedom, equality, and a classless society in the colonies and the early United States, the fact is that there were class distinctions between the gentlemen and ladies and the men and women of mean condition (Dulles 1966; Domhoff 1998). It is interesting to note that for a brief period of time there was in fact talk, even by the gentry, of an equal society during the time leading up to and just after the

Revolutionary War. However, after the colonists were victorious, talk of equality soon subsided. The following statement made by one young adult member of a prominent American family in 1788 illustrates the attitudes of the period. "'[A] certain degree (his emphasis) of equality is essential to human bliss . . . '[so long as] it had provided this degree of equality 'without destroying the necessary subordination'" (quoted in Domhoff 1998, 75). It should be noted that the political theorizing about equality during this time period, especially by those in privileged positions, almost never included black slaves, Native Americans, or women.

It soon became evident that workers would have to band together to deal effectively with their employers. Beginning in 1786, when printers in Philadelphia turned out for a minimum wage of six dollars a week, workers in the United States have organized into groups to protect their interests which often conflict with those of their employers. However, the first long-term organizing effort that lasted beyond a particular strike occurred in 1794 with the founding of an organization by Philadelphia shoemakers that eventually became known as the Federal Society of

Journeyman Cordwainers (Dulles 1966; Perlman 1922). These early trade societies were organized locally, and their membership consisted of skilled craft workers. The major concerns of these societies included increasing wages and improving other work-related issues such as the length of the work day, the number of apprentices used by employers, and the protection of benefits gained through what we now call a "closed shop" (Perlman 1922).

The labor movement as we know it today began in 1827 when several trades in Philadelphia combined to form the Mechanics' Unions of Trade Association. Spurred by the rise of Jacksonian democracy, the common worker was becoming more politically active. This prompted local unions to move away from being exclusively economic organizations to becoming actively involved in politics. The non-economic concerns of the early unions included political and social equality as well as broad-based public education for workers and their children (Perlman 1922). At one point, unions were actually nominating and running candidates for political office as well as influencing policy through indirect lobbying. However, after lengthy and often contentious battles many unions began to drop efforts to field their own candidates,

opting for the indirect approach of working within existing parties (Dulles 1966; Perlman 1922; Dubofsky 1994). The debate over electoral politics has never been totally resolved. It has surfaced several times over the last 150 years as in the most recent case of the Labor Party which held its constitutional convention in 1998. The Labor Party is a third party effort formed by discontented progressives, inside and outside of the union movement, with the traditional two-party system (Reynolds 1997; Kazin 1996).

#### Post Civil War

The nature of the union movement changed dramatically in the mid-nineteenth century as a result of the changes taking place in the post-Civil War United States economy. Following the lead of the railroads, corporations in communications, iron and steel, meatpacking, and agricultural implements were becoming large, hierarchically structured, and professionally managed organizations. These new corporate organizations presented new problems for unions. First, the rapid nationwide expansion of corporations led to an increase in competition thereby reducing profit margins, leading to cost cutting measures directly affecting labor by lowering wages and increasing

mechanization, both of which had detrimental effects on workers. Second, the professionally managed firms had the most contentious labor relations, possibly resulting from this new competitive environment and the introduction of professional managers who increasingly did not come from the rank and file (Dubofsky 1994).

The nationwide expansion of key industries forced labor unions to reconsider their reliance on local, rather than national, organizing efforts. To compete with these larger, more powerful corporations, local unions began to join together and organize nationally, presenting a more powerful and united front. Larger unions with a more national focus could insure uniformity by insisting on homogeneous wage rates and workplace standards throughout an industry. This transition also allowed unions to better utilize one of their most effective tools, the strike. As unions became more national in scope, strikes changed from being sporadic, locally initiated work stoppages to organized, offensive actions strategically planned to maximize their impact by slowing or in some cases stopping the national flow of commerce (Dubofsky 1994; Dulles 1966).

Nationwide strikes, while effective, were sometimes

violent and did in fact disrupt interstate commerce. This situation gave the federal government entree into labor relations. In 1877 the federal government officially intervened in labor disputes, sending troops to West Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Illinois and Missouri in order to control railroad workers, coal miners, and canal workers. President Hayes believed that the strikers were "illegally and violently seizing the private property of others . . . and interfering with the right of free laborers [strikebreakers] to do their jobs" (Dubofsky 1994, 10). President Hayes's statement reflected the thought of many political, economic, and legal elites at the time. They believed that the rights of property took precedence over the rights of individuals and matters involving labor relations were, or should be, between the individual workers and their employer (Dubofsky 1994; Kairys 1993).

In addition to the use of troops, the federal government and employers used the courts to suppress the labor movement. As early as 1806 Philadelphia shoemakers used the courts to stop organized efforts of workers including strikes. In the first court case that adopted a

conspiracies doctrine, a Philadelphia judge clearly supported the interests of the employers. This support is indicated in his statement that, "a combination of workmen to raise their wages may be considered in a twofold point of view; one is to benefit themselves . . . the other is to injure those who do not join their society. The rule of law condemns both . . ." (quoted in Dulles 1968, 29). From 1806 to 1842, the courts dealt with labor unions using the "conspiracies doctrine" which asserted that employers knew what was best for employees and any attempt to organize by employees would be struck down by the courts as a conspiracy to destroy their employer or harm non-union members. However, in 1842 the Supreme Court held in *Commonwealth v. Hunt* that unions could no longer be judged using the conspiracy doctrine, but that each case had to be judged on its own merits. Although the conspiracy doctrine had been stricken down, numerous avenues of attack were left to the discretion of owners. In an 1877 Illinois case, federal Judge Thomas Drummond ruled that, "[a] strike or other unlawful interference with the trains will be a violation of United States law, and the court will be bound to take notice of it and enforce the penalty" (quoted in Dubofsky



1994, 11). Using the interstate commerce clause, the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, as well as legal precedent that proclaimed the superiority of property rights, corporations were able to limit the success of union bargaining and organizing efforts for the next sixty years (Dubofsky 1994).

### 1930's

Although union membership increased somewhat during the Progressive Era, organizing efforts were hindered by employers and by court decisions that struck down pro-worker components of various legislative acts. In 1932 a new era in labor relations began with the passage of the Norris-Laguardia Act. The act outlawed the use of "yellow dog" contracts used by employers to screen out job applicants that might be inclined to consider organizing themselves. Although the Congress passed the Erdman Act in 1898, outlawing discrimination against unionized workers by the railroads, it was struck down by the Supreme Court in 1908 in *Adair v. United States* as a violation of personal liberty and the rights of property (Dulles 1968).

In 1933 the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) became law. The NIRA made changes in antitrust laws, encouraged employees to organize, provided for a minimum

wage, set maximum working hours, and other working restrictions (NLRB 1986). Nevertheless, the NIRA was not very effective because the legislation did not provide for an adequate enforcement mechanism. In 1935 Congress passed the National Labor Relations Act to enforce the implementation of the NIRA and to further enhance the ability of workers to organize (Dubofsky 1994). Although labor, with the cooperation of the Roosevelt Administration, had been successful in securing worker-friendly legislation, the courts had not been willing to uphold the government's right to interfere with the property rights of employers. However, this would soon change.

Two 1937 Supreme Court decisions were crucial to the growth of organized labor, fundamentally changing labor relations and recognizing the right of the federal and state governments to regulate certain labor practices. In what has been called the "switch in time that saved nine", the court in two landmark cases overturned well established precedent. It decided that the state had the power to pass and enforce minimum wage laws as well as laws giving workers the right to organize. The high court held in *West Coast Hotel v Parrish* that the state of Washington could require

employers to pay workers a minimum wage, thereby reversing the long held belief that it was unlawful for the government to regulate private property, always defined in terms of the capital of owners. In that same year, the court upheld the constitutionality of the National Labor Relations Act in *National Labor Relations Board v. Jones and Laughlin Steele Corporation* (Abraham and Perry 1994; Kairys 1994). The decisions in these two cases were crucial because they upheld the legislative efforts that laid the groundwork for a period of successful organizing efforts lasting from the mid-1930's through the 1950's. Organized labor membership grew from about 15 percent of the workforce in the 1930's to nearly 40 percent by the mid-fifties (Dubofsky 1994).

#### Post 1930

Although the legislative actions of the 1930's and the two 1937 Supreme Court cases reversed a long tradition in United States public policy and jurisprudence in favor of the rights of workers, the trend was relatively short lived. After several attempts to abolish or severely limit the NLRA, Republicans and conservative Southern Democrats were successful in passing the Taft-Hartley Act in 1947. Taft-Hartley gave states the legislative authority to pass right-

to-work laws prohibiting union shops where workers were forced to join the union in order to work at a particular plant or trade. It also gave the president power to intervene in labor disputes that interrupted interstate commerce. In addition, according to Gross (1981, 267), the National Labor Relations Board, the enforcement arm of the NLRA, was transformed "from an expert administrative agency . . . into a conservative, insecure, politically sensitive agency preoccupied with its own survival and reduced to deciding essentially marginal issues . . ."

Passage of Taft-Hartley was a fundamental shift in the way labor relations had been viewed by the government throughout most of the 1930's and 1940's. Under the Wagner Act the government assumed an influential role in labor relations by actively leveling the playing field between owners and workers. In other words, it was thought that the government should actually encourage organizing activities thereby enhancing workers' ability to negotiate more effectively with owners. However, Taft-Hartley took the more traditional pre-Wagoner approach that workers and owners should negotiate wages and benefits on their own and that there was little, if any, need for the government

intervention on behalf of workers. Under the new paradigm, workers and owners were portrayed as equal participants with no need for the government to step in and actively level the playing field. Therefore, the federal government's role was to simply act as a dispassionate referee assuring fair play between relatively equal competitors.

Another blow to unions came in the 1950's when union corruption was uncovered and publicized by the federal government in congressional hearings (Crowe 1993; Dulles 1968). Unions were accused of committing a host of illegal activities and having close ties with organized crime. These accusations led to the passage of the Landrum-Griffin Act in 1959, giving the federal government extensive oversight of union activities, including the right to regulate and monitor union elections. Landrum, once again, gave management an advantage in the negotiation process because unions were required to maintain a certain amount of turnover in leadership positions thus changing the team representing the workers. The change in union leadership inhibited continuity on the part of workers in the collective bargaining process. At the same time management was not subject to the same requirement, giving them the

advantage of presenting a unified and consistent front against union activities in their firms (Freeman and Medoff 1984).

After reaching its zenith in the fifties, union membership has been in a state of steady decline. In addition to changes in public policy, several structural changes in the workforce have occurred over the past three decades that have contributed to the reduction in union membership. Beginning in the fifties there was a rapid growth in the service sector including both white-collar and pink-collar jobs. In 1960, for the first time, white-collar jobs outnumbered blue-collar jobs, and by 1970 48 percent of the work force held pink-collar and white-collar<sup>1</sup> positions (Zieger 1994). According to Kochan (1994), 40 percent of the decline in union membership could be attributed to structural changes. These structural changes included the shift from blue-collar to white-collar work, from manufacturing to service work, and relocation by many employers from northern pro-union states to the anti-union and/or right-to-work states in the South.

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<sup>1</sup>According to the census bureau, the white-collar category included professional, managerial, clerical and sales workers. It should be noted that the most of the growth in this category was occurring in clerical and sales positions (Zieger 1994).

The changing workforce created several problems for unions in regard to maintaining or increasing membership. First, the shift made recruitment of new members much more difficult for unions because white-collar workers did not have a tradition of organizing to negotiate with employers. In many cases white-collar workers were not inclined join unions because they saw their new status as an escape from their blue-collar past (Aronowitz 1974; Mills 1971).

Second, service sector jobs, unlike those in the manufacturing sector, were located in small to medium size firms, making it much more difficult to recruit members in large numbers like the unions were accustomed to in the automobile or steel industries. Two events that did work in favor of unions were, first, an executive order signed by President John Kennedy in 1962 allowing federal employees to organize and collectively bargain (Ladd and Lipset 1976).

Second, in 1965 Michigan and Massachusetts passed legislation that allowed collective bargaining for public employees. It was assumed that faculty at public institutions were included in this category of public employees (Carr 1973). By 1972, most "states permitted some degree of discussion or agreement between management

and labor in public employment" (Carr 1973, 21; Garbarino 1973). Although these events did not reverse labor's fortunes, it did slow down the rate of decline by giving thousands of public employees the opportunity to organize and collectively bargain with the state.

The public policy and structural changes in the 1950's and 1960's contributed to the slow decline of the union movement. However, the dramatic decline in unionization began in the late 1970's and continues today. In 1970, 30% of the private workforce was unionized. That number had dropped to 11% by the mid-1980's (Zieger 1994). This decline can be attributed to the continuation of the structural changes previously discussed, to a strong anti-union movement taking shape in the business community with support coming from the federal government, and to internal problems within the unions themselves.

The anti-union movement gained new momentum with the election of Ronald Reagan in 1980. Reagan made his position on government intervention in the marketplace clear by stating that, "the federal bureaucratic monster [including the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB)] who would slay private enterprise is learning a new command. It's called--



heel!" (quoted in Hill 1992, 24). Drawing on the conservative ideology that the government should take a laissez-faire stance toward the economy, he sent an unambiguous message to unions that they should not expect help from the federal government. Reagan began by labeling striking PATCO members as criminals and fired the 12,000 air traffic controllers (Dubofsky 1994). In addition, Reagan/Bush appointees to the NLRB were supportive of laissez faire economics and did little to actively enforce existing labor laws. In a study of the NLRB actions during the 1980's, Weiler (1990) found that the median days for a decision regarding unfair labor practices grew from 87 days in 1961 to 720 days in 1985. By increasing lag time between filing complaints and disposition of the case, employers gain valuable time to implement efforts to build up anti-union sentiment among employees, thwarting many organizing campaigns.

Because of the docile attitude at the NLRB, the overall ratio of employer lawlessness increased tenfold from the mid-1950's to 1985 (Weiler). In an era where punishment is neither swift nor severe, anti-union employers have little incentive to allow the election process to proceed as

proscribed under federal labor law. In this environment employers continue to spend millions of dollars on consultants that help them remain union-free with positive results. Freeman and Medoff (1984) found, in a survey of studies examining the success of unions in NLRB elections, that employers' anti-union activities, both legal and illegal, can explain 25 to 50 percent of the decline in membership that unions realized from the fifties to the mid-eighties.

Perhaps the most lasting legacy of the Reagan/Bush/Clinton years is their reconstitution of the Supreme Court. By appointing ideologically compatible justices, Reagan and Bush have created a fundamental change in the court referred to by legal scholar David Kairys (1993) as a conservative retrenchment where property rights take precedence over the civil rights of the individual. Although the Clinton appointees, Ruth Ginsberg and Stephen Breyer have shown signs that they are moderate or slightly left of center on social issues, their decisions regarding economic issues have been somewhat conservative, consistent with the views of New Democrats. According to Kairys (1993), the current court is far more likely to scrutinize governmental

restrictions on property rights than their former colleagues in the 1930's through the mid 1970's. This change alters the power relationships in personnel matters in favor of employers. In the cases where the court does place a high level of scrutiny on the rights of workers, it is in the context of allowing individual workers the right to work. For example in *Beck v. CWA* the court held that in some cases, individual workers could not be required to pay union dues even though they worked in shops where they directly benefited from collective bargaining efforts. Therefore, given that the court has traditionally viewed property in terms of capital, rather than in terms of the labor of the individual workers, it is unlikely that labor will have a sympathetic ear with the court in the foreseeable future.

Some of the difficulties that organized labor has encountered over the past two to three decades has been a result of internal decisions. One of the keys to maintaining or growing union membership is to devote adequate resources to organizing efforts. According to Freeman and Medoff (1984), from 1953 to 1974 there was a 30 percent reduction, in real terms, in union resources devoted to organizing efforts. Their analysis indicates that a

reduction in organizing resources accounted for as much as one-third of the decline in union effectiveness in NLRB elections. However, with the recent election of John Sweeney as president of the AFL-CIO, there seems to be a renewed commitment to recruit new members. Under Sweeney's leadership funding for organizing efforts has increased. Efforts are now being made to organize non-traditional labor sectors like service employees and professionals, as well as employees in traditional manufacturing jobs. The resurgence of feminism and increased attention to gender equity in the union movement have provided opportunities for increased recruitment of women as teachers, hospital workers, government clerks, etc. (Milkman, 1990). Sweeney has set forth an ambitious agenda that includes a yearly \$20 million dollar organizing fund and a program to recruit a thousand new organizers. In addition, Sweeney advocates a more macro approach to organizing, "targeting of entire industries, corporations and regions instead of organizing worksite by worksite (Moberg 1996, 18)."

The Current Status of Organized Labor and the Kentucky  
Community College System

It is clear from this brief examination of the history of labor relations in United States that the fate of organized labor is closely tied to the actions of the federal government and internal decisions made by the unions themselves. Therefore, it should come as no surprise that after two decades of anti-union or pro-business governmental actions, only 13% of the workforce in this country is currently organized. The survival of unions requires that they learn to operate within the anti-union environment that currently exists.

One strategy unions have begun to utilize to maintain, or possibly even increase current union density, is to broaden the base of union membership to historically unorganized white-collar and pink-collar positions, including service workers as well as professionals. In the past, unions have not been very successful at organizing white-collar workers. This lack of success has been attributed in part to white-collar employees' perceptions of unions as being associated the working class and strictly for blue-collar workers. This problem has been especially

problematic in recruiting professionals. However, when professionals are subjected to employment in hierarchical organizations, run by professional managers, as their nonprofessional blue and white collar worker have experienced for some time, there is some evidence that even professionals may opt for organizing to protect their interests or the interests of their clients. Recently in Arizona, 150 physicians working for an HMO voted to recognize the Federation of Physicians and Dentists (F.D.), an AFSCME affiliate, in order to give themselves voice to protect their patients from treatment decisions made by managers based on cost considerations rather than medical diagnosis (AFSCME 1997). In addition, a discussion about unionization has recently emerged in the medical trade journals (Budrys 1997; Meyer 1996). On a recent television call-in show, the Kentucky head of the AFL-CIO said he had been contacted by a group of physicians interested in organizing a union for the same reasons as their colleagues in Arizona. Similar to the trend in the medical field, on many college campuses around the country, professional administrators with little or no academic experience have begun to adopt business practices, running colleges and

universities as education factories rather than collegial institutions.

However, organizing college faculty presents a challenge for several reasons. First, college faculty constitute a traditionally apolitical group (Mills 1971; Derber 1994). Second, lack of unionization is one dimension separating college faculty from blue-collar workers thus preserving their sense of occupational prestige. Third, college faculty may identify with the interests of corporations rather than workers in the sense that faculty produce research that is often funded by and serving the interests of corporations (Aronowitz 1973; Mills 1971). Under the academic capitalism model, or the educational institution as a factory model, faculty are increasingly more reliant on corporate funding than in the past (Rhoades and Slaughter 1997). Consequently, as the security and benefits traditionally afforded college faculty are increasingly threatened, unionization may be perceived as advantageous by some faculty members.

Such is the case with many of the faculty employed in the Kentucky community college system. Until the 1997-98 session of the Kentucky General Assembly, the community

college system had been under the control of the University of Kentucky (UK). Many of the community college faculty members felt that UK was not allocating adequate resources to the community colleges. In March of 1994, after years of dissatisfaction with the University of Kentucky's response to their concerns, a group of professors at the Jefferson Community College campus decided to explore the option of talking with a union. After consultation with the National Education Association (NEA), American Association of University Professors (AAUP), and the American Federation of Teachers (AFT), they determined that the AFT was the best option for several reasons. First, they felt that while the AAUP was very effective in situations where collective bargaining was well established, they did not have, or offer, the resources to take on an organizing campaign in a non-collective bargaining setting. Second, they were concerned that affiliating with the NEA would not be advantageous because of the number of KEA members (roughly 30,000 in the state). They felt that because of their small size relative to the primary and secondary teachers they would not receive an adequate voice in negotiations over scarce resources. In fact as one faculty member stated,



"[w]e asked them the question about how they would deal with the difference in numbers and they didn't have an answer (from an interview with one of the original faculty organizers)." Third, the AFT made a financial commitment to conduct an initial survey to get an idea of faculty attitudes, furnish travel money for faculty representatives, and provide training workshops for faculty organizers.

In the initial meeting with the AFT in 1994 the Jefferson Community College Southwest campus faculty learned that, according to U.S. labor law, they could not organize *only* the Jefferson County campus, as they had originally wanted. The organizing campaign would have to be system-wide, making the task more daunting than had been anticipated. After several months of organizing, nearly 500 faculty had signed dues authorization cards pledging to support the union. In January 1996 the KCCFA was chartered as AFT local 6010 (KCCFA/AFT Political Update 1997).

In the beginning, the goals of the local were to increase membership and voice faculty concerns to the university administration as well as lobbying the state legislature directly. The KCCFA's legislative priorities were higher salaries, a stronger voice in the college

system, and a stronger voice on campus. According to the KCCFA, in 1994-5 community college faculty salaries were significantly below those of their colleagues at UK by an average of \$20,244 and were \$8,930 below the national average for two-year institutions (Craig 1996). The ability to lobby the legislature directly proved to be an effective tool for the community college faculty. Through the lobbying efforts of KCCFA/AFT representative Barbara Ashley, the 1997 budget bill for UK stated that, "The University of Kentucky shall place the highest priority on improving the salaries of the Community College System faculty" (Craig 1996, 1).

The ability to lobby the legislature proved to be especially important, given that the current Governor Paul Patton placed reform of higher education high on his list of priorities. One of the key components of Patton's reform plan was to move control of the community college system from the University of Kentucky to the newly formed Kentucky Community and Technical College System (KCTCS) or cactus as it is commonly known. Under the plan, as adopted, 13 of the 14 community colleges came under the auspices of the KCTCS with the Lexington Community College remaining under the

control of the University of Kentucky (KCTCS 1998). During the transition period the KCCFA/AFT concentrated their efforts on protecting faculty salary/benefits, ranks/tenure, academic freedom, third party appeals for faculty, and equitable funding for KCTCS. Under the new plan these items were protected and through the efforts of the KCCFA/AFT faculty were also given tuition waivers that could be used at any higher education facility in Kentucky (KCCFA/AFT Political Update 1997).

Currently the KCCFA/AFT has around 300 members. The following chapters explore the attitudes of Kentucky Community College faculty members toward unions and the factors influencing their union membership.

### **CHAPTER 3**

#### **UNDERSTANDING UNIONS IN HIGHER EDUCATION:**

##### **A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE AND**

##### **THE DEVELOPMENT OF THEORY**

Most of the literature examining faculty attitudes toward unionization has focused on the effects of individual demographic characteristics including age, sex, race, and general job and organizational factors such as job satisfaction, pay, and benefits. In addition, most of the research examines four-year faculty rather than those teaching at community colleges. Recent research exploring the effects of socioeconomic background, political identification, and political organizational experiences on attitudes of community college, as well as four-year, faculty toward unionization is scant.

After the initial wave of unionization in academe during the late 1960's and early 1970's, scholars developed a burgeoning interest in exploring the effects of unions on college and university campuses. Much of this early research described changes in union density and governance issues resulting from unionization rather than focusing on the attributes or determinants of faculty attitudes toward unionization (Kemerer and Baldrige 1975; Garbarino 1975;

Garbarino et al. 1977; Ladd and Lipset 1973). Although much of the academic research focused on four year colleges and universities, the greatest successes for faculty unionization from the beginning have come at community colleges (Angel 1973; Ladd and Lipset 1976; Rhoades 1996; Annunziato 1994).

During the initial phase of unionization, two major studies were conducted to examine, among other things, the relationship between political ideology of faculty and their attitudes toward faculty unions. The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education conducted one of the first studies addressing the relationship between political ideology and union attitudes in 1969 (Ladd and Lipset 1973). Two years later the study was replicated (Ladd and Lipset 1976). Ladd and Lipset (1976, 16) found that "those who perceived themselves on the political left . . . are more likely to endorse collective bargaining and faculty strikes and view increased unionization as a good thing." Although a major drive for unionization had occurred at two-year institutions, the samples for these studies were drawn exclusively from four-year college and university faculty.

The analysis to follow will address some of the inadequacies of previous research by collecting data from

community college faculty with regard to political ideology, political socialization, party identification, and socioeconomic factors, as well as other non-economic and demographic variables. Analyzing the effects of these variables will contribute to the discipline's understanding of why white collar professionals, particular community college faculty, join unions and/or have favorable attitudes toward unionization. The study draws on the work of C. Wright Mills and expands his ideas to develop a comprehensive analysis of faculty attitudes and membership in unions. The analysis compares the influences of job satisfaction and tangible rewards on union attitudes and membership to the influences of political socialization, political identification, and political ideology. It is argued that if job satisfaction and tangible rewards are important in determining faculty attitudes, then the unionization of college systems must be grounded in a business unionism approach. In contrast, the significance of political factors indicates the necessity of unionizing college systems from a social movements approach.

#### Community College Systems and Unionization

Formal collective bargaining for higher education faculty began in the community college system in 1966 at the

Henry Ford Community College in Dearborn, Michigan (Carr 1973). Collective bargaining at four-year institutions did not begin for another two to three years. From the beginning, faculty at two-year institutions have been more inclined to see the need to organize and collectively bargaining. The 1994 Directory of Faculty Contracts and Bargaining Agents in Institutions of Higher Education (Annunziato 1994) shows that there are more faculty unions at two year community colleges than at four year colleges and universities (See Table 1).

TABLE 1  
DISTRIBUTION OF UNIONS AT TWO  
AND FOUR YEAR INSTITUTIONS

	<u>Total</u>	<u>AAUP</u>	<u>AFT</u>	<u>NEA</u>	<u>IND.</u>
Two year institutions	339	7	110	187	30
Four year institution	150	47	46	34	13

Source: Annunziato (1994)

According to Jacobs (1972), several reasons might explain the differences in attitudes toward faculty unions, and willingness to join them, between faculty at two-year as opposed to four-year institutions.

\* Lack of tradition.

\* Predominance of former secondary school

teachers.

- \* Personnel policies patterned after secondary school systems.
- \* No clear definition of community college faculty.
- \* Lack of professional mobility.

Unlike many four-year institutions that have a tradition that goes back decades or even longer, community colleges were quickly formed in the 1960's and 1970's to accommodate an increased demand for post-secondary education. With the influx of baby boomers, more inclusive admission policies, and increased financial aid more students who had previously been excluded from obtaining a higher education were now in attendance. This increased demand led to the formation of the community college system to accommodate the increased number of students seeking two-year degrees and/or eventual entree into four-year institutions.

Because of the rapid development of the community college system there was not enough time to train faculty to teach at these facilities. Consequently, in the initial stages, many faculty hired at community colleges had no point of reference beyond their experience as secondary school teachers to provide them with some form of



institutional memory. Although their status had changed, their professional identification remained similar to that of a secondary school teacher. They were more likely to view themselves as members of the proletariat rather than the managerial or entrepreneurial class (Angell 1974). Although many of the initial hires have since retired, the culture they created may be slow to change, explaining the greater, and continued, acceptance of unions to promote faculty interests, similar to their colleagues at the primary and secondary level. For example, according to Angell (1974), initially one of the major conflicts at community colleges was the battle over desired flexibility among faculty and the desire of administrators and governing bodies to standardize curriculum across systems, a battle familiar to former secondary school teachers. It should be noted that oversight and governance at community colleges was similar and in some cases identical to secondary schools in the area (Ladd and Lipset 1976).

Another characteristic that differentiates community college faculty is the question of where they fit within a post-secondary educational system. Should their primary mission be to concentrate on vocational or technical training, or should they provide broad-based education and

serve as "feeders" for four-year institutions? The ambiguity of their role continues and is a concern for the faculty in Kentucky's community college system. Recent changes in post-secondary education in Kentucky removed the community college system, with the exception of the Lexington Community College, from under the direction of the University of Kentucky. A new organizational structure was created, the Kentucky Community and Technical College System (KCTCS, a.k.a. cactus), to combine the two-year colleges with the state's vocational schools (KCTCS 1998). There are concerns among the faculty that their prestige will be somewhat diminished because of the break with the university and their association with vocation schools.

Finally, faculty members at two-year institutions are much less mobile because of the emphasis placed on teaching rather than research. Most community college faculty teach at least 5 courses per semester, with little, if any, emphasis on scholarship or research. According to Jacob (1973) and Angell (1974), because this is the case, faculty are less tied to their discipline and more tied to the individual institution. As Gamson (1997, 68) observed, "adoption of a research culture at four-year colleges and universities led to a national rather than local

allegiances" opening the way for the possibility of increased status through promotion or leaving for a more prestigious university. She goes on to point out that a research culture never took hold in community colleges. Given these characteristics, one could assume that community college faculty would be more likely to join, or at least have more positive attitudes about unions, than faculty at four-year institutions who might be concerned with the threat to their professional status if they associated with such a blue collar organization.

Further indication of the difference is evident in Table 1. When one looks at the distribution of organized faculty within the various unions, the National Education Association (NEA) and the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) are over represented among two-year institutions whereas the AAUP has a larger presence among four-year faculty (Annunziato 1994). The AFT and the NEA are primarily known for their work with primary and secondary school teachers who may account for their success with community college faculty. In addition, the AFT is the most union-like of the three organizations.

Since its inception in 1916, the AFT has unapologetically positioned itself as a union for teachers.

The AAUP on the other hand has been reluctant to adopt the union label wholeheartedly (Jacobs). As late as 1972 outgoing AAUP President Sanford Kadish said, "dividing the university into worker-professors and manager-administrators ... imperils the premise of shared authority, encourages the polarization of interests and exaggerates the adversary concerns over interests held in common..." (Ladd & Lipset 1976, 6). According to Rhoades (1996), the success of the NEA at two-year institutions can be explained by the fact that they are more open to accepting part-time workers as members. Since two-year institutions rely more heavily on part-time employees than four-year institutions, the NEA should be more adept at recruiting at community colleges. This is not the case for the KCCFA/AFT where only full-time employees are eligible for membership. In fact, the respondents in this study were drawn exclusively from full-time employees.<sup>1</sup>

### Theoretical Development

In his classic work, White Collar: The American Middle Classes (1951), C. Wright Mills identified three major

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<sup>1</sup> In another project I performed for the KCCFA/AFT at a four-year university in the state, the issue of how to deal with part-time faculty came up. It was clear that the union did not want to include part-time faculty in the survey. In fact, in the initial stages of the project they were reluctant to include emeritus faculty, but eventually they were added to the list of respondents.

factors affecting white collar employees' acceptance or rejection of unions. First, white-collar employees reject unions because unions have traditionally not been available to them. Second, "political party affiliations of white collar employees and their families buttress their union feelings" (306). Third, "job dissatisfaction in general . . . the feeling that as an individual [they] cannot get ahead in [their] work . . . predisposes the white collar employee to go pro-union" (307).

White-collar employees have relatively limited access to unions for two reasons. The first is a formal restriction under United States labor law. Roughly 20 percent of all white-collar workers are not allowed to organize because they work in supervisory positions (Kochan, et al. 1994). Interpretation of this restriction has limited the ability of unions to organize at private colleges because of the Yeshiva decision<sup>2</sup>, where the Supreme Court ruled that faculty were considered supervisory personnel because they participated in substantive decisions like hiring and supervision of peers (Leatherman 1998).

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<sup>2</sup> The Yeshiva decision may be in jeopardy. In a 1996 decision the NLRB ruled that faculty at the University of Great Falls in Montana did not have enough influence over governance to be considered managers. The board concurred with the director of the NLRB's Seattle office John Nelson who stated that, "faculty as a whole, or even those faculty who sit on committees, are aligned with management as contemplated under Yeshiva" (Leatherman 1998, a14).

Four decades prior to Yeshiva another, more informal agreement between the management and labor limited efforts to organize professional white-collar employees. After a relatively successful attempt by the United Auto Workers to organize engineers at General Motors in the 1940's, management began to question the traditional arrangement they had with the unions. The traditional arrangements required management to yield to certain demands from blue-collar union members in exchange for long-term contracts that assured the company of a stable and qualified workforce. Management saw this effort to recruit white-collar employees as an encroachment that violated previous agreements. General Motors' management drew a line in the sand and warned the United Auto Workers (UAW) that further efforts to recruit engineers would lead to a renegotiation of the way things had been done since the formation of the union. Eventually the union backed off and efforts to organize professional staff ceased (Dubofsky 1994).

Second, unions have traditionally been associated with blue-collar workers. According to Mills ([1951] 1971), many white-collar employees, even in lower paid clerical and sales positions, feel they have escaped the world of the blue-collar worker and reject unions on that basis. In the

end this rejection occurs because white-collar employees, even low level staff, have tended to identify with or borrow prestige from their bosses and have rejected anything associated with blue-collar work or workers. Or as Aronowitz (1973, 292) states, "'white collar' is less a description of an actual group of workers than a conceptual tool for a specific perspective on social class."

Mills goes on to say that there are antidotes to anti-union sentiment. First, direct contact with union members tends to be the most important antidote for anti-union sentiments among white-collar workers. Research on the effects of contact with union members or those with pro-union attitudes on faculty attitudes has been mixed. Deshpande (1995) found that normative pressures, specifically whether faculty believed their colleagues supported unions, were significant in faculty attitudes about unions and votes for unionization. However, Borstoff, Nye and Feild (1994) found that the influence of family members who were union members was not significant in determining union support.

Also, individuals' political party affiliations, as well as those of other family members, buttress union feelings. Mills makes the point that, in most cases, white-

collar employees come in contact with political rhetoric before they are exposed to unions. Exposure to liberal or leftist political rhetoric will make employees more receptive to pro-union messages. If this is the case, then it is very important to those active in the labor movement to recognize the potential support that could be realized from grassroots and more formal established movements that promote leftist political ideologies. Research has shown that the fate of organized labor is directly related to the political environment (Olson 1982; Dubofsky 1994). For example, the two previous periods of rapid increases in union membership occurred during the progressive era at the beginning of the 20th century and the New Deal in the 1930-40's. In both time periods the government was actively encouraging organizing efforts or restraining the power of the corporation leveling the playing field for employees wishing to organize. Therefore, it is essential that unions, as was the case during the New Deal, become a "more respectable feature of human life" (Mills 1951, 306), if they are to overcome their working class stigma and become attractive to white-collar employees. Or as Dubofsky (1994, 238) observed, "[t]o win true liberty, labor must cultivate, secure, and expand its organization strength simultaneously



in the workplace, the community, and the public arena."

Finally, "not job dissatisfaction in general, but a specific kind of job dissatisfaction--the feeling that as an individual he [or she] cannot get ahead in his [or her] work-- is the job factor that predisposes the white-collar employee to go pro-union" (Mills 1951, 307). Hammer and Berman (1981) found that distrust of administration and dissatisfaction with work content were the two primary reasons for a pro-union vote among faculty at a four-year northeastern college. The cause of this distrust and dissatisfaction may come from the fact that as one professor was told upon arriving at his new job, "you're not coming to work at a 'collegial' institution, this is a goddamn education factory!"<sup>3</sup> The implication here is that under the academic capitalism model, faculty has lost power to professional administrators in governance matters. Steps have been taken to place greater emphasis on the financial bottom line, rather than educational opportunities for students. Adoption of academic capitalism by institutions of higher learning has led to increasing distrust of administration among faculty (Rhoades and Slaughter 1997). In his book Trustworthy Government, Carnevale (1995, 4)

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<sup>3</sup> Anonymous--a full professor's advise to an incoming junior faculty member.

states that, "[t]rust is what holds ... organizations together... Authoritarianism cannot substitute for trust."

Addressing the source of angst among white collar workers in a general discussion of postindustrial service institutions that employ white collar workers<sup>4</sup> Aronowitz (1973, 289) says they have "conform[ed] to the structure of authority, the profit criteria, for business activity, and the corporate form of organization has made them preeminently industrial institutions and has imprisoned the consciousness and practice of white collar workers in the same framework as that of manual workers." Collective bargaining can serve to reclaim the psychological contract of power and trust between faculty and administration and turn the contract into a legal one (Hammer and Berman 1981).

Traditionally, the faculty senate has been the vehicle through which faculty would exercise power, but, as the research shows, there is a perception that senates have become much less influential, leading to a search for more effective avenues to voice faculty concerns (Ladd and Lipset 1973; Newfield 1997). Perhaps an argument could be made that under the academic capitalism model, faculty senates are little more than traditional company unions that rely on

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<sup>4</sup> I would include institutions of higher learning in this category although Aronowitz does not specifically do so in his discussion.

the administration for their power to affect the system.

The present study tests Mills's assertions regarding the factors influencing white-collar unionization. In response to Mills's first assertion that white-collar employees reject unions because unions have traditionally not been available to them, this study draws from a population that currently has the opportunity to join a union. Second, in regard to his idea that "political party affiliations of white collar employees and their families buttress their union feelings" (306), this study examines the influences of political socialization as indicated by the union attitudes and experiences of the respondents' family, relatives, and friends. In addition, based on Mills's assertions, the influences of political identification and political ideology on union attitudes and membership are explored. Finally, based on Mills's idea that job dissatisfaction in regard to being able to "get ahead" predisposes the white-collar employee to go pro-union, this study explores the effects of a wide range of job-satisfaction variables on faculty union attitudes and membership.

## Non Economic Determinants of Faculty Attitudes

### Toward Unions

Additional relevant research examining the determinants of faculty attitudes on unionization can be categorized into studies that explore economic versus non-economic factors. Some research has found that concerns about non-economic factors significantly influences union attitudes. For example, various studies have found that distrust of administrative decision making, dissatisfaction with work content (Hammer and Berman 1981), inadequacy of facilities and services (Feuille and Blandin 1974), and general and specific beliefs about unions (Deshpande 1995; Karim and Rassuli 1996) were more important than economic factors in determining pro-union attitudes. These results are consistent with previous research indicating that pro-union attitudes of white-collar employees, unlike those of blue-collar workers, are likely to be influenced by non-economic factors (Kochan 1979; Mills 1951). For example, in Tucson, Arizona for the first time, 150 physicians recently voted to have an AFSCME affiliate represent them in collective bargaining efforts with their employer, a for-

profit HMO. Rather than organizing to increase individual benefits, the physicians were concerned with having more "voice" within the organization to assure that patient care was not sacrificed for corporate profits (AFSCME 1997).

This research is relevant to Mills's ideas regarding the importance of job dissatisfaction in determining union attitudes. However, the research suggests that various dimensions of job satisfaction must be assessed to understand the complexities of the relationship between job satisfaction and union attitudes. Rather than testing only Mills's basic assertions, the present study expands his ideas to encompass various dimensions of the issues that he highlighted. For example, rather than focusing only on job satisfaction in regard to opportunities for getting ahead, the present study examines a variety of job satisfaction issues.

#### Economic Determinants of Faculty Attitudes

##### Toward Unionization

Additional studies provide data disputing the conclusion that non-economic factors are more important than economic concerns in affecting attitudes toward unionization. Allen and Keavney (1981) found that economic

factors and administration of intrinsic rewards were more important than job satisfaction in affecting faculty attitudes toward unionization. Gomez-Mejia and Balkin (1984) found that unionized faculty were more satisfied with their pay than their non-union colleagues and that there was no difference in reports of job satisfaction between the two groups. However, pay level was the best predictor of job satisfaction in the study. In addition, they found that untenured faculty were more satisfied with their salaries than their tenured counterparts. The difference could be explained by wage compression. Karim and Ali (1993) found that economic concerns were more important to faculty with positive attitudes toward collective bargaining than other demographic characteristics. These results are consistent with studies that have shown that unions provide increased economic rewards for workers in general (Belman and Voos 1993), as well as for college faculty (Gomez-Mejia and Balkin 1984; Morgan and Kearney 1977; Delaney 1985).

#### Research Design

Using the work of Mills as a theoretical point of departure, the present study expands the existing literature in the area of white-collar employees and unionization. The

study uses a sample of white-collar employees, community college faculty that have an opportunity for union membership. To determine influences of faculty attitudes it is important to use a group (community college faculty) that has access to union membership and has a history of successful unionization.

Second, like previous research, this study examines the effects of individual demographic characteristics including age, sex, race, and general job and organizational factors such as job satisfaction, pay, and benefits because it is important to know what faculty attitudes are and how demographic and job characteristics affect these attitudes. However, perhaps more important is the question of how these attitudes are formed and influenced by existing individual political ideologies, party affiliations, and political socialization through contact with family and friends who are pro- or anti-union. Unlike previous research then, the present study draws on the work of Mills to combine the focus on demographic and job characteristics with an examination of the effects of socioeconomic background, political socialization, political identification and ideology, and political organizational experiences. Rather

than a simple description of job satisfaction, the present study analyzes how the experience of the organization as a political institution provides an environment that affects union attitudes. That is, rather than simply focusing on economic job-related factors such as pay and benefits, the present study explores how organizationally determined factors such as opportunity for advancement, power, trust, and perceived voice affect attitudes toward unionization.

This research is important in both an academic and applied sense. If Mills is correct, that exposure to liberal or leftist political rhetoric is the most important factor in determining if a white-collar worker has pro-union attitudes, then unions should tailor their appeals based on this knowledge. For the purposes of this study, respondents' party identification as well as political ideology is measured. Reliance on party identification only may not be as meaningful as it once was due to the collapse of the New Deal coalition that dominated Democratic politics for four decades and the increased importance of candidate-centered politics (Fraser and Freeman 1997). However, if leftist or liberal political ideology is still important, it could be argued that unions should design their appeal to college



faculty on the basis of their perceptions of unions as social movements, instead of focusing exclusively on the tangible rewards grounded in business unionism. This is not to say that other non-economic and economic concerns are unimportant. If community college faculty are in fact concerned with pay, voice, and other job related matters inclusion of traditional business unionism in the overall model should be an attraction for faculty unions.

### Hypotheses

In addition to examining the effects of basic demographic factors (sex, age, and marital status) on faculty attitudes and union membership, the following hypotheses are tested. The hypotheses were developed based on the work of Mills and related research. The first six hypotheses are related to respondents' political socialization including union contact, political ideology and political identification. If these hypotheses are supported, then it could be argued that unions should design their appeal to college faculty on the basis of their perceptions of unions as social movements. Hypotheses seven through nine deal with issues of job satisfaction and tangible rewards. If these hypotheses are supported, it

indicates that the development of pro-union attitudes and membership depends on perceived access to tangible rewards grounded in business unionism. Hypothesis ten deals with the relationship between union attitudes and union membership.

***Hypothesis 1***

***Respondents with higher levels of education will have less positive attitudes toward unionization and will be less likely to be a KCCFA/AFT member.***

Justification: Traditionally, community colleges have employed larger numbers of non-Ph.D. faculty. For example, 86 percent of the faculty teaching in the Kentucky Community College system possess only BA's or MA's. Those faculty with Ph.D.'s may be more likely to exhibit similarities to their colleagues at four-year institutions because of the exposure to their disciplines while working on their terminal degree. That is, they may be more likely to see themselves as professionals and disassociate themselves from secondary school teachers and traditionally unionized workers. This hypothesis is drawn from Mills' work, which states that white-collar employees may feel they have escaped the world of blue-collar workers and reject unions

on that basis. While he asserts that this may be true of even the lowest level white-collar workers, the present study hypothesizes that this will be especially true for Ph.D.'s, whose investment in education sets them apart even from most white-collar professional teachers in secondary school systems.

### **Hypothesis 2**

***Respondents with higher levels of Parents' SES will have less positive attitudes toward unionization and will be less likely to be a KCCFA/AFT member.***

Justification: As asserted by Mills, white-collar employees may disassociate themselves from blue-collar workers. The present study proposes that respondents with higher levels of SES will have been socialized into this professional class more so than those with a lower SES and thus may feel more alienated from unions and attach more of a stigma to unionization.

### **Hypothesis 3**

***Respondents who have been in contact with union members through family and/or friends AND respondents who have family and friends who are in favor of unions and union membership will report more positive attitudes toward unionization and will be more likely to be KCCFA/AFT***

***members. Further, the relationship between the variables presented in hypotheses 1 and 2 may disappear or weaken after controlling for union contact with union members and people with pro-union attitudes***

Justification: Although Mills argued that perceiving oneself as a professional, disassociated from blue-collar and traditionally unionized workers, may lead to anti-union sentiments, he also argued that exposure to union members and people with pro-union sentiments was the most important way to overcome anti-union attitudes. Therefore the present study proposes that while education and background SES may influence faculty attitudes toward and membership in unions (see hypotheses 1 and 2), the relationship between these variables may disappear or weaken once the analysis controls for union contact. That is, people who have known union members and whose friends and relatives are pro-union will be more likely to have positive attitudes toward unions and will more likely to join unions even if they have higher levels of education and were socialized by parents with high SES.

#### ***Hypothesis 4***

***Faculty who perceive the union as having been effective in promoting positive changes in the community college system will report more positive attitudes toward unionization and will be more***

***likely to be members of the KCCFA/AFT.***

Justification: While much of the research on faculty attitudes toward unionization has surveyed faculty in non-unionized settings, the present study has the advantage of surveying respondents in a newly unionized organizational setting. Hence it is possible to assess how their experience of the union and their perception of its efficacy influence their attitudes and membership status. It is proposed that higher levels of perceived efficacy will be related to more positive attitudes and union membership.

***Hypothesis 5***

***Faculty who identify themselves as further to the left on the ideological spectrum are more likely to have positive attitudes toward unions and be members of the KCCFA/AFT. This relationship will persist when controlling for levels of political activity.***

Justification: Mills makes the point that, in most cases, white-collar employees come in contact with political rhetoric before they are exposed to unions and the development of this political rhetoric may influence their attitudes toward unions. Faculty who identify with leftist or liberal ideology should be more likely to see collective action as a legitimate avenue for faculty to pursue. They

may even perceive union membership, or at least pro-union attitudes, as a way to connect with other non-academic workers. They may adopt pro-union attitudes for reasons related to political ideology and social change in addition to, or rather than, for utilitarian reasons.

While not directly addressed in the theoretical development of Mills as presented in this paper, it is important to recognize that the influences of political ideology may depend on political activity. That is, the influence of liberal political ideology on union attitudes may be more important for individuals who are politically active and for whom politics is a salient part of their identity. Therefore, the present study controls for the level of political activity in examining the relationships between political ideology union attitudes and membership.

#### ***Hypothesis 6***

***Respondents who identify themselves as Democrats will be more likely to have positive attitudes towards unions and be members of the KCCFA/AFT.***

Justification: Traditionally organized labor has identified itself with and strongly supported the Democratic Party. While it is still true that the labor's leadership

has continued its clearly one-sided support, rank-and-file members have not been as enthusiastic. Rank-and-file members have been frustrated with the Democrats move to the left on social issues beginning in the 1960's and their increasingly close relationship with corporate America beginning in the early 1980's (Reynolds 1997). However, based on Mills's assertion regarding the link between political identification and union attitudes, the present study hypothesizes a relationship between party affiliation and union attitudes and membership.

**Hypothesis 7**

***Faculty with higher academic ranks and tenure will have less favorable attitudes towards unionization and will be less likely to be a member of the KCCFA/AFT.***

Justification: Faculty that are tenured should feel more secure with their jobs and less likely to need the protection of unions. In addition, higher-ranking faculty may feel more "professional" than their lower ranking non-tenured colleagues.

**Hypothesis 8**

***Faculty with higher salaries will be less likely to have positive attitudes toward unionization and be KCCFA/AFT members.***

Justification: Past research has shown that faculty with higher salaries are more likely to be satisfied with their jobs and less likely to want or need unions.

**Hypothesis 9**

***Faculty who are not satisfied with the economic and/or non-economic aspects of their job are more likely to have pro-union attitudes and to be members of the KCCFA/AFT.***

Justification: Mills argued that job dissatisfaction, especially in regard to not being able to get ahead may influence union attitudes. Additional past research has shown that job satisfaction is an important determinant of union attitudes. In the present study, various aspects of job satisfaction are analyzed to assess how the experience of the organization as a political institution provides an environment that affects union attitudes. That is, rather than focusing only on pay and benefits, the study examines the influence of factors such as opportunity for advancement, power, trust, and perceived voice on union attitudes and membership. These job satisfaction factors are examined in both the bivariate and multivariate analysis to provide a critical assessment of the complexity of these influences. In all of the analyses, however, it is



hypothesized that lower levels of satisfaction will be related to pro-union attitudes and union membership. Variations in the importance of some aspects of satisfaction versus others in determining attitudes and membership are explored.

***Hypothesis 10***

***Respondents reporting higher levels of pro-union attitudes will be more likely to be members of KCCFA/AFT.***

Justification: Faculty attitudes are examined as a dependent variable in multivariate analysis of the present study. In addition, the bivariate analysis examines the relationship between membership and specific attitudinal items. Though it is generally hypothesized that pro-union attitudes are related to membership, the bivariate analysis explores how the relationship may be more prevalent for some individual attitudinal items than for others.

**CHAPTER FOUR**  
**DESCRIPTION OF SAMPLE AND DISCUSSION OF**  
**PROJECT METHODOLOGY**

This project relies on a written survey to collect the data needed for analysis. The survey design was selected because it allows for the collection and analysis of a breadth of data from a reasonably large sample at an affordable cost. While the quantitative survey technique sacrifices in-depth analysis, it is useful for the present study, which seeks to explore the general patterns of factors influencing attitudes toward unions and union membership. Standard closed-ended survey responses provide ample comparable data to explore these patterns. In addition, respondents were provided with open response areas for recording comments.

Questionnaire Construction and Data Collection

The survey instrument was designed during Fall 1997 and early spring 1998. Questions were developed based on a review of the literature and theoretical considerations. Because the survey instrument was custom designed for the present project, the questions were able to directly address the theoretical considerations of the study. Two pilot

tests of the survey were administered to various faculty members and senior level students at a regional state university in Kentucky. Based on these pilot tests, the survey was edited for clarity and to ensure that the time required for completion would not unduly burden potential respondents and reduce the response rate. The final product consisted of a five page, thirty-two item questionnaire which required approximately 20 to 25 minutes to complete (see Appendix).

The surveys were administered in March and April of 1998 to all full-time faculty teaching in the Kentucky Community College system. Questionnaires were delivered to the Academic Dean's office of each of the fourteen Kentucky Community College campuses. They were then distributed by the Academic Dean's office to all full-time faculty members. Each full-time faculty member received a packet that included the questionnaire, cover letter, and a return postage paid envelope (see Appendix). Because the project was self-funded, cost-efficient decisions were necessary. Although the use of actual stamps tends to increase return rates (Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias 1996), "no postage necessary" pre-printed envelopes were used so that postage was charged only on the returned questionnaires.

A total of 329 faculty completed and returned the questionnaire. The response rate was 35.1%, well within the acceptable parameters for this type and length of survey (Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias 1996). No follow up reminders was sent.

### Sample

Demographic characteristics of the sample are presented in Table 2. As indicated by Table 2, the sample is 38.5% male and 61.5% female. The majority of respondents (52.4%) fall within the 35-49 year age range with an additional 38.7% aged 50 and over and only 8.8% in the 20-34 year category.

For several demographic variables presented in Table 2, comparative data are provided for the study population of all full-time Kentucky Community College faculty members. The distribution of academic rank in the sample is very close to the population of community college faculty though there is a slight difference in the assistant professor and instructor categories (21.8% vs. 17.5% assistant professors; 6.1% vs. 11.5% instructors). The highest degree earned reported by the sample also is fairly close to the highest degree earned for all community college faculty. The Ph.D. equivalent category is slightly over-reported (21.2% vs.

TABLE 2

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS AND  
COMPARASION TO POPULATION OF FULL-TIME KENTUCKY COMMUNITY  
COLLEGE FACULTY

	<u>Sample (N)</u>	<u>Sample %</u>	<u>KCCF Pop. %</u>
Sex			
Male	126	38.5	data not
Female	201	61.5	available
Rank			
Professor	77	23.6	21.7
Associate Professor	157	48.2	49.3
Assistant Professor	71	21.8	17.5
Instructor/other	21	6.4	11.5
Highest Degree Earned			
Bachelors or Masters	245	75.2	83.0
ABD	12	3.7	1.0
PhD Equivalent	69	21.2	16.0
Tenure			
No	84	25.7	data not
Yes	243	74.3	available
Age			
20-34	29	8.8	data not
35-49	172	52.4	available
50 & over	127	38.7	
Union Member			
Yes	117	36.0	34.1*
No	208	64.0	65.9

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\*based on estimated membership from KCCFA/AFT officers  
(325 estimated membership/943 total full-time  
faculty=34.1%)

16.0%) and the Bachelors or Masters category slightly under-reported (75.2% vs. 83.0%) in the sample. The overwhelming majority of sample survey respondents are tenured faculty members (74.3%). Because 70% of the faculty in the sample population are at the associate or full professor level, it is likely that approximately 70% of the population members are tenured. Union membership in the sample was 36.0%, which approximates the unofficial estimate reported by KCCFA/AFT officers (34.1%). Based on the available data, it appears that the sample provides an adequate representation of the population under study.

Table 3 presents the political characteristics of the sample including political ideology and partisanship. In regard to ideology, 25% of the sample describes themselves as liberal or extremely liberal while only 16.3% categorize themselves as conservative or extremely conservative. Similarly, slightly more respondents present themselves as slightly liberal (19.7%) than slightly conservative (14.7%) and about one-fifth (20.6%) are middle of the road. Overall, the sample on average is center to left-of-center.

The data on partisanship indicate that over 16% identify themselves as strong Democrats while only 4% claim to be strong Republicans. An additional 44.6% of

TABLE 3

## POLITICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS

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Political Ideology	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Extremely Liberal	22	6.9
Liberal	58	18.1
Slightly Liberal	66	20.6
Moderate	63	19.7
Slightly Conservative	47	14.7
Conservative	46	14.4
Extremely Conservative	6	1.9
Don't Know	12	3.7
Partisanship		
Strong Democratic	53	16.4
Democrat	70	21.7
Independent/Lean Democrat	74	22.9
Independent/no preference	30	9.3
Independent/lean Republican	38	11.8
Republican	34	10.5
Strong Republican	13	4.0
Third Party	11	3.4

---

the sample categorize themselves as Democrat or independent/Democrat compared to 22.3% as Republican or independent/Republican. Less than 10% chose the category of independent/no preference and only 3.4% identified with a third party. It should be noted that an overwhelming majority of this that chose a third party selected the Democratic Socialists.

#### Limitations of the Study

The comparison of the sample to the population of study clearly indicates that the sample is a reasonable representation of the population. Thus, the results may be considered generalizable to full-time Kentucky Community College faculty members. However, the study is not generalizable to other community college faculty members outside of Kentucky. Because the Kentucky community college system is newly unionized, it is a useful population to study in regard to attitudes toward and membership in unions. However, this same characteristic renders the sample less representative of other community college systems. In addition, the sample is not generalizable to faculty at major four-year institutions.



### Statistical Techniques

Bivariate analyses, including cross-tabulations and one-way analysis of variance, are used to examine differences between members and non-members. This analysis explores the ways in which these groups are similar or different in regard to demographic characteristics, union contact, political characteristics, and job satisfaction.

Multivariate techniques are used to examine causal relationships among the variables of interest. The first analysis utilizes Ordinary Least Squares regression to examine the influence of demographic characteristics, union contact, political characteristics and job satisfaction on the attitudes toward unions scale. Listwise deletion of missing cases is employed in the regression analysis. However, some substitutions of missing data were made as detailed in the measurement section of this chapter.

Similar to the analysis of attitudes toward union, multivariate techniques are used to examine the influence of demographic characteristics, union contact, political characteristics and job satisfaction on union membership. In addition to these variables, the union attitude scale is included as an independent variable to examine its influence on membership. Because membership is a dichotomous

dependent variable, it is necessary to use a logistic regression technique. When the dependent variable only has two outcomes, the linear (OLS) regression technique is not able to provide an adequate prediction of the outcome, especially at the extremes. In contrast, logistical regression uses MLE (maximum likelihood estimation) rather than OLS (ordinary least squares). Therefore, the logistical regression technique is able to select the "coefficients that have the highest likelihood of obtaining the observed values of the dependent variable" (MicroCase 1994, 370), rather than selecting coefficients that minimize the sum of the squared errors.

Interpreting the results of logistic regression is somewhat different from linear/OLS regression. Logistic regression deals with odds rather than probabilities. The results of the logistic regression may be interpreted by using the odds ratio  $\exp(b_i)$  which is an "estimated change in odds for a one-unit increase in the independent variable of interest, assuming no changes in the other independent variables" (Agresti and Finlay 1997, 176). The model is evaluated using the likelihood-ratio chi-square test statistic, also known as the model chi-square that is similar to the F statistic in linear regression (Agresti and

Finlay 1997).

#### Measurement of Dependent Variables

The variables used in the analyses include single item indicators as well as additive Likert style scales. For the scales, the criterion for item inclusion is based on item variance as well as the bivariate and multivariate relationships among the items. Factor analysis is used to determine which variables in a series of items appear to be measuring related dimensions of the same basic concept. After selecting items based on the factor analysis, Cronbach's measure of reliability is used to assess the overall suitability of the scale. Cronbach's alpha level of .70 is generally acceptable as an indicator of a reliable scale (MicroCase 1994). For each of the scales described in the present section, Cronbach's alpha is reported as well as a discussion of the treatment of missing data.

The dependent variable, *union membership*, is a single-item-dummy variable. Respondents were asked, "Are you a member of the Kentucky Community College Faculty Association/American Federation of Teachers (KCCFA/AFT)?" Response categories include "yes" and "no" with an affirmative response coded "one" and negative responses coded "zero". This variable had four missing cases that

were eliminated from the analysis. Because it is the dependent variable being predicted, it would be inappropriate to make any substitutions for missing cases on this variable.

The dependent variable, *attitudes toward unions*, is a twenty-item Likert scale first developed by Rodriguez and Rearden (1989) in their study of faculty union attitudes. Respondents were asked a series of closed-ended questions in regard to unions. Response categories included (1) Strongly Agree, (2) Agree, (3) Neither Agree nor Disagree, (4) Disagree, and (5) Strongly Disagree. The items included in the final attitude scale included following:

- 1) Public employees should have the same right to bargaining that private sector workers have.
- 2) Unionization discourages initiative and/or striving for excellence.
- 3) Union leaders are not held strictly accountable for monies collected as dues.
- 4) States ought to pass laws curbing the power of unions.
- 5) Union are necessary to protect the academic freedom of teachers.
- 6) Unions allow teachers to determine their working conditions.
- 7) It is unprofessional to join a union.
- 8) Recent growth of unionization of teachers has been beneficial.

- 9) Every teacher is expected to join the union if he/she teaches in a district with collective bargaining.
- 10) Unions create an adversarial relation between faculty and administration.
- 11) Unions are autocratic and bureaucratic organizations.
- 12) Unions foster a sense of camaraderie among workers.
- 13) The only concern of unions is getting their workers more money.
- 14) Unions are acceptable for blue collar workers but not for teachers and other professionals.
- 15) Unions press for increased benefits for all teachers--regardless of tenure or union membership status.
- 16) The faculty unions reduce the amount of favoritism shown by administrators.
- 17) Unions provide protection against arbitrary personnel decisions.
- 18) Unions allow faculty members a chance to be critical without the fear of being reprimanded.
- 19) Unions limit the effectiveness of talented administrators.
- 20) Membership in unions is declining.

The possible scale range is from 20 to 100 while the actual range is from 23 to 95. Where appropriate, selected items were recoded so that higher values reflect pro-union sentiments. Recoded items include numbers 78, 83-4, 86, 88,

91, 94-7. Cronbach's alpha for the union attitude scale is .949, which is well over the acceptable level of .70. Cases missing on ten or more items were excluded from the analysis. As a result, three cases were omitted. For cases missing nine or fewer items, the sample mean for the individual item was substituted for the missing case on that particular item. Items 31.2 and 31.11 (see Appendix), were originally intended to be included in the scale of union attitudes. However, as a result of the factor analysis and reliability tests, they were eliminated from the scale because they did not contribute to the overall reliability of the scale.

#### Measurement of Demographic Variables

The demographic personal and job related variables include sex, age, marital status, highest degree earned, academic rank, tenure, salary, and parents' SES (socioeconomic status). Sex is a straightforward item requesting respondents to check a response of (1) male or (2) female. For the measurement of Age, respondents were asked to mark one of four age categories (1) 20-34 years, (2) 35-49, (3) 50-64, and (4) over 65. Because too few respondents reported an age of over 65, this category was combined with the 50-64 range. Marital status was recoded

to create a dummy variable where divorced, separated, widowed, other were labeled as no partner (0) and married and living in a marriage-like relationship were labeled as partner (1).

The *parental SES (socio-economic status) scale* was developed using the Hollingshead Two-Factor SES scale (Miller 1983). First, respondents were asked to choose the highest level of education for their father and mother. They chose from a seven-item scale ranging from 1) less than seven years of school to 7) graduate professional training. Values were assigned based on their responses, one through seven, with one having the most formal education. Second, respondents listed both parents' occupation. Values were assigned based on the responses using prestige scores developed for the Hollingshead scale, ranging from one to seven, with one being the most prestigious occupation. Third, education scores for each parent were multiplied by four and occupational prestige scores were multiplied by seven. The two scores were then combined providing a value for each parent. Finally, the parents' individual SES scores were averaged together to create the parents' SES score. The possible range of values is 11 to 77, while the actual range was 11 to 70. Missing values for father and

mother's education and occupation were recoded to the mean prior to creating parents' SES.

For *highest degree earned* respondents were asked to mark from the following choices: 1) Bachelor's (B.A., B.S., B.B.A.), 2) Masters (M.A., M.S., etc.), 3) LL.B., J.D., 4) M.D., D.D.S., 5) Other professional degree beyond B.A. (D.V.M., D.D.), 6) Ed.D., Ph.D., 7) Other degree, or 8) A.B.D. For the purposes of the present analysis education was recoded into an ordinal level variable using the following categories: 1) Bachelors or Masters, 2) A.B.D., and 3) Ph.D. or Equivalent (which includes LL.B., J.D., M.D., D.D.S., other professional degree beyond B.A., Ed.D. and Ph.D.). To measure *Academic rank*, respondents were asked to choose between the following six categories: 1) professor, 2) assistant professor, 3) instructor, 4) associate professor, 5) lecturer, 6) other. An ordinal level variable was created for the purposes of the multivariate analysis using the following recodes; 1) instructor, lecturer, and other, 2) assistant professor, 3) associate professor, 4) professor. Asking respondents to mark 1) yes or 2) no assessed the variable *tenure*. *Salary* is measured with the following categories; 1) \$10-24K, 2) \$25-34K, 3) \$35-44K, and 4) over \$45K. There were no



substitutions made for missing cases for these demographic variables. Due to problems of multicollinearity with rank, the tenure and salary variables are not included in the multivariate analysis.

#### Measurement of Union Contact Variables

The *acquaintance in favor of my joining a union* variable consists of a modification of a scale developed by Deshpande (1995) to study faculty unionization voting at a large mid-western university. The version used in the present study is a three-item Likert scale based on questionnaire items 18.1, 18.2 and 18.3. In these questions respondent were asked whether their colleagues (18.1), relatives (18.2), and friends (18.3) would be in favor of a union or of the respondent joining a union. The responses for each item were based on a seven point scale that ranged from strongly agree (1) to strongly disagree (7). The possible range for the scale is 7 to 21. There were 18 missing cases and no substitutions were made. The variable was recoded so that high values represent higher levels of favoritism toward unions by friends, relatives, and colleagues. Cronbach's alpha for the scale is .792.

The *union efficacy* variable consists of a modification of a scale developed by Deshpande (1995) to study faculty

unionization voting at a large mid-western university. In the present study, the version is an additive Likert scale based on responses from questionnaire items 27.1-12. Respondents were asked to react to the effects of the KCCFA/AFT's efforts for the following 12 items; 1) the pay you receive, 2) your job security, 3) voice with policy makers, 4) your fringe benefits, 5) protecting benefits during the transition to KCTCS, 6) your opportunity to participate in decisions that effect your job, 7) educational benefits, 8) the tenure process, 9) recognition for the work you do, 10) your chance for job advancement, 11) treatment by supervisors, and 12) health and safety problems. The possible responses to each of the items included the following; 1) improved, 2) no change, 3) gotten worse, and 4) N/A (not applicable). For the purposes of analysis the 'N/A' responses were coded as 'no change' to create an ordinal level variable to be used in the multi-variate analysis. The Cronbach's alpha for the *union efficacy scale* was .877. There were 10 missing cases and no substitutions were made.

Respondents were asked whether they, their spouse, parents, other family members, or close friends were current or former members of a union. Based on the responses to

these items the *know union member* variable was created. The possible responses for each of the items included: 1) yes, 2) no, and 3) don't know. To create a dummy variable for the multivariate analysis, the don't know category was collapsed in the no category. This decision was based on the assumption that if the respondent does not know that friends and relatives are members of unions, then these people probably did not have much influence on the respondents' attitudes toward union. For the final dummy variable, responses of no and don't know are coded (0) and yes is coded (1). The possible range for the scale is 0 to 5.

#### Measurement of Political Variables

The political characteristic variables include political ideology, party identification and political activity. *Political ideology* was measured using the *American National Election Study* instrument that utilizes a seven-point scale ranging from extremely liberal (1) to extremely conservative (7), in addition to don't know (8) and haven't thought about it much (9) (Jacoby 1991).

Respondents were asked,

We hear a lot these days about liberals and conservatives. Here is a seven-point scale on which the political views that people hold are arranged from extremely liberal to extremely

conservative. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought about it much?

In the analysis, don't know and haven't thought about it much (N=12; 3.7% of sample) were recoded to the sample median to create an ordinal level variable. Values were recoded so extremely liberal equals high values (7). There were nine missing cases and no substitutions were made.

*Party identification* was measured using a slightly modified version of a party identification item used by Green and Schickler (1993). The present study uses a seven-point self-placement scale ranging from I strongly prefer the Democrats (1) to I strongly prefer the Republicans (7) and also providing the option of I prefer a Third Party (8). Respondents were asked, "When talking about your party affiliation, where would you place yourself on this scale?" In the analysis I prefer a Third Party (n=11; 3.4% of sample) was recoded to the sample median, I am an Independent but I lean toward the Democrats to provide an ordinal level variable. All categories were recoded so high values (7) equaled I strongly prefer the Democrats. There were six missing cases and no substitutions were made.

Political activity (survey item 26 - see Appendix) was measured using an eight item additive scale which is a

modified version of the political activity scale used by Verba, Schlozman and Brady (1995) in their study of voluntarism in American politics. In the present study, respondents were asked to answer yes (1) or no (0) to a series of political involvement questions. The involvement items include questions about voting, volunteering for political candidates, donating money to political campaigns, contacting elected officials, and participating in political protests or demonstrations. Item 26.6 was originally intended to be included in the political activity scale but was eliminated because it did not contribute to the reliability of the scale. The possible range for the scale was 0-8. There were eight missing cases and no substitutions were made. The Cronbach's alpha for the political participation scale was .658.

#### Measurement of Job Satisfaction Variables

The *career again* variable was created from responses to the question, "If you were to begin your career again, would you still want to be a college professor?" (survey item 24). Respondents selected from the response categories: 1) definitely yes, 2) probably yes, 3) not sure, 4) probably no, 5) definitely no. This variable is used in the analysis as part of the assessment of job satisfaction. There were

three missing cases and no substitutions were made.

An additional measure of job satisfaction is the *too little say* variable developed from questionnaire item 28.1. Respondents were asked to respond to the statement Faculty members have too little say in the running of my institution. The possible responses were: 1) strongly agree, 2) agree, 3) neither agree nor disagree, 4) disagree, 5) strongly disagree. There were 8 missing cases and no substitutions were made.

The variable *trust scale* is an additive scale using the responses from questionnaire items 30.1-2. On a five-point Likert scale ranging from strongly agree (1) to strongly disagree (5), respondents were asked to react to three questions about whether they trusted the 1) University of Kentucky Board, 2) their college administration, and 3) the Kentucky Community or Technical College System board. Based on reliability analysis, the third item related to the KCTCS board was dropped from the scale. The possible range for the final scale was from 2 (completely trust) to 10 (completely distrust). Cronbach's alpha for the trust scale was .687. There were eight missing cases and no substitutions were made.

The *satisfaction scale* is an additive scale using

questionnaire items 29.1-9. On a four-point Likert scale ranging from (1) very satisfied to (4) very dissatisfied, respondents were asked to react to a series of nine statements about how satisfied they were with aspects of their job. The nine items included: 1) salary and fringe benefits, 2) opportunity for scholarly pursuits, 3) teaching load, 4) working conditions, 5) autonomy and independence, 6) professional relationship with faculty, 7) job security, 8) relationships with administration, 9) overall job satisfaction. The possible range for the scale was 9 to 36 with higher numbers indicating dissatisfaction. The Cronbach's alpha for satisfaction scale was .841. There were six missing cases and no substitutions were made.

**CHAPTER 5**  
**UNIONIZATION IN THE KENTUCKY COMMUNITY COLLEGE**  
**SYSTEM: A PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS**

The first section of this chapter examines the differences between KCCFA/AFT union members and non-members regarding demographic, job satisfaction, union efficacy, and political characteristics using bivariate cross-tabulations and one-way analysis of variance. In section two, multivariate statistical analysis is used to explore the factors that influence union attitudes and union membership.

Demographic Characteristics of Union Members  
and Non-members

Table 4 presents the results of the analysis examining the differences between members and non-members. Cross-tabulations were used to analyze the differences between KCCFA/AFT members and non-members regarding demographic characteristics. There were no statistically significant differences between members and non-members in regard to sex or academic rank. However, there were significant differences regarding education, age, tenure and marital status. Union members report higher levels of education than non-members do (Chi-square=13.422\*\*\*). Twenty-nine percent of union members in the sample held a Ph.D. or equivalent



TABLE 4

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS: DIFFERENCES BETWEEN  
KCCFA/AFT MEMBERS AND NON-MEMBERS

<u>Demographic Characteristic</u>	<u>Not Member (N)</u>	<u>Member (N)</u>	<u>Chi Square (N)</u>
Sex			
Male	36.1 (75) <b>60.5</b>	42.2 (49) <b>39.5</b>	1.205
Female	63.9 (133) <b>66.5</b>	57.8 (67) <b>33.5</b>	
Education			
MA & BA	81.6 (168) <b>69.1</b>	64.1 (75) <b>30.9</b>	13.422***
ABD	1.9 (4) <b>33.3</b>	6.8 (8) <b>66.7</b>	
PhD Equivalent	16.5 (34) <b>50.0</b>	29.1 (34) <b>50.0</b>	
Academic Rank			
Professor	22.8 (47) <b>61.0</b>	25.6 (30) <b>39.0</b>	6.241*
Associate Prof.	44.7 (92) <b>59.0</b>	54.7 (64) <b>41.0</b>	
Asst. Prof./Inst.	32.5 (67) <b>74.4</b>	19.7 (23) <b>25.6</b>	
Age			
20-34	11.1 (23) <b>82.1</b>	4.3 (5) <b>17.9</b>	6.438*
35-49	54.3 (113) <b>65.1</b>	50.4 (59) <b>34.3</b>	
50 & over	34.6 (72) <b>57.6</b>	45.3 (53) <b>42.4</b>	
Tenure			
Yes	70.2 (146) <b>60.3</b>	82.8 (96) <b>39.7</b>	6.221*
No	29.8 (62) <b>75.6</b>	17.2 (20) <b>24.4</b>	
Marital Status			
Married/Partnered	78.7 (163) <b>67.4</b>	68.1 (79) <b>32.6</b>	4.480*
Not Married/Partnered	21.3 (44) <b>54.3</b>	31.9 (37) <b>45.7</b>	

NOTE: Bold-faced figures are row totals, adding to 100 percent.

\*p≤.05    \*\*p≤.01    \*\*\*p≤.001

degree (J.D., M.D., D.D.S., Ed.D., etc.) compared to 16.5% of nonmembers. Although union members constitute a little over one-third of the sample, 50% of those with Ph.D equivalents were union members, while those with B.A.'s, M.A.'s, and A.B.D.'s reported memberships rates similar to the overall sample. Eighty percent of union members report a rank of professor or associate professor compared to sixty-seven percent of non-members ( $\chi^2=6.241^*$ ). Both full professors and associates report higher membership rates, 39% and 41% respectively, than the sample or the general population. Union members tended to be older. Forty-five percent reported an age of 50 or over compared with 34.6% for non-members. Four percent of members reported an age of 20-34 years while 11.1% of non-members reported the same age range ( $\chi^2=6.438^*$ ). Union members were more likely to be tenured (82.8%) than non-members (70.2%) ( $\chi^2=6.221^*$ ). Of those in the sample with tenure 39.7% were union members, slightly higher than the overall sample and the general population. Though the majority of both groups were married or partnered, the percentage was somewhat lower for members. Sixty-eight percent of members were married or partnered compared with 78.7% of non-members ( $\chi^2=4.480^*$ ).

### Job Satisfaction

Questionnaire item 29 asked faculty to respond to a series of job satisfaction issues. Table 5 presents the results of cross-tabulation analysis used to evaluate the differences between members and non-members in regard to job satisfaction characteristics. The differences relating to the two economic characteristics salary and job security were not statistically significant. However, differences regarding four of the five non-economic characteristics scholarly pursuits, teaching load, working conditions, and relationships with administrators were significant. There were no statistically significant differences between union members and non-members in regard to their reported satisfaction regarding autonomy. Over 85% of both members and non-members were satisfied with this aspect of their job.

Seventy-one percent of non-members were somewhat or very satisfied with their opportunities for scholarly pursuits compared to only 56% of members (Chi-square=15.639\*\*\*). The difference is even greater for satisfaction with teaching load. Seventy percent of non-members report being somewhat or very satisfied with their teaching load compared to only 40% percent of union members (Chi-square=28.732\*\*\*). Although the majority of all

TABLE 5

## JOB SATISFACTION: DIFFERENCES BETWEEN KCCFA/AFT MEMBERS AND NON-MEMBERS

	Level of Satisfaction (%)				
<u>Variable</u>	<u>Very Satisfied</u>	<u>Somewhat Satisfied</u>	<u>Somewhat Dissat.</u>	<u>Very Dissat.</u>	<u>Chi Square</u>
Salary					
Non-member	8.3	49.0	28.4	14.2	3.457
Member	5.1	43.6	30.8	20.5	
Job Security					
Non-member	42.0	42.9	8.3	6.8	3.353
Member	39.3	48.7	9.4	2.6	
Scholarly Pursuits					
Non-member	26.3	44.9	22.4	6.3	15.639***
Member	9.4	47.0	32.5	11.1	
Teaching Load					
Non-member	27.0	43.1	19.1	10.8	28.732***
Member	11.4	28.9	34.2	25.4	
Working Conditions					
Non-member	42.9	39.5	13.2	4.4	18.147***
Member	24.8	38.5	29.1	7.7	
Autonomy					
Non-member	44.9	41.0	10.7	3.4	7.000
Member	30.8	47.9	17.1	4.3	
Relationship with Administration					
Non-member	27.6	52.2	13.8	6.4	32.659***
Member	11.1	39.3	33.3	16.2	
Overall Satisfaction					
Non-member	35.3	52.0	9.8	2.9	23.345***
Member	12.8	64.1	21.4	1.7	
*p<.05    **p<.01    ***p<.001					

respondents, regardless of union status, reported that they were generally satisfied with working conditions, the percentage of those reporting very satisfied was significantly greater for non-members (42.9%) than for members (24.8%) (Chi-square=18.147\*\*\*). Members and non-members report a striking difference in their perceived satisfaction with their relationship with administrators (Chi-square=32.659\*\*\*). Only 11% of union members report being very satisfied with this relationship compared to over double that percentage (27.6%) of non-members. Also, over 52% of non-members report being somewhat satisfied with their relationship with administrators compared to only 39% of members.

Differences between members and non-members in overall satisfaction are also apparent (Chi-square=23.345\*\*\*). The majority of members (64.1%) as well as non-members (52%) report that overall they are somewhat satisfied with their jobs and for both groups, only a very slight percentage report being very dissatisfied (2.9% of non-members and 1.7% of members). However, differences between the two groups are apparent in regard to the somewhat dissatisfied and very satisfied categories. Nearly three times the percentage of non-members (35.3%) as members (12.8) report being very

satisfied while over twice the percentage of members (21.4%) as non-members (9.8%) report being somewhat dissatisfied.

#### Perceptions of Union Efficacy

Questionnaire item 27 requested faculty to respond to a series of job-related variables. Respondents were asked what effect the KCCFA/AFT efforts had on a series of issues. Cross-tabulation analyses were used to analyze the differences between KCCFA/AFT members and non-members in regard their perception of the union's efficacy. The results of these analyses are presented in Table 6. The differences in the perceptions of members versus non-members regarding union efficacy for each of the issues addressed are statistically significant at the  $p \leq .001$  level.

Respondents indicated the most positive perceptions of union efficacy in three areas including pay, voice, and protection of benefits. Of the nine union efficacy issues presented in Table 6, only the issue of pay reported a majority of non-members as perceiving the union as having had a positive impact. Fifty-two percent of non-members reported that KCCFA had improved their pay received. However, this percentage is far greater for members (90.5%) (Chi-square=46.478\*\*\*). Notably high percentages of members also perceived KCCFA as having improved their voice with policy makers (85.3%) and having protected their fringe

TABLE 6

DIFFERENCES IN PERCEPTIONS OF UNION EFFICACY BETWEEN KCCFA/AFT  
MEMBERS AND NON-MEMBERS

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Reported Perception (%)</u>			<u>Chi Square</u>
	<u>Improved</u>	<u>No Change</u>	<u>Gotten Worse</u>	
Pay				
Non-member	52.5	45.8	1.7	46.478***
Member	90.5	9.5	0.0	
Job Security				
Non-member	11.3	82.5	6.2	43.672***
Member	45.1	53.1	1.8	
Education Benefits				
Non-member	20.5	77.8	1.7	23.458***
Member	47.4	51.8	0.9	
Fringes				
Non-member	7.9	86.4	5.6	12.027***
Member	21.9	74.6	3.5	
Protection of Fringes				
Non-member	28.6	68.5	3.0	73.427***
Member	80.9	17.3	1.8	
Voice				
Non-member	35.6	58.8	5.6	70.928***
Member	85.3	14.7	0.0	
Ability to Participate in Job Decisions				
Non-member	10.3	81.1	8.6	47.041***
Member	45.6	50.0	4.4	
Chance for Job Advancement				
Non-member	4.0	91.4	4.6	10.340**
Member	14.4	82.9	2.7	
Treatment by Supervisors				
Non-member	6.8	88.1	5.1	17.238***
Member	21.4	68.8	9.8	

\*p<sub>≤</sub>.05    \*\*p<sub>≤</sub>.01    \*\*\*p<sub>≤</sub>.001

benefits during the transition of the Kentucky community college system (80.9%). By comparison, in both of these areas approximately one-third of non-members saw the union as having had an improving influence (35.6% and 28.6% respectfully) though the majority of non-members saw the union as having had no impact (58.8% and 68.5% respectfully).

Three areas in which union members were fairly evenly split in regard to their perceptions of union efficacy include job security, educational benefits, and participation in job decisions. Forty-five percent of union members perceived KCCFA as having improved their job security while 53.1% reported that it had no effect. In contrast, a clear majority of non-members (82.5%) perceived the union as having had no effect on job security while only 11.3% saw it as having had an improving influence. Similarly, 47.4% of members reported that the union improved their educational benefits while 51.8% indicated that it had no influence. By comparison, the majority of non-members saw the union as inconsequential in regard to educational benefits (77.8%) and only 20.5% perceived the union as having improved such benefits. Again, union members are split in their perceptions of the union's influence on opportunities to participate in decisions that effect their



job. Forty-five percent of members indicated that the union improved such opportunities while 50% reported that it had no effect. Non-members clearly had less positive perceptions of union efficacy with 81.1% asserting that KCCFA had no influence on job decision-making opportunities and only 10.3% reporting an improvement.

Regardless of union membership, the vast majority of respondents did not perceive the union as effective in improving fringe benefits, chances for job advancement, or treatment by supervisors. However, though the percentages reporting improvement were generally low for both groups, they were higher for members than for non-members. Twenty-two percent of members reported improvement for fringe benefits compared to only 7.9% of non-members. Similarly, 21.4% of members indicated a positive influence of the union in regard to treatment of supervisors compared to only 6.8% of non-members. The lowest levels of perceived positive union influence were reported in the area of chance for job advancement with 14.4% of members reporting improvement compared to only 4% of non-members.

#### Political Characteristics

As presented in Table 7, analysis of variance was used to determine the differences between KCCFA/AFT members and non-members regarding political ideology, party

TABLE 7

POLITICAL CHARACTERISTICS: DIFFERENCES BETWEEN KCCFA/AFT  
MEMBERS AND NON-MEMBERS

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>F</u>
Political Ideology <sup>a</sup>				
Member	4.931	1.479	116	35.961***
Non-member	3.911	1.450	202	
Political Party <sup>b</sup>				
Member	5.267	1.567	116	18.124***
Non-member	4.437	1.740	206	
Political Activity <sup>c</sup>				
Member	5.496	1.883	115	11.962***
Non-member	4.741	1.851	205	
<hr/>				
*p<.05	**p<.01	***p<=.001		

<sup>a</sup> higher numbers indicate more liberal identification.

<sup>b</sup> higher numbers indicate identification with the Democratic party.

<sup>c</sup> higher numbers indicate more politically activity.

identification, and political activity. Questionnaire item 14 requested that respondents identify their political ideology on a seven-point scale ranging from extremely liberal (1) to extremely conservative (7). The variable was recoded so that high scores reflected more liberal ideologies (7). The difference between members and non-members was statistically significant ( $F=35.961$ ,  $p\leq .001$ ) with members reporting a higher, more liberal, average score (4.93) than non-members (3.91).

Questionnaire item 20 asked respondents to identify their party affiliation based on a seven-point scale ranging from I strongly prefer Democrats (1) to I strongly prefer Republicans (7). The variable was recoded so that high values reflected strongly prefer Democrats. The difference between the groups was statistically significant ( $F=18.124$ ,  $p\leq .001$ ) with union members self-identifying more with the Democrats (mean=5.27), while non-members identified more closely with independent or lean Republican (mean=4.74).

Questionnaire item 26 asked respondents to answer yes (1) or no (2) to a series of questions regarding political activity. The political activity scale was then created by adding the yes responses, resulting in a possible range of

no participation (0) to high participation (9). The difference between the groups was statistically significant ( $F=11.962$ ,  $p\leq .001$ ) with union members reporting higher scores (mean=5.49) indicating higher involvement in the political system than non-members (mean=4.74).

#### Pro-union Characteristics

Analysis of variance was used to analyze the differences between union members and non-members regarding union attitudes developed from questionnaire item 31. These results are presented in Table 8. Respondents were asked to answer a series of questions about unions. The responses ranged from strongly agree (1) to strongly disagree (5). Table 8 records the statistical data regarding the differences between the two groups on six of the twenty-two items from the questionnaire. While all of the differences were statistically significant at the  $p\leq .001$  level, it should be noted that the real mean scores for the individual responses, with the exception of Unions create an adversarial relationship, were on the same side of the median category (3). In other words, the mean score for each of the groups was leaning in the same direction.

While both members and non-members, on average, lean toward disagreeing that It is unprofessional to join a union, non-members are much closer to the mid-point category

TABLE 8

ATTITUDES TOWARD UNION: DIFFERENCES BETWEEN KCCFA/AFT  
MEMBERS AND NON-MEMBERS

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<u>Variable</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>F</u>
It is unprofessional to join a union.				
Member	4.530	0.749	117	137.26***
Non-member	3.242	1.047	207	
Public employees should have the right to bargain.				
Member	1.479	0.624	117	82.06***
Non-member	2.464	1.078	207	
Unions create an adversarial relationship.				
Member	3.500	1.007	114	83.73***
Non-member	2.466	0.944	204	
Unions are acceptable for blue collar but not white collar workers.				
Member	4.427	0.769	117	106.69***
Non-member	3.307	1.019	205	
Unions press for benefits for ALL teachers-- regardless of tenure or union membership.				
Member	1.793	0.775	116	79.03***
Non-member	2.654	0.864	205	
The only concern is getting more money for their workers.				
Members	4.077	0.767	117	49.10***
Non-members	3.361	0.937	202	

---

\*p $\leq$ .05    \*\*p $\leq$ .01    \*\*\*p $\leq$ .001

(3) neither agree nor disagree (mean=3.2) while members indicate a strong level of disagreement (mean=4.5). Similarly, compared to non-members, union members have a higher level of disagreement with the idea that unions are acceptable only for blue-collar workers (mean=4.4 for members versus 3.3 for non-members). The results also indicate that compared to non-members, members see the union as having a more diverse purpose. Members report a higher level of disagreement with the idea that unions are only concerned with getting more money for their workers (4.08) compared to non-members (3.4).

Union members have a higher level of agreement with the idea that unions press for benefits of ALL teachers (mean=1.79) while non-members are much closer to neither agreeing nor disagreeing (mean=2.65). Members also have a higher level of agreement that public employees should have the right to bargain (1.48) compared to non-members (2.65). Union members lean toward disagreeing that unions create an adversarial relationship (mean=3.50) while non-members lean toward agreement (mean=2.5). However, neither members nor non-members are at the extreme ends of the continuum on this issue.

### Multivariate Analysis

This section of Chapter five examines the determinants of pro-union attitudes and union membership. Using OLS regression, the analysis first examines the effects of various demographic characteristics, union contact/efficacy, political characteristics, and job satisfaction variables on union attitudes. These groups of independent variables are entered in different stages to analyze the changes in the predictive value of the variables controlling for various other factors. The results of this analysis are presented in Table 9.

In model 1 of Table 9, only the demographic variables are entered to examine their influences on union attitudes. The only significant variable in this model is marital status ( $b=-6.315^{**}$ ,  $\beta=-0.203$ ;  $p<.01$ ). Those respondents identifying themselves as married or partnered are less likely to have pro-union attitudes. The demographic variables do not explain a significant amount of the variance as indicated by the low adjusted  $R^2$  of .036.

In model 2 of Table 9, Union Contact/Efficacy variables are entered in addition to the demographic variables. In this model, marital status remains significant, though the strength of its predictive value declines ( $b=-3.085$ ,  $\beta=-0.096$ ;  $p<.05$ ). Each of the three union contact/efficacy

TABLE 9

## EFFECTS OF DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS, UNION CONTACT, POLITICAL CHARACTERISTICS, AND JOB SATISFACTION ON UNION ATTITUDES

	Model 1 b (beta)	Model 2 b (beta)	Model 3 b (beta)	Model 4 b (beta)
<b>SOCIAL DEMOGRAPHICS</b>				
Sex	-1.779 (-0.064)	0.670 ( 0.024)	0.527 ( 0.019)	0.348 ( 0.012)
Academic Rank	0.268 ( 0.017)	-0.651 (-0.039)	-0.432 (-0.026)	-0.236 (-0.014)
Education	1.164 ( 0.077)	0.986 ( 0.065)	0.902 ( 0.059)	0.164 ( 0.011)
Age	0.829 ( 0.039)	0.294 ( 0.014)	0.453 ( 0.021)	0.447 ( 0.021)
Marital Status	-6.315** (-0.203)	-3.085* (-0.096)	-3.142* (-0.098)	-3.048* (-0.095)
Parents' SES	-0.016 (-0.272)	-0.061 (-0.060)	-0.048 (-0.047)	-0.021 (-0.021)
<b>UNION CONTACT/EFFICACY</b>				
Know a Union Member		1.088* ( 0.107)	0.993* ( 0.098)	0.770 ( 0.076)
Acquaintance in Favor of Union Membership		1.367** ( 0.425)	1.249** ( 0.391)	0.996** ( 0.312)
Union Efficacy		-1.592** (-0.392)	-1.586** (-0.393)	-1.458** (-0.361)
<b>POLITICAL VARIABLES</b>				
Political Ideology			1.117** ( 0.126)	1.140** ( 0.128)
Political Activity			-0.196 (-0.028)	-0.257 (-0.036)
<b>JOB SATISFACTION</b>				
Faculty have too little say				-1.672** (-0.161)
Would choose career again				0.105 ( 0.007)
Satisfaction Scale				0.043 ( 0.016)
Trust Scale				1.008** ( 0.145)
F	2.92**	42.41***	36.29***	33.25***
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.036	0.561	0.580	0.635
N	315	292	283	279

\*p<sub>≤</sub>.05 \*\*p<sub>≤</sub>.01 \*\*\*p<sub>≤</sub>.001



variables is statistically significant at the .05 level or below. Those faculty members that had contact with or knew a union member were more likely to have a positive attitude toward unions ( $b=1.088$ ,  $\beta=.107$ ;  $p \leq .05$ ). Similarly, those who report having acquaintances (family, friends, relatives) that would approve of their joining a union, tend to score higher on the pro-union attitude scale ( $b=1.367$ ,  $\beta=.425$ ;  $p \leq .01$ ). Finally, those that gave the KCCFA/AFT credit for positive changes in the work environment as indicated by lower scores on the efficacy scale, were more likely to have positive attitudes toward unions ( $b=-1.586$ ,  $\beta=-.393$ ;  $p \leq .01$ ). The size of the standardized beta coefficients indicates that having acquaintances that approve of unions and increased union efficacy are the strong predictors of pro-union attitudes. The introduction of the union/contact efficacy variables significantly increases the adjusted  $R^2$  to .561.

In model 3 of Table 9, political characteristic variables are added to the demographic and union contact/efficacy variables. One of the two additional variables is significant. Those respondents who described themselves as being more liberal are more likely to express pro-union attitudes ( $b=1.117$ ,  $\beta=.126$ ;  $p \leq .01$ ). The level of political activity reported by respondents is not

statistically significant in predicting pro-union attitudes. Marital status remains significant at the same level as in model two. Similarly, Knowing a Union Member, Having acquaintance in Favor of Union Membership and Union Efficacy retain their significance at the same level. The adjusted  $R^2$  for model 3 (.580) is only slightly higher than the adjusted  $R^2$  for model 2 (.561).

In model 4, job satisfaction variables were entered in addition to the other three sets of variables. The job satisfaction variables utilized in the multi-variate analysis include two single item indicators measuring the level of agreement that Faculty have too little say and respondent Would choose this career again. Two Likert scale measures include the nine-item overall job satisfaction scale and the two-item trust of administration scale.

Two of the four satisfaction variables proved significant. Faculty who agreed with the statement that they had too little say (strongly agree=1) were more likely to report higher levels of pro-union attitudes ( $b=-1.872$ ,  $\beta=-.161$ ;  $p \leq .01$ ). Faculty who expressed higher levels of distrust toward the college and university-wide administration were more likely to report pro-union attitudes ( $b=1.008$ ,  $\beta=.145$ ;  $p \leq .01$ ). The overall job satisfaction scale and the measure of whether or not the

respondent would choose the career again are not statistically significant. The variables that were statistically significant in the previous models remained significant at the same level with the exception of know a union member. Knowing a union member is not a significant predictor of pro-union attitudes once job satisfaction has been controlled. The final model resulted in an adjusted  $R^2$  of .635 indicating that over 63% of the variance in pro-union attitudes was explained by the combination of demographic, union contact/efficacy, political ideology/activity, and job satisfaction variables. There were 60 missing cases in the final model or 18.2% of the total cases, which is below the acceptable threshold of 20% (Babbie 1983).

Using logistic regression, the effects of demographic characteristics, Union contact/efficacy, Political variables, and Job satisfaction on union membership are examined. The results of this analysis are presented in Table 10. In model 1 of Table 10, the effects of only demographic characteristics on union membership are analyzed. The results indicate that education and marital status are both significant predictors of union membership. As the level of education increases so does the likelihood that the respondent will be a union member (log odds=1.527;

$p \leq .01$ ). There is a negative relationship between union membership and marital status. Those faculty members who are not married or partnered are more likely to be union members (log odds =  $-.512$ ;  $p \leq .01$ ). The chi-square for model 1 is 24.52 ( $p \leq .001$ ).

In model 2 of Table 10, union contact/efficacy variables are added to the demographic characteristics. In this model all three added variables are statistically significant at the  $p \leq .01$  level or below. Respondents who know a union member have a greater likelihood of being a union member (log odds =  $1.334$ ;  $p \leq .01$ ), as do those who have positive reinforcement from family and friends in regard to union membership (log odds =  $1.259$ ;  $p \leq .001$ ). Those respondents who reportedly perceived the union as responsible for improvements (indicated by low scores on the union efficacy scale), had a greater likelihood of being a union member (log odds =  $-0.767$ ;  $p \leq .001$ ). The significant effect of marital status on union membership disappears after controlling for union contact and perceptions of union efficacy. However, education remains significant with a log odds of  $1.818$  ( $p \leq .001$ ). The model chi-square for model 2 is 134.06 ( $p \leq .001$ ).

Political variables were added to the demographic and union contact/efficacy variables in model 3 of Table 10.

TABLE 10

LOGISTICAL REGRESSION PREDICTING THE ODDS OF A RESPONDENT BEING A MEMBER  
OF THE KCCFA/AFT

	<u>Model 1</u>	<u>Model 2</u>	<u>Model 3</u>	<u>Model 4</u>
<b>SOCIAL DEMOGRAPHICS</b>				
Sex	0.876	1.142	1.297	1.221
Academic Rank	1.304	1.160	1.133	1.241
Education	1.527**	1.818***	1.950***	1.976***
Age	1.223	1.316	1.333	1.301
Marital Status	-0.512**	-0.733	-0.720	-0.709
Parents' SES	1.009	0.997	1.004	1.011
<b>UNION CONTACT/EFFICACY</b>				
Know a Union Member		1.334**	1.327*	1.337*
Acquaintance in Favor of Union Membership		1.259***	1.233***	1.186***
Union Efficacy		-0.767***	-0.782***	-0.763***
<b>POLITICAL VARIABLES</b>				
Political Ideology			1.312**	1.378**
Political Activity			1.036	1.030
<b>JOB SATISFACTION</b>				
Faculty have too little say				-0.883
Would choose career again				1.479*
Satisfaction Scale				-0.979
Trust Scale				1.629***
Model Chi-Square	24.52***	134.06***	137.90***	166.29***
-2LogLikelihood	387.82	252.71	238.37	206.17
% cases correctly predicted	64.76	79.52	80.95	85.71
N	315	293	284	280

\*p≤.05 \*\*p≤.01 \*\*\*p≤.001

Political ideology is a significant predictor of union membership. Respondents who identified themselves at the liberal end of the scale are more likely to be union members (log odds=1.312;  $p \leq .01$ ). The union contact/efficacy variables all remain significant after controlling for political variables. However, the strength and significance level of knowing a union member declines (log odds=1.327;  $p \leq .05$ ). The model chi-square for model 3 is 137.90 ( $p \leq .001$ ).

In model 4 of Table 10, job satisfaction variables were added to the other three sets of variables. Would choose career again and trust scale (log odds=1.629,  $p \leq .001$ ) were both significant predictors of union membership though the trust scale appears to be the stronger predictor of the two. Respondents who answered that they would not want to be college professors if given the choice again, were more likely to be union members (log odds=1.479,  $p \leq .05$ ). Similarly, respondents that distrusted the campus and university-wide administration were more likely to be union members (log odds=1.629;  $p \leq .001$ ). There were no changes in the significance levels for the other variables from model 3. The model chi-square for model 4 is 166.29 ( $p \leq .001$ ) with over 85% of the cases correctly predicted by the

combination of demographic, union contact/efficacy,  
political ideology/activity and job satisfaction variables.

## CHAPTER 6

### DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

#### Introduction

If unions are to survive and grow their membership they will need to organize workers who have not traditionally been union members. One such group could be community college faculty. The analysis in this study has identified several factors that affect faculty attitudes toward unions and union membership. This information is important for two reasons. First, it furthers our theoretical understanding of what motivates white-collar professionals to join unions. Second, it could be useful for those who are actively organizing community college faculty. This chapter will provide a discussion of the findings presented in the previous chapter and their theoretical implications for those interested in the labor movement.

#### Discussion of Multivariate Analysis and

#### Attitudes toward Unions

Multivariate analysis is used to examine the determinants of pro-union attitudes and union membership. Using OLS regression, the analysis first examines the



effects of various demographic characteristics, union contact/efficacy, political characteristics, and job satisfaction variables on union attitudes (see Chapter 4, Table 9).

Hypothesis 1 suggested that respondents with higher levels of education would feel more disassociated from secondary school teachers and traditional unionized workers and would therefore see unions as less desirable. However, this hypothesis is not confirmed. Education has no significant effect on union attitudes. This finding indicates that the different levels of education among community college faculty is not a factor that inhibits or facilitates unionization.

Hypothesis 2 predicted that respondents from higher SES (socioeconomic status) backgrounds would feel more alienated from the union experience. Based on Mills's (1951) work, the hypothesis then proposed that faculty from higher status backgrounds would have negative union attitudes. This hypothesis is not supported. In each of the four models parents' SES was not a significant predictor of faculty attitudes. Even when the model controlled for union contacts, political variables, and job

satisfaction variables, parents' SES was not significant. Therefore, it appears that among community college faculty, and perhaps other white-collar workers, background SES is not influencing their attitudes toward unions.

Based on Mills's work, hypothesis 3 suggested that respondents who had been in contact with union members through family and/or friends and who had family and friends in favor of unions would report more positive attitudes toward unions. It was also hypothesized that the effects of background SES would weaken once contact with union members was controlled. In regard to the latter, the effect of SES was not significant and hence could not lose significance. However, the hypothesis regarding contact with union members and pro-union friends received strong support. Respondents who report knowing a union member have more positive union attitudes even when controlling for political ideology. However, the statistical significance of knowing a union member is lost after controlling for job satisfaction. That is, people who know a union member may be more pro-union, but once you take into account their job satisfaction, the relationship with attitudes disappears.

A more important predictor of union attitudes in regard to union contact appears to be having friends in favor of union membership. This variable is a stronger predictor of pro-union attitudes than simply knowing a union member ( $b = -1.592$ ,  $\beta = -.392$  versus  $b = 1.088$ ,  $\beta = .107$  in model 2). Further, the significant effect of having pro-union family and friends does not disappear after controlling for job satisfaction. These findings indicate that unionization of college faculty requires an environment in which people are supportive of unions. This supportive environment is more important than background factors and having known a union member. A comparison of the standardized betas for all entered variables indicates that having pro-union friends and acquaintances is the second strongest predictor of union attitudes ( $\beta = .312$  model 4).

Therefore, mere contact with a union member may not be as important as suggested by Mills. On the other hand, the findings are supportive of Mills's argument that background influences may be overcome by having a supportive environment to develop pro-union sentiments as in the case of having pro-union friends. This finding is very important

for the KCCFA/AFT because, as with any organizing effort, the image projected to members and especially to non-members is very important. Because non-members often see the union as a contentious organization, it is very important to overcome this image to counter strong opposition to organizing efforts.

The perception of union efficacy was a significant predictor of positive union attitudes in models 2 through 4, confirming the fourth hypothesis. It is clear that a perception that the union is effective in addressing faculty concerns is important in determining positive union attitudes. A comparison of the standardized betas in Model 4 indicates that the perception of union efficacy (beta=-.361, model 4) is the strongest predictor of union attitudes among all of the variables entered in that model. This finding indicates that if unions are to be successful at community colleges, and perhaps universities, their efforts and accomplishments must be publicized to members and non-members. In regard to the KCCFA/AFT in particular, its efforts to this point have been mixed. While members, as well as non-members, have given the KCCFA/AFT credit for playing a role in salary increases, they have been less

successful in communicating their efforts regarding the extension of educational benefits and the protection of the faculty benefit package during the transition to the KCTCS organizational structure.

In support of hypothesis 5, the results indicate that faculty who identify themselves as on the political left have more positive attitudes toward unions. Political ideology was a significant predictor of positive attitudes in all three models even after controlling for political activity. Therefore, politically active faculty members toward the conservative end of the ideological spectrum have less positive attitudes regarding unions.

As specified in hypothesis 6, it should be noted that Mills (1951) argued that party identification was important in determining union attitudes. The bivariate results support this view. However, preliminary multivariate analyses in the present study found that ideology was a stronger predictor of union attitudes than party affiliation (results not shown). Due to problems with multicollinearity, only one of these factors could be included in the regression analysis. Because it was a stronger predictor, ideology was chosen over party

affiliation. It is possible that ideology may be a more important factor than partisanship in determining union attitudes due to changes in the Democratic party. That is, the Democratic party, which has traditionally been aligned with labor, has distanced itself somewhat in the last 15 to 20 years by relying more heavily on corporate support in presidential and congressional campaigns. Therefore, the ideas reflected by the Democratic party during the New Deal and the Great Society have remained more powerful than the traditional identification with the party.

Hypothesis number 7 was not supported in the regression analysis. Academic rank is not a significant predictor of union attitudes. Due to problems with multicollinearity, tenure and salary (see hypotheses 7 and 8) were not tested in the regression analysis. Preliminary analyses (not shown) indicated that of the three items, rank was the most likely to have a significant effect.

Contrary to hypothesis 9, satisfaction with the economic and/or non-economic aspects of their job, as reflected in the variable Satisfaction Scale, does not significantly predict union attitudes. However, consistent with Mills, job satisfaction of a certain type does affect

attitudes. The belief that faculty have too little say, and a lack of trust toward administrators as indicated by the Trust Scale, were significant predictors of positive union attitudes. This finding shows the frustration felt by those with positive attitudes at their perceived lack of power within the community college system and the effects of this frustration on union attitudes. Faculty that feel powerless and do not trust the college or system-wide administration to address their concerns report more positive attitudes toward unions. This confirms the work done by Rhoades and Slaughter (1997) who see increasing distrust between faculty and administration. This increasing distrust and lack of satisfaction may translate into higher levels of pro-union attitudes among faculty members in the future.

#### Discussion of Multivariate Analysis and Union Membership

The influences of demographic characteristics, union contact/efficacy, political characteristics, and job satisfaction variables on union membership (see Chapter 4, Table 10) are slightly different from the influences on

attitudes. Contrary to hypothesis 1 but consistent with the bivariate analysis, respondents with higher levels of education are more likely to be KCCFA/AFT members. Education was highly significant in all four of the logistical regression models, becoming even stronger when the models controlled for union contact/efficacy, political characteristics, and job satisfaction variables. Higher education levels increased the odds of a respondent being a KCCFA/AFT member. It is possible that respondents with Ph.D.'s, when compared to those with lower level degrees, believe that their work situation and its benefits are not commensurate with their education level especially when compared to other professors with similar degrees at four-year Kentucky institutions. Therefore, those with higher degrees may be more likely to join unions as a possible means of obtaining benefits commensurate with their education and comparable to their counter-parts at four-year institutions.

Contrary to hypothesis 2, parental SES (socioeconomic status) was not significant in any of the four models. As in the case of union attitudes, higher background SES does not predict the likelihood of union membership. This may



indicate that SES is problematic because, at either end of the scale, one could argue that respondents would reject union membership. For example, those at the upper end of the SES scale may reject union membership because it has never been perceived as something beneficial to their parents or eventually to themselves. Likewise, at the bottom end of the scale although respondents are more likely to have been exposed to unions, they may see rejection of union membership as an escape from their blue-collar past.

Consistent with hypothesis 3, union contact and having acquaintances and friends who favor the respondent joining a union were significant predictors of union membership. It is interesting that the significance of knowing a union member in predicting union attitudes disappeared after controlling for job satisfaction (see discussion of Table 9). However, its effect on union membership remained consistent throughout the models. It appears that knowing a union member may be less persistently influential in forming an individual's attitude than in affecting their actual decision to join a union.

As in the case of predicting attitudes (see discussion of Table 9), having pro-union acquaintances and friends has a positive effect on membership. This relationship remains significant even after controlling for political ideology and job satisfaction (see Table 10). Having pro-union acquaintances and friends is even more important than knowing a union member. As in the case of determining attitudes, this finding indicates that the potential for unionizing faculty is strongly dependent on the existence of pro-union environments in which faculty members are exposed to people with pro-union views.

Union efficacy is a highly significant predictor of union membership. This confirms the hypothesis that those respondents who believe that the KCCFA/AFT has been effective in promoting positive change are more likely to be members. As was stated earlier, the KCCFA/AFT should educate faculty as to its lobbying efforts with the Kentucky legislature on their behalf. This could potentially result in increased membership. In light of this finding, however, it must be recognized that unions in open-shop environments always run the risk of free-riding in which people recognize the benefits resulting from

unionization and simply take advantage of these benefits without joining. This research, however, indicates that those who recognize the benefits are more likely to join. It is possible that the findings are the results of a problem with direction of causality. That is, people join unions and then recognize the efficacy of unions rather than vice versa. While it is not possible to totally disentangle the direction of causality in the analysis, it is likely that the effects are bi-directional at the very least. Further, it makes theoretical sense that people choose to join unions after seeing them as politically effective. Hence, the results indicate that despite the potential for free riding, the unionization of college faculty may be dependent on educating faculty members about the efficacy of unions.

The results of the analysis show that faculty members who identify themselves as politically liberal are more likely to be KCCFA/AFT members. This confirms hypothesis 3 and the previous research by Mills (1951) and Ladd and Lipset (1976). The finding is important for the KCCFA/AFT in that it could guide the members in their lobbying and campaign support efforts. In addition, while these

findings are not generalizable to the general population, it may be important for unions as a whole to realize that, in addition to supporting policy makers who are ideologically compatible, they need to reflect the political views of their membership. As was noted earlier, party identification was also significant but was eliminated in the analysis because it was too highly correlated with ideology. Again, the preliminary multi-variate analysis (not-shown) indicated that party affiliation was not as effective as ideology in predicting membership probably for the reasons stated earlier (see discussion of political ideology and union attitudes).

The findings in Table 10 regarding job satisfaction and hypothesis 9 are mixed. Faculty have too little say and Satisfaction scale were not significant predictors of union membership while Would choose career again and Trust scale were both significant. Faculty members who responded by saying they were not sure whether they would choose academe as a career, if given the chance, were more likely to be KCCFA/AFT members. This result, along with the fact that the Satisfaction scale was not significant, may be a reflection of what Mills (1951, 307) called "the feeling

that as an individual [they] cannot get ahead in [their] work..." In other words, faculty may not be able to adequately communicate their specific feelings about their dissatisfaction in response to closed-ended items in a brief questionnaire. They may be dissatisfied in ways not tapped by the Satisfaction scale but indicated by their reports that they may not choose the same career again. Future research, especially qualitative research, may be able to examine more thoroughly the relationship among different dimensions of job satisfaction and union membership.

The most statistically significant job satisfaction variable was the Trust scale ( $p \leq .001$ ). Faculty members that do not trust campus or system-wide administration are more likely to be members of the KCCFA/AFT. This finding is consistent with previous research done by Hammer and Berman (1981) that faculty who distrusted administration were more likely to be union members. The distrust felt by faculty may be a result of the move toward adoption of the academic capitalism model. Under this system faculty feel less confident in the ability of full-time professional administrators to address faculty concerns. Many faculty

members, especially those who are members of the KCCFA/AFT, feel that an alternative structure like the union is needed to address faculty concerns. Although the faculty members working in the Kentucky community college system do not have the ability to bargain collectively with administration in order to formalize trust through a contractual agreement, they do have the ability, through the KCCFA/AFT, to negotiate directly with policy-makers in state government. Consequently, the psychological contract that Hammer and Berman (1981) spoke of in their research may be unattainable given the current environment in which Kentucky community college faculty must work.

#### Summary of Discussion

In sum, the results support as well as refute the ideas that political socialization (hypotheses 1 through 6) and job satisfaction and tangible rewards (hypotheses 7 through 9) influences union attitudes and union membership. In regard to political socialization, the results indicate that, yes, political socialization is extremely important in determining both union attitudes and membership. However, it appears that pro-union attitudes and membership depend less on background political socialization and more

on the on-going political socialization process. For example, parents' SES was predicted to be a strong background political socialization factor that would determine attitudes and membership, but the prediction was not supported. Even the effect of knowing a union member, which to some degree tapped background political socialization because many respondents may have had parents and other relatives who were blue-collar union workers, was not as significant as having pro-union friends and acquaintances.

Thus, the political socialization factors that emerged as most important in the present study were those that are most open to on-going socialization. For example, being exposed to friends and acquaintances that are pro-union has a strong positive impact on attitudes as well as membership. Likewise, being confronted with positive messages about the efficacy of unions may provide faculty with the sense that unions are potentially effective tools. The results also suggest that these perceptions of efficacy are related to pro-union attitudes and membership. In addition, exposure to political ideologies on the left end of the spectrum may encourage liberal political ideologies

which, according to the results, are related to pro-union attitudes and union membership.

The results indicating that on-going political socialization factors are more important than background factors is consistent with Mills's argument that background socialization can be overcome by exposure to positive union messages and experiences. These results are promising in regard to the potential for unionizing faculty because they suggest that unionization is not inhibited by any deeply entrenched negative images white-collar workers may hold about unions. Furthermore, any negative background impressions that do exist may be overcome by on-going political socialization. The results suggest that the unionization of faculty may depend on the development of pro-union environments (pro-union acquaintances and friends), the promotion of the unions' accomplishments (perceptions of union efficacy), and the support of political candidates and administrators with ideologies that are pro-union.

In regard to hypotheses dealing with issues of job satisfaction and tangible rewards, again the results are mixed. It does appear that faculty, both members and non-



members, are concerned with the economic issue of salary and with several non-economic issues such as teaching load. Further, union members are more dissatisfied than non-members. However, based on the multivariate analysis, it appears that an overall dissatisfaction with one's job does not necessarily translate into pro-union attitudes or union membership. Rather it may be untapped dimensions of job satisfaction that influence membership as possibly indicated by respondent agreement with the statement that, if given the chance, they would not choose a career in academe. It is important to note that the perception that faculty have too little say is associated with pro-union attitudes. The most important finding, however, is the strong relationship between distrust of university administration and both union attitudes and membership.

These combined findings in regard to job satisfaction indicate that it is not simply political socialization that determines faculty attitudes and membership. As indicated by Mills, job satisfaction is also an important determinant. Mills argued that it is a sense of not being able to get ahead that is significant. This research does not support this specific argument. However, the present

study does support the idea that certain aspects of the job are very influential in determining faculty attitudes toward and membership in unions. The sense of not having a voice, or of being powerless and distrusting of those who are in power, are significant in determining attitudes and membership. These results then confirm that faculty members are more likely to express pro-union attitudes when they experience the community college as a political organization in a way that places them in a powerless position. Further, when the community college as a political institution is organized in ways that render faculty powerless and promote faculty distrust of administrators, faculty members are going to hold more positive attitudes toward unions and be more likely to join unions.

The influences of these job satisfaction variables suggest that the unionization of faculty may increase with the demise of the collegial model of governance. As institutions of higher learning increasingly move toward an academic capitalism model of organization that promotes management of colleges and universities as businesses, faculty trained in the collegial model may become

dissatisfied with their lack of power. Increasingly, colleges and universities are relying on full-time professionals trained as education administrators to run their institutions, rather than academicians who have risen through the ranks. The combination of this new management model and the attacks on colleges and universities from many state legislatures regarding tenure, curriculum, and decreased funding will place faculty in a precarious position. Faculty seek out alternative models, such as unionization, for dealing with administration and policymakers in state government.

#### Implications of the Study

This study was an attempt to provide a comprehensive view of the determinants of community college faculty attitudes towards unionization. Rather than examine only job satisfaction, economic and non-economic concerns, personal, or political characteristics individually, the analysis was inclusive in order to provide a more complete picture of how attitudes and union membership are related.

One of the key findings in the study was that on-going political socialization was very important in forming positive attitudes toward unionization and also in

predicting union membership. The negative response among many faculty to the academic capitalism model seem to offset any strong anti-union feelings among respondents of the study, even among non-members. The maturation of academic capitalism, especially at community colleges, has exposed the inability of faculty to influence decisions related to their jobs.

Therefore, rather than focus on micro-issues like pay, workload, etc., it may be necessary for unions to educate faculty regarding academic capitalism, thereby forcing them to step back and re-examine their position within academe. If they are to compete with professional administrators, faculty may have to join together to challenge the attempts to de-skill their labor under the academic capitalism model. If faculty are to protect traditional prerogatives, they may be forced to consider collective action through unionization as a viable alternative to traditional internal structures, like faculty senates, that provide an outlet for faculty concerns. To be successful, unions must show faculty that they can go outside the traditional restraints of the collegial model and business unionism to lobby policymakers directly to enact substantive reform

within academe in order to reclaim their lost power and prestige. Once the structural problems related to academic capitalism are addressed, faculty can deal more effectively with economic and non-economic job related issues.

The task of organizing faculty may be easier at community colleges than at four-year regional universities or Ph.D. granting institutions. As past research has shown, community college faculty have less job mobility than their colleagues higher up the academic food chain. Thus, higher ranking, more established, community college faculty may be more committed to their institutions and less concerned with building a reputation in their discipline to facilitate a job change. Consequently, they may be looking for alternatives like unions as a way to increase their voice within their organizations. The results of the analysis show that union members in the Kentucky community college system are more likely to be older with higher academic rank, more education, and tenure.

It may be that older more established faculty teaching in the Kentucky community college system have a stronger commitment to their institutions than to their discipline.

Therefore, rather than pursuing strategies that will enhance their ability to move to another institution, they are committed to improving their current environment. This is not to say that their commitment to the institution is voluntary or positive; in fact, they may feel trapped in their present situation. Regardless of the reasons, they may feel the need for change because of the lack of opportunities outside their institutions. Therefore, if unions are to be successful in their organizing efforts they need to recognize that institutional commitment may be a crucial component to their success. This work indicates that future research exploring institutional commitment as a significant factor influencing union attitudes and membership would be worthwhile.

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