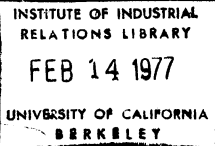


UNIV  
SHELF

California University Institute of Industrial Relations  
(Berkeley) Center for Labor Research and Education

LABOR AND URBAN STUDIES PROGRAM: LUS 15  
University of California - Merritt College



Course Outline

LUS 15: RESPONSIBILITIES AND PSYCHOLOGY OF LOCAL UNION LEADERSHIP.  
18 sessions, 3 hours per session, 3 semester units (54 hours)

Course Description: A non-technical exploration of inter-personal relationships affecting the ability of individuals to function effectively in leadership roles, with emphasis on understanding social behavior and group conflict. Employs role-playing techniques in handling problems related to the functions of leaders of unions and community groups.

I-II Introduction to Leadership

- A. Overview: dynamics of leadership - The union leader
- B. Definitions
- C. Leadership qualities and traits
- D. Styles of leadership
- E. Factors involved in seeking leadership positions
- F. Factors in the selection of local union and community leaders

III Responsibilities and Duties of Local Union Leaders

- A. Formal: with reference to constitutions and by-laws
- B. Informal: politics as the mother's milk of administration
- C. Divisions and distinctions: internal union machinery and politics vs. joint labor-management (collective bargaining) machinery and politics

IV-V Interpersonal Relationships

- A. Interviewing: the fine art of listening
- B. Interviewing techniques -- stages in an interview
  - 1. Feelings
  - 2. Facts
  - 3. Solutions
- C. Role-playing by students in various interviewing situations

VI-VII Interpersonal Relationships Continued

- A. Applying interviewing techniques in the grievance process
- B. Getting the member's attention
- C. Getting acceptance of necessary action
- D. Interviewing the foreman
- E. Role-playing by students in various situations

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VIII

Relationships Between Union Leaders and Management

- A. The need for a flexible relationship
- B. Steward-foreman relationship
- C. Establishing a working relationship for
  - 1. Contract administration
  - 2. Bargaining
  - 3. Grievance handling
- D. The role of compromise
- E. Role-playing by students in various situations

IX-X

Group Relationships

- A. Areas of conflicts
- B. Factors in agreements
- C. Problems of contractual differences
- D. Union and community leaders and constituents (role-playing situations)

XI-XII

Motivating the Union Member

- A. Overview of human needs
  - 1. Physiological (survival)
  - 2. Safety (security)
  - 3. Belongingness (social acceptance)
  - 4. Esteem (ego)
  - 5. Self-actualization (self-fulfillment)
- B. Differing motivations of union members
- C. New member vs. old member
- D. Problems of communication
- E. Role of meetings, conferences, and socials

XIII-XIV

Parliamentary Procedures - A Valuable Tool for Union Leaders

- A. Overview - Leader's role
- B. Motions - precedence, classification
- C. Union meetings: agenda, order of business
- D. Mock union meetings (student role-playing)
- E. Parliamentary strategy

XV

Working Effectively with Local Union Committees

- A. Role, function, composition and leadership of local union committees
- B. Local union committees compared to joint labor-management committees
- C. Relationship of internal and joint committees to community problems and activities

- D. Committees and local union leadership in conflict and cooperative situations
- E. Special implication of committee work to trainees in this program

XVI

The Local Union Executive Board

- A. Make-up of the board: formal (constitution or by-laws) vs. informal
- B. Board functions and responsibilities
- C. The board's role in formulating policy
  - 1. On internal union problems
  - 2. On joint labor-management (collective bargaining) problems
  - 3. On community problems
- D. The board and the union as a community agency
- E. Meetings of the executive board: mock sessions

XVII

Higher Levels of Union Leadership

- A. Composition of district, metropolitan-area, state or national organizations with which the local union is affiliated
  - 1. Formal description (from constitutions and by-laws) vs. informal
  - 2. Provisions for local union representation and delegate selection
- B. "Conference" leadership
  - 1. The chairman: duties, responsibilities, and problems
  - 2. Developing the agenda and order of business
  - 3. The decision-making process
  - 4. Leading and/or representing the membership
  - 5. Reporting to the membership
  - 6. Influencing the action
- C. Role-playing by student groups using audio-visual equipment

XVIII

Review and Final Examination

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Materials1. Basic MaterialsThe Local Union, Sayles & Strauss (Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc.)

2.

Supplemental Materials

Referenced: Personnel: The Human Problems of Management,  
Sayles & Strauss

Human Relations in Organizations, Sayles & Strauss

The Psychology of Human Behavior, Richard A. Kalish

Extract Reprints: Effective Union Administration, William Abbott

Cases on Union Administration, George Strauss

Contemporary Problems in Contract Administration,

Center for Labor Research and Education,

Institute of Industrial Relations, U. C.,

Berkeley

Parliamentary Procedure at a Glance, O. Garfield Jones



# The Leadership of Human Resources— A Framework Managers Can Use

Management, the people involved and the procedures followed, has been identified as the main factor influencing the success or failure of business organizations. Dun and Bradstreet, an investment research firm, has cited poor management as the precipitating cause of corporate bankruptcy. Management, of course, is an all-encompassing word, and to be examined must be broken down into its component parts.

Within any profit-making organization, utilization of human and physical resources to produce a return greater than the expenditure involved, or to make satisfactory profit, is principally the responsibility of the management people. Functions involved include planning, organizing, staffing, directing, coordinating and controlling. These functions of management are performed by all levels of supervision from the president of the company to the foreman of the smallest crew. However, the methods they use, their span of control and their range of objectives differ, which necessitates the development of dissimilar skills to be effective at various levels. For example, it is not necessary for a production foreman to be knowledgeable of corporate tax matters or accounting procedures to be good in his job—whereas such knowledge is necessary to be a good president. However, in dealing with the human resource all levels of management must possess approximately the same knowledge and skills to be effective leaders. The difference here lies only in the number of people led, and not in the performance of the activity.

This article examines the idea of leadership, especially as it applies to the supervisor within the corporate environment. It will begin by discussing various aspects of leadership in general.

## What Is Leadership?

Possibly it would be better to have asked the question, "Who is a leader?" For leadership is a quality or group of qualities an individual pos-

esses which identifies him as a leader. Most experts agree that a leader is anyone who has influence on the individuals around him. A group leader is considered to be the person who has the most influence on the activities of the group of which he is a member.

These concepts are deceptively simple, for at least three observations have to be made. The first is that all members of a group either by action or inaction influence to some degree the activity of the group. Therefore leadership is a variable, which is possessed more by a certain member of a group and less by others at a given time and in a given circumstance. The second observation is that leadership acts are events which involve interpersonal behavior, which is person-to-person interaction. Therefore, as is true in all interaction, leadership is two-way. The leader influences the followers and the followers in turn influence the activity of the leader. A third observation related to this idea of leadership is that a head of a group designated by an authority outside the group may not necessarily be the actual leader because he may exert relatively little influence. Or in other words, not all designated leaders are actually leading.

Within the corporate environment certain individuals are designated as managers. Some are not leaders, or more specifically, are not leading the activities of their respective groups. Rather, they only coordinate the group's activity, and otherwise exert relatively little influence. However, the success or even endurance of an organization rests on the proportion of designated managers functioning as real leaders who occupy its supervisory ranks. These leader-managers are able to perform certain functions, in addition to coordination, which are necessary in the exercise of real leadership.

## Functions of Leadership<sup>1</sup>

It must be remembered that the following functions are not performed simultaneously, but at

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<sup>1</sup> Adapted from Krech, D.; Crutchfield, R.; Ballachey, E. *Individual In Society*, McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York, 1962.

different moments in time as the atmosphere of the group and the circumstances change. A way of looking at leadership functions is to consider them as various hats worn by an individual. The more hats he is able to wear and the better the fit, or the better he performs the function, the more leadership quality he possesses.

✓ *Directing.* This is directing and ordering group members to carry out activity that will accomplish pre-established objectives. It involves the coordination of the group effort to get something done.

✓ *Planning.* This is the planning of long-range and short-range steps and methods to achieve group goals. Many times the leader is the only one who knows the entire plan, while the group members know only segments, which seem unconnected.

✓ *Administering Goals.* The leader communicates the group goals and administers the policy in line with these. Group goals can be established in three ways: (1) "From above" or directed by an authority higher than the leader. An example would be corporate goals handed down from the board of directors. (2) "From below", or dictated by the group members to the leader. For example: constituents often indicate what they want their elected official to do. (3) "From the leader" when he has the personal authority or autonomy to do so. No matter what the source of goals and the resultant policy, the leader must be involved in such decisions.

*Being An Expert.* The leader functions as a source of readily usable skills and knowledge which are needed to achieve group goals. With the increased specialization and sophistication of modern business, today's leader leans more heavily on the advice of assistants and advisors. His expertise lies in his ability to judge, organize and utilize this information given to him.

✓ *Representing The Group.* The leader is the spokesman of his group to other groups and individuals. He is the channel through which communication flows from the group, and also into it. The psychologist, Kurt Lewin, has described the leader performing this function as the "gatekeeper."

*Controlling In-Group Relations.* More than anyone else the leader determines the structure of the group and the status given to each member. He also determines who has the greatest influence on the decisions he makes.

✓ *Giving Rewards And Punishment.* Very important from the members' viewpoint is the power the leader has to reward or punish. This can be

done externally, such as a manager increasing a man's salary, or a foreman giving a certain person an unpleasant task. It can also be accomplished using the group itself, such as promoting a person in the group hierarchy, or depriving a man of an important or coveted position in the group.

*Arbitrating And Mediating.* The leader acts as a judge and at times conciliator of conflicts between the members. Through this function he is able to increase or reduce the friction within his group, depending on what he feels is beneficial to the accomplishment of group objectives.

*Giving Example.* The leader assumes the role of model for the group, giving a concrete example of the proper way to act. His dedication to the goals, enthusiasm for work and endurance of activity, greatly influence the behavior of the group members.

*Symbolizing The Group.* At times the leader acts as a symbol of group unity and purpose. Certain people personally identify with the leader as being members of his group. As goals and activities change the group cohesiveness remains constant, for the unifying factor is the leader.

A leader may at times fulfill other functions also. However, these activities usually are not required, nor even advisable, to achieve success as a leader within the corporate environment. They are enumerated here to complete our discussion of leadership functions.

*Substituting For Responsibility.* In certain groups, the members pledge their allegiance to the leader in return for the leader making all of their decisions. In such cases the members attempt to achieve security by delegating their responsibility for difficult decisions to the leader. They try, as the psychologist Erich Fromm has said, "to escape from freedom".

*Being The Idealist.* In some circumstances the leader establishes the ideals and values of the group, which at times are contradictory to those of the individual members. This is accomplished through control of the incoming information, and censoring the ideas to which the members have access.

✓ *Being The Father Figure.* Sometimes the leader fills the role of father for the members. Under such circumstances he is an ideal object for the identification, the feeling of submissiveness, or the feeling of affection expressed by some group members.

✓ *Being the Scapegoat.* This is the other side of the coin of the above function. If the group is disappointed or frustrated in achieving its goals,

the members turn on the leader directing all their hostility and blame at him.

The functions of leadership are *what* a leader does, what actions he performs. In our discussion of leadership we must also consider the method by which he performs or *how* he acts. This might be called types of leadership behavior or styles of leadership.

### Styles of Leadership

Two relatively independent dimensions of leadership behavior have been identified by management researchers at Ohio State University. They have been labeled (1) "consideration" and (2) "initiating and directing".<sup>2</sup>

*Consideration* is the behavior of a leader which is concerned primarily with the motivation of group members to accept the goals and perform the work to achieve the goals. Also, it is concerned with keeping the group working together as a unit and with providing for each member a feeling of satisfaction from work completed successfully.

*Initiating And Directing* is the behavior concerned with the methods used to best achieve the group goals, and with the direction and coordination of the various member activities toward a common goal.

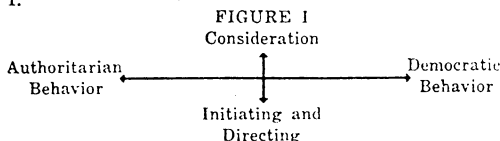
These two dimensions described the leader's orientation toward his duties and responsibilities.

"Consideration" is describing member-oriented behavior and "initiating and directing" is describing task-orientated behavior. Both are positive dimensions which are independent of each other and are not mutually exclusive. Therefore, leader behavior can be just task-oriented, or just member-oriented, or both task and member-oriented. Scientists have found that approximately 70% of the differences in leader behaviors can be accounted for by identifying and measuring these two dimensions.

In addition, numerous studies have classified various types of leadership behavior. These are usually referred to as styles of leadership, and lie at different points along a spectrum ranging from authoritarian to democratic behavior. Authoritarian behavior, at its extreme, is demonstrated by the leader, alone, determining the policies, plans, and goals of the group. He dictates the activities the members are to perform, and is the ultimate judge of the worth of each member's contribution. On the other hand, democratic behavior is demonstrated by the leader trying to gain maximum

involvement and participation of every group member in the setting of goals, preparation of plans, and performance of activities. He delegates some of his authority and responsibilities for task activities to the group members.

The dimensions of "consideration" and "initiating and directing" exist in all the various types of leadership behavior. The relationship between authoritarian and democratic behavior, and the dimensions "consideration" and "initiating and directing" is graphically demonstrated in Figure I.



Although the two vertical dimensions are independent of each other as was stated earlier, it has been found that the "consideration" seems to increase as the leadership behavior becomes more democratic. A similar or reverse relationship, however, has not been found with "initiating and directing".

It must be remembered that the difference between authoritarian and democratic leadership behavior is not necessarily in the power possessed by the leader but in the way he uses it. The establishment of goals, delegation of duties and achievement of objectives are accomplished with different ground rules. Between the extremes of authoritarian and democratic behavior, various types or styles of leadership have been identified and labeled. The titles are just descriptive and in no way meant to be derogatory or flattering. They are used for want of better ones.

*Military.* The most authoritarian of all leadership styles is the military. This might be called leadership by rules. All the activities, objectives and intercommunication of the group members are governed by established procedures. Usually no one, not even the leader, feels he has the power to change the rules because they have been imposed from outside the group. The hierarchy of the group and status within it of each member is very well defined.

*Autocratic.* Next in authoritarian behavior is autocratic. Again, it is leadership by rule, except the autocratic leader makes his own rules as he goes along. He centralizes all the authority, responsibility and direction of group activities within himself. He establishes all goals, develops all the plans, and directs all the activities. Basically, all decisions that have to be made, are made by him.

<sup>2</sup> Fleishman, Edwin A., *A Leader Behavior Description or Inventory* in Stogdill, R. M. Coons, A. E. (Ed) *Leader Behavior: its description and measurement*. Bureau of Business Research, Ohio State Univ., 1957.

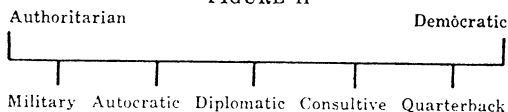
*Diplomatic.* At about the mid-point between authoritarian and democratic behavior lies the diplomatic style of leadership. The group members have more knowledge and influence in the establishment of the group goals and methods to accomplish them, but for the sole purpose of the leader getting what *he wants*. This might be called leadership by manipulation. The diplomatic leader places importance on the group members being involved in planning and decision-making; however, he uses his power to influence the members to choose certain goals.

*Consultive.* More towards the democratic behavior side of the spectrum lies the consultive style of leadership. The leader is the expert or most knowledgeable person in the sphere of activities in which the group is engaged. He acts more as a resource person for the group rather than a controller of its activities. The atmosphere of the group is relatively informal, and its focus of concentration is on the task at hand around which all group participation and communication revolves.

*Quarterback.* The style of leadership demonstrating the most democratic type of behavior is the integrative or quarterback style. In this case the leader is more closely identified with the group members in terms of goals and activities. His concern is with the task being performed, and the ways it relates to the feelings and attitudes of the members. The atmosphere is very informal with almost no hierarchy. Communication is close and informal and easily flows up or down in the group.

These classifications of leadership styles are in no way pure or absolute, but just general descriptions of various points on the authoritarian-democratic behavior spectrum.

FIGURE II



Remember the styles of leadership just described are the way or the *how* a person performs the leadership functions that were enumerated earlier in the lesson. No particular style is necessarily the correct or incorrect way to lead. The effectiveness of the leadership style used by someone is determined by many factors.

The leader's personality is very important in considering his method of leadership. Many men feel quite uncomfortable, insincere, or unethical using a particular style of leadership, and at times try to fake it. Of course, this is not leader-

ship at all. A leader can change his particular style, but it involves the exerted effort and commitment that is needed to change basic attitudes toward his role and those of the group members. It is not an easy task but at times essential to success.

Another consideration is the organizational climate in which the leader is functioning. If it is very formal and authoritarian, it would be all but impossible to function in the quarterback style of leadership. However, in modern business today the quarterback and consultive styles of leadership are being seen as more effective in the accomplishment of desired goals. Therefore, it is now becoming increasingly difficult to practice more authoritarian styles of leadership, for the simple reason that many employees will not follow.

A third consideration is the composition of the group. The number of members, their general educational level, their experience and personalities are all important in considering what style of leadership will be most effective. Usually, as the age, personal independence and education or years of experience increases, the most productive leadership style tends to be on the democratic side of the spectrum. This tendency will become more apparent in the future as our standard of education, diversity of careers and individual opportunities increase as they have in the past two decades.

Finally, the task and its duration are important in determining the most effective style of leadership. Short-term routine tasks usually require quite a different style than long-term. Effective leadership seems more authoritarian for the former and more democratic for the latter. However, work which requires the employees to be creative, highly educated and technically competent is performed better as the leadership becomes more democratic.

Therefore, no particular style of leadership is right in all situations, with all people, or on all jobs. The capability of a leader to function at all points between authoritarian and democratic behavior is the true mark of his leadership ability. A man this flexible in attitude and behavior is very unique. To become a leader requires a maturity of personality, development of abilities, acquisition of leadership skills and general leadership development on the part of the individual seeking such a goal.

Before going on to what can be done to become a better leader-manager in the organizational environment, let us examine some characteristics

that have been associated with effective leadership in the corporate setting.

Two psychologists, Dr. Daniel Katz and Dr. Robert Kahn,<sup>2</sup> during their extensive studies of various companies found three factors they felt were linked with effective leadership as it relates to production. Other researchers have reported similar findings.

*Taking The Leader Role.* They found that supervisors who assumed the position of leadership received better production from their crews than those who performed basically the same activities as their men. In other words, the leader cannot be "one of the boys" for he has special functions as a leader which must be performed; otherwise production suffers.

*Closeness Of Supervision.* The closer the supervision the lower the production. It was found in most cases that without a certain amount of autonomy on their jobs, men became dissatisfied with the job, the supervisor, and the company thus reducing and sometimes even sabotaging production. However, the closeness of supervision could not be allowed to degenerate to no supervision at all. Crews needed to be supervised, or led, but generally produced more and better quality products if they were allowed some say in what they were to do and especially in how was to be done. This does not mean they wanted to do everything their way, but wished to have the opportunity to offer suggestions and make certain decisions about their work activities.

*Consideration.* Supervisors who demonstrated the dimension of leadership behavior earlier labeled as "consideration" along with the dimension labeled "initiating and directing" received higher production from their crews than those supervisors demonstrating only "initiating and directing". Supervisors who were concerned about their men as individuals who had feelings, needs, and aspirations of their own were more effective leaders. It was pointed out, however, that employee orientation can be overdone to the detriment of crew-production. "An effective supervisor was found to have the ability to differentiate between competent and incompetent crew members. He was emotionally independent of his men, not relying on them for approval or support, and thus when needed could discipline and if need be discharge incompetent men. "Consideration" does not mean developing personal attach-

ments to crew members but being concerned and interested in each member as he relates to getting the job done.

### Increasing Leadership Effectiveness

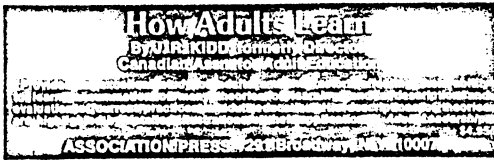
The direction of a crew, department personnel, or company personnel is the most important activity a manager performs. His boss whether he is the plant superintendent or the president of the organization expects this. And more importantly, as far as his competence as a manager is concerned, his subordinates expect him to lead them. Without the support and production of those under him, no matter what his position in the corporate hierarchy, he won't be there for long. So what does it take to be a real leader? What attitudes should one be forming? What activities should a manager be performing to develop his ability in this area of leadership?

*Flexibility.* A certain style of leadership which worked very successfully with one group will not necessarily work at all with another. It may not even work with the same group in a different situation, at a different time or with a different type of work.

The often told story about the Ford Motor Company dramatically illustrates the need for flexibility in effective leadership. Henry Ford founded and built a powerfully successfully corporation. Prior to World War II, Ford products dominated at one time 85% of the automobile market. This accomplishment was mainly attributed to the genius, imagination, ambition and leadership of Mr. Ford. Henry Ford was a strong leader. However, after the World War II, the seemingly invincible empire was beginning to disintegrate. Every year Chrysler and General Motors were taking a larger percentage of the mushrooming automobile market. Morale at the Ford Company was immeasurably low, enthusiasm had died, and attrition of employees especially at the supervisory levels had reached panic proportions. Ford was dying. Upon taking management control of the company, Henry Ford III changed the whole style of management, hired new competent men from other companies, recognized the importance of the human element, and basically instilled a breath of a new life into an old company. As you know, Ford has again taken its place among the well managed, successful enterprises in this country.

The important point of this story, of course, is that Henry Ford, who had demonstrated his great leadership ability in the past, failed to recognize that a World War had changed things.

<sup>2</sup> Kahn, R. L., and Katz, D. *Leadership Practices in Relation to Productivity and Morale*. In Cartwright, D. and Lander, A. (Ed.) *Group Dynamics*. Evanston, Ill., Row, Peterson, 1953.



The people were different, better educated, and no longer as isolated from what was happening as they were before the great influx of electronic mass communication. Henry Ford tried to lead in 1947 as he did in 1926. He dictated what he wanted done, and how to do it. Authority and responsibility was not delegated, and all decisions were made by him or one of his few trusted executives. Corporate emphasis was focused solely on the production of a product without regard to the people who made the product, or even those who were to buy it. Leadership to Henry Ford was "ruling with an iron hand". This style of leadership, which apparently worked in the past, just didn't work anymore. Failure to recognize this fact almost caused irreparable damage to the Ford organization.

The same is true today and will be tomorrow. A supervisory or leadership style that was effective in the 1950's will not necessarily work in the 1970's. People change. Educational levels rise. Technology increases. The effective leader must function in his present time and with the people at hand.

The ability to remain flexible is equally important when changing groups, departments, companies, or even different areas of a country. This demands that the manager continually re-examine his assumptions about himself, his people and the job as a whole, and make the proper adjustments in his behavior. As was stated earlier, flexibility is a difficult quality to maintain, but it is an essential characteristic of effective leadership.

*Communication.* It is obvious that an effective manager and leader must have the facilities to convey his ideas, attitudes, and instructions to the members of his group. However, just as crucial is his capability to perceive and at times encourage messages from his group to him. Researchers have found that the most common ability attributed to an effective leader by his men is his ability to listen. Of course, listening is more than just the hearing of sound waves. It is the encouraging of conversation through attention, appreciation, openness and most importantly, response. A leader solicits and then acts on the ideas, suggestions and observations of his group.

The response may be planning a different procedure or altering the present one, or many times explaining why a suggestion is impractical. The interchange between the leader and his group is the foundation on which the leadership position is built and maintained.

People follow a leader because he is able to fulfill their needs. These may consist of a need for direction, identification, discipline, organization, accomplishment or an innumerable combination of these and others. The effective leader must be able to determine what the needs are before he is able to satisfy them. Communication is the vehicle by which the needs are determined and satisfied.

Only through communication which includes awareness or sensitivity to the situation in which he is working is the leader able to determine what style of management will effect the desired results. The personalities of the people, the informal organization that has evolved, and the task to be done all must be considered by the leader in performing his functions.

In conclusion, leadership is a many faceted subject that has for centuries defied definition. Writers and historians have described men who possessed leadership ability, and philosophers have grappled with the semantical and existential problems of leadership, yet only in recent times have behavioral scientists attacked this concept and given us concrete guidelines that enable one to increase his effectiveness in this area. The importance of leadership in management has never been so pronounced. The successful company, or for that matter, country will be the one which offers its supervisors an environment conducive to the development of leadership ability.

This article presents some of the research findings that can be used by the manager to understand better his position as a leader, and ideas he may be able to implement to better his performance. Actually, leadership research is in its embryonic stage and the upcoming decade will hopefully produce ideas and principles related to leadership function and education that will be directly applicable to the business environment.

However, what must be present before any leadership or management training, whether formal or self-developmental, can be successful is the desire of the individual to be a leader and manager. No amount of information will help one to be more effective if he is not motivated. He must be willing to sacrifice the time, exert the energy, and take the risks that are demanded of effective leaders.

# How to Choose a Leadership Pattern\*

*Should a leader be democratic or autocratic in dealing with his subordinates—or something in between?*

ROBERT TANNENBAUM  
WARREN H. SCHMIDT

I put most problems into my group's hands and leave it to them to carry the ball from there. I serve merely as a catalyst, mirroring back the people's thoughts and feelings so that they can better understand them.

It's foolish to make decisions oneself on matters that affect people. I always talk things over with my subordinates, but I make it clear to them that I'm the one who has to have the final say.

Once I have decided on a course of action, I do my best to sell my ideas to my employees.

I'm being paid to lead. If I let a lot of other people make the decisions I should be making, then I'm not worth my salt.

I believe in getting things done. I can't waste time calling meetings. Someone has to call the shots around here, and I think it should be me.

EACH OF THESE statements represents a point of view about "good leadership." Considerable experience, factual data, and theoretical principles could be cited to support each statement, even though they seem to be inconsistent when placed together. Such contradictions point up the dilemma in which the modern manager frequently finds himself.

## NEW PROBLEM

The problem of how the modern manager can be "democratic" in his relations with subordinates and at the same time maintain the necessary authority and control in the organization for which he is responsible has come into focus increasingly in recent years.

\* Robert Tannenbaum and Warren H. Schmidt, "How to Choose a Leadership Pattern," *Harvard Business Review* (March-April, 1958). © 1958 by the President and Fellows of Harvard College; all rights reserved. Reproduced here with permission from the *Harvard Business Review*.

Earlier in the century this problem was not so acutely felt. A successful executive was generally pictured as possessing intelligence, imagination, initiative, the capacity to make rapid (and generally wise) decisions, and the ability to inspire subordinates. People tended to think of the world as being divided into "leaders" and "followers."

## New Focus

Gradually, however, from the social sciences emerged the concept of "group dynamics" with its focus on *members* of the group rather than solely on the leader. Research efforts of social scientists underscored the importance of employee involvement and participation in decision making. Evidence began to challenge the efficiency of highly directive leadership, and increasing attention was paid to problems of motivation and human relations.

Through training laboratories in group development that sprang up across the country, many of the newer notions of leadership began to exert an impact. These training laboratories were carefully designed to give people a first-hand experience in full participation and decision making. The designated "leaders" deliberately attempted to reduce their own power and to make group members as responsible as possible for setting their own goals and methods within the laboratory experience.

It was perhaps inevitable that some of the people who attended the training laboratories regarded this kind of leadership as being truly "democratic" and went home with the determination to build fully participative decision making into their own organizations. Whenever their bosses made a decision without convening a staff meeting, they tended to perceive this as authoritarian behavior. The true symbol of democratic leadership to some was the meeting—and the less directed from the top, the more democratic it was.<sup>7</sup>

Some of the more enthusiastic alumni of these training laboratories began to get the habit of categorizing leader behavior as "democratic" or "authoritarian." The boss who made too many decisions himself was thought of as an authoritarian, and his directive behavior was often attributed solely to his personality.

## New Need

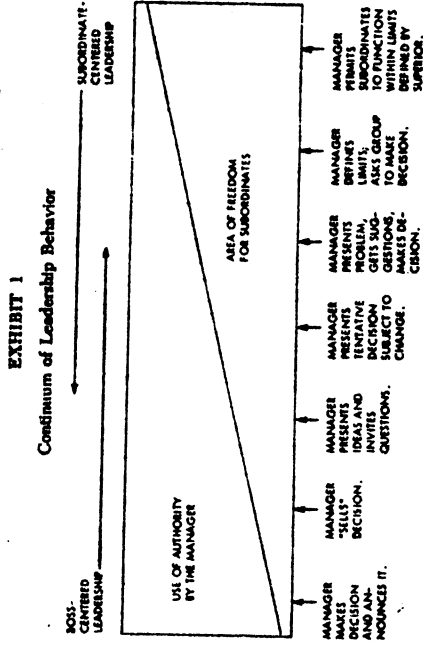
The net result of the research findings and of the human relations training based upon them has been to call into question the stereotype of an effective leader. Consequently, the modern manager often finds himself in an uncomfortable state of mind.

Often he is not quite sure how to behave; there are times when he is torn between exerting "strong" leadership and "permissive" leadership.

Sometimes new knowledge pushes him in one direction ("I should really get the group to help make this decision"), but at the same time his experience pushes him in another direction ("I really understand the problem better than the group and therefore I should make the decision"). He is not sure when a group decision is really appropriate or when holding a staff meeting serves merely as a device for avoiding his own decision-making responsibility.

The purpose of our article is to suggest a framework which managers may find useful in grappling with this dilemma. First we shall look at the different patterns of leadership behavior that the manager can choose from in relating himself to his subordinates. Then we shall turn to some of the questions suggested by this range of patterns. For instance, how important is it for a manager's subordinates to know what type of leadership he is using in a situation? What factors should he consider in deciding on a leadership pattern? What difference do his long-run objectives make as compared to his immediate objectives?

Exhibit 1 presents the continuum or range of possible leadership behavior available to a manager. Each type of action is related to the degree of authority used by the boss and to the amount of freedom available to his subordinates in reaching decisions. The actions seen on the extreme left characterize the manager who maintains a high degree of control while those seen on the extreme right characterize the manager who re-



leaves a high degree of control. Neither extreme is absolute; authority and freedom are never without their limitations.

Now let us look more closely at each of the behavior points occurring along this continuum:

*The manager makes the decision and announces it.*

In this case the boss identifies a problem, considers alternative solutions, chooses one of them, and then reports this decision to his subordinates for implementation. He may or may not give consideration to what he believes his subordinates will think or feel about his decision; in any case, he provides no opportunity for them to participate directly in the decision-making process. Coercion may or may not be used or implied.

*The manager "sells" his decision.*

Here the manager, as before, takes responsibility for identifying the problem and arriving at a decision. However, rather than simply announcing it, he takes the additional step of persuading his subordinates to accept it. In doing so, he recognizes the possibility of some resistance among those who will be faced with the decision, and seeks to reduce this resistance by indicating, for example, what the employees have to gain from his decision.

*The manager presents his ideas, invites questions.*

Here the boss who has arrived at a decision and who seeks acceptance of his ideas provides an opportunity for his subordinates to get a fuller explanation of his thinking and his intentions. After presenting the ideas, he invites questions so that his associates can better understand what he is trying to accomplish. This "give and take" also enables the manager and the subordinates to explore more fully the implications of the decision. *The manager presents a tentative decision subject to change.*

This kind of behavior permits the subordinates to exert some influence on the decision. The initiative for identifying and diagnosing the problem remains with the boss. Before meeting with his staff, he has thought the problem through and arrived at a decision—but only a tentative one. Before finalizing it, he presents his proposed solution for the reaction of those who will be affected by it. He says in effect, "I'd like to hear what you have to say about this plan that I have developed. I'll appreciate your frank reactions, but will reserve for myself the final decision."

*The manager presents the problem, gets suggestions, and then makes his decision.*

Up to this point the boss has come before the group with a solution of his own. Not so in this case. The subordinates now get the first chance to



suggest solutions. The manager's initial role involves identifying the problem. He might, for example, say something of this sort: "We are faced with a number of complaints from newspapers and the general public on our service policy. What is wrong here? What ideas do you have for coping to grips with this problem?"

The function of the group becomes one of increasing the manager's repertory of possible solutions to the problem. The purpose is to capitalize on the knowledge and experience of those who are on the "firing line." From the expanded list of alternatives developed by the manager and his subordinates, the manager then selects the solution that he regards as most promising.<sup>1</sup>

*The manager defines the limits and requests the group to make a decision.*

At this point the manager passes to the group (possibly including himself as a member) the right to make decisions. Before doing so, however, he defines the problem to be solved and the boundaries within which the decision must be made.

An example might be the handling of a parking problem at a plant. The boss decides that this is something that should be worked on by the people involved, so he calls them together and points up the existence of the problem. Then he tells them:

There is the open field just north of the main plant which has been designated for additional employee parking. We can build underground or surface multilevel facilities as long as the cost does not exceed \$100,000. Within these limits we are free to work out whatever solution makes sense to us. After we decide on a specific plan, the company will spend the available money in whatever way we indicate.

*The manager permits the group to make decisions within prescribed limits.*

This represents an extreme degree of group freedom only occasionally encountered in formal organizations, as, for instance, in many research groups. Here the team of managers or engineers undertakes the identification and diagnosis of the problem, develops alternative procedures for solving it, and decides on one or more of these alternative solutions. The only limits directly imposed on the group by the organization are those specified by the superior of the team's boss. If the boss participates in the decision-making process, he attempts to do so with no more authority than any other member of the group. He commits himself in advance to assist in implementing whatever decision the group makes.

<sup>1</sup> For a fuller explanation of this approach, see Leo Moore, "Too Much Management, Too Little Change," *HBR*, January-February, 1959, p. 41.

## KEY QUESTIONS

As the continuum in Exhibit 1 demonstrates, there are a number of alternative ways in which a manager can relate himself to the group or individuals he is supervising. At the extreme left of the range, the emphasis is on the manager—on what he is interested in, how he sees things, how he feels about them. As we move toward the subordinate-centered end of the continuum, however, the focus is increasingly on the subordinates—on what *they* are interested in, how *they* look at things, how *they* feel about them.

When business leadership is regarded in this way, a number of questions arise. Let us take four of especial importance:

*Can a boss ever relinquish his responsibility by delegating it to someone else?*

Our view is that the manager must expect to be held responsible by his superior for the quality of the decisions made, even though operationally these decisions may have been made on a group basis. If he should, therefore, be ready to accept whatever risk is involved whenever he delegates decision-making power to his subordinates. Delegation is not a way of "passing the buck." Also, it should be emphasized that the amount of freedom the boss gives to his subordinates cannot be greater than the freedom which he himself has been given by his own superior.<sup>1</sup>

*Should the manager participate with his subordinates once he has delegated responsibility to them?*

The manager should carefully think over this question and decide on his role prior to involving the subordinate group. He should ask if his presence will inhibit or facilitate the problem-solving process. There may be some instances when he should leave the group to let it solve the problem for itself. Typically, however, the boss has useful ideas to contribute, and should function as an additional member of the group. In the latter instance, it is important that he indicate clearly to the group that he sees himself in a *member* role rather than in an authority role.

*How important is it for the group to recognize what kind of leadership behavior the boss is using?*

It makes a great deal of difference. Many relationship problems between boss and subordinate occur because the boss fails to make clear how he plans to use his authority. If, for example, he actually intends to make a certain decision himself, but the subordinate group gets the impression that he has delegated this authority, considerable confusion and resentment are likely to follow. Problems may also occur when the boss uses a

"democratic" façade to conceal the fact that he has already made a decision which he hopes the group will accept as its own. The attempt to "make them think it was their idea in the first place" is a risky one. We believe that it is highly important for the manager to be honest and clear in describing what authority he is keeping and what role he is asking his subordinates to assume in solving a particular problem.

*Can you tell how "democratic" a manager is by the number of decisions his subordinates make?*

The sheer number of decisions is not an accurate index of the amount of freedom that a subordinate group enjoys. More important is the significance of the decisions which the boss entrusts to his subordinates. Obviously a decision on how to arrange desks is of an entirely different order from a decision involving the introduction of new electronic data-processing equipment. Even though the widest possible limits are given in dealing with the first issue, the group will sense no particular degree of responsibility. For a boss to permit the group to decide equipment policy, even within rather narrow limits, would reflect a greater degree of confidence in them on his part.

#### DECIDING HOW TO LEAD

Now let us turn from the types of leadership that are possible in a company situation to the question of what types are *practical* and *desirable*. What factors or forces should a manager consider in deciding how to manage? Three are of particular importance:

- Forces in the manager.
- Forces in the subordinates.
- Forces in the situation.

We should like briefly to describe these elements and indicate how they might influence a manager's action in a decision-making situation.<sup>2</sup> The strength of each of them will, of course, vary from instance to instance, but the manager who is sensitive to them can better assess the problems which face him and determine which mode of leadership behavior is most appropriate for him.

#### Forces in the Manager

The manager's behavior in any given instance will be influenced greatly by the many forces operating within his own personality. If he will, of

course, perceive his leadership problems in a unique way on the basis of his background, knowledge, and experience. Among the important internal forces affecting him will be the following:

- (1) *His value system.* How strongly does he feel that individuals should have a share in making the decisions which affect them? Or, how convinced is he that the official who is paid to assume responsibility should personally carry the burden of decision making? The strength of his convictions on questions like these will tend to move the manager to one end or the other of the continuum shown in Exhibit 1. His behavior will also be influenced by the relative importance that he attaches in organizational efficiency, personal growth of subordinates, and company profits.<sup>3</sup>
- (2) *His confidence in his subordinates.* Managers differ greatly in the amount of trust they have in other people generally, and this carries over to the particular employees they supervise at a given time. In viewing his particular group of subordinates, the manager is likely to consider their knowledge and competence with respect to the problem. A central question he might ask himself is: "Who is best qualified to deal with this problem?" Often he may, justifiably or not, have more confidence in his own capabilities than in those of his subordinates.
- (3) *His own leadership inclinations.* There are some managers who seem to function more comfortably and naturally as highly directive leaders. Resolving problems and issuing orders come easily to them. Other managers seem to operate more comfortably in a team role, where they are continually sharing many of their functions with their subordinates.
- (4) *His feelings of security in an uncertain situation.* The manager who relaxes control over the decision-making process thereby reduces the predictability of the outcome. Some managers have a greater need than others for predictability and stability in their environment. This "tolerance for ambiguity" is being viewed increasingly by psychologists as a key variable in a person's manner of dealing with problems.

The manager brings these and other highly personal variables to each situation he faces. If he can see them as forces which, consciously or unconsciously, influence his behavior, he can better understand what makes him prefer to act in a given way. And understanding this, he can often make himself more effective.

#### Forces in the Subordinates

Before deciding how to lead a certain group, the manager will also want to consider a number of forces affecting his subordinates' behavior. He will want to remember that each employee, like himself, is influenced by many personality variables. In addition, each subordinate has a set of expectations about how the boss should act in relation to him (the phrase

<sup>2</sup> See also Robert Tannenbaum and Fred Masarik, "Participation by Subordinates in the Managerial Decision-Making Process," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, August, 1950, pp. 413-18.

<sup>3</sup> See Chris Argyris, "Top Management Dilemma: Company Needs vs. Individual Development," *Personnel*, September, 1955, pp. 123-3.

expected behavior" is one we hear more and more often these days at discussions of leadership and teaching). The better the manager understands these factors, the more accurately he can determine what kind of behavior on his part will enable his subordinates to act most effectively.

Generally speaking, the manager can permit his subordinates greater freedom if the following essential conditions exist:

If the subordinates have relatively high needs for independence. (As we all know, people differ greatly in the amount of direction that they desire.)

If the subordinates have a readiness to assume responsibility for decision making. (Some see additional responsibility as a tribute to their ability; others see it as "passing the buck.")

If they have a relatively high tolerance for ambiguity. (Some employees prefer to have clear-cut directives given to them; others prefer a wider area of freedom.)

If they are interested in the problem and feel that it is important.

If they understand and identify with the goals of the organization.

If they have the necessary knowledge and experience to deal with the problem.

If they have learned to expect to share in decision making. (Persons who have come to expect strong leadership and are then suddenly confronted with the request to share more fully in decision making are often upset by this new experience. On the other hand, persons who have enjoyed a considerable amount of freedom resent the boss who begins to make all the decisions himself.)

The manager will probably tend to make fuller use of his own authority if the above conditions do not exist; at times there may be no realistic alternative to running a "one-man show."

The restrictive effect of many of the forces will, of course, be greatly modified by the general feeling of confidence which subordinates have in the boss. Where they have learned to respect and trust him, he is free to vary his behavior. He will feel certain that he will not be perceived as an authoritarian boss on those occasions when he makes decisions by himself. Similarly, he will not be seen as using staff meetings to avoid his decision-making responsibility. In a climate of mutual confidence and respect, people tend to feel less threatened by deviations from normal practice, which in turn makes possible a higher degree of flexibility in the whole relationship.

#### Forces in the Situation

In addition to the forces which exist in the manager himself and in his subordinates, certain characteristics of the general situation will also affect the manager's behavior. Among the more critical environmental

factors that surround him are those which stem from the organization, the work group, the nature of the problem, and the pressures of time. Let us look briefly at each of these:

**Type of Organization.** Like individuals, organizations have values and traditions which inevitably influence the behavior of the people who work in them. The manager who is a newcomer to a company quickly discovers that certain kinds of behavior are approved while others are not. He also discovers that to deviate radically from what is generally accepted is likely to create problems for him.

These values and traditions are communicated in many ways—through job descriptions, policy pronouncements, and public statements by top executives. Some organizations, for example, hold to the notion that the desirable executive is one who is dynamic, imaginative, decisive, and persuasive. Other organizations put more emphasis upon the importance of the executive's ability to work effectively with people—his human relations skills. The fact that his superiors have a defined concept of what the good executive should be will very likely push the manager toward one end or the other of the behavioral range.

In addition to the above, the amount of employee participation is influenced by such variables as the size of the working units, their geographical distribution, and the degree of inter- and intra-organizational security required to attain company goals. For example, the wide geographical dispersion of an organization may preclude a practical system of participative decision making, even though this would otherwise be desirable. Similarly, the size of the working units or the need for keeping plans confidential may make it necessary for the boss to exercise more control than would otherwise be the case. Factors like these may limit considerably the manager's ability to function flexibly on the continuum.

**Group Effectiveness.** Before turning decision-making responsibility over to a subordinate group, the boss should consider how effectively its members work together as a unit.

One of the relevant factors here is the experience the group has had in working together. It can generally be expected that a group which has functioned for some time will have developed habits of cooperation and thus be able to tackle a problem more effectively than a new group. It can also be expected that a group of people with similar backgrounds and interests will work more quickly and easily than people with dissimilar backgrounds, because the communication problems are likely to be less complex.

The degree of confidence that the members have in their ability to solve problems as a group is also a key consideration. Finally, such group variables as cohesiveness, permissiveness, mutual acceptance, and common ability of purpose will exert subtle but powerful influence on the group's

*The Problem Itself.* The nature of the problem may determine what degree of authority should be delegated by the manager to his subordinates. Obviously he will ask himself whether they have the kind of knowledge which is needed. It is possible to do them a real disservice by assigning a problem that their experience does not equip them to handle.

Since the problems faced in large or growing industries increasingly require knowledge of specialists from many different fields, it might be inferred that the more complex a problem, the more anxious a manager will be to get some assistance in solving it. However, this is not always the case. There will be times when the very complexity of the problem calls for one person to work it out. For example, if the manager has most of the background and factual data relevant to a given issue, it may be easier for him to think it through himself than to take the time to fill in his staff on all the pertinent background information.

The key question to ask, of course, is: "Have I heard the ideas of everyone who has the necessary knowledge to make a significant contribution to the solution of this problem?"

*The Pressure of Time.* This is perhaps the most clearly felt pressure on the manager (in spite of the fact that it may sometimes be imagined). The more that he feels the need for an immediate decision, the more difficult it is to involve other people. In organizations which are in a constant state of "crisis" and "crash programming" one is likely to find managers personally using a high degree of authority with relatively little delegation to subordinates. When the time pressure is less intense, however, it becomes much more possible to bring subordinates in on the decision-making process.

These, then, are the principal forces that impinge on the manager in any given instance and that tend to determine his tactical behavior in relation to his subordinates. In each case his behavior ideally will be that which makes possible the most effective attainment of his immediate goal within the limits facing him.

#### LONG-RUN STRATEGY

As the manager works with his organization on the problems that come up day by day, his choice of a leadership pattern is usually limited. He must take account of the forces just described and, within the restrictions they impose on him, do the best that he can. But as he looks ahead months or even years, he can shift his thinking from tactics to large-scale strategy. No longer need he be fettered by all of the forces mentioned, for he can view many of them as variables over which he has some control. He can, for example, gain new insights or skills for himself, supply training for individual subordinates, and provide participative experiences for his employee group.

In trying to bring about a change in these variables, however, he is faced with a challenging question: At which point along the continuum should he act?

#### Attaining Objectives

The answer depends largely on what he wants to accomplish. Let us suppose that he is interested in the same objectives that most modern managers seek to attain when they can shift their attention from the pressure of immediate assignments:

1. To raise the level of employee motivation.
2. To increase the readiness of subordinates to accept change.
3. To improve the quality of all managerial decisions.
4. To develop teamwork and morale.
5. To further the individual development of employees.

In recent years the manager has been deluged with a flow of advice on how best to achieve these longer-run objectives. It is little wonder that he is often both bewildered and annoyed. However, there are some guidelines which he can usefully follow in making a decision.

Most research and much of the experience of recent years give a strong factual basis to the theory that a fairly high degree of subordinate-centered behavior is associated with the accomplishment of the five purposes mentioned.<sup>4</sup> This does not mean that a manager should always leave all decisions to his assistants. To provide the individual or the group with greater freedom than they are ready for at any given time may very well tend to generate anxieties and therefore inhibit rather than facilitate the attainment of desired objectives. But this should not keep the manager from making a continuing effort to confront his subordinates with the challenge of freedom.

#### CONCLUSION

In summary, there are two implications in the basic thesis that we have been developing. The first is that the successful leader is one who is keenly aware of those forces which are most relevant to his behavior at any given time. He accurately understands himself, the individuals and group he is dealing with, and the company and broader social environment in which he operates. And certainly he is able to assess the present readiness for growth of his subordinates.

<sup>4</sup>For example, see Warren H. Schmidt and Paul C. Buchanan, *Techniques that Produce Teamwork* (New London: Arthur C. Graft Publications, 1964); and Morris S. Viteles, *Motivation and Morale in Industry* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1963).

But this sensitivity or understanding is not enough, which brings us to the second implication. The successful leader is one who is able to behave appropriately in the light of these perceptions. If direction is in order, he is able to direct; if considerable participative freedom is called for, he is able to provide such freedom.

Thus, the successful manager of men can be primarily characterized neither as a strong leader nor as a permissive one. Rather, he is one who maintains a high batting average in accurately assessing the forces that determine what his most appropriate behavior at any given time should be and in actually being able to behave accordingly. Being both insightful and flexible, he is less likely to see the problems of leadership as a dilemma.

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Englewood Cliffs; New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1967.  
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## INTERVIEWING: THE FINE ART OF LISTENING

"My boss doesn't give a hoot about me. As far as he is concerned I am another piece of machinery."

"I'll say this about my boss: No matter what your problem is, he'll hear you through."

"Though I'm supposed to be in charge of this department, it's my people who do the work. I try to remember that to himself each person is absolutely different from anyone else. He wants special recognition. So I try to pay attention to him, listen to his problems."

Effective communication requires effort both by the sender of the message and the receiver. The last chapter was devoted largely to the sending of messages. In this chapter we shall be concerned with an important aspect of receiving them—with listening.

Listening is one of the most important of all management tools. Yet even though people learn to listen before they learn to talk, relatively few listen well—few have learned the art of *interviewing*.

What do we mean by "interviewing"? Most people think of interviewing in the sense of the formal interviews connected with getting a job. By interviewing we intend much more than this: we mean deliberate, active listening whose purpose is to draw the other person out, to discover what he really wants to say, and to give him a chance to express himself fully.

### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Management first became aware of the value of interviewing in industrial relations during the 1920's as a consequence of studies conducted at the Hawthorne plant of the Western Electric Company.<sup>1</sup> These studies were

<sup>1</sup> For the most thorough review of these studies, see F. J. Roethlisberger and W. J. Dickson, *Management and the Worker* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1939). For a critical analysis of these studies in the light of later research, see Henry Landsberger, *Hawthorne Revisited* (Ithaca: New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, 1958).

primarily concerned with the determinants of morale and productivity. However, in their attempts to uncover basic feelings regarding these factors, the researcher found that direct questions designed to find out how the subjects felt about specific aspects of their jobs resulted in superficial, "lifeless" answers. Even worse—or so it seemed at the time—instead of giving "straightforward" responses, some of the people interviewed tended to talk about what interested them most at the moment.

Following this clue, the interviewers tried a radically new experiment: They sat back and decided to let the interviewees direct the interviews. Now they discovered that people began to express their *feelings* as well as give factual answers. Employees launched into long tirades (to which the interviewers patiently listened) revealing attitudes that might otherwise have been kept carefully guarded. In fact, some employees expressed attitudes that they had not been consciously aware of themselves. As a consequence, the interviewers got a much better picture of the psychological geography of the plant. They discovered surprising relationships about which they would never have learned by asking direct questions.

More important: The employees benefited greatly as well. Just by talking freely in the presence of a sympathetic listener, they got their problems off their chest and felt better. They experienced what psychologists call *catharsis* (from the Greek: to make pure). In addition, merely by talking things over, the employees began to gain insight into the nature of their own problems. Once they had relieved their feelings by speaking openly in a receptive environment, they were able to look at their problems more objectively. And their clearer understandings, supplemented by further discussion, often enabled them to work out solutions (at least to those problems that they were in a position to solve themselves).

Impressed by the value of the Hawthorne experience, Western Electric instituted a program of formal counseling. Specially chosen counselors were trained in the use of *nondirective* interviews. (By nondirective interviews we mean—as we shall explain later—a type of interview in which the interviewer encourages the interviewee to express his own thoughts with considerable freedom—as contrasted to directive interviewing, in which the interviewer asks direct questions and tries to keep the discussion within predetermined limits.)

These "free-floating" counselors were given no regular supervisory duties; they were completely separate from the normal management hierarchy. Their function was merely to listen to employees' problems without giving advice or taking action. Other companies rapidly followed Western Electric's example. Particularly during World War II counseling was very popular. Many employers assigned "free-floating" counselors throughout the company, especially to help women workers.

The counselors faced a tough ethical problem of what to do with the information they received. If they repeated to management what they had been told, the workers would no longer trust them. On the other hand, if they could

use their information in a discreet manner, they might be able to eliminate the causes of trouble. Often the counselors compromised by giving management general reports without revealing details that might identify individuals.

In recent years the use of such counselors as a personnel tool has declined. It was discovered that this technique has many drawbacks, including the following:

1. Although counseling might help an individual make a better adjustment to a poor environment (say to an inept supervisor), it didn't improve the environment itself. Employees often began to feel that they were wasting their time talking to a counselor who could do nothing for them, and ended up almost as frustrated as before.
2. Counseling is directed almost entirely toward changing *individual* attitudes and behavior, in spite of other evidence from the Hawthorne study itself that group attitudes are often more important than individual attitudes.
3. The counseling system gave subordinates a chance to bypass and tattle on their supervisors. Naturally, the supervisors objected.
4. In some cases employees began to compare the "good" counselor with the "bad" supervisor. Supervisors felt they were entitled to the undivided loyalty of subordinates.
5. The counselors discovered that they were spending most of their time with a few disturbed individuals who really needed deep psychotherapy rather than counseling.

The basic trouble with "free-floating" counseling was its separation from line management. Line management emphasized downward communication. Counseling provided upward communication. But the two forms of communication went along different channels.

Management began to learn that effective communications must go both ways. Upward communication and downward communication, listening and order-giving, are both more effective if done by the *same* person. Furthermore, if they are merged into the same process, something new and better emerges. Thus, there has come the realization that counseling or interviewing or listening (which are really all the same thing) is not a special technique for use by personnel experts only, but a vital aspect of good management generally.

#### LISTENING AS A MANAGEMENT TOOL

To list the circumstances where interviewing is useful would be almost like listing the functions of management itself. Indeed, all through our discussion of general supervision and methods of correcting mistakes we constantly emphasize the importance of listening. The following example indicates what might happen when this approach works at its best.



Suppose you are a division manager and you want to introduce a new system of quality control. Although you have not as yet consulted with the production supervisor, you have heard through the grapevine that he has strong objections to the new system. Yet his cooperation is essential if the system is to succeed.

You feel pretty certain that your plan is good and that the production supervisor's objections are not well grounded. You are the boss, of course, and you could give him a direct order to put the plan into effect. (Question: How would the supervisor react to this order? How loyally would he carry it out?)

Instead, you decide to listen to his point of view. In spite of the grapevine you can't really be sure you know what his objections are until he has spoken to you personally. If you are at all sincere, you must admit to yourself that his objections may have some merit. (Question: What would happen if you had already made up your mind, and just went through the formalities of listening?)

So you explain the proposed change to him, being careful to emphasize that you still have an open mind, and ask him to comment. You listen attentively and encourage him to express himself fully. As he speaks, he relaxes and explains his point of view with more balance and restraint than he would if he felt he were on the defensive. Instead of trying to answer his arguments, you encourage him to tell you everything he thinks and feels about the change. When he finishes, you briefly summarize what he has said to make sure you understand—and also to indicate to him that you have understood.

After speaking his piece, the production supervisor feels free to listen to your point of view—which may have changed since you heard his objections. You fill in some of the areas where you feel he was mistaken, indicate the points on which you have changed your own thinking, and explore with him any adjustments that seem necessary. Even if he is still not fully convinced of the wisdom of your plan, he is more willing to try it out and probably feels pleased that you consulted him and listened to his objections.

The above example suggests the flexibility of the interview technique (though we must emphasize that the results are frequently not as good as we have pictured). It is obviously well suited to formal interviews, such as those used for hiring, exit, and requests for transfer. But it is also appropriate in less formal situations, such as the following:

**Low morale:** finding out the cause of employee dissatisfaction, turnover, or absenteeism.

**Discipline:** discovering why employees are performing unsatisfactorily and helping them to evolve means of correcting themselves.

**Order-giving:** getting reaction to and acceptance of orders, to see that the person who receives the order really understands it.

**Resistance to change:** gaining acceptance of new techniques, tools, procedures.

**Merit rating and evaluation:** helping an employee correct his weaknesses.

**Training:** finding out how much an employee knows and what difficulties he experiences in learning.

**Grievance-handling:** finding out the real causes of a union grievance and getting the union officers to agree to a constructive solution.

**Settling disputes:** finding out the causes of the disputes between employees and getting them to agree to settlement.

The interview approach is not something to be applied only when dealing with specific problems. It is a general attitude which the manager can apply

day in and day out in his dealings with fellow supervisors, subordinates, and his boss. In a nutshell, it is a matter of always being ready to listen to the other fellow's point of view and trying to take it into account before taking action oneself. If this attitude is absent, then communications may become blocked, as they did in one company:

The most frequent complaint was that although orders and instructions about work traveled easily enough, it was difficult to take up ordinary feelings, especially if they were critical about the job or about life in the factory. The main stumbling block in getting such feelings resolved was the reticence about communicating them upwards. The reticence was said to be due to the fact that if a person tried to express to his superior his feelings about the job, or about the superior himself, it was all too likely that the superior would argue with him and try to show him that his feelings were unreasonable and that they did not tally with the facts. Having the existence of one's feelings denied in this way only made things worse. The person was not only left with the original feeling but in addition had a resentment against his superior for not understanding him and not helping him get at what was disturbing him.<sup>2</sup>

#### Establishing Confidence

The supervisor must take the initiative in encouraging subordinates to come to him with their problems (see our discussion in Chapter 8). He must show that he is willing to hear them out. Otherwise minor irritations may grow to tremendous proportions, even before the manager has become aware of the danger. For example, the manager does something the subordinate doesn't like. The subordinate doesn't feel free to talk about it. Gradually his irritation grows and he begins to see his superior in a new light. Everything the supervisor does may now seem threatening and unfair. The subordinate's antagonism grows stronger and stronger, until at last there is a serious breakdown in his relationship with the supervisor.

If the initial interview is a pleasant experience for the subordinate, he will come back more freely and more regularly when new problems arise. If it has been an unpleasant experience and if he feels he has been "put on the spot," he will be reluctant to reveal what is on his mind in the future.

The manager should be aware that some of the men who report to him will be easier to get to know than others. Some will talk to him quite freely and easily. Others will hold back because of fear or natural timidity. The manager must be careful not to spend all his time with those to whom it is easy to talk.

To avoid the charge of favoritism, and to insure that he is able to deal with the problems of all his employees, the supervisor must go out of his way to make contact with employees who are reluctant to come to him. The manager must recognize that there is an invisible barrier which separates him from his subordinates. For some, this status difference is of little importance, but for many it makes effective upward communication much harder.

<sup>2</sup> Elliot Jaques, *The Changing Culture of a Factory* (London: Tavistock, 1951), p. 133.

**Off-the-Job Problems**

Managers sometimes use interviewing to help employees solve personal off-the-job problems. Normally stable individuals may have unexpected trouble and seek to use their supervisor as a wailing wall. However, the manager should be careful not to give advice or get himself saddled with the responsibility for running his subordinates' personal lives.

The manager should be particularly cautious when sensitive areas are reached in the course of an interview. In situations like this, what most people want is a sympathetic, understanding listener rather than an adviser. They may ask for advice, but actually they want only a chance to talk. Even when advice-giving is successful, there is the danger that the employee may become over-dependent on his manager and run to him whenever he has a minor problem.

The manager should be still more careful when deep-seated personality problems are involved. In such a case it is wise to refer the person to a professionally trained specialist rather than to play amateur psychologist. The average manager is not equipped to do counseling, nor is this part of his job. The patient-psychiatrist or client-counselor relationship is just not consistent with that of subordinate and boss. And the subordinate may resent being conned by the nondirective technique into blurting out confidences which he later regrets having revealed.

**THE USE OF NONDIRECTIVE APPROACH**

The type of interviewing we shall discuss here has been called "non-directive" because it emphasizes permitting the interviewee (rather than the interviewer) to direct the interview, at least in the early stages. What can this approach accomplish? The nondirective interview has three functions:

1. From the point of view of the interviewer, it helps provide clues to what the interviewee is really thinking and what lies at the root of the problem. Thus, for a manager, the interview is a means of getting information on which he can base decisions.

The first answer an employee gives to an involved question may not be the whole truth. He may not be exactly lying, but he finds it difficult to express just how he feels. True, if the manager starts to fire direct questions, he will usually get direct answers, and they may *sound* reasonable. But they may represent only a small, inaccurate sample of the interviewee's total feelings.

Most of us have trouble expressing our real feelings to others. In part this is so because we are fearful or ashamed of what the other person will think. We want to make a good impression. This reluctance to reveal our true attitudes is also a product of our inability to understand our own complex, often conflicting, and even unconscious feelings. Consequently we often say things we don't really mean.

Patient, prolonged, skillful listening is required to help another person

express his feelings. Good interviewing, then, is essentially a technique to encourage expression which is uninfluenced either by the preconceived notions of the interviewer or by the need of the interviewee to make a good impression.

2. It helps the interviewee achieve catharsis, a feeling of relief. There are many sources of frustration in modern industry, and unless frustration is relieved it may lead to aggression, regression, and other undesirable responses. The interview provides a channel through which frustration may be partly drained away, even though the causes of the frustration remain.

3. Nondirective interviewing helps a man develop greater insight into his own problems. Turning his questions back and encouraging him to talk enables him to answer them himself. We often think better when we think out loud--when we have to organize and weigh our thoughts--than when we are thinking to ourselves.

In arranging his thoughts before presenting them to a sympathetic listener, the interviewee may bring his problem into sharper focus and, without additional help, actually change his own attitudes. At this stage one hears comments such as, "You know, the more I talk about this, the more I think I have been on the wrong track." Solutions reached in this fashion are much more likely to be implemented with enthusiasm than are those suggested by the supervisor.

#### Stages in an Interview

In understanding how the nondirective approach should be used, it is helpful to think of the interview as running through three stages: feelings, facts, solutions.

1. *Feelings.* The interviewee is encouraged to release his feelings; the interviewer is concerned with helping the interviewee express himself. This stage is the most purely nondirective, for the interviewer still has little idea where the discussion will go.

2. *Facts.* Having blown off steam, the interviewee is now ready to look at the facts rationally. In this stage the interviewer can be more directive and may even use "probes" (to be discussed later) to bring out information that the interviewee has not already volunteered. In fact, the interviewer may contribute additional information on his own.

3. *Solutions.* Once the facts have been assembled, the interviewee is in a position to weigh alternate solutions and pick the best one. As we have mentioned frequently, it is preferable to help the interviewee work out his own solution; however, the supervisor may have to be rather strongly directive to make sure that the solution is consistent with the needs of the organization.

These, then, are the three major stages of the interview, although it may switch back and forth from one stage to another as different problems are considered. Still on a given problem the interviewer should stick to the order indicated: feelings, facts, solutions. Certainly he should avoid the common human tendency to jump to a solution before getting all the facts.

Equally important, he should not waste his time trying to isolate the facts before the interviewee has had a chance to express his feelings, to blow off steam. Why? Because feelings color facts, and as long as a man is emotionally excited he is unlikely to approach problems rationally. Furthermore—and the point is subtle—the feelings of the people concerned in the situation are themselves facts that must be considered. For instance, the office manager has been having trouble getting Mary to do a full day's work. The most important fact in this solution may be the manager's intense dislike of Mary as a person. Until the manager's feeling is recognized as a complicating element, "facts" he presents will be distorted by his antagonism toward Mary.

Does this mean that the interviewer should never express himself—that he should never try to correct the other person if he is wrong, or try to change his opinion? Of course not. It may be enough for the psychiatrist or the professional counselor merely to listen. The supervisor must also take action. But in most cases, before he takes action he should wait until he has heard the interviewee's whole story.

Suppose a subordinate comes to you and says, "Boss, you've got to transfer me from this job. I can't stand it any more." If he insists on his request, you will have to give him some kind of answer. Only antagonism will result if he gets the impression that you are trying to put him off. But there is no need for you to commit yourself before you have heard him through.

The nondirective approach is not a magic solution to all human-relations problems, of course. There are times when a supervisor may have to be quite firm and directive in the solution stage of the interview to make sure that the solution is consistent with the needs of the organization. For instance, the supervisor may listen patiently to the subordinate's objections to a new system; the subordinate may persist in his resistance; and the supervisor may still have to overrule him, explaining why, and insist that the system be used. However, the subordinate will have had the satisfaction of being consulted, of knowing that he had his day in court to present his side of the story.

### INTERVIEWING TECHNIQUES<sup>3</sup>

Skillful interviewing is an art, and like all arts it requires training and experience. It can be learned better by practice than by reading a book, especially when the practice is supervised by an experienced instructor. Fortunately, one can gain unsupervised practice every day of the year.

Each interviewer must develop a system that is comfortable for him and that fits his personality, but he should avoid using the same technique with

<sup>3</sup> Three excellent and very different treatments of interviewing are: Carl Rogers and others, *Client-Centered Therapy: Its Current Practice, Implications and Theory* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1951); Robert L. Kahn and Charles E. Cannell, *The Dynamics of Interviewing* (New York: Wiley, 1957); Stephen Richardson, Barbara Dolrenwend, and David Klein, *Interviewing: Its Forms and Functions* (New York: Basic Books, 1965).

all people and for all purposes. An interview held for disciplinary reasons will naturally be different from an interview held for the purpose of order-giving.

Regardless of the form of the interview, here are a few hints that may prove useful.

#### Encouraging the Interviewee to Talk

Your primary objective is to get the interviewee to talk freely, *not to talk yourself*. The best way to find out what the other person wants to say is to listen, and the best interview is usually the one in which the interviewer talks least.

But listening is not easy, for our natural impulse is to talk. This is particularly true when we feel threatened by what is being said to us—for instance, when we are being criticized. Under these circumstances our normal impulse is to defend ourselves rather than to listen.

Listening is more than just not talking, however. It requires an active effort to convey that you understand and are interested in what the other person is saying—almost that you are helping him say it. A friendly facial expression and an attentive but relaxed attitude are important. A good interviewer also makes use of phrases such as “Uh-huh,” “I understand,” “That explains it,” or “Could you tell me more?”

Even silence can be used to keep a man talking. When he pauses in his discourse, he is either being polite and giving you a chance to talk, or else he wants you to comment, to evaluate what he is saying. Merely by not taking up his challenge, by waiting through his pause, you indicate that you have nothing to say at the moment, that you want him to continue talking.

Even if you plan to use the nondirective approach, it is vital to set the stage properly, to indicate to the interviewee what you want the interview to cover. For example, if you wish to talk to a worker about sloppy work, you might start with, “Bill, you seem to be having a little trouble with the blue-edge gadgets.”

#### Reflective Summary

One of the most effective devices to encourage the other person to talk is the *reflective summary*, in which you try to sum up the feelings a man has expressed, disregarding the factual details and incidentals. For example: “The reason I want to quit is that so-and-so foreman keeps pestering me. He won’t give me a chance!” Then he stops, wondering whether he has got himself into trouble by saying too much. Your response, “He won’t give you a chance?” encourages him to tell the rest of his story, but it does not commit you in any sense. Such a summary serves a number of purposes:

1. It shows the worker that you are giving his ideas careful consideration and that you understand him—in other words, that you are being fair.

2. It gives him a chance to restate and elaborate his attitudes if he feels that you haven't quite grasped his point.
3. It serves to highlight what he has really been saying. Often people are surprised to learn what their words have meant to someone else, and are rewarded with deeper insight into their own attitudes.

The reflective summary is particularly effective if you reflect not only what the man has actually said, but can somehow put into words what he has tried, unsuccessfully, to express. Be careful, however, not to hear more in his words than he intends to put into them. For if he finds you reading things into his words that he did not mean to be there, he will be doubly careful to watch what he says.

Your summary should indicate neither approval nor disapproval of what the interviewee is saying. It should simply indicate that you are listening attentively. For instance, he says, "It's got to the point where I may lose my temper and take a poke at the foreman." If you were to say, "Well, that's quite understandable," you would almost be inviting him to carry out his threat! A far more satisfactory response would be, "You are really sore at him because..."

#### Probes

The "free-floating" counselor is interested primarily in getting at the interviewee's underlying feelings. And as a supervisor you too are interested in the feelings of your subordinates. But if you know that you must act on the basis of what you learn in the interview, you will also want to get all the facts, the whole story.<sup>4</sup> This means that after the feeling stage has passed, you should to some extent direct the interview. Tactfully and calmly, you should steer the conversation, but without forcing the interviewee into an area he does not want to enter, and with no hint that you have already made up your mind.

One way to direct the interview is to build on what the interviewee has already said. By repeating certain words selected from what he has said, you can indicate that you would like him to talk more about this particular area. This device is called a "probe." For example, in explaining how a fight started between himself and another employee, the man being interviewed says, "Joe was always riding me. When he picked up my lunch bucket, that was the last straw." Now if the supervisor wants to find out more about what Joe has done to arouse this man, he has a good chance to insert a probe: "You say Joe was always riding you?" Then he stops and waits for the man to go on. Notice that the interviewer does not say: "What did Joe do to make you so sore?" Rather, he simply repeats the employee's own words. Chances are this approach will encourage the man to tell more about the "riding" than he would if he had been asked a direct question.

<sup>4</sup> In other words, your interviewing is "organization centered" not "client centered." See Rogers and others, *op. cit.*

Less subtle probes are: "Could you tell me more about . . . ?" or "I am interested in what you said about . . ."

#### **Weighing Alternatives**

Sometimes it is enough if the interview helps you find out how the employee feels about the situation and what the essential facts are as *he* sees them. In other instances, however, you may wish to help him devise a solution. How can you do this without seeming to impose your own ideas on him? The following approach may be useful both in individual interviews and in group meetings:

Let us assume one of your managers wishes to discipline severely one of his employees who has been a troublemaker. The manager's first suggestion, for example, may be that he should go right out to the shop and fire the troublemaker. If you keep asking for additional suggestions, he may suggest lesser penalties. Finally, he may even come around to suggesting certain changes in his own behavior.

Now, after the manager has offered all these suggestions, you would attempt to get him to examine each one:

What would its probable effect be?  
How would the men react?  
How would it help him solve his problem?

By helping the interviewee think through his problem, you may succeed in having him come to a conclusion that is *his*, not yours. And if it is his, he will be much more likely to act on it with enthusiasm.

#### **Direct Questions**

One of the most frequent errors made by inexperienced interviewers is transforming the interview into a game of "twenty questions." A man has fallen into the habit of coming to work late and his supervisor is anxious to straighten him out before discipline becomes necessary. Having had some training in human relations, the manager suspects that a home problem is involved. His end of the conversation may run something like this:

"Do you have trouble starting your car?"  
"Is there any trouble at home?"  
"Does your alarm clock go off on time?"  
"Did you have a drink too many last night?"

To each question Bill replies, "No, it isn't that." And to himself he says, "That's none of his business." And then another question is shot at him.

Here the manager, not Bill, is directing the interview. Note that every one of these questions is phrased in such a manner as to put Bill immediately on the defensive and make him over-cautious in what he says. Some of the



questions, such as, "Did you have a drink too many last night?" he may feel are insulting.

The interviewer rarely knows the right questions to ask; if he did, he would probably know the answers as well. The interviewee's problem is usually more complex than it seems at first glance, and direct questions tend to narrow it down too quickly.

To complicate matters, most subordinates try to say what they think will please their supervisor. Direct questions often imply the kind of answer the supervisor wants, or at least give the subordinate an "out." For instance, the question: "Did you have trouble starting your car?" provides a ready excuse for a tardy worker.

If the supervisor wants to find out what the subordinate really has on his mind, he should leave the situation as free as possible to permit the subordinate to emphasize the things that are important to him.

If possible, the interviewer should avoid questions that can be answered with a simple yes or no. "Well, do you like your job?" "Do you think the tools are in bad shape?" Questions of this sort shut off discussion because they can be answered by a relatively meaningless "Oh, I guess so," "I suppose you might say that."

#### THINGS TO AVOID

##### Too Much Warm-up

Many people feel that before getting down to the subject of an interview, particularly if it is an unpleasant one, they should try to place the interviewee at ease by discussing some irrelevant topic—baseball, fishing, the traffic problem, or what have you. Thus, a foreman calling a man in to lay him off may chat about the Dodgers for a few minutes before settling down to the nasty task.

This approach may relieve the foreman's anxiety, but it intensifies that of the worker, particularly if he has some idea of why he has been called in. While he is on the "hot seat," he may be thinking, "Why doesn't this character get down to business? Why does he have to play cat-and-mouse? What's this building up to?"

Such "warming-up" is useful at times; however, the interviewer should be careful to use it only when it actually reduces anxiety. Often when the supervisor initiates the interview, "beating around the bush" merely increases the suspense. Similarly, if the employee comes to the supervisor with a problem, he probably wants to get down to business without delay.

##### Premature Judgment

The interviewer should avoid giving any indication that what the subordinate says either pleases or displeases him. In other words, he must refrain from passing judgment before all the facts are in. This restraint is extremely

important because subordinates look for verbal or facial cues that will tip them off to what the superior wants or does not want to hear. (Of course, unconsciously we are always forming impressions, even on the most meager facts. However, the supervisor should be aware of his predispositions and try to keep them from warping his judgment or his communication.)

Criticizing or moralizing puts the interviewee on the defensive. Even if he does not argue back, he will begin to edit what he says in order to win the interviewer's approval. He will concentrate on proving that he is right rather than on giving an honest explanation. Certainly putting a man on the defensive makes it harder to find out what he really thinks.

Even praise or sympathy should be avoided until the end of the interview, for it makes the interviewee think his present approach is correct and encourages him to avoid the hard work of thinking the problem through.

#### Arguing

Little is gained from argument, at least in the early stage of the interview. Yet everyone has a strong human tendency to correct the other person when he says something that is obviously wrong. Moreover, if the interviewer himself is attacked personally, he must exercise tremendous restraint not to answer back.

For example, an employee says he is having trouble doing the work because the stock has been changed. "The company must be buying cheaper material these days." Now if you know that there has been no change whatsoever in the materials, you will be strongly tempted to "set the employee straight" on this point, although his complaint may be a symptom of something much more basic. If you give way to this temptation, you may simply transform the interview into a fruitless argument. If you just continue to listen, however, the employee may move on to more basic problems and difficulties that he finds more troublesome to discuss.

#### Excessive Psychologizing

Sometimes managers abuse the nondirective technique by shifting the discussion from the technical aspects of the question at hand to the subordinate's motives in dealing with it.<sup>5</sup> Such abuse occurs most commonly when the manager has a psychology or social work background. For example, a subordinate may have a sound practical objection to something his boss may want to do. Instead of listening to the objections themselves, the excessively psychologically-oriented boss may look upon the subordinate's attitude as an example of hostility and may seek its emotional basis. Obviously such an approach often adds to the hostility it is designed to alleviate.

<sup>5</sup> For a good discussion, see Peter Blau and W. Richard Scott, *Formal Organization* (San Francisco: Chandler, 1962), pp. 188-89.

**Advice-Giving**

When you finally get the complete picture as the employee sees it, you may be able to provide advice or information that has not previously been available. But again it is often better to help him work through his own problems. In any event, you should hold off giving advice until *after* the interviewee has told his entire story—until you have all the facts.

**Masterminding**

Many people go through the motions of the nondirective interview but violate its spirit. They hope by asking shrewd questions to manipulate the interviewee into believing that he is thinking through his problem by himself, though the way questions are worded inevitably forces the interviewee to arrive at the interviewer's own predetermined conclusion.

Masterminding is used with various degrees of sophistication. One of the less subtle forms makes constant use of the leading question, the "don't you feel?" approach: "Don't you feel it would be better for the company and your own future if you came to work on time?"

Questions like this usually permit only one answer. They are thinly veiled forms of advice, judgement, or just plain bawling out. They are even more directive than an overt, straightforward statement. The interviewee is often free to reject outright advice, and even if it is clear that he must accept it (in other words, when the advice is really an order) he may be unhappy about it, but willing to be a good soldier. Masterminding, however, not only requires the interviewee to do what the interviewer wants, but also to say that he likes it. The interviewee is treated like a child and the alleged interview degenerates into a form of brainwashing.

There are subtler forms of brainwashing in which the interviewee may actually feel convinced of something at the time of the interview, only to realize that he has been duped after he has had a chance to think things over. Conversion at a forced rate seldom lasts. As the poet Robert Burns once said:

He who is convinced against his will,  
Is of the same opinion still.

People change their attitudes slowly, and only when they are ready to do so.

**CONCLUSION**

Interviewing is a form of communications, and like other forms of communications it is most effective when it is two-way. A good interview is more than a one-way process in which the interviewee tells his story to the inter-

viewer; the interviewer must in turn be constantly communicating his interest in the interviewee as a person and in what he has to say.

It is not enough for the manager to understand his employees; he must also give them the feeling that he is sincerely trying to help them. The manager must not only listen, but must also communicate the feeling to his employees that they are being listened to.

The basic purpose of nondirective interviewing is to enable the interviewer to find out how the individual sees the problem or situation at issue, and then to help him think and, above all, *feel* his way through to a solution. The goal of this whole philosophy is for the supervisor to be perceived as a source of help—as a man who can assist the subordinate to develop and do a better job.

It has been argued that the interview approach would be fine if a manager had nothing else to do all day except serve as a wailing wall, but that in practice he just doesn't have time to do much listening. Realistically, pressure and other demands may make him abrupt and unsympathetic in his dealings with subordinates. And yet the manager who "makes time" to listen may find not only that his human relations are better, but that in the long run he will save enough time by having fewer personnel crises to deal with.

The nondirective interview is not a cure-all for every situation. Effective interviewing requires considerable skill, and even a good interviewer discovers that many people find it difficult to discuss their problems. Moreover, many problems involve several people and require group discussion. Finally, certain problems cannot be decided at the manager-subordinate level. Still, in spite of these reservations the interviewing technique is a general-purpose tool for every manager.

## PROBLEM 1

### INTERVIEWING DRILL

In each of the following cases, which of the responses suggested would be more likely to lead to a constructive solution of the problem? Remember that these represent the opening of the interview.

1. You have come home from a hard day and your wife greets you with:  
 "What a day I've had. The baby was crying all morning. The washing machine broke down and I had to do the things by hand. Then I went downtown to buy a hat and had to wait twenty minutes for a bus. I couldn't find a thing I liked and everybody was so pushy and the store was so crowded. When I got back the baby-sitter had let the stew burn—and I'd worked on it so hard. I'm so mad I could cry. And I've got to go downtown tomorrow again to look for a hat."
  - a. "You must have had an awfully hard day."
  - b. "Your old hat looks pretty good to me."
  - c. "I'm tired too. You should hear what happened to me. First. . ."
  - d. "Don't say another word. Put on your glad rags and I'll take you out for dinner and don't mention it."
  - e. "You know, maybe we ought to get another baby-sitter."

2. A worker has been late three times in the last two weeks. You ask him why and he replies:  
 "I just can't seem to get up in the morning. Frankly, I've lost my enthusiasm for the job. It doesn't interest me any more. So when I do get up I've got to rush like mad to get here."  
 a. "Don't you think you are letting the company down?"  
 b. "Do you have an alarm clock?"  
 c. "You've got to lick this problem or I've got to lay you off and give you some time to think it over."  
 d. "The job doesn't interest you any more?"  
 e. "Are you having any trouble at home?"  
 f. "Have you thought of going to bed earlier?"
3. A worker who has been making little progress tells his boss:  
 "I just can't seem to get the hang of things. I try to find out what I'm supposed to do, but no one tells me. The other guys don't pay any attention to me and I can't figure it out by watching. Maybe I ought to quit."  
 a. "Why don't you give the job a chance? Most people take a while to learn it."  
 b. "Why don't you try harder? You can't get ahead without hard work."  
 c. "If I were you I would ask the other fellows to help you."  
 d. "Do you have any ideas why the other fellows don't help you?"  
 e. "I'll assign one of them to instruct you."  
 f. "You feel that the other fellows don't pay any attention to you?"  
 g. "Let me show you how to do it."
4. A toolmaker tells his foreman:  
 "I've had ten years' experience and no one ever told me I did a bum job. Sure I make a few mistakes, but why do I get all the blame?"  
 a. "All I want you to do is be a little more careful in your work."  
 b. "You feel the standards are too high?"  
 c. "I'm not saying it is your fault. I am just asking you to please do the piece over."  
 d. "You feel you are unfairly blamed?"

PROBLEM 2<sup>6</sup>

## THE EXTRA HALF PLUM

## Scene I

Mary, a salad girl, is seated at a table backstage by herself, thumbing through a magazine. She is off duty. Miss Jones walks on stage from the right and stops at Mary's table.

*Miss Jones:* Mary, may I speak to you for a moment?

*Mary:* All right.

*Miss Jones:* It's about your work. I feel that you're a hard worker but there are times when you seem to grow a bit careless. I've noticed lately that sometimes your salads are a trifle sloppy in appearance, and you don't always check your recipes carefully enough. For example, the fruit salad calls for two halves of plums. I saw you putting three on some of the

<sup>6</sup> We wish to express our thanks to Professor William F. Whyte for permission to use this case, which was prepared by him.

CASES ON UNION ADMINISTRATION\*

Interviewing Members

Introduction

The emphasis in this section is on interviewing members. "Interviewing" is an academic word. Few union officers realize that when they are handling "beefs" they are actually engaged in interviewing. However, this term is used to emphasize how careful union officers must be in dealing with members (or as will be discussed later) supervisors.

In human relations, "it ain't what you do but the way that you do it." Grievances always involve people -- and grievances are never really settled until the people concerned are satisfied. Little problems can grow into big ones if you don't handle the people involved with tact and respect. On the other hand, even big problems will be relatively simple if you keep them in hand.

All of the previous cases were tough ones. In each the facts were all important, yet the facts were hard to get unless the steward showed tact and understanding.

There are three main objectives of grievance interviewing: (1) Getting the facts; (2) Giving the member the feeling that he is getting attention, and (3) Getting acceptance of any action necessary.

1. Getting the Facts. Facts are hard to get. Workers often give you a "snow job." They give you only half the story, either because they think you know the rest or because they realize that some of the facts are unfavorable to them. Often, too, men are too excited to tell the story straight and perhaps they don't speak English too well. Sometimes they think you know the whole background.

A number of unions had provided their stewards with a checklist of "W's." These are things which stewards should find out in their interviews.

First you should get a bare outline of the facts:

Who is involved?

What did they say and do?

When did it happen?

Where did it happen?

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\* By George Strauss. The complete volume "Cases on Union Administration" (issued by Cornell University) includes both cases (including some of those used in Course D) and commentaries. The commentaries are designed to help students analyze the cases. Only the commentaries are included here.

This, however, is not enough. Before taking any hasty action which you may later regret, you should try to find the answer to a much more fundamental question.

Why did it happen -- what is the underlying cause?

Then you will have to consider two other questions:

What do you want from the company in the way of a remedy?

Which clause of the contract has been violated?

## 2. Giving the Member Attention

Even if you know what the member wants before he opens his mouth, give him a full chance to have his say. Hear him through. This is particularly true if you're going to turn him down.

Our research showed that to a very large extent the union is judged by the tact which its stewards show in handling members when they have grievances. Many members want to use their committeemen as a wailing wall. If so, listen to them. Remember, if the member thinks he is not getting proper attention, he will be mad at both you and the union.

## 3. Getting Acceptance of any Action Necessary

Finally, in a democratic union, you should explain to the aggrieved member carefully what you can and cannot do for him in handling his grievance. You should explain to him the steps you are going to take, and try to get his agreement that they are the proper ones. For instance, you might tell the aggrieved:

As far as I can see you have no case here because.....  
But if you disagree with me, of course you can always  
take it up with the bargaining committee.

I'm going to investigate this matter further and  
I'll let you know later what I'll do with it when  
I get more information.

I'm going to have to take this up with the bargaining  
committee because it involves a policy matter.  
I will let you know what they decide.

I think you have a strong case and I'm going to take  
it up with the foreman at once.

If the grievance is completely unjustified, be sure to explain why. Point out the reasons. Refer to the contract. If the member is still unhappy, explain to him that he has a right to appeal. (For instance, "Bill, I don't think you have a leg to stand on. But if you'd like you have the right to appeal to the Executive Board over my decision.")

However, if you agree to handle the case be sure to keep the member informed of the progress you make, even if you only say "I haven't had a chance to take the matter up yet, but I have it in mind."

If you aren't successful with management,,let them know at once and also inform the aggrieved what further appeal steps can be taken, if any.

### Hints for Interviewing

Good interviewing is an art. It cannot be learned by reading a manual any more than you can become a Babe Ruth merely by reading "How to Become a Home-Run King." Practice and self-awareness are all-important. However, here are a few suggestions:

1. Don't be hurried. Be relaxed, at ease. Do your swearing afterwards.
2. Show you understand. Look people in the eye. Encourage the member to get out everything -- not only the facts, but also the feeling. Often he will feel a lot better after that and start quieting down.
3. Unless you are very short of time, let the other person have his say completely before you start giving your opinion.
4. Summarize what he has to say. This shows you understand. It also encourages the member to bring out the things he hadn't mentioned before but which he thinks are relevant. After you finish summarizing, ask "Have I stated your case correctly?" If he agrees, you have your first agreement. His mind is set to agree on other things.

This form of listening requires a great deal of time. In the long run, it saves both time and energy and helps eliminate festering grievances which sow apathy and anti-union feeling.

Remember, lots of members contact their officers solely because they want a sympathetic ear. Perhaps they know the officer can do little to help them in their particular situation, yet they feel better after they have gotten things off their chest.

### INTERVIEWING FOREMEN

#### Pity the Poor Foreman

Many stewards, who recognize the desirability of showing tact in dealing with fellow members, yell and bluster at their foremen. In doing so they make their job harder. It is much better to develop a relationship in which the foreman is willing to cooperate with you and to handle grievances quickly and fairly. In some cases this is hard to accomplish. Still, you won't get anywhere if you go out of your way to antagonize him.

Many a foreman comes from union ranks, lives in a union neighborhood, and still feels more like a worker than an employer. Given half a chance, he will be friendly. After all, he is in a difficult middle position between the production workers and top management. He cannot decide company policy; orders come down to him from higher management and whether he agrees or not, his job is to see that they are carried out. However, if you develop a friendly relationship perhaps he may shade some of the close decisions your way.

In handling a grievance, or "interviewing a foreman" most of the same rules apply as to interviewing members. The important thing is to give the other fellow a chance to talk.



The following cases are difficult ones. They are designed to help you (1) prepare your arguments, (2) think through your strategy, and (3) develop interview techniques.

### Conclusion

Before you start discussing a case with a representative of management it is always worthwhile to ask yourself, "How would I feel if I were in his shoes?" You can be sure that as you walk up to him, grievance form in hand, he is thinking "What does guy want now?" or "What have I done wrong now?"

Later, after he has heard you present the case, he probably tells himself, "I didn't mean to do wrong -- why does he have to rub it in?" or "He doesn't understand my position -- why doesn't he give me a chance to listen?" or "Let's see if I can figure some graceful way of getting out of this without losing too much prestige."

In other words:

1. Don't rub it in.
2. Listen to his story patiently and sympathetically.
3. Let him retreat gracefully.

Of course, the surest guarantee of winning a grievance is to have a strong, well-prepared case and the backing of the men in your department. However, grievances which are settled in a friendly manner usually stay settled longer.

If possible, try to remain on friendly terms with supervisors. This will help you particularly when you have a weak borderline case. A relationship where each side is trying to rub the other's nose in the dirt hurts both.

Here are a few suggestions about handling grievances with foreman:

1. Start by telling the foreman the problem as the aggrieved sees it. (Imply that you have an open mind, at least till you hear what he has to say.) Don't be legalistic at this stage.
2. After that let him talk. Encourage him to state his position completely. If he wants to use you as a "wailing wall" -- all the better. Every foreman thinks he has the most difficult job in the world. He will feel better and more reasonable after he gets his gripes off his chest.

Be a good listener. Many stewards talk themselves out of a case.

3. Next show him that you understand his position, even if you don't agree with it. This shows that you are being reasonable.
4. Then tell him how far you agree with him -- and where your disagreement starts. Tell him what you think should be done -- but be flexible. If possible, try to get an agreement on the facts.
5. Stick to the point. Avoid raising questions of principle. If he says "I don't want the union interfering in everything I do" don't argue back (much as you would like to), but say "I can understand how you feel. I certainly am going to try to keep the number of grievances to a minimum and I think perhaps we can eliminate them altogether if we try to find a constructive solution for each problem as it comes up. For instance, in the case we have here, I think it is just a question of the meaning of the contract."

It is much easier to find solutions of specific problems than to settle the great issues which have divided union and management for years.

6. Avoid discussing personalities as much as possible. Don't make belittling remarks which have nothing to do with the case at hand.
7. Unless you are anxious to take the case to a higher level at once, don't force the foreman to say "no." If you aren't getting anywhere, let him think it over for a while. He may mellow later on. On the other hand, don't let him stall too long.
8. If you can't reach a satisfactory settlement, don't think the world will end. You can always appeal the case. That's what the other steps of the grievance procedure are for.
9. Finally: Speak softly and carry a big stick. Don't lose your temper by accident.

#### RELATIONS BETWEEN GROUPS IN THE UNION

##### Introduction

The typical grievance cases, the ones which most union members think about, are rather simple. They involve only one individual and the company. (For instance, a worker is unfairly disciplined or his pay is miscalculated.)

Unfortunately, many problems are much more complicated. They involve disputes between workers as well as against the company. Such is almost always the case where seniority is concerned, and to a lesser extent with job evaluation and incentives. In these instances, the union can favor one group of members or one member only at the expense of another. Indeed, sometimes two grievances can be filed which are directly contradictory.

The following cases will illustrate some of the areas in which such inter-group differences may arise. More important, an effort will be made to highlight various means of settling these differences. No union can eliminate conflict between groups, but it can provide some type of orderly procedure by which disputes can be settled fairly and to the satisfaction of the vast majority.

Inter-group differences, such as those presented in previous cases, are bound to arise. They come up over matters such as seniority job evaluation, incentive plans, shift preferences, and a host of other things. If improperly handled, these can wreck a union. However, with patience, understanding, and impartiality their ill effects can be minimized.

As a union officer it is your job to know where these are -- and also where they are likely to occur. Don't exaggerate them. On the other hand, don't pretend that they don't exist.

Once they arise there should be an orderly channel of settling them. Instead of being glossed over with pleas for "unity," differences should be brought out in the open and provisions should be made for them to be heard and settled.

Exactly how these differences are settled is relatively unimportant, so long as there is a definite procedure with which everyone is familiar. In some unions these decisions are made by the Executive Board or Bargaining Committee, in others by stewards or chief stewards -- or even by local or departmental meetings. (The case of the "Process Inspector" illustrates some of the difficulties which arise when decisions are made by large groups such as local or departmental meetings.)

Regardless of who makes the decisions, the following suggestions may be useful.

1. Try to find a solution which will satisfy almost everyone. This will be hard, but sometimes it can be done.

If you must make a decision which will hurt one group and help another, be sure you consider all the ramifications. Whether you like it or not, your decision will be looked upon as a precedent.

Try to be consistent with previous decisions. This may be hard because a decision which is consistent with one precedent may be inconsistent with another, cases from real life being so complicated. However, don't let a precedent be used to create an obvious injustice.

2. Be extremely careful to give all groups a chance to be heard. Particularly when inter-group problems are involved, don't make a decision until you have all the facts.

Don't let any group's interest go by default. If individuals are too timid to stand up and speak for themselves, the union officers still have the obligation to find out what they want.

3. Avoid too many appeals. If everyone has a chance to be heard before the decision is made, there will be less need for appeals.

In the area of inter-group differences the best decision is only fairly good. Even a bad decision is often better than leaving things unsettled. As long as the impression remains that a decision might be reversed, people will be unhappy.

If you follow these rules, in nine cases out of ten your decision will be generally accepted by all the parties. They may gripe for a while, but in a year or so it will be accepted as shop law.

Remember: In most cases people are unhappy because they don't know what to expect. Once a promotional sequence, a system of job evaluations, etc. is set up, people accept it and will resist violently any change. The human ability to adjust is one thing which makes the union officer's job a lot easier.

## RELATIONS BETWEEN UNION LEADERS AND THEIR CONSTITUENTS

### Introduction

Union officers say over and over again "The most important thing is to have the support of your member." Here we consider the central problem of politics -- how to keep your own and the union's political fences mended. Among the questions these cases raise are:

- (1) What can be done to make an apathetic group more interested in the union?
- (2) When should an officer follow his own conscience and discretion, even

though his actions are opposed by many members?

- (3) Leadership often means going on ahead in front of the rank and file. How far ahead should you go?
- (4) When a group is internally divided, what, if anything, can be done to help them resolve their differences.

### Conclusion

Once upon a time there was a steward named Bill. When Bill was handling a grievance, he was an excellent steward; he did everything a good steward should do. But the rest of the time he was glum and grouchy -- never had a good word for anybody. His philosophy was:

Why should I look for trouble? I'll fight like hell for a man with a grievance -- but if he doesn't think enough of his own case to put it in writing, I'm not interested enough to waste my time.

Bill is no longer steward. His successor says,

I realize that in practically everything I do I'm representing the union. Being a steward is a full-time job. It's my job to build active union participation in my department.

Bill's successor is right. For many members the steward is the union (at least he is the union representative they see most often.) The attitude and loyalty of many members toward their union is determined by how well the steward is able to handle his own human relations with the other members in his department. Without rank and file support a steward or any other union leader can do very little. If his members don't understand and approve of what he is doing, they can cut the ground from underneath him.

A union leader must develop and maintain close contacts with his constituents. Basically, this means he must get around, talk, and above all, listen.

(1) New members are the most impressionable. Your job is to make them feel at home, both within the plant and in the union. Welcome them into the ranks; explain what the union has gained, provisions of the contract; and when the local meeting is held. More than this, make your conversation a two-way affair. Find out something about their

(2) Many companies urge their foremen to make regular "howdy" rounds in which the foreman speaks to each worker individually. Union officers should do the same thing. (Of course, this is hard; many companies place restrictions on officers' movements -- so you must make your contacts at lunch or after work. Furthermore, officers are often so busy with immediate urgent problems that they have little time for "grass roots" building. However, a really good officer will always find time for the apparently small things which are really so important.)

(3) Many union officers proceed on the principle of putting the oil where the squeak is loudest. This policy does not always pay off. Some people gripe at the

drop of a hat; others keep their problems to themselves -- yet if nothing is done about them they become apathetic toward union participation or even anti-union.

The man who brings his problems to the steward is already convinced that the union can help him. A real sales effort must be made among those who keep their problems to themselves.

(4) Your job, as a union officer, is to maintain communication upwards and downwards. Upwards communication means you should make a determined effort to find out what the members want, to listen to their ideas. Downwards Communications means you have responsibility for passing on information which you pick up in bargaining committee meetings, negotiations with management, and the like. As the best informed member in your department, it is your job to see that information is passed around. Aside from informing members of union policies, you should interpret union policy where this is necessary. You are the link between the workers and higher union officers.

(5) Encourage them to attend meetings and to take part in union activities. Some union officers try to keep what takes place in the union meeting a complete secret, saying: "If we keep the members in the dark, eventually curiosity will win out and they will come." If big league baseball teams followed the same principle, there would be no baseball news and gate receipts would be almost zero.

Keep the members informed of what happens at the meetings. This encourages them to attend -- and even if they don't attend, it's important that they know what happens.

(6) Departmental meetings are extremely useful. Attendance is usually higher than a local-wide meetings. Such meetings give the officers a chance to handle problems of the particular group. Also, they give members a much better chance to ask questions. Above all, they make it possible for the group to develop a common policy.

(7) Rank and file opinion is not easy to discover. The individuals who speak most often may represent the rest, then again they may not. The only way to tell is to talk to the "silent ones." A smart trick, which some officers use when an important decision is to be made, is to ask each individual in a departmental meeting to give his own opinion briefly. The same policy can be followed by union officers when they make their "howdy" rounds through the shop.

In conclusion, grievance handling may be the most dramatic part of a union leader's job. But that's only the beginning of his work.

#### When Should Officers Follow Rank and File Opinions?

It is always useful to find out what is the rank and file opinion. In most instances, it is best to follow it. However, there are times when officers must find courage to do the politically unpopular.

For instance in the case of the "Temporary Summer Employees" a departmental meeting would naturally vote against summer employees. A decision by the local meeting would be almost as bad; permanent employees might easily pack it. Here the Bargaining Committee has a tough decision to make which requires considerable political heroism. Yet, if they desire to build a strong union, they must make what they think is a fair ruling (regardless of political expediency) and stick by it. In most instances an officer who has done an honest job will be re-elected, even if he turns down some requests for special favors.

## RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN UNION LEADERS AND MANAGEMENT

### Introduction

The primary function of a union is to deal with management on behalf of its members. All the other relationships previously discussed are subsidiary; their purpose is to help the union do a better job in collective bargaining.

Of course, the kind of relationship which exists between labor and management cannot be determined by one side alone. The way the union acts depends on what management does. Similarly, management behavior is related to how it sees union behavior. Within limits, however, the union can influence the type of relationship by its own actions.

The following cases raise a number of difficult questions for the union leader. Among these are:

1. How formal should the relationship be? Should all grievances be put in writing? Should the grievance procedure be followed step by step in all cases -- or should some problems be handled by informal discussion, say between the personnel director and the local president?
2. How flexibly should the contract be interpreted? Some unions seek to follow the contract through hell and high water, even if it results in obvious injustice. In other relationships the contract means very little and the parties try to solve each problem as it comes along. However, if carried too far no one can predict what will happen. The road is open to favoritism.
3. Should the union push all grievances regardless of merit? Or should they push only those which seem to have real merit -- or only those which they could probably win at arbitration?
4. Should the union try to maintain the same kind of relationship throughout the plant? Or should it try to develop a good relationship with a given supervisor, even though the over-all relationship is bad? When should "deals" be allowed?

These are the kinds of questions which every union executive board must answer. However, the answers they give depend upon the peculiar circumstances in the particular situation. There are no "right" answers which fit everywhere.

### Conclusion

A pamphlet like this should not try to dictate union policy. However, a few ideas may be relevant:

1. The old adage still holds: you can catch more flies with honey than with vinegar. It is always better if you can accomplish your objectives peacefully and amicably.
2. It is entirely possible for a union officer and company spokesman to be firm and forthright in presenting their point of view, yet still remain personal friends. In fact, personal animosity between top leaders is often disastrous to both sides.
3. In only a few instances is a compromise impossible. In most cases if each side makes patient effort to understand the other's point of view, a solution can be reached in which each gets the essence of what it wants.
4. There is a big difference between the constructive and destructive compromise. The essence of the constructive compromise is that it tries to solve basic problems rather than temporarily smooth over symptoms.
5. One of the greatest advantages of the American system of collective bargaining is that it makes possible informal handling of problems on the shop level. Grievances which are taken to higher stages are rarely settled as well.
6. Good human relations will never solve the great differences which separate union and management. They may help remove the incidental irritants which make discussion of the real issues more difficult.

## The Grievance Procedure in Action

them against inequities, fears, and insecurity. In the majority of cases, latent discontent existed long before the union organizer came along; his job was merely to channel these feelings toward the union.

In the organizing campaign, union solidarity is built up at the expense of loyalty to management. The new union is vehemently anti-management, as it must be to gain a solid foothold in what is usually an antiunion environment. In this first period the workers rid themselves of long frustration through their aggressiveness against the "boss." Often there is a bitter strike before the first contract is signed.

The organizers seek to dramatize to the rank and file their willingness to press any and all claims. Practically every decision the company makes is challenged—even those with which the union leaders themselves are satisfied.

During this period grievances are, in fact, "tests of strength whose real intent is to strengthen one party and weaken another . . . the real issue is the struggle for power."<sup>1</sup> The union engages in an all-out effort to increase its power relative to that of management and to increase the number of its adherents in the shop.

### The Beginnings of Industrial Peace

This type of unregulated warfare cannot persist indefinitely. As Harbison and Coleman suggest:

As armed trade relationships mature, however, the system of grievance settlement tends to become very orderly and businesslike. The company gradually gets its supervisory forces trained in the principles and practices of dealing with union functionaries. The union finds that it gains little by taking up "screwty grievances" only to lose them in the costly process of arbitration. As key grievance cases are settled, precedents are established which set the pattern for the disposition of similar types of grievances. By the process of pushing here and probing there, the contract gets "pretty well explored." In this way, a body of plant common laws is developed. The union officers and company representatives become, in effect, "shop lawyers" who are experts in fine legal technicalities and precedents. Indeed, the grievance process ultimately becomes so highly institutionalized that neither side wants to upset the body of common law which has been hammered out in years of grievance handling.<sup>2</sup>

Thus, even where the parties are opposed to each other there is a tendency to establish regularized rules of competition. Within the union, for instance, limited time and money soon force the leaders to become selective about which grievances they might process. Only those which improve their strategic position are pushed.

<sup>1</sup> Frank C. Pierson, *Collective Bargaining Systems* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1942), p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> John R. Coleman and Frederick H. Harbison, *Goals and Strategies in Collective Bargaining*.

Union-management relations are far from static. The common stereotype of an increasingly aggressive union confronting an ever-defensive management is an exaggeration. Of course, the first bargaining sessions between the company and a newly certified union are often bitter. However, in most cases, as both sides gain experience with collective bargaining, some kind of accommodation supplants the initial antagonisms.

Recent years have seen increasing interest in the process by which open industrial warfare is transformed into "working harmony" and "industrial peace." Naturally, as there are changes in the external relation between union and management, there are corresponding adjustments within the political life of the local. These will be considered in succeeding chapters. This chapter is devoted primarily to a description of some of the salient features of the changing union-management relationship as they affect the local's officers.

### The Organizing Period

Men join unions to improve their standard of living. But even more they are seeking individual dignity and control of their environment. They are protesting what they feel is unjust treatment and looking to the union to protect



In addition, the union is sometimes required to discipline its members in order to make a more effective fighting force. Unauthorized strikes are frowned upon as a dissipation of union strength. No union can afford the drain of continuous warfare. Relative peace between annual or biannual contract negotiations increases the likelihood that the rank and file will be ready for "war" if it comes—and that anticipations are not aroused which cannot be satisfied. Union officials who earlier may have spent much of their time agitating the members now find themselves forced to urge patience and restraint.

As Bakke points out, perhaps the primary need of the parties in a collective bargaining relationship is that of *survival*.<sup>3</sup> As long as the union is afraid that management is attempting to destroy its organization and as long as management fears that the union's demands will be so extreme as to force it out of business, they cannot settle down to harmonious working relations. Stability appears only when each side takes into account the institutional or survival needs of the other.

Thus, as the atmosphere clears, the stage is set for the development of more "mature relationships." Even though industrial peace is rarely reached in a single jump, the parties may take tentative steps in that direction.

#### Adjustment Between Individuals

With experience comes an awareness on both sides that not all subjects with which they deal involve areas of conflict. Many problems that reach the bargaining table are mutual problems, and both parties can benefit directly from an appropriate settlement. For example, management wants to decrease tardiness and absenteeism by introducing a more desirable work schedule. The union can contribute to a plan that will minimize employee discontent and wage losses and facilitate an easy adjustment to new working hours.

A negotiator can do a substantially better bargaining job if he knows how his opposite will react to various words and situations. When verbal warfare is substituted for picketing, personal relationships develop inevitably among a small group of key local negotiators who have the authority to make decisions. These men see each other almost daily and soon become familiar with one another's idiosyncrasies.

Management representatives quickly learn to differentiate between the grievances on which the union leaders face strong political pressures and those on which they are merely going through the motions of pressing. At the same time, the union officers recognize that there are certain areas in which management cannot afford to "lose face" even though it is wrong. A shrewd management learns not to embarrass union officials before a close election; in the

<sup>3</sup> E. Wright Bakke, *Manual Survival: The God of Union and Management* (New Haven

same way, astute union leaders realize that personnel directors must have some kind of results to show the company president.<sup>4</sup>

We have observed many episodes like the one reflected in the following statement by a union leader to a personnel director:

Look, Bill, we'll admit that Charlie Jones was drunk last week. Frankly we don't have a leg to stand on. If you'll take it easy on him—after all this is his first case—we'll waive the formal hearing. And that'll save you a lot of time and money.

Some bargains are implicit. The union may not press its advantage to the fullest in one case in the hope of a similar consideration on the part of management later on. As one union leader said in discussing a seniority case:

We won our principle. That's what's important. I'm not going to pull Smith off the job just because the company made a mistake. If I make a concession now, they'll do me a favor later on.

Another leader commented:

It's the spirit of the contract which counts, not the letter. If you're going to push for the last drop of blood, you can't expect consideration from management. Of course, I'm attacked for this by some of the hot heads, but I believe that live and let live pays off in the long run.

These are not collusive dealings but rather part of the flexible process by which both sides adjust to new problem situations which could not have been foreseen when the contract was written.

Even where the policy of top union and top management is still one of unwavering antagonism, lieutenants on the lower levels may find that accommodation is a policy which strengthens everyone's position. In a large plant which had experienced a number of wildcat strikes, for example, one of the most aggressive leaders admitted:

Well, the super could have turned me in. But he didn't. He could have told the company that all morning I was going around organizing the fellows to walk off the job. But fortunately he's not that kind.

For one thing, we get along pretty well. When I was first elected, I told him that the union could make things pretty tough unless he wanted to play along. Now I do something for him and he does something for me. We both bluff each other and it works pretty well.

#### Day-to-Day Collective Bargaining

The wide area of maneuver allowed by corporation and industry-wide contracts provides an invitation to management and union officials to make flexi-

<sup>4</sup> Another motivating factor may be the desire of local union leaders and plant managers to maintain their autonomy and to prevent interference from higher levels of authority in both organizations.

ble working arrangements. Perhaps from a legalistic point of view collective bargaining occurs only when the master contract is being negotiated. However, contracts having such broad coverage must of necessity be worded in general terms. A legal document drafted in a series of tense bargaining conferences cannot hope to spell out answers to all the countless problems which may arise before the new contract is written. At best it can only specify the major conditions of employment. The significance of any particular contract clause for an individual member or group is determined by its day-to-day application in the shop.

In matters such as seniority, job evaluation, and incentive rate setting, the contract often suggests merely the *method* of settlement or the standards to be used, rather than the settlement itself. Application of these clauses to specific conditions requires further negotiations and interpretations.

### Work Rules

Since the momentous 116-day steel strike of 1959, students of industrial relations have come to recognize the importance of work rules in the day-to-day lives of employees. While not explicitly described in most contracts, a host of unwritten *ad hoc* agreements on how work is to be performed are developed by employees and their supervisors.

For example, airline "service representatives" (the girls who greet and assist airlines passengers) recently filed a grievance that management was requiring them to wear uniform hats that mussed their hair-do's.<sup>4</sup> More important work-rules issues concern how many men will compose a crew, the length of work breaks and wash-up time, and the dividing line between jobs (e.g., whether a stamping-machine operator should remove a jammed blank even though that is "maintenance work").

While these may not be part of the formal agreement, they quickly become part of the living contract that governs working relationships. Employees are quick to sense any change that makes their daily routine more painful, and they expect the local union to defend the rules they have grown used to. In turn, management often forgets the special circumstances under which they traded some privilege and accuse the employees of featherbedding by claiming the privilege as an "established" work rule.

Example: in a large tire plant in the high sales years of 1955 and 1956, the foremen in the tire building department needed faster delivery of tread pieces to their tire builders. Instead of requiring the fork-lift drivers to make the specified twelve-minute run from the tread extruder to the drying room and back to the builders, the foreman asked the drivers to take treads directly to the tire builders. The direct runs averaged only two minutes, but

the drivers continued to collect pay for twelve. A year and a half later, a time-study man inadvertently discovered the phantom trip time and tried to eliminate it. The drivers "grieved" and won a ruling from the arbitrator that the practice had become, through long practice, a protected work rule, subject to change only with the consent of the union.

Company officials accused the union of protecting featherbedders—but local union officials accused the foremen in the tire-building department of conniving with the drivers.

Most work rules develop gradually, almost imperceptibly, from day to day and month to month. They allow an escape from the impersonality of machine and organization. They reduce the grinding frictions of the industrial process for managers as well as workers, and allow adjustments to the tensions and pressures of daily shop life. Once developed, however, rules tend to remain, protecting workers' rights and shop practices.<sup>5</sup>

### Management's Stake in Industrial Peace

Management representatives also see the merit of informal discussion of common problems. Even on subjects solely within the area of management prerogatives, management officials learn the value of using the union as a channel of communication with the work force. Increasingly, they are recognizing its ability to help them discover sore spots in the plant and develop corrective action.

Human-relations-conscious supervisors are not unaware of the value of obtaining group agreement before initiating changes in work procedure. Rather than deal with a large number of individuals with diverse points of view, management prefers to sit down with a responsible union leader. He is the spokesman who supposedly represents the unified opinion of the entire work force or who can, subsequent to a negotiating session, sell his opinion to the group. Strong local unions are often seen as guarantees that agreements will be honored. Management learns that it can introduce changes in working conditions with much less friction if it obtains the prior approval of the union. In this way it can initiate action for the union. In effect, management has a stake in a local with leadership strong enough to hold the membership to its decisions.

### The Union's Stake in Industrial Peace

In general, union leaders look favorably upon these developments as increased opportunities to provide service for their members. They are anxious

<sup>4</sup> *New York Times*, July 7, 1966, p. 15.

<sup>5</sup> James Kuhn and Ivar Berg, "The Trouble with Labor is Featherbedding," *Columbia University Forum*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (Spring 1960), p. 24.

to expand the scope of collective bargaining. They are equally anxious to demonstrate to the management their *responsibility* and so willingly accept the burden of "selling" the agreement to the rank and file and keeping dissidents in line. By being careful to abide by the terms of the agreements reached, they hope to gain additional prestige and control over working conditions in the plant.

### The Expanded Grievance Procedure

In this context, the so-called grievance procedure takes on a new meaning. It is more than a purely negative method of appeal *against* management decisions; it verges on a continuous process of problem solving. Furthermore, the solutions obtained are not always limited by the rigid framework of the contract. With reasonably good labor relations, the grievance procedure can be a creative and positive means whereby the parties translate the dry words of the written document into a living relationship.

In most of the relationships studied, it was almost impossible to ascertain who began a so-called grievance or even when the case started. Union and management officials, officers and rank and file workers and foremen—all were in such constant touch with one another that rumors, hints, and questions from all sides played a vital role in collective bargaining.

Thus, the foreman may hint to Bill Jones, the steward, that the company is planning a new type of conveyor system. Questions are immediately raised in Bill's mind and in the minds of the men in his department: will this change the number of jobs available? What will happen to the amount of work we do, the skill required, or the wages received? Bill brings the matter to the attention of his local president, who contacts top management. Then begins a series of conferences which may last for months—until some kind of mutually satisfactory settlement is reached. In such a context, it is irrelevant whether union or management made the initial contact or whether a formal written grievance was ever filed.

This expansion of the grievance procedure results in the union's winning broader control over jobs and new responsibilities. In addition to negotiating basic wages, hours, and working conditions, many officers sign agreements or approve plans that determine selective job rates, work loads, seniority benefits, and seniority rights for individual workers as well as groups.

Even in those situations where management jealously guards its prerogatives to assign work, determine technology, etc., the right of the union to file grievances on the application of these decisions makes it a tacit partner in the final settlement. Indeed, in the eyes of its members, the union shares some of the responsibility for management-initiated changes merely through deciding which grievances are most important and deserve strongest support.

Often a member may say:

If he [the union president] had been on the ball, he would have stopped this when the company first started putting in the equipment. Now that it is in operation, we have a precedent and nothing can be done.

All of this results in a profound change in the union's role. The function of just protesting management decisions is subordinated to some degree of participation in making them. On the one hand, the union still presses management to obtain the maximum gains for its membership; on the other hand, it must defend the agreements reached through advance consultation or grievance settlements with the rank and file.

### Grievance Procedure on Communications Network

Most discussions of the grievance procedure picture a simple and orderly process. It runs something like this: Bill Smith has a problem. He goes to see his foreman to talk it over (Contact 1, Diagram 1). The foreman fails to give him satisfaction, so he sees his steward (Contact 2). The steward goes to the foreman to discuss the matter further (Contact 3).

Assuming that this is unsuccessful, the grievance is "reduced" to a written statement, a copy of which goes to the chief steward (Contact 4). This official discusses the matter with the department superintendent (Contact 5). If no satisfactory solution is reached at this level, then the matter is brought to the attention of the union grievance committee or the executive committee (Contact 6).

One or more members of the executive committee or the business agent contact the industrial relations department or plant management and a formal conference is held (Contact 7). If Bill's problem is particularly knotty and the parties still cannot reach agreement, it goes, finally, to arbitration (Contact 8). This is the typical procedure outlined by the contract.<sup>1</sup>

If we look at the grievance procedure as the communications process by which workers' problems are discussed and resolved, we see that in most circumstances it is less mechanical than the system outlined above.

Take the situation in Bob Small's plant. Bob has a problem and he talks it over with his foreman (Contact 1, Diagram 2). The foreman tells him that there is nothing he can do, that this kind of matter is decided "higher up." So Bob goes to the department head, who gives him roughly the same answer (Contact 2). He ponders whether he should go directly to the industrial relations office himself. Deciding that discretion is the better part of valor, he

<sup>1</sup> For the sake of simplicity, we are omitting the procedural steps that include top corporation officials in multipoint organization. Also, we have ignored the role of the international's staff representatives. In many situations, they play an important part in the grievance procedure long before the case goes to arbitration.

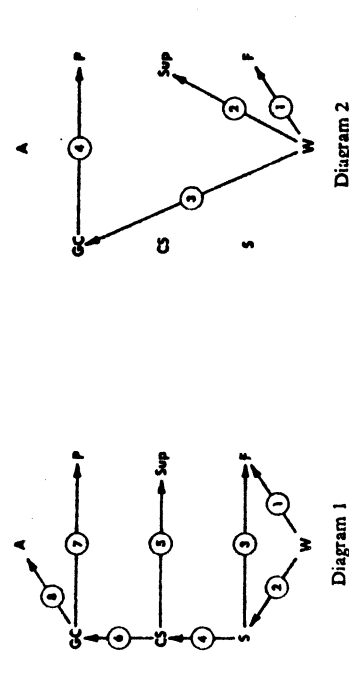


Diagram 1

#### KEY

- |     |                                  |    |  |
|-----|----------------------------------|----|--|
| W   | Worker                           | A  | Arbitration  |
| S   | Steward                          | GC | Executive committee, grievance committee, business agent, or president |
| F   | Foreman                          | P  | Personnel department or production manager                             |
| CS  | Chief steward or grievance agent |    |  |
| Sup | Superintendent                   |    |  |

corners the chairman of the grievance committee during the lunch hour (Contact 3). The chairman agrees to discuss this matter informally with the industrial relations manager. Technically, Bob is ignoring the procedure established by the contract. Yet Bob's approach is merely one of a variety of ways by which workers seek redress of their grievances.

#### Whom Does the Worker Contact?

Of particular interest is the initial step in the grievance process: whom does the worker contact first when he has a complaint? Does he contact the foreman, the steward, or some higher-ranking member of either the union or management? What he does depends to a great extent on the type of union-management relationship in the plant and on the worker's confidence in his foreman and steward. The worker must consider both who has the power to help him and the possibility that he might be penalized if he makes a complaint to the wrong person.

In many companies, before the advent of unionism, the worker was afraid to approach his foreman with a grievance for fear of getting the reputation of being a troublemaker or even of being fired. A grievance procedure is one of the first demands of a newly established union; it permits the orderly handling of complaints and, in theory, eliminates the possibility of reprisal.

But the memory of yesterday is not easily wiped out. Particularly among older workers, this fear of reprisal continues. As one man told us in a plant whose management prides itself on an enlightened industrial relations policy:

I'll be up for retirement in a few years and I'm not taking any chances of doing anything to endanger that pension. No, sir, no grievances for me.

In "armed truce" situations, both parties compete for the worker's loyalty and for the opportunity to handle his grievances. The company claims that it is anxious to have a chance to settle a worker's problems *before* he sees the union. Thus, if he sees the steward first, the foreman may suspect him of disloyalty to the company (or so the worker fears). Conversely, if stewards are soliciting grievances aggressively, a direct approach to management is considered a slap in the face by the union.

It should be noted that the worker can get the foreman into trouble. Some companies take into account the number of grievances a foreman collects in rating his efficiency. As one top management representative told us:

The good foreman doesn't have to have grievances. He has enough discretion to be able to settle most complaints—if he handles himself well. Many things—for example, pay for overtime work—he is able to adjust if the worker has been wronged. Other things, beyond his scope—for example, where company rules or policies are involved—can be settled if the foreman used tact and diplomacy. There's no question that even where he can't begin action himself, he can settle the fellow's complaint.

In such circumstances, stewards can make effective use of threats to the foreman like the following:

I've got 13 grievances in my pocket. If you don't wise up, then you get all 13 in the morning. Understand?

#### The Steward's Role

We have heard union officers say again and again, "The steward is our biggest problem." In theory, stewards are the backbone of the union, the line of communication between officers and members. In spite of this, stewards were hard to recruit in most locals we studied and showed little interest in their job. Frequently, it became almost impossible to fill vacancies, so much so that in one large department only one of 11 steward posts was filled. This was an exceptional case, but most unions have vacancies in their steward rosters.

This holds true even in locals which give stewards a slight financial incentive, by refunding their dues.

A local president explained how "I draft whoever gripes a lot. I get my best men that way." Another took this discouraged attitude:

You may as well forget that we have any stewards. They're a joke. Even when I appoint them quit in a month. They don't do much if they stay on. They aren't willing to put the work in, or they are afraid what the company will think. All they do is turn their problems over to us or to their grievance man.

Of course, the recruitment situation is not always so difficult. In one local election, out of 55 stewardship vacancies, 41 were contested. Even here, however, three of the vacancies were unfilled because no one wanted to run—and a local officer said:

I'd say that up to half the stewards are just holding down the title. They rely on the chief steward or executive board man to handle their problems for them. Of course, we have a few really good men who can handle themselves well without help. The average one runs to us as soon as he has any problem.

In spite of constitutional provisions, there are no steward elections at all in many locals, either because "it is impossible to get the group to elect anybody, so we must appoint somebody to represent them," or "because a lot of men who get elected are unreliable." In one local, the business agent had to draft candidates. A steward described her "election" as follows:

After the old steward left, we were without one for three or four months. Then the business agent called a meeting. He wanted me to take the job. I didn't want it. . . . But the business agent told me to take it . . . [later on] I called a meeting to resign, but they wouldn't let me.

Why is the morale of the steward so low? A large part of the reason for this discontent is that his job is changing. In theory, the steward's chief function is that of negotiating with management. As the U.A.W. shop steward guide puts it: "Your post was created because of the workers' need for someone to represent them in dealing with management." In practice, the steward is either by-passed in the grievance procedure or acts as a messenger boy between the rank and file and the officers.

In many instances observed, the typical grievance followed one of two patterns:

1. The worker gets in touch with the most powerful officer available (usually an executive committeeman, although at times a chief steward). This officer gets in touch with the personnel department. Both steward and foreman are by-passed. (See Diagram 3.)
2. Even if the worker tells his problem to the steward, the steward often

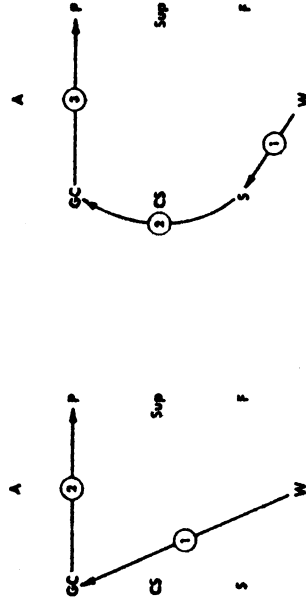


Diagram 3

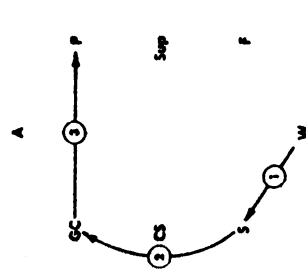


Diagram 4

hands it over to his chief steward or executive committeeman. One of them contacts the personnel department. The foreman is ignored. (Diagram 4.)

While workers are anxious to obtain swift action, they "shop around" to find the union officer who will "do the most for them." In many plants the foreman possesses little discretion and is largely powerless to make any real adjustment in working conditions. Like the worker himself, he is largely following orders. Consequently, the rank and file realize that bringing a problem to him is an empty formality. And even if the foreman is sympathetic with the workers' problems, he can do very little.

We have observed that foremen sometimes use the grievance procedure as a channel of communications between themselves and top management! Rather than themselves accepting the onus for suggesting changes, they encourage, or at least connive with, the union to bring work problems to the attention of higher management. In many companies, the lowliest steward has readier access to the industrial relations office than does the foreman. A classic example of this comes from a clerical local:

An assistant department head had been promoted to department head and naturally requested a promotion for his secretary. When his request was rejected, the secretary's chief steward immediately contacted the local president and both made a strong oral protest to the industrial relations manager. Several days later the secretary was upgraded—and the department head thanked the chief steward.

The officers often keep tight control over grievance cases because they are fearful that the stewards may inadvertently establish a precedent unfavorable

to the union. In one case, a steward resigned after being reprimanded by a local president for letting a supervisor take over a machine while its operator went to the rest room. The steward claimed that since this technical violation of the contract actually helped the man, there was no harm done. The officers feared this would establish a precedent allowing management to take work away from union members.

However, the officers are concerned lest the stewards be overly militant, giving the impression that the union is breaking its pledged word, as in the case of a steward who took the remarks of a top union official too seriously:

When this officer asked, "Why the hell should we knock ourselves out when the company feels this way about us?" the steward took this as a signal to call a slow-down. This hot-headed action substantially threatened that local's relationship with management.

For these reasons, the executive board sometimes takes steps to restrict stewards' authority. In one local:

We agreed that any chairman or committeeman who had a grievance would make absolutely no effort to settle it on the spot, but would immediately get in touch with the business agent. That procedure had a number of rather important effects. One was that they didn't make any snap decisions which would have been colored by their closeness to the situation, and possibly by their lack of training and experience. Another was that they had the advice and critical assistance of someone who stood a little bit out of the immediate picture and wasn't so intimately and personally concerned with the issues at stake.<sup>8</sup>

The stewards themselves are often anxious to transfer grievance responsibility to higher union officers. Many fear recommitment from their foreman. In some situations, top management has accepted collective bargaining in good faith, but lower supervision still handles each grievance as though it were a personal insult. The top officers negotiate directly with staff officers or higher management; the steward must deal with his immediate boss.

Furthermore, the steward is often conscious of the limitations to his bargaining knowledge and ability. In particular, the steward feels handicapped in dealing with complicated technical subjects like job evaluation and time study. Even if he knows the contract backwards and forwards, it is not enough. The written document tells only part of the story. The longer union and management work together, the larger will be the number of informal agreements which interpret the contract.

Few stewards can keep up with these agreements—they do not attend the conferences in which the agreements are evolved, and few locals publish memoranda recording them. Stewards' meetings are usually drab

affairs in which little important information is communicated. Thus, stewards often find themselves in situations like the following:

I lost a case that I thought I really had in the bag. I told the foreman that temporary employees could not accumulate seniority. That's what the contract said, plain as day. We fought about it for three months and I was all set to shoot him a written grievance when Bowman [the local president] called me in. He showed me an agreement he signed with the plant manager six months ago which gave those guys their seniority. Was I disgusted!

### The Chief Steward

The position of the chief steward (often called a grievanceman or committeeman) has not suffered as greatly as that of the steward, although the situation varies from local to local. In some, his prestige and authority have atrophied as badly as that of the steward; in others, he has direct access to the personnel department and "collects" grievances which might otherwise go to the executive committee or business agent. As in the case of the steward, the strength of the chief steward's position depends to a large extent on whether the members of management with whom he negotiates have the power to conclude agreements.

Even within a single local there may be a significant difference in the way chief stewards play their role. Consider a local president's comments about John Farrell and "Stinky" Mahler:

John's no better than a lump on a log. He's completely worthless as a chief steward. He's scared to handle a case.

Mahler's one of our most aggressive stewards. He knows how to take a case, to deal with management, and to handle it to the end. We have no trouble from his department.

Four months later the president became frightened of Mahler's growing political power and the fact that men from many departments other than his own were bringing him their problems:

When I was in the personnel office negotiating, who should walk in but Mahler. You know what a sad excuse he had? I asked, "What do you want, Stinky?" and he said, "Oh, I put a nickel in the Coke machine. The damned thing's out of order and I want my nickel back." Can you imagine that? Expecting us to believe that he'd go to the personnel department just to get a nickel back. This makes a pattern on his part. He's getting bolder and bolder.

The president's chief objection was to Mahler's by-passing of the executive board and contacting of the personnel department directly. To the degree to which chief stewards are capable of dealing with the decision-making levels of management, concentration of power within the hands of the executive board is reduced.

<sup>8</sup> Andrew H. Whiteford et al., "From Conflict to Cooperation," *Applied Anthropology*, Vol. 5, No. 4 (Fall 1946), p. 12.

Since chief stewards rarely deal solely with their *immediate* supervisors, the strength of their position relative to that of stewards is greater. They negotiate with men in the "office" as well as men in the "shop" and thus feel freer from possible retribution.

Chief stewards are often anxious to increase their power. Many of the shrewder ones build alliances with local officers. A local vice-president remarked:

A good chief steward will always call you down to help settle the case. He knows it means votes for you and you can do something for him in return.

Some chief stewards are glad to get assistance from more experienced officers, who in turn will share some of the responsibility if the grievance "turns sour." On the other hand, there are those who want a free hand to handle their own problems and who resent the unwanted intrusion of top union officers. Bill Henry resigned over this issue:

Bill was one of the few men in his department interested in the union. For over six years he had served as chief steward and given much of his spare time to the cause.

The department had been plagued by a series of internal grievances and Bill's decisions were not always popular. Recently, he was able to get the contending parties in a particularly difficult seniority dispute to come more or less to an agreement. Several days ago, one disaffected individual approached the local president, who without consulting Bill, completely reversed him. Immediately there was a new epidemic of grievances. Bill felt there was nothing left to do but resign.

Such conflicts between chief stewards and officers are most acute at election time—as are disputes between the officers themselves.

#### Union or Management Initiative?

Of course, not all grievances are initiated by individual workers—some relate to entire departments and, in these cases, the chief steward takes the responsibility of bringing the problem to management's attention. Still other grievances may affect a large number of workers, although no single worker feels strongly enough to register a complaint. In one plant, for example, an executive board member noted that one of the major entrances to the plant was locked during the period between shift changes. During a lull in one of the executive committee meetings, he suggested that this violated a state law and endangered the safety of the men in the plant. "And they can't treat like animals in a pen!" The next week the bargaining committee presented their case to the head of the personnel department.

Often management initiates the action. Many stewards said, "Whenever

there is a vacancy coming up, the foreman lets me know and we sit down to decide who fills it."

Thus, there are numerous channels which can be used in grievance negotiations. Indeed, it may be that the term *grievance* itself is confusing and instead the whole process should be considered as one of *problem-solving*.

Certainly our experiences suggest that one of the prime indicators of good labor-management relations is that discussion of problems is initiated by management almost as often as by the union. For instance, the foreman may discuss a disciplinary problem with the steward before taking action—rather than waiting for a grievance to be filed after he takes action.

Except in "armed truce" situations, where the union officers are anxious to harass management with the maximum number of grievances, there is a general reluctance to reduce important grievances to writing.

The rank-and-file worker fears that signing his name to a complaint is "sticking his neck out" and may make him look like a "troublemaker." Stewards and higher officers have learned that their freedom to make adjustments is much greater when they can deal with management informally—without the necessity of pointing to a particular clause in the contract and proving that it was violated.

For these reasons, grievances are reduced to writing only after other means have failed. Sometimes this happens when a rank-and-file group feels that the officers are not acting promptly on its grievances. At times, too, when the top officers themselves have failed in their efforts at informal negotiations, they may institute the formal machinery as a means of exerting further pressure on management and perhaps preparing the way for possible arbitration. In such cases, the local president often helps the steward word his grievance, while the foreman's reply is usually cleared with his supervisor. In fact, the foreman's answer is usually a verbatim record of what higher management had said earlier—informally.

#### Conclusion

The flexible nature of the *real* grievance procedure (as distinct from that outlined by the contract) encourages a general tendency to "by-pass" the steward and deprive him of his position as the first-line bargaining agent. In most of the cases observed, negotiations with management were handled by a few individuals—perhaps as few as two or three in plants employing 500 to 1,000—and by a proportionately larger number in the bigger plants. Not only is the steward by-passed in a formal sense, but in many cases he is not included in the mainstream of union intelligence. In addition to his being deprived of the opportunity to participate in the settlement of grievances concerning his own department, in many cases such settlements are made entirely without his knowledge. No wonder his morale is low!

In most newly organized plants the steward performs two very important functions: recruiting new members and collecting dues. However, many plants have a union shop and, in many of those which do not, almost 100 per cent of the workers belong to the union. Furthermore, the checkoff system, which is more and more widely adopted, eliminates the necessity of individual dues collections. Under these circumstances, of the union-building functions only the nasty jobs are left—such as selling dance tickets and raffle chances.

As long as union-management relations remain in a state of constant conflict the steward performs an important function. He is encouraged to collect grievances, start wildcat strikes, and prod the workers into harassing management in every possible way. Thus, the decline of the steward is in part a function of improving labor-management relations.

Still, the steward's decline should not be overemphasized. Many stewards still serve as lines of communication between their departments and the local executive board. Even though they do not negotiate grievances, they provide valuable assistance to the officers. In some situations, there is an implicit exchange of favors—the officers will give top priority to the steward's grievance in return for which he provides them with political support. In other cases, as we shall see, the steward is able to mobilize self-help techniques and negotiate directly with management—often doing so in direct opposition to the local-wide officers.

This chapter has emphasized the flexible nature of the grievance procedure as it exists in the plants we observed. The next chapter will take up the fact that grievances often involve a conflict between various groups within the union.

Subsequent chapters deal with repercussions on *internal* union relations as *external* labor-management relations move toward industrial peace. We seek to show the types of internal adjustments which locals must make in order to adapt to a long period of regulated struggle. Among the problems are these:

1. The tendency of the steward's function to diminish (This occurs because the increasing technicality of the subjects handled and the informal nature of the grievance procedure result in a concentration of bargaining in the hands of top local officers and their counterparts on the management side.)
  2. The union's need to choose between the conflicting demands of individuals and groups in matters such as seniority (Here, settlements within its own ranks must precede bargaining with management.)
  3. The transfer to the local and its officers of some of the aggressions formerly directed against management (This occurs as the local increasingly performs quasi-supervisory functions.)
- These then, may provide one explanation (although there are others) for the falling off of interest and participation noted in many unions.



ment as a common union policy is often the resultant of numerous compromises among divergent interest groups within the rank and file.

## 3 Conflicting Interest Groups

### Areas of Conflict

In an active local, the union officers have demands made upon them in an almost continuous stream. The rank and file constantly bring them problems on which they want the union to take immediate action. These demands can be divided into three classes: (1) those on which the union and its members can be reasonably united against the company, such as grievances against company-imposed discipline or demands for general wage increases; (2) those through which some groups may benefit a great deal but others only slightly, if at all. (For example, a request for increased nightwork differentials is of immediate importance only to workers on extra shifts. Since the union's bargaining power is limited, as is management's ability to pay, greater gains by one group will often be counterbalanced by lesser gains by others.); and (3) those through which one group can gain only at the direct expense of some other individual or group. (Typical of these are seniority questions. For example, one worker may be able to win a promotion only through taking the opportunity away from another.)

Any of these problems may arise either in the form of a grievance under the existing contract or as a demand for new and changed contract clauses during negotiations. In form, at least, they are directed against management. However, before the union can begin to "process" these demands it must make up its own mind just what to ask for. This often involves politically difficult decisions.

### Where Groups Generally Agree

Traditionally, in discussions of labor relations, the emphasis has been placed on the first class of problem. Even here the union's bargaining position is limited, and sometimes a choice must be made between conflicting goals of interest groups. For instance, in asking for a general wage increase, officers must often choose between asking for the increase in "cents-per-hour" (as favored by the lower-paid groups) or "percentage-wise" (as the higher paid would like). Again, it would seem that no one on the union's side would be hurt if Bill Smith's disciplinary layoff could be successfully challenged. However, many members object to "another guy's getting away with murder." This is particularly true if the offense in question involves other individuals, such as fighting or "laying down on the job" when a team operation is involved.

In any case, the union still cannot win every grievance. If it wins Smith's,

**A** union can be looked at in two ways; as a unified body of members promoting the common welfare through collective action, and as a confederation of competing interest groups, each with individual goals. This chapter emphasizes the second aspect—the elements of difference between groups within the local, rather than the deceptive unity presented to outsiders. (This emphasis gives us a one-sided picture: Unionism could never have reached its present strength unless union members were united on essentials.)

Even though disguised by the industrial union structure, the elements of conflict are less obvious than in the jurisdictional disputes between craft unions, but just as real. For example, the same factor of job scarcity which motivates the craft union can operate within the plant-wide local.

The worker in the plant is not only a company employee and a union member, but also a member of countless other special-interest groups; he may be a mill operator on the night shift, he may have low seniority, he may be paid on an "incentive rate," and so forth. Where shared by others, each of these aspects of his status can be the basis of a special-interest group, the members of which may have bargaining objectives that conflict with those of union "brothers."

Difficult adjustments must be made *internally* during the course of the union's *external* negotiations with management. What may appear to manage-

it may do so at the expense of losing Jones's. The settlement of grievance cases often involves logrolling with management. One case may be traded off to win another. Even arbitration involves a choice. No union can afford (politically or economically) to arbitrate everything—and if it could, an inter-group dispute might arise between those whose cases involve arbitration and those who pay the arbitration costs. Since this type of problem is well known, our attention will be concentrated on the other two classes of problem.

#### Where One Group Gains Relatively More Than Another

By now it is generally accepted that, as a cause of worker dissatisfaction, differences between wage rates are almost as important as their absolute levels.

Wage differentials are a mark of social status in the factory organization. If they do not correspond with the relative significance of jobs, as employees view them, the workers' sense of justice is outraged.<sup>1</sup>

Whenever the union officers obtain improved earnings for one group, they reduce the relative prestige of other workers. The elimination of what are inequities in the eyes of one group may create inequities in the eyes of a competing department.

A typical example comes from a clerical local. Management told the girls in a large office to go home at midday because there was insufficient work for them. They complained to the union, which eventually won them a full day's pay. Immediately, a flood of abuse was poured on the officers by the girls who had actually worked the entire period for the same pay.

A more complicated case concerns an industrial union which won unusually "loose" incentive rates for "labor pool" jobs.<sup>2</sup> As a result, unskilled men obtained earnings nearly double those of skilled workers in the same plant. These skilled workers felt embarrassed when weekly paychecks were compared in the shop and outside the plant. Realizing that under the contract they had no chance of increasing their own earnings, they insisted that the union try to "tighten" the incentive rates of the labor pool. Of course, the men in the "pool" argued that their higher earnings were entirely the result of hard work rather than faulty rate setting. Union leaders were in a quandary. If they were a party to reducing the earnings of the men in the labor pool, they would be accused of playing management's game. On the

<sup>1</sup> Pigors and Myers, *Personnel Administration* (2nd ed. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1951), p. 255.

<sup>2</sup> "Loose" incentive rates are those which are particularly lucrative. "Labor pool" jobs are those at the bottom of the plant promotional ladder. For a more extensive discussion of these incentive problems see Leonard R. Stiles, "The Impact of Incentives on Inter-Group Work Relations," *Personnel*, Vol. 28, No. 6 (May, 1952), pp. 483-490.

other hand, the skilled dayworkers were protesting that the union was "just run for the benefit of those unskilled pieceworkers."

Whenever the union initiates or acquiesces to change affecting job evaluation or incentive rates, it runs the risk of upsetting *customary differentials*. When the men "bid" for one job rather than another, they do so in the expectation that the wages paid on these jobs will maintain their relative positions. When this balance is upset—for example, by a new job-evaluation plan that substantially increases the rates for some jobs—some men will feel that their expectations have been unjustly thwarted.

In situations like this, management can afford to be neutral. Often the contract sets aside one lump sum to cover inequities. When this happens, one group can get an increase only at the expense of another.

The "rate buster" provides an equally difficult problem.<sup>3</sup> Individuals or entire groups who produce too much can be extremely embarrassing to the union.

Such a problem arose during the establishment of an incentive system. The management concerned was moving slowly and with great care. The jointer's "rates" were the first to be set. At the beginning, these were temporary; then after a two-year trial they were made permanent. During the testing period, the men kept production down so that the rates ultimately set would be low. After the rates were established, they increased their output (and earnings) almost daily. But other men in the same department, who expected that an incentive plan would soon be developed for their jobs too, complained that this group's high production was spoiling things: the company would never again believe the trial period results, and the new rates, it was feared, would be mercilessly low. As a consequence, they asked the union to put pressure on the group to "take it easy." Naturally the men involved felt that after making sacrifices for two years they deserved a little "gravy." In this case, the local officers had to decide whether to exert pressure and risk antagonizing this group or to endanger future incentive rates.

The two cases described above illustrate how the introduction of an incentive plan can disrupt the harmony within a local. Similar conflicts can arise between incentive workers and the hourly-rate men who service them. This relationship is always delicate, but particularly so when the amount of work done by one group is a function of that done by another. If the dayworkers slow down, the incentive group feels deprived of its opportunity to earn money. But if the incentive workers speed up, those on day rates feel that they are doing something for nothing since their earnings remain constant.

In a recent strike, an entire plant was shut down to support the demands of a "rate buster" is a worker who produces more than the standard informally agreed on by his group. Cf. Melville Dalton, "The Industrial Rate Buster: A Characterization," *Applied Anthropology*, Vol. 7, No. 7 (Winter 1948), pp. 5-18.

Department X for a more liberal incentive plan. Once the plan was granted, the department greatly increased its production—much to the disgust of the dayworkers in Department Y, the next step in the production line. They complained that they had sacrificed two weeks' pay during the strike only to find that their own work load had increased without extra compensation.

Thus, one group's winning of a grievance may hurt other groups in a variety of ways.

#### Where One Group Gains at the Direct Expense of Another

Many of the decisions which union officers must make involve more than a relative loss by some group within the rank and file. In many cases, there is a strong possibility that some members will be hurt as much as others are benefited. Thus, from the point of view of the membership as a whole, there can be no real victory even though the union's institutional power vis-à-vis the management may be enhanced.

A simple example illustrates this point. The grinding and cutting departments in a large manufacturing plant can perform roughly the same operations. When business declined the grinders presented a grievance because their work was being transferred to the cutters, resulting in layoffs for their own department. The officers were faced with a dilemma. If they pursued the grievance, they would penalize one group; if they did not, they would hurt the other.

The division of retroactive pay often introduces similar problems. In a typical situation, an old contract expired on July 30 and the parties agreed that any wage increase would be retroactive to that date. Final agreement on a 10-cents-an-hour increase was reached November 16. It was estimated that the average worker would receive about \$70 in back pay, although those with a great deal of overtime would get much more. Rather than go through the heavy expense of computing the amount owed each worker separately, the company proposed to give a lump-sum bonus of \$85. Approximately 85 per cent of the workers would gain by this—but the 15 per cent minority really "raised the roof" at a meeting called to ratify the contract. Problems like this often lead to litigation.

#### Specific Problems

##### Seniority

Seniority disputes are the cause of many internal union conflicts. Increasingly, seniority is becoming the worker's primary guarantee of economic security. Whether a man wins a promotion or is laid off, whether he is

downgraded or put on the night shift—all these, and many other aspects of a worker's job and earnings—depend on this one important factor.

Yet, as the cases described below illustrate, the determination of who is the "senior man" in a given case may involve an arbitrary judgment. Often these decisions are extremely complex, and the contract provides an unsatisfactory guide to the "right" decisions.

A typical problem started when a lift truck which had been servicing Department A began to be used in Department B. After a time, the drivers of the lift truck were instructed to report to the foreman of Department B. Soon the men in Department B claimed that the job belonged to them and that the men in Department A should return to their own department.

In plants where work is scheduled unevenly and layoffs are common, "bumping," or displacing from his job the man with lower seniority, is the normal practice. Men in every department fear that when cutbacks occur they will lose their jobs to those with higher seniority. Under these circumstances, the arrangement of the so-called "job progression" ladders is extremely important. Men in each occupational group want to maximize the number of jobs below them, into which they can bump in case of a cutback in employment. By the same token, they want to minimize the number of men who can bump them from above.

Many departments openly compete to have low-seniority groups placed below them in the promotional ladder. As a result, some groups whose members have relatively high seniority are orphaned. They have no job beneath them into which they can bump.

Union shop committees often have the unpleasant task of mediating these disputes. Some locals have tried to avoid the problem by providing that the decisions should be made by the departments directly concerned. This attempt is usually ineffective since the minority will almost always complain to the union that the majority decision was unfair. Usually, at some point the union officers find themselves placed in the position of having to say that one group was right and the other was wrong.

Of course, management does have its own interest in this problem. Continuous shifting of jobs is not conducive to morale and productivity. Filling of jobs by inexperienced or partially trained workers is expensive. For these reasons, too, rapid shifting of personnel is often opposed. However, within broad limits, management may not care whom the union ultimately declares to be the "senior man."

The principle that "seniority shall prevail" merely states the problem. Seniority is not a rigid measuring rod, but a flexible one. It is subject to the use of each group in the pursuance of its own interests.

Thus seniority provides a difficult internal union problem. The uninitiated observer is always surprised at the tremendous proportion of grievances and intergroup disputes which revolve around this one issue. In the unions we

have studied, decisions affecting promotions, demotions, layoffs, transfers, and shift preference easily consume one-third of the time of union officers. In each of these areas, a decision which helps one union member is usually going to hurt another. The resulting pressures on the officers are enormous.

#### Level of Employment

Whenever output is curtailed, the union and management are faced with two alternatives: reducing the workweek or laying off the less senior employees. Of course, the employer may have preferences of his own, but the union, too, must decide what it wants. This is particularly a problem at the time the contract is being negotiated. Should short-service employees have the opportunity to participate in work-sharing or should they be laid off to make more work for the longer-service members; and what is the dividing line between the two groups?

The opposite problem arises when production expands. In one such situation, the top paid employees demanded overtime (meaning the right to work extra hours at premium rates), while those who held jobs lower on the promotional ladder insisted that they be promoted to the higher grade and new employees hired to fill in at the bottom.

The cases described above illustrate the areas in which group conflicts can arise and the types of problems these present to the union leadership. When the uninformed observer considers worker demands for changes in wages, problems of incentive rate setting, and disputes over layoffs and promotions, he does not ordinarily consider these as possible areas of intergroup conflict. Yet, in each of these cases, the union must reconcile its internal differences before it can present a united front to management.

There is the additional complication that, in many cases, the local leadership has made prior agreements, formal or informal, with management. These commit the union to a specific policy or course of action—for example, that certain work should be done by the splicers rather than the joiners. But if the joiners file a grievance against this, their grievance is, in fact, directed just as much against the union as against the company. For if the union is to give in to the joiners, it must break its implicit agreement with the splicers and management. Most leaders appear anxious to seem responsible. They prefer not to break their word with the company. If they do, it will jeopardize their "informal relations" and make it increasingly difficult to obtain other agreements in the future.

#### Dynamics of Intergroup Conflicts

The previous section has shown the types of problems which lead to intergroup conflict. This section will deal with the dynamics of these conflicts—

how they arise and the types of weapons used by the opposing parties to gain their ends.

*The Case of the Spinners* As an introduction, it may be valuable to trace the history of a single case, showing how the groups involved compared their earnings and working conditions, how this affected plant life and normal work relations, and how these work groups used a broad range of techniques to further their ends.

In a large manufacturing plant, a conflict arose between the men who operated the new spinning machines and those who operated the old ones. The old "standard" spinning machines were operated chiefly by high-seniority men, who were paid an hourly rate. For nine years the company had been experimenting with new machines which were faster and easier to run. During this period they had been operated by younger men with low seniority. After a two-year tryout of the new machines, their operators were placed on incentive rates.

To obtain the union's approval, management granted a "loose" rate (one on which it is easy to obtain high earnings). The union readily accepted, believing that unless the long-run productivity of this particular department was improved, the company would move its operations to another plant.

However, the old spinners, who were politically powerful in the union, resented the incentive system. They feared it would establish a precedent for working too fast and perhaps even reduce the amount of work available to them. Eventually, this could mean fewer jobs.

Even before the incentive plan was accepted, the men on the old spinners derided the younger men as "damn fools for working themselves to death." In turn, the younger men were resentful of the old spinners' "creamy jobs" and were upset that the seniority system forced them to take what was then less desirable work, with little chance of obtaining jobs on the old machines.

However, after the plan was in effect, the men started comparing paychecks in neighborhood bars. It became obvious that the younger men, on incentive, were earning a great deal more than the older spinners on their hourly rate. Since the two types of machines had adjacent locations, the old spinners were able to watch the ever-increasing production on the other line. With growing anxiety, they saw the differentials between their earnings becoming larger.

The two lines had never been friendly. Now they began to exchange angry threats. Several top-seniority spinners told the "youngsters":

You guys better save what you are earning because you're not going to be on these jobs very long. We're coming over to take them. They're ours because we're the oldest men in the department.

To be sure, some of this was in jest, but the serious undertone prompted a group of the youngest, who had nothing to lose, to tell off their adversaries:

Don't start anything because if you try to bump us [use the seniority provisions of the contract to take their jobs] we're going to fix these jobs so no one wants them.

The reply of hourly-rate spinners was in terms of their right to the job, as older, senior employees in the department:

Why should some young guy that has been in the plant less than a year be taking home 30 dollars more a week than guys like us that have been here more than 15 years? We'll be the laughing stock of the plant.

The new spinners were just as self-righteous:

We took these jobs when no one else wanted them. We stuck to them through two years of a trial period when everyone else was laughing at us, and you fellows have no right to come over and bump us off.

The old spinners first tried to pressure their stewards and grievancemen into taking some action. Some informally contacted the local president and the International representative in order to get their opinion on whether it would be legal for them to bump onto the new machines. When no reply was received, three of the more vocal old spinners wrote out a formal grievance to their steward outlining their right to the new job and demanding that the union do something about the threat of the youngsters to use production increases to "ruin the new job."

In the meantime, the incentive workers made good their threat to accelerate their production increases, hoping thereby to discourage the older men from any further interest in the job. Their logic was this: if they worked very hard, management would expect much more production than the older men, who had been "spoiled" on an hourly-rated job, would be willing to put out.

The older men responded by calling a departmental meeting as authorized by the union constitution. Although this was boycotted by the majority of the new spinners, there was still spirited discussion. The result was obvious from the start—a motion was passed to "clarify the seniority provisions of the contract" by authorizing bumping.

The younger men heard the results the next day. They, too, submitted a formal grievance in writing, enunciating their claims to the incentive jobs. This was based on the promises of the local president and the chairman of the grievance committee that anyone who completed the trial period would gain seniority on the job.

To summarize, in order to get acceptance of technological change, the company offered unusually high earnings for one job. This changed its attractiveness relative to other jobs—and thus upset the social structure of the shop. The senior employees felt that their prestige and earnings were threatened. As a means of defense, they utilized the grievance procedure and departmental meetings. In return, the younger workers resorted to self-help

measures (a speedup). (This provided an issue in the next election.) It is cases of this complexity which plague the life of the union official.

### **Increasing Importance of the Differences**

Before the union was organized, poor communications made it difficult for one group to compare itself with another. Information about weekly pay-checks, hours worked, seniority, and all the rest could be passed from group to group only by means of rumors and personal friendships.

The unions have opened new channels of communication. Contract requirements that seniority lists and job vacancies be posted create a wealth of opportunities for workers to compare their positions in the plant. Job evaluation rates all the jobs in the plant against *each other*. Union participation in incentive rate setting results in publicity for many elements which the average worker never before considered important or felt he could understand. Just as workers are now sensitive to cost-of-living indices, they know what the "other guys are getting and how hard they work for it."

Increasingly, over-all working conditions are determined through company-wide or industry-wide negotiations. As a result, a worker as an individual can do little about his basic wage rate, but when he notices that the man next to him is obtaining more than his fair share of overtime he can complain—with at least a fair chance of success.

The grievance procedure provides an orderly channel through which pressure can be exerted upon management. Furthermore, to some extent the union is a forum, within which efforts can be made to reconcile differences between groups.

Earlier chapters have shown how "industrial peace" and "working harmony" result in the union's winning additional bargaining rights in areas which were once solely management's prerogative. However, many of these added areas of responsibility are also areas where intergroup differences may arise. The relative strength of the union is often correlated with its success in expanding the scope of collective bargaining. This, too, may give rise to internal differences which can split the union unless the officers show humanitarian statesmanship of the highest order.

Passing the problem to management, logical argument, even a majority vote of the members involved—all often fail to relieve the officers of the necessity for making a politically difficult decision. In considering a grievance, the local leadership must take into account, first, how it affects the relationship with management, second, what it does to the balance between competing groups in the plant community and, third, various types of pressures the rival groups will be able to exert. These pressures are the subject of the next chapter.

acts of direct sabotage. These are primitive weapons; but as we shall see, even organized workers use them when they feel their officers are not paying sufficient attention to their just complaints.

Unionism provides a less violent way of expressing group dissatisfaction—the grievance procedure. Yet, a grievance has many hurdles to jump before the alleged inequity is corrected. These hurdles may arise from the desires of the officers to conserve limited bargaining power and from opposition by other groups whose interests would be hurt if the grievance proved to be successful.

It takes months, even years, before some grievances are resolved. In order to accelerate favorable action, members can resort to the following: (1) pressures within the framework of the grievance procedure, such as "button-holing" officers and making appeals at membership meetings; (2) action designed to improve their own long-run political position, such as voting for officers likely to favor their cause; and (3) self-help techniques, such as slowdowns and wildcat strikes—primitive tactics also available to the unorganized group.

#### Pressures within the Grievance Procedure

When a group feels that its just demands are being stalled or sidetracked, it first takes steps to expedite the grievance procedure by putting pressure upon some officers and, often, by ignoring others.

Not all officers will be equally sympathetic to the members' complaints. But the workers "shop around," and if one officer turns them down, they try to find someone more cooperative.

In many cases, the officer most frequently appealed to is the president or the chairman of the grievance committee—or even a strong secretary or vice-president. Such officers gain political advantage by successfully processing grievances. Even when they know they cannot be successful they learn how to avoid giving a direct "no," how to pass the buck to the company, to other officers, or—as is always convenient—to the International.

The rank and file take advantage of the officers' anxiety to please. If they feel that a given officer is not being assiduous enough they can always accuse him of "spelling out," of looking after the interests of management rather than those of the union. Thus the ability to shop around provides effective leverage for influencing the leadership.

No leader who wants to stay in office would dare restrict his calling hours to the time he spends at the union office or at grievance meetings. He finds no sanctuary in his home, particularly if he has a telephone:

When I'm away, my daughter takes ten to fifteen calls and makes notes on them. Why, I get calls at two or three in the morning. The night shift thinks that since they are working, I ought to be too.

## 4 Group Pressures upon Union Officers

Most union members realize that their complaints must compete with those from other work groups. Rather than sit idly by while their grievances are being considered, interested work groups make use of a battery of weapons to expedite the process. Sometimes these are directed against the company, sometimes against rival work groups. In most cases, they are exerted directly on the union officers to induce them to pressure management.

The range of weapons varies from the "primitive" self-help techniques available even to unorganized workers, through short-term pressures aimed at getting the officers to handle immediate problems, to longer-run efforts directed at increasing the political power of the group within the union.

Unorganized workers are not completely without bargaining power. In fact, they have available to them all the weapons used by the union. The difference made by unionism is that of coordination and outside support. Both organized and unorganized workers can express their dissatisfaction through absenteeism, quitting, or requesting transfers. More forceful and concerted measures are available when unorganized workers act as a group. Among these are slowdowns, sit-down strikes, wildcat walkouts, and even

Some leaders have their telephones removed; others have unlisted numbers. But in the shop the union officer is subject to the acid test:

If you really want to see some grievances, you ought to be around on Friday. Boy, I think this next Friday I'm going to be out of town, visiting my grandmother in Ohio. The minute they see their paychecks, they're out for you. In the morning, I go for a cup of coffee, it sometimes takes me two hours to get out of the lunchroom. There are a whole line of people waiting to see you, bringing up this case or that one.

Groups which find such informal techniques unsuccessful in prodding the officers to action can bring their problem to the attention of the local membership meeting. An orderly way of doing this is to introduce a formal resolution directing the leadership to take specific action in their case. Such an approach is not common. It is much more likely that someone will simply get up and ask the president or business agent point-blank:

When are we going to get action on our overtime pay? We've had our claim in for three months and you guys are still sitting on your far rear ends!

A more demonstrative note is struck when the speaker comes armed with a lengthy petition, signed by an entire department.

Department meetings provide another means of exerting pressure on the officers. Although the officers usually look upon these meetings as a means of obtaining ratification for supplemental agreements affecting only one department, they often get out of hand when the rank-and-file members convert them into gripe sessions.

Parliamentary rules of decorum prevent the members from being too violent at regular meetings, but there are no holds barred when the department meets alone. In local-wide meetings, the officers can limit the discussion to matters affecting "general welfare"; the department meetings get down to specific cases and personalities. The members have the officers on the spot and make the most of it. At times, the meeting can degenerate into an inquisition ending in an uproar as charges of "sellout" and "company man" abound.

### Improving Their Long-run Political Position

The kinds of pressures discussed so far might well be called *short run*; they are useful in expediting specific grievances of individuals or groups. However, many groups are intent on improving their longer-run chances of exerting effective control over the actions of their leaders. To do this, it is necessary to gain political strength through some form of direct *participation* in union affairs.

A single key officer can provide more help than a large bloc of members who merely attend meetings. Any department is frank to admit that it has gained or could profit by electing one of its number as local president or chief steward. As one recalled: "Things haven't been the same for us since Joe Corse [a former president] left the plant."

This advantage often leads to fierce competition between departments, particularly in chief stewards' elections. Although the steward is losing some of his power, it is still important to have the right man as a communications link with the top union officers and management. The man who holds the title of steward is able to say things which would be foolhardy for the average member. Furthermore, unless a steward backs it up, a grievance may have "rough sledding" when it reaches the higher stages of the negotiations process. Few rank-and-file members are likely to assume the role of the go-between. One department, that admitted its steward was just a "messenger boy," still used him as its spokesman in dealing with outside groups.

### Self-help Techniques

If the use of the normal channel of the grievance procedure or of participation in union affairs does not produce the better working conditions desired, the group may revert to the "primitive" self-help techniques discussed above. Of course, union leaders themselves at times make use of sit-downs, slow-downs, and mass absenteeism as a means of exerting pressure on management. In most cases, they refuse to accept public responsibility for "spontaneous action"—but it often serves their purpose. However, it would be a mistake to assume that this is always true.

Often these self-help techniques are extremely embarrassing to the officers' efforts to appear responsible. The network of informal relations which enable union officers to achieve advantageous settlement of grievances, even when these are not fully justified by the contract, are based on the officers' ability to provide unimpeded production as a *quid pro quo*. If the officers are unable to do this, their bargaining power is greatly diminished. Indeed, management officials may begin to bargain directly with the complainants themselves.

In rare instances, self-help techniques are utilized in battles for political control of great Internationals. More commonly, they are used for more limited objectives, such as a "looser" incentive rate or a change in the promotional ladder. Here, pressure is exerted more or less indiscriminately against officials of both union and management, although, as the spinners' case pointed out, such pressures can also operate against a rival work group.

Students of industrial relations are well aware of workers' ability to restrict or control output. Standards of output seem almost uniform in industry, regardless of whether workers are paid on incentive or day rate. Furthermore,

these standards are flexible—the “right” level of production can easily be manipulated to meet new conditions, and tremendous pressures can be placed upon group members who do not respond appropriately.

Given a situation where union leaders desire to build a reputation for responsibility, production control is an effective force in the hands of dissatisfied work groups. One worker told how:

We were corkscrewing production a little bit, taking it up and taking it down. Often it went down below the day rate. The whole thing is, most of the fellows believe that the regular grievance machinery is too darn slow. The company keeps telling us that our case has to wait until they handle a whole lot of others, so we wanted to put some pressure on them to hurry things up. We want to short-circuit it really. The fellows want some immediate action. They figure that the way to do it is to cut down on production.

This places officers in a dilemma. If they permit rank-and-file members to be punished for their militancy they will be subject to charges of “sellout.” On the other hand, if they take a firm stand against management they will lose all chance for building good relations. Often the officers adopt a compromise solution. They persuade the workers to cease their self-help activity, in return for which they promise that their grievances will be pushed with greater energy. In this manner, both company and union officials are pressed to work harder when the men begin taking matters into their own hands.

Another self-help technique involves threats to leave a union or to form or join another. Where there is no union shop, a group may threaten to resign en masse, and even where there is a union shop, gestures toward inviting competing Internationals to enter the situation may strike fear into the hearts of the officers. Thus one of a group of angry crane-men threatened:

We should have gotten out of this union a long time ago and organized our own. After all, we are pretty skilled around here, and if we walk off our jobs, no one can work. This way we're just a few men in this local and don't have a voice. But if we had our separate local, they would listen to us.

Such coercion is often successful; in this case the men won seniority rights to a newly created job.

Although the officers are often intimidated by the coercive techniques applied by strongly united groups, they come to rely on the solidarity of those groups when bargaining with management. Such support is important in convincing management that changes are imperative.

Many officers have had disillusioning experiences when departments with grievances failed to back up their demands by the appropriate action. Most of these departments are divided internally. Having no real internal leadership, and disagreeing on what they should fight for, their outbursts of indignation against either union or management are not rationally directed. When the break comes it is frequently a wildcat walkout (without warning to

the union), with many frustrations spilling out over a single unsettled grievance. To management, as well as to the union, it will appear that the men are overreacting to a relatively unimportant issue.

### Conclusion

The groups have a battery of weapons at their disposal. For greatest effectiveness they do not use one technique to the exclusion of others. When the grievance procedure fails, they may resort to self-help or political activity within the union. No single form of pressure is necessarily followed to its logical end. Departments jump from one form of activity to another—slowing down production, filing grievances, requesting transfers, making threats at union meetings, and all the rest.

When the officers are committed to industrial peace, self-help techniques which impede production embarrass the union officers as well as management. Indeed, the very desire of these officers to maintain harmonious relations with top management may sometimes encourage “primitive” direct action within the shop. The question of how the officers react to these pressures is discussed in the next chapter.



## 5

## Reaction of Pressures and Evaluation of Grievances

All the pressures described in the previous chapter come to bear on the local officers at one point or another in the grievance procedure. In responding to the demands made upon them, the officers must develop some system of priority. Many grievances are contradictory (particularly where there are conflicting group interests), some are unjustified, and all require time, energy, and the expenditure of the union's limited bargaining power. Only a few will have strategic importance to the union as a whole.

Before deciding what to do with a grievance, the officers must consider its possible ramifications upon (1) political relationships within the local itself, (2) the union's relationship with management, and (3) the amount of support the members will provide in pushing the case. These will be discussed in turn.

Frequently, the officers must assign a low priority to a grievance even though it has the enthusiastic support of a substantial number of interested members. To insulate themselves against rank-and-file pressure, and to provide an orderly system for the consideration of all grievances, the officers have adopted certain techniques which increase their control over the whole day-to-day bargaining process. Without these contrivances, the operations of the grievance procedure could generate a fatal political backlash that might thrust the existing leadership from office.

### Political Effect

How an officer handles a case has important effects on his own political position and on the bargaining power of the union. Of course, if he obviously mismanages the grievance, it will soon be known all over the plant. But more is involved.

What seems like a simple grievance often has repercussions that outweigh its superficial importance. In dealing with any grievance, the officers try to take into account the vested interests of all groups that may be affected. Furthermore, the officers realize that in pushing a grievance supported by a few individuals they may dissipate the bargaining power of the entire group. Consider the following case:

Several machine operators were convinced that their job duties had changed sufficiently to warrant a pay increase. Since management was having difficulty in recruiting machine operators, it probably would have granted the increase without too much pressure. Although the union admitted the justice of the case, the officers were reluctant to push for a settlement, fearing that this would "take the pressure off" the company to grant a general wage increase for the entire department.

Most leaders are aware that the pros and cons of particular grievances are discussed at length within the shop. Opinions diverge radically as to which grievances should be pushed. As one leader described the problem: "The minute the word leaks out that there is a grievance, there are three hundred shop lawyers telling you what to do."

It is often difficult to determine whether a grievance is the result of a single "agitator" or really has attracted widespread emotional interest on the part of the rank and file.

The winning of one grievance often provides an obvious incentive for others to try the same thing. As one leader put it, "As soon as one man wins a spot increase, you have everybody trying to get the same thing, you're flooded with grievances you can't win."

### Maintaining Relations with Management

The average union leader is almost as concerned about maintaining good relations with management as he is with obtaining rank-and-file support. Management and union officials who administer the contract have to deal with each other every day. If the officers press complaints that appear unwarranted, ridiculous, or petty they run the risk of antagonizing the company and looking silly in the process. The union officer's ability to obtain important concessions from the company depends to some extent upon his personal relationship with management.

The shrewd union negotiator knows that if he pushes one grievance he may jeopardize his later chances of success; in addition, he would like to avoid clogging the grievance machinery with an excessive number of cases. Instead of pushing them all with equal determination, he would prefer to be selective, avoiding the areas of strongest management resistance; by sidetracking some problems, he can get quicker solutions to others. Thus he must evaluate each grievance in the light of the local's over-all strategy toward management.

At least some of the local's bargaining power is reserved for pressing cases of strategic importance to the union's role in the plant. Perhaps a given supervisor has been uncooperative, and the union wishes to develop a case which will "take him down a peg or two." At other times, the local wishes to set a precedent establishing its right to be consulted in a given problem area. Thus, in one case the local vigorously protested the appointment by the company of a blood bank chairman, not because they disliked that particular man, but because they felt that since the drive was to collect blood from union men the matter should have been discussed with the local in advance.

#### Obtaining Optimum Support

Grievances are not bargained in a vacuum. Unless the officers receive support from the members, they find it difficult to convince management of the need and urgency of the particular issue at stake.

A former shop steward told us this story to show how his bargaining position had been seriously weakened:

They put these oversize pieces through and they were only going to pay us the regular rate. I knew the men were worked up and behind me, so I told the company we absolutely refused to work them.

First they were going to send us home; then they called me into the main office. I argued my fool head off for an hour or so and they finally said they would take them back and cut them down to size.

A week after that the order came back again, only a slightly different shape, but the same oversize. I told the men they shouldn't run them, but they did. Can you imagine how I felt? I made a fool of myself arguing in front of the company and then they pulled off something like that.

Well, all the superintendent had to do was walk by and smile; right then and there I decided to resign.

When a union official puts himself in the position of insisting on a particular settlement, he is relying on the men to back him up. Like a prudent poker player, he must take into account the possibility that management may well call his bluff.

Thus, management's willingness to make concessions is a function of the

interest and support exhibited by the rank and file. From the union's point of view, it is important to build up member indignation, but not too far. There is always the chance that if membership feeling reaches the boiling point a grievance may set off a chain reaction, terminating in an unauthorized strike—a strike which could come at the wrong time and over the wrong issue. Even if the grievance does not lead to an immediate strike, the union may be placed in the position of having to deliver even greater benefits before the men will consider a compromise. If an immediate and favorable settlement is not forthcoming, the men may lose faith in the militancy and ability of their officers and may take matters into their own hands. In turn, in the eyes of management the union has become irresponsible, unable to discipline its own membership.

Therefore, at the outset of a grievance dispute the officers are faced with the necessity of controlling the pressure, building just the right amount.

Still more difficult, is the question of timing. Even when the parties are trying to expedite matters, negotiations over complicated issues may take months. Contract clauses setting time limits for each stage of the grievance procedure are rarely effective. In many cases, the members show "support" during the early stages of negotiations and then lapse into apathy. The officers need sustained interest on the part of the rank and file continuing over many months. It is important that the members do not dissipate their strength too early.

#### Maintaining Control of the Grievance Procedure

Of course, officers would like to obtain personal credit for union victories and avoid the blame for defeats. Yet, even apparent victories may backfire. Situations may change—as they did in a local which won a change in compensation for its salesmen, from commission to straight weekly salary, during a period of merchandise shortages. Shortly thereafter, the supply of goods improved and the men blamed the union for their loss of high commission earnings.

In such situations, the leaders whose names are signed to the agreement may be crucified. The lesson is simple: "Don't stick your neck out." In following this course, it becomes necessary to evaluate grievances—a complex task not for the neophyte. Even experienced officers can make serious errors in judging whether pushing a particular grievance will hurt more members than it helps (by virtue of its long-run effects on relations with management) or in judging the amount of "solidarity" or "irresponsibility" (depending on one's point of view) which the members will show on its behalf.

If the officers are to maintain their freedom to choose the cases they want to push, and thus keep their names from being identified with union defeats they must find some way to avoid responsibility and to insulate themselves

from membership pressures. One effective means of retaining control of the grievance procedure is to make it more formal. They can do this through (1) requiring members to sign grievances, (2) carefully "screening" grievances before negotiating with plant management, (3) never negotiating with management without another officer present, (4) relying on precedents and legalistic interpretations, (5) involving the International, and (6) "passing the buck" to the arbitrator.

#### Requiring that Members Sign

Many members feel that signing grievances puts them on the spot. They would much prefer that the formal responsibility for making a complaint against the boss be taken by a steward or higher union official.

Of course, this responsibility is just what the officers would like to avoid. They feel that by insisting upon signed grievances they can weed out the unimportant ones. Particularly when a grievance affects intergroup relations, they want the members to know that they are not taking sides. Further, if the grievance backfires, they want it clearly understood that "it wasn't our idea." On the other hand, when difficult cases arise, which the officers feel are important to win, they prefer that many of the grievances remain unwritten so that they can be handled with flexibility.

The officers feel that without a signed grievance, it is difficult to prove to the company that they have membership backing. They recall cases in which a member, having submitted a verbal grievance, backed down when management challenged his charges. Such instances give the appearance that the officers are fomenting grievances. Furthermore, some companies absolutely refuse to consider unsigned grievances.

#### Screening

If a steward successfully adjusts a grievance, he usually contacts an influential member of the executive board or grievance committee. Often (although the custom varies in different locals), this board member will not act further until the matter is screened by the full board.

In some locals, the screening approaches the formality of a judicial investigation, with its courtroom decorum. The aggrieved member is asked a long series of questions. Other interested parties are invited to testify. Cross-examination is allowed and when the hearing is complete, the parties are asked to leave the room and a formal vote is taken. Finally, written notices of the final decision are sent to the interested parties.

In the situations we have studied, the local officers have found such a screening committee useful. Like good lawyers, they want to know all the facts, regardless of whether these are favorable or not. If management's case

is strong, the officers may wish to drop the matter and avoid embarrassment. Wherever possible, they are anxious to be prepared for the most damaging evidence the other side can present. They seek to avoid situations where they must admit:

We just didn't have the facts. When we heard what management had to say, I asked for a recess. I told our boys that we just had to withdraw the case. Was my face red!

Furthermore, group discussion provides an excellent educational opportunity for newer grievancemen and promotes the adoption of a common policy. In this way, the screening committee also provides protection against the previously discussed proclivity of the members to "shop around." The vote of such a committee provides an ideal means of saying "no" to a demanding member when a personal refusal would be difficult. Officers who don't adopt a semblance of unity, are open to "whipsawing" by the members.

#### Principle of Twos

Many locals adhere to what might be called the "principle of twos." This is the unwritten rule that no union officer should ever negotiate with management alone. An officer who violates this is immediately suspected of "selling out." Why else should he have secret dealings with the company? The officers of such locals will tell virtuous tales like this:

Sweeney [the superintendent] cornered me in the hallway and said he wanted to talk about the Adams case. I told him I would be glad to discuss it any time, but I had to have a steward or someone from the grievance committee with me.

Where the rule is broken, one hears rumors like this one:

Karl went in alone on Thursday to settle the machinist apprentice grievance. Sure he got what he wanted, but he had to promise to give the company a rate concession. If he hadn't sold us out, we would have won that next grievance.

However, when there is a witness, no one can say afterwards that an officer made a private deal to the detriment of the membership.

#### Legalism

The discussions within the grievance committee pay considerable attention to precedents. There is little evidence of logrolling or political favoritism. Indeed, it seemed to us, as outsiders, that the officers carried their emphasis on legalism well past the point of political advantage. An example of this involved temporary summer employees in the plate shop of one local:

The plate shop was politically the most powerful group in the local; and the temporary employees were much disliked. Even the union president said of them:

"Without exception, they are sons and relatives of management. They are just a bunch of fair-haired boys on vacation from college, slumming among those who have to earn a living."

During the summer, management gave one of these temporary men an overtime assignment (naturally paying time-and-a-half). At once, the permanent members were up in arms.

As one said, "When I see some squirt going out on a Saturday, and taking away money which I can't get, then I really get mad."

The chief steward ruled that there could be no discrimination between union members. "Once a man pays his dues, he is entitled to all the rights and privileges of the contract. The contract says overtime must be divided equally among all members. They get overtime!" The executive board backed him up, fully realizing that this was politically unpopular.

Still, the emphasis on legalism does provide a useful insulation against rank-and-file pressure. By citing previous rulings or union-management agreements, they can always tell the members:

We can't reverse ourselves now. The precedent has been set already. What would the company think if we took a different position every time we met with them?

In this way, the officers can lay the blame for a politically popular decision on the rule of law.

#### Bringing in the International

Perhaps the most convenient means of avoiding responsibility is to master responsibility to the International's field representatives. Few locals have their own full-time business agents, but the International representative is presumably someone with experience and technical ability, an expert who can help the local officers in a tight situation.

Of course, there are disadvantages attached to bringing in an outsider: The local leaders sacrifice some of their independence and freedom of action. One International representative told us:

Many locals call us in on grievances at first. But after a while they see they are losing out by it. They see that we get the credit for it. So they avoid bringing in outside officials unless they really have to.

#### Involving the Arbitrator

"Passing the buck" to the arbitrator is still another way of avoiding pressure. In some instances, the local will press a weak grievance to arbitration

merely because the officers feel that it is politically inexpedient to turn it down.

Sometimes this backfires. In one local, the carpenters pushed for a wage increase. The executive board was sure that there were many other groups with more worthy claims, but the carpenters occupied a politically strategic position. The case was taken to arbitration and, to the surprise of everyone, the arbitrator gave them what they asked. Naturally, other groups descended on the executive board like a wolf pack.

#### Conclusion

All these techniques have the effect of insulating the officers from rank-and-file pressures. They make it possible to avoid responsibility for the failure to press grievances more diligently and the unexpected effects of a grievance which has "backfired." A further objective is to minimize the number of formal cases that might clog the grievance machinery. This leaves the officers more flexibility to explore the really important problems informally.

This raises a curious paradox: On the one hand, the leadership seeks to formalize the internal aspects of the grievance procedure. On the other hand, they are anxious to make their relationship with management less formal. Formalization of these internal aspects reduces the number of union contacts with management below the top local level. As a result, there is greater concentration of the bargaining function in the hands of a small group of experts.

With this analysis of the grievance procedure, we are now ready to consider the leading figures in the life of the local—the stewards and local-wide officers—and their relationship to the rank-and-file groups with which they work.

## The Steward: Man in the Middle

### Types of Stewards

**The social leader** As might be expected, many stewards are elected because they are respected and well liked by their fellow workers. The typical social leader has given up hope of promotion within the company and is not much interested in union activities. He takes the steward's job because his buddies want him to have it—and perhaps because he thinks that the title will help him to protect the men if they get in trouble.

Of course, it is impossible to fit the social leader into a single mold; more than one kind of person can win the respect of the group. Some might well be called *fixers*—men who “know the ropes” and the right people; not only are they popular within their own work group, but they have important contacts in both union and management. They make subtle use of such “pressures” as implied threats of slowdowns, promises to deliver the department vote at the next union election, and the menace of demonstrations at meetings. All these are effective in winning high priority for the department's grievances. They prefer to do things quietly and on the basis of personal contact, and firmly eschew formal grievances. Jack Stero provides an example of this type. He was obviously an important man in the shop. He had connections outside the plant too, particularly with local gamblers. The men considered him shrewd and cautious, with lots of native intelligence.

**The social worker** approaches life differently. Usually he is an older man who takes a patriarchal point of view toward his constituents. To give him a grievance is not a matter of principle, but a family rift which should be healed quickly. One such steward described his approach to grievances:

I first try to find out what is wrong. It usually isn't the job; it is something they've done the night before or some trouble they are in outside. You see, I know all the people here. I'm needed because many people get too excited when they go into the main office; they tend to forget who they are talking to. We don't get as much for them as they want every time . . . but we usually manage to work out something with the boss.

**The active unionist** In contrast to the social leaders the active unionists, are the men who accept stewardship because they believe in the union and want power and prestige. Often they aspire to eventual election to local-wide office. They attend meetings religiously and form the backbone of the minor union committees. Active unionists vary considerably in how they get along with their fellow workers. Some have many friends, others are merely respected for their abilities in handling grievances. In a few cases it seemed that the individual in question became active as a form of compensation for his lack of popularity.

Active unionists approach their job from several points of view. Some are

**W**hile the steward may have declined in relative importance, he still occupies an important position. When effective, he is a strategic link in the chain of communications between the rank and file and the top leadership.

The steward's position as “man in the middle” is difficult. His authority is restricted, and he is subject to almost irreconcilable pressures arising from the fact that he is a member of three different social systems—the union, the company, and the departmental work group—and, unlike the ordinary worker who may be a member of the same groups, the steward is subject to special claims for loyalty from each.

Although straddling the fence, the vast majority of stewards function in terms of one system. Depending on a primary orientation toward the work group, the union, or the company, there are three ideal types—*social leaders*, *active unionists*, or *self-seekers*. Of course, there are few stewards who fit any of these three categories perfectly. Still, the more extreme examples may prove further insight into the dynamics of the steward's role.

primarily intent. In promotion within the union and do everything possible to win the attention of the officers and the rank and file as a whole. They speak vigorously at meetings and give the impression of acting courageously. One *steward-politician* gave his formula for getting ahead:

The important thing is to make an issue. Perhaps some company policy has been hurting people and nothing has been done about it. Speak the way you think people are feeling. Be careful not to attack any individual, he may fight back.

Gripping about poor working conditions and giving the impression that if you had the chance, you would do something about it, always helps.

Others are concerned with building the union as an institution. One such organizer, who had a short but active career, recounted:

Every so often you'd hear a couple of guys really lambasting the foreman in the washroom—that's where you can really hear the gripes. But when I'd write up the grievance and take it to the fellows, they'd say it was too small. I'd say "the hell with you" and push it anyway.

Soon the company would be coming to me and saying, "Those guys don't have a grievance. They're perfectly satisfied." And I'd say, "The hell they don't. If you don't want to recognize it, I'll take it to the next step." I didn't care if the guys supported me, I went through with it.

Or take the case of Sam Levino as described by one of the men in his department:

One of the guys just bought a bottle of milk and was sort of complaining out loud that the damn milk was sour. Sam heard, came running over, grabbed the bottle of milk, took it back to the cafeteria and demanded they give him a new bottle. The man whose milk it was said: "Who does he think he is? If I wanted to complain, I could have brought it back myself."

Some are so overbearing, so anxious to press grievances, that the top officers fear they will hurt the union. Bob Rockstow, for example, was not well liked by other men in his department because he was high-strung and officious. He rarely missed membership meetings, and often antagonized the officers. One of them, talking about an unnecessary grievance which he had filed said:

The trouble is that there are too many stewards with rough edges. They like to throw their weight around and as a result, management gets tired. It isn't necessary to push every point.

The executive board decided not to have him fill a temporary vacancy as chief steward on the grounds that he wasn't tactful.

Other stewards, particularly in craft unions, took a more passive view of

) their jobs. They were *police-men*—if the company violated the economic provisions of the contract, they would go into action. But in general they preferred to keep the peace, and rarely were interested in "petty" membership complaints, such as how the foreman treated individuals.

**Self-seekers** Some stewards are accused of accepting the job just for what "they can get out of it." In some cases, this charge seems to be true: their chief motive in accepting the union office is that of individual economic self-interest. Either they want to adjust personal grievances of their own or they want to bring themselves to the attention of management for possible promotion.

In either case, the self-seeker thinks primarily in terms of his own job and advancement, and is especially sensitive to his relations with the company. As will be seen, such an individual is not likely to be elected, except in departments which have serious internal weaknesses or a high degree of demoralization regarding union activity.

One steward told us frankly:

I know the guys in my department hate me and would get me if they could. But I got the business in that grievance two years ago and I'm not going to quit until I revenge that licking no matter what happens.

Of a female steward it was said:

She's a spitfire. She really fights. But the main reason that she got in was a selfish grievance of her own [relating to a pay increase].

Dan Nelson was a steward for a number of older men, most of whom were near retirement age, and none of whom was active in the union. Prior to the war he had been a first-class machinist. When he came back from service, the company gave him second-class duties although continuing his first-class pay. His only topic of conversation, and sole purpose in life, was to regain his old line of work.

Some stewards accept the job as a first step toward promotion into management.

Stewardship for him is an avenue for meeting and conferring with management officials. If astute enough he can impress both management and workers with his ability. . . . So concerned is he with convincing management of his ability that he presents workers' grievances with special zeal. He hopes to impress management with the idea that he could do an equally good job if he were a foreman and had to fight grievances.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Delbert C. Miller and William H. Form, *Industrial Sociology* (New York: Harper & Row, 1951), 265-66.

## Relationship of Steward to Department Attitudes

Under what circumstances are these three types of individuals elected stewards? How do they behave in office? The answer to these questions seems to have a great deal to do with the relationship between departmental work groups and the two other social systems with which the steward is in contact—the union and the company.

For example, some departments typically have a number of outstanding problems, but lack the political strength to force the officers to give priority to their demands. Often they are involved in a dispute with another department over an issue such as seniority. Yet, even when the real enemy is the company, they realize that to win their grievance battles they need union support.

A steward in such a department may find his job "rough going." On the one hand, as a steward he is subject to pressures from the top officers to conform to union policy. On the other hand, the members of his small group want him to put their interests first. This dilemma is intensified if he feels that in bucking the local-wide leadership on small issues he will lose their support on larger ones. A local vice-president pointed out the conflict which can arise under these circumstances:

The other men in the department really put pressure on you. They want you to do something which is contrary to the interests of the local.

In a case like that, it is up to the real union leader to try to educate the people around him so they will become aware of the fact that what hurts the union, hurts them. This is pretty rough going at times. Sometimes it may not even be true.

In that case, he should be honest and admit it. He should place the choice pretty clearly up to the people with him so they can realize what the issues are and decide by themselves.

A case example may illustrate this conflict:

Both the burners and the welders felt they should be eligible for a newly posted high-paying job. After hearing evidence from both sides, the union executive board ruled in favor of the welders. However, the company wanted the burners to have the job, and the union was loath to go to arbitration. As a means of frustrating the company's desires, the executive board instructed the steward in the burner department to advise his men not to bid for the job.

Several of the senior burners, who had applied before the steward could contact them, agreed with great reluctance to withdraw their bid. However, just before the deadline, an apprentice burner (a young man in the department) made his application and got the job! The other burners felt they had been double-crossed and started harassing the steward. As he put it:

I think I have lost all my friends. Last night my phox, Jang at three in the morning. Bill Mulligan was a little stewed and he cussed me out for five minutes till I hung up on him. Even the wives call up my wife. I hate to go to work in the morning.

Within a week he resigned his office. The new steward was considerably less enthusiastic about implementing union policy.

The following is an example of a common political process—that in which a representative can get action from higher authorities only insofar as he is willing to do favors for them in return. Ed Waloughski was successful in this. Although he frequently missed union meetings and had refused an important union position which was offered to him, his contacts with the local president and the International representative were excellent. When issues arose which concerned his own department, he exerted great power behind the scenes. There was an implicit agreement between Waloughski and the top local officers. He supplied them with political support, while they gave high priority to the grievances which arose in his department.

In the case just cited, the position of the steward was made easier by the fact that his department had problems which could be settled. The exchange of favors was easy to make. If either the officers or the work group ask too much, then the steward's position becomes difficult, if not untenable. In such circumstances, the social leader often resigns. One such told us:

Some people never forget. They figure once you did something wrong by them, they will always hold it in for you. I wanted to be friends with everybody, so I gave it up.

If the union is strong, someone presumably in the good graces of the top union officers will be elected. However, if the union is weak, it may appear better strategy to elect someone who can get along with management. One department, which was dissatisfied with working conditions and completely distrustful of the top local officers, constantly elected straw bosses as stewards. It was felt that management would be more likely to listen to these men, who were in part responsible for production, than to someone more militant. An adjacent department elected the foreman's brother-in-law. However, when the weak leadership was defeated and the union took on a more militant tone, there was a complete change-over among the stewards.

Dependent departments face a recurring dilemma every time elections roll around. Active unionists and self-seekers might have good relations with union and management, but are not always anxious to support the group's particular grievance. Social leaders, on the other hand, are sometimes *persona non grata* outside their own department.

One large department, which was studied intensively, was never able to solve this problem. Stewards were changed as regularly as clockwork. For

many years th. Department had been faced with an almost insoluble problem. The men normally worked fifteen to twenty hours of overtime per week and were demanding a major cut in this heavy schedule without a reduction in take-home pay! Steward after steward tried to work out some acceptable plan, but each time negotiations began, rumors would circulate that the men were going to have to take a cut in take-home pay. Some stewards resigned, some became discouraged, and others accepted the attitude of the top officers—that the department was trying to get something for nothing. A long-service employee in the department described the various stewards that had come and gone:

Bob Wilson was a good effective leader, but then he got tired. You can't batle those boys [the top local officers] too long and he quit.

Gus Monohan was a personable guy. Everyone liked him, but this union business was beyond his comprehension. He just didn't think it was possible for us to get anything through the union.

John Maroon was a scrapper. Then after he came home wounded from the war, he gave up. I think the boys got management to make a pitch to him. Any way he ended up as an inspector [a promotion].

If you did not cooperate with them, they [the officers] would pigeonhole your grievances and then start putting pressure on you to get things done. You had to have the entire gang behind you if you were going to stand up against stuff like that, and I guess the members didn't realize what was happening.

If you still weren't a good boy, there was another way to bribe you. There were committees and they [officers] put you on them—\$5.00 a night, even if you didn't show up. Three committees meant \$15.00.

The groups we have been describing believe they can achieve their objectives through the union. Hostile groups are those that have given up hope. They are actively opposed to the incumbent leadership and rely primarily on self-help techniques. Here the active unionist has little chance of election. The group will often select its most competent social leader to represent its interests with management and to "protect" itself against the union.

Other such departments don't even bother to fill the steward's office—or when they do, they show their contempt through electing an inebriate, a clown, an ambitious pain-in-the-neck, or a very low-status worker.

For example, in one local a department which was openly advocating a rival union elected as steward a crotchety old worker who had been placed on a semiautomatic job. The members took the attitude: "We didn't think he would get anything done, but he sure got in the foreman's hair."

Of course, in some cases in their anxiety to oppose the union they elect a self-seeker who takes the uncontested office to further his own interests. When his motives become sufficiently clear, he is often repudiated in favor of a social leader.

In some apathetic departments, no one is willing to make a <sup>face</sup>. However, if the union places enough pressure on the group, they may elect someone. At times, social leaders will take the job as a form of "noblesse oblige." A business agent told us:

Bill Allison is the steward of the sheetlayers. It is a shame they have a man like that. He doesn't believe in the union at all. He would rather go out and get drunk with the boys. But to tell you the truth, there isn't anybody in the department who believes in the union. He was a nice fellow who everybody liked. We told them they had to elect somebody or we wouldn't touch their grievances. So they elected him. And we are stuck with it.

### Conclusion

It would be misleading to give the impression that all stewards can be easily classified under one of the three categories: social leader, active unionist, and self-seeker. Many stewards assiduously push grievances, attend meetings, and take part in other union activities and still are respected and looked to for guidance by their fellow workers.

Yet, all stewards do not perceive their jobs in the same light. In part, this is a product of distinctive personalities and past experience. Some stewards seek authority and prestige, others popularity within the group or even promotion to management. Some look for grievances, others try to minimize them.

To a large degree however, the stewards' behavior is shaped by problems which they all must face. In one sense, the steward serves as a communications link to management and higher union officials. On the other hand, he is expected to gain departmental conformity to policies laid down by the top officers. Thus, his success as a steward depends both upon the type of relationship he can develop his ability to integrate the leadership's demands with the expectations of the men he represents.

The steward's task is relatively easy if the work group is united and has proved its political influence (as in "pro-union" groups), or if the interests of union and work groups are more or less identical (as in groups which are "moderately pro-union").

Stewards in departments with other viewpoints find that reconciliation of their several roles is more difficult. Where the problems are not too serious, or the steward possesses great personal ability, such reconciliation is possible. Otherwise, retention of the office can endanger his popularity within his own work group.

Under these circumstances, social leaders may either resign or seek to obtain the group's objectives through self-help techniques. Active unionists will support the union even against the interests of their own group.



## The Local-wide Leader

Union leaders appear to be men whose energies and creative urges are sufficiently challenged by their everyday life. They seem to find in union activity a means of expression which is missing elsewhere. They have apparently inexhaustible vigor and are dissatisfied with the world around them.

**High activity level** One of the chief elements which distinguish union leaders as a class is their high activity level. They have a tremendous urge to do things. They never seem to tire. Again and again one hears comments such as: "I'm like iron—the harder you hit me, the stronger I am." "I can't help it; I just like to work."

Being an officer is an exhausting job. Local meetings sometimes last four or five hours, while negotiations often last the entire day and into the night—but most officers seem to thrive on it. In one local, the officers had to attend seven regularly scheduled meetings monthly. Another local negotiated four or five days a week for nine consecutive months before reaching an agreement with the company.

Key officers spend even more time on the regular day-to-day routine of the union. One gave this explanation of why he was tired:

I was over at the office from noon on yesterday. There was an executive board meeting after supper. That lasted until I had to go back to work at midnight. I got two hours sleep after coming back from work, but I had to go back to the office, and it looks like I won't get more than three hours sleep before I get back to work again, in the plant.

Thus, this man had but five hours' sleep in forty-eight hours. Other leaders exhibit equal stamina. One regularly spends six or seven hours in the plant on his own time handling grievances. From there he goes to the union office to write letters and often has to attend a local meeting the same night. He is both grievance chairman and recording secretary for his local. This involves him with almost every grievance case and all the correspondence of the local.

One local president kept a careful diary. This showed that over a year's period he attended 240 meetings (in addition to grievance conferences with management) and contributed a total of 1,500 uncompensated hours to his local.

Many officials are equally active in nonunion organizations. Here is a representative comment:

My wife is really getting mad at me. There is this executive board meeting tonight and membership meeting tomorrow and a shop meeting on Wednesday. Thursday, there is an installation in a fraternal organization I belong to. Friday, there is a rehearsal for the show the men's club at the church is

The discussion so far has dealt with the workers' departmental representatives, their stewards. In this chapter, we shall deal with the small group of active leaders who did the bulk of the local's work. Most of these were top union officers, although some were part of what might be called the "active opposition," and a few were even stewards. These were the men who carried most of the responsibility; these were the work horses who maintained the union's day-to-day function. Without them, the paid business agents and international representatives would be swamped with work and, in many cases completely out of touch with the rank and file.

In undertaking this study, we have attempted to find answers to these questions: What are the basic personality characteristics of the leader? How does his union activity affect his job? What kinds of satisfaction does he derive from union leadership? What is his relationship to his family and his community? And finally, on a more hypothetical level, is there any relationship between the leader's behavior and his aspiration "to get ahead in the world"?

Naturally, the leaders observed cannot be described by a single complex of character traits—nor did their behavior appear uniform. However, enough common traits showed themselves repeatedly in interviews and observations to make generalizations meaningful.

putting on. After that, the Knights—I'll have to push to make both. Saturday, we're going out; on Sunday we put on our show.

All this activity, it should be emphasized, is in addition to the regular jobs these local officers hold. Even when they draw some income from the union—in the form of allowances for such things as gasoline, lunches, and stationery, or reimbursement for actual lost time—those with heavy family responsibilities must supplement it in other ways. Some are skilled craftsmen and do carpentry, painting, and so on. Others, particularly in small cities, work their own farms, drive taxis, sell real estate, and so on.

**Nervous tension** With the surplus of nervous energy that these men apparently have, it is not surprising that many are afflicted with psychosomatic illnesses. Many officials claim present or past symptoms of ulcers and similar conditions having a potential emotional basis.

In part, these conditions may be the result of spending too much time on union affairs. The evidence suggests, however, that many of these illnesses would have developed even if the men concerned had never joined the union. Indeed, union activity may even have improved their condition.

One leader, who had suffered a mental breakdown just before he was elected steward, said, "That job pulled me right out of it; it gave me something to do." At the time, he was already working sixty to seventy hours a week on his job, serving on the State Guard, and bringing up two children. I then, later, having not been reelected, he said of his union activity:

I used to put three or four nights a week into it. I miss it terribly. You won't believe it, but I'm taking phenobarbital. I can't sleep nights. When I see the kinds of decisions that are being made, it just burns me up.

Another man, who had been relatively inactive for some time and who was working on a job he could never leave during his shift to talk to others, developed a serious ulcer attack the afternoon he was to meet the International president. A third, became seriously ill shortly after being defeated for major office. As soon as he got well he became active again. He remarked, "This kind of stuff gets into your blood. You don't want to quit, but it gets you tired and tense."

An officer who came near to resigning his office permanently, had this to say about his close call:

You know I was set to resign yesterday. I figured my life would then be so much easier: walk into the plant and not worry about anyone jumping you on a case.

Well, it felt so good to think that way for a while. Then I took the resignation back, and I'm glad that I did it now. I guess I couldn't live without this union business. You get so used to it. I don't know what it is; maybe it's the challenge of some of the cases you have to handle.

It's a rotten business though in a way. I hate this walking, also a bar and having some guy jump you and call you names, and not be able to do anything about it. They just don't seem to have any respect for union officials, but I just couldn't give it up.

**Idealism and discontent** Being an active union leader requires the expenditure of so much time and energy that selfish economic motivation is not enough. Self-seekers are less often found on this level. With few exceptions, union leaders are idealistic. They are anxious to change things and build a better world. They see the union as the best means they have to achieve this end. One of them said:

I wanted to do something where I actually would be trying to make the world a better place, and the labor movement is about the only place where I can do that.

Union leaders, as a rule, are dissatisfied with the world as it exists today. They feel that their lives offer insufficient opportunity for themselves and "their kind." In the words of one leader:

Unionism is something born in you; you have got to believe in it; it is something deep down in your heart. You have to have a feeling of revolt, and mind you, I'm not a radical. It's not only that; it is psychology. It's a feeling of aggression. It's a drive. It's wanting to be on the move; it's being noisy. It's the kind of man who'll get ahead anywhere.

Their lives and their jobs in the plant are not very satisfactory. One leader said poignantly:

Today I wrote a letter to my congressman. He's supposed to be in Washington for me, to vote for me, and I don't like the way he's doing it. That makes me sound pretty important, doesn't it?

Do you think I am that important? Well, I'm not, not as important as a stalk of celery. I'm just a rotten little cog in a big industrial wheel. You know why? Well, I'll tell you, because I work like a horse and don't accomplish a damn thing. I make a living by fighting with management for every dime, and that is all.

Satisfaction in my work? Why, hell, anyone can do my work in the shop. What kind of satisfaction can you get from a job like that? But the real trouble is my efforts aren't appreciated. Oh sure, my family knows I work hard and they're grateful, but I don't mean that kind of appreciation. I mean that to the world as a whole I mean nothing, and I'm so damn typical it makes me sick.

They are critical of the company. They feel that, somehow, they haven't gotten an "even break." As one said:

One of the worst things the company does during negotiations is to bring in these new young fellows that they're trying to show the ropes to. They say,

"This is Joe Doaks from M.I.T. and Frank Jones from Cornell and he studied so many years here, and this guy studied so many years there," and well, the fellows get a little upset at that. I know one year Hanson, the president of the local, told them, after they got done that he was Sleggy Joe from Nowhere and he was in a hurry to get back. I know this sort of thing makes most of the fellows feel as if they wished they had a lot more education and a college degree behind them when they go in to bargain with the company.

Union leaders are also critical of their fellow officers and dissatisfied with their own union jobs. Some of their descriptions of union office would make the unwary investigator wonder why they ever accepted such a position. For example:

You've got to remember that to be a union officer, you take an awful lot of trouble on your shoulders—trouble everywhere and a thankless job to boot. You fight with your wife for going out too many nights. You fight with the international representatives, you fight with the men, you fight with the company, you're always fighting. If you spend too much time up at the front office settling grievances up there, the men get into fights back in the plant, and you should be back there settling those.

Officers complain that they have to hear everybody's problems, show an interest in them, and attempt to provide some solution. In doing so they place themselves in the middle of petty disagreements among the men, and involve themselves in burdensome expenditures of time and energy. They feel they receive little compensation for all this service—certainly as compared to that received by management officials with comparable responsibilities. The time and duties involved endanger their relationships, not only with their fellow workers but also with the company and their families. The fact remains that they must provide real satisfactions, for there is intense competition for many high union jobs.

The wives are often critical of their husbands' outside preoccupations. They resent the restrictions on their own social family life that result. The wife of a chairman of a grievance committee bitterly exclaimed:

There is no question about how I feel about these union meetings. I begrudge any time at all that Bill puts into these activities. Don't misunderstand; I'm in favor of the union all right, but the guy is never home, or else he is sleeping, and he doesn't sleep much at that. Why, do you know that this week the secretary at the union office called just to tell me that my husband was almost at the breaking point. Imagine! People actually calling to tell me about my own husband. I was so embarrassed.

Many of the wives have brought pressure on their husbands to give up their union activity. They object to the time it takes, not to the fact that it is union activity, for in many cases they apparently have considerable interest in their husbands' activities.

## Relationship to Job

A common stereotype among those who have relatively little experience with union leaders is that they are recruited from the "worst" elements in the factory. While this may be true in some situations, our study found little evidence of it.

A substantial minority of the top local officials we observed were at one time opposed to unions. As one officer commented:

When I first met Malony and DiBruzio (the organizers) I thought one looked like a crook and the other like a typical New York sharpie. That's what I expected union people to look like.

Most of the men, when first hired, devoted the same energy to their jobs that they now give to the union. As one official thought back:

When I got my first job, I was over at Chestnut Street. The men over there were goofing off. I started to put in what I thought was a day's work. The other men told me to take it easy. One of them said, "You can't be promoted. I've been here twelve years and this is as far as I've gotten." I said, "If this is as far as you've gotten and you've been here twelve years, I'm not taking your advice." I guess I scabbied the rates.

Indeed, many have been in the lower ranks of management. The president of a local lost his foreman's job during a cutback in the ranks of supervision. The most aggressively anti-management officer of another local had once been a foreman. He continued to fight for the proposition that union members who are promoted to foreman should retain their seniority rights as workers.

The vice-president of a clerical local became active in the union only after he failed to obtain a promotion despite his excessive management orientation:

I'd been pushing the production workers too hard on this new incentive plan. I believed the system could work, and would work if it was pushed hard enough. We could make people like it. Top management didn't support us and I guess I stuck my neck out too far once. Well, anyhow, the other guy got the job and I was plenty sore for a time even though I knew he was a capable man and probably deserved it.

I decided that if management was going to play that way, I could play just as hard against them as I was willing to play with them. . . . I worked as hard as I knew how, but now I'm going to do just the opposite. I'm going to work hard for the union.

Even those who are not actually in supervisory positions have attained a high level of job competency. Many union officers are on the top of their promotional ladders—as will be discussed in the next chapter.

Even when officers speak favorably about the company, many still express

fears regarding management's "real" opinions of their union activity. As active union officers they have certain safeguards and protections that would be absent should they again assume a position in the rank and file. One local president observed:

Sometimes you think of dropping out of the union, and then you think it might be a pretty dangerous thing. You don't want to be out there where the company can get you. You know, recently I've done some things and spoken of the company in terms that maybe they'd like to get me too. I know they are after another officer, and I can't forget how they got rid of old Burnello.

Another president said:

If you're no longer an officer, that means that the company can get something on you more easily too. Of course, I've got a pretty good record. Since I took office, there have been no walkouts. Oh, we've had wildcats for a little while in some departments, but there have been no strikes, and that is really a feather in my cap.

Most union leaders go right ahead with their work in the union in spite of the fact that union activity is dangerous or believed so. Some stewards will let their doubts as to job security affect their activities. These men never become active leaders. Active leaders recognize (and even glory in) the risks they take.

Yet, fear of loss of job may well be in a declining phase; as management becomes more sophisticated, it learns that retaliation does not pay off. Many leaders believe that management is friendly to them as individuals:

Management knows we're not attacking them personally, that we're just doing our job. When they've done something wrong, we tell them; and when they're right, we're willing to admit that too.

A large number of leaders were convinced that management did not hold them responsible for the outbursts of the membership or of the more radical leaders.

Here and there a different problem has come up. Management has begun the practice of hiring supervisory employees out of the active union ranks. It recognizes that the union is an effective instrument in detecting potential supervisory ability among the rank and file. Over a period of ten years, in one local, the secretary and about a third of the executive committee took jobs outside the bargaining unit. As a consequence, the union became known by its opponents as the "high road to management."

In another situation, about 25 per cent of the foremen came from the ranks of the union, and the assistant to the personnel director is a former union officer. It is an increasingly common practice to hire formal local officials as personnel directors.

Other union leaders tell how their own positions with the rank and file

have been made difficult by some previous official's acceptance of management job. In their words, "Now they think we're all ready to sell out."

Certainly many leaders who might have accepted promotions into management before they became active in the union feel that social pressure and the union's code of ethics prevent them from "selling out" after they become active. Where the union has a good relationship with management, however, such changes in allegiance may be easier to make. Even in situations where there is bitterness between the union and the company, union officials often accept promotions into semisupervisory positions (jobs within the bargaining unit that can still involve some management functions). In so doing, they merely postpone the inevitable decision—whether or not to cast their lot with the company and leave the union entirely.

Where union officials have "made the break," the results are often unsatisfactory. Many of the former management men say that they find greater happiness and freedom as union officials:

The union made a man out of me. I used to be a foreman before the union came in. I had to skin the men alive; I had to be mean. I had to run after them. I had to keep them popping. I hated the job and the men hated me, and I don't blame them. I would never take the job again.

Another said:

I've had a chance to sit on the other side of the fence, too. And let me tell you, it's no pleasure. When management has a conference, they ask if there are any questions but they really don't want any answers. You have to shut up; you can't say what you feel. You never speak your mind. Now it's just the opposite in the union. I feel always that I can say what I want to.

On the other hand, the most rabid anticompany officials often say confidently that they think they could have done a good job in management. A union president who was fired for fomenting an excessive series of wildcat strikes confided:

One thing, I always sort of wished I could have gone into personnel work. I know who to kick in the pants and who to pat on the shoulder, using psychology. I think I would have done it pretty well.

The company could learn a lot from some of us. Not only that, we don't think the men are always right; they're not. There are plenty of fellows who are out just looking for trouble, who've laid down on the job and don't have legitimate complaints.

Another top union official compared his abilities in dealing with men with those of the personnel directors with whom he bargained. He concluded:

I could do a hell of a lot better job than those guys. They don't know how to work with people. They figure they've got to maintain their distance from a fellow, keep talking down to him, but they don't know how much you can

**Get out of a guy by making out that you're at his level. If I could only take that personnel job, I'd show those guys.**

Although in a few instances union activity may be a "sour grapes" substitute for promotion, our evidence suggests that a large proportion of union leaders aspire to much more than top-paying jobs and foremanships. Often, the leaders' evidence conscious or unconscious desires to move entirely out of the working class. A former local president, who is now International representative, was successful for a time in starting his own chemical manufacturing plant. Others, as we have said, have been salesmen and real estate men. A few seem to reject the traditional American goals of economic success altogether and seek achievement in terms of power, respect, and authority.

## Satisfactions from Leadership

Despite the headaches, however, the fact remains that union leaders do obtain real, basic satisfactions from their union work which they find nowhere else in life. To a greater or lesser extent, union activity gives them (1) a sense of achievement and constructive accomplishment, (2) an outlet for aggressions, (3) an intellectual outlet—an opportunity to use their intelligence, (4) relief from the endless monotony of many industrial jobs, (5) opportunities to increase their prestige in the eyes of management and the rank and file, and finally (6) a social outlet.

**Achievement** The union leader finds in his activity a challenge, a chance to be creative, which he misses on his job. Three months after he was elected one officer said:

**We're building quite a union. I never thought it would be this interesting, but it's fascinating. Why, just to watch the local president argue grievances is educational. That's quite a sight.**

**Handling grievances, negotiating a contract, marshaling political support, making a speech—all these are skills of a high order. Good leaders are proud of their ability to deal with complex problems involving the different social and ethnic groups in their plants. One able local president told us this:**

I like the opportunity this job gives me to meet people, to see the different types in management and even among the workforce. In fact, when I used to work at the aircraft plant, I enjoyed sitting in the train station when I was commuting and talking to different people. I got so I could pick out what a man's awful was and where he worked. Although this job of grievances man takes an awful lot of time, if you ask me, it requires a lot more intelligence than most supervisors have. There is a lot to this business. You have to know an awful lot about the jobs and the contract, and be watching your step all the time.

These leaders object to neophytes who mishandle their work. A line put

**We do things much better than the other local does. Our stewards are trained. They know what to do. Those men just don't spend the time on it.**

**A successful leader gets great satisfaction from dealing with people. He enjoys the complexities of union politics and gets a special thrill when he is able to "put one over" on management. One leader told us:**

**I was a bartender for a while, and believe me. I learned a lot about people there, and ever since then I've taken a lot of pride in being able to figure people out—how they respond to things.**

Now take Palermo. When I go in to see him, I pound on the table, shout and yell, do everything but stand on my head. That impresses him, and finally he says, "You know, Tom, when I deal with you, I always give in," and he does. With Harris you can go in there and lay all your cards on the table, and then he is going to do the same. If he figures you're right, he'll give in right away. If not, you have some arguing on your hands to accomplish anything but with him it is all straightforward.

Much of the discussion between leaders before and after meetings is devoted to exchanging stories about successful dealings with the company or with the rank and file. Bill Jones tells how he has the maintenance supervisor eating out of his hand. Bob Smith tells how he handled the troublemaker over in Building 21. Mike Stranahan brags about how he persuaded the joint union-management committee that his incentive system was best.

As a rule, a good union officer knows just about everything that there is to know about his union. Even in locals with over a thousand members, many leaders know where each member works, the nature of his job, and the "gay's personality." We were continually surprised during the executive committee meetings at the extent to which members knew the detailed background of every grievance. One leader, when complimented upon his knowledge, said, "You have to know all these things. After all, people are our stock in trade."

Many leaders carry this policy much further than is necessary. Some memorize seniority lists, just as a baseball fan memorizes the batting averages. In each case, it is from sheer love of the game.

*Means for expressing aggressions* In addition, union activity is a socially approved outlet for aggression. We found that the average leader is bored with his work in the plant and frequently frustrated by a situation in which he feels management gets all the better things in life while making everything as hard as possible for the workers. To him, the union provides an opportunity to "blow off steam." During negotiations, a union leader may safely insult his boss in a manner which would be slanderous in any other context. It is small wonder that the union is so popular.

wonder that the union movement has, at times, attracted men who are almost psychopathically aggressive.

*Intellectual outlet* The aggressive function of union leadership can easily be exaggerated. The most violent of the leaders are often not re-elected after the organizing period is over. Most of the others get far less satisfaction from blowing up at management than from presenting a well-organized rational argument. Like a good lawyer, the union leader takes pleasure in a workman-like job of advocacy and is very upset when he does not do so good a job as he thinks he should:

I really looked silly. The supervisor asked me questions I just didn't know how to answer. That shows you how important *preparation* is—regardless of how small the matter may be.

Union activity is thus an intellectual outlet. It gives the leaders a chance to use their imaginations and intelligence in a manner never required by their plant jobs. Union leadership offers workers a chance to fulfill the perfectly normal human desire to be a "big shot," to be independent. It offers something that the very same satisfaction and excitement that a small entrepreneur enjoys.

A substantial proportion of leaders become so interested in the union that they spend their spare time reading about unionism and industrial relations in spite of their many other activities. One leader told us he always read before he went to bed, chiefly about labor and economics. Another called this type of activity his form of relaxation. A third said:

I gripe about the other faction. They hate to study facts. How can they learn their jobs unless they study? Why, I even studied back to the Bible. They had strikes even then, although they didn't call themselves unions.

Another leader mentioned that he had Philip Taft's textbook by his bedside. He, too, was impressed with the long history of unions. A local president gave the place of honor on his parlor table to seven or eight books dealing with his International and unionism in general. A local treasurer asked us to get him a book on union accounting, and one officer earned himself the name of "Mr. Prentice-Hall" for his erudition.

*Relief from monotony* Another element should be considered: although union meetings are normally held after the quitting whistle blows, a leader derives certain additional satisfactions while on the job.

First of all, there is time out from work—so-called "lost time." The opportunity to "check out" and handle a grievance provides a welcome break from a day's monotony, even if this break is only for a few minutes. For example, one official said:

Union office gives you a chance to think. It keeps you active. I didn't take it going to the plant and working at my job eight hours a day, and day in and day out doing the same things. This way you get on some very interesting things. I wish I had more training though, but I guess I'll never really get a chance to get back to school.

Grievance handling is infinitely more interesting than assembly-line work, and one can easily understand why many leaders are more than pleased when an easy grievance comes up to divert their attention. Also, when leaders are supposedly working they can make their jobs more interesting by engaging in union business—passing the word around about important union decisions, collecting dues, selling tickets. One leader told us he always looked forward to a particular tour of duty which permitted him to move all over the plant, saying frankly, "When I'm on that trick I never get much work done. I spend my time—at least half of it—talking union."

Thus, the union provides important satisfactions through relieving the ordinary humdrum existence of the plant.

*Economic rewards* Few leaders seek full-time jobs as business agents or International representatives. Only two ever mentioned the possibility of getting on the International payroll, although with probing a number admitted that they had thought about it.

One man, who at the time had an excellent chance of being appointed organizer, said:

I would like to try it for a while to see if I like it. It would mean getting out a lot more work and neglecting my family even more than I have, but the possibility is very interesting.

Another was less certain:

I used to think that I could get a job with the International office, but I would never make good. I would get too excited. I would be much better at administrative work. Of course, I would like to try some. Don't say I want it, though if I had a chance I would take it.

For the most part the union leaders studied felt that their chances of getting on the full-time payroll were so slim that few had well-considered thoughts as to whether they would accept. In any case, the pay of the average organizer or business agent is so little higher than the usual salary that is paid to the skilled worker, that the financial attractions of the job are rather slight.

Even part-time leaders, of course, receive some compensation. Wages lost during working hours are reimbursed by "lost-time payments." For the time spent outside working hours, "supper money" or the equivalent is paid, although the practice varies from local to local. One local allows \$3 a night,

plus actual auto-parking charges. Another pays its official a flat \$25 a month (called "salary" by the treasurer). A third gives its recording and financial secretaries \$30 a month. It is also common practice to pay members of a committee (such as the recreation committee) for the nights they work.

One of the highly desired compensations for union activity, is the chance to go to state and national union conventions, company-wide bargaining meetings, and the like. The delegates enjoy all-expense-paid trips to great metropolitan centers that they might otherwise never have visited.

Of the locals we studied, payments to officers comprised 30 to 60 per cent of total union costs (other than the per capita tax paid to the International). This may sound like a lot, but taking into account the extra transportation, entertainment, and meal costs incurred by the leaders, in almost every case their out-of-pocket costs exceed what they receive from the unions.

In total, then, financial motives for union activities are not great. Perhaps more important than any immediate money advantage, is the fact that many unions offer their leaders almost complete job security in the form of super-seniority. One man spoke about seniority this way:

You know, I've had a lot of trouble with my wife because of all this union work—she doesn't seem to understand. But I continue, because I feel I've done a lot for my family to make their position more secure.

**Prestige** Although the financial advantages are limited, union leadership does provide an opportunity to gain higher status or prestige in the eyes of one's fellow workers and of management. A former union officer commented:

You bet I was pretty proud of having jumped from a steward over eighteen men to secretary of the whole organization.

After a departmental meeting, another confided:

Did you notice how they kept looking to me for leads on all the things that were brought up? Even though I'm not grievance man over there any more, they still look to me for these things.

An executive board member who had not chosen to run said this about the incentives for taking office:

Well, it's just like why does a man ever want to be President of the United States. That is a damn fool thing to do. There is much more work connected with it than anything else, but an awful lot of people want it. It is for the prestige involved.

The same holds for union office. You're a big shot. Well, not really a big shot but an important fellow among the guys in the shop. Now take Hal (the union president), for example. I think he is a lot more sure of himself since he became president than he ever was before. He has grown in office too. He

is really an important man in the plant as a union officer. People have to come to you with things, and you make decisions.

Union activity increases the worker's prestige in the eyes of management, and he glories in it. The leaders expect to sit down with management as equals, and are extremely sensitive to slurs upon their position. They make a point of this in contract negotiations and grievance bargaining. Here is an example of the kind of story leaders like to tell of how they treated management:

Right in the middle of something Phil [the chief union negotiator] was saying. Ransom [the company negotiator] got up and without saying anything left the room. So as soon as he came back and started talking, Phil got up too and walked out. You have got to teach them to give us respect. We represent the men and are just as important as they.

Here is another example:

The division head picked up his paper while I was talking to him, so I picked up mine as soon as he started talking. There we were, like a bunch of kids. When will the company grow up and treat us like men?

A local president told of his conversation with a department head:

Alton told me he wanted to talk to me, so I said, "Okay, Mr. Alton, what's on your mind?"

He said, "That so-and-so McNulty [the chief steward] is really getting on my nerves. I wish to hell you'd get him off me." So I told him, "Mr. Alton, Mr. McNulty is the chief steward of this department. As such, he is on the same level as you are. You are in charge of management for this department, and he is in charge of the union. I want you to treat him in the same way you expect him to treat you. I'm telling you this, Mr. Alton, as president of the union, and I expect you to understand." And that is the way it ought to be.

A few of the newly elected leaders expressed attitudes like this:

You know, I didn't even know what the general manager looked like before I joined the union, and now I sit right across from him two or three times a week. And when I talk he has to listen.

Such starchy-eyed wonder is short-lived. But most leaders do gain considerable satisfaction from the fact that they can demand that management treat them as equals.

**Social outlets** For the leaders, though not for the rank and file, the union is a social outlet. The leadership group usually develops into a clique. Even when there are sharp political differences in executive board and membership meetings, rival leaders frequently drive each other home, drink beer

together. ) exchange plant anecdotes. Even though they may quarrel bitterly with each other, they share a common "madness"—they are different from the rest.

But there are leaders who rarely "go out with the boys." When they do drink, they do so as a political obligation. For example:

Am I glad these negotiations are over! The meetings were bad enough, three or four times a week, but what got me down was that I was forced to hang around with the gang until 1:00 or 2:00 in the morning. You don't want to look silly and drink coffee—so I'd have a sour stomach all the time.

Such men prefer to spend the time at home. For them, the union does offer a form of social satisfaction, although not the "buddy-buddy, backslapping" type. These less outgoing men look forward to the give-and-take of the executive committee meetings with considerable anticipation. Also, they seem to enjoy membership meetings (although not to the same extent). One explanation for this phenomenon might be that the executive board and most of the membership meeting participants are within the "clique," while most other meetings frequently include a large proportion of "outsiders."

A few of the active leaders engage in almost no informal social contacts; they rarely take part in the whispered conversation during membership meetings and executive board meetings. Some of these men suffer from emotional difficulties which make it hard for them to relax in an easy, friendly way. When such men get elected, it is to technical, time-consuming jobs like secretary or treasurer.

Of course, all these men frequently complain about how much they are overworked, how they would like to have spare time for themselves, how they are taken advantage of by the rank and file, and how they are not appreciated. But when they have a chance to get time off, they don't take it. Unionism casts a spell which is hard to break. "Big shots" stay at the office even when there is nothing to do. When one department is having a meeting, leaders from other departments will show up "just to give a hand," although in many cases this helping hand is strongly resented.

### Relations with the Community

In most locals, the fact that a person is a union officer is not known to the community at large. Even in small towns, only the president of the local receives much personal publicity. Of course, the neighbors next door may know that a man is a union officer; but if they are unsympathetic to the union, this may make things difficult, particularly for his wife during a strike.

We found, too, that company advertisements accusing local officials of incompetence or unwillingness to serve the best interest of their members never go unheeded. Naturally, the officers are worried that such charges will be believed by at least a significant minority of their members.

) Top officers, on the other hand, obtain some recognition from the community. The president may get publicity in the form of newspaper photographs or membership in the Community Chest. This is an increasing trend and gives them additional status and prestige. For the majority of leaders at the moment, however, the community offers no such rewards.

**Participation in community activities** The fact that they are not recognized does not mean that the leaders withdraw from the community. In fact, our research shows just the opposite to be the case. Thus, in line with earlier observations about their high activity level, a heavy proportion of them are active members of outside community organizations. Tables 1 and 2 summarize illustrative statistics covering twenty-nine out of thirty-four officers and stewards from a "mature, well-Americanized" local (Local A) in a

Table 1 / Membership Organizations to Which Individual Union Leaders Belong

Number of Organizations	Local A Officers Belonging		Local B Officers Belonging	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
None	5	17	3	12
One	14	49	3	12
Two	4	14	10	40
Three	3	10	3	12
Four or More	3	10	6	24
	29	100	25	100

Table 2 / Pattern of Union Leaders' Organizational Membership\*

Type of Organization	Number of Officers Belonging	
	Local A	Local B
Fraternal		
Knights of Columbus	6	2
Italian	0	6
Polish	0	7
Other	11	11
Religious	3	3
Political	7*	3
Athletic	4	3
Rifle and Conservation	0	4
Veterans	8	2
National Guard	3	0
Community Improvement	3	0
Volunteer Fireman	0	4
	45	45

\* Three ran for office as well; one is now a member of his local school board.



large city and the major officers and stewards in an ethnically divided community of 25,000 (Local B). Both groups are overwhelmingly Catholic.

Our impression is that in most locals 60 to 90 per cent of the executive board members participate in outside organizations. At least a third attend meetings of one kind or another two or three nights a month. This compares with a probable figure of 40 to 50 per cent for working class membership in organizations generally.<sup>1</sup>

#### "Administrators" and "Social Leaders"

The discussion so far has been largely descriptive. We have tried to describe certain attitudes and behavior which appear to be common to the local leaders studied. The following, more analytical, section attempts to make distinctions within this officer group, and in so doing to suggest a possible explanation of these differences in terms of behavior within both the union and the larger community. In a preceding chapter, we attempted to divide stewards into three "ideal types" on the basis of their general orientation: the active unionist, the social leader, and the self-seeker. Somewhat the same approach may be applied to the local-wide officer.

The data show that these leaders are apparently of two types: the administrator and the social leader. The administrator is the top-officer equivalent of the active unionist. He sees his job as relating "outward" to the union's problems and its bargaining relationship with management.

The term "administrator" is used instead of "active unionist" in order to avoid confusion, for indeed the social-leader officer is just as loyal to the union, and spends as much time on local affairs, as the administrator. However, as in the case of his counterpart at the steward level, the social leader's primary interest is dealing with individuals rather than issues, personalities rather than abstractions.

None of the officers observed could be called a company man but, like most of their fellow men, many were interested in economic success—and they felt considerable conflict, particularly as to whether they should accept promotions into management jobs.

#### The "Administrator"

Union-wide officers who are administrators are often good executives and public-relations men. They are high in verbal skills, at least compared to the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. W. L. Warner and J. O. Low, *The Social System of the Modern Factory* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1947).

W. L. Warner, et al., *Democracy in Jonesville* (New York: Harper & Row, 1949), p. 141.

M. Konorsky, "The Voluntary Association of Urban Dwellers," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 11, No. 6 (December 1946), pp. 686-696.

ink and file. When they speak in meetings, their English is good; their voices are well modulated, and what they have to say is carefully organized. They use profanity rarely—and then for carefully considered effect.

They are quick thinkers in debate and forceful advocates. They are effective on the meeting floor and equally so in negotiations with management.

Many union officers are tough fighters and know the contract through and through. But this combination of orneriness and intellect does not make for a successful social leader. The man who is smart enough to become an office manager and pugnacious enough to become a negotiator frequently is restless, driving, and, from the point of view of his fellow workers, overambitious.

Our research suggests that many of those who ranked high as administrators were relatively unpopular within their own work group. One officer slaved devotedly to make sure that every grievance was airtight. His services to the union were substantial, yet he had few friends in his own department. He, himself, confessed:

I hardly know the men in my department. I am so busy with the union that I just don't have time to hang around with them . . . I don't think I am really a good leader. I am not as good as Jack Williams (an informal leader). But I am good on this administrative work.

In another case, an observer explained:

Gus Spitzer hardly polls a vote among his own gang. They think he is a little bit too good for himself. But all the others see is that he runs around and takes their troubles for them. So he wins votes outside his department.

As discussed before, the men who make successful union leaders have a surplus of energy and ambition. Their fellow workers often find them too nervous and jittery to make comfortable companions. Perhaps, indeed, many of these men become active in the union because of their failure to make friends among their work associates. In any case, many union-wide officers spend so much time on their duties that they have little opportunity for idly "shooting the breeze" with their fellow workers.

#### The "Social Leader"

Contrasted with administrators are the social leaders. The amount of time and energy they devote to union activities attests to their loyalty and interest in the local. Still, since their primary interest is in individuals rather than their problems, they are much more like ward leaders than statesmen.

One such local president was a poor presiding officer; he couldn't keep order and regularly made parliamentary errors. He left all his office work to his secretary and constantly had to be rescued during grievance and contract

negotiations. (et he was popular with the rank and file and usually blundered through to an acceptable decision. The president of another local was generally considered to be stubborn in collective bargaining. This seemed to be his chief asset, as he was ineffective as a chairman and pathetically timid as a speaker. Although his supporters admitted that he wasn't "very sharp," somehow they made this into almost a virtue:

You may say this about Tim, he's as honest as the day is long. The men trust him because he's not better than they are.

The vice-president of another local sat three months in contract negotiations and never uttered a word. Except when he had to assume the chair, he was equally silent during ten months of membership meetings. Although he lacked sufficient local-wide popularity to win re-election, his own work group turned out meeting after meeting to give him support.

Will Johnson may be typical of the social leader. In addition to his widespread union activities, Will took a prominent part in the local Democratic organization. However, he constantly refused to run for political office, saying:

If I were elected for something I'd be obligated to people. Right now, I can do favors for everybody, not because I expect returns—but because that's the greatest pleasure of my life. Why it's wonderful, everybody knows me. The politicians, the garbage man, the teacher, the kids in the street, they all know me and say, "Hi, Will."

This same love of personal contact was carried over to the union. While many other officers would brag of their victories against the company, Will spoke of the large number of people he saw daily and the regard they had for him.

Thus we can picture two types of individuals. The administrator, who is technically proficient but perhaps not too popular among his fellow workers. The social leader is a poor meeting chairman and inefficient at drawing up grievances, yet as an informal leader, generally trusted and well liked by the members.

Within the administrator group, a further subdivision can be made. A majority seems anxious to "get ahead"; they have "upward status aspirations." But there is a smaller group which seems to reject respectability almost deliberately. It consists of men who have been brought up in economically well-to-do families and, through adversities, have been thrown into the labor movement. These officers are often the most aggressively antimanagement of all.

Typical of this latter group, was the son of a prominent doctor. This man had gone through college and was attending graduate school when a family crisis forced him to quit. He obtained an industrial job in a nearby plant and

has worked there ever since, devoting his energies and abilities entirely to the union. He holds himself aloof from his fellow workers in the shop, but is extraordinarily adept at gathering and processing data for bargaining sessions. He belongs to no outside organizations, but he averages eight hours a day on union business in addition to his working hours in the plant! His wife, however, is active in a fashionable church. He always wears white shirts and expensive ties, but they are not kept clean. There were men like him in other locals studied, but this group was always in the minority.

Most administrators seemed to look upon the union as a chance to get ahead and as a socially acceptable opportunity to be aggressive against those elements of a "system" which they felt had relegated them to an inferior position.

Thus, the union provides leadership opportunities for more than one type of personality. Leaders have varying motivations and act in different ways. Yet each type may perform an essential function for the union.

#### Conclusions

Our discussion has been descriptive rather than explanatory. We have tried to portray the local leader as he is, rather than to discover how he got to be that way. The latter is a more difficult process which would take us deep into the childhood experience of each individual.

It will be enough if we can shed some light on the inner dynamics of those who sit on the union side of collective-bargaining tables. Our evidence suggests that the personality which makes an effective union leader is little different from that which makes an aggressive, able business executive. The position of the union leader is somewhat more complicated, however, because he has two "jobs," one of which has more political overtones than the job of the average business bureaucrat.

Both have driving energy. Both are dissatisfied with the status quo. Each gets satisfaction from tackling his environment and trying his best to mold it to his liking. Both get into trouble with their families, because they spend too much time at "work." Certainly both are "joiners," and both are equally anxious to get ahead in the world, although "getting ahead" may be measured by different yardsticks.

## 8

## The Selection of Union Officers

groups. Yet, we seldom observed the issues so sharply joined. The voter was rarely in a position to select between real alternative objectives. On the contrary, just as in national political struggles, there was much more mudslinging than discussion of issues. Each side claimed that it could do better—but almost no one was specific as to the exact changes of existing policy he would make or the type of new policies he would introduce.

Why do candidates neglect these collective-bargaining issues? One obvious reason is their general unwillingness to campaign for lesser benefits. Except in the case of periods of extreme economic hardship, when the firm faces bankruptcy, no candidate would conceive of criticizing his opponent for asking too much. Conflict between competing interest groups rarely offers a campaign issue because, with significant exceptions (e.g., day workers vs. night workers), such conflicts involve relatively small numbers of members, who work close to each other. Although the conflicts are very important to the men concerned, they engage relatively few individuals in any given dispute. As a rule, they are confined within the department, or departments, concerned. They may affect department-wide elections, but rarely become open issues in union-wide politics. In many industries, the International plays a key role in the negotiation of wage rates, thus taking the issue out of the hands of the local officers.

Furthermore, in a reasonably large plant it is hard for a worker to evaluate plant-wide candidates in terms of small-group self-interest. Specific campaign promises are extremely rare in union election campaigns. As a consequence, a worker in the machine shop has no idea how the presidential candidate from the shipping room feels about his seniority dispute with another machinist over a promotion.

### General Upheavals

Lincoln Steffens pointed out that municipal conditions must be really bad before the voters rise up to "kick the rascals out." The same holds true for local unions. General upheavals, when economic dissatisfaction leads to a widespread change of officers, are the exception. But they happen under at least three types of circumstances: (1) when the members feel that their economic conditions have worsened because of inefficient or insufficiently militant officers; (2) when serious collective-bargaining differences arise (over how to divide the pie) which split the entire local; and (3) when a large number of departments are frustrated over small, individual problems which have somehow coalesced.

*Insufficient or ineffective militancy* General frustration may develop throughout the local because of the feeling that the officers have not been able to win gains as great as those obtained by other unions. Union members

**T**his chapter will consider primarily two questions: First, what are the issues in union elections? What do the candidates say they support, and even more significantly, what are the underlying sources of rank-and-file discontent which can affect election results? Second, from what jobs in the plant are leaders selected? These questions are interrelated.

Our thesis is this: when the membership is reasonably satisfied with its general working conditions and level of earnings, officers will tend to be selected from those holding high-status jobs. However, general rank-and-file discontent may result in economic questions becoming vital issues in election campaigns, with a consequent widespread turnover in the administration. When this occurs, the new leaders often come from lower-status jobs than did the previous officeholders. After the crest of the reform wave has passed, a higher-status group often returns to control.

### The Issues

Common sense would suggest that since unions are concerned primarily with collective bargaining, union elections would be fought primarily over collective-bargaining issues—over how militant a stand to take against management or over how to divide the fruits of bargaining among competing interest

are well aware of the prevailing pattern, and if they get less than this they may cause trouble.

Such was the case in a union which held a two-year contract providing for wage reopening after one year, with disagreement to be settled by arbitration. The reopening period came just after the company's major competitor had given an increase of 10 cents an hour. In the case under consideration, the arbitrator awarded only 4 cents. The ensuing election was a turbulent one, and the incumbents were swept out.

*Differences between interest groups* In some instances, differences between union-wide interest groups (such as skilled and unskilled workers) affect union-wide elections.

One case involved a dispute between incentive and day-rate workers. During the war years, the earnings of the incentive workers far outstripped those of day workers of higher skill. This condition smoldered for six years while the officers promised that something would be done. Finally, when a newly negotiated contract failed to provide adequate adjustments, the day workers initiated for the first time and elected a completely new slate to the negotiating committee.

Similarly, maladjustments in the plant wage structure, such as those resulting from cents-per-hour or across-the-board rather than percentage wage increases, have been observed to affect elections.

*Combination of smaller issues* Incidental dissatisfactions of small groups may add up. Each department may have its own minor cause for unhappiness, but the total may be enough to upset the administration. When this happens, it is almost impossible for either observer or participants to give explanations. Totally unpredicted "election flukes" may occur; almost complete unknowns may be elected as a protest against the incumbent.

In one plant, dissatisfaction with the incumbent leadership because of inequities in the wage structure, a lengthy strike to help another union, and failure to include a broader representation of the ethnic groups in the plant, did not crystallize into any serious opposition for six years. Finally, a petty seniority dispute affecting one individual precipitated a major turnover of the officers.

This problem existed in the wage-reopener case discussed above, with the arbitration award serving as the precipitating factor. Each department received the same small wage increase, but some were more upset about it than others. Every department which voted strongly against the administration had its own cause for complaint. Some objected to the inequities in job evaluation, others to the way their grievances had been sidetracked, and so forth. Thus, by the time the arbitration award was handed down, many of the departments were convinced that the union leadership was "selling out to management." The award was only the final bit of evidence they required.

Even in cases like these the real economic issue is often disguised. The members feel they want a change but cannot identify the source of their dissatisfactions. Instead, they may look upon the fighting merely as a question of rival personalities, of poor administration, or of ideological differences.

The fact that rank-and-file members are primarily interested in "bread and butter" issues is shown in the results of various ideological fights which have developed over the "Commie" issue in the left-wing-controlled unions. In case after case, right-wing leaders have found that patriotic appeals to the membership to overthrow their Communist domination have fallen on deaf ears as long as political questions were emphasized. Effective results were obtained only when it could be proved that Communist leaders had "frittered away" the union's strength on political issues, rather than winning collective-bargaining gains.

Although we have listed a number of situations where economic issues play an important part in union elections, it should be emphasized that these are more or less exceptional. Indeed, in many locals disputed elections of any kind are rare, and local-wide officers are re-elected unanimously.

When there is a contest, local-wide elections are conducted with considerable ballyhoo and all the trappings of an American political campaign. There are distributions of circulars, wild charges, mudslinging, campaign stunts, and all the rest. Vituperative personal attacks fly back and forth. The "ins" point with pride, the "outs" view with alarm. The ins are accused of being too conservative, the outs of wrecking and irresponsibility. Each charges the other with playing into the company's hands.

Much of the sound and fury, however, signifies nothing more than the personal ambitions of one active union member conflicting with those of another. In none of the cases observed, were there hard and fast "party systems." Candidates for different offices would often arrange temporary alliances, but these as a rule were based on expediency rather than principle.

### Election Issues Within the Small Group

Since intraunion disputes over economic issues are far more common *within* small, face-to-face groups, we should expect that elections for steward (the chief officer elected by the small group) should be hot contests over clearly defined collective-bargaining questions. Actually, just the opposite occurs. In most unions, stewards must be recruited. When election fights do occur, they are far less lively than those on the local-wide level.

Why are there so few contests for the steward office? This would seem to be the result of three factors:

1. As mentioned earlier, the steward's job is not often considered desirable. The steward gets all the "dirty work" and little of the glory or the satisfaction from actually making decisions. For this reason it often becomes difficult to find a single candidate for the job, let alone two who will compete.

2. Although workers have many complaints, only rarely do they perceive the changing of stewards as a means of improving conditions. In most instances, the job is not important enough to get excited over. In a previous chapter, we listed various forms of pressure available to discontented groups: they can file grievances, buttonhole officers, attend meetings, or engage in self-help activities such as wildcat strikes or restriction of output. Many of these are viewed as much more effective measures than changing a steward—particularly if the office is almost powerless.

3. The general atmosphere which surrounds stewardship elections is such as to discourage making them into as much of a "game" as local-wide elections. The bare mechanics of the stewardship election play an important role in this. The union-wide election is relatively formalized. Even if there is no high-pressure campaigning (with literature and the rest), the elections are held at well-publicized times and places. In almost all circumstances, secret ballots are used. In a sense, this depersonalizes the fight.

Stewardship elections are normally far more informal—sometimes they are not held at all. The usual procedure is for one of the local officers to gather the men in the department together (in the plant, bar or lunchroom outside, or perhaps in the union hall) and ask them to choose whom they want. The decision often is unanimous, and disagreements, if any, are settled by a show of hands.

Such informal procedure inhibits real opposition. As one man said, just before having to cast a standing vote in a disputed election:

This is going to be very embarrassing. I think O'Connor deserves the job. But Lovell is a friend of mine and I hate to stand up against him.

This results in the atmosphere of the shop election being considerably different from one on the local-wide level.

The union-wide leaders seem to enjoy squabbling with each other. Stewardship elections resemble more a family quarrel than a formal contest for office. The parties are too close to make the issue a game. Under most circumstances, the parties preserve their politeness. Thus, there are important social constraints which prevent a worker from making too much of a "fuss." If Bill has been a steward for a number of years, the average worker will think Frank's efforts to unseat him in poor taste.

### The Candidates

Taking the locals we have studied as a whole, only rarely did young, low-paid workers hold key positions in the local. On the contrary, in most cases a large proportion of the officers elected were: (1) higher-paid and more skilled workers; (2) workers with more seniority, both within the plant and within the union; (3) workers who had ample chance to talk and to move

around the plant; (4) from dominant ethnic groups; and (5) men rather than women. (These last two aspects are considered in Chapter 12.) All these factors relate to "status" or social prestige.

### Pay Rate and Status

Our research indicates a general tendency for union leaders to be selected from among the higher-paid and more highly skilled workers. Union-wide officers often hold the highest-paid jobs under the jurisdiction of the local; stewards frequently are the highest paid in their department.<sup>1</sup>

In one company, thirteen of seventeen officers were at the top of their promotional ladders. The president was in the highest pay grade, with only eight others out of 1,800 receiving as much as he.

Table 3, which summarizes the results of elections in one union for a five-year period, shows that, although only 28 per cent of the work force received in excess of \$63 a week (in terms of 1950 pay), 60 per cent of the votes were cast for men in this pay grade.

This company, with approximately 2,000 employees, has its operations spread over a wide area and divided among three shifts. As a result, the opportunity for workers to compare each other's jobs is limited.

An automobile assembly plant is a relatively compact unit. It is easy for an aspiring politician to get to know many people. The vast majority of the workers are doing roughly the same kind of job, and comparisons between merits of jobs are simple to make. Table 4 gives data from two such plants, each with approximately 1,500 employees. In Plant A, five out of eight offices were contested. The election in Plant B was quite turbulent, with sharp fights for each position and as many as six candidates for some offices. In fact, the

Table 3 / Distribution of Vote According to Candidates' Pay Grades

Weekly Wage	Percentage of Workers in Given Pay Grades	Percentage of Votes Cast for Candidates in Given Pay Grades
\$71.50 or more	3	14
\$67.00-70.50	11	16
\$63.00-66.50	14	30
\$55.00-62.50	34	32
\$48.00-54.50	19	7
\$47.50 and under	19	1
	100	100

<sup>1</sup> Many unions make a strenuous attempt to get a "balanced slate" of officers through getting representatives from many departments. To some extent, this "distribution" of officers obscures the concentration of real control.

president's margin of victory was only 2 per cent. Forty per cent of the workers voted in Plant A and 85 per cent in Plant B.

In Plant A, the successful candidates for president and the chairman of the grievance committee were tool-and-die makers, both receiving the highest rate paid any union occupation in the plant. Candidates from departments having 6 per cent of the labor force received 45 per cent of the votes. On the other hand, assemblers, who comprised a large portion of the total work force, had far less than proportional representation in terms of votes received and officers elected.

For organizational purposes the union divided Plant B into three sections having equal membership: (1) maintenance, body build, and parts; (2) trim; and (3) chassis. The jobs in the first category carried the highest prestige—that is, were the most highly desired—and the second and third followed in descending order. It is revealing to observe, that two-thirds of the votes were cast for men who worked in Group 1, while no officer was elected from Group 3, and therefore an executive board member had to be assigned

Table 4 / Results of Elections in Two Plants According to Pay Grades of Those Elected

	Plant A			Plant B*		
	Hourly Pay Range	% of Workers	Per Cent Votes Received	Hourly Pay Range	% of Workers	Per Cent Votes Received
Tool and Die	\$1.82-2.06	1	27	2	—†	—
Skilled Maintenance	\$1.78-1.98	5	18	1	7	16
Materials Handling (Stock Room)	\$1.47-1.52	12	0	0	9	32
Inspector	\$1.52-1.65	5	5	1	3	8
Truck Driver	\$1.57	1	0	0	1	6
Semi-skilled						
Production	\$1.57-1.82	32	40	4	2	30
Unskilled production (Assemblers, etc.)	\$1.47-1.56	41	10	0	71	8
Unskilled Maintenance	\$1.32-1.62	3	0	0	7	0
		100	100	8	100	100

\* The pay range in Plant B is not available. However, it is believed to be roughly equivalent to that in Plant A, except for stock and tool room clerks.

† No such classification in union.

‡ It is not clear whether the significantly different distributions of those assigned to "skilled" and "unskilled" categories in the two plants reflect real differences in technology.

to represent them. (This officer in turn objected strongly that he was being "degraded.")

In several needle trades locals, cutters and pressers were the highest paid workers in the industry. Among them they held almost all the top offices, although they comprised but 30 per cent of the membership. In the election for the two business agents, one was called the "cutters' agent" and the other the "pressers' agent." It was felt that only the cutters and pressers had a chance to be elected, although occasionally operators and miscellaneous workers made futile attempts.

Lower-paid workers are sometimes completely unrepresented. In one manufacturing plant, the coalheavers were without a steward of their own, although many smaller groups had separate representation. The steward who had jurisdiction over them made no reference to their grievances until directly questioned by the interviewer, when he said, "Oh, yes, I'm in charge of them too, but they don't cause me any trouble." When asked how he found out what their grievances were, since he worked in a different part of the plant, he said, "Well, I suppose they'd get a message to me somehow. I don't know—it hasn't come up yet."

### Seniority

Seniority and age are almost as important as pay in determining a worker's chance of being elected to union office. In a majority of cases, the discrimination against younger or lower-seniority employees is due to a feeling that they have had less experience or mercy that they are "young upstarts." Superseniority—which permits younger officers to keep their jobs when older nonofficers are laid off—provokes comments like this one by a local president:

The guys don't like this superseniority, so they get around it by always electing the oldest man as steward. The duds we get this way! Now you understand why I have to handle all the grievances myself.

### Communications Opportunities

Wherever there is rivalry for office a given candidate's chances for success depend to a considerable extent upon his communications opportunities. Even if a man holds a high-prestige job, we must ask further: Can he talk to others? Can others see him? Can he move around? How far? Other things being equal, those who have the greatest chance to talk to others are most likely to become leaders. As an officer remarked:

To tell you the truth, I spend most of my time talking. To be sure, I go around from place to place inspecting [as required by his company job]—I let nothing dangerous happen. But this is the time I build the union.

In one company, three of the five top union officers had roving jobs which carried them all over the plant. The other two were supposedly tied to their jobs, but actually they too spent a large part of their working hours talking to other members.

In a white-collar local, office machine operators were frequently elected as stewards or officers. Their job had a high political potential for three reasons: (1) they were in constant contact with the clerks who brought them material to process; (2) while the machines were operating they had ample time to talk with anyone in the vicinity; (3) in many of the offices they were the only men present.

As a rule, maintenance and supply men have unusual political advantages, although for opposite reasons. Maintenance men move around from worker to worker, while the workers themselves are required to visit the supply clerks.

Shipping and receiving, a department whose function was close to that of supply, played a key political role in a medium-sized chemical plant. This department was located in the very center of the main building. Although the president of the union was a maintenance man, the vice-president, the treasurer, and the sergeant-at-arms were all shippers.

It must be emphasized again that communication is no more a single determining factor than any of the others so far discussed. To make this clear, let us take the example of the cleaners in a large manufacturing plant. These workers acted as a communications link between departments. They carried rumors, information, and messages as part of their jobs, and so were looked upon as people who "knew what was up." In spite of this, none was ever elected or ran for office. It would seem that the low pay and menial nature of their job made their status entirely too low for successful political ambition.

### Analysis

In all but two of the situations studied, the bulk of the officers and stewards came from the highest-paid 20 per cent of the work group. Other factors such as communications position, seniority, sex, and nationality further narrowed the groups from which the majority of officers were selected. A few hypotheses which may explain this selection of higher-status workers follow.

1. High-prestige groups are more likely to participate in union activities (see Chapter 11). Assuming that they support their "favorite sons," these will have a better chance to win elections than those of lower-prestige groups.
2. To some extent, individuals holding high-status jobs are more likely to win votes since they are "respectable" or "looked up to" by other members of the work community. It may be that a rank-and-file member thinks that a man who has not been successful on his job is not a good bet as a union officer. The stereotype held unconsciously by the rank and file as to what makes

a good officer may include elements relating to pay, seniority, ethnic background, sex, etc.

3. In general, one may expect that a high-status worker would be unlikely to want a lower-status worker as his leader. On the other hand, a lower-status worker might show less resistance to being represented by someone with higher status.

4. Many of the higher-paid jobs require quasi-supervisory duties and human-relations skills. In many instances, men who are successful at these jobs provide good officer material.

5. Similarly, longer-service employees usually have exhibited some competence in dealing with day-to-day interpersonal problems. Those who cannot adjust often leave the plant or keep transferring from department to department and miss out on opportunities to establish strong ties with fellow workers and to promote themselves politically.

Deviations from this pattern may well provide additional insights into the election process. The cases described below are typical of those we observed. However, since they cover only newly formed locals, they probably are not representative of all the various instances in which low- or middle-status workers gain control of the local.

*Defeat of an independent union* For a period of eight years the C.I.O. and an independent union were locked in a bitter struggle for the allegiance of employees in a large manufacturing plant. The C.I.O. charged the independent with being insufficiently aggressive in seeking pay raises and better promotions and its officers with "selling out to management." Their opponents argued that the introduction of a national union would "just cause trouble." Rumors were circulated about the evil effects of "outside domination" by the "Communist" C.I.O. The C.I.O. lost three elections in a row, but finally won on its fourth try.

To some extent, the contest was between higher- and lower-paid workers. An aggressive C.I.O. leader pointed out:

The best men to contact are men just starting out, still ambitious, beginning to realize that they aren't going to make a million. The most difficult to organize are those on the top. But when things settle down, they make good leaders.

The first elections under the C.I.O. saw the center of political power move sharply downwards on the pay scale. The old president came from one of the highest pay groups, the new one from one of the lowest. In recent elections under the independent, candidates from the top pay brackets received 15 per cent of the total vote cast. Under the new union this group received less than 1 per cent of the vote.

Eighty-five per cent of the new officers and stewards had not held office

under the independent. Many of the independent officers had held quasi-supervisory jobs. The members now felt that these men were "too close to the top." "Lead men" and inspectors similarly were thought to be "tainted" with management.

Within eighteen months after control of the union had shifted to the lower-status workers, there were definite signs of a movement back to the older "equilibrium." Low-paid officers were being replaced by higher-paid ones. In six of the eight officer elections for which there was a serious contest, the highest-paid candidate was successful. Indeed, the first president of the C.I.O. was replaced by the former president of the independent! In the first election under the C.I.O., officers in the two highest wage grades received something less than 20 per cent of the votes; they received 31 per cent in the second election. This compares with 30 per cent received by the same group during the independent period.

**A steel plant** Late in 1941 the C.I.O. organized a medium-sized basic steel mill after a sharp struggle. The drive was spearheaded by unskilled, comparatively low-paid men from the fabricating department. The first two presidents were fabricators, earning "Job Class 8" pay (Job Class 30 was the highest-paid). After five years, control shifted to the steelmaking departments, which elected both the third president (Job Class 18) and the incumbent (Job Class 24).

**A quality furniture company** In a furniture plant, organized by the C.I.O. during the middle of World War II, the majority of the union's officers and its organizational strength came from the unskilled departments. Although the union obtained substantial wage increases, these were primarily of the cents-per-hour type which tended to decrease traditional differentials between skilled groups.

An A.F.L. union began working with the skilled groups, relying heavily on the Communist issue. In the National Labor Relations Board election that followed, the A.F.L. won—but by a small margin. Although the A.F.L. shop committee was elected in the same manner as that of the C.I.O. that preceded it, all the top officers of the new union held skilled jobs. The first new A.F.L. contract granted percentage wage increases that widened the pay gap between unskilled and skilled workers and actually *reduced* the minimum wage rate that could be paid in the plant.

## Conclusion

Let us tie the preceding material together with the object of presenting a dynamic picture of the selection process:

Under "normal conditions" (when the officers are not engaging in blatant

maladministration and the workers are not too dissatisfied with their working conditions), workers with high status will hold many of the important positions within the union. To the rank and file, these men *are* the union. They are held responsible for all the union does. Although the rank and file may feel some hostility toward the officers, this is balanced by inertia.

Except in periods of "revolt," election battles will be fought largely over personalities and ethnic differences. Even though a large proportion of the members may vote, their interest is superficial, and issues are not weighed nor are platforms scrutinized seriously.

Worker dissatisfaction with the way the union is being run may arise from a number of conditions: (1) a feeling that the officers are insufficiently aggressive—or (rarely) too aggressive; (2) a series of economic reverses, for which the officers are the scapegoats; (3) a combination of frustrations arising in many small groups; (4) a belief that the officers are favoring certain special interest groups (such as nightworkers or pieceworkers); or (5) a conviction that the officers are dishonest or self-seeking.

If there is enough dissatisfaction, members may shift from passive resignation to a feeling that "something should be done about it." This dissatisfaction may be expressed in a number of ways: sitdown strikes, attendance at meetings, grievances, absenteeism, or even a change in union affiliation. If this discontent crystallizes around election time, there may then be a drastic turnover in officers.

Relative prestige rarely enters elections as a verbalized issue. The real differences are those of apparent aggressiveness—the young against the old, the new champions against the worn-out veterans. The new administration is elected chiefly because of resentment against the old. The incoming officers are often drawn from lower-status groups primarily because those with higher status are too closely connected with the old, rejected leadership. On occasion, if an "untainted" high-status group is available, it may well provide the new officers. However, higher-paid workers are more susceptible to suspicions of a "management taint"—they appear *too* successful to make aggressive leaders.

Control by lower- and middle-status groups will not last long. Once the crisis is over, leadership will slowly shift back to higher-status groups—if for no other reason than that the new leaders themselves grow older, acquire seniority, and get promoted. While the shift downward (to control by lower-status group) may assume the form of a dramatic revolt, a shift upward will more likely occur through a gradual process of replacement.



from: EFFECTIVE UNION ADMINISTRATION by Wm. L. Abbott  
(Industrial Relations Center, University of Hawaii, 1967)

## MOTIVATING THE UNION MEMBER

### **BASIC HUMAN NEEDS**

Alexander Pope wrote in a poem that "the proper study of mankind is man." A union is a unity of people, and if we are going to study how to run a union, we have to understand what makes people tick in an organizational situation.

An example of the recognition of changing needs of members is found in the January, 1963, edition of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers *Union News*.

"Working people do not hunger for the same things they did 25 years ago, or even 15 years ago. We need to determine and evaluate present desires...clearly... labor must discard many past practices and take a fresh approach."

The needs of people change, and to remain meaningful to people the union must change. In a union film made in the thirties, the protagonist tries to crash a picket line. A picket pushes him to the ground with hardly any effort. The picket captain rushes over the scene. "How long since you've eaten?" he asks the fallen man. "A couple of days," is the reply.

Present-day unionists watching the film find this statement nearly unbelievable. Was there ever a time when Americans actually went days without eating? In the thirties many men were literally motivated by empty bellies. Today this need has almost vanished in the United States.

The concept of changing needs was noted by the Dutch scholar, M. Van De Vall, who quoted a young worker in the Netherlands welfare state. The youth said he felt that unions were once necessary but today "I really do not know what to ask for." He pointed out that he already had paid holidays and vacations, sickness, old age and unemployment insurance, and a decent standard of living. What need had he now of the union? What more could the union give him? Why participate in something that was not meeting his present needs?

"The only effective solution," says Van De Vall, "would be to make union activities once more a part of the daily experience of the individual worker."

(3) Participation in the union is the key, but to encourage such participation the union must broaden its activities to include a greater range of interests to satisfy the needs of a younger generation of members.

But before we can intelligently discuss changing needs we have to ask ourselves what constitutes human needs in the first place? We speak in terms of needing a color TV, of needing somebody to love, of needing a ticket to the ballgame, of needing a happy home, of needing a living wage. Such "needs" are unequal in value and some may not even be real needs at all.

There is a difference between *real needs* and *stated needs*.

Vance Packard, in his book *The Hidden Persuaders*, said marketeers decided it was dangerous to assume that people acted in a rational way. He cited the example of beer drinkers who said they drank "light beer" by a 3 to 1 margin, when actually they drank regular beer in preference to light beer by a 9 to 1 margin. He then quoted *Business Week* which said: "People don't seem to be reasonable. But people do act with purpose. Their behaviour makes sense if you think about it in terms of its goals, of peoples' needs and their motives." (4/13)

This is to suggest that what a worker says his needs may be and what they actually are could be two entirely different things.

What then are needs? Here is the problem outlined by A. H. Maslow, one of the nation's leading authorities on motivational psychology.

"If we examine carefully the average desires that we have in daily life, we find that they have at least one important characteristic, i.e., that they are usually means to an end rather than ends in themselves. We want money so that we may have an automobile. In turn we want an automobile because the neighbors have one and we do not wish to feel inferior to them, so that we can retain our self-respect and so we can be loved and respected by others. Usually when a conscious desire is analyzed we find that we can go behind it, so to speak, to other more fundamental aims of the individual...In other words then, the study of motivation must be in part the study of the ultimate human goals or desires or needs." (5/65-66)

Maslow says we must examine the most basic human needs in order to deal with any needs at all. Let us then explore with him the inner core of human needs:

- (a) We must think of the "integrated human being." There is no such thing as "economic man" or "political man" for man is man in all his complexity. Our desires are either conscious or unconscious means to goals. The idea of man, the goal seeker, cannot be stressed enough in a course in Union Administration. One cannot be an administrator or much of anything else without clearly defined goals.
- (b) True needs are so basic that they remain the same, although different cultures may interpret them differently. The interpretation of human needs is a historic union function.

- (c) There are multiple motivations. One motivation may serve as a channel through which other purposes may express themselves. "A hysterically paralyzed arm may represent the fulfillment of simultaneous wishes for revenge, for pity, for love, and for respect." (5/67)
- (d) Motivation is dynamic. If a person feels rejected, his rejection leads him to other states like compulsive desires to win back affection, defensive efforts of various kinds, hostility.
- (e) "Man is a wanting animal and rarely reaches a state of complete satisfaction except for a short time. As one desire is satisfied, another pops up to take its place...Wanting anything in itself implies already existing satisfactions of other wants. We should never have the desire to compose music or create mathematical systems, or to adorn our homes, or to be well-dressed if our stomachs were empty most of the time, or if we were continually threatened by an always impending catastrophe, or if everyone hated us." This should suggest that unions today cannot satisfy people today with yesterday's goals. (5/68)

Needs therefore change, for a need once satisfied leads onward to the satisfaction of other needs. New goals replace old ones. They are largely realistic goals, things that the individual feels can actually be obtained. In the Depression, a worker might dream of a job and food on the table. Today he might want a boat, a cabin in the woods, a color TV -- things undreamed of by this very person thirty years ago. And what of the large doses of leisure time for which unions are negotiating? What will this do to the dreams of Americans? The union itself can change the needs of its members.

But what are man's most fundamental needs? And how does the union attempt to satisfy them? There are, says Maslow, five of them:

1. *Physiological Needs (Survival)*. Hunger, thirst, sex. As far as the union is concerned when men are ill-housed, ill-fed, and ill-clothed, the union appeals to such needs. The 1965-66 California grape strike of agricultural workers is a recent example of such an appeal. Unions still fight in some areas for a "living wage."
2. *Safety Needs (Security)*. Plant safety, job security, seniority, pensions and insurance, protection against favoritism and other forms of discrimination, easing the pain of unemployment with Supplementary Unemployment Benefits, are all methods of satisfying security needs. This is the heart of the union program at present, but there are persistent members who keep asking "What have you done for me lately?"
3. *Belongingness or Love Needs (Social Acceptance)*. The strength of the ancient workers' guilds lies in the fact that they constitute a way of life. A man belonged, he had identity, he found a home in the guild hall. In the society of the guild the worker was a somebody.

Among other things, man is a herd animal. He must feel he belongs to a group. If he doesn't feel he belongs to the union group, then he obviously is not going to attend meetings or otherwise participate in the union. He feels rejected and the union has lost him. This should strongly suggest new member programs, a wide variety of activities to appeal to many interests, social events. The union must be attractive, and like a home there must be a comfortable, sociable quality about it.

4. *Esteem Needs (Ego)*. People need self-esteem or self-respect and the respect of others. Maslow describes it as the "desire for strength, for achievement, for adequacy, for mastery, for competence for confidence in the face of the world, and for independence and freedom. Second, we have what we may call the desire for reputation or prestige (defining it as respect or esteem from other people), status, dominance, recognition, attention, importance, or appreciation." (5/68)

Even officers of a local union appreciate some encouragement. And the shop steward who works without pay for the members needs to be told that his efforts aren't in vain. Ego-bolstering is healthy for an organization which must depend upon volunteers. Some unions honor the stewards once a year with special stewards' dinners, others single stewards out for special mention in the union paper.

5. *Self-Actualization (Self-Realization, Self-Fulfillment)*. This is the spiritual need to fulfill one's potential. To realize oneself, to make oneself a whole person, to become capable of becoming everything that one is capable of becoming. This need manifests itself in the words "dedication," "idealism," "loyalty," The leader sees the union as a cause of noble purpose and he wants to leave the world better than when he found it. He wants to make a contribution to humanity.

An effective union will take all needs into consideration when forming its program.

#### THE DIFFERENT MOTIVATIONS OF UNION MEMBERS

The United Rubber Workers Education Department made a study of one hundred union leaders for 15 states. It wanted to know just what did motivate active union members. It discovered that a wide variety of different reasons for union activity were given, but that they fit fairly well into Maslow's analysis of basic needs.

Thirty-two of the leaders were outraged over some injustice in the shop and this motivated them into union action. Here we have a combination of idealistic outrage plus insight into the need for survival. Twenty-three were influenced by their family or friends and their actions gained them esteem in the eyes of those they valued. One candidly said he wanted to be a member of a group and the union was the handiest group around. Two were motivated out of abstract idealism

and eight more said they wanted to improve general working conditions. The political ideology of two activists motivated them and two were dissatisfied with local union policies and became active to try to change them. One wanted better labor-management relations and he was active in the union to try to bring this about, but another, a former small businessman, became active to get revenge on big business. Two saw being active in the union as their democratic responsibility, and two wanted to end depressions and saw the union as the best political vehicle around. One simply said he wanted a voice, and the union gave it to him. (6)

The study suggested that it would be foolish for a union to put all its programmatic eggs in one basket. There is no single motivation for union leaders. To increase participation, the union must appeal to many different kinds of needs. This means the creation of different kinds of activities.

#### *COMMUNITY SERVICES IS A CASE IN POINT*

In 1946, the CIO created the CIO Community Services Committee under the direction of Leo Perlis. It was the idea of "Citizen CIO," the fact that unionists had an obligation to build a better community. And also the union has an obligation to help its members with their problems off the job.

Trained "union counselors" in the shop acted as referral agents for their fellow members with problems. If a worker needed legal aid, he was referred to the Legal Aid Society. If he had a drinking problem, the AA might help him.

The union counselor might be the worst bargainer in the world and perhaps unsuited for any other union activity except this one important function. What was needed was a sympathetic type of person who would keep secrets and who could get along with other people and community groups. On the old welfare committee such people were just kindly souls who visited hospitals and took up collections for unfortunate members, but under Community Services they were organized. They had prestige in the community, they had identity, and a higher degree of self-fulfillment.

Before World War II, less than 100 union leaders served on health and welfare boards across the nation. Today, over 75,000 unionists serve on these boards. Their esteem needs and self-actualization needs are thus satisfied to the benefit of everyone concerned.

And notice, here was a new idea, a new facet to union activity which worked and therefore showed conclusively that unions could benefit from new ideas and new activities.

#### *QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION*

1. Do you feel that the founders of international unions ever looked at the membership in terms of changing needs? In what ways do internationals suggest to local unions ways of meeting different needs?

2. What are the greatest needs of workers today?
3. What should unions be doing to meet these needs?
4. What is meant by the expression: "the union must become a way of life?"

#### FILM DISCUSSION

*The Skilled Worker*, Canadian National Film Board.

or

*Man on the Assembly Line*, Canadian National Film Board.

Both films are based on the problems of work and how the worker feels about work. The skilled worker has identity, a meaning in life because of his skill. The man on the assembly line faces a lifetime of dreary routine. But what happens when the machine replaces the skill? Where is a man's identity then? Where is the meaning in life in a work-centered world? Doesn't automation and the leisure time which unions have negotiated mean that unions will have to find something to replace a man's loss of identity and work values? Won't we all have to change our thinking about the nature of work and leisure?

#### SUGGESTED READING

Frank Tannenbaum, *A Philosophy of Labor*, Alfred A. Knopf, N.Y., 1952.

A. H. Maslow, *Motivation and Personality*, Harper Brothers, N.Y., 1954.

Vance Packard, *The Hidden Persuaders*, David McKay, N.Y., 1957.

## BUILDING THROUGH ACTIVITIES

The way to help union members participate in the union is to provide for them activities in which they can participate. The more activities there are, the more interests of more people the union can appeal to. Activity leads to stronger more dynamic unions -- and more democratic ones as well!

Why not, then, begin at the beginning with the new member?

### REACHING THE NEW MEMBER

More often than not, the new member knows little to nothing about the union. He has no clear idea of what the union does and of his responsibilities to participate in the union. The union must go on the assumption that it must start from scratch in the education of the new member.

The Education Committee should have a continuing new member program. With little effort on its part, the committee could produce a history of the local. Local union histories range from one page to attractive booklets, and they make the important point that the gains workers take for granted today were won by the sacrifice and solidarity of those who built the union. Every new member should receive a history even if it is only a one page mimeographed listing of gains through the years.

Most union constitutions call for an oath to be taken by new members. This can and should be an impressive ceremony. Constitutions are written to be followed and no local union should ignore the oath or any other part of the law of the union.

Some local unions conduct a special meeting for new members. The officers meet new members over a cup of coffee and try to interest them in the activities the union offers. The president officially welcomes them and the Education Committee might show a history film which dramatically tells the story of labor.

Attention should be paid to symbols like buttons, T-shirts with the union's name on them, posters with a message, even union jackets. Let the new members know that people are proud of their union and proud to be publically associated with it.

When a new member comes into the shop, the first thing the shop steward should do is to introduce himself and tell the member how the union can be of service to him and how he can be of help to the union by his participation in it.

The President of the Local union should also introduce himself. Many use the following technique of writing a letter of introduction.

Dear New Member of Local 1000:

On behalf of our entire local union I want to welcome you to Local 1000. The gains you enjoy -- the good wages, the pension, insurance, SUB, vacation and other programs -- are the result of the sacrifices of those who preceded you. No gains came easily. In 1940, before the union, we made an average of 55¢ an hour. Today, we average over \$3.50. We never had any security, no vacations with pay, no pensions nor insurance.

This may sound rather grim to you, but I did want to make the point that our union is only as strong as the members make it. We need your active participation.

This Wednesday, at 7:30 p.m., we will have the initiation ceremony for new members. It is a solemn occasion and I know I can count on you to be there.

There will also be a list of activities and I hope you will sign up for at least one of them. There is an activity to fit every interest.

Enclosed also, is a brief history of the union and its structure and functions. I hope you will enjoy it.

Looking forward to meeting you in person.

Fraternally yours,

John A. Jones, President  
Local 1000

#### *THE ORGANIZING COMMITTEE*

There should be a committee constantly trying to get non-union members into the union if there is no union shop. Persistence is one of the best techniques. If the union shop exists, the organizing committee can work with the city central labor body in offering aid to help organize workers in other industries, trades or services. The idea of the labor movement is that of "all for one and one for all." A local union should never consider itself an island unto itself; it has a responsibility to aid all workers in need of help.

#### *THE COMMUNITY SERVICES COMMITTEE*

This committee should operate both within the local union and the community with close cooperation with the AFL-CIO central Community Services Committee.



Members of the committee should be required to take union counselor training programs, sponsored by the AFL-CIO. The committee should be broad-based, with union counselors on all shifts and preferably in every department.

The committee should also work in the community as a voice of the underdog and as a constructive neighborhood force. Members of the committee should serve on health and welfare boards. They should also attend meetings of the City Council and of the County Supervisors to battle for adequate health benefits, recreation, education, safety and other issues which need championing.

#### *THE CIVIL RIGHTS COMMITTEE*

The Civil Rights Committee should see that the law and the Constitution of the union are policed and that no member is deprived of his or her civil rights or liberties. Complaints of favoritism, violations of free speech, harassment by local authorities, discrimination because of race, sex or creed should be processed through the committee. Any invasion of a person's right of privacy through eavesdropping investigation or espionage should also be the committee's concern. The committee can also take on community functions in fighting discrimination in housing and other fields.

#### *THE EDUCATION COMMITTEE*

The Education Committee can also be combined if necessary with the Publicity or Public Relations Committee. It should handle internal communications and if combined with publicity, must handle external communications as well.

The committee should sponsor leadership classes in the local union, help plan interesting meetings, promote reading material, and publish a newsletter or newspaper. It should conduct new member programs and advise all other committees contemplating programs.

Externally, the committee should assign a member to deal with the press, radio and television. It should set up a speakers bureau for civic organizations and for high school classes. It should train public speakers and writers, and it should be able to explain to the public the key programs of the union.

#### *THE COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL EDUCATION*

The COPE Committee may be combined with the Legislative Committee if necessary. It should have a close working relationship with both the city central labor body and with the international union.

Its primary duties consist of:

- a) Educating the membership by making them aware of social, economic and political issues and their responsibility as citizens to vote.
- b) Collecting a dollar from each member to aid the COPE program. (The Taft-Hartley Act forbids the use of union treasury funds in federal elections.)

- c) Breaking down the membership into ward and precinct units in order to know who does and who does not vote.
- d) Get out the vote on election day after seeing to it that the members are registered to vote.
- e) Speaking up in the community for the things that will make a better America.
- f) Explaining issues that affect the members. This may entail a special session of the stewards to strike home the importance of a particularly timely issue.

A healthy democracy needs effectively competing groups which offer the public new ideas and alternative courses of action.

#### *THE LADIES' OR WOMEN'S AUXILIARY*

A valuable adjunct to the COPE committee, among other committees, is the Ladies' Auxiliary. (There is also WAD -- the Women's Activities Division of COPE). Women can handle phone brigades, work in the precincts, take care of home meetings and other social gatherings, and, in fact, do all the things men can do including running for political office.

#### *THE UNION LABEL COMMITTEE*

If your plant does not have a union label on its product, there should be a committee pushing for use of the label. The committee can promote labor solidarity by urging union members to buy union-made goods.

But here is a word of warning: many industries overseas are unionized. Unionists all over the world are brothers and sisters in the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. American labor promotes freer trade because this is the only way countries overseas can get dollars with which to buy the goods Americans produce. Boycotting overseas products generally hurts the American job picture more than it helps it. Imports alone support nearly one million American jobs, and every one billion dollars in exports means 150,000 jobs. 4,500,000 Americans would be out of work if we did away with foreign trade.

#### *THE RECREATION AND SOCIAL COMMITTEE*

This is an extremely important committee which can appeal to the social needs of the members. It can make the union an attractive place to be in and it can provide an atmosphere of welcome for the new member. The recreation committee can plan dances, parties, after-the-meeting social hours, picnics and promote bowling, basketball and baseball teams.

A new service the committee can provide for the members is a trip to near-by, or even far-off places. Bus outings are fun and they knit groups closer together. There is also a labor cooperative travel agency -- the American Travel Association -- in Washington D.C. which stands ready to help local unions plan low cost travel programs for anywhere in the world.

#### *THE RETIREMENT OR PENSIONERS CLUB*

There should be a club for those who have retired from the local. The club should have its own officers and activities. The Legislative, Community Services and Education committees may wish to include this club in some of its activities. The club can also utilize the Group Services section of public libraries and travel services.

Some local unions cooperate with the city recreation services in offering their facilities for retirees if the city will plan and execute programs.

#### *THE SAFETY COMMITTEE*

There should be a joint labor-management safety committee. If management refuses to accept such a committee, the union should form its own independent program.

The committee should inspect the plant or shop for safety, fire, and health hazards. Any hazards discovered should be immediately reported to management. If no corrective action is taken, the union should either resort to this grievance procedure or report the violations directly to state and local authorities for immediate action. The committee should ask for inspectors from the state to come or and it should insist upon seeing the inspector as he tours the plant.

#### *THE WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION COMMITTEE*

The committee should inform all members that if they are hurt on the job they should file claims for compensation. Members of the committee should help the injured member fill out and process his claim or refer him to a competent specialist.

#### *THE NEGOTIATING AND/OR GRIEVANCE COMMITTEE*

This committee always contains the top officer of the union and approximately four other members, usually selected by the executive board. The committee's duties include:

- a) Negotiating all agreements between the local union and the employer.
- b) Making the final disposition of grievances. But to protect the aggrieved member, the decision of the committee may be appealed first to the Executive Board, then to the membership.

### ***SPECIAL COMMITTEES***

An expanding, progressive and flexible local union may need special committees to build a union hall or to take some action not covered by the standing committees.

### ***HOW TO SELECT MEMBERS OF COMMITTEES***

Effective committee members may or may not be good politicians. Working on a committee is not a popularity contest; interest and ability to do the job should count first. Nor should committee membership be a political payoff for votes delivered to the incumbent officers. The opposition in a local union should certainly be allowed to serve on committees. Everybody has a contribution to make.

### ***QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION***

1. Where can you go to get further information on union activities?
2. What if you have a new member who wants to put out a newsletter? Should you reject the idea because the member is new and you can't trust what he will say? Should you accept the idea but contain safeguards? What safeguards would you use?
3. With so few people active in the union, why form more committees?
4. What if the majority of the committee agrees to a position you feel is an erroneous one? What can and should you do?

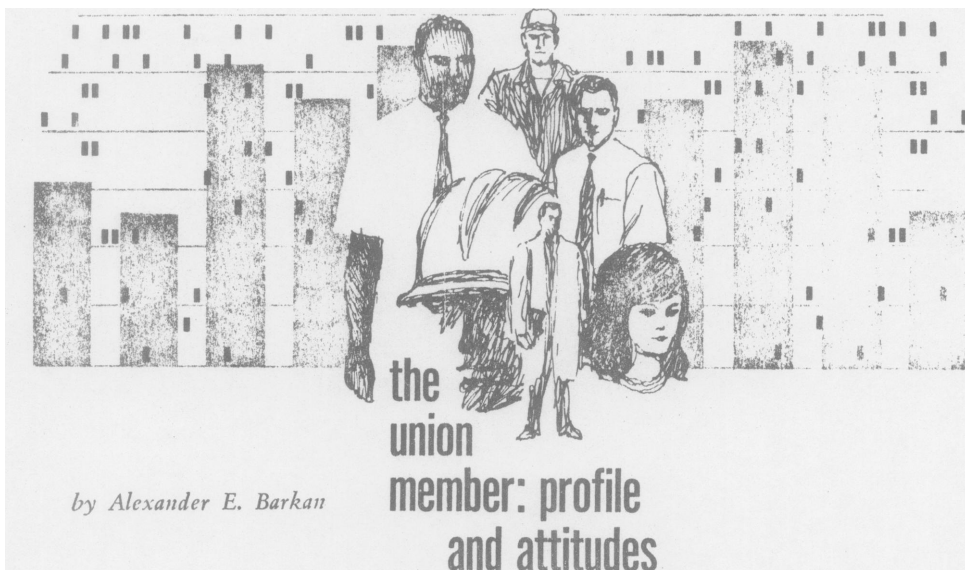
### ***SUGGESTED FILMS***

*Labor's Witness*, UAW. Walter Reuther clashes with Senators Goldwater and Curtis over labor's role in politics.

*When the Day's Work is Done*, AFL-CIO. Shows how the union helps the community.

### ***SUGGESTED READING***

*Nine Steps to a Strong and Active Union*, *Developing Union Education Committees*, *20 Ideas for Steward Meetings*, *How to Reach the Union Member*. All are AFL-CIO publications.



**Union members today would vote** overwhelmingly for President Johnson's reelection against any potential Republican candidate. They support the President's legislative achievements and endorse the legislative goals of the AFL-CIO and the President. Yet there is some uncertainty and unease among unionists, notably concerning jobs and economic security, some areas of civil rights and Viet Nam, though the vast majority of union members support the President's conduct of the war there.

These are among the major general findings of a survey taken among union members by professional pollster John Kraft. Those interviewed did not know the poll was just of union members or who sponsored the poll.

Behind these generalities are a host of specifics that point up the attitudes of union members toward their unions and their government in the mid-1960s.

The scientific accuracy of the poll is above question. It was conducted among a cross-section of 1,700 union members representing 12 separate international unions—industrial, craft and service. An accurate age, sex, regional and racial sampling was involved.

Though 1,700 may appear to be a small figure among an overall AFL-CIO membership of some 13.5 million, in the world of opinion polling it is actually a large sampling, far more generous than most. Major national polls—Harris, Gallup and others—normally rely on a sampling of only between 2,000

and 4,000 in forecasting the outcome of presidential elections among a potential vote of more than 110 million.

The Kraft survey was commissioned by the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education. Its findings reflect the feelings and opinions of members as of January 1967, when the poll was conducted.

**From the survey**, this general profile emerged of the trade union member today:

- 32 percent of union families are in the \$5,000 to \$7,500 a year income range (figures embrace total family income of the union member, thus including in many cases the working wife of a member and/or working offspring);
- 46 percent are in the \$7,500 to \$15,000 a year income range;
- 25 percent of union members are less than 30 years old;
- nearly 50 percent are less than 40 years old;
- nearly 50 percent of all members now live in suburbs;
- nearly 75 percent of members under 40 live in suburbs;
- about 20 percent of union members are women;
- about 13 percent of union members are Negro and 4 percent are Mexican, Oriental or other minority;
- 25 percent of present members have belonged to their union for 5 years or less;
- 54 percent have belonged to their union for 10 years or more;
- 58 percent identify themselves as Democrats, 16

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## HOW MEMBERS WOULD VOTE



President Lyndon B. Johnson

The Kraft poll revealed that, as of January 1967, union members would have voted for President Johnson's reelection overwhelmingly against any of the prominently-mentioned potential Republican candidates. Since January represented a low ebb in the President's popularity with the public at large and since recent public opinion polls show a sharp upturn in his popularity, inevitably this would reflect an even higher standing for the President among union members than the following figures show:

	Total	Age Group		
		Under 30	30-49	50 and Over
Johnson	55%	55%	53%	55%
Nixon	22	25	21	21
Not Sure	15	12	18	14
Neither	8	8	8	10
Johnson	46%	42%	43%	51%
Romney	30	47	29	25
Not Sure	19	10	25	17
Neither	5	1	3	7
Johnson	60%	57%	62%	59%
Reagan	16	23	16	13
Not Sure	17	15	16	20
Neither	7	5	6	8
Johnson	55%	58%	55%	55%
Rockefeller	20	27	18	19
Not Sure	18	8	21	17
Neither	7	7	6	9

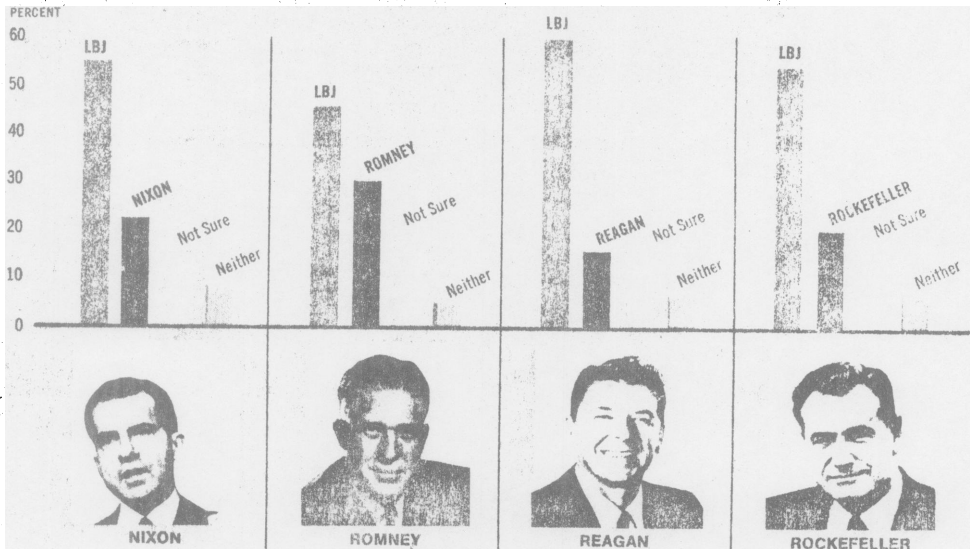
percent as Republicans, 17 percent as independents and 9 percent are not sure.

When union members were asked their choice for President, they declared themselves emphatically for the reelection of Lyndon Johnson against any GOP contender. For example, the President would defeat former Vice-President Richard Nixon 55-22, Michigan Governor George Romney 46-30, California Governor Ronald Reagan 60-16 and New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller 55-20.

It should be kept in mind the Kraft poll was conducted in January, when the President's popularity as reflected in national polls generally was lower than today. The Louis Harris poll in January showed only 43 percent who gave the President a good job rating. By June, it had soared to 58 percent. Any increase in his popularity among the public-at-large inevitably would be accompanied by a like, or greater, increase in his standing among union members. In the January findings of the Kraft poll, among only one group of unionists did the President trail any potential GOP opponent. Union members under 30 at that time favored Governor Romney over LBJ, 47-42.

When members were asked how they voted in the presidential election of 1964, they responded Johnson over former Senator Barry Goldwater by 60-12. Asked how they would vote today if the same two were paired, members declared 56-15 for Johnson, a remarkably slight slippage given the President's length of time in office and the momentous events of his tenure.

The President's popularity as a candidate is mir-



rored in the widespread acceptance of his legislative achievements and goals, most of which are supported by the AFL-CIO.

**Members were queried** on the major national issues of recent years as to their degree of support or opposition. From medicare to pollution control, they backed by huge margins the achievements and aims of the Administration and projected improvements in most progressive programs already on the books (see box).

For example, when asked if medicare coverage should be expanded, 74 percent responded "yes." Asked if they supported federal efforts toward water pollution control, 94 percent said "yes" and 91 percent were for air pollution control programs. On expanding the scope of workmen's compensation, 76 percent said "yes." Ninety-one percent backed truth-in-packaging legislation and a like percentage supported truth-in-lending.

There were lower, but still substantial, percentages of support for expanded federal aid to education, 67 percent, and a minimum wage increase, 71 percent.

Support for repeal of Taft-Hartley Section 14(b) was 2-1 among members, with 54 percent agreeing 14(b) should be repealed, 23 percent disagreeing and 23 percent not sure. Support for repeal was strongest where awareness of the "right-to-work" issue was highest. In states where an open shop law prevails, and in states where it has been a live issue, union members overwhelmingly reject it and want 14(b) repealed.

**The strongest support for AFL-CIO positions** on almost all major issues occurred among women members.

Interestingly, a mild division between younger and older members crops up in the degree of support evidenced for certain issues. More recent prominent issues—like air and water pollution control and consumer legislation—achieve a slightly higher degree of support among younger than among older members. Conversely, issues that dwelled in Congress for years—issues with roots in the 1930s, 40s and 50s—garner higher support among older than among younger members. Medicare, for example, gets 75 percent support from members in their 40s and 78 percent from members 50 and over, while it gets 70 percent support from members under 30, many of whom apparently view it as a problem that won't crop up for them until far down the road.

**Despite their clear approval** of President Johnson's performance and program, union members—like other Americans—do not view contemporary America as Elysium. They've got problems and in their minds the problems are big ones.

Members polled were asked this question: "What are the big problems on your mind—the things that bother you and should be getting attention?" The issues clearly uppermost in their minds were those

involving jobs and economic security, the war in Viet Nam and civil rights.

Fifty-three percent of all members listed economic problems ranging from the cost of living and taxes to

## How the Press Distorted the Poll

Before being released, the Kraft poll was the subject of a spate of newspaper stories—most of them completely distorted.

On the basis only of hearsay, The Wall Street Journal ran a lengthy article on the poll last month. One press service picked up, and provided wider distribution for, the Journal piece. In an article crowded with distortions and inaccuracies, some of the worst of them were these:

The Journal claimed the poll showed: "Labor's traditional legislative goals are far out of line with union members' main interests. . . . The AFL-CIO's No. 1 goal in this session of Congress—boosting social security payments—draws more boos than cheers. . . ."

The fact is: The poll reflected overwhelming support among union members for AFL-CIO legislative positions with the single exception of open occupancy housing. Further, social security per se was not included as a question in the poll. Medicare was, and members' support for expanded medicare was 74 percent.

The Journal claimed: "A surprisingly high proportion of rank-and-filers won't readily admit they belong to a union." They "owned up to being union members only when pressed. . . ."

The fact is: Sixty-four percent of members quickly identified themselves as such when asked to name their associations from a list of various church, civic, social and job-related organizations. The rest, when asked if they were members of a union, answered affirmatively without hesitation. The loaded phrases in the Journal article, "won't readily admit" and "owned up," make it appear many members view their membership as something sinister and to be hidden at all costs. This was not the case.

The Journal claimed: "The poll's political findings were stunning. . . ." It quoted "one incredulous union man" as saying, "It showed almost anyone could beat Lyndon Johnson in 1968, even (Illinois Republican Senator) Charles Percy."

The fact is: President Johnson was an overwhelming favorite for reelection among union members when pitted in the poll against the most prominently-mentioned potential Republican candidates, Michigan Governor George Romney, former Vice-President Richard Nixon, California Governor Ronald Reagan and New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller. Senator Percy's name did not even figure in the poll.

## HOW MEMBERS VIEW THE ISSUES

Following is the degree of union member support, expressed in percentages, on some of the major issues of today:

	Total	Age Group		
		Under 30	30-49	50 and Over
<b>Expanding Medicare</b>				
Agree	74%	70%	75%	78%
Disagree	13	15	14	9
Not Sure	13	15	11	13
<b>Water Pollution Control</b>				
Agree	94%	98%	94%	91%
Disagree	2	—	3	3
Not Sure	4	2	3	6
<b>Truth in Lending</b>				
Agree	91%	93%	91%	88%
Disagree	4	4	5	4
Not Sure	5	3	4	8
<b>Repeal Section 14(b)</b>				
Agree	54%	55%	55%	53%
Disagree	23	25	24	20
Not Sure	23	20	21	27
<b>Air Pollution Control</b>				
Agree	91%	95%	89%	89%
Disagree	4	3	6	4
Not Sure	5	2	5	7
<b>Improved Workmen's Compensation</b>				
Agree	78%	77%	78%	73%
Disagree	11	15	10	8
Not Sure	13	8	12	19
<b>Truth in Packaging</b>				
Agree	91%	92%	93%	89%
Disagree	3	2	3	3
Not Sure	6	6	4	8
<b>Higher Minimum Wage</b>				
Agree	71%	72%	73%	67%
Disagree	21	23	20	20
Not Sure	8	5	7	13
<b>Federal Aid to Education</b>				
Agree	67%	71%	70%	61%
Disagree	20	19	21	21
Not Sure	13	10	9	18
<b>Open Housing</b>				
Agree	43%	48%	41%	39%
Disagree	46	48	48	43
Not Sure	11	4	11	18

the employment picture and wages. Forty-two percent listed the war in Viet Nam, with the largest percentage of these supporting the President's policies there. More than 33 percent listed civil rights as a major issue. While most members supported civil rights progress in voting and public accommodations, support for open housing was slightly below the 50 percent point.

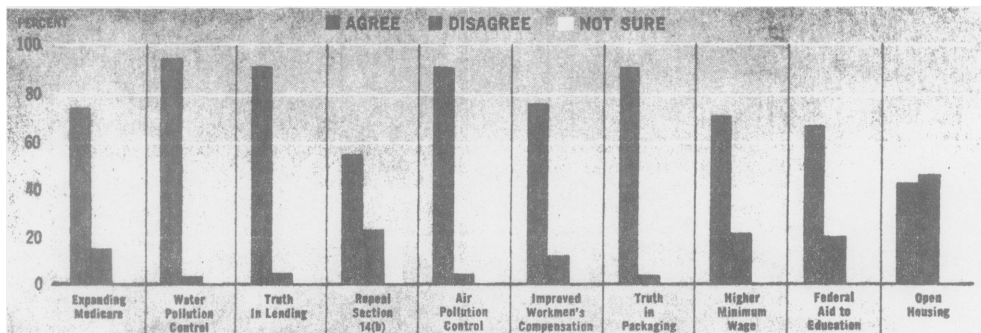
**Beyond these, concern** about many other issues reflected the members' special individual problems. For example, one of the biggest problems for members in their 40s and early 50s turned out to be education. It is they, after all, who have children in the schools and nearing, or at, college age.

Members were asked what problems the President should wrestle with and which ones are in the province of congressmen and senators. The weight of responsibility for action on almost all major issues, in the eyes of members, falls on the shoulders of the President. The White House, in their view, is where the action is.

Finally, in terms of issues, Kraft found that suburban living naturally has directed members' attention to suburban problems, often in higher priority than national issues. Members in the suburbs share their neighbors' concern about local tax assessments, zoning, sewage and garbage disposal, street repairs, transportation and school bond issues. It is not that they change from liberal Jekylls to conservative Hydes the moment they cross the city line into the suburbs; it is that in many cases their roster of interests is shuffled and becomes more locally-oriented.

**In his polling, Kraft found** most union members—64 percent of them—quickly referred to their membership when asked to list affiliations with various public, private, church or job-related organizations. All of those sampled answered affirmatively when asked directly if they are union members.

Yet though their status as members is clearly in the forefront of their consciousness, this is no guarantee of member participation. Nor does it assure that the member is always listening when the union speaks. These facts became apparent when Kraft asked a re-





lated question about attendance at meetings and attention paid to union publications.

The poll revealed that about 20 percent of members reported attending almost every local union meeting—a surprisingly high figure—and that an additional 14 percent attend “quite frequently.” However, some 36 percent attend “rarely.” Members under 30 years of age rate highest in regular attendance, while this age group also has the largest percentage attending meetings only rarely.

Some 63 percent of all members answered that they read their union publications “a lot.” The highest readership was among members 50 years and older, 77 percent of whom answered they pay a lot of attention to their union publications. (Four percent reported they receive no union publication, which suggests a problem in union administration or the age-old problem of keeping mailing lists up-to-date.)

**The entire area of communications** emerged as one of the most interesting sections of the poll. For, though members by and large read their union journals, they appear to rely generally on television, daily papers and magazines—in that order—as their most trusted sources of information.

Forty-seven percent responded that TV is their most reliable source (small wonder—the poll found that 58 percent of members spend 10 or more hours per week in front of the tube); 31 percent look to the daily newspapers and about 9 percent to weekly news magazines. Radio ran a poor fourth; only 6 percent of members consider it the most reliable information source.

Despite the overwhelming competition of the mass media, however, it was clear that a fair portion of members still look to union sources as helpful, reliable providers of information. From a list of sources of information, only President Johnson, a leading nightly network TV newscaster and a major weekly news magazine came before AFL-CIO President George Meany as the “most helpful source for information.” Considered in context, this is an excellent showing. The regularity of national exposure for the President, a nightly network broadcaster and a news magazine obviously far exceeds the exposure President Meany achieves on a national platform. Of those who named President Meany, 78 percent did so because he “represents my interests, levels with me, tries to solve problems.” This was a far higher percentage of identity of interest between the persons polled and the information source selected than any other listed source achieved.

**The Kraft poll on the whole** is encouraging. It indicates that the policy positions adopted by the AFL-CIO convention accurately reflect the feelings of union membership, with the single exception of open occupancy housing. This has 43 percent overall support and 48 percent support among members under 30.

Yet there are warning signals. Where support ap-

pears least strong generally is among younger members and more and more the trade union movement is becoming a younger movement.

While two-thirds of members over 30, for example, said they pay a lot of attention to their union publications, only half of those under 30 do.

Though members under 30 were more emphatic in believing their union should take a stand on important issues, they responded generally in lower percentages in supporting their union's positions.

**Though a higher percentage** of young members reported they attend union meetings “nearly always,” a higher percentage of them also answered they “never” attend.

On some basic union positions in support of old-line, though still crucial, matters it is the younger members whose support is softest. (This problem, it should be pointed out, is not unique to the labor move-

## WHAT MEMBERS SEE AS PROBLEMS

*The Kraft poll asked union members this question: “What are the big problems on your mind—the things that bother you and should be getting attention?”*

*The three big issues on their minds and how they feel about them follow. The figure in bold face represents the percentage of those polled who mentioned the issue. Percentages under it represent those who felt the listed aspect of the overall issue was most important.*

	Total	Age Group		
		Under 30	30-49	50 and Over
<b>Economic</b>	<b>53%</b>	<b>61%</b>	<b>55%</b>	<b>44%</b>
High Cost of Living		20	13	8
Taxes		13	28	21
Unemployment		13	3	5
Wages, salaries		10	5	4
Working conditions		2	1	1
Other		3	5	5
<b>Viet Nam</b>	<b>42%</b>	<b>56%</b>	<b>37%</b>	<b>33%</b>
President doing best he can		20	13	11
Escalate war		13	9	5
End war — make peace		8	6	8
Escalate or get out		5	2	2
National unity, patriotism		5	1	1
Stop (lessen) foreign aid		3	5	5
All other foreign affairs		2	1	1
<b>Civil Rights and Law Enforcement</b>	<b>33%</b>	<b>49%</b>	<b>20%</b>	<b>30%</b>
Open housing		10	3	3
Juvenile delinquency		7	6	3
Back civil rights progress		7	3	3
ore police protection		7	2	5
Crime rate		7	1	7
Highway safety		2	1	1
Auto safety		—	1	8
All other civil rights and law enforcement		9	3	—

ment. Throughout all groups in society today, it is the younger members who are most restive.)

It is the younger members who are both less informed and less concerned with these issues. The tribulations of 30 years ago are remote from a young member's experience. The Depression is a moment of history and the issues it spawned are tangential to his own life or unrelated to his problems. To younger members, Franklin D. Roosevelt, who was a live inspiration to many of us, is but a name in the history books and his great achievements a matter for the archives.

**The 1960s and their unique** problems are what is right now to the younger member and the problems of yesteryear seem to bear little if any relationship to the problems he sees today and tomorrow.

As with the younger member, so with the suburban member. There is no minimizing the impact of local issues on the life of a suburbanite. In his mind, the issues are deeply important and, in fact, they are. They involve his welfare as intimately as most of the larger national issues. They involve his home, his money, his child's education, his security, his recreation. In effect, we compete with these problems when we attempt to capture the member's attention and these are problems which from a national level are hard to articulate and even harder to engage.

It indicates that for many members we have not yet succeeded in showing that national issues have as

great an impact on their daily lives and welfare as local ones.

In all, the problems faced are far easier to define than to deal with and the Kraft poll projects more questions than answers.

For example, in terms of labor's political efforts, is there a way to channel the suburban member's natural interest in local affairs and candidates to constructive action in the COPE program, which is geared primarily to national issues and candidates? Can COPE organize in the suburbs first around local issues? Can it then branch out to involve suburban members in national issues and behind COPE-endorsed national candidates? We now have pilot projects seeking ways to reach and involve members in the suburbs.

Most importantly, can the labor movement in its political and all other aspects keep the commitment and loyalty of its younger members, who make up an ever larger part of the movement? There is evidence that most of them enter with commitment. Some international unions are making efforts now through new-member programs to fan the commitment and keep it burning. A COPE program with building trades apprentices is attempting to interest them in labor's political activities and to involve them in the political life of their communities. Is there more we can do?

**These and other questions** suggest themselves as a result of the Kraft poll's findings. The final question is: Can we find the answers?

Speaking for COPE, I say we must and we will.

Reprinted from August 1967  
AFL-CIO AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST



# PARLIAMENTARY PROCEDURE

How to conduct a meeting:

A pictorial presentation based on *Robert's Rules of Order*



Prepared by Creative Graphics, University of Denver  
in cooperation with the School of Speech

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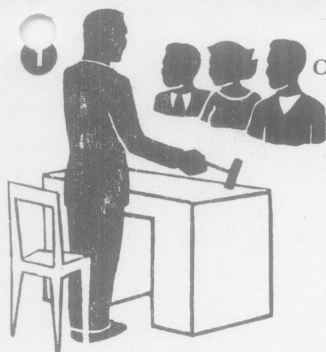
*The University of Denver Press*

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Revised edition 1950



# Order of Business



Chairman:

*The meeting will come to order.*



*The secretary will read the minutes of the last meeting.*

Minutes are read.

*Are there any corrections to the minutes?*

Corrections are suggested without motion or vote.

*If there are no (further) corrections the minutes stand approved as read (as corrected).*



*We will have the report of the . . .*

Officers (e.g., financial report by treasurer)  
Standing committees  
Special committees

Motion is made to adopt audited financial report; reaction is taken on unaudited report. If committee report contains a recommendation, reporting member (usually chairman of the committee) moves that recommendation be adopted. Otherwise, report is filed



*Is there any unfinished business?*

Action is completed on any business not settled when last meeting was adjourned.

(See Handling Main Motions)



After unfinished business . . .

*Is there any new business?*

Each new motion is discussed and settled before another main motion can be proposed.  
(See Handling Main Motions)



After business is completed . . .

*Are there any announcements?*



*If there is no further business, the meeting will stand adjourned.*

If no business is presented . . .



*The meeting is adjourned*

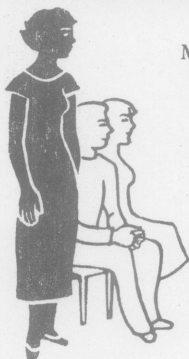
If assembly wishes to adjourn meeting before all business is completed, meeting must be adjourned by motion.

\*A Quorum (the number of members necessary, according to the constitution or by laws, to do business) must be present to hold a business meeting.

# Handling of Main Motions

1

Member stands:



Chairman.

3

(propose)  
... (motion) ...

4

*I second the motion.*

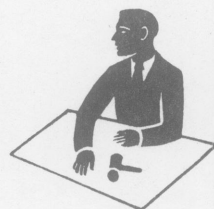


Discussion must be addressed to the chair (chairman). Motion may be changed by amendment. If the group does not wish to take final action on the motion, they may dispose of it in some other way. (See *Rules for Handling Motions*)

2

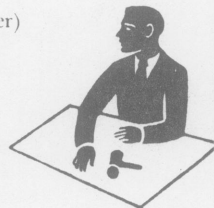
Chairman recognizes speaker:

*Miss X.*



5

*The motion has been made by (name of mover) and seconded that ... Is there any discussion?*



6

When discussion stops ...

*If there is no further discussion (silence is taken as consent) the motion is ...*

*All in favor please say "Aye" (Yes).*

*All opposed, please say "No."*



AYE



NO



If the chair is able to tell from this "voice vote" (viva voce) whether there are more "Ayes" or more "Noes," he announces the result.

7

*The Ayes (or Noes) have it. The motion is carried (or is defeated).*



If any one calls "Division" (questions the voice vote), the chair calls for a show of hands or a standing vote. (*All in favor raise your right hand [or stand]. All opposed ...*)

If a majority demand it, the vote may be taken by ballot.

# AMENDING A MOTION

1



After a main motion has been made and seconded . . .

*I move to amend  
the motion by . . .*

Inserting or adding a word, phrase or sentence.  
Striking out a word, phrase or sentence.  
Striking out and inserting a word or phrase or  
substituting a sentence or paragraph.

2

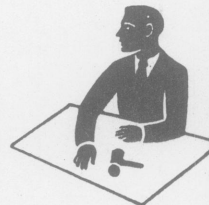


*I second the  
motion to amend.*

Chair states the main motion and the amendment, so the group  
will understand how the amendment changes the motion.  
Amendment is handled in the same way as a main motion,  
with . . .

3

*It has been proposed  
to amend the motion  
to read as follows . . .*



Discussion:

4

*Is there any discussion?*

Question:

5

*If there is no further  
discussion, the amendment  
is . . .*

NO AYE

Vote:

6

*All in favor of  
the amendment . . .*



Chair announces  
the outcome:

*The amendment is  
carried (or defeated).  
The motion now  
before the house is . . .*



(motion—  
plus the amendment, if carried)

# Rules for Handling Motions

<i>Types of Motions</i>	<i>Order of Handling</i>	<i>Must Be Seconded</i>	<i>Can Be Discussed</i>	<i>Can Be Amended</i>	<i>Vote Required<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>Vote Can Be Reconsidered</i>
<b>MAIN MOTION</b>						
To present a proposal to assembly	Cannot be made if any other motion is pending	Yes	Yes	Yes	Majority	Yes
<b>SUBSIDIARY MOTIONS</b>						
To postpone indefinitely action on a motion	Has precedence over above motion	Yes	Yes	No	Majority	Affirmative vote only
To amend (improve) a main motion	Has precedence over above motions	Yes	Yes, when motion is debatable	Yes, but only once	Majority	Yes
To refer motion to committee (for special consideration)	Has precedence over above motions	Yes	Yes	Yes	Majority	Yes
To postpone definitely (to certain time) action on a motion	Has precedence over above motions	Yes	Yes	Yes	Majority	Yes
To limit discussion to a certain time	Has precedence over above motions	Yes	No	Yes	2/3	Yes
To call for vote (to end discussion at once and vote)	Has precedence over above motions	Yes	No	No	2/3	No
To table motion (to lay it aside until later)	Has precedence over above motions	Yes	No	No	Majority	No
<b>INCIDENTAL MOTIONS<sup>2</sup></b>						
To suspend a rule temporarily (e.g., to change order of business)	No	Yes	No	No	2/3	No
To close nominations <sup>4</sup>	definite precedence	Yes	No	Yes	2/3	No
To reopen nominations	rule	Yes	No	Yes	Majority	Negative vote only
To withdraw or modify a motion (to prevent vote or inclusion in minutes) <sup>5</sup>	These motions have precedence over motion to which they pertain	No	No	No	Majority	Negative vote only
To rise to a point of order (to enforce rules or program) <sup>6</sup>		No	No	No	No vote, chairman rules	No
To appeal from decision of the chair (must be made immediately) <sup>6</sup>		Yes	Yes, when motion is debatable	No	Majority	Yes



## Types of Motions

### Order of Handling

### Must Be Sec- onded

### Can Be Dis- cussed

### Can Be Amended

### Vote Re- quired<sup>1</sup>

### Vote Can Be Recon- sidered

## PRIVILEGED MOTIONS

To call for orders of the day (to keep meeting to program or order of business) <sup>6</sup>	Has precedence over above motions	No	No	No	No vote required <sup>7</sup>	No
Questions of privilege (to bring up an urgent matter - concerning noise, discomfort, etc.) <sup>8</sup>	Has precedence over above motions	No	No	No	Majority	No
To take a recess	Has precedence over above motions	Yes	Yes, if no motion is pending	Yes	Majority	No
To adjourn	Has precedence over above motions	Yes	No	No	Majority	No
To set next meeting time	Has precedence over above motions	Yes	Yes, if no motion is pending	As to time and place	Majority	Yes

## UNCLASSIFIED MOTIONS

To take motion from table (to bring up tabled motion for consideration) <sup>9</sup>	Cannot be made if any other motion is pending	Yes	No	No	Majority	No
To reconsider (to bring up discussion and obtain vote on previously decided motion) <sup>9</sup>		Yes	Yes, when motion is debatable	No	Majority	No
To rescind (repeal) decision on a motion <sup>10</sup>		Yes	Yes, when motion is debatable	No	Majority or 2/3	Yes

A tied vote is always lost except on a motion to appeal from the decision of the chair (see "Incidental Motions") when a tied vote sustains the decision of the chair.

<sup>2</sup>Subsidiary motions are motions that pertain to a main motion while it is pending.

After incidental motions arise out of another question that is pending and must be decided before the question out of which they arise is decided.

<sup>3</sup>The chair opens nominations with "Nominations are now in order." Nominations may be made by a nominating committee, by a nominating ballot or from the floor. A member may make a motion to close nominations or the chair may declare nominations closed after assembly has been given a chance to make nominations.

<sup>4</sup>The mover may request to withdraw or modify his motion without consent of anyone before the motion has been put to assembly for consideration. When motion is before the assembly and if there is no objection from anyone in the assembly, the chairman

announces that the motion is withdrawn or modified. If anyone objects, the request is put to a vote.

<sup>6</sup>A member may interrupt the speaker who has the floor to rise to a point of order or appeal, call for orders of the day, or raise a question of privilege.

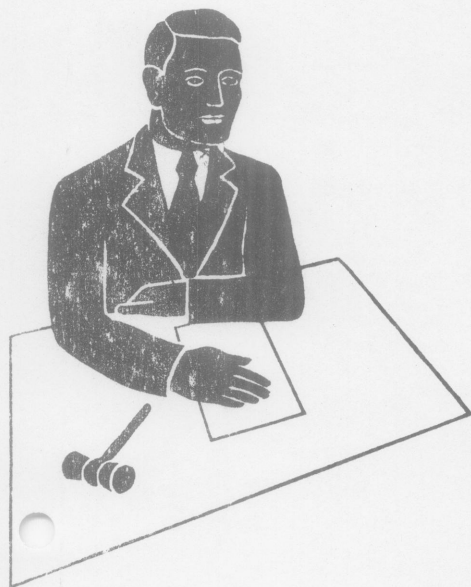
<sup>7</sup>Orders of the day may be changed by a motion to suspend the rules. (See "Incidental Motions")

<sup>8</sup>Motion can be taken from the table during the meeting when it was tabled or at the next meeting.

<sup>9</sup>Motion to reconsider may be made only by one who voted on the prevailing side. A motion to reconsider must be made during the meeting when it was decided or on the next succeeding day of the same session.

<sup>10</sup>It is impossible to rescind any action that has been taken as a result of a motion, but the unexecuted part may be rescinded. Notice must be given one meeting before the vote is taken, or if voted on immediately, a 2/3 vote to rescind is necessary.





#### USE OF GAVEL:

Rap once to call meeting to order.  
Rap once to maintain order.  
Rap once to declare adjournment.

The chairman can remain seated during the meeting except at these times.

To call the meeting to order.  
To put a question to vote.  
To give his decision on a point of order.  
May stand to recognize speakers (particularly if assembly is large).

In speaking to the assembly, the chairman refers to himself as "The chair."

- 1 Calls the meeting to order.
- 2 Keeps meeting to its order of business.
- 3 Handles discussion in an orderly way:
  - Gives every member who wishes it a chance to speak.
  - Tactfully keeps all speakers to rules of order and to the question.
  - Should give pro and con speakers alternating opportunities to speak.
- 4 Does not enter into discussion.
- 5 States each motion before it is discussed, and before it is voted upon.
- 6 Puts motions to vote and announces outcome.
- 7 May vote when his vote would change outcome, or in any case when voting is by ballot.
- 8 Should be familiar enough with parliamentary law to inform assembly on proper procedure.
- 9 May appoint committees when authorized to do so.
- 10 May suggest motions (e.g., for adjournment) but not make them.



- 1 Keeps an accurate record of each meeting, including in the minutes:
  - Kind of meeting (regular, special or adjourned) and name of assembly.
  - Date, hour and place of meeting.
  - Name and title of officer presiding and presence of quorum.
  - Approval of previous minutes.
  - Record of reports.
  - Record of each main motion (unless withdrawn) with name of person who made it.
  - Record of points of order and appeals.
  - Record of all other motions (unless withdrawn).
  - Record of counted votes.
  - Time of adjournment.
  - Signature and title of secretary.
- 2 Keeps an up-to-date roll of members.
- 3 Keeps copy of constitution and by-laws, with amendments properly entered.
- 4 Keeps a record of all committees.
- 5 Provides list of pending and potential business for chairman before meeting.
- 6 Handles correspondence of organization (unless there is a corresponding secretary).
- 7 Notifies members of meetings (e.g., if a special meeting is called).

## Writing the Minutes

### Recording of minutes:

Record what is done, not what is said.  
Keep notes together in a special notebook.

Organize the notes into clear, concise statements and record in permanent minute book to be read at next meeting.  
Record each motion in a separate paragraph.

Minutes should be read and approved by assembly at the next regular or adjourned meeting. If the organization is not scheduled to meet for several months, minutes should be read before adjournment of the meeting or a committee may be appointed to approve them when they are in permanent form.



### Final form of the minutes:

Should be typewritten or legibly written in permanent ink.

Should not be defaced. (Corrections should be made by bracketing the erroneous portions and stating correctly in the wide margin.)

Should be kept in book form. If in longhand, a bound book should be used, if typewritten, a looseleaf notebook. If a looseleaf notebook is used each page should be signed or initialed by secretary and one other officer to guard against substitution of pages.

Should be recorded with a wide margin for corrections.

Minutes, when approved, should be signed by secretary and if desired, by the president.

# Japanese Style in Decision-Making

By YOSHIO TERASAWA

**By YOSHIO TERASAWA**

To talk about problem-solving or decision-making within a national environment means examining many complex cultural forces. It means

It also means using dangerous comparisons — the need to translate, both semantically and philosophically, certain fundamental concepts which resist translation and comparisons.

For example, it is broadly taken for granted in the West that problem-solving goes from left to right, with decision-making in hand with decision-making. The decision itself is regarded as a finite act, almost as if you can isolate it and put it under a microscope

Let me try to describe three or four characteristics of the Japanese environment that in some way affect decision-making or direction-taking and problem-solving. These characteristics are interrelated.

in the way it is pursued here. I think the term "direction-making," rather than "decision-making," is more appropriate to describe the Japanese approach to problem-solving.

The difference is this: in "I to you," each side presents his arguments forthrightly from his own point of view — he states what he wants and what he expects to get. Thus, a confrontational situation is set up, and Westerners are very adroit in dealing with this.

daddy is an engineer."

*In Japan, negotiations seek a basis of harmony rather than confrontation, as in West.*

The "you to you" approach practiced in Japan is based on each side automatically and often unconsciously — without understanding the other — making his or her own point of view, and the purpose of the discussion actually declaring this understanding. Thus, the labor of the meeting is a mul-

A second characteristic is

ally a dual trust kind of system based on "consensus decision-making" and "bottom-up decision."

In Japan great consideration is given to and reliance is placed on the thoughts and opinions of everyone at all levels. This is true of corporations, enterprises and Government agencies.

To understand this, it is important to realize that Japan is a very dense populated homogeneous country. Moreover, the people are aware of art and literature. Literacy is at least 100 per cent. Problems situated in Japan there is

drive for the group — whether it is family, company, or Government—to act as a unit.

nicate his own views indirectly and with great sensitivity.

Often it is non-verbal. In Japan, we call this "haragei," or the "art of the belly." Westerners often find this mystifying. It is a combination of visceral rapport and intellectual understanding. It is based on a real desire to attain the fullest meeting of minds and to avoid misunderstanding and disappointment.

This places time in a different perspective. In Japan the Western deadline approach is secondary to a thorough job. Japanese are thorough in their meetings as well as in their production. Thus American executives often exasperated by the seemingly endless sequences of meetings of many Japanese businessmen.

But where the American is pressing for a specific decision, the Japanese is trying to formulate a rather broad direction.

On the other hand, once an agreement is established, it is the Japanese who sometimes wonder at the leisurely pace of execution of Westerners. The Japanese are eager for execution and Westerners, perhaps, like to take the time for in-depth planning.

Now, while Japan's indu-

ture, and technology are highly developed, they have not supplanted the fundamental force of human energy and motivation. By that I mean that the Japanese take great pride in doing a job well and getting it done no matter how much time is required.

There is this dedication and sense of responsibility which have not been replaced by the machine age. Perhaps we are not so sophisticated yet.

In my field—finance and securities—I am often asked by Westerners how Nomura Securities has managed to escape the back office paper logjam that American brokerage firms have faced. We, too have had that problem.

The Tokyo Stock Exchange often has a turnover of between 200 and 300 million shares a day. This volume is many times more than that of the New York Stock Ex-

change. How can we possibly handle this load?

First, we have very advanced computerization. Second, and most important, the personnel responsible for processing all these transactions stay and stay till all hours until the job is done. And their families understand that this is something that they must do, for the survival and progress of the company and for their own mutual security as well.

Perhaps in 20 years — or sooner — they will be more Westernized and insist on going home at five o'clock. But today, still, most insist on staying until the job is done. There is concern for workmanship.

This willingness to pitch in is an important aspect of Japanese problem-solving, and you find it at every level.

Some years ago, the Matsushita company was having a very bad time. Among the many measures taken, Mr. Matsushita, the founder and then chairman, became the manager of the sales department.

Also, when we at Nomura converted to computers about five years ago, the new system eliminated the jobs of 700 bookkeepers and accountants who were using abacuses. We got rid of the abacuses but we did not get rid of the people. We converted our bookkeepers and accountants to securities salesmen and some of these today are our leading sales people.

Where there is willingness and intelligence, there is a place within the company to try and to succeed. In Japan, a person's capabilities are not pigeonholed into an inflexible specialty. And we feel that a company owes him something for his loyalty and commitment.

This article is adapted from a recent speech by Mr. Teru-sawa, president of Nomura Securities International, Inc., before the Commonwealth Club of San Francisco.



**Decision-making in Japan is better called, direction-taking. Great reliance is placed on incorporating opinions of groups at all levels, from blue collar worker to top management.**

THE NEW YORK TIMES