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AN ANALYSIS OF THE SATISFACTION/DISSATISFACTION OF UNITED
STATES FEMALE UNIONISTS WITH THEIR LOCAL TRADE UNION
ORGANIZATIONS: A VIEW OF THE COALITION OF LABOR UNION
WOMEN

The University of Oklahoma

Ph.D.

1980

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THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA
GRADUATE COLLEGE

AN ANALYSIS OF THE SATISFACTION/DISSATISFACTION OF
UNITED STATES FEMALE UNIONISTS WITH THEIR LOCAL
TRADE UNION ORGANIZATIONS: A VIEW OF THE
COALITION OF LABOR UNION WOMEN

A DISSERTATION
SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

by
Donna E. Ledgerwood
Norman, Oklahoma
1980

AN ANALYSIS OF THE SATISFACTION/DISSATISFACTION OF
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

It is getting increasingly difficult, in an age when one or two unions can bring the entire economy to a grinding halt, to understand how to go about living with them. So it's time that we start thinking seriously and coherently about their place in the modern world.¹

Irving Kristol

Most Americans do not know what trade unions really do. There is a lack of understanding about why workers join unions, what union members want from their unions, and what they see as the major purpose of their respective unions. The interrelationships of union leaders and their members are seldom understood within the union movement itself, and are even less frequently understood by non-union workers and the American public.

Press releases in the United States concerning unions typically are few and mundane unless a major news event should erupt. Releases which have made the news concerning trade unions have been typified in terms of personalities such as Hoffa, Woodcock, Fraser, and Meany; and action headlines such as strikes, pension fund frauds, and violence.

Purpose and Scope of the Dissertation

It is the purpose of this work to introduce the reader to an important, yet relatively unknown part of the American trade union movement: the female trade unionist. Although research dealing with the attitudes, experiences, and practices of trade union members has surged occasionally during the last century, few of these studies have included research on the role or perceptions of female members of trade union organizations. This dissertation provides input to help alleviate this deficiency.

A second purpose of this study is to provide a novel view of a recently founded organization, the Coalition of Labor Union Women. The emergence of this group is significant not only because it consists primarily of females, but because it is comprised of representatives from scores of unions, and includes most of the women who hold officerships within their union hierarchies. This dissertation presents a brief history of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) and shows a demographic and work-related profile of the CLUW respondents.

The third purpose of this dissertation is to review the literature dealing with unionists' perceptions of satisfaction with the activities of their local trade union organizations. Primary data concerning the satisfaction/dissatisfaction of American female unionists with their local trade union organizations were derived via two questionnaires which were mailed

to members of the Coalition of Labor Union Women. These questionnaires are located in Appendices A and B.

The first questionnaire employed in this research was formulated to yield a profile of demographic, work-related, and union-related characteristics of the members of the Coalition of Labor Union Women. (See page 93 for a definition of these terms.) Also derived from the first questionnaire were individual responses concerning what these union members feel is the major purpose of their respective unions, why they joined a union, and what they want most from their respective unions and employers. The views concerning what these respondents see as the major purpose of CLUW, why they joined CLUW, and what they want most from CLUW should be of interest to CLUW National Executive Board members. Demographic data derived from these questions are presented in Chapter IV in tabular and frequency form.

Results from the second questionnaire are presented in several forms. First, 31 questions concerning the responding unionists' satisfaction with particular aspects of their local union practices are presented. These findings should help to enlighten union leaders, managers, and union members as to what the modern union female wants from her union as well as what she wants from her work life. Second, thirteen additional questions reveal interesting insights into the views of the CLUW respondents. Questions such as "Do you feel your employer (or union) discriminates against females and minorities in promotion and seniority practices?" and

"Do you think of your local union leaders in terms of 'we' or 'they'?" should provide good data for local union officers and members alike to assess their own local's performance in meeting their members' needs.

This dissertation is hopefully the first of many future studies dealing with the attitudes, beliefs, and opinions of female members of the trade union movement. No previous study exists which yields insight into the perceptions of the members of CLUW. Nor does there exist such a broad based (although biased) sample to provide views of female unionists' satisfaction/dissatisfaction with their union locals. It is not the purpose of this dissertation to explore the strengths and/or weaknesses of the trade union movement, trade union theories, feminist theories, individual labor leaders, nor political and legislative issues. This study addresses specific questions to 255 members of the Coalition of Labor Union Women who represent over 35 unions in 39 states. It is the intent of this research to develop and maintain an honest and mutually beneficial association with CLUW and the respondents involved.

A major impetus for this work is the need to improve communications and understanding between academicians, union leadership and their members, individual labor union activists, and in particular, the female union activist. Such research could succeed as a relevant contribution to the public, to unions, to employers, to working women, and to the literature concerning management and industrial relations.

Early Research on Trade Unionism

Research concerning the trade union movement is not a recent development. Unions have existed in this country for over a century and have been studied sporadically since their founding.

In 1894, Supreme Court Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes discussed the interrelationship between social attitudes, interpretations of the law, and sentiments toward unions.² In 1912, F. E. Wolfe discussed attitudes of unions toward the admission of women and aliens.³ In 1926, John R. Commons published his famous book, The History of Labour in the United States.⁴ Selig Perlman and Philip Taft followed with a book with a similar title in 1935.⁵

In 1931, Sterling D. Spero and Abram L. Harris researched experiences of blacks with unions.⁶ Other books on black unionists appeared in 1936 by C. L. Franklin⁷ and in 1939 by H. R. Clayton and George S. Mitchell.⁸

The 1930's and early forties witnessed labor union studies dealing with the identification of union members, the role of institutional behavior,⁹ and labor's responsibility to its members, to the public and to the law.¹⁰ These early studies of unions were published not only in books, but more frequently were found in newspapers, magazines, governmental reports, convention proceedings of individual international unions, and proceedings from Constitutional Conventions such as the Congress of Industrial Organizations.¹¹

Two academic institutions famous for their early works concerning trade unions include The Johns Hopkins University and the University of Wisconsin.¹²

In 1942, Joel Siedman wrote:

Throughout most of their history American trade unions have had to struggle for the right to exist . . . (but) as unions have grown in membership, resources, and power, and as militant anti-unionism on the part of employers has given way to the acceptance of collective bargaining, public attention has been focused on the practices of unions and the conduct of their leaders.¹³

According to George Strauss, trade unions were constantly in the news in the early post World War II days and were a "socially relevant" factor in the lives of most American workers.¹⁴ Strauss states that the keenest modern interest in the meaning, politics, and internal functioning of unions took place during the years 1945-1960, the "Industrial Relations" Golden Age. This "Age," according to Strauss, consists of two "waves of interest" by labor union researchers interested in studying different aspects of unionism.

The first "wave of interest" by labor union researchers emerged immediately following World War II and lasted until the mid-fifties. During these years, studies of unions dealt largely with descriptive data concerning the attitudes and behaviors of individual unionists, work groups, and officers at the local union level. One such study was initiated in 1953 by Arnold Tannenbaum under the direction of Rensis Likert at the University of Michigan's Institute

for Social Research. While concerned primarily with analyzing individual trade unionists' participation in their union locals, this research helped to identify characteristics and practices that distinguish between successful (active) versus unsuccessful (inactive) union locals, union memberships, and union leaders.¹⁵ Two well-publicized books concerned with union leadership which emerged in the late forties were Eli Ginzberg's The Labor Leader: An Exploratory Study,¹⁶ and C. Wright Mills' book, The New Men of Power.¹⁷

In 1947, Sumner H. Slichter wrote The Challenge of Industrial Relations: Trade Unions, Management and the Public Interest in which he discussed conflicts and the issue of factionalism, the development of small groups of power within unions.¹⁸ In 1950, Eli Chinoy divided United Auto Worker local leaders into a tri-level classification: accidental, ambitious, and ideological leaders. Chinoy's work emphasized the importance of motivation and career opportunities in gaining union leadership positions.¹⁹

Leader traits, membership apathy, and participation in union activities were topics of great interest to labor union researchers in the early fifties. Among the works being presented at that time were those of Bernard Barber,²⁰ Tom Mahoney,²¹ Joseph Kouner and Herbert Lahne,²² Seymour Lipset and Joan Gordan,²³ Joel Seidman,²⁴ L. R. Sayles and George Strauss,²⁵ Seymour Lipset,²⁶ and David Sapos.²⁷

The "second wave" of union-related research emerged in the late fifties and early sixties. Following a record year of union membership in proportion to the labor force) in 1956, this "second wave" of trade union studies dealt primarily with structural issues related to trade union democracy. Jack Barbash wrote a book entitled The Practice of Unionism,²⁸ and George Strauss wrote numerous articles and books dealing with the topics of leadership, control, participation, attitudes of union members toward their unions, and the meaning of the term democracy in terms of local and international unions.²⁹ Two other authors frequently read at this time were Arnold S. Tannenbaum and Robert L. Kahn. Their works dealt primarily with labor union participation and the control function in trade unions and other formal organizations.³⁰

Joel Seidman continued to study problems of labor unions, factors affecting labor unions, and conditions necessary for union democracy. Seidman's research also led him into investigations comparing and contrasting different unions and their memberships.³¹

Following in the tradition of his father, Selig Perlman,³² Mark Perlman wrote a classic comparison of the five major trade union treatises popular around the turn of the twentieth century:

1. The Moral-Conditioning Theory--influenced by the Christian Socialism of Richard Ely and the Economic Democracy of Father John A. Ryan. In its purest form this theory found its earliest expression in the National

Industrial Recovery Program. Producers' cooperation, labor banks, unionism as a ladder to higher educational achievement and greater moral protection, leadership from the "upper classes," and full social cooperation were all part of the moral-conditioning theory.

2. The Social-Revolutionary Theory--influenced by the dogmatism of the Socialists and the Communists. This theory espoused the development of government ownership and government projects such as the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and the Tennessee Valley Authority. The ideal of doing away with rigid economic class lines, economic misery, and private ownership, the ideal of the rapid development of class consciousness among the proletariat as the cornerstone of revolution were all parts of the Social-Revolutionary theory which failed.

3. The Psychological-Environment Theory--influenced by the economic theories and ideas of Thorstein Veblen. This theory was management-oriented. It was, in essence, an employer's theory which explained possible but not sufficient conditions for workers joining or not joining a union. This theory encompasses the concept of the humanistic element and shows that the presence of hygiene factors are insufficient to motivate or retain or keep members from unionizing without an instrument for upward communication.

4. The Economic-Welfare Theory--the many ways used to achieve economic benefits for workers during the liberal-reform period of the thirties is the major point stressed by this theory. The major thrust of this theory is whether the method of legal enactment or the method of collective bargaining produces better economic results. The goal of both methods is to increase the organized workers' share of the gross national product.

5. The Social-Institution Theory--influenced by the ideas of Henry Adams, John Commons, and Selig Perlman. This theory emphasized that economic benefits alone are less important than the right to bargain collectively, the right to grievance procedures, and the establishment of job rights by union members. A major example noted in this instance was the willingness of union members to strike and thereby forego economic benefits for the cause of union security.

These five theories were an attempt by Mark Perlman to move toward a general economic theory with which to understand unionism and the events which tie labor to social, economic, legislative, and judicial happenings. In essence, these five

theories summarize the ideas of the elder Perlman, Karl Marx, Sydney and Beatrice Webb, John Commons, Kerr, Dunlop, Tannenbaum, Ely, Ryan and others. As noted by Mark Perlman, while each union theory yields input into understanding modern unionism, no single theory provides the complete explanation.³³

John Kenneth Galbraith expanded the understanding of unionism in the late fifties with his books The Affluent Society, and American Capitalism: The Concept of Counter-veiling Power.³⁴ Three central thrusts of these works include: (1) the distinction of the American society as being by definition affluent in its ability to provide an optimal standard of living for most of its citizens; (2) the ability to identify certain groups as "have nots" wherein people in similar circumstances can identify themselves as disadvantaged or threatened by other groups in society; and (3) to protect themselves and their interests, these people may band collectively to provide a counterveiling force through which they may gain the equilibrium of those who have the "better" life.

From the early sixties to the seventies, few major efforts expanded knowledge of unions with the exception of Chamberlain's concept of functional democracy.³⁵ Chamberlain depicts two types of union governments: (1) an external-relations government exemplified by the collective bargaining relationship between union leaders and their employers, and

(2) an internal-relations government which is concerned with the relationships between union members and their leaders, union member participation, rank and file communication, and internal democracy. Chamberlain argues that to the extent that major emphasis is placed on the external relationships (tangible results achieved by collective bargaining efforts), the internal relationships (communications and union democracy) tend to suffer. As a natural result, tension and loss of communication often result between union leaders and the rank and file, and entropy or the loss of life, sets in. For this reason, Chamberlain suggests that feedback within the union structure is crucial for maintaining and fostering internal support and control.

Evidence exists that entropy is indeed threatening American unions in the dawn of the 1980's. As noted by Ann Reilly, "labor day 1978 found the American union movement in its weakest position in decades Comprising 23 percent of the labor force a decade ago, the unions slipped to 19.4 percent in 1978 and won only 45.9 percent of the National Labor Relations Board certifications in 1977 compared with 57.1 percent in 1968."³⁶

In two recent Wall Street Journal articles, Robert W. Merry also notes labor's apparent loss of clout. "Unions whose hiring halls once gave them nearly total dominance as labor brokers in the industry have been unable to halt a nationwide trend of the shrinking of their labor force

control Not only is organized labor's patron political movement, the New Deal Coalition, seemingly falling apart, but the AFL-CIO's own political and economic fortunes appear to be declining."³⁷

Current Works on Women in Unions

If unions are to remain a viable source for economic, social and political change in our nation, they must attract new elements of the work force. Trade unions must also heed Chamberlain's findings and begin to take keener interest in the needs, aspirations and opinions of potential new members and initiate steps to continually monitor the pulse of current members.

A recent publication by the Department of Labor notes:

As a result of the great influx of women into the work force during the past 25 years, more women than ever before are in labor organizations. In 1976, 4.3 million women were union members and another 1.8 million were members of employee associations similar to a union. By 1976, women accounted for more than 1 out of 5 union members and more than 1 of 2 association members.³⁸

A major shift in the composition of the work force as well as the composition of unions is the burgeoning participation of females. As will be discussed in detail in the next chapter, women workers today comprise 42 percent of the labor force.³⁹

Female union activists are beginning to pressure union leaders to pay attention to internal aspects of union management and to improve internal relationships such as more

communication with the rank and file, and more training sessions for all union members. Such pressure, combined with other recent developments such as the new AFL-CIO "intellectual" leadership of Lane Kirland,⁴⁰ the new recognition of the importance of recruiting women into unions and the new interest in what is on union members' minds, holds promise for a new wave of research into labor union studies. Such studies have already begun with recent works such as those by Wertheimer and Nelson; Kochran; Staines and Quinn; Glick, Mirvis and Harder; Foner; and even a more visible means, movies like Norma Rae.

As noted by George Strauss, "There has been little research dealing with the impact on unions of the emerging new role for women in our society, with the major exception of Wertheimer's and Nelson's study of seven New York City locals."⁴¹ In 1972, Barbara Wertheimer and Ann Nelson initiated a study funded by the Ford Foundation to study the barriers that keep working women from participating more fully in their labor union organizations. This study was descriptive in nature and dealt with seven unions who have had a long relationship with Cornell's School of Industrial Relations classes for labor union women (the Institute for Education and Research on Women and Work).⁴²

Wertheimer and Nelson found three major barriers to participation of women in unions: (1) socio-cultural, (2) job-related, and (3) union-related. While the response to

these three "barriers" overlapped, the major implications were that: (1) women in unions are handicapped by a lack of information and experience rather than by any lack of interest; (2) women feel a basic need for training in interpersonal relationships and assertiveness since the greatest job-related barrier was believed to be the feeling that supervisors are hard on union activists; and (3) women need training and educational courses in leadership skills and other areas which would help them to become more competent and thus capable of moving up in the union structure.⁴³ The Wertheimer and Nelson study also interviewed white collar and blue collar members and officers of these unions and substantiated the fact that minority women (blacks and Hispanics) are especially eager for educational and skills training programs.

Another Cornell professor, Thomas A. Kochan, summarized subsection 11 (the section dealing with unions) of the Staines and Quinn study, The 1977 Quality of Employment Survey. Kochan's analysis entailed three aspects concerning how American workers view labor unions.⁴⁴ These aspects include: (1) general perceptions concerning unions, such as what workers believe trade unions are doing and whether or not workers perceive there exists a "big-labor" image; (2) nonunion respondents' opinions concerning whether or not workers perceive there exists a "big-labor" image; (2) nonunion respondents' opinions concerning

whether they would vote for a union if a union representation election were held where they work and also which issue they felt would be the greatest impetus for voting for a union; and (3) union members reporting their satisfaction with their unions, expressing priorities for what unions should be doing, expressing views of what their unions were actually doing, and describing the extent to which they personally participated in their respective unions.

Findings from the union section of the 1977 Staines and Quinn study will be discussed in detail in Chapter V of this dissertation. Gathering information concerning the degree of worker satisfaction with the quality of work life is one aspect of the Staines and Quinn study as well as this dissertation.

The 1977 Staines and Quinn study was the third national survey designed by the Institute of Social Research at the University of Michigan to assess the meaning of the concept "quality of employment" and to obtain measures of worker satisfaction over time.⁴⁵ The previous two surveys, conducted in 1969 and 1973, had the same central aim as the 1977 survey, namely to obtain measurements of the "core" variables (quality of employment, labor standards problems, job satisfaction, and importance ratings of job facets, self reports of work related behavior, physical consequences of job stress, fitting a worker's present job to a career

line, and the meaning of work) for use in trend assessment and to extend the survey content to include selected new and enlarged topics. New topics added to the 1977 survey included the employment of the respondent's spouse, and the impact of employment (work schedules and working hours) upon family life. The purpose for the inclusion of this new material stemmed from the increasing work force participation of women and the associated emergence of the dual worker family as the national norm.⁴⁶ Other new questions dealt with leisure time use and participation in family and political activities.

A synopsis of the Staines and Quinn study includes the following findings of workers' perceptions in 1969 and 1977:⁴⁷

1. Changes in employment patterns (such as the dual-earner household) are inducing major shifts in family life, leisure, and other activities away from work.

2. There was a pervasive decline in the level of job satisfaction and contentment with life in general between 1969 and 1977. This was true for males to a greater extent than females across all educational achievement categories.

3. There was reportedly a slight shift toward greater willingness to seek a different employer.

4. There has reportedly been no gain in direct monetary returns for respondents but they noted fairly steady gains in fringe benefits.

5. Slight increases were reported for age discrimination by workers over 55 years of age.

6. The proportion of women reporting sex discrimination at work dropped from 14 percent in 1973 to 12 percent in 1977.

7. Black workers reported maintaining a stable frequency of job discrimination, roughly 15 to 17 percent.

8. Approximately 77 percent of white collar union members and 71 percent of the blue collar union members reported that they were "somewhat" or "very" satisfied with their unions' performance.

9. Union members gave their unions higher marks for handling traditional functions (seeking better working conditions, wages, safety conditions, grievance handling, etc.) than nontraditional issues (helping to make jobs more interesting, getting workers a say in how their employers run the business or organizations, and giving workers a say in how they do their own jobs).

10. Workers not belonging to a union nor covered by a union contract were asked how they would vote if there was an election for representation by a union or an employee association; 29 percent of the white collar workers and 39 percent of the blue collar workers reported that they would vote in favor of such representation.

The Glick, Mirvis and Harder study concerned union satisfaction and participation. The differentiating factor of their study was the use of survey methodology and multivariate statistical analyses. Their findings include:⁴⁸

1. Overall union satisfaction is unrelated to a member's willingness to attend meetings or represent the union.

2. Neither union satisfaction nor willingness to participate is associated with members' demographic characteristics. (Women, however, were noted to be slightly less satisfied and less willing to participate than men, perhaps due to their minority representation status.)

3. There were positive but weak correlations between members' general attitudes toward unionism and union satisfaction and willingness to participate. Members' assessments of their particular union activities and its leadership, however, are highly correlated with their satisfaction with it. Satisfaction is closely linked to their assessment of the union's relationship with its members and their evaluation of the union's leadership. Also reported was that the perception of both management

and union leadership support of union participation correlates with members' satisfaction.

4. By contrast, members' attitudes toward their union and its various components were not found to be generally related to their willingness to participate. Members' willingness to attend meetings was related solely to their perception of integration and influence in the union; members' willingness to represent the union was found to be unrelated to any of the measured union characteristics.

5. Glick, et al., found some indication that members' job conditions correlate with their union activity. In a union with harmonious relationships with management, the measures of job satisfaction and organizational involvement are correlated with union satisfaction.

Glick, et al., interpret their findings to mean that participation and satisfaction represent different aspects of union effectiveness: satisfaction reflects on the union and its ability to serve its members; participation reflects on the membership and their needs to influence decisions in the union. Most importantly, individual characteristics moderate the relationship between satisfaction and participation. Thus, the relationship between satisfaction and willingness to participate may be more complex than previously indicated.⁴⁹

In his book The Factory Girls Phillip Foner notes that the satisfaction levels of female factory workers in the late 1800's were not always accurately depicted in the newspapers.⁵⁰ Foner describes examples of worker letters and leaders of informal worker associations who described the harshness of working conditions and lack of appreciation, recognition and reward from the shop bosses.

Similar circumstances are depicted in the movie Norma Rae.⁵¹ Sally Fields stars as a female day laborer in a southern factory town who helps to organize a union. Reared to be antiunion and with her whole family employed by the textile company, it is only following the death of her father due to overexertion at work that Norma Rae begins to question management's interest in the welfare of its workers. Although losing her own job, she helps to win certification for the union in a close election.

Norma Rae may or may not be viewed as a pro-labor film.⁵² What is of interest is the fact that the film was ever produced. Along with the emergence of the aforementioned books and research, such efforts suggest that unions once again may be a "socially relevant" factor in the lives of American workers.

Organization of the Dissertation

This work is organized without a specific section entitled "Review of the Relevant Literature" because, as noted by Mary Dresser of the IUE News, "So little exists on the specific topic of female labor union activists--there just isn't much."⁵³ Footnotes at the end of each chapter and the bibliography provide all relevant sources available to the author as of December, 1979.

This initial chapter is introductory in nature, orientating the reader to the following four chapters: The Interface of Women Workers and Trade Union Organizations:

The Coalition of Labor Union Women (Chapter II); The Research Design and Methodology (Chapter III); The Research Findings (Chapter IV), and The Summary, Conclusions, and Recommendations (Chapter V).

Chapter II, "The Interface of Women Workers and Trade Union Organizations: The Coalition of Labor Union Women," utilizes current statistics to profile the characteristics of America's working women, and yields a view of the relationship between women and earnings. Of importance here is the financial differential which exists between wages and salaries earned by union versus nonunion females. Also discussed within Chapter II is a comprehensive view of the founding, purpose, goals, and accomplishments of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW). The organizational climate will be discussed as well as CLUW's past and present leadership, membership, and structure.

Chapter III, "Research Design and Methodology," provides a view of the difficulty of developing union research and lists the method and sources of data. Terms are defined and a chronological development of the two CLUW questionnaires are presented. Hypotheses, associated research questions, data collection, research constraints, and the reliability and validity of both the sample and questions are discussed.

Chapter IV, "Research Findings," contains the results from the two CLUW questionnaires. Descriptive statistics

comprise the bulk of information presented. Biographical information of the CLUW respondents is presented along with comparative data showing the difference between the satisfaction means of different demographical categories. Statistical interpretation of the hypotheses and associated research questions are presented and the implications discussed.

Chapter V, "Summary, Conclusions, and Recommendations," synthesizes the pages herein and shows its relationship to other research. Specific recommendations are made for CLUW members and leaders, union officers, and areas are indicated for future research.

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CHAPTER II

THE INTERFACE OF WOMEN WORKERS AND TRADE UNION ORGANIZATIONS: THE COALITION OF LABOR UNION WOMEN

Women are increasingly visible on the job and in their labor unions. They are more vocal than ever before and better prepared to participate. New women leaders have emerged opening the door a little wider for countless others who will follow.¹

Characteristics of America's Working Women

Labor Force Participation

The latest data available from the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) reveal that the Nation's work force reached 102 million late in 1978, 43 million of whom were women.² Up 2 million from 1977,³ this was the first time that the labor force participation rate of women has been as high as 50 percent.⁴

Table 1 shows the proportional ratio of women in the work force from 1945 to 1978. As this table displays, in 1978 women made up approximately 42 percent of all U.S. workers.⁵

Table 2 shows the female labor force participation rates as a percentage of the population.⁶ As revealed in this table, the participation rate of women workers has increased at least one percentage point per year since 1975.

TABLE 1
PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN IN THE CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE

	Annual Averages				(seasonally adjusted)
	1945	1955	1965	1975	1978
Total Civilian Labor Force (thousands)	53,860	65,023	74,455	92,613	100,573
Total Number of Women in the Labor Force (thousands)	19,030	20,584	26,200	36,998	41,976
Percentage of Women in the Labor Force	35.3	31.6	35.2	39.9	41.7

As shown in the far right column of Table 2, the participation rate of women 16 years and over is expected to increase at least to the year 1990, according to projections recently released by the Bureau of Labor Statistics.⁷

TABLE 2
FEMALE LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION AS A
PERCENTAGE OF THE POPULATION

Age Categories	Annual Averages				*(Predicted)
	1975	1976	1977	1978	1990
16 years and over	46.3	47.3	48.4	50.0	57.1
16 to 19 years	49.2	49.9	51.4	53.9	62.8
20 to 24 years	64.1	65.0	66.5	68.3	80.4
25 to 54 years	55.0	56.7	58.4	60.5	72.4
55 years and over	23.1	23.0	22.9	23.1	19.3
White Females	45.9	46.9	48.1	49.5	--
Black Females	48.8	49.8	50.8	53.2	--

*These values reflect the median values predicted by the BLS.

Most of 1978's record labor force gains, like most of those throughout the 1970's, occurred among women under 35.⁸ Women accounted for nearly three-fifths of the increase in the civilian labor force in the last decade with an influx of 13 million females compared with 9 million males.⁹ In addition, the Women's Bureau reports:¹⁰

1. Fifty-nine percent of all women 18 to 64--the usual working ages--were workers in 1978, compared with 88 percent of men. Fifty percent of all women 16 and over were workers.
2. Fifty-three percent of all black women were in the labor force in 1978 (4.9 million); they accounted for nearly half of all black workers.
3. Forty-five percent of Spanish-origin women were in the labor force in March, 1978 (1.8 million); they accounted for 39 percent of all Spanish-origin workers.

As shown in Table 2, the highest female labor force participation rate was between the ages of 20 to 24 years followed closely by the 25 to 54 age category. The median age of women workers in 1978 was 35 years¹¹ and in 1979 was 34 years.¹²

As noted by the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS):

Despite the pressures of combining a job with family responsibilities, large numbers of women 25 to 34 years old--71 percent of whom are mothers with dependent children in the home--continued to enter or reenter the work force. The rapidly escalating cost-of-living and society's growing acceptance of the working mother are among the prominent reasons that so many of these young women seek paid employment.¹³

In March, 1979, almost 48 percent of all wives were working or looking for work. More than half of these women,

12.5 million, had children under 18 years of age. As shown in Table 3, the labor force participation rate for white married women rose from 39.7 percent in March, 1970, to 46.6 percent in March, 1978. Note in this table that the proportion of Hispanic wives in the work force in 1978 (43.9 percent) was approximately the same as that for white wives, but that black wives had the highest participation rate (58.3 percent) of the three groups.¹⁴

Another major group of women workers are those who are single, divorced, widowed, separated, or whose husbands earn less than \$10,000 per year. These women comprised over two-thirds of all working women in 1977 and 1978.¹⁵ Of this group, divorced women were more likely than those of any other marital status to be in the job market¹⁶ as well as being the group most likely to be the single head of households.

As noted by Beverly Johnson, "The phenomenal increase in the number of divorced women has been the most prominent factor in the accelerated growth of families headed by women."¹⁷ In March, 1978, the labor force participation rate of divorced women heading their own families was 77.6 percent, compared with 58.1 percent for separated, 55.8 percent for never married, and 39.4 percent for widowed women. The overall labor force participation rate of female heads in March, 1978, was 58.9 percent.¹⁸

TABLE 3
CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE BY SEX AND MARITAL
STATUS - MARCH 1970 AND 1978

Sex and Marital Status	Civilian Labor Force Number (in thousands)		Labor Force Participation	
	1970	1978	1970	1978
Both sexes, total	81,693	98,437	59.1	62.2
Men, total	50,460	57,466	77.6	76.8
Never married	9,421	13,978	60.4	69.2
Married, wife present	38,123	38,507	86.6	81.6
Married, wife absent	1,053	1,703	61.3	77.4
Widowed	672	567	31.9	30.5
Divorced	1,191	2,711	76.0	80.7
Women, total	31,233	40,971	42.6	49.1
Never married	6,965	10,222	53.0	60.5
Married, husband present	18,377	22,789	40.8	47.6
Married, husband absent	1,422	1,802	52.1	56.8
Widowed	2,542	2,269	26.4	22.4
Divorced	1,927	3,888	71.5	74.0
Black	--	--	53.8	58.3
White	--	--	39.7	46.6
Hispanic	--	--	--	43.9

The U.S. Department of Labor recently noted:¹⁹

1. The number of working mothers has increased more than tenfold since the period immediately preceding World War II, while the number of working women more than tripled. Fifty-three percent of all mothers with children under 18 years (16.1 million) were in the labor force in 1978.
2. The 5.8 million working mothers (includes never married mothers) with preschool children in 1978 had 6.9 million children under 6 compared with 4.8 million working mothers with 6.0 million children under 6 years of age in 1973.
3. Among all families, about 1 out of 7 was headed by a woman in 1978 compared with about 1 out of 10 in 1968; 39 percent of black families were headed by women. Of all women workers, about 1 out of 8 was a family head; about 1 out of 4 black women workers was a family head.
4. Among all poor families,* nearly half (49 percent) were headed by women in 1978; more than 2 out of 3 poor black families were headed by women. In 1968 about one-third (35 percent) of all poor families were headed by women and 51 percent of poor minority families had female heads.

*Note that the terms "poor," "low-income," or "poverty level" is based on the Bureau of the Census' definition of poverty (which is) adjusted in accordance with changes in The Department of Labor's Consumer Price Index. Classified as poor in 1976 were those nonfarm households where total money income was less than \$2,884 for an unrelated individual; \$3,711 for a couple; and \$5,815 for a family of four. The poverty level for farm families is set at 85 percent of the corresponding level for nonfarm families.²⁰

While it is a fact that 57 percent of American women are married and living with their husbands, the "typical American family," one where the father is working and the mother stays

at home with two children, now constitutes only 7 percent of all families.²¹ In March, 1977, 1 of 6 children in the United States were living in a family with no father present, compared with 1 of 10 in March, 1970.²²

These statistics show societal and cultural ramifications beyond economic considerations. The trend seems to be that America is becoming a nation of loners. Of the 1.3 million households formed in 1976, only 174,000 were nuclear families. Single-person households numbered 549,000 and the rest were single-parent families.²³

Whether single or married, male or female, workers need a good education if they are to earn a decent living. According to the Department of Labor, the median years of school completed by American workers in 1978 and 1979 were the same for men and women, 12.6 years. However, a larger proportion of men than of women workers had completed at least 4 years of college (19 compared to 14 percent).²⁴ Concurrently, a larger proportion of remunerative rewards were obtained by men. It is this topic which is discussed next.

Occupational Distributions and Earnings

It is an often quoted fact that women work for the same reasons men do--the economic need to provide for the welfare of themselves as well as for their families or other dependents.²⁵ What is not a well-known fact is that women are working more and are earning less.²⁶

One might think with all the fervor about the Equal Pay Act, the Civil Rights Act, the potential passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, the potential draft registration of women, and the push by Elenor Holmes Norton (Chair of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission) for "equal pay for jobs of equal value" that working women would be on equal economic footing with working men. Not so. As noted by the BLS,

Average (median) weekly earnings of all women who work full time were \$166 in May, 1978, or about 61 percent of the earnings of men (\$272).²⁷

For more than two decades the earnings differential between working men and women has stayed in the narrow 58 to 63 percent range despite the enormous influx of women into the labor force.²⁸

Mary Lee Bombay further reports her findings:

Despite their increased numbers, despite the women's movement, despite the law, women have not been able to increase their earning power or their job status. The shocking truth is that the earnings gap between men and women has widened since 1955. Full-time women workers in 1977 earned 60 cents for every \$1.00 earned by men. In 1955 they earned almost 64 cents for each \$1.00 men earned.²⁹

Table 4 shows the median annual earnings of year-round, full-time workers 14 years and over by sex from the years 1955-1975, the latest figures obtainable at the time of this writing.³⁰ As displayed in Table 4, the earnings gap has indeed widened since 1955. Such findings are significant in view of the legislative passage of the Equal Pay Act, Title VII of the Civil Rights Act, Title IX and the Executive Orders.

TABLE 4

MEDIAN ANNUAL EARNINGS OF YEAR-ROUND FULL-TIME WORKERS
14 YEARS AND OVER BY SEX, 1955-75

	Annual Earnings		Women's Earnings as Percent of Men's
	Women	Men	
1955	\$2,719	\$ 4,252	63.9
1956	2,827	4,466	63.3
1957	3,008	4,713	63.8
1958	3,102	4,927	63.0
1959	3,193	5,209	61.3
1960	3,293	5,417	60.8
1961	3,351	5,644	59.4
1962	3,446	5,794	59.5
1963	3,561	5,978	59.6
1964	3,690	6,195	59.6
1965	3,823	6,375	60.0
1966	3,973	6,848	58.0
1967	4,150	7,182	57.8
1968	4,457	7,664	58.2
1969	4,977	8,227	60.5
1970	5,323	8,966	59.4
1971	5,593	9,339	59.5
1972	5,903	10,202	57.9
1973	6,335	11,186	56.6
1974	6,970	11,889	58.6
1975	7,504	12,758	58.8

Note: Data for 1955 to 1966 are for wage and salary workers only and exclude self-employed persons.

Tables 5 and 6 show the occupational distribution of employed women for selected years since 1950. Table 5³¹ reveals that the occupation employing the highest percentage of women since 1950 has consistently been clerical. The second highest occupational frequency has changed since

TABLE 5

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYED WOMEN, ANNUAL
AVERAGES, SELECTED YEARS, 1950-76

(Percent distribution)

Occupational Group	1950*	1960	1970	1976	Women as Percent of All Workers in Occupation Group, 1976
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	40.1
Professional-technical	12.5	12.4	14.5	16.0	42.0
Managerial-administrative except farm	4.4	5.0	4.5	5.5	20.8
Sales	8.7	7.7	7.0	6.7	42.9
Clerical	27.8	30.3	34.5	34.9	78.7
Craft	1.5	1.0	1.1	1.6	4.8
Operatives, including transport	19.6	15.2	14.5	11.8	31.3
Nonfarm laborers	0.8	0.4	0.5	1.1	9.3
Service, except private household	12.4	14.8	16.5	17.9	57.8
Private household	8.7	8.9	5.1	3.1	97.3
Farm	3.6	4.4	1.8	1.3	16.2

*Data are for women 14 years and over in April 1950.

1970 from operative (and transportation) jobs to nonhousehold service, jobs. The occupational category employing the third highest frequency of female employees is that of professional-technical employees.

As noted in Table 6,³² women have consistently maintained dominance in a finite number of occupational fields. Females comprise the vast majority of the following: clerical employees, bank tellers, bookkeepers, cashiers, office machine operators, and secretaries-typists. Females also compose the majority of teachers, nurses and (not shown in Table 6) librarians. As depicted in Table 6, while the differential percentage of female participation in clerical and professional-technical fields has increased slightly, noticeable gains have been made in the number of women involved in such fields as accounting, the law, medicine, and university professors. A noticeable increase is also evidenced in the nonfarm managerial-administrative occupations such as banking, purchasing, sales, and food service industries.

As displayed in Table 7,³³ consideration of any occupation in any industry reveals a major differential between the earnings of women and the earnings of men. Of the occupations and industries shown in Table 7, the smallest financial differential exists in farm and agricultural-related jobs. The highest differential exists between males

TABLE 6

EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN IN SELECTED OCCUPATIONS, 1950, 1970, and 1976

(Numbers in thousands)

Occupation	Both sexes			Women					
	1950	1970	1976	Number			Percent of all workers in occupation		
				1950	1970	1976	1950	1970	1976
Professional-technical	4,858	11,452	13,329	1,947	4,576	6,603	40.1	40.0	42.0
Accountants	377	711	866	56	180	233	14.9	25.3	26.9
Engineers	518	1,233	1,190	6	20	21	1.2	1.6	1.8
Lawyers-judges	171	277	413	7	13	38	4.1	4.7	9.2
Physicians-osteopaths	184	280	368	12	25	47	6.5	8.9	12.8
Registered nurses	403	836	999	394	814	965	97.8	97.4	96.6
Teachers, except college and university	1,123	2,750	3,099	837	1,937	2,198	74.5	70.4	70.9
Teachers, college and university ¹	123	492	537	28	139	168	22.8	28.3	31.3
Technicians, excluding medical-dental	102	339	897	21	49	122	20.6	14.5	13.6
Writers-artists-entertainers	124	761	1,099	50	229	381	40.3	30.1	34.7
Managerial-administrative, except farm	4,894	6,387	9,315	673	1,061	1,942	13.8	16.6	20.8
Bank officials-financial managers	111	313	546	13	55	135	11.7	17.6	24.7
Buyers-purchasing agents	64	361	376	6	75	89	9.4	20.8	23.7
Food service workers	343	323	505	93	109	177	27.1	33.7	35.0
Sales managers-department heads; retail trade	142	212	322	35	51	114	24.6	24.1	35.4
clerical	6,865	13,783	15,558	4,273	10,150	12,245	62.2	73.6	78.7
Bank tellers	62	251	371	28	216	338	45.2	86.1	91.1
Bookkeepers	716	1,552	1,688	556	1,274	1,519	77.7	82.1	90.0
Cashiers	230	824	1,256	187	692	1,101	81.3	84.0	87.7
Office machine operators	143	563	726	116	414	535	81.1	73.5	73.7
Secretaries-typists	1,580	3,814	4,368	1,494	3,686	4,303	94.6	96.6	98.5
Shipping-receiving clerks	287	413	440	19	59	76	6.6	14.3	17.3

¹ Includes college and university presidents.

TABLE 7

MEDIAN USUAL WEEKLY EARNINGS OF FULL-TIME WAGE AND
SALARY WORKERS BY SEX AND OCCUPATION
AND INDUSTRY GROUP, MAY 1976

Occupation and Industry Group	Usual Weekly Earnings		Women's Earnings as Percent of Men's
	Women	Men	
<u>Occupation</u>			
Professional- Technical	\$218	\$299	73
Managerial- Administrative except farm	187	320	58
Sales	111	244	45
Clerical	147	228	64
Craft	149	243	61
Operatives, except transport	121	202	60
Transcript Equipment Operatives	()	216	--
Nonfarm Laborers	121	166	73
Service	109	170	64
Farm	107	122	88
<u>Industry</u>			
Agriculture	\$113	\$129	88
Construction	167	244	68
Mining	()	280	--
Manufacturing	137	231	59
Durable Goods	148	235	63
Nondurable Goods	127	222	57
Transportation and Public Utilities	190	270	70
Wholesale Trade	148	240	62
Retail Trade	113	188	60
Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate	144	270	53
Private Household	66	()	--
Miscellaneous Services	160	224	71
Public Administration	173	269	64

and females for sales and managerial-administrative occupations, and for finance, insurance, real estate, and manufacturing-related industries.

Race, Sex, Geography, Education, and Earnings

As shown in Table 8,³⁴ the median earnings of year-round, full-time workers 16 years and over are consistent in terms of race and sex despite the geographical region. In all geographical areas males surpass the median earnings of females and whites surpass the median earnings of blacks. These findings are consistent with the figures released from the Department of Labor in August, 1979.

The DOL reports:

Women workers are concentrated in low paying dead end jobs. As a result, the average woman worker earns about three-fifths of what a man does, even when both work full-time year-round. The median wage or salary income of year-round, full-time workers in 1977 was lowest for minority-race women \$8,383. For white women it was \$8,787; minority men, \$11,053; and white men, \$15,230.³⁵

Educational achievement seems to make a large difference in the female labor force participation rate while making little difference in the male/female wage differential. As noted by the Women's Bureau:

The more education a woman has the greater the likelihood she will seek paid employment. Among women with 4 or more years of college, about 3 out of 5 were in the labor force in 1978 . . . (but) . . . fully employed women high school graduates (with no college) had less income on the average than fully employed men who had not completed elementary school--\$8,462

and \$9,333, respectively 1977. Women with 4 years of college also had less income than men with only an 8th grade education--\$11,134 and \$11,931, respectively.³⁶

TABLE 8

MEDIAN EARNINGS OF YEAR-ROUND FULL-TIME
WORKERS BY SEX AND RACE: GEOGRAPHIC
DIVISIONS AND STATES, 1975

(Persons 16 years old and over)

Item	Men		Women	
	White	Black	White	Black
United States, total	\$13,068	\$ 9,625	\$ 7,560	\$ 7,243
New England	12,791	10,730	7,590	7,819
Main	10,605	1/	6,269	1/
New Hampshire	11,577	1/	6,873	1/
Vermont	10,623	1/	6,964	1/
Massachusetts	13,077	1/	7,901	1/
Rhode Island	11,891	1/	6,687	1/
Connecticut	13,768	10,855	7,864	7,603
Middle Atlantic	13,473	10,962	8,182	8,575
New York	13,905	10,890	8,665	8,953
New Jersey	13,974	11,347	8,083	8,173
Pennsylvania	12,599	10,838	7,455	7,623
East North Central	13,639	12,162	7,760	8,049
Ohio	13,206	11,740	7,537	7,724
Indiana	13,031	11,694	6,903	7,851
Illinois	14,415	12,110	8,161	7,822
Michigan	14,307	12,758	8,571	8,811
Wisconsin	12,587	1/	7,245	1/
West North Central	12,240	9,781	6,941	6,916
Minnesota	12,660	1/	7,369	1/
Iowa	12,427	1/	6,918	1/
Missouri	12,483	9,183	6,932	6,592
North Dakota	11,322	1/	6,296	1/
South Dakota	10,301	1/	5,819	1/
Nebraska	11,889	1/	6,798	1/
Kansas	11,858	9,910	6,815	1/

TABLE 8 (Continued)

(Persons 16 years old and over)

Items	Men		Women	
	White	Black	White	Black
South Atlantic	\$12,446	\$ 8,224	\$ 7,249	\$ 6,480
Delaware	14,198	9,477	7,692	7,054
Maryland	14,902	11,288	8,888	8,801
District of Columbia	18,660	10,921	12,705	8,896
Virginia	12,958	8,295	7,605	5,889
West Virginia	11,637	1/	6,403	1/
North Carolina	10,761	8,226	6,332	5,804
South Carolina	11,798	6,715	6,761	5,325
Georgia	12,651	6,957	7,559	5,692
Florida	11,985	6,995	7,037	6,290
East South Central	11,394	7,092	6,716	5,325
Kentucky	11,503	1/	6,688	1/
Tennessee	10,963	7,628	6,807	5,708
Alabama	11,773	7,344	6,705	5,192
Mississippi	11,372	6,250	6,483	4,893
West South Central	12,035	8,183	6,655	5,661
Arkansas	10,754	7,294	6,339	5,400
Louisiana	13,321	8,074	6,481	5,047
Oklahoma	11,379	1/	6,664	1/
Texas	12,073	8,239	6,755	5,918
Mountain	12,987	10,541	7,375	7,587
Montana	12,406	1/	6,849	1/
Idaho	11,180	1/	6,536	1/
Wyoming	13,035	1/	6,944	1/
Colorado	13,573	1/	7,745	1/
New Mexico	12,030	1/	7,087	1/
Arizona	13,007	1/	7,511	1/
Utah	13,096	1/	6,923	1/
Nevada	13,679	9,412	7,892	6,829
Pacific	14,492	11,609	8,343	7,897
Washington	14,402	1/	7,809	1/
Oregon	13,371	1/	7,344	1/
California	14,623	11,672	8,505	7,901
Alaska	21,474	1/	11,426	1/
Hawaii	15,716	1/	8,240	1/

Note: 1/ Earnings not shown where number reporting earnings is less than approximately 60 sample cases.

Source: Survey of Income and Education, Spring 1976

Reasons for the Wage Differential between the Sexes

The lack of direct relationship between the educational achievement and salaries of males and females has been studied in detail by Victor Fuchs. In Fuchs' terms:

. . . neither inherent physical or mental differences nor employer discrimination can explain most of the differential The major explanation . . . is role differentiation, which begins in childhood and eventually affects labor force attachment, choice of occupation, location and hours of work, post-school investment, and consumer and fellow-employee attitudes.³⁷

Alice Cook notes six categories for arguments and justifications often given for unequal pay between the sexes:³⁸

1. Natural causes--due to lesser physical powers (which brings about the need for "protective legislation").
2. Economic causes--lower "career investments" and "career value" due to females higher rate of absenteeism and turnover, their late arrival in the labor market, their interrupted work life due to marriage and births of children, their unpredictable mobility due to their husband's primary career, and their low levels of "work commitment."
3. Educational factors--not merely in terms of less education, but rather females generally derive academic preparation which is unrelated to the work habits and skills desired by organizations.
4. Conventional factors--discrimination in the hiring process, fellow workers' unwillingness to work with or for women.
5. Overcrowding of women's jobs (an increase in the supply of low skilled workers as mentioned also by Victor Fuchs), and,
6. Nonunion status--the fact that women's low rate of trade union organization may also contribute to the fact that their pay benefits are only marginally, if at all, from the effects of collective bargaining.

Such arguments are not those of the Americans alone. Similar arguments have been voiced in Russia,³⁹ in Canada⁴⁰ and in Great Britain.⁴¹

The U.S. Employment Standards Administration reports:⁴²

The widening male-female differential is a contrast to the gains women have made in employment in recent years. Two primary factors have contributed to the widening gap. First, despite the fact that increasing numbers of women are securing higher level and better paying positions, there is still a predominance of women in lower status occupations of a traditional nature which provide limited opportunity for advancement. Second, the dynamic rise in women's labor force participation has resulted in a larger proportion of women who are in or near the entry level.

Victor Fuchs notes that due to the rapid growth of industries, vast technological and economic changes coinciding with legal, social and institutional changes, there has been an increase in the demand for well-educated women and a relative increase in supply of less-educated women. Fuch states that "Although in the short run the increased labor force participation of women tends to depress their earnings, in the long run it will raise them."⁴³

Other factors contributing to the influx of females into the work force (resulting in low wages) are a progressive set of personal and societal attitudes which allow birth control techniques, child care outside the home (if indeed children are desired), recognition of personal identity and self-worth, and awareness that people are living and therefore, from necessity, working longer.⁴⁴

According to recent data published by the National Center for Health Statistics:

Life expectancy for white Americans is nearing 74 years compared with 69 years for minorities, but the gap is narrowing . . . women can expect to live almost eight years longer than men--77.1 years compared with 69.3."⁴⁵

These findings published from the National Center for Health Statistics are substantiated by the Department of Labor: "The average worklife expectancy of women has increased by more than one-half over the two decades since 1950. In 1970, the average woman could expect to spend 22.9 years of her life in the work force."⁴⁶ These events, combined with the dim financial future of the Social Security Administration, recent legislation increasing mandatory retirement to age 70, and the projections that 25 percent of all females will never marry and of those who marry 50 percent will be divorced,⁴⁷ all lead to a new awareness of the importance of job-related skills and such concepts as equal opportunity and equal pay for jobs of equal value.

Union Membership and the Wage Differential Between Union and Nonunion Members

While union membership has increased numerically (absolute numbers) in recent years, it has decreased in relative numbers (relative to the total number of American

workers). According to Ann Curan, the proportion of union members to the total U.S. labor force dropped from 26 percent in 1968 to 23.2 percent in 1976.⁴⁸ Concurrently, BLS Economist Linda H. Legrande observed that during the years 1956 to 1976, the number of men belonging to unions rose only 8.6 percent while the proportion of male unionists relative to the male labor force fell from 32 to 27 percent. During the same 20 year span, the number of women belonging to labor unions rose by 34 percent, but the proportion of the female labor force holding a union card fell from 14.9 to 11.3 percent. Women accounted for 60 percent of the total labor force growth and nearly half of the total increase in union membership during the 1956-1976 period, and the proportion of female unionists climbed from 18.5 to 22.2 percent. Even so, the 80 percent increase in the female labor force during the 20 years easily outpaced the rise in female union membership.⁴⁹

A July 1979 report released by the Bureau of Labor Statistics states:

As a result of the great influx of women into the work force during the past 25 years, more women than ever before are in labor organizations. In 1976, 4.3 million women were union members and another 1.8 million were members of employee associations similar to a union. By 1976, women accounted for more than 1 out of 5 union members and more than 1 out of 2 association members.

Women have been joining associations at a faster rate than unions in recent years, partly because they have been concentrated in the

occupations and industries that employee associations represent (e.g., teaching and nursing). Between 1970 and 1976, the number of women in associations rose by 80 percent while the number of (women in) unions increased by less than 10 percent.⁵⁰

Table 9⁵¹ shows the labor organization status of employed wage and salary workers by sex and race as of May, 1977. As explained by the Department of Labor the contents of Table 9 help to reveal that:

Women accounted for only 27.6 percent of the employed wage and salary workers in labor organizations in 1977. In contrast, blacks and other minority races made up 11.6 percent of the civilian noninstitutional labor force, but constituted 14.2 percent of labor organization members in 1977. Proportionately more black men (35.3 percent) belonged to labor organizations than white men (28.9 percent), but the differences were even greater among women; 23.5 percent for black women and 14.5 percent for white women.

Better than half (56 percent) of the 21.5 million workers represented by labor organizations were blue collar; 34 percent were white collar, and 10 percent were service workers. Among the 19.3 million labor organization members, 59 percent were blue collar, 31 percent were white collar, and 10 percent were service workers. For the 2.2 million workers not members of a labor organization but covered by labor agreements (primarily females), the pattern was different: Only 27 percent of the blue collar workers enjoyed the benefits of labor agreements compared to 60 percent for white collar workers and 13 percent of service workers.⁵²

It is a known fact that labor union membership is concentrated primarily in blue collar occupations such as transport equipment and other operatives, craft and kindred workers, and nonfarm laborers. Union membership is much

TABLE 9

LABOR ORGANIZATION STATUS OF EMPLOYEE WAGE AND
SALARY WORKERS BY SEX AND RACE, MAY 1977

(Numbers in thousands)

Membership Status	All Races		White		Black	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
TOTAL						
Represented	21,532	100.0	18,498	100.0	3,036	100.0
Members	19,335	89.8	16,591	89.7	2,745	90.4
Nonmembers covered by contracts	2,199	10.2	1,908	10.3	292	9.6
MEN						
Represented	15,236	100.0	13,383	100.0	1,853	100.0
Members	14,006	91.9	12,283	91.8	1,723	93.0
Nonmembers covered by contracts	1,229	8.1	1,100	8.2	130	7.0
WOMEN						
Represented	6,299	100.0	5,116	100.0	1,183	100.0
Members	5,329	84.6	4,307	84.2	1,021	86.3
Nonmembers covered by contracts	970	15.4	808	15.8	162	13.7

Note: Because of rounding, sums of individual items may not equal totals.

lower for white collar and service occupations where women generally are employed.⁵³

Louise Kapp Howe discusses the role of women's work.

Ms. Howe states:

While it has been commonplace to discuss how the lines between so-called blue collar and white collar work have been fading (with more and more machines moving into the office), it has been barely observed that the most dramatic distinctions continue between what can be most descriptively termed pink collar work and work in the male and integrative markets.⁵⁴

Pink collar workers, as defined by Ms. Howe, are those who work in female-concentrated jobs. Those listed as "the pinkest of pink collar occupations today" are depicted in Table 10.⁵⁵

TABLE 10

THE PINKEST OF PINK COLLAR OCCUPATIONS

Occupation	% Female in 1962	% Female in 1975
Registered Nurses	98.5	97.0
Elementary School Teachers	86.5	85.4
Typists	94.8	96.6
Telephone Operators	96.3	93.3
Secretaries	98.5	99.1
Hairdressers	88.1	90.5
Waiters and Waitresses	88.1	91.1
Nursing Aids	75.2	85.8
Sewers and Stitchers	94.1	95.8
Private Household Workers	97.3	97.4

Women have traditionally entered and continue to enter occupations where union membership is low. In June 1978,

79 percent of all clerical workers and 59 percent of all service workers (other than household workers) were women, compared to 62 and 45 percent, respectively, in 1950.⁵⁶

Those occupations most highly populated by women belonging to trade unions are found in the transportation, communications, and public utilities industries.⁵⁷

Financial Differentials between Union and Nonunion Status

As noted by the Department of Labor:

Workers not represented (by unions) were more likely to be at the lower end of the earnings scale than those who were represented (by unions). . . . The greater proportion of unorganized workers at the lower end of the earnings range can be partially explained by the kind of work they do. Relatively more workers without labor representation were employed in traditionally low-paying clerical and service occupations.⁵⁸

Clerical and service occupations are two of the "pink collar" jobs to which Louise Kapp Howe referred. These female-intensive positions are generally much lower paid than blue collar positions where unionization is more frequent. Pink collar jobs generally require less skilled, less full-time, and less overtime work than do blue collar jobs. As noted by the Employment Standards Administration, "Although women are as well-educated as their male counterparts in terms of median years of schooling completed, there are differences in the kinds of education, training, and counseling they receive which directs them into traditional and low-paying jobs."⁵⁹

Recent figures from the Department of Labor revealed that in May, 1977, "Workers represented by labor organizations earned more than those that were not represented by labor unions. Their usual weekly earnings exceed those of workers not represented by an average of \$41 (\$262 compared to \$221) primarily because of earnings of blue-collar workers."⁶⁰

Among the three occupational groups--white collar, blue collar, and service industries--the smallest earnings differential of 1977 employees was among white collar workers. White collar workers covered by a labor contract had median weekly earnings of \$270, 6 percent more than those not covered. This earnings differential is considerably lower than those differentials noted for blue-collar workers (37 percent) and for service workers (58 percent).⁶¹

Figure 1 shows the usual weekly earnings of employed full-time wage and salary workers by labor organization representation as of May, 1977.⁶² As displayed in Figure 1, all sexual and racial categories show higher weekly earnings for members of unions as compared to nonunion workers. Even so, the wage differential between the sexes and between the races is maintained.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics Reports:

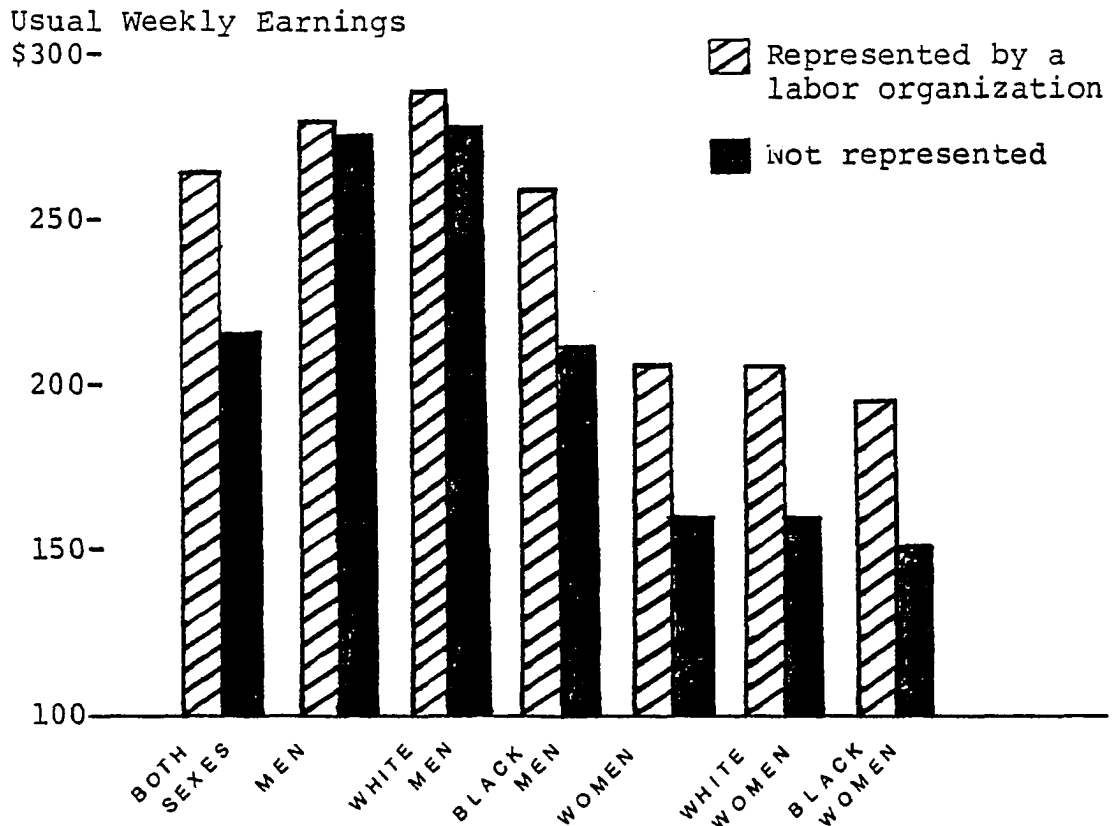
Usual weekly earnings of organized men (those who are members of unions) exceeded those of organized women in all major industry groups. In manufacturing, transportation, and trade, men earned at least 40 percent more (in 1977) than

women. The occupational mix of men and women accounts for part of this disparity. Among managers, for example, one of the highest paying occupations, there were almost 5 times as many organized men as organized women. In the lower paying clerical and kindred occupations, women outnumbered men 4 to 3.

Among blue-collar jobs, which included many skilled and craft occupations, there were 6 times as many men as women, but for lower paying service occupations there were only 2 men to every woman.⁶³

FIGURE 1

USUAL WEEKLY EARNINGS OF EMPLOYED FULL-TIME
WAGE AND SALARY WORKERS BY LABOR
ORGANIZATION REPRESENTATION
MAY, 1977



Substantial differences remain between the wages and salaries of male and female workers, whether or not they maintain union or nonunion status. The degree of earnings differential is greater between organized and unorganized females, however, than between organized and unorganized males. The DOL reports:

When earnings of organized and unorganized men are compared, there are also some substantial differences. In mining, manufacturing, and finance, insurance, and real estate, organized men earned less than those who were not organized. In the other major industries, the differentials were smaller, ranging from 10 percent in trade to near parity in public administration. Organized women, on the other hand, earned more than their unorganized counterparts in all major industry groups. The earnings differentials ranged from 5 percent in transportation to 38 percent in services.⁶⁴

As noted previously, white workers typically earn higher weekly earnings than black workers, and males earn higher median earnings than females. This is true whether or not workers belong to trade union organizations and is influenced heavily by the occupation and industry in which people work. As noted by the Bureau of Labor Statistics:

In trade and services, for example, two large but low-paying industries, organized white men had an earnings advantage of slightly more than 20 percent, even though blacks were more likely to be covered by contracts The earnings differentials between white and black women were considerably smaller; organized white women earned a somewhat better wage than organized black women in every industry except public administration.⁶⁵

The smaller differential in black and white women's earnings and benefits once again is largely influenced by

the occupation and industry in which they work. The economics of being a woman in a pink-collar occupation is less than optimally remunerative in the American society today.⁶⁶

Geographical location also impacts heavily on the financial differentials between employees with union or nonunion status.

Usual weekly earnings of workers represented by labor organizations tended to be higher than those of unrepresented workers in all geographical regions. For male workers, however, this relationship did not always hold. In the New England, Middle Atlantic, and East North Central regions, unrepresented men earned slightly more than those who were represented, primarily because of the higher earnings of white-collar workers. The wages of unorganized white-collar workers in the three regions exceeded those of organized workers by as much as \$47. . . . In the South, organized workers earned more because of the relatively large earnings advantage of blue-collar workers and the much smaller range of earnings of white-collar workers. Male white-collar workers in the South who were represented by a labor organization, for example, earned about 6 percent less than those who were not represented.

Average weekly earnings of women workers under (labor union) agreements exceeded those of women who were not organized in all of the regions. The weekly differential was \$58 in the Pacific region and over \$40 in the Mountain, West South Central, South Atlantic, West North Central, East North Central, and New England regions.⁶⁷

These findings seem to indicate a consistent trend over the past few years. As noted by Raphael:

. . . In 1970, the earnings gap between men and women was narrower among union members who are white-collar or service workers, but wider among members

who are blue-collar workers. For example, among white collar workers in 1970, nonunion men earned 180 percent more than nonunion women; union men earned 80 percent more than union women. Similarly, among service workers in 1970, nonunion men earned 120 percent more than nonunion women, union men 70 percent more than union women. Among blue-collar workers, income disparities between men and women were higher for union members than nonmembers. In 1970, among nonunion blue-collar workers, men earned 90 percent more than women; among union members, men earned 100 percent more. This pattern holds when the comparison is limited to operatives (where women are more likely to be employed). Among nonunion operatives in 1970, men earned 80 percent more than women; among union members, 90 percent more (However), among women workers in general, where labor union membership increased, the disparity in wages decreased.⁶⁸

Similar findings have been documented by Leonard W. Weiss⁶⁹, Paul M. Ryscavage⁷⁰, Michael J. Boskin⁷¹, and Elizabeth Waldman.⁷² One conclusion is evident: union membership has a decisive factor on earnings, particularly for females. As stated recently by Joyce D. Miller, an international vice president of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, "Women will not achieve equality in the workplace without the collective strength of unions behind them."⁷³ This new awareness of women's inequality on the job (financial and otherwise) is a major impetus in the recent coalescence of female unionists as well as the formation and continued growth of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW).

The Coalition of Labor Union Women

It has been said that CLUW evolved as a pragmatic offshoot of the women's liberation movement and that its basic impetus was blue collar feminism.⁷⁴ A 1974 source noted that the founding of CLUW was a result of inaction by labor organizations regarding women members' needs and the actions of the women's right movement.⁷⁵ In essence, CLUW developed out of the collective desire of blue collar, white collar, and pink collar female union employees to air their needs for the abolition of inequalities and injustices on the job; to give women union members a vehicle to speak for themselves; and to allow a medium for action which was within the union movement and yet was independent of the parent union organizations.

CLUW's Origin, Stated Purpose, and Goals

The founding convention of CLUW was held in Chicago on March 23 and 24, 1974. As noted by Gloria Johnson, "We had hopes of attendance between 1,000 and 1,500 women who would help to develop a bedrock organization."⁷⁶ The attendance, however, was slightly underpredicted. Approximately 3,200 rank-and-file, staff, and officers representing 58 unions attended the initial conference. More than 50 percent of the participants were middle-aged rank-and-file females who were active in their local unions but who had never attended a conference or convention.⁷⁷ As noted by Clara

Day, "Some women walked to get there Some women had no money and had to sleep on the floor, but there was enthusiasm, there was excitement, and there was sisterhood."

At the founding convention several events occurred: officers were elected, an initial structure was formed, and CLUW's philosophy (to work within their respective union structures) was unanimously endorsed. All delegates felt that CLUW was not founded to be a faction group, a rival of traditional unions. Rather, CLUW was, from its beginning, a vehicle to educate and inform its members in such areas as parliamentary procedure and legislative and political issues of national prominence (ERA, OSHA, child-care, pregnancy disability, Title VII, etc.). CLUW stressed encouraging and teaching its members to educate themselves, to become active, and to become competent so that they could attain upward mobility within their union structures. (A copy of CLUW's statement of purpose is contained in the CLUW constitution which is located in Appendix C.) As stated in 1974, the purpose of CLUW was "to unify union women . . . to determine our common problems and concerns, and to develop action programs within the framework of our unions to deal effectively with our objectives."⁷⁸

CLUW's formal goals, as specified in 1974, remain the same today:

1. To encourage the millions of nonunion women to join unions (to organize the unorganized);
2. To seek Affirmative Action in the work place (to encourage positive action by unions against sex discrimination in pay, hiring, job classification, and promotion);
3. To encourage women to actively participate in political actions and legislative issues (to press for legislative actions which would further women's interests such as promoting the ERA, child care, etc.); and
4. To increase the participation of women within their own unions (particularly in terms of policy-making and other influential roles).⁷⁹

CLUW's Structure, Leadership, and Organizational Climate

The true spirit, climate, and thrust of any organization can be discovered through the philosophies of its leaders and members. At the founding convention in Chicago, the following slate of officers were elected:

1. President--Olga Madar--The United Auto Workers (UAW)
2. Vice President--Addie Wyatt--The Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America (AMC&BW)
3. Corresponding Secretary--Linda Tarr Whelan--The American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) (She later in the year resigned to assume AFSCME union duties.)
4. East Coast Vice President--Joyce Miller--Amalgamated Clothing Workers (ACW)
5. Midwest Vice President--Clara Day--Teamsters (IBT)
6. Southern Vice President--Dana Dunham--The Communications Workers of America (CWA)

7. West Coast Vice President--Elinor Glenn--
Service Employees International Union (SEIU)
8. Treasurer--Gloria Johnson--International
Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine
Workers (IUE)

These founding officers represent the breadth of CLUW's membership from its inception. Both members and officers were serious about the purpose of CLUW. In the words of the late Myra Wolfgang (a vice president of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees Union):

We have a message for George Meany. We have a message for Leonard Woodcock. We have a message for Frank Fitzsimmons. You can tell them we didn't come here (Chicago) to swap recipes.⁸⁰

Concurring with Ms. Wolfgang were Elinor Glenn⁸¹ and Addie Wyatt⁸² (respectively):

Our women are already out of the kitchen--and it's not romantic. It's a matter of bucks.

The basic reason we're here is a bread-and-butter issue. We cannot afford the luxury of a discriminatory paycheck.

(But Ms. Wyatt also added)

Our unions are not really our enemies since we are the unions. Our real job is to see to it that our bosses respond in a more meaningful way to our needs. And we have to get the unions to understand that we are ready, available, and capable of helping them to fight the kind of fight we need to fight.⁸³

CLUW's founding President put it this way:

We're not talking about a question of power, but about what is happening at the workplace . . . For the first time women workers have united to speak out against sexual discrimination. At the same time, union women bring real, down-to-earth issues to the feminist movement. The blend is important.⁸⁴

During December 5-7, 1975, the second CLUW Convention (the first constitutional convention) was held in Detroit's Cobo Hall. Elected officers and their affiliations were:

1. President--Olga Madar--(UAW)
2. Vice President--Addie Wyatt--(AMC & BW)
3. Treasurer--Gloria Johnson--(IUE)
4. Corresponding Secretary--Joyce Miller--(AMC)
5. Recording Secretary--Patsy Fryman--
Communications Workers of America (CWA)

More than 1,200 delegates and members representing 63 national and international unions from 43 states and the District of Columbia were in attendance. Important issues were discussed and resolved which had caused heated differences of opinions at the founding convention. These issues included:

1. Reaffirmation of union membership as a condition of eligibility for membership in CLUW. The delegates voted to retain the requirement that applicants must be members of trade unions or other bona fide collective bargaining organizations.

2. Reaffirmation to strengthen unions by working within the union structure.

3. Ratification of a constitution (contained in Appendix C) including:

- a. Structure of CLUW chapters and requirements for chartered membership;

- b. Annual membership fees of \$10 for active members and \$5 for retirees;
- c. Adoption of a 5-member officers' council and a national executive board with proportional representation from unions, regions, and chapters;
- d. Requirements for a delegated CLUW convention including delegates, alternates, and observers.

4. Reiteration of CLUW members to not become involved in jurisdictional disputes (during the founding convention this issue emerged over the friction between the United Farm Workers and the teamster farm workers).

In 1975, it was reported in the newspapers that "CLUW was refused recognition by the AFL-CIO Executive council because CLUW membership includes members from unaffiliated organizations such as the National Education Association, . . . but the AFL-CIO Resolution Subcommittee continued:

In no way should (this action) be construed as critical of CLUW. The committee shares President Meany's observation that the organization of CLUW is clearly in the trade union tradition that people with common problems and common goals should work together in a common organization. The AFL-CIO, many of its affiliates, and state and local central bodies are now cooperating and will continue to cooperate with CLUW on programs of common interest where there is an identity of purpose. But formal endorsement, because of CLUW's structure, is not possible.⁸⁵

In effect the newspaper report was inaccurate. What actually happened was that a resolution was inadvertently submitted by a trade unionist to the AFL-CIO convention. The resolution did not ask for affiliation or recognition from the AFL-CIO. What it did request was cooperation from the AFL-CIO in reaching CLUW's goals.

In January, 1975, George Meany, the late President of the AFL-CIO, pledged that cooperation when he met with CLUW's officers' council to discuss their objectives.⁸⁶ In December, Meany sent a message to the 1975 convention noting "CLUW's consistent progress" and stated that "As the AFL-CIO convention made clear, we are ready to cooperate with CLUW on programs of common interest--particularly passage of the Equal Rights Amendment--a priority matter to the entire trade union movement."⁸⁷

CLUW's 1975 conventioners cheered the AFL-CIO's endorsement of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), especially because it reversed the federations' previously long-held position on the ERA. CLUW members, working through their national unions, have been credited as a major reason for this reversal.

One issue fiercely debated and left unresolved at the 1975 convention was CLUW's continued support of the seniority system. Linn McDonald, President of the Houston CLUW chapter, unsuccessfully initiated a caucus to add three

hours time to the Agenda to discuss the issue of seniority versus Affirmative Action. As noted in The Militant newspaper:

At stake in this debate are the jobs of millions of blacks and women, jobs that are being wiped out according to the "last hired, first fired" principle. Rather than acting to protect Affirmative Action gains, the conservative officials of the AFL-CIO and UAW have argued that "strict seniority" must be observed during layoffs, thus placing the jobs of white, male, more privileged workers above those of women and blacks.⁸⁸

Such dissension is natural in a new-born organization, but as noted by CLUW leader Olga Madar:

Confrontation is counterproductive. The impact has to come not from me, but from women within unions who want to act. We want responsibilities based not upon our numbers, but based on our activity and participation.⁸⁹ . . . Our efforts during the last 20 months are only the beginning. Through unity, through our unions, working women will become full and equal partners--not only in our unions, but in every aspect of our daily lives. We demand no more than that. We will accept no less.⁹⁰

Joyce Miller concurred:

We are trade unionists first. We are loyal to our unions. Within that framework, we want to advance the role of women.

This attitude was maintained throughout 1976 and 1977. With a formal structure, constitution, and a membership restricted to male and female trade unionists, many of the divisive factors within CLUW had been eliminated. CLUW officers and its National Executive Board members moved in two major directions:

(1) Informing, communicating, educating, and activating its members--this was done by planning local, regional, and national workshops so that local rank-and-file as well as local officers could interact with national and international officers and transport knowledge home to members which would help them have direction for growth and mobility both personally and within their union structure.

(2) Initiating and implementing constitutional mandates and resolutions on top issues such as the Equal Rights Amendment, child care legislation, pregnancy disability, and equal pay for jobs of comparable worth.

In addition, the Spring of 1976 witnessed the formation of five special task forces. Their goals, as published, included:

1. Supporting health security legislation encompassed by the Kennedy-Corman Bill (H.R. 21);
2. Achieving full employment through enactment of the Humphrey-Hawkins Bill (R.R. 50);
3. Studying the health and safety problems of working women, meeting with federal and state health and safety agencies, and keeping abreast of existing "protective" laws that keep women out of certain industrial jobs;
4. Gathering and distributing model contract provisions that deal with women's problems which CLUW members will eventually be able to propose to their individual unions (ex: pregnancy benefits);

5. Seeking to open up non-traditional apprenticeship trades to women and finding out which trades need improvement.⁹¹

As noted by Olga Madar in a 1976 convention of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of America:

I say to you, we must work together. Unemployment is a women's issue, a black issue, a white issue, a men's issue, a youth issue; it's an issue for all workers. And what it means is this: if we don't want permanent six or seven percent unemployment, all of us, including CLUW members, must become involved in the political process and see to it that there will be someone in the White House who will be able to enact the kinds of programs that will benefit the working class.⁹²

In 1977, CLUW's philosophy, statement of purpose, and goals commanded the attention and respect of the male trade union leaders. Douglas Fraser, President of the UAW noted:

We (union leaders) can't talk about civil rights and then look the other way when women come to us demanding the opportunity to serve in key union positions.⁹³

In 1977, CLUW participated in a major study of child care programs in France, Israel, and Sweden under a \$97,000 grant from the German Marshall Fund. Attending a CLUW presentation of the findings of this study, "A Commitment to Children," were President of the Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers Union, David J. Fitzmaurke; President of the Newspaper Guild, Charles A. Perlik; and President of the Clothing and Textile Workers, Murray H. Finley. Thomas R. Donahue, Executive Assistant to Meany,

addressed the convention where the 62-page report was presented and said:

Union conventions have adopted a lot of resolutions supporting child care programs, but CLUW's involvement can put "flesh around what might remain an academic question."⁹⁴

On September 15 and 16, 1977, the third national CLUW convention was held in Washington, D.C., at the Washington Hilton. Addressing a CLUW legislative conference on the eve of the convention, Meany said that the support of women workers is essential in winning the AFL-CIO's objectives ranging from ratification of the ERA to labor law reform. Meany spoke:

Within the labor movement, your (CLUW's) efforts have helped encourage women trade unionists to seek leadership roles. You have assisted them in developing the skills necessary for leadership--for dealing with the myriad problems ranging from government regulations to lobbying. You have provided special expertise to the labor movement--on such issues as day care, minimum wage, pregnancy benefits and national health insurance. CLUW has been the focal point for labor's support of the Equal Rights Amendment. That's a rough battle, as all of you here know--but it is not a lost battle. We still have a fighting chance--and we--and I am sure you--intend to give it our best shot Your officers and the staff of the AFL-CIO have worked closely in attempting to secure the greatest possible support for ratification, and we are ready, willing and able to continue that battle. Even together, we may not produce miracles, but we can do our level best to produce ratification. And, I still think ERA can be won It's all one fight--with a lot of separate battles. ERA, full employment, minimum wage, labor law reform, pregnancy benefits, national health insurance--these are not women's issues, they are labor issues, trade union issues. They are fights all of us must win and win together.⁹⁵

Other notable speakers addressing CLUW's 1977 convention were: Senator Edward M. Kennedy (D. Mass), Representatives Yvonne B. Burke (D. Calif.), Barbara Mikulski (D. Md.) and John Conyers (D. Mich.); Alexis Herman, director of the Labor Department's Women's Bureau; Esther Peterson, President Carter's assistant for consumer affairs; Thomas R. Donahue, executive assistant to Meany, and Victor Kamber, director of the AFL-CIO Task Force on Labor Law Reform.

In accordance with CLUW's constitution, national CLUW officers were elected at-large by the full convention body. The results of the elections were:

1. President Emerita--Olga Madar--Retired V.P.--UAW--(Since Olga did not seek re-election, the convention voted to give CLUW's founding president the position of president emerita which carries with it officers' voting powers).

2. President--Joyce Miller--V.P. & Director of Social Services--Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers--(ACTWU)

3. Executive Vice-President (New position)--Addie Wyatt--International V.P. & Director of Women's Affairs Dept.--(AMC & BW)

4. Two new Vice-Presidents (created to handle specific duties):

A. First Vice-President--Gloria McGee--
International V.P.--AFSCME

B. Second Vice-President--Clara Day--Trustee--
Business Representative & Director of
Community Services--Teamsters

5. Treasurer--Gloria Johnson--Director of Education
and Women's Activities--IUE

6. Recording Secretary--Patsy Fryman--Assistant to
the President--Communications Workers of America (CWA)

7. Corresponding Secretary--Odessa Komer--Inter-
national V.P.--UAW

Major actions taken at the 1977 convention included:

1. Urging members to make child care a priority
item in collective bargaining.

2. Reaffirmation of efforts to organize workers
who have no union representation.

3. Renewed CLUW's policy to safeguard seniority
rights.

4. Pledging continued efforts to eliminate employer
discrimination based on sex and,

5. Making Meany an honorary member of CLUW.⁹⁶

Insights into the personality of CLUW may be attained
from Joyce Miller:

We are trade unionists first. We're not
anti-union, as some groups try to portray us . . .
And we're not anti-male. We do believe in our
roles as wives and mothers . . . But we try to

upgrade standards for women, . . . to fight for equal pay, better job opportunities, promotions, and open job bidding for women in the work place, and to open non-traditional jobs for women. We also try to explode myths about women workers, like the ones that say they (women) are bad bosses, that men won't work for a women, or that women supervisors are officious . . . The real thing is for people to be competent at their jobs, and people will forget whether they're a man or a woman.⁹⁷

Resolutions passed by CLUW's NEB and Convention delegates concerned:

1. Abortion Rights and opposition to the Hyde Amendment
2. Sex Discrimination in Employment
3. Equal Rights Amendment
4. Affirmative Action and Seniority.
5. The Kennedy-Corman Health Security Act
6. The Gilbert Decision
7. Immunization
8. The Hatch Act
9. Child Care Legislation

These resolutions may be found in Appendix D of this dissertation. It is only by reading these resolutions that the reader can understand the major thrust, leadership, and organizational climate of CLUW.

On November 18-21, 1977, 70 CLUW members were among the 200 delegates and over 10,000 observers to attend the

first National Women's Conference (the International Women's Year Conference) held in Houston, Texas. Addie L. Wyatt, CLUW national vice president and an international vice president of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen's Union, served on the national commission which coordinated the conference; she chaired the closing session. Other CLUW members on the national commission were Dorothy Haener (United Auto Workers) and Mildred Jeffrey (UAW Staff Council).

CLUW's National Executive Board met in Houston immediately after the conference ended in order to map strategy for implementation of the national plan of action.⁹⁸

On December 11, 1977, CLUW opened a new national office at 15 Union Square in New York City. These offices are still located on the third floor of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) Shirt and Leisurewear Joint Board Building. Since its founding in 1974, CLUW's national offices had been located in Detroit.

CLUW's role continued to expand during 1978 and 1979. CLUW representatives supported various boycotts throughout the country, participated in many congressional hearings and lobbied within the union movement for legislation supportive of working men and women, particularly union-related issues.

The 1979 convention of the Coalition of Labor Union Women was held at the New York Statler Hotel on September 13-16. Approximately 1200 delegates, CLUW observers, non-CLUW observers (of which the author was one), and foreign guests were in attendance.

The 1979 New York meeting was CLUW's third convention (the first meeting was a founding conference and not a convention) and its first biennial convention. Sixty-six international guests representing over 22 countries listened to such notable speakers as:

1. Bella Abzug, Former Congress Woman, NYC
2. Rubye Jones and Arlene Mainardi, Presidents of CLUW chapters in New York City and New Jersey (respectively)
3. Carmen Delgado Vatow, UN International Women's Decade
4. Tom Donahue, Assistant to the President, AFL-CIO
5. Sara Weddington, Special Assistant to President Carter
6. Barbara Mikulski, House of Representatives (D.Md)
7. Cardiss Collins, House of Representatives and Chair of the Black Women's Congressional Caucus
8. Alexis Herman, Director, Women's Bureau, U.S. Dept. of Labor
9. Bill Lucy, President, Coalition of Black Trade Unionists and Vice-President of AFSCME

10. Eleanor Holmes Norton, Chair, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission

11. Mildred Jeffrey, Advisory Board Chair, National Women's Political Caucus; and

12. Elizabeth Koontz, Chair, National Commission on Working Women.

The convention program consisted of educational and training workshops on September 13 and 14, of which all but a few (such as "Working for CLUW Goals within Our Unions") were open to observers and to the press. Presenters were primarily union representatives; however, a few presenters were from labor education programs or special organizations such as "ERAmerica," "Women over 40," and the U.S. Census Bureau.

Workshops on the program included:

Winning the ERA

Child Care

Non-Traditional Jobs: Getting in and Surviving
Women and Health Care

Sex Discrimination on the Job

Organizing the Unorganized

Combatting Race Discrimination

Problems of Older Women/Retirees

Tips on Running for Union Office

Fighting Sexism in our Unions

Equal Pay for Work of Comparable Value

Using Collective Bargaining to Win Women's Rights

Safety and Health in White Collar Jobs

The 1980 Census: Counting Us in for Jobs and Services

How to Defeat Right-to-Work Laws

Family Violence

Problems of Working Parents

Reproductive Rights

Running for Delegate to Political Party Conventions

Parliamentary Procedure

The programs were well participated, informative, and seemed to be stimulating to the audience. The one complaint noticed was that there was not enough room for all who wanted to attend.

It is within these workshops, presented primarily by union members, from which local union officers and rank-and-file obtain information to apply at home. As noted in a personal interview with Betty Davis, a Safeway meatwrapper from Houston and an Executive Board member from the United Food and Commercial Workers Union:⁹⁹

I think that CLUW is the greatest thing that could have happened to working women and union women. There have been too many women in the woodwork in the unions and too many men are running the union. So it's about time for us to recognize the women that are qualified to take over some of these positions. That is the purpose of CLUW--to make women qualified. That's

why we're here . . . so I can learn and go back and take care of what's happening at home. That's one of our main goals; that's why I like CLUW.

Out of CLUW's 8,000 or so members from over 70 unions in over 40 states, at least half are rank-and-file members in their local unions and non-officer members of CLUW.

The author asked Ms. Davis if any CLUW member could become an officer of CLUW. Ms. Davis replied:

If she can become an officer in her local, she can become an officer in CLUW. If she can just get up off her tail and ride willy. . . . You can't just sit down and expect it handed to you on a silver platter. You have to get in there and work for it. . . . I started on the ground floor. At my first meeting I went to, I didn't even know what it was for. I was just going. That's why it (CLUW) means so much. It (success) wasn't just given to us. We didn't have to be here.

Clara Day, a vice president of CLUW and a local trustee for the Teamsters concurred:

CLUW leadership is open to all our members. But like any other responsibility you take on, it has to be the people that are capable, that have the finances and support of the union to move around. Most likely rank-and-filers cannot get off work to attend the (CLUW) meetings. But we have structured CLUW so that there can be county, community, and statewide chapters so that the same programs that we are giving at the top will be filtered down through local chapters and the same education will be given there. These women will then realize that somewhere they have got to break out of that little cocoon anyway, or maybe walk up to their local presidents and say, "I'd like to go to the national convention of CLUW and would you send me?" And you would probably be surprised at the number that would not have the heart to say no. . . . Until we get labor union women over that fear of reaching out and speaking out and asking for those things--how will you know you'll be denied? . . . Until you actually say something (ask) you cannot

say you have been knocked town. This is true for CLUW and for our unions. Until you ask your presidents, you cannot accuse them of not supporting you in CLUW. You cannot even accuse them for the non-advancement you have received. Until you see women being vocal about issues, attending meetings, packing those halls, learning the constitutions and bylaws, learning the contracts, having some input into the contract, until women come out of the closet and start talking beyond a whisper of what we don't like and what we want it will continue to be just like in the early Civil Rights days with people saying, "Who is denied?" Denied what? Well, you say you don't see any (women) at the top? Run for an office. Vote for a woman. . . if she is the best qualified person Because we have got to be better than anybody else in order to fit that slot. It's the same with blacks. In order to "get there" people have to start somewhere like zero. Freedom isn't free. With freedom comes special kinds of responsibility. And if you're not capable of taking it on, then you don't ask for freedom. Don't cop out!

This philosophy sets the tone of the organizational climate of CLUW. It pervades throughout all members regardless of race, sex, union affiliation, or whether one is an officer or a rank-and-file member. As expressed by CLUW's Treasurer, Gloria Johnson:

I don't ever want to be detached from CLUW members. . . . CLUW members are receptive to women's needs and needs of us all. CLUW's issues try to benefit us all. They are human issues. . . . With a stroke of a pen anybody who detaches herself away from reality can be torn down--we all can lose what we've got People who think they have no chance to participate (in society, in their unions, or in CLUW) think that because they have not become involved. . . . CLUW gives working women female role models to follow. But like my Mama said, "don't ever forget you aren't but one generation removed from linoleum on the floor."

It is this type of basic philosophy which re-elected by acclamation the entire slate of officers of CLUW at their 1979 convention in New York City. Two additional vice presidents were elected in addition to the 1977 slate. These positions were filled by Pat Halpin, a staff legislative representative for the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) and Gwen Newton, a local Business Agent of the Office and Professional Employees International Union (OPEIU).

Major actions taken at the 1979 conventions included:

1. Constitutional revisions.
2. Renewed a commitment to organizing the unorganized.
3. Pledged stepped-up efforts to win ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment in three more states and urged continuation of the boycott of unratified states.
4. Renewed CLUW's commitment to affirmative action programs and called on the labor movement to implement and expand such programs, including representation at all levels within unions to reflect the membership of women members.
5. Called for strengthening federal job safety and health protection and urged industry to "fix the workplace and not the worker," a reference to exclusionary hiring and promotion practices that affect women.
6. Urged passage of a national health security bill to provide for universal coverage, comprehensive services and effective cost controls.
7. Renewed CLUW's commitment to obtaining federally funded child-care programs.
8. Called for changes in the social security bill to provide equitable protection for all women.

9. Delegates also adopted a resolution establishing "CLUW Associates," a support group enabling individuals and organizations otherwise ineligible for membership to join CLUW and thus support its goals and purposes. Individual membership is \$10 per year; organizational membership is \$100 or more per year. The national membership fee for CLUW remains \$10 per year for working members and \$5 for retirees.¹⁰⁰

Major Issues, Contributions, and Accomplishments

The major issues dealt with by the active CLUW members in the 35 or so chartered CLUW chapters continue to remain those issues of a serious consideration to all working women and men. Child care and pregnancy benefits are paramount--CLUW was a major supporter of the Pregnancy Discrimination Act of 1978.

The Equal Rights Amendment is also considered a vital issue. Three more states must ratify the ERA before June 30, 1982, if discrimination against sex is to be written into the United States Constitution. This issue is of major concern to unions because 12 of the 15 right-to-work states are also non-ERA states. This relationship is shown in Appendix E.

Another major area of concern is occupational safety and health considerations on the job. As stated by CLUW's President in opening the 1979 convention:

CLUW has played a key role in the fight for making the work place safe and clean and healthy for all workers. We participate fully in all issues involving OSHA.

CLUW is presently in the planning stages of co-sponsoring with the Women's Bureau (Department of Labor) a series of conferences and workshops to be initiated across the country for CLUW members. These conferences will deal specifically with the issues of health and safety on the job.

CLUW members have also been active in promoting affirmative action. In the recent Kaiser v. Weber case, the Supreme Court upheld voluntary affirmative action in private employment based on Title VII of the Civil Rights Act. Two CLUW members, Carole Wilson, Assistant General Counsel of the IUE, and Winn Newman, General Counsel of both the IUE and CLUW, signed the amicus curie brief on behalf of CLUW and the IUE. This action put CLUW on record as supporting the Kaiser Aluminum and Chemical Corporation and the United Steelworker Union's affirmative action efforts to reserve half of their skilled-craft training positions for minorities and women. Newman and Wilson took this action to convince the court of the interest in this case by minority and female unionists.

Other issues important to CLUW are providing leadership and experience among women's issues such as national health insurance, labor law reform, full employment, sexual harassment, equal pay for jobs of comparable worth, alcoholism, and cutting the military budget so that more money can be spent on services such as setting up day care centers for working mothers.

CLUW's "Project Opportunity" is a joint project with the Center for Women and Work, The National Center for Educational

Brokering and CLUW. Funded by the Women's Education Equity Act, this project will develop a model training program to help working women identify their educational and job-related needs and interests, and to acquire the education, training, or experience that would allow for mobility or change within the workplace or within the labor movement.

CLUW's issues themselves are not unique. They are those of the labor union movement. But CLUW officers and members are not dictated to by the AFL-CIO or the policies of any individual trade union. In the words of Clara Day:

We have found that we have been really supported by our unions and that unions are not fearful of us because we are not an organization that is organizing within a union to be another union itself. We use the tools from which we already have. We (CLUW) have no by-laws, no constitution that is contrary to our unions. We will not be a part of an organization that goes against our union. We are Teamsters first, and then we will be CLUW members next.

CLUW's accomplishments are many. CLUW has helped bring the labor movement into the forefront of organizations campaigning for the ratification for the ERA. CLUW also has helped to provide leadership, communication, and cooperation among women's groups, such as the National Organization of Women, the Women's Political Caucus, the Business and Professional Women's Foundation, Women Over 40, ERAmerica, the Washington Union's Women's Group, the Women Office Workers, the Women's Occupational Health Resource Center, and others.

CLUW has taken many stands on key legislative issues not always endorsed by their respective unions. Contrary to press releases, however, CLUW was not formed in 1974 by top union women primarily to function as a lobbying force.¹⁰¹ Rather, as noted by Joyce White, "the general purpose of CLUW is to act as a within-the-(union)-ranks pressure group, making sure that the aspirations and desires of female unionists, whatever they may be, are no longer shunted aside, as in the past."¹⁰² Thus, CLUW stresses working democratically within the union structure to make constructive efforts to improve the quality of life and the quality of work life for all people and to address the specific needs of female unionists.

As described by CLUW Treasurer Gloria Johnson:

CLUW is not primarily a lobbyist organization per se. It is an organization which recognizes that one way of reaching CLUW goals (organizing the unorganized, promoting affirmative action, encouraging political and legislative action and increasing the participation of women within their own unions) is through legislation and educating workers So you follow through on reaching these goals by pressing legislators or trying to do something through the unions so that the legislation women need becomes a part of a union's programs.

CLUW has helped to give union women recognition from labor leaders that women workers are indeed part of the union movement. Such visibility has sensitized union leaders to the abilities, aspirations, and aptitudes of union females.

CLUW has managed to accomplish that which was never done before. While it is not the first female trade unionist association to exist (the National Women's Trade Union existed in 1903 and the Women's Alliance to Gain Equity also existed in 1974 in California), CLUW is the first trade union organization allowing only male and female members who are represented by collective bargaining agreements. CLUW is the only organization whose members' loyalty rests within their own unions and yet who can coalesce through a feeling (in the words of Clara Day) "that we have more to bring us together than we have to tear us apart."

The Coalition of Labor Union Women is also concerned about minority issues and reputation. This fact is reflected in the five major officers in CLUW who are black: Gloria Johnson, Addie Wyatt, Georgia McGee, Clara Day, and Gwen Newton.

CLUW is a catalytic organization which is dynamic because of its members and officers. In its first five years, it has built a firm foundation of supporters and both national and international recognition and respect. Not only does CLUW provide female role models and a means for upward mobility within individual union hierarchies, but it provides a democratic, supportive environment promoting both male and female unionists to strive to improve

themselves personally and on the job. Learning the origin and the workings of CLUW is an education in itself.

CHAPTER II FOOTNOTES

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⁸⁶"Labor: Women in Unions: Gaining Power But Little Room at the Top," U.S. News and World Report, March 17, 1975, pp. 70-71.

⁸⁷"Women's Coalition Maps Program, Affirms Ties to Union Movement," AFL-CIO News, December 13, 1975, p. 3.

⁸⁸Cindy Jaquith and Ginny Hildebrand, "Women Debate Future of CLUW," The Militant, Dec. 19, 1975.

⁸⁹"Women in Unions: Gaining Power But Little Room at the Top," op. cit.

⁹⁰"Women's Coalition Maps Program, Affirms Ties to Union Movement," op. cit.

⁹¹"CLUW Sets Goals: ERA Priority," CLUW News, Spring 1976, p. 1.

⁹²"Union Women Speaking for Themselves," CLUW News, Fall 1976, p. 2.

⁹³Mark Lett, "Women Gaining Bigger Roles in U.S. Unions," The Detroit News, Wednesday, May 18, 1977, p. 7.

⁹⁴"Union Women Press Congress for Quality Child Care Centers," CLUW Labor Clippings, Fall 1977-Winter 1978.

⁹⁵This section was taken from CLUW's official copy of Meany's address on September 16, 1977, and from a newspaper article entitled "Meany Calls Role of Union Women Vital in Achieving Labors Goals," AFL-CIO News, Washington, D.C. September 24, 1977 (as noted in CLUW Labor Clippings), op. cit.

⁹⁶"They Call Me a Closet Feminist Meany Tells CLUW Convention," Michigan AFL-CIO News, Thursday, September 29, 1977 (as noted in CLUW Labor Clippings), op. cit.

⁹⁷"Women Helping Women Goal of Labor Group, Leader Says," The Pittsburgh Press, October 10, 1977 (as noted in CLUW Labor Clippings).

⁹⁸

CLUW Release, "CLUW Members Play a Vital Role in Action Plan Adopted at First National Women's Conference."

⁹⁹NOTE: As of June, 1979, the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butchers Workmen of North America merged with the Retail Clerks International Union to form the United Food and Commercial Workers Union. The UFCW presently ranks in size behind only the Teamsters and the Steelworkers, and is the largest AFL-CIO affiliated international union.

¹⁰⁰"Through Labor's Strength: Union Women Press Job Equality Goals," AFL-CIO News, Washington, D.C., September 22, 1979, p. 2.

¹⁰¹Business Week Union Section, "The Militant Women Mining the Coalfields," June 25, 1979, p. 31. See also editorial, "Getting Organized" section, "More Women Enroll in Unions, Win Office and Push for Changes," January 15, 1979, p. 18.

¹⁰²Joyce White, "Breaking Union Barriers," Essence, March, 1978, p. 102.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

Research is the process of systematically obtaining accurate answers to significant and pertinent questions by the use of the scientific method of gathering and interpreting information.¹

This chapter provides the reader with a definition of the problem being studied as well as a definition of the terms used herein. A chronological development of the two CLUW questionnaires are presented along with the data collection and response rate of both instruments. Twenty research questions and eleven statistical hypotheses are stated and the reader is referred to Table 11 and Table 12 for tabular displays of the relevant methodology for each research question and hypothesis. Justification of the data analysis procedures and an explanation of the use of the Analysis of Variance are presented followed by a discussion of the research constraints and limitations.

Definition of the Problem

The problem involved in this research entails five subparts:

1. Collecting and analyzing the demographic, work-related, and union-related data (these terms

are defined on pages 93-95.

This part of the research serves two purposes:

- a. To allow CLUW members and leaders to know more about the demographic, work-related, and union-related characteristics of their members, and
 - b. To allow a comparison of the statistics on working women released from the Department of Labor and those of the CLUW respondents. This measure provides prima facie evidence toward developing the existence of the representativeness and/or bias of the sample.
2. To determine what the respondents feel is the major purpose of their "outside organization," the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW), why they joined CLUW, and what they want most from CLUW. This information provides information sought by CLUW leaders since CLUW is a pioneer organization composed of male and female unionists who are loyal first to their respective union organizations and then belong to CLUW.
 3. To determine what the respondents feel is the major purpose of their respective unions, why they joined a union, and what they want most from their unions and employers. This information should provide meaningful insights not only to union leaders but

to union members and managers alike. Such information also allows a comparison of these findings with those of similar research efforts.

4. To determine the degree of satisfaction or dissatisfaction of CLUW respondents with 31 aspects of their local trade unions' performance.
5. To gain insight as to how long these respondents have belonged to a union and how many union locals they have been affiliated with. This information was asked along with the demographic data to analyze the responses to the 31 questions dealing with satisfaction and the following 11 questions concerning the respondents' perceptions about male and female roles in their respective unions.

It is the purpose of this research to help identify what the female trade union members and leaders "look like" in terms of the categories discussed as well as what they think about CLUW, about their employers, and about their respective trade unions. In the past, studies of trade unionists' perceptions have taken place but only with the permission of the leadership of each participating trade union local. These past studies were limited in terms of sample size, number and type of unions involved, and geographical location. This approach was circumvented via surveying respondents from the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

The following section identifies 13 terms used in this study. These definitions are stated herein due to the lack of an accepted technical vocabulary. Effort has been taken to use these terms accurately and to use them as similarly as possible to their usage by members of labor union organizations.

Definition of Terms

CLUW--Coalition of Labor Union Women--An organization consisting of male and female members of trade union organizations who are loyal first to their respective unions but who wish to further the participation, affirmative action and unification of union women in the work force.

Demographic Data--Information derived from the first questionnaire which included the respondents' highest level attended in school, hours and type of work performed, yearly income, age, sex, race, marital status, and number of children.

Dependent Variable--The factor or entity of interest to the researcher which reflects changes made in the independent variable. For the purposes of this study the dependent variable consists of questions 1-31 on the second questionnaire, the respondents' perceptions of satisfaction/dissatisfaction with their local unions' performance.

Female Union Activist--Female members of organizations with collective bargaining agreements (affiliated or unaffiliated with the AFL-CIO) who attend meetings regularly or

perhaps hold a leadership position at the local, national, or international level.

Independent Variable--The factor or phenomenon which is under the control of the researcher. For the purposes of this study, the independent variable consisted of the demographic, work-related, and union-related data from the first questionnaire and items 32-44 on the second questionnaire.

National Executive Board (NEB)--The governing and policy-making group of the Coalition of Labor Union Women. The NEB consists of elected national officers, regional representatives, and the president emeritus.

Nonunion Employer (NUE)--The group of "typical" CLUW respondents who work for a unionized organization which is not itself a union.

Population--A collection of all observables identifiable by a set of rules. The population studied in this dissertation was the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

Sample--A subset of observations from a population. The CLUW respondents to the two CLUW questionnaires comprised the sample in this study.

Union Employer (UE)--The group of CLUW respondents who belong to one (or more) union(s) and are employed by a different union. For this group of respondents, their "bosses" are union staff personnel.

Unionist--A member of a trade union organization which has the right to bargain collectively for the welfare of

its members. These individual may belong or may not belong to unions which are affiliated with the AFL-CIO.

Union-Related Data--Information derived from the first questionnaire which included the respondents' type of employer, specific industry, present job title, and the state in which the respondent lives.

The Survey Instruments

This study employed two questionnaires which were mailed to members of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW). The CLUW population consists of male and female trade unionists living within the continental United States who are either members or officers in their respective trade union hierarchies. The following discussion traces the chronological development, data collection, and response rate of the two questionnaires.

Development of the First Questionnaire: "An Opinion Questionnaire for Members of CLUW"

Studies of trade unionists' perceptions generally take place at the local union level due to restricted access to membership roles which may be obtained only with the permission of local union leaders. Most union studies thus are limited in terms of sample size, number and type of unions involved, and geographical location. This research effort surveyed male and female union members from 39 states and 35

unions via cooperation and involvement from the coalition of Labor Union Women. It was the purpose of this first questionnaire to provide demographic, work-related, and union-related data about CLUW members to the officers and National Executive Board of CLUW. It also provided the list of member names and addresses to whom would be mailed the second questionnaire.

On November 13 and 19, 1977, the author met with several CLUW officers and members in Houston, Texas, who were attending the International Women's Year Conference. Ideas and objectives were discussed for a potential mailout questionnaire to the entire CLUW membership. The author was told that her ideas would be given to CLUW's National Executive Board (NEB) for consideration.

On March 17, 1978, the author presented a six-page questionnaire to the 60 member NEB meeting at the Gramercy Hotel in Washington, D.D. This first draft was presented with the hopes of attaining one sample of responses from NEB members which could then be compared with responses from non-NEB members of CLUW. Limited agenda time prevented the NEB members from completing the questionnaire but the author did receive helpful suggestions and constructive criticisms.

During the summer of 1978 the author revised the questionnaire to one legal size page printed on its front and back sides. This questionnaire appears in Appendix A. It

was approved by the NEB and appeared in a regular CLUW mailout on September 16, 1978.

Data Collection and Response Rate

The first questionnaire was entitled "An Opinion Questionnaire for Members of the Coalition of Labor Union Women." As mentioned previously, this questionnaire was distributed by CLUW staff personnel as part of a regular CLUW mailout. Such mailouts normally occur six to ten times per year and contain relevant information, election ballots, and bulletins.

All CLUW mailouts occurring before December, 1977, were mailed from CLUW headquarters in Detroit, Michigan. Movement of CLUW national offices from Detroit to New York City (see page 70) disrupted the original mailout process causing the "Opinion Questionnaire for Members of CLUW" to be sent out from two sources, the United Auto Workers headquarters in Detroit, and Cornell University in New York City. Since the duplication of the questionnaire, the mailing list, and the mailing technique were each beyond the control of the researcher, responses to the initial questionnaire were accepted until 5:00 p.m. January 15, 1979.

According to Naomi Baden, Assistant to the President of CLUW, the "Opinion Questionnaire for Members of CLUW" was mailed to 3134 dues-paying members of CLUW. This number represents the "official membership talley" released to the press at that time and was used without expectation of

verification. Of the 3134 people to whom the first questionnaire was to be mailed, only 255 individuals or 8.14 percent responded. While such numbers may not seem to be statistically significant to some researchers,² they represent the only data obtainable to date about the CLUW population. This information was viewed as being significant by CLUW leaders in identifying a descriptive profile of CLUW members. This information also provided the author a sample from which could be derived unionists' opinions concerning satisfaction/dissatisfaction with their local unions' performance.

Development of the Second Questionnaire: "An Opinion
Questionnaire for American Trade Unionists"

Similar to the procedure followed in constructing the first questionnaire, several versions of the second questionnaire were given to industrial relations experts, arbitrators, union members who did not belong to CLUW, and CLUW members. In addition to a careful review of the literature, these sources critiqued the phrasing of items, suggested additional questions which could yield pertinent data, and expressed ideas for obtaining a "respectable" return rate.

Formulation of the second questionnaire was influenced from an analysis of the subjective responses written on the back of the first questionnaire. The 30 questions dealing with different aspects of the respondents' satisfaction with

their local unions' performance (items 1-30 on the second questionnaire) were suggested primarily from respondents' expressed perceptions about the major purpose of their respective unions, why they joined a union, and what they wanted most from their respective unions and employers. Other ideas were offered by respondents in letters, phone calls, and interviews. The author synthesized the suggestions for the second questionnaire, and the final product appears in Appendix B.

Data Collection and Response Rate

As noted previously, the first questionnaire mailings were totally under the control of the staff of the Coalition of Labor Union Women. Since the researcher had no list of names of the CLUW mailing, failure of a CLUW respondent to write his/her name and address on the first questionnaire eliminated that person from the study.

Of the 255 respondents to the first questionnaire, 24 individuals either stated that they did not want to participate in the second mailing or else they did not write down their name and address. The second questionnaire, "An Opinion Questionnaire for American Trade Unionists," was therefore mailed to 231 of the 255 respondents to the initial questionnaire.

Although a form letter accompanied each questionnaire in the second mailing, each letter was personally signed by the researcher and a brief personal note was written to the

respondent involved. The cover letter (located in Appendix B) stressed a "sisterhood" appeal for participation, a practice consistent with this group. The researcher also enclosed both her home and work telephone numbers to permit inquiries by respondents. A major methodological change in the mailing of the second questionnaire was the inclusion of a stamped envelope preaddressed to: The Female Unionist Research Association, Box 13226, North Texas Station, Denton, Texas 76203.

The mailout of the second questionnaire took place at 3:00 p.m. on Monday, April 23, 1979. The researcher made the assumption that the sample of 231 respondents would either reply quickly or would not respond at all. For this reason, the author decided at the date of the mailout that no questionnaires would be included in the analysis if they were received after 5:00 p.m., May 28, 1979. Although the potential respondents were not informed of the deadline, it was believed that this five week period provided sufficient time for an appropriate response.

The total number of usable questionnaires returned within the designated time limit numbered 199. When divided by the 231 questionnaires returned initially, the second mailing yielded a response rate of 86.15 percent.

Methodology

Twenty research questions and eleven hypotheses are stated below. Specific listing of the items, questionnaires,

and methodologies involved with these research questions and hypotheses are to be found in Table 11 and Table 12. As will be noted from these appendices, where a research question is for all practical purposes the same as a specific hypothesis, the reader is referred to the relevant hypothesis in Table 12. All statistical tests applied an alpha level of .05 or .01.

Following the listing of research questions and hypotheses is a discussion of the data analysis and justification of the Analysis of Variance technique. Chapter III concludes with a discussion of the research constraints and limitations evidenced in this study.

Research Questions and Null Hypotheses

The initial six research questions relate to the first questionnaire, "An Opinion Questionnaire for Members of CLUW." Research questions seven to twenty refer to the major areas of inquiry of the second questionnaire, "An Opinion Questionnaire for American Trade Unionists." While the first 19 research questions refer strictly to the presentation of numerical and percentage data, research question 20 utilizes a Chi-square test to check the cross-tabulations of eleven items of the second questionnaire.

Research Question 1: What will be the distribution of work-related and union-related descriptive factors? Such information refers to the respondent's type of employer, present job title, official title of respondent's union position,

TABLE 11
METHODOLOGIES FOR EVALUATING RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Research Question	Questionnaire		Methodology
	#1/#2	Item(s)	
1	1	1-5, 15	Items 1-5 refer to the respondent's type of union, type of employer, specific industry, present job title, official title of respondent's union position, the state in which the respondent works, the respondent's position within the international and local union, and whether or not the respondent is paid or unpaid for services to the union. Responses to this question will be presented numerically and in percentages in Tables 13-23 (in Chapter IV).
2	1	6-14	Items 6-14 refer to the respondent's demographic factors including the respondent's highest level attended in school, hours and type of work performed, yearly income, age, sex, race, marital status, and number of children. Responses to this question will be shown in Tables 24-32 in terms of numbers and percentages.
3	1	16	Item 16 refers to eight stated areas of union participation of possible interest to respondents. Responses to this question will be presented in Tables 33 and 34 (Chapter IV) in terms of a frequency distribution of the <u>total</u> number of areas of interest to respondents as well as a frequency distribution which allows a ranking of the popularity of <u>each</u> specific area.

TABLE 11 (Continued)

Research Question	Questionnaire		Methodology
	#1/#2	Item(s)	
4	1	17, 19, 21	These three items refer to subjective responses concerning how the respondents perceive the purpose of their respective unions, their reasons for joining a union, and what they want most from their unions. These data are given in terms of the respondents' 15 most frequent responses in Tables 35-37.
5	1	18, 20, 22	These three items refer to CLUW respondents' subjective opinions concerning what they feel is the major purpose of CLUW, their reasons for joining CLUW, and what they want most from CLUW. These data are shown in Tables 38-40 in frequency form.
6	1	23	This item concerns subjective perceptions of what CLUW respondents stated they want most from their company (employer). These perceptions are presented in frequency form in Table 41.
7	2	1-31	A profile of the CLUW respondents mean satisfaction/dissatisfaction levels with 31 items concerning their local trade unions' overall performance are presented in Table 42. All 31 items were scaled from 1 to 5 with a weight of one signifying that the respondent was very dissatisfied with that area of the local union's performance and a weight of 5 signifying that the respondent was very satisfied with that aspect of the local trade unions' overall performance. All 31 items were retained as a result of Verimax and principle components factor analytic runs. These techniques revealed a unidimensional factor on items 1-31.

TABLE 11 (Continued)

Research Question	Questionnaire		Methodology
	#1/#2	Item(s)	
8	1	1-5, 15; 1-31	These items deal with whether or not a difference exists between the CLUW respondents' overall mean satisfaction level with their respective unions' performance and factors related to their work and to their unions. See Table 12, Hypothesis 1.
9	1	6-14;	These items concern demographical data. See Table 12, Hypothesis 1.
10	1 2	16; 1-31	See Table 12, Hypothesis 2.
11	2	32-33	These items refer to the length of time the CLUW respondents said they had been a union member and how many locals they had belonged to during their working lifetime. While specifically tested by ANOVA in Hypothesis 3, these data are shown in frequency form in Tables 43 and 44 (Chapter IV).
12	2	34	See Table 12, Hypothesis 4.)
13	2	34	See Table 12, Hypothesis 5.)
14	2	36 & 37	See Table 12, Hypothesis 6.)
15	2	38 & 39	See Table 12, Hypothesis 7.)
16	2	40	See Table 12, Hypothesis 8.)

Numerical and percentage data for Research Questions 12-16 are presented in Table 45.

TABLE 11 (Continued)

Research Question	Questionnaire		Methodology
	#1/#2	Items(s)	
17	2	41 & 42	See Table 12, Hypothesis 9. Frequency data is presented in Table 46.
18	2	43	See Table 12, Hypothesis 10. Frequency data is presented in Table 47.
19	2	44	See Table 12, Hypothesis 11. Frequency data is presented in Table 48.
20	2	34-44	What is the possibility of the responses to Items 34-44 (second questionnaire) occurring due to factors other than chance? Cross tabulations of Items 34-44 using Chi-Square tests provide a check on these data and the critical values are presented in Table 49 (Chapter IV).

TABLE 12
METHODOLOGIES FOR EVALUATING THE NULL HYPOTHESES

Null Hypotheses	Questionnaire		Methodology
	#1/#2	Item(s)	
1	1	1-15; 1-31	This hypothesis tested the null of no difference between CLUW respondents' overall mean satisfaction with their local unions' performance (dependent variables from the second questionnaire) and work-related, union-related, or demographic factors (independent variables from the first questionnaire). These data are tested using one-way analyses of variance (ANOVA). Levels of significance are presented in Table 50 (Chapter IV).
2	1	16; 1-31	This null hypothesis tested for no significant differences existing between CLUW respondents' overall mean satisfaction with their local unions' performance and the total number of areas of union participation of interest to them. This null was tested with a 1 x 3 ANOVA test with satisfaction as the dependent variable. The conclusions of this analysis are found in Table 51.
3	2	32 & 33; 1-31	The third null hypothesizes that there is no difference between the CLUW respondents' overall mean satisfaction with their local unions' performance and the length of time they have been a union member or the number of unions which they have belonged to during their working lifetime. Two 1 x 7 ANOVA's were run and the statistically insignificant results are shown in Table 52.

TABLE 12 (Continued)

Null Hypotheses	Questionnaire		Methodology
	#1/#2	Item(s)	
4	2 2	34; 1-31	The fourth null hypothesis tests for no significant differences between CLUW respondents' overall mean satisfaction with their local unions' performance and the respondents' perceptions of whether men are better than women in handling union affairs. A 1 x 3 ANOVA was run and the nonsignificant findings may be seen in Table 52.
5	2 2	35; 1-31	Null hypothesis number five presumed no difference between CLUW respondents' overall mean satisfaction with their local unions' performance and the respondents' perceptions of whether the proportion of women who hold union officership is proportionate to female membership in their respective union locals. A 1 x 3 ANOVA was run on the data and the statistically significant conclusions are presented in Table 52.
6	2	36 & 37;	The sixth hypothesis states that there is no difference between CLUW respondents' overall mean satisfaction with their local unions' performance and the respondents' perceptions of whether the employer or union discriminates against females and minorities in promotion and seniority practices. The researcher once again employed two 1 x 3 ANOVA designs which yield a rejection of the null at the .01 level. This information is depicted in Table 52.

TABLE 12 (Continued)

Null Hypotheses	<u>Questionnaire</u>		Methodology
	#1/#2	Item(s)	
7	2 2	38 & 39; 1-31	Hypothesis number seven supposes no existing difference between CLUW respondents' overall mean satisfaction with their local unions' performance and the respondents' perceptions of whether or not women are recognized as a source of influence in local or in national elections. As in the previous question, the 1 x 3 ANOVA design yields a rejection at the .01 level. These data may be seen in Table 52.
8	2 2	40; 1-31	The eighth hypothesis stated that there is no difference between CLUW respondents' overall mean satisfaction with their local unions' performance and the respondents' perceptions of whether or not a greater ability for their participation in the union decision-making process would increase their unions' meaningfulness to them. As shown in Table 52, the 1 x 3 ANOVA design once again detected significant differences at the .01 level.
9	2 2	41 & 42; 1-31	Hypothesis nine was stated such that no differences exist between CLUW respondents' overall mean satisfaction with their local unions' performance and the respondents' perceptions of whether they think of their local or national trade union leaders in terms of "we" or "they." Once again significant findings were found and are presented in Table 52.

TABLE 12 (Continued)

Null Hypotheses	Questionnaire		Methodology
	#1/#2	Item(s)	
10	2	43;	The tenth hypothesis supposed no differences to exist between CLUW respondents' overall mean satisfaction with their local unions' performance and the respondents' perception of whether their local union president is a male or female. Table 52 shows the results of this 1 x 3 design to be significant at the .01 level.
	2	1-31	
11	2	44;	The final hypothesis assumes that no difference exists between CLUW respondents' overall mean satisfaction with their local unions' performance and the respondents' perceptions of whether they would rather work for a man than a woman. Table 52 shows the nonsignificant results of this 1 x 3 ANOVA design.
	2	1-31	

state in which respondent works, and the respondent's position within his/her union.

Research Question 2: What will be the distribution of demographic factors? Such data includes the respondent's highest level attended in school, hours and type of work performed, yearly income, age, sex, race, marital status and number of children.

Research Question 3: What proportion of eight stated areas of union participation will be of interest to respondents? Which areas will the frequency distribution reveal to be ranked the most popular to the least popular?

Research Question 4: What will CLUW respondents rank as their most frequent perceptions of the purpose of their unions, their reasons for joining a union, and what they want most from their unions?

Research Question 5: What will CLUW respondents rank as their most frequent perceptions of the purpose of CLUW, their reasons for joining CLUW, and what they want most from CLUW?

Research Question 6: What will CLUW respondents rank as what they want most from their respective companies or employers?

Research Question 7: What is the frequency distribution of the union committee memberships in which CLUW respondents participate?

Research Question 8: What will be the CLUW respondents' overall mean satisfaction level with their respective local trade unions' overall performance?

Research Question 9: Will there be a difference in CLUW respondents' overall mean satisfaction with their unions' performance and demographic, work-related or union-related factors?

- Research Question 10: Will there be a difference in CLUW respondents' overall mean satisfaction and the proportion of eight areas of union participation of interest to them?
- Research Question 11: Will there be a difference in CLUW respondents' overall mean satisfaction and the length of time they have been a union member or the number of local unions which they have belonged to during their working lifetime?
- Research Question 12: Will there be a difference in CLUW respondents' overall mean satisfaction and the respondents' perceptions of whether men are better than women in handling union affairs?
- Research Question 13: Will there be a difference in CLUW respondents' overall mean satisfaction and the respondents' perceptions of whether the proportion of women who hold union officership is proportionate to female membership in their respective locals?
- Research Question 14: Will there be a difference in CLUW respondents' overall mean satisfaction and the respondents' perceptions of whether the employer or union discriminate against females and minorities in promotion and seniority practices?
- Research Question 15: Will there be a difference in CLUW respondents' overall mean satisfaction and the respondents' perceptions of whether or not women are recognized as a source of influence in local or in national affairs?
- Research Question 16: Will there be a difference in CLUW respondents' overall mean satisfaction and the respondents' perceptions of whether a greater ability for their participation in the union decision-making process would increase their unions' meaningfulness to them?

- Research Question 17: Will there be a difference in CLUW respondents' overall mean satisfaction and the respondents' perceptions of whether they think of their local (and/or national) leaders in terms of "we" or "they"?)
- Research Question 18: Will there be a difference in CLUW respondents' overall mean satisfaction with their local unions' performance and whether their local union president is a male or female?
- Research Question 19: Will there be a difference in CLUW respondents' overall mean satisfaction with their local unions' performance and whether they would rather work for a man than a woman?
- Research Question 20: What is the possibility of the responses to Items 34-44 (second questionnaire) occurring due to factors other than chance?

The previous research questions exhaust the major areas of inquiries of this research effort and are presented with their relevant methodologies in Table 11. The following statistical hypotheses test specific relationships among the variables. The methodologies applicable to these hypotheses are presented in Table 12.

- Hypothesis 1: There is no difference between CLUW respondents' overall mean satisfaction with their local unions' performance and work-related, union-related or demographic factors.
- Hypothesis 2: There is no difference between CLUW respondents' overall mean satisfaction with their local unions' performance and the number of areas of union participation of interest to them.
- Hypothesis 3: There is no difference between CLUW respondents' overall mean satisfaction with their local unions' performance and the length of time they have been a union member or the number of unions which they have belonged to during their working lifetime.

- Hypothesis 4: There is no difference between CLUW respondents' overall mean satisfaction with their local unions' performance and the respondents' perceptions of whether men are better than women in handling union affairs.
- Hypothesis 5: There is no difference between CLUW respondents' overall mean satisfaction with their local unions' performance and the respondents' perceptions of whether the proportion of women who hold union officership is proportionate to female membership in their respective union locals.
- Hypothesis 6: There is no difference between CLUW respondents' overall mean satisfaction with their local unions' performance and the respondents' perceptions of whether the employer or union discriminate against females and minorities in promotion and seniority practices.
- Hypothesis 7: There is no difference between CLUW respondents' overall mean satisfaction with their local unions' performance and the respondents' perceptions of whether or not women are recognized as a source of influence in local or in national affairs.
- Hypothesis 8: There is no difference between CLUW respondents' overall mean satisfaction with their local unions' performance and the respondents' perceptions of whether or not a greater ability for their participation in the union decision-making process would increase their unions' meaningfulness to them.
- Hypothesis 9: There is no difference between CLUW respondents' overall mean satisfaction with their local unions' performance and the respondents' perceptions of whether they think of their local or national trade union leaders in terms of "we" or "they."
- Hypothesis 10: There is no difference between CLUW respondents' overall mean satisfaction with their local unions' performance and the respondents' perceptions of whether their local union president is a male or female.

Hypothesis 11: There is no difference between CLUW respondents' overall mean satisfaction with their local unions' performance and the respondents' perceptions of whether they would rather work for a man than a woman.

Data Analysis

The choice of an appropriate statistical procedure for analyzing any research data depends on the objectives of the research, the type of data to be analyzed, the way the hypotheses are stated, and whether the data is derived from a population or sample. As practiced by researchers, many statistical techniques are potentially useful when the data may be treated as interval or ratio scaled measures of information. The choice of an appropriate technique becomes more restricted when observations can only be ranked or classified into ordinal categories. In cases where the data represent a sample, both descriptive as well as inferential statistics are required.³

This dissertation is an exploratory study whose application of standard inferential techniques to the data is not used to make inferences from the sample of respondents to the larger population of union members. Rather, these techniques are used as a device to explore the first published statistics of CLUW members and to discover any findings which might be counter to intuition. While not used to make generalizations to members of CLUW other than the respondents, these sample findings yield insights for suggestions and directions for future work.

Besides the objective of providing demographic data and other descriptive statistics concerning participative factors on the job and in their unions, a second objective of this study is to determine what the respondents feel is the major purpose of their respective unions (and CLUW), why they have joined a union (and CLUW), and what they want most from their local unions, their employers, and CLUW. A third objective of this study is to gain insight into the respondents' degree of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with 31 aspects of their local unions' performance. These data (satisfaction mean scores) were analyzed as the dependent variable and were tested for a significant relationship or effect with such independent variables as the demographic and participative factors from the first questionnaire, and questions 34 through 44 on the second questionnaire which dealt with forced-choiced opinions.

It must be noted that satisfaction mean scores were used with full awareness of the debate existing in the literature concerning the preference of medians or means for Likert-type scales. The author's use of mean scores is consistent with common practices in this type of research.⁴ It is the analysis of the respondents' degree of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with their respective local unions' performance which yields direction for future research as well as insights pertinent to the growth of female membership in the trade union movement.

The researcher contemplated the strengths and weaknesses of using parametric versus nonparametric tests to analyze any differences between the means. While some researchers view parametric statistics as the standard tool to be employed in all optimal analysis procedures, other investigators prefer to use nonparametric techniques because they have less stringent assumptions than parametric tests. According to Kerlinger, such assumptions underlying the inferences about treatment effects tend generally to be overly-emphasized. As stated by Kerlinger:

Unless there is good evidence to believe that populations are rather seriously nonnormal and that variances are heterogeneous, it is usually unwise to use a nonparametric statistical test in place of a parametric one. The reason for this is that parametric statistical tests are almost always more powerful than nonparametric tests.⁵

The Use of ANOVA

The researcher chose a fixed effect, one-way analysis of variance model as the appropriate design to decide if a statistical relationship existed between any one experimental or independent variable (age, level of education, yearly income, etc.) and the dependent measure (mean level of satisfaction or dissatisfaction on items 1-31 from the second questionnaire). As noted by Hays:

Experiments to which (the linear, fixed effect model) applies are distinguished by the fact that inferences are to be made only about differences among the J treatments actually administered, and about no other treatments that might have been included.⁶

The fixed effects model was thus chosen because it is appropriate for testing differences between means when a small number of experimental treatments are administered which exhausts all treatments of interest. This ANOVA approach assumes that if any experimental treatments exist which have different systematic influences on groups, the means of the groups should tend to be different.⁷ In this research study the presence of significant differences in the mean levels of satisfaction or dissatisfaction reflect systematic differences in demographic characteristics, work-related factors, union-related factors, or how respondents' replied to questions 34-44 on the second questionnaire.

A multiple analysis of variance (MANOVA) was not employed to indicate the presence of overall significance due to the objectives and judgment of the researcher. One-way ANOVA's were utilized with full recognition of the possibility of an accelerated Type I error rate.

There are three basic assumptions underlying the use of ANOVA:

1. For any treatment group j , the distribution of errors is assumed to be normally distributed. (This assumption presumes that each group has a normal distribution of scores, Y_{ij} .) Violations of this assumption are not serious if the sample size is large.
2. For each treatment group j , the distribution of error variance, σ_e^2 , is homogeneous or equal. (The assumption implies that each group has the same variance of Y scores.)

3. The errors associated with any pair of observations are assumed to be independent. This assumption of independent errors is crucial for inferences and justification of the F test.⁸

If ANOVA is to be used to make statistical inferences then investigation of the assumptions holding would be an important aspect of this work. The purpose of this dissertation, however, is to use ANOVA strictly for exploratory and descriptive purposes and not to make statistical inferences. Therefore, the question of equal sample sizes is not a basic consideration of this study. The applicable linear model to be used is:

$$Y_{ij} = u + a_j + e_{ij}$$

where

Y_{ij} is the score of any individual (i) in any group (j).

u is the grand mean of all the different j treatment groups.

a_j is the effect associated with the particular treatment $_j$.

e_{ij} is the random error associated with that particular treatment-subject combination.⁹

The computational forms used in the simple Analysis of Variance are concerned with partitioning the sums of squares. Hays explains:

The total sum of squared deviations from the grand mean (SS_T) can always be separated into two parts, the sum of squared deviations with groups, and the weighted sum of squared deviations of group means from the grand mean. It is convenient to call these two parts the "sum of squares

within groups" (SS_W), and the "sum of squares between groups" (SS_B). Thus it is a true statement that:

$$SS_{\text{Total}} = SS_{\text{Within}} + SS_{\text{Between}}^9$$

In computational outline this statement becomes:

$$\sum_{ji} \sum_{ij} Y_{ij}^2 - \frac{(\sum_{ji} Y_{ij})^2}{N} = \sum_{ij} \frac{(\sum_i Y_{ij})^2}{n_j} + \sum_{ji} \frac{(\sum_j Y_{ji})^2}{N} - \sum_{ji} \frac{(\sum_{ij} Y_{ij})^2}{N}$$

where:

$\sum_{ij} Y_{ij}$ = the sum of raw score of all individuals in all groups

$\sum_{ij} Y_{ij}^2$ = each score squared then added across all individuals in all groups

$\sum_j Y_{ji}$ = the sum of raw scores in each group

$(\sum_{ij} Y_{ij})^2$ = the square of the sum of raw scores in each group

n_j = the total number of scores in group j

N = the total number of all scores in all groups

The partitioning of the sum of squares emphasizes that differences among individual observations in any sample may be due to differences in treatment effects, due to change variation, or both. Observations in any one treatment group receive the same treatment and thus can differ only due to chance fluctuation. As noted by Hughes and Grawoig:

In any experiment these two sources of variation can be isolated: the sum of squares within treatments reflects chance variation (random error) alone, while the sum of squares (between) means reflects variation due both to chance and to treatment differences.¹⁰

These sums of squares provide additional information when divided by their respective degrees of freedom. Degrees

of freedom are defined as "the number of independent random observations minus the number of constraints placed upon these observations by the manner in which the data have been organized Ordinarily one degree of freedom is lost whenever a sample statistic is used to estimate a population parameter."¹¹

When the sum of square within is divided by its respective degrees of freedom ($N-J$), the resulting ratio is called the mean square within (MS_W) and is an unbiased estimate of the error variance within each treatment group. When the sum of squares between is divided by its respective degrees of freedom ($J-1$), the resulting ratio is called the mean square between (MS_B) which is an unbiased estimate of error variance alone when no treatment effects exist. The value of MS_B will be an estimate of error variance plus a positive (value) when any treatment effects exist.¹²

The value of the MS_B and the MS_W is that both are independent, unbiased estimates of error variance when the null hypothesis is true, and under these circumstances they are distributed as an F variable. When the null is false, however, the expected value of the mean square within will be less than the expected value of the mean square between and the sample ratio will be distributed as a noncentral F.

Since the F test is defined as the MS_B/MS_W , the F ratio always yields a one-tailed test of the null hypothesis. To reject the null hypothesis, the F ratio must exceed a

values of 1.00. Any value less than 1.00 signifies either sampling error, nonrandomness of the samples, or failure of the assumptions.¹³ As noted previously, all F ratios reported to be significant in this study used a probability level of .05 or .01.

Research Constraints and Limitations

This work is an exploratory study which was initiated by a desire to yield needed information about CLUW members as well as to provide insights about how satisfied or dissatisfied female trade unionists are with various aspects of their local trade union practices.

As with any research study, the present effort experiences such constraints as inadequate financial support, lack of knowledge concerning the respondents being investigated, lack of control over duplication and administration of the initial questionnaire, and lack of data describing what parameters constitute a "normal" population. The present section discusses two specific areas of potential problems or sources of bias encountered with this research. These areas concern the constraints or limitations involved with the first questionnaire, and those influencing the second questionnaire.

Limitations of the First Questionnaire

Seven potential sources of error should be acknowledged in relation to the handling and mailing of the first questionnaire:

1. The recent change (at that time) in CLUW offices from Detroit to New York City caused the initial mailing to be sent out from two sources, the UAW and Cornell University.
2. The researcher had no control over the duplication of the questionnaire, nor over the mailing or the mailing list.
3. The statement soliciting participation from CLUW members was found on page three of a four-page CLUW "General Mailing."
4. Three members of CLUW per chance contacted by the researcher revealed that each had never received the initial questionnaire.
5. Three CLUW members returned questionnaires which had printing on only one side of the page.
6. The researcher has no way of knowing how many questionnaires were returned to the CLUW office due to incorrect addresses, etc.
7. To complete such a nonfunded survey, postage was not prepaid on the initial questionnaire. This meant that the respondents not only had to fill out the questionnaire, but that they also had to acquire and to attach a stamp to the questionnaire, fold it and post it.

It is highly probable that these events had a detrimental effect on the return rate of the "Opinion Questionnaire for Members of the Coalition of Labor Union Women." The small return rate of this first questionnaire almost certainly introduced bias into this research effort.

Limitations of the Second Questionnaire

Four potential sources of bias were also noted with the construction, administration and analysis of the second questionnaire. These potential research constraints include:

1. There was no such trait in this study as the mutual exclusiveness or independence of sample one and sample two. The second sample was a subset of the first sample which was a subset of the population of the Coalition of Labor Union Women.
2. The return address used on the preaddressed envelope clearly indicated an academic address located in Texas, a right-to-work state, which could have caused some respondents to skew their answers.
3. The initial 31 items on the second questionnaire may be subject to bias due to response set, the tendency to answer all questions in a similar way.
4. Data from the first questionnaire, when combined with that of the second questionnaire revealed a high percentage of respondents (approximately 18 percent) to be employed by unions (the union is their employer). This point is of great importance since it is believed that this characteristic or sample statistic is not representative of the larger CLUW population.

The data analyzed in this study were exploratory and were assumed to describe only the sample of respondents from the Coalition of Labor Union Women. As noted by Parten:

Accidental sampling results when the universe is not clearly defined . . . (or) when the source or list from which the sample is chosen does not represent the universe for which generalizations are to be made. People whose names appear on lists usually differ from those whose names are seldom included Sampling from such lists to secure a cross-section of the general population is opportunistic, and is likely to be biased unless supplemented by other sources for the unlisted population Self-selected samples, those in which informants include themselves by being cooperative or exclude themselves by being uncooperative or inaccessible, may be classified as accidental samples.¹⁴

Although the formulation of the questions on the second questionnaire were influenced by the responses given on the first questionnaire, input from other research studies were also incorporated. Care was taken to pre-validate both questionnaires by soliciting the advice and criticisms of industrial relations professionals, personnel specialists, members of CLUW, and non-CLUW unionists. It is the analysis of the responses to these questionnaires which is the subject of Chapter IV.

CHAPTER III FOOTNOTES

¹Howard L. Balsley and Vernon T. Clover, Business Research Methods, 2nd Ed., (Columbus, Ohio: Grid Publishing, Inc., 1979) p. 1.

²Robert V. Kreicie and Daryle W. Morgan, "Determining Sample Size for Research Activities," Journal of Educational and Psychological Measurement, Vol. 30, 1970, pp. 607-610.

³V. Gourveitch, Statistical Methods: A Problem-Solving Approach, (Boston: Allyn & Bacon, Inc., 1965) pp. 271-272.

⁴Radu J. Bogdan, Editor, Patrick Suppes, (Dordrecht, Holland; D. Reidel Publishing Company, 1979) p. 96. See also Fred No. Kerlinger, Foundation of Behavioral Research, 2nd Ed., (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1973) pp. 495-497; Gene F. Summers, Ed., Attitude Measurement, (Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1970) p. 151; Martin Fishbein and Icek Ajzon, Belief, Attitude, Intention, and Behavior, (Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1975) pp. 78-89; Kenneth P. Uhl and Bertram Schoner, Marketing Research, (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1969) p. 349; David H. Krantz et al., Foundations of Measurement, (New York: Academic Press, 1971) p. 33; Patrick Suppes and Joseph L. Zinnes, Handbook of Mathematical Psychology, (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1963) pp. 264-268, 278; Jim C. Nunnally, Psychometric Theory, 2nd Ed., (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1978) p. 17.

⁵Fred N. Kerlinger, Foundation of Behavioral Research, 2nd ed., (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1973) p. 287

⁶William L. Hays, Statistics, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1963) p. 357.

⁷Ibid., p. 359.

⁸Ibid., pp. 364-365, 378-380.

⁹Ibid., pp. 363-364.

¹⁰Ann Hughes and Dennis Grawoig, Statistics: A Foundation for Analysis, (Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1971) p. 267.

¹¹Ibid., p. 18.

¹²William L. Hays, Statistics, pp. 365-369.

¹³Ibid., pp. 368-369, 385-385.

¹⁴Mildred Parten, Surveys, Polls and Samples: Practical Procedures, (New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1950) p. 243.

CHAPTER IV

RESEARCH FINDINGS

Data are collections of information that are derived from either measuring or counting something. Statistics, however, are numbers that tell us something about, or allow us to infer something about other numbers (that is, about data). . . . The purpose of statistics is to make sense from data.¹

It is the purpose of this chapter to present the findings from the two CLUW questionnaires. The procedure to be followed was outlined in Tables 11 and 12. First discussed will be the 20 research questions. These findings are presented in terms of frequencies, percentages, or other forms of descriptive statistics for nominal and ordinal-scaled data. Second, the null hypotheses will be discussed and interpreted in view of the ANOVA methodology applied. Chapter IV concludes with a discussion of the meaning and implications of these research results.

Research Questions

Research Question 1:

"What will be the distribution of work-related and union-related descriptive factors?"

Such information refers to the respondent's type of union, type of employer, specific industry, present job title, official title of respondent's union position, state in

which respondent works, the respondent's position within his/her union, and whether or not the respondent is paid or unpaid for services rendered to the union.

Tables 13 through 23 show these data in numerical and percentage form. An examination of Table 13 shows that the highest percentage of CLUW respondents belong to unions related to the teaching profession (20.39 percent) with 11.37 percent employed in primary and secondary levels and 9.02 percent employed at the college or university levels. The second highest proportion of respondents were women belonging to communications or electrical workers' unions (14.51 percent) followed by those who were members of government employees' unions (13.73 percent). The fourth highest percentage of CLUW respondents (6.27 percent) belonged to the Office and Professional Employees International Union (OPEIU) followed by two groups of 4.71 percent who belonged either to the United Steelworkers Union or the Apparel and Garment Workers unions.

Table 14 and Table 15 reveal the type of employer of these CLUW respondents as analyzed by type of sector of the economy and whether or not a union per se was the respondent's employer. This point was mentioned previously (on page #116) and must be clarified at this time.

As learned by the author, all CLUW members work for unionized organizations; that is, all are members of unions. What may be confusing to the reader, however, is the usage of the terms "union employers" and "non-union employers."

Some CLUW members belong to one (or more) union(s) and work for a company or organization in either the private or public sector. This group of individuals will be referred to hereafter as the "NUE" or the group of "typical" CLUW members who work for a unionized organization which is not itself a union ("non-union employer").

TABLE 13
TYPE OF UNION

	Number	Percent
Craft Unions		
Newspaper/Printers	11	4.31
Postal/Letter Carriers	4	1.57
Teamsters	2	0.78
AFT/NEA/Teachers	29	11.37
SEIU-Service Employees	1	0.39
BC&T	1	0.39
Wholesale & Retail Distributors	1	0.39
Performing Artists	1	0.39
Waitress	1	0.39
Meat Cutters	2	0.78
IUE/Electrical/UWVA	9	3.53
Office & Professional Employees	16	6.27
College & University Teachers/AAUP	23	9.02
Carpenters	1	0.39
Aerospace, Airline, Flight Att/Analysts	5	1.96
Police	1	0.39
Hospital Employees/Nurses	4	1.57
Broadcasters	1	0.39
Listed only Craft Union	1	0.39
Industrial Unions		
United Steelworkers	12	4.71
Government Employees-Local	6	2.35
Government Employees-State	12	4.71
Government Employees-Federal	17	6.67
Apparel-Garments/ACTWU	12	4.71
Machinists	3	1.18

TABLE 13 (Continued)

	Number	Percent
Retail Clerks	9	3.53
Aircraft & Aerospace Manufacturing	2	0.78
Social Agencies	3	1.18
UAW	10	3.92
United Rubber Workers	1	0.39
CWA	28	10.98
Clerical, Parkettes & Alarm Dispatchers	1	0.39
Construction	2	0.78
Multitrades-Warehouse-Dept. Store	5	1.96

A second group consists of CLUW members who belong to one (or more) union(s) and are employed by a different union. This second group of unionists is referred to hereafter as the "UE," those with "union employers."

Tables 14 and 15 both show that the majority of the respondents (approximately 77 percent) were members of the "NUE" group (meaning they were employed by organizations other than unions). Approximately 18 percent, however, were members of the "UE" group (they worked for employers who were union hierarchies).

TABLE 14

TYPE OF EMPLOYER

	Number	Percent
Private Sector/Nonunion Employer	98	38.43
Public Sector/Nonunion Employer	100	39.22
Private Sector/Union Employer	36	14.12
Public Sector/Union Employer	8	3.14
Retired/not working	3	1.18
No Response/DNA	10	3.92
Total	255	100.01

Most respondents were employed in the private sector (52.55 percent) as compared to the public sector (42.36 percent). Approximately one percent of the respondents had retired and approximately four percent did not respond to the question.

TABLE 15
TYPE OF EMPLOYER

	Number	Percent
Union	47	18.43
Nonunion	195	76.47
Retired/not working	3	1.18
No Response/DNA	10	3.92
Total	255	100.00

Table 16 indicates the specific industries in which the CLUW respondents were employed. In the public sector, the highest number of respondents were teachers, government employees, or those connected with services or social agencies. In the private sector, the highest number of respondents were communications workers, steel workers, clothing or paper workers.

TABLE 16
SPECIFIC INDUSTRY

	Number	Percent
Private Sector		
Aerospace, Aircraft & Flight Att.	7	2.75
Artists & Broadcasters	2	0.78

TABLE 16 (Continued)

	Number	Percent
Bakery Workers	1	0.39
Clerical & Officeworkers	1	0.39
Clothing/Apparel/Garment	13	5.10
Communication Workers	25	9.80
Construction Workers	3	1.18
Electrical Workers	6	2.35
Grain Millers	1	0.39
Hotel & Restaurant Employees	1	0.39
Machinists	4	1.57
Meatcutters	2	0.78
Office Employees	7	2.75
Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers	2	0.78
Paper Workers, Printers, Publishers	12	4.71
Retail Clerks/Dept. Store Workers	9	3.52
Steel Workers & Cement	14	5.49
Law Firm	1	0.39
Manufacturer (Machinery)	4	1.57
Auto Workers (unaffiliated)	11	4.31
Teamsters/Warehousemen/Transit Workers	4	1.57
Private Organization (unaffiliated union)	1	0.39
Union Employer - Private Sector	10	3.92
Public Sector		
Government Employees/Federal	15	5.88
Government Employees/State, County, Local	16	6.27
Hospitals/Nurses	6	2.35
Police/Law	2	0.78
Postal Workers	4	1.57
Service/Utility/Social Agencies	12	4.71
Teachers/Secondary	22	8.63
Teachers/College & University	29	11.37
Public Sector listed only	1	0.39
Union Employer - Public Sector	2	0.78
Retired	2	0.78
No Response	3	1.18
Total	255	99.97

Table 17 presents the job titles stated by the respondents to the first CLUW questionnaire. As depicted in the table, the highest percentage of respondents not employed

by unions (NUE) were production specialists in fields other than apparel or clothing. The second highest frequency of job titles were office workers followed by teachers, professors, and staff representatives.

TABLE 17
PRESENT JOB TITLE

Title	Number	Percent
Nonunion		
Secondary Teacher	24	9.41
College/University Instructor/ Professor	18	7.06
Researcher/Analyst	7	2.75
Production Specialist (other/clothing)	30	11.76
Immigration Inspector	1	0.39
Health Insurance/Claims Inspector/ Auditor/Maintenance Auditor	12	4.71
Sales, Advertising/PR/ Business Representative/Cashier	11	4.31
Postal Clerk	1	0.39
Letter Carrier	1	0.39
Secretary/Office Worker/Staff	27	10.59
Librarian	3	1.18
Social Worker/Counselor/Psychological Aid	4	1.57
Flight Attendant	3	1.18
Storekeeper/Business Office Mgr.	4	1.57
Clothing Worker	7	2.57
Actor, Director	1	0.39
Hotel & Restaurant Employee	1	0.39
Meat Cutter	1	0.39
Staff Representative/Administrative or Service Assistant/Sr. Clerk	16	6.27
Electrician/Utilities Technician/ Mechanic	9	3.53
Human Resources Specialist/AA Consultant/Interviewer	3	1.18
Reporter/Columnist/Writer/ Proofreader	6	2.35
Nurse	2	0.78
Porter	1	0.39

TABLE 17 (Continued)

Title	Number	Percent
Director of University Dept. Committee	3	1.18
Director/Chair of Community Relations, Human Rights, Women's Program	4	1.57
Police	1	0.39
Janitorial/Cleaner	1	0.39
Retired	6	2.35
Union Employer		
Director of Membership	1	0.39
Business Agent/Manager/Administrative Officer	4	1.57
Union Officer/Programs & Operations/ International Field Representative	4	1.57
Union Organizer	7	2.75
(Local(Occupational Health Specialist	1	0.39
International Staff Representative	7	2.75
Education Staff Representative	8	3.14
Union Researcher	1	0.39
Member Unaffiliated Union Local (PR)	1	0.39
Local Editor/Educational Director	2	0.78
International Staff-Stenographer	2	0.78
No Response	9	3.53
Total	255	99.99

Note from Table 17 that the highest number of respondents who were not employed by unions (NUE) were in blue collar (production) jobs followed closely by the traditional pink collar jobs. Approximately 10.98 percent listed titles considered to be traditionally non-female occupations: auditor, letter carrier, business office manager, electrician or mechanic, porter and policewoman. Of those respondents who were employed full-time by labor union organizations,

most were national or local staff representatives, educational representatives, or union organizers.

Table 18 contains the distribution of respondents' official titles of their union positions. Analysis of this table reveals that except for 33 members, all respondents who answered the question and were not retired were active in their local and/or international unions. Fully 74.92 percent of the CLUW respondents were either members of committees, chairs of committees, or held an officership or other position of authority within the (primarily local) union hierarchy.

TABLE 18
OFFICIAL TITLE OF UNION POSITION

Title	Number	Percent
Local, State, or District*		
Member in Good Standing	33	12.94
Committee Member	15	5.88
Steward	11	4.31
Secretary-Treasurer	35	13.73
Shipper Receiver	1	0.39
President	20	7.84
Vice President	18	7.06
Editor/Labor Press (& Ed. Dir.)	7	2.75
Delegate/Staff Representative	16	6.27
Committee Chair	15	5.88
Asst. Director or Coordinator of Women's Dept.	5	1.96
Administrative Asst. to Exec. V.P.	5	1.96
Trustee	1	0.39
Inner Guard	1	0.39
Organizer	6	2.35
Office Clerk/Staff	1	0.39
CAP Council	1	0.39
Asst. Director of Research	2	0.78
Union Counselor	1	0.39
Legislative Director	2	0.78

TABLE 18 (Continued)

Title	Number	Percent
Business Representative/Agent	2	0.78
District Representative	1	0.39
Vice President, International	3	1.18
BA & Executive Board Member	16	6.27
International Representative	3	1.18
Asst. to President, International	1	0.39
National Director of Human Rights, Comm. Relations	1	0.78
Retired/all held positions	4	1.56
No Response	27	10.58
Total	255	99.94

*Unless otherwise specified

Table 19 contains the distribution of states or districts in which the respondents worked. These states are coded by time regions for clarity. Analysis of Table 19 reveals that the highest percentage of respondents (49.39 percent) lived in the Northeast, primarily in the states of New York (15.29 percent) and Michigan (11.76 percent). The second highest frequency of respondents came from the Pacific states region. California's representation was especially strong, constituting 14.51 percent of the respondents to the first CLUW questionnaire.

The North Central region came in third, comprising 13.33 percent of the responses. No responses were obtained from the non-continental states.

TABLE 19

DISTRICT/STATE IN WHICH RESPONDENTS WORK
(Coded According to Time Regions)

State/District	Number	Percent
Northeast		
Maine	3	1.18
Vermont	1	0.39
New Hampshire	2	0.78
Massachusetts	6	2.35
New York	39	15.29
Connecticut	4	1.57
New Jersey	2	0.78
Maryland	1	0.39
Delaware	0	0.00
Washington, D.C.	9	3.53
Rhode Island	1	0.39
Virginia	1	0.39
West Virginia	0	0.00
Pennsylvania	18	0.00
Ohio	17	6.67
Michigan	30	11.76
Indiana	8	3.14
Kentucky	2	0.78
Southeast		
North Carolina	2	0.78
South Carolina	0	0.00
Georgia	3	1.18
Florida	3	1.18
North Central		
North Dakota	0	0.00
Minnesota	1	0.39
South Dakota	0	0.00
Wisconsin	8	3.14
Nebraska	6	2.35
Iowa	2	0.78
Illinois	12	4.71
Missouri	3	1.18
Kansas	2	0.78
South Central		
Tennessee	0	0.00
Alabama	1	0.39
Mississippi	0	0.00

TABLE 19 (Continued)

State/District	Number	Percent
Arkansas	1	0.39
Louisiana	2	0.78
Oklahoma	1	0.39
Texas	8	3.14
North Mountain		
Montana	2	0.78
Idaho	0	0.00
Wyoming	0	0.00
Utah	1	0.39
Colorado	2	0.78
South Mountain		
Arizona	1	0.39
New Mexico	0	0.00
Pacific States		
Washington	9	3.53
Oregon	1	0.78
Nevada	0	0.00
California	37	14.51
Non-Continental		
Hawaii	0	0.00
Alaska	0	0.00
No Response	2	0.78
Total	255	99.95

Tables 20 through 23 concern additional union-related data. Table 20 reveals that 18.82 percent of the respondents held an officership or/other position of authority within their international union level. The majority of respondents, 81.18 percent, indicated either membership or left the question blank.

TABLE 20
POSITION HELD AT THE INTERNATIONAL LEVEL

Position	Number	Percent
Member or No Response	207	81.18
President	1	0.39
Vice President	8	3.14
Financial	1	0.39
Correspondence Secretary/Treasurer	0	0.00
Trustee	1	0.39
Business Agent	2	0.78
Committee Person/Chair	9	3.53
More Than One Position	5	1.96
Other (International Rep., etc.)	21	8.24
Total	255	100.00

The majority of CLUW respondents also did not respond to the question asking them if they held a paid or unpaid position at the international level of their union. The researcher interprets these data from Table 21 to reinforce the findings stated above; i.e., that most of these respondents were members of international unions but held no positions of authority. Of the 37 people who did respond to this question, 8.63 percent indicated that they were paid, while 5.88 percent indicated that they were unpaid.

TABLE 21
PAID OR UNPAID AT THE INTERNATIONAL LEVEL

Status	Number	Percent
Paid	22	8.63
Unpaid	15	5.88
No Response	218	85.49
Total	255	100.00

Tables 22 and 23 refer to the same information as the two previous tables, only they are particularly concerned with the local union hierarchy. As shown in Table 22, 70.58 percent of the respondents held an officership position or some other role of responsibility and authority at the local union level. The rest of the respondents were assumed to be members only.

TABLE 22
POSITION HELD AT THE LOCAL LEVEL

Position	Number	Percent
Member/No Response	75	29.41
President	16	6.27
Vice President	13	5.10
Financial	6	2.35
Correspondence Secretary/Treasurer	10	3.92
Trustee	1	0.39
Business Agent	6	2.35
Committee Person/Chair	47	18.43
More Than One Position	50	19.61
Other (Exec. Board, etc.)	31	12.16
Total	255	99.99

Of these local union members, 22.75 percent indicated that they were paid in some (often token) capacity for their contribution to their local's activities. The majority of respondents (77.25 percent) indicated that they were not paid or left the question blank. A "no response" reply was generally interpreted to mean that the respondent was unpaid.

TABLE 23
PAID OR UNPAID AT THE LOCAL LEVEL

Status	Number	Percent
Paid	58	22.75
Unpaid	98	38.43
No Response	99	38.82
Total	255	100.00

Findings from research question one reveal this sample of respondents to be working primarily in traditionally female-intensive occupations for nonunion employers (NUE) in both the private and public sectors. Approximately 18 percent of the respondents were employed by unions (UE), however. The reader may refer back to pages 129-130 for clarification of these two employer groups.

The findings also profile the respondents to be valid female union activists in that fully three-fourths of them were committee members, chairs of committees, or held an officership or other position of authority in their union locals. The highest percentage of respondents worked in New York, California, or Michigan, most were non-officer members of their internationals, and most were unpaid for their participation at both the local and international union levels.

Research Question 2:

"What will be the distribution of demographic factors?"

Such data includes the respondent's highest level attended in school, hours and type of work performed, yearly income, age, sex, race, marital status, and number of children.

Tables 24 through 32 once again use percentages and numbers to display the demographic characteristics of the CLUW respondents. Table 24 shows the highest educational levels completed by respondents. While 3.14 percent had less than a high school education, 28.63 had earned their high school diploma and .78 percent had some technical skills training beyond the high school level.

TABLE 24

HIGHEST LEVEL ATTENDED IN SCHOOL

Level Achieved	Number	Percent
Less than 12 years	8	3.14
High School Diploma	73	28.63
Some College Credits 1-29 hrs. (Freshman Status) 1 yr.	21	8.24
Sophomore Status 30-59 hrs. (2-year College Degree)	24	9.41
Junior Status 60-89 hrs. (3 yrs.)	9	3.53
Senior Status 90-up (4 yrs.)	3	1.18
College Degree - Bachelor Level	42	16.47
Some Master's Courses	12	4.71
Master's Degree	32	12.55
Post Master's/Law or Doctoral Classes	9	3.53
Doctoral Degree - Ph.D.	12	4.71
Juris Doctorate	3	1.18
Technical skills Training (Beyond High School)	2	.78
Retired	1	.39
No Response	4	1.57
Total	255	100.02

Significant findings of Table 24 include the following facts: 22.36 percent of this population were working on a bachelor's degree, 16.47 percent had obtained their bachelor's degree, 4.71 percent were working on their master's degree, 12.55 percent had already earned their master's degree, and 3.53 percent were taking post master's, law, or doctoral level courses. Fifteen respondents, 5.89 percent of the sample, had already obtained their Ph.D. or doctorate degrees.

Table 25 shows the hours worked by respondents in 1978. Most respondents (92.55 percent) worked full-time and 2.75 percent worked more than one job. Less than four percent of this sample worked part-time, were unemployed, or were retired.

TABLE 25
HOURS YOU WORK

Hours	Number	Percent
Full-time	236	92.55
Part-time	5	1.96
Not Working	3	1.18
More Than One Job	7	2.75
Retired	1	0.39
No Response	3	1.18
Total	255	100.01

Table 26 reveals that the majority of the CLUW respondents were salaried (or generally exempt) employees. This finding reflects the previously mentioned pink collar and

white collar occupational categories. A large number of CLUW respondents (36.47 percent) indicated that they were hourly (generally non-exempt) employees. Thus, the respondents were more likely to be covered by the Walsh-Healy and Fair Labor Standards Acts and must be paid time-and-one-half for work over eight hours per day or for work over forty hours per week.

TABLE 26
TYPE OF WORK

Work Type	Number	Percent
Hourly	93	36.47
Salary	144	56.47
Piecework	5	1.96
By Job/Contract Out	1	0.39
Retired	2	0.38
No Response	10	3.92
Total	255	99.99

Table 27 displays a frequency distribution of the annual income of CLUW respondents. Approximately 10 percent of the respondents made less than \$10,000 per year, 40 percent made between \$10,000 to \$15,000, 28 percent made between \$15,000 and \$20,000 per year, and 20 percent made over \$20,000 per year.

TABLE 27
YEARLY INCOME

Income Category	Number	Percent
Less than \$10,000	26	10.20
\$10,001-12,000	52	20.39
\$12,001-15,000	50	19.61
\$15,001-20,000	71	27.84
\$20,001-25,000	32	12.55
\$25,001-30,000	13	5.10
\$30,001-35,000	5	1.96
Greater than \$35,000	1	0.39
No Response	5	1.96
Total	255	100.00

Tables 28, 29, and 30 show the respective distributions of CLUW respondents' age, sexual, and racial data. As noted from these tables, the majority of CLUW respondents were in the "working era" ages from 25 to 65. The highest percentage of respondents were within the child-bearing years. Most respondents were females and most were white.

TABLE 28
AGE

Age Category	Number	Percent
Less than 25	5	1.96
25-35	95	37.25
36-45	53	20.78
46-55	66	25.88
56-65	30	11.76
Over 65	4	1.57
No Response	2	0.78
Total	255	99.98

TABLE 29

SEX

Sexual Category	Number	Percent
Male	10	3.92
Female	243	95.29
No Response	2	0.73
Total	255	99.99

TABLE 30

RACE

Racial Category	Number	Percent
White	128	85.49
Black	29	11.37
American Indian	1	0.39
Hispanic	1	0.39
Oriental	1	0.39
Mulatto	1	0.39
No Response	4	1.57
Total	255	99.99

Table 31 reveals the marital status of the CLUW respondents. From this table emerge facts that while 44.31 percent of the sample were married, another 54.51 percent were single, divorced, widowed, or separated. Only 1.18 percent did not respond.

TABLE 31
MARITAL STATUS

Status	Number	Percent
Single	64	25.10
Married	113	44.31
Divorced	61	23.92
Widowed	12	4.71
Separated	2	0.78
No Response	3	1.18
Total	255	100.00

Table 32 reflects the number of children or offspring to whom were given birth by the CLUW respondents. Question 14 (first questionnaire) was so stated ("Number of Your Children") in order to avoid the confusion of multiple parent/children relationships which is so prevalent in the American society today.

TABLE 32
NUMBER OF YOUR CHILDREN

Number	Number	Percent
None	113	44.31
One	51	20.00
Two	38	14.90
Three	21	8.24
Four	13	5.10
More than Four	13	5.10
No Response	6	2.35
Total	255	100.00

Findings from the second research question depict the CLUW respondents to be highly oriented toward and actively pursuing a formal education. The CLUW respondents appeared to have more education than the 12.6 years reported for the average American and to be full-time, salaried employees. The respondents also reported earning more in yearly income than "typical" female workers in 1978 with approximately half earning \$15,000 or less and approximately half earning over \$15,000.

The sample of CLUW respondents were well distributed between the ages of 25 and 65. Almost 60 percent were between the ages of 25 and 45, while approximately 40 percent were between 46 and 65. Most respondents were females, most were white, and over half were single, divorced, widowed or separated. Approximately 44 percent of the respondents replied that they were married and an equal number reportedly had no children.

Research Question 3:

"What proportion of eight stated areas of union participation will be of interest to respondents? Which areas will the frequency distribution reveal to be ranked the most popular to the least popular?"

Table 33 indicates a frequency distribution of the degree of interest expressed by CLUW respondents in the following eight areas: participation in decision making, leadership, communications, the quality of work life, union elections, affirmative action, collective bargaining, and the activities of federal agencies such as OSHA.

TABLE 33

TOTAL NUMBER OF AREAS OF INTEREST TO RESPONDENTS
IN THEIR UNION

Number/% of Eight	Number	Percent
One (12.5%)	14	5.49
Two (25.0%)	24	9.41
Three (37.5%)	27	10.59
Four (50.0%)	51	20.00
Five (62.5%)	40	15.69
Six (75.0%)	29	11.37
Seven (87.5%)	17	6.67
Eight (100.0%)	40	15.69
Listed These Eight and One More	1	.39
None/No Response	12	4.71
Total	255	100.01

As shown in Table 33 the highest frequency of respondents indicated four areas were of interest to them (20 percent) followed by five and eight areas of interest (15.69 percent each). These findings should be viewed in light of Table 34 also, since the latter table gives a rank order of the areas of interest to CLUW respondents.

As indicated in Table 34, the area of highest interest for these union respondents was "participation in decision making" (72.16 percent) followed by the "quality of work life" (65.88 percent), "affirmative action" (65.10 percent), and "collective bargaining" (65.10 percent). The area of least interest as expressed by respondents were activities of "federal agencies such as OSHA" (30.59 percent).

Research question 3 reinforces the researcher's premise that the respondents are union activists who are interested

TABLE 34
SPECIFIC AREAS OF INTEREST TO RESPONDENTS
IN THEIR UNION

Area			No Response	No Interest	Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Participation in Decision Making	184	72.16	71	27.84	255	100.00
Leadership	158	61.96	97	38.04	255	100.00
Communications	140	54.90	115	45.10	255	100.00
Quality of Work Life	168	65.88	87	34.12	255	100.00
Union Elections	108	52.35	147	57.65	255	100.00
Affirmative Action	166	65.10	89	34.90	255	100.00
Collective Bargaining	166	65.10	89	34.90	255	100.00
Federal Agencies (such as OSHA)	78	30.59	177	69.14	255	100.00

in greater participation in the decision making process within their local union hierarchy. An interesting and somewhat ironic finding from Table 34 is that the second highest response category of "no interest" to respondents was that of union elections.

Research Question 4:

"What will CLUW respondents rank as their most frequent perceptions of the purpose of their unions, their reasons for joining a union, and what they want most from their union?"

Tables 35-37 give the 15 most frequent responses to the first questionnaire's subjective questions dealing with the respondent's basic orientation toward unionization. Table 35 shows the factors which were perceived by this sample as indicative of the major purpose of their respective unions. The most frequent purposes listed were: improving wages and benefits, improving work conditions, protecting workers' rights, and collective bargaining. Other less popular responses are also included in Table 35.

TABLE 35

THE MOST FREQUENT RESPONSES TO RESEARCH QUESTION 4
WHAT DO YOU SEE AS THE MAJOR PURPOSE OF YOUR UNION?

Response	Frequency
1. Improving wages and benefits	(65)
2. Improving working conditions	(63)
3. Protecting workers' rights/equity/due process	(53)

TABLE 35 (Continued)

Response	Frequency
4. Collective Bargaining--enforcing contract negotiations	(53)
5. Improving the quality of work life	(40)
6. Organizing the unorganized	(28)
7. Representing the voice of the worker in the decision-making process	(26)
8. Meeting needs, interest (service to) members	(23)
9. Job security/protecting seniority	(23)
10. Functioning as a political, legislative, administrative force for influence	(14)
11. Solidarity/mutual support/unity/strength in numbers	(13)
12. Grievance/solving labor problems and disputes	(12)
13. Maintaining worker dignity, respect and status	(10)
14. Educating workers about union rights	(10)
15. Being an effective part of the social area or community	(8)

Comparison of the findings of Table 35 (purpose of unions) with those of Table 36 (Reasons for joining unions) yields only one major discrepancy in the top three responses. Ranked second as an impetus in joining a union was the respondents' belonging or affiliation needs as well as needs for power. It would appear that unions provide not only

formal organizational relationships but are also important factors for developing informal or social relationships.

TABLE 36
MOST FREQUENT RESPONSES TO RESEARCH QUESTION 4
YOUR REASONS FOR JOINING A UNION?

Response	Frequency
1. Improve wages and benefits	(58)
2. Asked to join/belonging needs/solidarity/ power	(52)
3. Job security/protection of seniority	(50)
4. Improve working conditions	(43)
5. To have some say/be rep. in the decision- process	(41)
6. Protection and ensuring fair treatment against the bosses	(40)
7. My right/strong belief and interest in unions	(29)
8. Union or closed shop/compulsory condition of employment	(28)
9. Change agent/only existing political (power) force for reforming abuses	(27)
10. Want to be part of negotiating/ collective bargaining process	(21)
11. Family tradition	(17)
12. Help myself and other unionists to meet needs	(16)
13. Strengthening the trade union movement . . .	(16)
14. Improving the quality of work life	(12)
15. Affirmative action/helping women fight discrimination	(12)

Table 37 (what unionists want most from their unions) reiterates the priorities stressed in the two previous tables. However, one important exception should be noted. The primary factor listed as desired by CLUW unionists from their local trade union organizations was strong, ethical representation and more contact with the general membership. In light of Chamberlain's findings of the "internal-relations government" of unions (Chapter 1), this response has major implications for union leaders. It is also important in regard to this question to note that respondents frequently stressed the term ethical in answering this question.

TABLE 37

MOST FREQUENT RESPONSES TO RESEARCH QUESTION 4
WHAT DO YOU WANT MOST FROM YOUR UNION?

Response	Frequency
1. Strong, ethical representation with more contact with the union body	(45)
2. Job security and protection of job rights .	(42)
3. Job dignity, equality; justness and fairness for all citizens on the job (from the employer)	(31)
4. Fair working conditions and an improved quality of work life	(31)
5. Strong representation in collective bargaining and contract negotiations and enforcement	(30)
6. Improved wages	(28)

TABLE 37 (Continued)

Response	Frequency
7. Solidarity, clear establishment of group identity, and peer group support for all members regardless of race, sex, or probationary status	(24)
8. More recognition and involvement of women with leadership ability; less sexist representation	(20)
9. More (helpful) information and communication on union issues; more meetings and workshops	(19)
10. Greater chance for rank and file individual input and participation in the union decision-making process; desire chance to help other rank and file members on an applied level	(18)
11. Better organization within the union and organizing the unorganized	(18)
12. Honesty, integrity, sincerity and openness about all internal union matters. (Two respondents mentioned unions as being the social conscious of our nation). . . .	(17)
13. More service and responsiveness to member needs	(17)
14. The opportunity to learn, be educated and trained	(17)
15. Better benefits, including pensions, health and safety	(17)

Research question 4 seems to yield primarily the same factors traditionally listed in industrial-relations studies. Improvement of wages, benefits, and working conditions, along with job security, appeared in each table.

Differences were evident in these three tables, however, in that the respondents' reasons for joining a union and what they wanted most from their unions were tied to ego and belonging needs, as well as improved opportunities for status, communication, participation, and education.

Research Question 5:

"What will CLUW respondents rank as their most frequent perceptions of the purpose of CLUW, their reasons for joining CLUW, and what they want most from CLUW?"

Tables 38-40 repeat essentially the same questions posed in research question five except they address themselves to the "outside organization," CLUW, instead of their unions per se. Table 38 provides insight into the reasons CLUW has catapulted to international recognition. This question drew by far the heaviest response. Listed as the primary purpose of CLUW was the vehicle it provides for change, for recruiting and organizing women, and for sensitizing and increasing female recognition by union leaders. An interesting point is that CLUW members want to help all women to develop themselves through growth and change within the union structure.

Table 39 lists a frequency distribution of the respondents' reasons for joining CLUW. Expressed in terms similar to those in Table 38, reasons for joining CLUW stressed organizing all unorganized working women, and supporting women both at work and within the union hierarchy. Strong feminist overtones were noted as were the needs to verbalize and to work toward women's issues.

TABLE 38

MOST FREQUENT RESPONSES TO RESEARCH QUESTION 5
MAJOR PURPOSE OF CLUW?

Response	Frequency
1. Its purpose is to help labor union women to recruit and organize in order to increase their participation in as well as appreciation and consciousness of the union structure as a vehicle for change	(113)
2. Its purpose is to promote equality of women's job rights (equal pay for equal work, equal opportunity--prevent discrimination and unfair labor practices against women) in male dominated unions and management structures	(80)
3. It is a network for helping <u>all</u> working women to unite in order to recognize and reach common areas of interest, concern and goals (day care, maternity benefits) .	(58)
4. Teaching, training, educating and communicating information to working women. It is a source for the development of women	(56)
5. Help organize and aid the nonunionized working woman	(45)
6. Communicating the image of today's working woman as competent, productive, dignified and wanting greater upward mobility and wanting more opportunity for <u>leadership</u> roles	(43)
7. Its purpose is to increase women's political, legislative and lobbying power in unions and in the work force	(39)
8. Solidarity and support of union and nonunion women to increase their voice and representation	(26)

TABLE 38 (Continued)

Response	Frequency
9. Its purpose is to act as a women's pressure group to increase pay and opportunities, to improve working conditions and the quality of work life for working females	(16)
10. To help build better, stronger unions . . .	(13)
11. To help <u>all</u> workers (male and female) by unionizing them and gaining an improved quality of work life and equal opportunities for everybody	(11)
12. Its purpose is to further affirmative action efforts for minority women	(7)

TABLE 39

MOST FREQUENT RESPONSES TO RESEARCH QUESTION 5
REASONS FOR JOINING CLUW?

Response	Frequency
1. The necessity to organize labor union women and help them to see their potential in unions and become actively involved in their unions	(70)
2. To meet, unite with, and support union women	(60)
3. To actively help and support working women (many respondents expressed a belief in the women's movement and in women's rights)	(65)
4. To learn about and be more aware of the needs, goals, interests, and issues of working sisters (the major issues mentioned were day care and abortion rights)	(62)

TABLE 39 (Continued)

Response	Frequency
5. To increase information and communication (and thus understanding--many respondents expressed a desire to attend more conferences and workshops and to have more opportunities to exchange ideas).	(51)
6. To recognize that working women in America are beginning to identify themselves as a voice of united sisterhood and that their numbers deserve respect	(46)
7. To better themselves through increased education, knowledge, training and development programs	(34)
8. To instigate more equality and justice for women concerning equal pay and equal job opportunities with men on similar jobs with similar qualifications (many respondents also mentioned affirmative action with their replies to this question)	(33)
9. To show support of and belief in CLUW's goals and statement of purpose	(28)
10. Commitment to greater organizing efforts, especially of unorganized women	(20)
11. To improve the working woman's self-image and to encourage her personal and professional growth	(18)
12. To increase each individual woman's opportunity for leadership training and promotions, both in the organization and in the trade union movement	(17)
13. To combat frustration and disappointment with male-dominated unions management and leadership	(12) (2) (14)

As shown in Table 40, respondents said what they want most from CLUW is a strong unified organization which can influence their respective unions yet which is totally independent of their local and national trade union hierarchies. CLUW respondents want greater participation of CLUW in their local chapter lives, particularly in terms of organizing, providing information, and role models.

TABLE 40
MOST FREQUENT RESPONSES TO RESEARCH QUESTION 5
WHAT DO YOU WANT MOST FROM CLUW?

Response	Frequency
1. A strong unified organization independent of individual unions but which can have an impact on unions (many respondents to this question mentioned allowing nonunion females to join CLUW or at least attend meetings)	(58)
2. A stronger commitment to be progressively active overall, at the local level especially starting unions, and at the national level (the respondents to this question sought active participation by CLUW)	(41)
3. A source of information	(38)
4. Results in organizing	(38)
5. A desire for more seminars, educational opportunities and the training and development of women's abilities	(37)
6. A resource for sharing and promoting the needs, interests, and problems of working women (two issues mentioned frequently were day care and maternity benefits) . .	(36)

TABLE 40 (Continued)

Response	Frequency
7. More informative communication at local,	(13)
national,	(6)
and all levels	(17)
(Respondents to this question frequently asked for more interest in local activities and greater support from the national level.)	(36)
8. Greater involvement with legislative issues,	(19)
political action,	(15)
and overall lobbying activities	(34)
9. Insistence on a greater share of union power by female unionists (many respondents to this question expressed a strong desire for more feminist, assertive unionists) . . .	(33)
10. Help from CLUW in terms of influence and assistance with applied problems of women in performing their jobs	(24)
11. Strong direction, sound leadership and "know how"	(22)
12. Greater visibility and media publicity of women's working conditions and the quality of work life.	(22)

Responses concerning CLUW in research question 5 were different from those expressed in research question 4 (dealing with unions). Most data derived from Research Question 4 stressed organizing women and using unions as a means for improving women's lives personally as well as on their jobs and in their unions. Research question 5 showed CLUW respondents to stress education, lobbying activities, and creating constructive change through

participative action. Data from both research questions indicate that CLUW seems to provide its members with a challenge, a new awareness, and hope.

Research Question 6:

"What will CLUW respondents rank as what they want most from their respective companies or employers?"

Table 41 is useful in terms of making comparisons with Tables 37 and 40. Respondents stressed that what they wanted most from their employing organizations were fair and decent wages, good work conditions, a decent quality of work life, and individual respect, recognition and acceptance as individual human beings. These first two reasons were listed frequently on all the questions dealing with unions (Tables 35-37). Table 41 is important, however, in that it stressed needed recognition by management of the human element.

The respondents earnestly expressed an appeal for appreciation of individual effort. They stressed a desire for promotion opportunities as well as opportunities for self-improvement.

TABLE 41

MOST FREQUENT RESPONSES TO RESEARCH QUESTION 6
WHAT DO YOU WANT MOST FROM YOUR COMPANY?

General Statement	Frequency
1. A fair and decent wage	(64)
2. A decent quality of work life; good work environment and working conditions	(51)

TABLE 41 (Continued)

General Statement	Frequency
3. Acceptance and caring for workers as individuals; giving them the respect, recognition and dignity they deserve as human beings	(48)
4. Fair and equitable treatment and rights for all	(46)
5. Equal opportunity for hiring, promotion, (and acceptance) of women and minorities	(39)
6. Sincere appreciation, attention, and recognition for individual job performance (value of work and ability)	(26)
7. Better fringe benefits and services (retirement, dental, and medical were mentioned most frequently)	(26)
8. Honest collective bargaining; contract negotiating and enforcing in good faith .	(22)
9. Economic and job security--seniority . . .	(18)
10. More recognition of responsiveness to and cooperation with union reps and members	(14)
11. To be matched with a job which contains meaningful and fulfilling work and allows me to grow personally and professionally.	(13)
12. Greater responsibility and involvement in the decision-making process of the employing organization	(12)
13. More affirmative action and removal of sexism and racism	(11)
14. More open-mindedness by employers with employees, more two-way communication with management and listening to ideas of employees	(11)

TABLE 41 (Continued)

General Statement	Frequency
15. Equal pay for work of equal value	(10)
16. More competent, confident, skilled managers whose supervisory techniques allow employees the maximum freedom possible	(10)

Research Question 7:

"What will be the CLUW respondents' overall mean satisfaction level with their respective local trade unions' performance?"

The second CLUW questionnaire, "An Opinion Questionnaire for American Trade Unionists," asked respondents to indicate their feelings of satisfaction or dissatisfaction for each of the 31 items concerning their personal perceptions of the overall performance of their local trade unions. All 31 items could be weighted from one to five, yielding a five-point scale. These weights were interpreted in the following manner:

- A weight of 1 meant a respondent indicated that she/he was very dissatisfied with the local union's performance concerning this area of activity.
- A weight of 2 meant a respondent indicated that she/he was dissatisfied with the local union's performance concerning this area of activity.
- A weight of 3 meant a respondent indicated that she/he was neutral in terms of the local union's performance concerning this area of activity.
- A weight of 4 meant a respondent indicated that she/he was satisfied in terms of the local union's performance concerning this area of activity.

--A weight of 5 meant a respondent indicated that she/he was very satisfied in terms of the local union's performance concerning this area of activity.

As recorded in Table 42, all mean values ranged between 3.71 and 2.46, meaning that respondents felt less than satisfied but not really dissatisfied with their local trade union organizations. The items yielding the highest mean scores were: improving wages and benefits (3.71); involving males in

TABLE 42
MEAN VALUES FOR SATISFACTION ITEMS FROM "AN
OPINION QUESTIONNAIRE FOR AMERICAN
TRADE UNIONISTS"

Item Number and Title	Mean Value
1. Improve wages and benefits	3.71
2. Recognize me and all members for personal abilities and efforts	2.46
3. Improve working conditions	3.54
4. Educate workers about union rights	2.94
5. Protect workers and provide due process . . .	3.66
6. Improve the quality of work life	3.14
7. Maintain worker dignity, respect, and status	3.45
8. Organize the unorganized	2.62
9. Bargain collectively--enforce contract negotiations	3.59
10. Handle grievances and labor disputes	3.64
11. Involve me in the decision-making process . .	2.98
12. Be responsible to member needs and interests	2.99
13. Protect seniority, provide job security . . .	3.59
14. Function as an influential political, legislative, etc., force	2.99
15. Provide support to me and all union members	3.14
16. Help me to develop personally	2.82
17. Help me to develop professionally	2.82
18. Inform me about local union affairs and activities	3.48

TABLE 42 (Continued)

Item Number and Title	Mean Value
19. Inform me about the international union affairs and activities	3.00
20. Provide an opportunity for self-improvement via training and education	2.97
21. Strengthen the union movement	2.97
22. Be an agent for needed change and reform . . .	2.82
23. Activities to support affirmative action efforts	2.87
24. Improve the worker's standard of living . . .	3.64
25. Involve males in the decision-making process	3.66
26. Involve females in the decision-making process	2.97
27. Provide strong ethical representation for all members	3.13
28. Support women for leadership positions	3.01
29. Improve job safety	3.19
30. Actively involve all members	1.59
31. Evaluation of my union's overall performance	2.63

the decision-making process (3.66); improving the worker's standard of living (3.64); and handling grievances and labor disputes (3.64). The items yielding the lowest mean values were: recognizing me and all members for personal abilities and efforts (2.46); actively involving all members (2.59); organizing the unorganized (2.62); and helping me to develop personally and professionally (2.82). These data imply the merit of Chamberlain's analysis and his admonition about the importance of a union's internal relationship with its members.

An interesting finding of the analysis of this data was the difference between the respondents' reply to question 31 (the evaluation of their local unions' overall performance

revealed a mean value of 2.63) and the overall grand mean of their responses on question 1 through 30 (the evaluation of 30 specific areas of their local unions' performance revealed a mean value of 3.63). Using a 2-tail T test the author found a significant difference in the means at the .01 level of significance. This result was interpreted to mean that when the respondents' looked at the 30 individual aspects of their local trade unions they were slightly more positive than neutral in their perceptions. When the respondents' viewed their respective local unions' overall performance, however, they reported being "somewhat dissatisfied" (less than neutral).

One observation is in order. Many of the CLUW participants in this study were somewhat suspicious of the author's intended use of these data. Fearing less than an objective analysis, some respondents may have purposely lessened the negativeness of their response for fear of an inaccurate depiction of their perception of their union locals as well as the union movement. This thought is better expressed by L. L. Thurstone:

There comes to mind the uncertainty of using an opinion as an index of attitude All that we can do with an attitude scale is to measure the attitude actually expressed with the full realization that the subject may be consciously hiding his (or her) true attitude or that the social pressure of the situation has made him (or her) really believe what he (or she) expresses. This is a matter for interpretation In the present study we shall measure the subject's attitude as expressed by the acceptance

of opinions. But we shall not assume thereby that he (or she) will necessarily act in accordance with the opinions that he (or she) has endorsed.²

The important conclusions from research question 7 are to be found not in the arithmetic values, but rather in the rank order of these values. While some respondents may have skewed their perceptions in a positive manner, most respondents were blatantly honest in expressing many areas in their unions where improvements are needed and desired. As mentioned in Chapter II, such research efforts conducted by an "outside source" allow CLUW members an opportunity to express their frustrations and opinions about their union locals which they would like to verbally express to their (often male) local union leadership, but which they as yet have confined to their thoughts.

Research Question 8:

"Will there be a difference in CLUW respondents' overall mean satisfaction with their unions' performance and work-related or union-related factors?"

Research Question 9:

"Will there be a difference in CLUW respondents' overall mean satisfaction with the unions' performance and demographic characteristics?"

In the interest of brevity and lack of duplication, the data relevant to research questions 8 and 9 will be discussed under null hypothesis 1 and displayed in Table 50. Some of the categories of these factors and characteristics have been combined or collapsed from their original presentation in Tables 13-32 (Chapter IV).

Research Question 10:

"Will there be a difference in CLUW respondents' overall mean satisfaction and the proportion of eight areas of union participation of interest to them?"

The enumeration of information about these "eight areas of interest" were introduced previously in this chapter in Tables 33 and 34. Hypothesis 2 and Table 51 will yield the statistical findings of this area of research.

Recapitulation and Prelude

The first 10 research questions introduced the findings of the first questionnaire in terms of numerical and percentage data. The last 10 research questions are concerned with items 32-44 from the second questionnaire. Information concerning items 45-49 from the second questionnaire, the rank-ordering of areas of respondents' perceptions of work-related and union-related loyalties were unable to be analyzed due to respondents interpreting the questions in two diverse ways.

Note that the sample size relevant to the second questionnaire is reduced to 199. The reader may refer to pages 97 and 100 for an explanation of the determination of the sample size of the respondents to the second questionnaire.

Research Question 11:

"Will there be a difference in CLUW respondents' overall mean satisfaction and the length of time they have been a union member or the number of local unions which they have belonged to during their working lifetime?"

Research question 11 concerns the numerical and percentage data derived from questions 32 and 33 on the second questionnaire. Table 43 gives a frequency distribution of the length of time the CLUW respondents indicated they had been a union member. These data relate to the CLUW respondents' perceptions of satisfaction as shown in Hypothesis 3 and Table 52.

TABLE 43

HOW LONG HAVE YOU BEEN A UNION MEMBER:

Category in Years	Number	Percent
Less than one	2	1.01
1 - 3	18	9.04
4 - 5	49	24.62
6 - 10	50	25.13
11 - 14	24	12.06
15 - 20	5	2.51
over 20	41	20.60
No response	10	5.03
Total	199	100.00

Table 43 reveals that most of the respondents were not new arrivals to the labor movement. Approximately half of the sample had been union members 4 to 10 years. Fully 35 percent of the sample had belonged to a union over 10 years, and 20 percent had been members over 20 years. Combined with the age characteristics from Table 28, these findings suggest that this sample was comprised of mature workers (primarily women) who belonged to a union

because they believed their membership could improve their employment opportunities. This assumption was supported by the statistics discussed in Chapter II.

Table 44 indicates that 79 percent of the respondents have belonged to only one or two locals in their working lifetime. These findings, when analyzed in light of those of Table 43, suggest little geographic mobility of the members of this sample. Less than 5 percent of the respondents left this answer blank.

TABLE 44

HOW MANY LOCAL UNIONS HAVE YOU BELONGED TO DURING
YOUR WORKING LIFETIME?

Number of Unions	Number of Respondents	Percent
1	104	52.26
2	54	27.14
3	22	11.06
4	5	2.51
5	2	1.00
6	3	1.51
No Response	9	4.52
Total	199	100.00

Research Question 12-16:

The next five research questions (12-16) are all similar in that they concern the respondents' perceptions of the female role within the union (and on the job) in terms of leadership, discrimination, influence, and participation. These questions have four possible categories of

response: "yes," "no," "DNA," and those who marked no choice on that item. Although the explicit discussion of these research questions (12-16) are deferred until the next section (null hypotheses), Table 45 will synthesize numerical and percentages for the reader at this time.

As may be derived from Table 45, the only question which obtained a three-fourths consensus response was item 34, (research question 12, null hypothesis 4). Seventy-seven percent of the respondents felt that men are not superior to women in handling union affairs. In a related question, sixty-one percent of the respondents replied that their unions would indeed mean more to them if they could participate more in the union decision-making process. (These data are shown in relation to research question 16 and null hypothesis 8.)

Item 35 (research question 13, null hypothesis 5) received a high percentage of response. While 33 percent of the respondents indicated that the proportion of female officers was similar to that of the nonofficer members, 56 percent replied in the negative. In conjunction with the findings from items 38 and 39 (research question 7, null hypothesis 15), these results give support to the evidence which suggests that most women who are union officers are officers at the local but generally not at the national level. This trend seems to be slowly changing.

TABLE 45

A SYNTHESIS OF FREQUENCIES FOR RESEARCH QUESTIONS 12-16

Item	Replies in Number/%				Number of	
	"Yes"	"No"	"DNA"	"No Response"	Research Question/Hypothesis	Null
34. Are men better than women in handling union affairs?	8/4%	154/77%	19/10%	18/9%	12 /	4
35. Is the proportion of women who hold officer-ship proportionate to female membership in your union?	65/33%	111/56%	13/7%	10/5%	13 /	5
36. Do you feel your employer discriminates against females and minorities in promotion & seniority practices?	118/59%	56/28%	13/7%	12/6%	14 /	6
37. Do you feel your union discriminates against females & minorities in promotion & salary practices?	63/32%	112/56%	12/6%	12/6%	14 /	6

TABLE 45 (Continued)

Item	Replies in Number/%				Number of	
	"Yes"	"No"	"DNA"	"No Response"	Research Question/Hypothesis	Null Hypothesis
38. In your union, are women recognized as a source of influence in local elections?	117/59%	62/31%	7/4%	13/7%	15 /	7
39. In your union are women recognized as a source of influence in national elections?	78/39%	94/47%	14/7%	13/7%	15 /	7
40. If you could participate more in the union decision-making process, would the union mean more to you?	122/61%	21/11%	42/21%	14/7%	16 /	8

An interesting comparison may be made in terms of items 36 and 37 (research question 14, null hypothesis 6). Almost twice the ratio of respondents felt that females and minorities were discriminated against by their employers (in terms of promotion of seniority practices) than by their unions. Only 28 percent of the respondents replied that they felt their employers did not discriminate while 56 percent indicated that their unions did not discriminate. Thirty-two percent of the respondents felt their local union structures did discriminate against females and minorities in promotion and seniority practices.

Research Question 17:

"Will there be a difference in CLUW respondents' overall mean satisfaction and the respondents' perceptions of whether they think of their local (and national) union leaders in terms of 'we' or 'they'?"

Research question 17 will be analyzed statistically in the next section (null hypothesis 9). Table 46 presents the frequency and percentage data relevant to items 41 and 42 dealing with the degree to which these CLUW respondents identify with their local and national union (not CLUW) officers. Possible responses to this question include: "we," "they," "both," "DNA," and "no response."

As can be readily seen from Table 46, CLUW respondents generally think of their local union leaders in terms of "we" more than "they" with just the opposite feelings about their national union officers. This evidence lends support

to the theory that members identify more closely with those union representatives with whom they have the greatest contact and communication.

TABLE 46

DO YOU THINK ABOUT YOUR LOCAL (AND NATIONAL)
UNION LEADERS IN TERMS OF "WE" OR "THEY?"

Item	Replies in Number and Percent (%)				
	"We"	"They"	"Both"	"DNA"	"No Response"
41. Do you think about your local union leaders in terms of "we" or "they?"	98/49%	70/35%	4.2%	16/8%	11/6%
42. Do you think about your national union leaders in terms of "we" or "they?"	44/22%	121/61%	3.2%	20/10%	11/6%

Research Question 18:

"Will there be a difference in CLUW respondents' overall mean satisfaction and whether the respondents' local union president is a male or female?"

Table 47 shows that over two-thirds of the respondents have a local union president who is a male while 24 percent have a local union president who is a female. Hypothesis 10 will discuss the statistical relationship of these data.

TABLE 47

IS YOUR LOCAL UNION PRESIDENT MALE OR FEMALE?

Category	Number	Percent
Male	138	69.35
Female	47	23.62
DNA	5	2.51
No Response	9	4.52
Total	199	100.00

Research Question 19:

"Will there be a difference in the CLUW respondents' overall mean satisfaction and whether they prefer to work for a man than a woman?"

Table 48 shows that almost an equally small percentage of the respondents preferred working for males (7.5 percent) as females (6 percent). The majority of respondents (80 percent) indicated a "neutral" response which suggests that such preference depends more on the individual personality and not merely a sexual category. This query will be restated in Hypothesis 11 but it is introduced here as supportive evidence that these respondents are pro-worker as compared to strictly pro-female or anti-male.

Research Question 20:

"What is the possibility of the responses of items 34-44 occurring due to factors other than chance?"

The author wished to know whether a relationship existed between any two or more of items 34-44 from the

TABLE 48

WOULD YOU RATHER WORK FOR A MAN THAN A WOMAN?

Category	Number	Percent
Man	15	7.54
Woman	12	6.03
Neutral	160	80.40
No Response	12	6.03
Total	199	100.00

second questionnaire. Any significant relationships would help the author to predict how the respondents would answer one item by knowing how they answered another item. These findings, when combined with those of the ANOVA tests, allow a more accurate interpretation of the CLUW respondents' opinions.

The author's use of the Chi-square test for significance was based on Siegel's test for independence of samples as expressed in response frequencies.³ Cross-tabulations provided two discrete categories of data and then the Chi-square test was used on each pair of items to see if a relationship existed between any two or more pairs.

The general Chi-square formula is defined as:

$$X^2 = \sum_{i=1}^r \sum_{j=1}^k \frac{(O_{ij} - E_{ij})^2}{E_{ij}}$$

where:

O_{ij} = observed number, frequency, or value
in the i th row and j th column.

E_{ij} = expected number of cases under the null
to be found in the i th row and j th
column.

$\sum_{i=1}^r \sum_{j=1}^k$ = directs the researcher to sum over all
rows (r) and all columns (k).

The degrees of freedom (d.f.) must be established in order to use a table of critical values to test for significance. The appropriate number of degrees of freedom will equal the number of cells, k , less one degree of freedom for each independent linear restriction placed upon the observed cell counts.⁴ The formula for calculating degrees of freedom with arrays $r \times k$ follows:

$$df = (r-1) (k-1)$$

where:

r = number of rows (across)

k = number of columns (down)

In all cases the rejection of a null statement (no difference between any two items) is based upon the value of the computed Chi-square exceeding an expected critical value from a Chi-square table. These values are calculated for a one-tail test at a .05 probability level. The critical values relevant to research question 20 appear in Table 49.

The analysis of these data revealed a significant relationship between each two pairs (all 121 possible

combinations) of items 34-44. These findings indicate that these responses did not occur by chance, but rather were perhaps due to other variables such as the respondents' satisfaction level with their local unions' performance. It is this subject which is next analyzed by the null hypotheses.

Null Hypotheses

While the previous research questions exhausted the major areas of inquiries of this research effort, the present section tests for specific relationships among the variables. As discussed earlier in Chapter III ("The Use of ANOVA"), all data are tested using a one-way analysis of variance design.

For each hypothesis the dependent variable is defined as the respondents' degree of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with their respective local unions' performance. The dependent variable is derived from items 1-31 on the second questionnaire. For each hypothesis the independent variable differs. The first two hypotheses concern data from the initial questionnaire. The last nine hypotheses concern data from the second questionnaire.

These data were analyzed to explore any significant differences in the satisfaction scores among the various groups of independent variables. These variables are listed in Tables 50-52 along with their reported significance levels. Note that for all tables in this section "n.s."

TABLE 49
CHI-SQUARE VALUES FOR RELEVANT DEGREES OF FREEDOM
AT THE .05 PROBABILITY LEVEL⁵

Degrees of Freedom:	6	8	9	10	12	15	16	20	25
χ^2	12.59	15.51	16.92	18.31	21.03	25.0	26.3	31.41	37.65

should be interpreted as meaning nonsignificant at a .05 probability level.

Hypothesis 1:

"There is no difference between CLUW respondents' overall mean satisfaction with their local unions' performance and work-related, union-related or demographic factors."

The first null hypothesis tests the respondent population in terms of different categories to determine if the satisfaction scores of any of these respondent groups will yield significant differences among the means. Table 50 presents these findings.

Table 50 shows 3 out of 17 categories to yield groups with large and significant differences in their mean levels of satisfaction. These three categories include present job title, union position and title, and position held by the respondent at the international level. It is important to discuss each of these categories and related groups.

The category "present job title" was not analyzed in terms of the 43 titles presented in Table 17. Rather, two groups were compared: Those who were employed by unions; and those who were not employed by unions. This category was analyzed as a check on the findings from the initial category, "type of employer."

The second category yielding significantly different satisfaction means was "union position and title." Once again, rather than analyze this data in terms of the 28 groups listed in Table 18, two new groups were formed:

TABLE 50

RESULTS FROM HYPOTHESIS 1: THERE IS NO DIFFERENCE BETWEEN
 CLUW RESPONDENTS' OVERALL MEAN SATISFACTION WITH THEIR
 LOCAL UNIONS' PERFORMANCE AND WORK-RELATED,
 UNION-RELATED, OR DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS

Category	F Ratio	F Probability	Significance Level
Type of Employer	1.672	0.1973	n.s.
Specific Industries	0.049	0.8254	n.s.
Present Job Title	4.281	0.0396	.05
Union Position & Title	5.416	0.0209	.05
State in Which Respondent Works	2.301	0.0777	n.s.
Highest Level Attended in School	0.094	0.9631	n.s.
Hours You Work	1.049	0.3715	n.s.
Type of Work	2.963	0.0865	n.s.
Yearly Income	1.900	0.1301	n.s.
Age	1.722	0.1302	n.s.
Race	0.025	0.8740	n.s.
Marital Status	0.948	0.3313	n.s.
Number of Your Children	0.154	0.8576	n.s.
Position You Hold at the International Level	7.561	0.0064	.01
Paid or Unpaid at the International Level	0.097	0.7579	n.s.
Position You Hold at the Local Level	1.682	0.1958	n.s.
Paid or Unpaid at the Local Level	0.587	0.4449	n.s.

those who were members only, and all other categories. These two groups revealed differences in their levels of satisfaction with their overall local unions' performance which were significant at the .05 level.

Significant differences were also found when analyzing the mean satisfaction levels by the nine different positions held at the international union level. In treating this data, those who left this question blank or those who specified "member" as their response were coded as being one group. Those who indicated they were presidents, committee persons or held some type of position in their international union were coded as one of eight different groups. The mean satisfaction of these nine groups were found to be significant at the .01 level.

It is important to note that although one could expect possibly one or two incorrect rejections of the null due to the inflated alpha levels inherent in one-way ANOVA's, the three categories found to be significant were all related to union-related factors and not work-related or demographic factors. Each question indicates a major difference in the respondents' perception of their respective union locals according to how active they are at the international and local levels and whether or not they are employed by a union.

Hypothesis 2:

"There is no difference between CLUW respondents' overall mean satisfaction with their local unions' performance and the number of areas of union participation of interest to them."

Table 51 presents an ANOVA table relevant to the second hypothesis. As can be derived from the data in this table, no statistical differences between the means were evidenced. Once again, the groups used for analysis were collapsed from the eight groups presented in Table 33 to three new groups: those not responding or marking 3 areas or less to be of interest to them; those indicating interest in 4 to 6 areas; and those interested in seven or more areas. The F ratio and F probability for these data are shown in Table 51.

Results from the initial two hypotheses reveal that no differences exist in the respondents' overall mean levels of satisfaction when analyzed by areas of interest to the respondents' within their union structure, demographic data, or work-related data. Only the respondents' position at the international level, present job title, and union position and title displayed significant differences between the group means. These findings are particularly interesting in relation to the results of the following nine hypotheses.

Results from Hypotheses 3 through 9 are shown below in Table 52. These data are presented in this manner for brevity and uniformity. A discussion of each hypothesis is presented in relation to Table 52.

Hypothesis 3:

"There is no difference between CLUW respondents' overall mean satisfaction with their local unions' performance and the length of time they

TABLE 51

RESULTS FROM HYPOTHESIS 2: THERE IS NO DIFFERENCE BETWEEN CLUW RESPONDENTS' OVERALL
 MEAN SATISFACTION WITH THEIR LOCAL UNIONS' PERFORMANCE AND THE NUMBER OF
 AREAS OF UNION PARTICIPATION OF INTEREST TO THEM

Source of Variability	Degrees of Freedom	Sum of Squares	Mean Squares	F Ratio	F Probability	Significance Level
Between Groups	2	319.11	159.55	0.177	0.8377	n.s.
Within Groups	252	226808.80	900.03			
Total	254	227127.88	1059.58			

have been a union member or the number of unions which they have belonged to during their working lifetime."

The data (from items 32 and 33) were analyzed by the same seven categories shown in Tables 43 and 44. The findings, shown in Table 52, indicate that neither the length of time one has been a union member nor the number of union locals has an impact on the mean satisfaction of the respondents' perceptions of their present union locals.

Hypothesis 4:

"There is no difference between CLUW respondents' overall mean satisfaction with their local unions' performance and the respondents' perceptions of whether men are better than women in handling union affairs."

As noted from Table 45, 77 percent of the respondents replied that men are not better than women in handling union affairs. Four percent of the respondents, however, stated that indeed men are superior to women in managing union affairs. As indicated in Table 52, the differences between the mean satisfaction levels of these respondent groups were found to be statistically insignificant when tested by 1 x 3 ANOVA design.

Hypothesis 5:

"There is no difference between CLUW respondents' overall mean satisfaction with their local unions' performance and the respondents' perceptions of whether the proportion of women who hold union officership is proportionate to female membership in the respective union locals."

As noted from Table 45, 33 percent of the respondents answered this question affirmatively, 56 percent responded

TABLE 52

RESULTS FROM HYPOTHESES 3-9: THERE IS NO DIFFERENCE BETWEEN CLUW RESPONDENTS'
OVERALL MEAN SATISFACTION WITH THEIR LOCAL UNIONS' PERFORMANCE
AND ITEMS 32-44 ON THE SECOND QUESTIONNAIRE

Item	F Ratio	F Probability	Significance Level
32. How long have you been a union member?	1.032	0.4057	n.s.
33. How many local unions have you belonged to during your working lifetime?	0.758	0.6040	n.s.
34. Are men better than women in handling union affairs?	1.080	0.3419	n.s.
35. Is the proportion of women who hold union officer-ship proportionate to female membership in your union?	3.803	0.0241	.05
36. Do you feel your employer discriminates against females and minorities in promotion and seniority practices?	4.017	0.0180	.05
37. Do you feel your union discriminates against females and minorities in promotion and seniority practices?	23.634	0.0000	.01

TABLE 52 (Continued)

Item	F Ratio	F Probability	Significance Level
38. In your union, are women recognized as a source of influence in local elections?	29.492	0.0000	n.s.
39. In your union, are women recognized as a source of influence in national elections?	17.912	0.0000	n.s.
40. If you could participate more in the union decision-making process, would the union mean more to you?	19.559	0.0000	.01
41. Do you think about your local leaders in terms of "we" or "they?"	42.733	0.0000	.01
42. Do you think about your national leaders in terms of "we" or "they?"	5.618	0.0043	.01
43. Is your local president male or female?	5.775	0.0037	.01
44. Would you rather work for a man than a woman?	0.168	0.8457	n.s.

negatively, and 12 percent either did not respond or indicated that this question has no meaning to them. These data, when tested by a 1 x 3 ANOVA design, indicated significant differences between the mean satisfaction levels of the three groups. It would seem plausible that the respondents answering in the affirmative to item 35 would yield a mean satisfaction level higher than those responding negatively. This, in fact, was the case (3.48 compared to 3.14 respectively). What is most interesting is the fact that the third group, those replying "DNA" or "no response," reported the highest satisfaction level of all three groups, 3.59.

Hypothesis 6:

"There is no difference between CLUW respondents' overall mean satisfaction with their local unions' performance and the respondents' perceptions of whether the employer or union discriminate against females and minorities in promotion and seniority practices."

This null tested the data from items 36 and 37 using two 1 x 3 ANOVA designs. In each case group 1 was defined as those who replied negatively. Group 2 consisted of those who replied positively, and Group 3 consisted of those indicating "DNA" or "no response." Both items showed significant differences to exist between the mean satisfaction levels of the three groups. Mean differences relevant to employer practices (item 36) were significant at the .05 level while mean differences concerning union practices (item 37) were significant at the .01 level. Analysis of the homogeneous

subsets on item 37 showed a decisive delineation between Group 1 (which had a mean of 2.71) and Groups 2 and 3 (which had means of 3.54 and 3.57 respectively). These findings indicate that respondents who felt they had been discriminated against by the union (32 percent) were decidedly more dissatisfied with their overall unions' performance than were those respondents who felt no such discrimination existed (28 percent).

Hypothesis 7:

"There is no difference between CLUW respondents' overall mean satisfaction with their local unions' performance and the respondents' perceptions of whether or not women are recognized as a source of influence in local or in national elections."

The seventh hypothesis relates to items 38 and 39 from the second questionnaire. Once again two 1 x 3 ANOVA designs were employed with Group 1 consisting of those responding positively, Group 2 comprised of those responding negatively, and Group 3 consisting of the "DNA" and "no response" groups. These two items were both found to be significant at the .01 level.

Analysis of the homogeneous subsets found three distinct mean satisfaction levels for the three groups when analyzing women as a source of influence in local elections. The means for Groups one, two, and three respectively were 3.52, 2.68, and 4.15.

When analyzing item 39, the homogeneous subsets were not as distinct for all three groups; yet the lesser degree

of satisfaction is once again noticeable in Group 2. The means for groups one, two, and three, respectively, were 3.58, 2.91, and 3.78.

Results from Hypothesis 7 revealed Group 3 to indicate the highest overall mean satisfaction with their local unions' performance, followed by Group 1 and then Group 2. These data consistently indicate that there is a significant difference between the respondents' expressed levels of satisfaction with their local unions' performance and the degree to which they perceive women to be recognized as a source of influence in union elections at both the local as well as national levels.

Hypothesis 8:

"There is no difference between CLUW respondents' overall mean satisfaction with their local unions' performance and the respondents' perceptions of whether or not a greater ability for their participation in the union decision-making process would increase their unions' meaningfulness to them."

A 1 x 3 ANOVA design once again yields significant differences in the mean satisfaction of the three groups. Group 1, those 122 people who answered affirmatively (see Table 45), recorded a decidedly lower mean satisfaction level (3.0) compared to group 2 (3.60) and group 3 (3.83). Once again, Table 52 shows these findings to be significant at the .01 level. These data suggest that from the perception of the group 1 respondents, their satisfaction level is neutralized by their lack of participation in the union

decision-making process. One reason the mean of group 3 was generally found to be rather high was due to the fact that many union officers chose this category as their response.

Hypothesis 9:

"There is no difference between CLUW respondents' overall mean satisfaction with their local unions' performance and the respondents' perceptions of whether they think of their local or national trade union leaders in terms of 'we' or 'they'."

The ninth hypothesis concerned items 41 and 42. As noted in Table 46, 49 percent responded that they think of their local leaders in terms of "we" (group 1), 35 percent think of their local leaders in terms of "they" (group 2), and 8 percent responded "DNA" (group 3). The mean levels of satisfaction were found to be significantly different between the three groups at the .01 level when analyzed by a 1 x 3 ANOVA design. These means for item 41, groups 1 through 3, were found to be (respectively) 3.72, 2.67, and 3.21.

Findings relevant to item 42 were quite the opposite to those of item 41. Only 22 percent thought about their national union leaders in terms of "we" while 61 percent thought about their leaders in terms of "they." Ten percent replied "DNA." The means of these three groups, although statistically significant at the .01 level, were more compatible. Groups 1, 2, and 3 yielded means of 3.58, 3.10, and 3.29, respectively. Once again the second

group, the majority group, thought about their national union leaders in terms of "they." This group also exhibited the lowest level of mean satisfaction with their overall local unions' performance.

Hypothesis 10:

"There is no difference between CLUW respondents' overall mean satisfaction with their local unions' performance and the respondents' perceptions of whether their local union president is a male or female."

As reported previously in Table 47, over two-thirds of the respondents indicated they had a male president of their local union, 23.62 percent said they had a female president, and the other 7 percent either marked "DNA" or did not respond to the question. These three categories comprised the three groups as analyzed by a 1 x 3 ANOVA design.

When analyzed by homogeneous subsets, three distinct levels of means emerge for groups 1 through 3 respectively. These means, 3.16, 3.47, and 4.54 were found to be significant at the .01 level.

These findings indicate that these CLUW respondents show a higher level of perceived satisfaction when their local union president is a female. Once again, many of the respondents in group 3 indicated their status as officers or staff members in their local or national unions. This status accounts for their high mean satisfaction levels for questions 34-44.

Hypothesis 11:

"There is no difference between CLUW respondents' overall mean satisfaction with their local unions' performance and the respondents' perceptions of whether they would rather work for a man than a woman."

The eleventh hypothesis again employed a 1 x 3 ANOVA design to test for significant differences between group means. As noted in Table 48, 7.54 percent (group 1) indicated they would rather work for a man, 6.03 percent (group 2) said they would prefer to work for a woman, and 80.40 percent (group 3) felt neutral concerning this question. These reported group means were 3.37, 3.17, and 3.26, respectively, yielding no significant mean differences. These data are shown in Table 52.

Research Results and Implications

Chapter IV has disclosed the findings and relevant statistics of 20 research questions and 11 null hypotheses. These findings exhaust the analysis of the two CLUW questionnaires and present the findings in terms of descriptive statistics. Specific comparisons of these data and those of other research efforts will be discussed in Chapter V.

Findings and Implications of Hypotheses 1, 2, and 8

Analysis of the data from the first questionnaire revealed most of the respondents to be employed in traditionally female-intensive occupations by nonunion employers in both the private and public sectors. (The reader may

refer back to Chapter III, pages 93-95, for clarification of this term.) Approximately 18 percent of the respondents were noted to be employed by unions, a biasing factor in itself. Over three-fourths of the respondents reported being members of some union committee, officers, or in some way active in their union structures at the local and/or national level. The highest percentage of respondents were from New York, California, and Michigan, respectively; most were non-officer members of their internationals and most were unpaid for their participation in union activities at any level.

The demographic characteristics of the respondents revealed these CLUW members to be more educated than the "average American females" in 1978 (see Chapter II), and to be full-time, salaried employees who earned well beyond the "typical" female's paycheck. Approximately half of the respondents reported earning \$15,000 or less and half earned \$15,000 or more. Almost 60 percent were between the ages of 25 and 45, while the other 40 percent were between the ages of 46 and 65.

Most of these respondents were females, most were white, and over half were single, divorced, widowed, or separated. Almost 80 percent of this sample had two children or less and 44 percent were married.

These findings were the highlights of research questions 1, 2, and 8, as well as null hypothesis 1. When

analyzed by Analysis of Variance tests, only the respondents' present job title, their union position and title, and the positions they held at the international level turned out to be significant at the .05 level. In other words, research results from hypothesis 1 showed the respondents' differences in satisfaction with their local trade unions' performance were related to their job titles and union positions and not to race, sex, education, or other demographic variables.

Research questions 3 and 10, along with hypothesis 2, analyzed the degree of interest expressed by respondents in eight union-related areas; participation in decision-making, leadership, communication, the quality of work life, union elections, affirmative action, collective bargaining, and the activities of federal agencies such as OSHA.

Although the number of areas of interest were found to be statistically insignificant, the area receiving the highest percentage of interest by respondents was that of participation in the union's decision-making process. This finding is important when analyzed with the findings from hypothesis 8. Statistically significant lower mean satisfaction levels were expressed by those respondents who stated that a greater ability to participate in their unions' decision-making would indeed increase their unions' meaningfulness to them (as compared to the means of the respondents who answered negatively to this question). These findings

suggest to union leaders that efforts to communicate the need for all members to participate and to become involved in union affairs cannot be overstressed. Images of the union "elite" or "in-crowd" should be dispelled.

Table 34 reveals the quality of work life, affirmative action, and collective bargaining efforts to be of interest to two-thirds of the CLUW respondents. Research question 4 and Tables 35-37 display the frequency data relating to these areas of interest in terms of their unions' purpose, their reasons for joining a union, and what they want most from their union. Research question 5 and Tables 36-40 present the findings of similar questions when related to CLUW, and research question 6 (along with Table 41) reveals what respondents want most from their employers.

Respondents generally mentioned the traditional reasons as the major purpose of their unions, namely increased remunerative rewards, job protection, and collective bargaining. Expressly stated as desirable actions from unions included strong ethical representation, greater communication, job protection, job dignity, and an improved quality of work life. All of these same factors were listed as what respondents wanted most from their employers.

These data imply that managers as well as union leaders should recognize the need for increased emphasis on the human element and the need for greater individual respect and dignity. Individual respondents reiterated a need for

acknowledgment (by union leadership and management alike) of their individual efforts, and personal recognition for a job well done.

Findings and Implications of Hypothesis 3

Findings from research question 11 and hypothesis 3 revealed that most of the respondents (approximately 60 percent) had been union members longer than five years and 20 percent had belonged to a union for over 20 years. Seventy-nine percent of the respondents reportedly belonged to only one or two union locals during their working lifetime. Thus this sample of CLUW respondents could be described as mature or experienced workers (older than the "average" female employee in 1978) whose membership in unions is based on the premise that unions provide a social as well as political vehicle for individual upward mobility both on the job as well as within the union hierarchy. Such a potential medium for aiding personal and professional advancement is particularly important when geographical and occupational mobility is perceived as being limited.

Findings and Implications of Hypothesis 4.

Research question 12 and hypothesis 4 yielded no statistically significant differences between the mean levels of satisfaction with their union locals (Table 52) and whether or not they perceived men to be better than women in handling union affairs. While 77 percent of the CLUW

respondents (primarily female) replied that men are not better than women in handling union affairs (Table 45), they also indicated that union elections ranked seventh out of eight areas of interest to them in their unions (Table 34). These data imply that union leaders need to discuss with their members the importance of attending meetings, participating in all aspects of union life, and educating themselves to be qualified to run for a leadership position. These same factors are the principle components and thrust of the Coalition of Labor Union Women. Similar findings were verbalized by both rank and file union members as well as officers in Chapter II.

Findings and Implications of Hypothesis 5

Research question 13 and hypothesis 5 analyzed the frequency as well as the statistical data concerning the respondents' perceptions of whether the proportion of female officers in their respective unions was proportionate to their unions' female membership. Thirty-three percent of the respondents replied affirmatively, 56 percent responded negatively, and 12 percent answered either "DNA" or did not respond. Analysis of these findings yielded statistically significant differences to exist between the satisfaction means of the three groups. As one might expect, the group giving a positive response yielded a higher mean than the group signifying a negative response. As was true with many of the hypotheses dealing with items 34-44 (second

questionnaire), the highest mean value of all (three) groups was that of those replying "DNA" or those who left this item blank. One potential reason for this occurrence is due to numerous officers who completed items 1-31 on the second questionnaire but who marked "DNA" or did not respond to items 34-44.

Implications from the fifth hypothesis indicate that CLUW respondents (primarily females) perceive greater satisfaction with their local unions' performance if female trade unionists are represented as officers or if they hold positions of authority and respect. Members of trade unions and workers in general seem to be more satisfied if they perceive upward mobility to be tied to individual efforts.

Findings and Implications of Hypothesis 6

Significant results were found in respondents' group mean satisfaction levels in relation to research question 14 and hypothesis 6. As may be derived from Table 45 and Table 52, almost twice the ratio of respondents (59 percent) felt that females and minorities were discriminated against by their employers (in terms of promotion or seniority practices) than by their unions (32 percent). Only 28 percent of the respondents replied that they felt their employers did not discriminate compared with 56 percent who indicated that their unions did not discriminate. Respondents who felt they had been discriminated against by their local union were decidedly more dissatisfied (mean =

2.71) with their unions' overall performance than were those respondents who felt no such discrimination existed (mean = 3.54). These data indicate areas of research needed by both union leaders as well as managers alike.

Findings and Implications of Hypothesis 7

Items 38 and 39 are presented and analyzed in detail in research question 15 and hypothesis 7. As indicated in Table 45, women were perceived by 59 percent of the respondents to be recognized as a source of influence at the local level and were perceived by 32 percent of the respondents to be recognized similarly at the national level. These proportions were reversed by the negative respondents (31 percent and 56 percent, respectively). These data, when analyzed statistically, revealed the respondents answering affirmatively (to item 39-local level) expressed a mean of 3.52, those replying negatively showed a mean of 2.68, and the "DNA, no response" group reported a mean of 4.15. These data indicate a direct relationship between the respondents' expressed mean satisfaction level with their overall union and the degree to which they perceive women to be recognized as a source of influence in union elections at both the local as well as national levels.

Findings and implications of hypothesis 8 were presented previously with hypotheses 1 and 2, page 189. The eighth hypothesis reiterated the respondents expressed desire for unions to pay greater attention to individual efforts and the human element.

Findings and Implications of Hypothesis 9

Findings from research question 17 and null hypothesis 9 are derived from Table 46 and Table 52. As discussed extensively in the analysis section of hypothesis 9, the proportional responses to whether the respondents think of their trade union leaders in terms of "we" or "they" are negatively related depending on the union level involved. CLUW respondents generally indicated that they think in terms of their local union leaders as "we" (49 percent) while 61 percent of these same respondents said they think of their national union leaders in terms of "they." As expected, the highest mean satisfaction levels were expressed for those who identified with their local union leaders (3.72) followed by those who identified with their national union leaders (3.58). The lowest mean satisfaction level was expressed (2.67) by those respondents (35 percent) who thought of their local union leaders as "they."

These findings indicate once again the need for improved communications and other factors of Chamberlain's "internal-relations government." As indicated by the research results and several hypotheses in this study, these unionists clearly indicated their need for improved interpersonal relations between members and officers along with more relevant contact (including educational efforts) to be provided by the leaders.

Findings and Implications of Hypothesis 10

Research question 18 and hypothesis 10 once again yielded group mean satisfaction levels which were found to be significant at the .01 level. As derived from Table 47 and Table 52, 69.35 percent of the respondents indicated they had a male local president of their trade union local. These findings indicated that CLUW respondents perceived the overall performance of their local unions to yield slightly higher mean satisfaction if the president were a female (3.47) than if the local president were a male (3.16). The implications of these findings are consistent with those of hypotheses 5, 7, and 9. It seems that CLUW members expressed greater satisfaction if female role models existed within their union hierarchies.

Findings and Implications of Hypothesis 11

No statistically significant differences were discovered between the respondents' group means concerning whether they preferred to work for a man than a woman. The majority of respondents felt neutral concerning this question.

Although not statistically significant, findings from hypothesis 11 have importance when interpreted with the findings from a hypothesis 6 (item 36--whether CLUW respondents felt their employer discriminates against females and minorities in promotion and seniority practices) and the findings from research question 6 (what CLUW respondents want most from their employers). As shown in Table 41, four of the

six factors stated as wanted most from their respective employers dealt with caring for workers as individuals and giving individual workers the dignity they deserve as human beings, equitable treatment for all, equal opportunity for individual acceptance and promotion, and individual recognition and appreciation. Findings from Table 45 and hypothesis 6 revealed that the majority of CLUW respondents (59 percent) felt that no such equal opportunity existed with their employers and thus their supervisors.

Since most supervisors espouse the attitudes of their own superiors, and since most of the CLUW respondents perceived their employers to discriminate against females and minorities in terms of promotion and seniority practices, the sex of the supervisors would be an insignificant factor in the minds of the respondents.

Chapter IV has presented a detailed analysis of the research questions, null hypotheses, and research results and implications. Chapter V will summarize these findings, make conclusions and recommendations.

CHAPTER IV

FOOTNOTES

¹R. J. Senter, Analysis of Data, (Glenview, Illinois: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1979), p. 6.

²L. L. Thurstone, "Attitudes Can Be Measured," Gene F. Summers, Ed., Attitude Measurement, (Urbana, Illinois: Rand McNally & Company, 1970), pp. 128-129.

³Sidney Siegel, Nonparametric Statistics for the Behavioral Sciences, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1956), pp. 104-111.

⁴William Mendenhall, Introduction to Probability and Statistics, (Belmont, California: Duxbury Press, 1971), p. 292.

⁵Ibid, p. 421.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Conclusions are general summary statements or inferences which are drawn from the findings of the hypotheses. Findings are specific facts presented in the tables. The conclusions are inferred from the findings and are related to the hypotheses.¹

The purpose of this final chapter is to summarize and synthesize the findings presented herein and to show the relationship between these findings and those of other studies. Conclusions are then stated followed by specific recommendations for CLUW members and leaders, trade union officers, and managers. Recommendations are also indicated for future research.

Introduction

The purpose of this dissertation is to add one more input to the mosaic depicting the role of local trade unions as they function in American society today. Specifically, this work derives opinions from members of the Coalition of Labor Union Women concerning their perceived levels of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the efforts of their local trade union organizations. Additional information originating from this work concerns why these female union members joined their unions, what these respondents indicated

as the major purpose of their unions, and what these unionists stated as wanting most from their unions.

The dissertation sampled 250 members of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) with two questionnaires. The first questionnaire, "An Opinion Questionnaire for Members of the Coalition of Labor Union Women," obtained demographic data and information relating to the respondents' respective unions and jobs. The second questionnaire, "An Opinion Questionnaire for American Trade Unionists," contained 31 specific Likert-type items asking respondents to indicate the degree of satisfaction they felt concerning their local unions' performance. Twenty additional items also appeared on the second questionnaire relating to such issues as discrimination, participation, and affiliation.

Chapter III of this dissertation presented the research design and methodology used in this study. Twenty research questions and eleven null hypotheses were presented with their relevant methodologies in Tables 11 and 12 (pages 101-108). Findings of these research questions and null hypotheses were then presented in Chapter IV.

Summary of Research

Tables 13 and 14 (in Chapter IV) showed the descriptive statistics and frequency data obtained from the first questionnaire. Table 42 (page 158) then displayed the respondents' mean satisfaction values for the 31 Likert-type items on the second questionnaire, Tables 43 through 49 contained

the data derived from the non-Likert-type items on the second questionnaire.

As may be seen from Tables 50-52, using an ANOVA design the author found that five null hypotheses (numbers 2, 3, 4, 7, and 11) were accepted, and five null hypotheses (numbers 5, 6, 8, 9, and 10) were rejected. Because of its scope, the first null hypothesis could be neither accepted nor rejected.

Significant differences between the CLUW respondents' overall mean satisfaction with their local unions' performance were found with the following areas:

- Job title
- Union position and title
- Position the respondent holds at the international (union) level
- Whether or not the proportion of women who hold union officerships are proportional to female membership in the respondents' unions
- Whether or not the respondents feel their employers or unions discriminate against females and minorities in promotion and seniority practices
- Whether or not greater opportunity to participate in the union decision-making process would make the union more meaningful to the respondent
- Whether the respondents think about their national or local union leaders in terms of "we" or "they"
- Whether the respondents' local presidents are male or female

Areas found to yield insignificant differences between respondents' overall mean satisfaction with their local unions' performance included:

- All demographic data
- Type of work
- Hours of work
- Type of employer or industry
- Position the respondent holds at the local union level

Whether or not the respondent is paid for union
 duties at the local or international level
 Number of (eight specified) areas of interest to
 the respondent
 How long the respondent has been a union member
 Number of local unions the respondent has belonged
 to
 Whether or not men are perceived to be recognized as
 a source of influence in local or national (union)
 elections
 Whether respondents would rather work for a man than
 a woman

Relationship of These Findings to Other Research

Table 35 in Chapter IV shows a frequency distribution of what the respondents indicated as the major purpose of their unions. These findings are strikingly similar to the "perceived union goals" found by Staines and Quinn's 1977 Quality of Employment Survey released recently by Michigan's Institute of Social Research. In both studies the highest percentage of respondents indicated the same two factors as union priorities: improving wages and benefits, and improving working conditions. Other union goals indicated by respondents in both studies included improving job security, protecting workers and their rights, due process and equity, and representing the worker. (Similar areas were listed in both studies as reasons for joining a union.)

One difference in the findings of the two studies was the emphasis of the CLUW respondents in the areas of collective bargaining, improving the quality of work life, and organizing the unorganized. The Staines and Quinn study also included nonunion respondents and included perceptions

of the negative aspects of unions such as: existing for self-aggrandizement, making unfair demands, creating inflation, and hurting the country.

Table 37 in Chapter IV depicts the most frequent CLUW responses to the question "What do you want most from your union?" Similarities once again emerge between these findings and those of Staines and Quinn. The ISR study asked union employees what they thought their unions should be doing (union member priorities for union issues). Both studies found high frequencies of replies indicating the need for increased representation and responsiveness to members, increased communication with members, and greater opportunity for participation in the union decision-making process. These areas were subsumed by the Staines and Quinn study under the factor called "responsiveness to members."

Two other factors listed by the ISR survey were "extrinsic benefits" (getting better fringe benefits and wages, improving safety and health, and improving job security), and "intrinsic benefits" (getting workers a say in how they do their jobs, helping to make jobs more interesting, and getting workers a say in how their employer runs the business). While the dissertation findings reveal many of the same "extrinsic benefits" to be listed as priorities of CLUW members, the dissertation showed no mention by CLUW respondents of any "intrinsic benefits."

Findings from the 1977 Quality of Employment Survey are substantiated by the findings of this dissertation concerning unionists' perceptions of the purpose of their unions, their reasons for joining a union, and the priorities they want from their unions. Facts from both studies also give insight to the role unions play in terms of worker discrimination.

As noted in Chapter II, the Staines and Quinn study reported no significant increases in age discrimination between 1969 and 1977 except by those over 55 years of age. While the percentage of women reporting sex discrimination had generally decreased since 1973, differences were noted concerning union status. (Examples of sex discrimination by respondents to the ISR survey included: lack of respect, being mistreated, salary and benefit inequities, and receiving fewer promotions than others.)

Staines and Quinn reported a decrease in sexual discrimination by women who were nonunion employees between 1973 and 1977 from 14.9 percent to 11.1 percent. Female unionists, however, reported an increase in sexual discrimination from 10.0 percent to 13.5 percent. As shown in Table 45 (Chapter IV) of this dissertation, 59 percent of the CLUW respondents indicated that they felt their employer discriminated against females and minorities in promotion and seniority practices. Thirty-two percent also felt that their local union leaders discriminated against females and minorities in terms of

promotion and seniority practices. The dissertation findings also indicate that respondents who felt they had been discriminated against by their employer and union were significantly less satisfied with their local union's performance than were those who did not feel such discrimination existed.

Evaluation of union performance by the Staines and Quinn study reported general satisfaction. As discussed by Kochan:

Twenty-five percent of the respondents indicated that they were very satisfied with their union, 48 percent indicated they were satisfied, 17 percent indicated they were dissatisfied, and 10 percent indicated they were very dissatisfied . . . three-fourths of all of the union members surveyed indicated a general degree of satisfaction with their union . . . the only significant correlate of union satisfaction was satisfaction with the traditional economic or bread and butter aspects of workers' jobs. Beyond this, there were no consistent significant demographic, regions, or occupational groups that differed significantly on this satisfaction score.²

The findings of this dissertation resemble those of the 1977 Quality of Employment Survey but are slightly less positive. Both studies revealed the highest mean satisfaction levels to be associated with traditional union issues such as improving wages and the handling of grievances. Both studies also indicated the lowest mean satisfaction values to be related to the unions' lack of responsiveness to members and the unionists' perceived inability to participate extensively in the internal functioning of their unions.

Glick, Mirvis, and Harder report findings fairly consistent with those of Staines and Quinn and this dissertation. Glick, et al., note that union satisfaction is not associated with members' demographic characteristics but that women are generally less satisfied and less willing to participate than men. They found that satisfaction with unions as a whole seems to be correlated with a number of factors, particularly with perceptions of how well various forms of union activities are handled.³

Another study, the 1979 National Survey of Working Women, also found data not inconsistent with the findings of the CLUW study as well as those of Staines and Quinn. The National Commission on Working Women reports:

About 12 percent of the women employed in non-professional and non-managerial jobs belonged to unions. Their rate of dissatisfaction (28 percent) was somewhat higher than that of women who were not union members (22 percent).⁴

Conclusions

The data presented by this dissertation appear to be consistent with findings from other recent research efforts. While demographic factors do not seem to be related to individual union members' perceptions of the performance of their unions, females tend to be generally less than satisfied. One possible reason for this result is the fact that women typically have been alienated from positions of authority within the union as well as within the management hierarchy.

As noted recently by Weaver:

It would appear that the factors leading to or detracting from job satisfaction are identical for the sexes . . . equally high levels of job satisfaction for males and females may exist because most women are simply unaware of the intense discrimination from which they suffer.⁵

Members of the Coalition of Labor Union Women, however, are perhaps the least "unaware" of all working women. As reported in Chapter IV, the CLUW respondents were older, more experienced, and more educated than the "average" working woman in 1978. For this reason, it seems consistent that these CLUW women would be more sensitive to discriminatory factors on the job and in their unions, and would actively participate in making changes necessary to improve their lot in life. The data presented herein seem to substantiate this premise.

CLUW members are not dissatisfied with their local union hierarchies, but they are far from being satisfied. They are interested in the same traditional factors listed as priorities by most union members, and they are very loyal to their union structures and are dedicated to working within their unions for needed change.

Members of the Coalition of Labor Union Women may be justifiably described as female union activists. They are feminists who are grooming themselves and others to assume positions of responsibility. It is no accident that the new president of the AFL-CIO, Lane Kirkland, is considering

breaking with tradition and seeking to place a woman on the 35-member AFL-CIO executive council. It is also no accident that the three women being considered for council posts are each members of CLUW. These women are Addie Wyatt, vice president of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union; Joyce Miller, vice president of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, and Dina Beaumont, vice president of the Communication Workers of America.⁶

Recommendations

Scarcely enough emphasis can be placed on personal growth and development for all workers, union and nonunion, male and female. CLUW members, therefore, should strive to overcome their fears and ask to receive training and travel funds to attend CLUW meetings and any employee development programs attainable. CLUW members should become more verbal and cohesive and help each other to take full advantage of opportunities already existing on their jobs and within their union structures.

CLUW leaders must communicate more with their members. Respondents to this study voiced a need to have a "grapevine" to their leaders through an impartial third source such as that provided by this survey. CLUW leaders need to reiterate to their members that everyone who works hard and contributes can assume leadership positions on their jobs, in their unions, and in CLUW.

Trade union officers must heed the caveat provided by these findings and recall Chamberlain's concept of functional

democracy. While union leaders must continue to provide excellent services in the traditional union functions (improving wages, collective bargaining, and grievance handling), union rank and file members also stress the need for improved internal-relations functions such as receptivity, participation, and communications.

Managers should re-evaluate their organizational climates and provide opportunities for all human resources to share in the decisions (and thus responsibilities) of the work to be performed. The findings of this study show that these CLUW respondents are not anti-management. Many do feel, however, that management frequently discriminates unfairly against females and minorities in seniority and promotion practices. These respondents also indicate that they want respect, equal treatment, and increased recognition for a job well done.

Past research indicates that union members who are satisfied with their unions generally tend to be satisfied with management. The measures of job satisfaction and organizational involvement tend to be correlated with union satisfaction.⁷ This is the basic philosophy behind the concept of the "quality of work life." Workers who are unionists or nonunion members can share in decisions that affect them on the job (such as productivity levels) without doing so in a collective bargaining setting. It is one's perception and attitude that is paramount in determining satisfaction.

As mentioned in Chapter I, this work is the pilot study of hopefully a long relationship with the members and officers of the Coalition of Labor Union Women. Continued efforts need to be conducted to identify the philosophy and characteristics of all union members, and specifically the members of CLUW.

Refinements need to be made concerning the meaning of the term "satisfaction." Future research could employ multivariate designs to evaluate perceived levels of satisfaction with a respondent's life in general along with other factors related to the job, the manager's philosophy, the union, co-workers, the family, one's self-concept, and one's personal and professional aspirations. It is only with increased information that research of affective data can be put to effective use. As noted by Glenn E. Watts, president of the Communication Workers of America, "Workers are not living a theory. They are living a life."⁸ Whether the quality of that life is satisfying or dissatisfying depends on an individual's perception.

CHAPTER V FOOTNOTES

¹Howard L. Balsley and Vernon T. Clouer, Business Research Methods, 2nd ed., (Columbus, Ohio: Grid Publishing, Inc., 1979) p. 347.

²Thomas A. Kochan, "How American Workers View Labor Unions," Monthly Labor Review, April 1979, p. 30.

³William Glick, Philip Mirvis and Diane Harder, "Union Satisfaction and Participation," Industrial Relations, Vol. XVI, No. 2 (1977), pp. 149-51.

⁴National Survey of Working Women: Perceptions, Problems and Prospects, National Commission on Working Women, Center for Women and Work, June 1979, p. 9.

⁵Charles N. Weaver, "The Irony of the Job Satisfaction of Females," The Personnel Administrator, May 1979, pp. 70-73.

⁶"AFL-CIO Courts Women, Minorities," Dallas Morning News, November 21, 1979, p. 12A.

⁷"New Official in AFL-CIO Cites Goals," Dallas Morning News, November 21, 1979, p. 8A. See also, "UMW President Says Increasing Organizing is Union's Major Goal," Wall Street Journal, December 4, 1979, pp. 145-150.

⁸Glenn E. Watts, "The Work Ethic Is Alive in America," Viewpoint, Vol. 8, No. 3, 1978, p. 11.

APPENDIX

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APPENDIX A

AN OPINION QUESTIONNAIRE FOR MEMBERS
OF THE
COALITION OF LABOR UNION WOMEN
(Second Draft)

The purpose of this preliminary questionnaire is to give you the opportunity to help us know more about you and your experiences with CLUW and your union. Your answers will be used anonymously to help us begin to understand the role of women in unions in 1978.

PLEASE COMPLETE THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION: (Print or check the box ☒)

Type of Union: _____

Type of Employer: _____

Your Present Job Title: _____

Official Title of Your Union Position: _____

City and State in Which You Work: _____

Highest Level Attended in School: _____

Hours You Work: Full-time ☐ Part-time ☐ Not Working ☐ More Than One Job ☐

Type of Work: Hourly Rated ☐ Salary ☐ Piecework ☐

Yearly Income: Below 10,000 ☐ 10,001-12,000 ☐ 12,001-15,000 ☐ 15,001-20,000 ☐
Over 20,001-25,000 ☐ 25,001-30,000 ☐ 30,001-35,000 ☐ Over 35,000 ☐
(specify amount)

Your Age: Under 25 ☐ 25-35 ☐ 36-45 ☐ 46-55 ☐ 56-65 ☐ Over 65 ☐

Your Sex: Male ☐ Female ☐

Your Race: White ☐ Black ☐ American Indian ☐ Hispanic ☐ Oriental ☐ Other ☐

Marital Status: Single ☐ Married ☐ Divorced ☐ Widowed ☐

Number of Your Children: None ☐ One ☐ Two ☐ Three ☐ Four ☐ More Than Four ☐

Your Position Within Your Union: (If you hold a position at the international level, please specify that too):

	<u>International</u>	<u>Local</u>
President	☐	☐
Vice President	☐	☐
Financial	☐	☐
Correspondence Recording Secretary	☐	☐
Trustee	☐	☐
Business Agent	☐	☐
Committee Person	☐	☐
Other -- Specify		
Paid	☐	☐
Unpaid	☐	☐

Which area is of interest to you in your union? (Mark each box ☒ which applies to your interests.)

participation in decision making ☐	union elections ☐
leadership ☐	affirmative action ☐
communications ☐	collective bargaining ☐
the quality of work life ☐	federal agencies such as OSHA ☐

PLEASE COMPLETE THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION:

1. What do you see as the major purpose of your union? _____
2. What do you see as the major purpose of CLUW? _____
3. Your reasons for joining a union?
 - a. _____
 - b. _____
 - c. _____
4. Your reasons for joining CLUW?
 - a. _____
 - b. _____
 - c. _____
5. What do you want most from your union?
 - a. _____
 - b. _____
 - c. _____
6. What do you want most from CLUW?
 - a. _____
 - b. _____
 - c. _____
7. What do you want most from your company?
 - a. _____
 - b. _____
 - c. _____
8. What union committee work are you involved in?
 - a. _____
 - b. _____
 - c. _____
9. What questions would you like to ask the CLUW officers and board members?
 - a. _____
 - b. _____
 - c. _____
10. What questions would you like to ask other CLUW members by a questionnaire like this one?
 - a. _____
 - b. _____
 - c. _____

We are interested in knowing more about the attitudes of our ^{UNION} members. Would you be willing to complete another questionnaire for us about three months from now if we send you a copy of our findings? Yes ☐ No ☐

If yes, please fill in your name and address so we can send you the next questionnaire.

(Please fold, staple, stamp and mail as soon as possible.)

Name: _____

Address: _____

Place
Stamp
Here

Female Unionist Research Association
Box 13226
North Texas Station
Denton, TX 76203

APPENDIX B

April 20, 1979

Dear CLUW Member:

Results of the initial questionnaire you replied to will be sent to you within six weeks. Unlike the general CLUW mailing of these findings, you will receive a more comprehensive summary of results as a token of our appreciation for your support. (Unless we become active ourselves, how can we achieve progress and understanding?)

Won't you please take a few minutes of your time to complete this second questionnaire? Your response is a vital part of the next phase of this study. We need your support!

If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact me personally at (817) 383-4125 (Home) or (817) 788-2311 Ext. 40 (work). A stamped, preaddressed envelope is enclosed for your convenience.

In Sisterhood,

Donna E. Ledgerwood
Lecturer

dt

AN OPINION QUESTIONNAIRE FOR
AMERICAN TRADE UNIONISTS

DATE: _____

Ask yourself: How satisfied am I with this aspect of my union's performance on my behalf?

Very sat means I am very satisfied.

Sat means I am satisfied.

N means I can't decide whether I am satisfied or not.

Dissat means I am dissatisfied.

Very dissat means I am very dissatisfied.

DNA means this statement does not apply to me.

Please place a check mark in the box that best explains how you feel about each statement. Choose an answer for all statements.

IN MY EXPERIENCE WITH MY UNION, THIS IS THE WAY I FEEL ABOUT MY LOCAL UNION'S EFFORT TO:

	Very Sat	Sat	N	Dissat	Very Dissat	DNA
1. Improve wages and benefits	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
2. Recognize me and all members for personal abilities and efforts	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
3. Improve working conditions	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
4. Educate workers about union rights	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
5. Protect workers and provide due process	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
6. Improve the quality of work life	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
7. Maintain worker dignity, respect, and status	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
8. Organize the unorganized	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
9. Bargain collectively--enforce contract negotiations	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
10. Handle grievances and labor disputes	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
11. Involve me in the decision- making process	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
12. Be responsible to member needs, interests	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
13. Protect seniority, provide job security	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
14. Function as an influential political, legislative, etc., force	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
15. Provide support to me and all union members	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
16. Help me to develop personally	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
17. Help me to develop professionally	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
18. Inform me about local union affairs & activities	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
19. Inform me about the inter- nation union affairs & activities	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	Very Sat	Sat	N	Dissat	Very Dissat	DNA

	Very Sat	Sat	N	Dissat	Very Dissat	DNA
20. Provide an opportunity for self-improvement via training and education	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
21. Strengthen the union movement	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
22. Be an agent for needed change and reform	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
23. Activity support affirmative action efforts	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
24. Improve the worker's standard of living	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
25. Involve males in the decision-making process	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
26. Involve females in the decision-making process	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
27. Provide strong ethical representation for all members	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
28. Support women for leadership positions	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
29. Improve job safety	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
30. Actively involve all members	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
31. Evaluate my union's overall performance	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Please answer the following Questions.

32. How long have you been a union member? less than 1 yr. ☐ 1-3 yrs. ☐
4-5 yrs. ☐ 6-10 yrs. ☐ 11-14 yrs. ☐ 15-20 yrs. ☐ over 20 yrs. ☐
33. How many local unions have you belonged to during your working lifetime?
1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐ 6 or more ☐
34. Are men better than women in handling union affairs: Yes ☐ No ☐ DNA ☐
35. Is the proportion of women who hold union officership proportionate to female membership in your union? Yes ☐ No ☐ DNA ☐
36. Do you feel your employer discriminates against females and minorities in promotion and seniority practices? Yes ☐ No ☐ DNA ☐
37. Do you feel your union discriminates against females and minorities in promotion and seniority practices? Yes ☐ No ☐ DNA ☐
38. In your union, are women recognized as a source of influence in local elections? Yes ☐ No ☐ DNA ☐
39. In your union, are women recognized as a source of influence in national elections? Yes ☐ No ☐ DNA ☐
40. If you could participate more in the union decision-making process, would the union mean more to you? Yes ☐ No ☐ DNA ☐
41. Do you think about your local union leaders in terms of "we" or "they?"
We ☐ They ☐ Neither ☐
42. Do you think about your national union leaders in terms of "we" or "they?"
We ☐ They ☐ Neither ☐
43. Is your local union president male ☐ female ☐ DNA ☐
44. Would you rather work for a man than a woman? Man ☐ Woman ☐ Neutral ☐
- Please rank the following areas in the amount of loyalty you feel.
A rank of 1 = most loyalty A rank of 5 = least loyalty
45. The plant or organization you work for _____
46. The local union you belong to _____
47. The national union you belong to _____
48. The people you work with _____
49. The work that you do (your occupation) _____
50. Additional comments.

APPENDIX C

CONSTITUTION
COALITION OF LABOR UNION WOMEN

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ARTICLE I

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

Of the 36 million women in the work force -- fewer than 5 million are members of unions. It is imperative that within the framework of the union movement we take aggressive steps to more effectively address ourselves to the critical needs of 31 million unorganized sisters and make our unions more responsive to the needs of all women, especially the needs of minority women who have traditionally been singled out for particularly blatant oppression.

Union women work in almost every industry, in almost every part of the Country. Despite their geographical, industrial and occupational separations, union women share common concerns and goals.

Full equality of opportunities and rights in the labor force require the full attention of the labor movement...and especially, the full attention of women who are part of the labor movement.

The primary purpose of this National Coalition is to unify all union women in a viable organization to determine our common problems and concerns and to develop action programs within the framework of our unions to deal effectively with our objectives. This struggle goes beyond the borders of this Nation and we urge our working sisters throughout the world to join us in accomplishing these objectives through their labor organizations.

PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN WITHIN THEIR UNIONS:

The Coalition seeks to inspire and educate union women to insure and strengthen our participation, to encourage our leadership and our movement into policy-making roles within our own unions and within the union movement in all areas. The Coalition supports the formation of women's committees and women's caucuses within labor unions at all levels, wherever necessary. Additionally, the Coalition will encourage democratic procedures at all unions.

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION IN THE WORK PLACE:

Employers continue to profit by dividing workers on sexual, racial, and age lines. This encourages the segregation of job classifications and results in wage and benefit losses to women. The power of unions must increasingly be brought to bear, through the process of collective bargaining, to correct these inequities. The Coalition of Labor Union Women will develop programs which will encourage women to learn what their rights are under the law and become more knowledgeable of the specifics of collective bargaining and of the contract clauses and work-place practices which discriminate against them. We will seek to encourage women, through their unions, to recognize and take positive action against job discrimination in hiring, promotion, classification, and other aspects of work. Women must learn what their rights are under the law. We become more knowledgeable of the specifics of collective bargaining and of the contract clauses and work-place practices which discriminate against us. We must be informed about what is and can be done within the labor movement to correct these situations. We seek to educate and inspire our union brothers to help achieve affirmative action in the work place.

ORGANIZING UNORGANIZED WOMEN:

Since less than twelve (12) percent of the women in today's labor force are enrolled in labor unions, it is obvious that most working women are suffering economically. Statistics clearly demonstrate that the union member enjoys higher wages, better fringe benefits and working conditions and greater job security than the unorganized worker. The Coalition of Labor Union Women seeks to promote unionism and to encourage unions to be more aggressive in their efforts to bring unorganized women under collective bargaining agreements, particularly in those areas where there are large numbers of unorganized and/or minority women. The Coalition will seek to create a greater awareness of the benefits of union membership.

POLITICAL ACTION AND LEGISLATION:

It is imperative that union women, through action programs of the Coalition become more active participants in the political and legislative processes of our unions with special emphasis on those areas which particularly affect women. We support full employment and job opportunities and shorter work weeks without loss of pay, child care legislation, a livable minimum wage for all workers, improved maternity and pension benefits, improved health and safety coverage, expanded educational opportunities, mass action for State and Federal legislation for equal rights for women, guaranteed collective bargaining rights for all workers, the right to strike, and an extension of truly protective legislation for all workers, and other relevant issues. Until final ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment is won, the Coalition will make the fight for the ERA a priority through a mass action and educational campaign. The Coalition urges union women to seek election to public office or selection for governmental appointive office at local, county, state and national levels.

ARTICLE II

NAME

The name of the organization shall be the Coalition of Labor Union Women, hereinafter referred to as CLUW.

ARTICLE III

HEADQUARTERS

The National Executive Board shall determine the location of The National Headquarters. Membership records and official papers of CLUW shall be located in this Headquarters.

ARTICLE IV

MEMBERSHIP

Section 1 Membership in CLUW shall be open to any person who is a member in good standing or a retiree of a Union or other bona fide collective bargaining organization. No person shall be denied membership on the

basis of race, creed, color, national origin, age, sex, political belief, religion, or sexual orientation.

Section 2 Anyone applying for CLUW membership must show proof of current union membership when making application in order to be eligible.

Section 3 Membership in National CLUW is a prerequisite for joining a Local Chapter. Chapter membership is open only to persons living or working in the area specified on the Chapter Charter.

Section 4 No person may simultaneously be a member of more than one Chapter.

Section 5 Verification:

a. Local Chapters shall check with the office of the appropriate union to verify the current membership status of each person applying for CLUW membership.

b. Membership applications which are not submitted through a Chapter shall be verified through the National Office and submitted to the respective Chapter for affiliation with a Chapter.

Section 6 Where no Chapter exists, membership shall be at-large.

Section 7 When a CLUW member belongs to more than one union, a single union must be designated for basic membership.

Section 8 Members wishing to transfer from one Chapter to another shall procure the appropriate form from the Chapter secretary. These forms shall be provided by National CLUW and, after completion, be signed by the Local Chapter secretary.

ARTICLE V

CONVENTION

Section 1 The Convention shall be the highest governing body of the CLUW.

Section 2 Each Union shall be entitled to be represented by one (1) delegate for each ten (10) CLUW members of the union or fraction thereof. Unions with more than 500 members shall be entitled to one additional delegate

for each 150 members or major fraction thereof.

Each Chapter shall be entitled to be represented by one (1) delegate for each twenty-five (25) Chapter members or major fraction thereof. Chapters with more than 500 members shall be entitled to one (1) additional delegate for each one hundred (100) members or major fraction thereof.

Unions and Chapters may elect alternate delegates, not to exceed the number of delegates to which it is entitled.

Delegates and alternates shall be elected by secret ballot within sixty (60) days of the scheduled Convention.

In the event that any delegate is disqualified or unable to participate, that delegate's place shall be taken by the elected alternate who has received the highest number of votes in the Chapter's or Union's election.

In order for a CLUW member to be elected to serve as a delegate or alternate to the Convention, that person must have been a member of National CLUW prior to the issuance of the Convention Call.

On all roll calls in the Convention, each Chapter or Union represented shall be entitled to a number of votes equal to the membership as defined in Section 5 of this Article.

The votes of a Chapter or Union shall be distributed as evenly as possible among the delegates present at the time of voting, but votes shall not be fractioned.

Section 3 Following 1977, Conventions shall be held every two years beginning in 1979, at such time, date, and place as shall be determined by the National Executive Board, preferably in October, but no earlier than September 1st and no later than November 30th.

Section 4 The Corresponding Secretary shall issue a Convention Call at least ninety (90) days prior to the opening of the Convention, to all members of the CLUW in good standing at the time of the Call.

Section 5 Prior to each Convention, the President, with the approval of the National Executive Board, shall appoint and outline the areas of responsibilities of a Credentials Committee, Election Committee, Resolutions Committee, Sergeant-at-Arms Committee, and such other committees as shall be necessary for the orderly conduction of Convention business, designating one member of each Committee as the Chair. Not less than thirty (30) days prior to the opening of the Convention, each Committee Chair shall present the Committee's proposed plans and procedures to the National Officers Council for approval. Appeals to the final reports of the Credentials Committee and the Election Committee may be made to the Convention body.

Section 6 Resolutions to be considered by the Convention must be mailed to the President thirty (30) days in advance of the Convention's opening date. Resolutions received after that date may be considered by the body upon a majority vote.

ARTICLE VI

NATIONAL OFFICERS

Section 1 The Officers shall be the President, Executive Vice President, 1st Vice President, 2nd Vice President, Treasurer, Corresponding Secretary, and Recording Secretary and shall serve from Convention to Convention.

Section 2 Vacancies in the seven National Offices shall be filled within thirty (30) days and for the remainder of the unexpired term by vote of the National Executive Board.

Section 3 President

a. The President shall be the chief executive and administrative officer of CLUW and shall conduct the affairs of CLUW in accordance with this Constitution and the policies established by the Convention, the National Executive Board, and the National Officers Council.

- b. Within the guidelines of general policies adopted by the National Officers Council, the President shall hire, fix the salary and assign staff.
- c. Subject to the approval of the National Executive Board, the President shall appoint the members and designate the Chair of such standing and special committees as shall be needed to carry out the work of CLUW. The President shall serve as an Ex-Officio member of all committees, except the Election Committee and Credentials Committee established for the Convention.
- d. The President shall submit a yearly budget, prepared by the Treasurer, to the National Executive Board for approval. The President and the Treasurer shall co-sign all checks and authorizations for expenditures. The President shall be covered by a surety bond in an amount to be determined by the National Executive Board and at the expense of CLUW.
- e. The President shall chair all meetings of the National Officers Council, the National Executive Board, and the Convention, but may designate an Officer or a member in good standing to preside in the President's place deemed necessary.

Section 4 Executive Vice President

- a. The Executive Vice President shall assist the President in the work of that office. In the absence of the President, the Executive Vice President shall preside at all meetings and perform all duties otherwise performed by the President. The Executive Vice President may, with the approval of the National Officers Council, be authorized to act as co-signer of checks in place of either the President or the Treasurer.

- b. The Executive Vice President shall serve as chair of the National Review Panel, as outlined in Article XII of this Constitution.

Section 5 1st Vice President:

- a. The 1st Vice President shall be responsible for developing and implementing programs designed to increase membership in the CLUW and to increase women's participation in Unions, subject to the approval of the National Executive Board.
- b. The 1st Vice President shall also assist the President in the work of that Office.

Section 6 2nd Vice President:

- a. The 2nd Vice President shall be responsible for implementing programs to undertake political action and gain legislative goals, subject to the approval of the National Executive Board.
- b. The 2nd Vice President shall also assist the President in the work of that Office.

Section 7 Treasurer:

- a. The Treasurer shall be the Chief Financial Officer of CLUW and shall chair the Finance Committee.
- b. The Treasurer shall receive and receipt for all monies of CLUW, keep an accurate record of receipts and disbursements, and submit a quarterly operating statement to the National Executive Board. Copies of such reports shall be available upon request to any CLUW Chapter.
- c. The Treasurer shall prepare, with the assistance of the President, an annual budget for submission to the National Executive Board.
- d. Along with the President, the Treasurer shall co-sign all checks and authorizations for expenditures, within the general guidelines of the National Budget.

- e. The Treasurer shall have the power, either in person or by designee, to examine and audit the books and accounts of Chapters.
- f. The Treasurer shall be covered by a surety bond in an amount to be determined by the National Executive Board and at the expense of CLUW.

Section 8 Corresponding Secretary:

- a. The Corresponding Secretary shall issue the Convention Call, the announcements of all meetings of the National Officers Council, the National Executive Board, and other official correspondence of CLUW, except as otherwise directed by the Officers Council.
- b. The Corresponding Secretary shall perform such other duties as may be directed by the National Executive Board or the National Officers Council.

Section 9 Recording Secretary:

- a. The Recording Secretary, or designee, shall keep an accurate record of the proceedings of all meetings of the National Officers Council, the National Executive Board, and the Convention. The Recording Secretary shall send a copy of the minutes of each National Executive Board meeting to all National Executive Board Members and Chapter Presidents no later than three weeks following each meeting. The Recording Secretary shall prepare a summary of the meetings of the National Officers Council for presentation at each meeting of the National Executive Board.
- b. The Recording Secretary shall perform such other duties as may be directed by the National Executive Board or the National Officers Council.

Section 10 President Emerita:

- a. The President Emerita shall be the first President of the Coalition of Labor Union Women.
- b. She shall serve as an advisor to the President and the National Officers Council.
- c. She shall serve as a member of the National Executive Board.

Section 11 National Officers Council:

- a. The National Officers Council shall be composed of the President, Executive Vice President, 1st Vice President, 2nd Vice President, Treasurer, Corresponding Secretary, Recording Secretary and President Emerita.
- b. The National Officers Council shall meet upon call of the President or by petition of a majority of its members.
- c. Between sessions of the National Executive Board, it shall have the power to act on all matters of which the National Executive Board is empowered to act, including immediate interpretations of the Constitution subject to binding confirmation by the National Executive Board.
- d. Shall convene, as necessary, meetings of Chapter Presidents.

ARTICLE VII

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD

Section 1 The National Executive Board shall be composed of the National Officers Council, State Vice Presidents, Union Delegates and Chapter Delegates in compliance with Article XI.

Section 2 The National Executive Board shall be the highest policy-making body of CLUW except when the Convention is in session. It shall have all powers vested in the Convention, except the power to amend this Constitution and the power to contravene policies adopted by the Convention. It shall have the authority to

charter Chapters, and to make binding interpretations of this Constitution, and the rulings and decisions of the Board shall remain in full force and effect unless reversed by the Convention.

Section 3 The National Executive Board shall meet quarterly. Meetings will be held on the call of the President, or upon written petition by a majority of the Board Members to the President.

Section 4 The Corresponding Secretary shall give reasonable notice of the time, date, and place of National Executive Board meetings to all Board Members and Alternates and Chartered Chapters. All meetings of the National Executive Board shall normally be open to all members of CLUW as observers. The National Executive Board may meet in executive session when deemed necessary for the interest of CLUW.

ARTICLE VIII

STATE VICE PRESIDENTS

Section 1 There shall be a Vice President and an alternate Vice President in each State, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, Guam and the Panama Canal Zone providing there are 50 or more CLUW members. For those locations having less than 50 members, the National Officers Council will appoint an interim Coordinator where deemed necessary.

Section 2 Duties:

- a. Shall be a member of the National Executive Board;
- b. Shall report in writing to the National Executive Board at each meeting on the progress, and programs of the Chapters in the State ;
- c. Shall coordinate the activities of CLUW in the State in order to meet the objectives of the Statement of Purpose;
- d. Shall call and preside over at least one annual State meeting;

- e. Shall be responsible for the recruitment of new members of CLUW in the State and shall assist in the formation of new chapters, in cooperation with the 1st Vice President.

ARTICLE IX

UNION DELEGATES TO NATIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD

- Section 1 Each Union represented in CLUW shall elect delegates and alternates to the National Executive Board in accordance with the formula outlined in Article XI. As membership is increased, National Executive Board delegates will increase accordingly thirty (30) days prior to the convening of each National Executive Board meeting.
- Section 2 Duties:
- a. Union delegates shall be members of the National Executive Board.
 - b. Union delegates shall participate in their Local Chapter and/or shall assist the State Vice President in the development of a Local Chapter in their area.
 - c. Union delegates shall assist in recruitment of members of CLUW from their Union.

ARTICLE X

CHAPTER DELEGATES TO THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD

- Section 1 In order for a Chapter to qualify for a Chapter delegate to the National Executive Board, the following standards must be met:
- a. Chapter has been chartered by CLUW and membership lists have been submitted to the National Officers Council.
 - b. Chapter has a membership of 50 or more meeting the criteria of Article XIII as of thirty (30) days prior to convening of each National Executive Board meeting.
 - c. Chapter has bylaws in accordance with Article XIII.
 - d. The National Officers Council shall certify the above and notify Chapters who qualify.

Section 2 Duties:

- a. Chapter delegates shall be members of the National Executive Board.
- b. Chapter delegates shall participate in their Local Chapter.

ARTICLE XI

ELECTIONS

Section 1 Elections for any office in CLUW shall only be open to members in good standing. All members must be afforded a reasonable opportunity to vote.

Section 2 Election of officers and delegates shall be by secret ballot, unless there is only one nominee for an office.

Section 3 Election Procedures:

- a. If one person is to be elected to office, the person must receive the majority of votes cast. If no candidate receives a majority, the run-off election will be conducted between the two candidates with the highest number of votes.
- b. If more than one person is to be elected to office, the person(s) receiving the highest number of votes shall be declared elected.
- c. Elections shall be conducted by a duly appointed Elections Committee. No candidate for office may serve on the Election Committee. The Election Committee shall have general responsibility for the conduct of the election in accordance with both the Constitution and Chapter Bylaws of CLUW.

Section 4 No funds or official publications of the CLUW or any of its subordinate bodies may be used to support or advocate a candidate for CLUW office.

Section 5 In Chapter elections, appeals from the decisions of a Chapter Election Committee shall first be made to a Chapter membership meeting. Appeals from the decision of the Chapter membership may be made to the National Review Panel according to procedures set forth in Article XII of this Constitution.

Section 6 Election of National Officers:

The National Officers shall be elected at-large by the full Convention body.

Section 7 Election of State Vice Presidents:

- a. State Vice Presidents shall be elected by a majority of the vote of the members of each State within ninety (90) days of the close of the Convention. In addition, each State shall elect an alternate to attend the National Executive Board meetings in the absence of the State Vice President.
- b. Each election shall be held at a meeting open to all CLUW members residing in the State convened by the State Vice President. In the absence of a State Vice President, the meeting shall be called by a convener appointed by the President of CLUW.
- c. Notice of the election shall be given thirty (30) days in advance of the meeting to all CLUW members residing in the State.
- d. The term of office shall be Convention to Convention.

Section 8 Election of Union Delegates to the National Executive Board:

- a. Union Delegates to the National Executive Board are elected in proportion to membership as follows:
 One delegate from each Union having between 50 and 100 CLUW members; two delegates from each Union having between 101 and 200 CLUW members; three delegates from each Union having between 201 and 400 CLUW members; four delegates from each Union having more than 400 CLUW members; four delegates from an amalgamation of all unions having less than 50 CLUW members.
 Union delegate allotments shall be based on CLUW membership figures thirty (30) days prior to the Convention.

Delegates must be a member in good standing of the Union they wish to represent. Alternates for each delegate should be elected to attend the National Executive Board meeting in the absence of the union delegate. Alternates shall be designated 1st alternate, 2nd alternate, etc., in order of votes received for the purpose of substituting for delegates. The term of office shall be Convention to Convention.

- b. Members in good standing from unions having more than 50 CLUW members shall caucus at the time and place noted in the Convention agenda for the purpose of electing union delegates to the National Executive Board.
- c. Members from unions with less than 50 CLUW members shall hold an amalgamated caucus together at the time and place noted in the Convention agenda for the purpose of electing four amalgamated union delegates to the National Executive Board.

Section 9 Election of Chapter Delegates to National Executive Board

Chapter delegates must be elected by the Chapter in a general membership meeting with at least thirty (30) days notice to all members. An alternate must also be elected to sit on the National Executive Board in the absence of the Chapter delegate. The term of office shall be Convention to Convention.

ARTICLE XII

NATIONAL REVIEW PANEL

Section 1 Protests which have not been resolved at the Chapter level may be appealed to the National Review Panel. The protesting party shall make their protest in writing within fifteen (15) days. The National Review Panel shall issue a written ruling on the protest within forty-five (45) days from the date it is filed.

Protests concerning the election of State Vice Presidents and Union Delegates may also be appealed to the National Review Panel.

Section 2 The National Review Panel shall base its decisions on the relevant provisions of this Constitution and the Chapter Bylaws, but shall liberally interpret such provisions in a manner designed to fully protect the fundamental rights of members.

Section 3 The Executive Vice President shall be the chair of the National Review Panel. Other members of the panel shall be appointed by the President subject to the concurrence of the National Executive Board.

Section 4 Decisions of the National Review Panel may be appealed to the National Executive Board. Decisions of the National Executive Board under this Article may be appealed to the Convention.

ARTICLE XIII

CHAPTERS

Section 1 The National Executive Board shall be empowered to grant charters to local chapters which have met the criteria described in this Constitution.

Section 2 Local groups applying for CLUW charters must fulfill the following requirements:

- a. A minimum of 25 National CLUW members in good standing (in their unions) who live or work within the geographical area described in the application and who represent no less than five National or International Unions.
- b. If fewer than five National or International Unions are represented, the National Executive Board shall be empowered to make exception to (a.) above.

- c. All unions in the area must be notified by mail prior to each of the first three meetings of the proposed Chapter, in order to promote the widest participation of union members, before a Charter can be granted and Chapter Officers elected.
- d. The Charter application shall be signed by the 25 persons interested in forming the Chapter and include addresses and verified union affiliation of each person signatory thereto.
- e. The Chapter application, obtained from National CLUW, when completed, shall be co-signed by the State Vice President and one other member of the National Executive Board.
- f. Interim Chapter Officers or committees shall conduct the business of the convening/organizing meetings.

Section 3 Bylaws:

- a. Local Chapters shall adopt bylaws. Such bylaws and all activities must be in conformity with the Constitution of CLUW as well as all policies subsequently adopted.
- b. Chapter bylaws shall specify chapter dues with a minimum of \$1.00 per year.
- c. Chapters shall provide in their bylaws the following provisions no later than 1980:
 - 1. Chapter dues shall be due and payable in February of each year.
 - 2. Elections of Chapter Officers and/or Governing Body shall be conducted in the month of March. The term of office shall be governed by chapter bylaws.

- Section 4 Semi-annual reports of activities and membership shall be sent by the Chapter President to the State Vice President with a copy to National CLUW.

Section 5 Finances:

- a. Chapter finances shall be reported to Chapter members at each regular membership meeting. A written report shall be presented annually to the membership.
- b. Chapter finances shall be reported semi-annually to the Treasurer with a copy to the State Vice President.

Section 6 Chapter decisions may be made only by local CLUW Chapter members.

Section 7 Each Chapter shall, in its program, promote the goals of CLUW and reflect on its executive board structure the union affiliations of its members. Chapter meetings must be conducted democratically and parliamentary procedure, as described in Robert's Rules of Order. All Chapter records are to be open to Chapter members.

Section 8 To maintain a Charter, a local CLUW Chapter must abide by the National Constitution of CLUW. Complaints regarding this matter may be brought by any member. Complaints must be filed in accordance with Article XII.

ARTICLE XIV

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION

Section 1 Amendments must be submitted to the President no less than sixty (60) days prior to the Convention. Amendments proposed will be provided to all members of CLUW attending the Convention.

Section 2 Amendments are approved by majority vote of the Convention.

Section 3 Unless otherwise specified in the amendment, it shall take effect immediately following the Convention at which it is adopted.

ARTICLE XV

STANDING COMMITTEES

Section 1 The following are standing committees of the CLUW and their term shall be from Convention to Convention.

- a. Program Committee
- b. Education Committee
- c. National Minority Committee
- d. Finance Committee
- e. Publications and Public Relations Committee
- f. Legislative and Political Action Committee

- Section 2 The Chair of each Committee shall be appointed by the President with approval of the National Executive Board. In the event that a Chair is not an elected member of the National Executive Board, the Chair shall attend all meetings of the National Executive Board with voice, but no vote. The Chair shall report to the National Executive Board at each meeting.
- Section 3 Each Committee shall elect a Committee Secretary who shall be responsible for taking minutes of all meetings which must be sent to committee members and the National Executive Board within thirty (30) days of the meeting. The Committee Secretary must maintain a roll-call of committee members.
- Section 4 Members of the Committee are appointed by the President subject to the approval of the National Executive Board from volunteers and/or recommendations.
- Section 5 Committee Chairs and the President shall jointly determine procedures to assure functioning of the committees in a democratic manner. Copies of such procedures shall be entered into the Committee minutes at the first meeting.
- Section 6 Special Committees or Task Forces of the National Executive Board may be formed from its members. Additional members may be requested to serve by the National Executive Board. Such committees shall have a specific charge and shall remain in existence only until the next regular Convention.

- Section 7 Committees shall meet to make recommendations to the National Executive Board in order to implement the Statement of Purpose of this Constitution. Committees shall implement Convention policy as delegated by the National Executive Board. The duties of specific committees in this regard are:
- a. Program Committee - recommendations of specific programs for action by National CLUW and its constituent Chapters.
 - b. Education Committee - recommendations and preparation of educational activities and literature.
 - c. National Minority Committee - recommendations of programs, activities and policies of particular concern to minorities.
 - d. Finance Committee - recommendations of fund-raising activities, review of the National Budget and audit procedures.
 - e. Publications and Public Relations Committee - the official publication of CLUW cannot conflict with this Constitution or the goals and policies adopted by the Convention and the National Executive Board. The official publication shall be issued at least quarterly and shall be mailed to each member of CLUW. Publications issued by CLUW and any related public relations activities (news releases, etc.) shall be designed to promote the goals and principles of CLUW.
 - f. Legislative and Political Action Committee - recommendations regarding Federal and State Legislation. Testimony as requested by National Executive Board to implement the legislative goals of CLUW.

ARTICLE XVI

REVENUE AND PROPERTY

- Section 1 . The national membership fee of CLUW shall be \$10.00, paid at the time of application. Membership shall be for one (1) year effective January 1st through December 31st.
- a. Any retiree who has maintained membership in their union shall be entitled to CLUW membership for a fee of one-half of the regular membership or \$5.00.
- Section 2 One dollar per year of the membership fee must be deposited into a special travel expense account. Travel expenses on a cents/mile basis shall be disbursed by the Treasurer for meetings of the National Executive Board. Such disbursements shall be made on the basis of procedures developed by the National Officers Council subject to the approval of the National Executive Board. When this special travel fund is exhausted there shall be no additional funds for this purpose transferred from general funds.
- Section 3 National membership fees and assessments can only be changed by constitutional amendment under the procedures established in Article XIV.
- Section 4 The National budget shall be prepared by the Treasurer and the President. It shall be reviewed by the Finance Committee which shall make recommendations to the National Executive Board. National Executive Board approval shall constitute authority to spend according to the budget.
- Section 5 Signatory officers shall be bonded in accordance with Article VI.
- Section 6 An annual audit shall be performed by a recognized Certified Public Accountant selected by the National Officers Council. Results of this audit must be presented to the Convention.

- Section 7 CLUW shall not endorse or contribute funds to the campaign of a candidate for political office; except, CLUW may, for informational and educational purposes, report to the members the endorsement actions of their unions and encourage CLUW members to become involved in those political action decisions.
- Section 8 A Chapter may be dissolved by:
- a. Action of the National Executive Board under Article XIII, Section 8.
 - b. By petition of twenty (20) percent of the Chapter membership to the National Executive Board for the taking of a dissolution vote. Such vote shall be taken by the State Vice President after thirty (30) days notice to all Chapter members.
 - c. If the Chapter is dissolved all assets, properties, records, books, minutes of the Chapter shall be turned over to the State Vice President. All Chapter members shall be notified of dissolution of the Chapter.
- Section 9 CLUW can be dissolved by a vote of membership in Convention. The motion of dissolution must be treated as a constitutional amendment as in Article XIV and must be included in the Convention Call as in Article V, Section 4.
- a. If a motion of dissolution is passed:
 1. All Chapters and members shall be notified immediately. Chapters shall turn over all assets, properties, records, books, and minutes to the National Office within thirty (30) days.
 2. After the payment of debts and obligations, CLUW shall distribute remaining funds to a non-profit fund, Foundation or Corporation which has established tax-exempt status under the Internal Revenue Code. Such distribution must be voted by the Convention following the passage of a motion of dissolution.

ARTICLE XVIIDISCIPLINE

- Section 1 The only grounds which a National Officer or Member of the National Executive Board of CLUW shall be removed from Office shall be a proven breach of this Constitution or proof that with intent, the Officer has not carried out the policies adopted by the Convention and the National Executive Board.
- Section 2 Any Officer or Member of the National Executive Board may be recalled by petition of a majority of the membership or a two-third (2/3) vote of the National Executive Board. Upon such a vote or petition, the Officer shall be suspended. The Officer shall have the right of appeal to the next Convention.
- Section 3 The only grounds upon which a Chapter Officer may be removed from Office are those contained in Article XVII, Section 1, or the Chapter Bylaws in accordance with procedures outlined in Article XVII, Sections 4 through 7.
- Section 4 Chapter Officers may be recalled by the petition of a majority of the membership of the Chapter or by a two-third (2/3) vote of the Chapter's governing body. A charged Chapter Officer shall have the right of appeal to the National Executive Board who shall have final and binding authority.
- Section 5 Before a recall petition or vote can take place, the body initiating recall must present to the National Executive Board, in writing, the reasons for recall. A copy must be given to the charged Officer within seven (7) days.
- Section 6 A recall may not take place until there has been a hearing by the State Vice President (in the case of Chapter Officers) or by the National Review Panel (in case of all other officers). The State Vice President or National Review Panel determinations must be made available to all members eligible to vote or petition.

Section 7 **Membership Forfeiture:**

- a. A member must forfeit CLUW membership if no longer
a union member in good standing. This Section specifically does
not apply to union retirees. Such forfeiture may be initiated
by the member, Officers, or members of the Chapter or by the
President or Treasurer of CLUW.
- b. The member shall have the right of appeal in accordance with
Article XII.

ARTICLE XVIII

MISCELLANEOUS

- Section 1 There shall be no proxy voting at any level of the CLUW structure.
- Section 2 A quorum of forty (40) percent shall be required for official meetings of
the National Officers Council and the National Executive Board.
- Section 3 A copy of this Constitution shall be made available to all CLUW
members upon request sent to the National Office.
- Section 4 Parliamentary authority is the National Constitution. When the
Constitution is silent, authority is the Robert's Rules for Order
(most recent revised edition).
- Section 5 If any part of this Constitution is found to be illegal or invalid
for any reason whatsoever, this shall not affect the validity of
the remaining portions of this Constitution.
- Section 6 Officers at every level shall take the following Oath of Office:
 - "I swear/affirm that I will uphold the Constitution
of the Coalition of Labor Union Women and work to
further the goals of the Statement of Purpose."
 - "Upon vacating the Office to which I have been elected,
I shall turn over to my successor all documents, records,
and monies which are the property of CLUW."

Section 7 The use of the name, Coalition of Labor Union Women, or its
 abbreviation, CLUW, shall be confined to chartered local CLUW
 Chapters.

APPENDIX D

COALITION OF LABOR UNION WOMEN
RESOLUTIONS PASSED
1977 CONVENTION

COALITION OF LABOR UNION WOMEN

RESOLUTION ON ABORTION RIGHTS AND HYDE AMENDMENT

Passed: 1977 Convention
Winter 1977 NEB

- WHEREAS: The Supreme Court decision of January, 1973 establishing legal right to abortion was a landmark victory for women's rights in particular, and
- WHEREAS: Safe abortion, was thereby made available to all women through medical plans and Medicaid, and
- WHEREAS: The Hyde Amendment to the LABOR - HEW appropriations bill voids all Medicaid funds for abortion, and
- WHEREAS: On June 20, 1977 the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that states have the right to deprive low-income women of government funds for abortions, and
- WHEREAS: On June 29, 1977 the Supreme Court vacated the injunction banning implementation of the Hyde Amendment taken together these actions will deprive 300,000 women every year of safe, legal abortions, and
- WHEREAS: Those spearheading the Hyde Amendment have let it be known their target is all women's right to abortion and ultimate defeat of the ERA, as well, and
- WHEREAS: Elimination of medicaid payment for legal abortion can pave the way for eliminating coverage of legal abortions from medical plans,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED:

1. CLUW reaffirms and makes known its unconditional support to a woman's right to choose abortion and its opposition to any constitutional amendment prohibiting abortion, and
2. CLUW make known its opposition to the Hyde Amendment and the Supreme Court rulings denying medicaid payments for abortion, and
3. CLUW demand that the various states continue to provide medicaid funds for abortions, and
4. CLUW urge the labor movement to take action to block any other anti-abortion moves and to defend legal abortion, and
5. In pushing for National Health Insurance we demand that any such plan guarantee coverage for legal abortions, and
6. CLUW condemns all practices and programs of mass sterilization as a means of birth control, and demands that there be a safeguard against its abuse.

RESOLUTION ON SEX DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT

Passed: 1977 Convention
Winter 1977 NEB

The Coalition of Labor Union Women declared in its statement of purpose at its founding that the power of unions must increasingly be brought to bear on employers who continue to profit by dividing workers on sex, race and age lines. The founders committed the members of CLUW to working through their unions to achieve positive action against the discriminatory practices that take wages and benefits away from minorities and women.

On May 31, 1975, CLUW underlined its commitment to positive action against discrimination in a resolution adopted by the National Coordinating Committee that pledged renewed efforts toward the organization of women, the distribution of information about equal employment law, the promotion of nondiscriminatory job posting and job bidding, and the elimination of unemployment. The Coalition further pledged itself to vigilant action within our unions to see that their own houses are in order with regard to discrimination against women and minorities, and that the full force of their representation of employees is used in the fight against discriminatory contracts and practices.

Despite the commitment evidenced by this resolution, and the hard work of women both in and out of CLUW, the position of women workers in the market has, if anything, worsened in the last two years. The effects of continuing discriminatory practices against women have been aggravated by a stagnant economy. Between 1974 and 1976, labor unions lost 400,000 women, most of them undoubtedly victims of high unemployment and discriminatory hiring, assignment and promotion policies of employers. This loss has come in spite of the fact, as shown by a recent AFL-CIO poll, that women in an even greater number than men are convinced working people need labor unions to protect their rights. Further women's efforts to actively pursue their rights through legal action have had to contend with an increasingly hostile majority of the men on the Supreme Court.

THEREFORE, IT IS IMPERATIVE THAT: CLUW again declare itself committed to taking positive action within the union movement against sex discrimination, and

FURTHER BE IT RESOLVED THAT: CLUW set out specific steps to activate this commitment. Accordingly, the Coalition of Labor Union Women adopts the following resolution, in two parts;

1. CLUW shall adopt a program to analyze employer practices and contracts under which union women work. The program will encourage women to work with their unions at the local union level to identify discrimination and seek its elimination.

The program shall include the development and distribution of sex discrimination checklists and questionnaires for women workers and their unions to use for securing data and analyzing employer practices and contracts.

(over)

RESOLUTION ON SEX DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT

The National Executive Board of CLUW shall require the chapters to monitor the results of the surveys of employer practices and contracts, and report to the CLUW National Executive Board on a regular basis. Where discriminatory practices are found, CLUW will seek to have working women union leadership at all levels act to achieve bargaining power using, in long-standing trade union tradition, all legal means including the filing of charges with appropriate federal and state agencies.

The National Executive Board of CLUW will pursue the possibility of obtaining outside funding, to supplement what CLUW shall provide for the implementation of this program.

2. CLUW will encourage women to seek office at all levels of the union movement so that its leadership ranks will more accurately reflect the membership makeup.

RESOLUTION ON EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT

Passed: 1977 Convention
Winter 1977 NEB

- WHEREAS: In our Statement of Purpose we affirm in part: "Until final passage of the ERA, CLUW will make the fight for the ERA a priority through mass actions and an educational campaign," and
- WHEREAS: Adoption of the ERA would be a giant step towards achieving equality for all, a principle fundamental to the Labor Movement, and
- WHEREAS: The labor movement has led the way for years in combatting discrimination of all kinds and has strongly supported passage of the ERA, and
- WHEREAS: Close votes in many of the unratified states show the difficulty of the task that lies ahead, and
- WHEREAS: The ERA is being used as a rallying issue by such right-wing groups as STOP ERA movement, and
- WHEREAS: These groups have resorted to the use of misinformation, emotional rhetoric and distortion to influence state legislators and the public, and
- WHEREAS: They are using the ERA in many states to build an organizational apparatus to promote anti-labor and other right-wing causes, and
- WHEREAS: The stagnation of ratification has encouraged the courts and Congress to roll back some of the gains made by women under Title 7 and in the field of maternity benefits and the right to legal abortions, and
- WHEREAS: March 1979 is the deadline for final ratification, emphasizing the emergency need for massive pro-ERA efforts, therefore be it
- RESOLVED THAT: The Coalition of Labor Union Women's National Convention call on its chapters and the national and local unions to redouble their efforts in the struggle to ratify the ERA; to increase their educational efforts to inform their members of the facts about ERA at conferences and educational meetings, etc.; and to work closely with other groups mobilizing support for ERA; and where appropriate to establish ERA coalitions.
- BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED THAT: CLUW members work within the Labor Movement through their International Unions, State Federations and Local Unions to demand that the records and votes of state legislators in their stand on ERA be carefully scrutinized and considered before endorsement and political support are given.

REAFFIRMATION OF RESOLUTION ONAFFIRMATIVE ACTION AND SENIORITY

Passed: 1977 Convention
Winter 1977 NEB

The Coalition of Labor Union Women, in its statement of purpose, adopted at its founding, agreed upon the following basic beliefs about affirmative action:

*Employers continue to profit by dividing workers on sexual, racial and ages lines. This encourages the segregation of job classifications and results in wage and benefit losses to women.

*The power of unions must increasingly be brought to bear through collective bargaining to correct these inequities. The coalition will seek to encourage women, through their unions to recognize and take positive action against job discrimination in hiring, promotion, classification and other aspects of work.

*We must become more knowledgeable about the specifics of collective bargaining to correct these inequities. The coalition will seek to encourage women, through their unions to recognize and take positive action against job discrimination in hiring, promotion, classification and other aspects of work.

*We must become more knowledgeable about the specifics of collective bargaining, and of contract clauses and work-place practices that discriminate against us. We must be more informed about what is and can be done within the labor movement to correct these situations.

In the 15 months since these principles were enunciated, the national economy has deteriorated, and women, particularly non-unionized women, have been pushed back many of the steps they won toward equality in the work place. Accordingly, the Coalition of Labor Union Women adopts the following resolution in three parts:

1. In regard to employers, RESOLVED:

That CLUW pledges itself to renewed efforts to organize unorganized women, noting that unionized women suffer proportionately less in layoffs and noting that a union contract provides almost the only safeguard against capricious or selective layoffs, which most harm women and minority group members;

That CLUW pledges itself to provide information to women workers about their job rights under Title VII equal employment opportunity guidelines, the Equal Pay Act and pertinent executive orders;

That CLUW will support efforts to see that employers provide training and re-training programs to allow women to move into non-traditional jobs to promote job posting and job bidding in ways that open new fields to women and minority group members;

That CLUW will continue its exploration of ways to promote full employment and to place the cost of discrimination upon the employer rather than the worker, and will press for legislative action where appropriate, to bring governmental or tax support into areas under the threat of layoffs or closures.

2. In regard to our unions, RESOLVED:

That CLUW and its members will take vigilant action in their unions to see that seniority for all purposes is measured on the widest possible base in any work place, thereby safeguarding workers against layoffs that run counter to seniority;

That CLUW members will seek to improve the seniority system in their unions and eliminate those aspects that have not served women and minority workers fairly;

That CLUW members will monitor recall and rehiring actions in their unions closely to see that contract clauses are carried out;

That where unions have hiring halls or apprentice programs, CLUW members will insist that their union's control over hiring does not work to the detriment of those suffering the effects of long discrimination;

That CLUW and all its members will press our unions to put their own houses in order with regard to discrimination against women and minorities wherever it exists and will urge that the unions themselves:

- a. Evaluate all contracts and eliminate provisions and practices that permit discrimination;
- b. Bargain for affirmative action programs and then monitor the results;
- c. Establish procedures under the union constitutions for redress of sex-discrimination problems within the rank and file or the union structure, and
- d. Undertake affirmative action hiring and training in the union headquarters.

3. With regard to all women unionists, RESOLVED:

That CLUW will assist women trade unionists to pursue through local union procedures any charges of discrimination, and if no satisfactory response is offered by the local union, it will assist such women to pursue methods outlined in the union's constitution for redress. To secure information about such procedures, the CLUW chapter will review the union's constitution and turn to the NCC representative from the union concerned.

4. FURTHER RESOLVED: CLUW denounces the recent decision by the U.S. Supreme Court which requires minority and female victims of discrimination to prove "intent" to discriminate in order to substantiate their charges of discrimination;

5. AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: CLUW strongly opposes legislation pending in the U.S. Senate which would prohibit the use of federal funds to enforce affirmation action programs.

6. AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: CLUW calls for the strengthening, and necessary increased funding and staffing of the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission in order to make it an agency capable of dealing swiftly and forcefully with discrimination complaints.

7. AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: CLUW calls for a united movement of organized labor, civil rights and women's groups to carry further the fight for affirmative action and to actively oppose all moves, legislative, or judicial to set it back.

RESOLUTION ON KENNEDY-CORMAN HEALTH SECURITY ACT

Passed: 1977 Convention
Winter 1977 NEB

WHEREAS: The Coalition of Labor Union Women are concerned with quality health care and comprehensive medical insurance coverage; and

WHEREAS: Health care coverage is not only a problem of organized labor but a national problem that cannot be effectively provided for through collective bargaining; and

WHEREAS: The Kennedy-Corman Health Security Act provides for the reform of our present health care system and will guarantee the basic right of health care for everyone; and

WHEREAS: Comprehensive health care is a problem to women in particular with current discrimination against women in the present system of health insurance programs; and

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED THAT: The Coalition of Labor Union Women call upon the U. S. Congress to pass the Kennedy-Corman Health Security Act, and for President Jimmy Carter to sign it into law.

RESOLUTION ON GILBERT DECISION

Passed: 1977 Convention
Winter 1977 NEB

- WHEREAS: The Supreme Court of December 7, 1976 ruled in the case of General Electric vs. Gilbert, that it is not discrimination within the meaning of Title VII to exclude pregnancy and related disabilities from otherwise comprehensive insurance plans, and
- WHEREAS: Many women temporarily disabled by pregnancy and childbirth will be forced to take a leave without pay. The resulting loss of income may have a devastating effect on the family unit, and
- WHEREAS: One out of every ten babies is born to a single, divorced or widowed mother, and
- WHEREAS: There are thirty-nine million women who are working or seeking work. Twenty-five million of these women are doing so because of the need to support their families, because they have husbands who earn less than \$7,000 a year, or because they are single, divorced, or widowed, and
- WHEREAS: The National Fertility Survey recently conducted at Princeton showed that 44 percent of births to married women were unplanned; 22 percent of first births occur in the first eight months of marriage, and
- WHEREAS: By this action, the Supreme Court overruled the pregnancy guidelines of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission as well as six Federal Appellate Courts and eighteen Federal trial courts, all of which had ruled that pregnancy-related disabilities must be treated the same as any other temporary disability for all job-related purposes, including any health, disability insurance, or sick leave plan, and
- WHEREAS: The Court made it clear that the only way to make sure that pregnancy discrimination does not continue is for Congress to clearly indicate through legislation that such discrimination is illegal.

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED:

1. CLUW at the 1977 Convention in Washington, D.C., strongly support legislation introduced by Senator Harrison Williams, (D.,NJ,S.995) and Rep. Augustus Hawkins, (D.Calif., HR 5055) that would require employers to treat pregnancy-related disabilities the same as all other temporary disabilities, and
2. That all unions be urged to include in their contracts, negotiated with employers, clauses that would require the employer to treat pregnancy-related disabilities the same as any other temporary disability.

COALITION OF LABOR UNION WOMEN

RESOLUTION ON IMMUNIZATION

Passed: 1977 Convention
Winter 1977 NEB

The Coalition of Labor Union Women seconds HEW Secretary Joseph A. Califano's perception that the involvement of organized labor is important to the success of the national Immunization Initiative being directed by the Center for Disease Control.

There are some 20 million American youth either not or under-protected against such immunizable juvenile diseases as diptheria, measles, polio, tetanus, whooping cough, etc. And, as AFL-CIO President George Meany observed in his statement on the program, "Conditions favoring the resurgence of juvenile diseases... have developed in the country."

And these ailments can do much more than put a child in bed for a couple of days: they can precipitate such persistent conditions as brain damage, deafness, heart disease, miscarriages, and retardation. Moreover, they can strike at working adults -- such as teachers and daycare personnel, grocery and department store workers, etc. -- who come in frequent contact with children.

But systematic immunization is most effective against these diseases. In the twenty years between 1954 and 1974, the incidence of polio dropped from 38,000 cases to 7 cases. So, preventive medicine involving the total community -- health departments, parent-teacher groups, school systems, and local unions -- can eliminate the danger they pose before it becomes epidemic.

The Coalition, then, recommends that its members -- working through such channels as their central bodes, AFL-CIO-CSA liaison representatives, etc.-- particularly actively in immunization projects aimed at these diseases.

COALITION OF LABOR UNION WOMEN

RESOLUTION ON HATCH ACT

Passed: 1977 Convention
Winter 1977 NEB

WHEREAS: The House of Representatives has given every American's political dream to postal and federal employees, the right to be involved in the political structure of this country, and

WHEREAS: The Senate Sub-Committee on Civil Service and General Service of the Governmental Affairs Committee has been slow in discussing the Hatch Act, S.80, and

WHEREAS: The foes of the Hatch Act are gearing up their hate campaign,

THEREFORE, LET IT BE RESOLVED THAT: CLUW supports and make an all out effort to wire and write President Carter and all Senators to adopt without further delay, S.80, which will give postal and federal employees the same right to be involved in politics as any other American.

RESOLUTION ON CHILD CARE LEGISLATION

Passed: 1977 Convention
Winter 1977 NES

- WHEREAS: There has been a dramatic increase in the number of women with children entering the work force. Almost 28 million children under the age of 13 have mothers who work outside the home. 6.5 million of these children are under 6 years of age. There are now over 1 million more pre-schoolers with working mothers than there were in 1970.
- WHEREAS: Most of these women work because they must, out of economic necessity. At least 12 million children of working mothers are in female headed households where the median income is \$6,195, if the mothers, and \$3,760 if she does not.
- WHEREAS: The increase in the number of licensed quality child care facilities has not kept pace with the increasing number of children who need care as their mothers enter the work force. There are only about 1 million places available in licensed day care centers and day care homes in the United States.
- WHEREAS: Evidence continues to mount that the first five years of life are critical in the total development of the individual. Quality comprehensive child care facilities can offer the kind of environment which will help children move in the direction of reaching their maximum potential physically, intellectually, socially and emotionally.
- WHEREAS: Participants in the CLUW Child Care Seminar visited child care facilities in Israel, Sweden and France and found that those facilities help to strengthen families where mothers work outside the home. In the three countries visited trade unionists were in the forefront of the movement to have their respective governments provide more and better facilities, particularly for the children of working mothers.

Here in the United States, many working mothers are members of labor unions and are looking to the labor movement for leadership in working for more child care facilities.

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED THAT: CLUW support universally available child care facilities which would meet the full range of children's developmental needs, include parent and union participation and a flexible delivery system which meets the individual needs of families and communities and the restriction of federal funds to public and non-profit agencies only.

FURTHER BE IT RESOLVED THAT: There be established a national CLUW child care task force which will be charged with the responsibility of:

1. Acting as a catalyst to bring local and national organizations together to work for the passage of child care legislation.

(over)

2. Mobilizing CLUW members to urge their respective unions and the labor movement as a whole to make comprehensive child care legislation a high priority issue.

3. Scrutinizing the votes of state and national legislators on child care legislation and distributing this information to CLUW Chapters and other organizations concerned with child care.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED THAT: CLUW members will also work to make the provisions of child care for its members' children an item for negotiation in collective bargaining.

APPENDIX E

MARCH 1979

NON-RATIFIED STATESRIGHT-TO-WORK STATES

ALABAMA
ARIZONA
ARKANSAS
FLORIDA
GEORGIA
LOUISIANA
MISSISSIPPI
NEVADA
NORTH CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA
UTAH
VIRGINIA
ILLINOIS
MISSOURI
OKLAHOMA

ALABAMA
ARIZONA
ARKANSAS
FLORIDA
GEORGIA
LOUISIANA
MISSISSIPPI
NEVADA
NORTH CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA
UTAH
VIRGINIA
IOWA
KANSAS
NEBRASKA
NORTH DAKOTA
TENNESSEE
TEXAS
SOUTH DAKOTA
WYOMING

NOTES TO MAP

AS THE MAP SHOWS, THERE IS LITTLE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE STATES WHICH HAVE RIGHT-TO-WORK LAWS AND THOSE WHICH HAVE NOT RATIFIED THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION.

OF THE 20 RIGHT-TO-WORK STATES, 12 HAVE NOT RATIFIED ERA. OF THE 15 STATES WHICH HAVE NOT RATIFIED ERA, ONLY THREE ARE NOT RIGHT-TO-WORK STATES.

IS THERE A CONNECTION? YOU BETCHA! THE FORCES WHICH OPPOSE WOMEN'S RIGHTS ARE THE SAME FORCES WHICH HAVE TRADITIONALLY OPPOSED WORKERS' RIGHTS. WHERE THESE REACTIONARY FORCES ARE ENTRENCHED, THEY WILL MANAGE TO UNDERMINE UNIONS AND BLOCK EQUAL RIGHTS UNTIL THE PEOPLE CAST THEM OUT.

IT IS TIME FOR A CHANGE!

SUPPORT ERA NOW!

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