

WORKERS' PERCEPTIONS OF INDUSTRY,
AND THEIR COMMITMENT TO THEIR UNION.

A thesis presented in the
Department of Psychology & Sociology,
University of Canterbury,
in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the Degree of
Master of Arts
by
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1974

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many thanks are due to the officials and members of the two unions involved in this research, for, without their assistance and co-operation, this project small though it is, could not have been undertaken.

My thanks also to those persons, who, by their supervision, comment or general support have been of assistance in this research.

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ABSTRACT

In the field of industrial sociology, little research has been done which views industry and the organisations associated with it, from the worker's perspective. There is agreement among those associated with the field in this country, that very little is known about the attitudes, perceptions and expectations that the New Zealand industrial worker has of industry, employer and job. It is important that research be done on the worker's views, since this would establish a better basis for our industrial relations policy.

The present research was designed as an exploratory study, to examine workers' perceptions of their industry, their relationship with their employer, and their union. Essentially, there were two specific points considered. The first was an examination of the adequacy of Marxian theory as an explanation for the relationship that exists between employer and worker in the New Zealand industrial setting. The second was a preliminary analysis of the validity of a model, which attempts to predict the commitment of workers to their union, on the basis of certain preconditions which are outlined as a series of five stages.

The research consisted of interviews with workers sampled from

two unions in the Christchurch area. The analysis of the data did not use any sophisticated statistical techniques, since these were not appropriate for a preliminary study, or the size of the sample involved.

The conclusions reached on the first point were, that although these workers do display certain characteristics that would be expected on the basis of a Marxian perspective, they also have other characteristics (notably an awareness of the interdependence of worker and employer), which Marxian theory cannot explain adequately. With regard to the model, the trends that it predicts definitely occur in this data, but the model does not account for all factors affecting the commitment of union members. It needs refinement and further, more rigorous, testing, before any final conclusion can be reached regarding its validity.

As is appropriate for an exploratory study, a considerable number of suggestions for further research have been generated.

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CHAPTER I

INDUSTRIAL SOCIOLOGY RESEARCH

It will be readily acknowledged that one of the most significant components of a modern society is its industrial organisation. Further, most sociologists will agree that a very high percentage of society's members will, as workers, come into direct contact with this industrial organisation, often for the whole of their working lives.¹ It should follow that social scientists, and sociologists in particular, would show considerable interest in such matters as; how the worker views himself in the industrial context; how he views industry and his employers; how he adapts to this environment; and, how he views those groups which are said to represent him in the industrial scene.

Viewing past research, a strong case can be made suggesting that sociologists and social scientists have not, in fact, been very concerned with such aspects of the industrial situation, i.e. the worker and his views.

A brief analysis of the literature (both research and theoretical comment), related to the field of industrial sociology, suggests that there are several perspectives from which industry can be, and has been, viewed.

The first of these perspectives relates to an analysis of industry from an organisational viewpoint. It should be pointed out that this approach is probably a continuation of the concern shown by, for example, Max Weber, in his study of bureaucratic structures.

This concern, and perspective, are well established and have led to extensive study of complex organisations - including industrial organisations. In point of fact, most of the literature in this area does not deal explicitly with industrial organisations, but rather includes them as a field of organisational analysis.² A point to note here, is that the trade union has been analysed in this manner, as has the industrial corporation.

The second perspective that has been of importance in this field, is one where the problems and processes of industry are seen from the managerial viewpoint. This approach is, perhaps, characterised by one of its basic inquiries; how can the various components of the industrial process (human, technological and managerial), best be combined to lead to maximum efficiency and productivity.³ Some analyses of trade unions also seem to illustrate, to some degree, the influence of this type of approach, concentrating, as many of them do, on analysis of union officials and the techniques of union management.⁴

The third perspective, which, it is being claimed here, has not received due attention, is quite simply that of the ordinary worker. His view of the industrial process seems equally, if not more, significant than the other two perspectives, but the amount of notable research work which has been done on the basis of this perspective is very small. The work of Purcell,⁵ and Seidman et al,⁶ was notable in the 1950's if for no other reason than that a considerable attempt was made in each case to study aspects of industry from the worker's viewpoint. More recently there has been some increase in the research interest in this field, with such work as that of Blauner⁷ in the U.S.A., Beynon and Blackburn,⁸ and the now well-known work of Goldthorpe et al,⁹ in England.

There have always been, in addition to the more substantial research projects carried out, studies of such things as the incidence of strikes, and participation rates of union members in union affairs,¹⁰ but these do not add very much to our understanding^{of}/the reasons why the different groups in the industrial scene act the way they do.

There are good reasons why the worker's view of industry has not been as popular as the other two perspectives. The organisational view is one which, partly because it is a well established perspective, and partly because it does not require analysis of the opinions of individual subjects, but rather consideration of more 'objective' factors such as authority hierarchies and communication flows, has quite an advanced theoretical base which can be further developed without having to carry out the extensive, costly and time consuming field work associated with analysis of the opinions of individual respondents.

The reasons for the development of the managerial perspective are also quite evident. The major reason is probably that management have been interested in research findings, and theories, which help them to operate their industries more successfully, and have even been prepared to 'invest' (in the widest sense of that term) in research projects which might be of benefit to them. The fact that there has been some interest in the results, has probably also made the research considerably easier to carry out, since the researcher could count on much greater co-operation at all phases of the project: funding, drawing samples, and so on.

The situation is almost entirely different when considering the development of a worker's perspective on industry. Theory related to this perspective cannot be easily developed, for in order

to develop any theory, it is necessary to ask workers what they think about the industrial situation. The consequent field research is necessarily massive in scale, time consuming and, predictably, short on funds, for until very recently (largely because of managerial philosophies), it has not been considered very important to know what workers think, only to discover ways of making them work better. The research difficulties are not just logistical ones either. There are methodological problems also: for example, how can workers be asked about their opinions, in terms of the linguistic sophistication of the techniques used, and in terms of the assumptions that can be made regarding the underlying value orientations of this population. Given the logistical and methodological problems of this type of research, it is hardly surprising that development of the worker's perspective on industry has lagged behind other approaches to the field.

It is in no way intended that the outline to this point should decry research done from either of the first two perspectives. On the contrary, given the increasing importance of industry and industrial work in modern life, it is hoped that much more research in this field will be carried out from all perspectives. However, what is being claimed is that analysis of this field from the third perspective has, comparatively, lagged far behind development of the other two perspectives. Further, in order to have any understanding of the causes of increasing industrial disharmony and to ensure that conditions, under which an increasing proportion of the labour force work, do not become oppressive, it is imperative that research, which examines the worker's perceptions of all aspects of industrial life, be carried out, no matter how difficult it may be to undertake.

NEW ZEALAND INDUSTRIAL RESEARCH

In the general literature and research relevant to industrial sociology there seems to be comparatively little material which views industrial organisation and industrial processes from the worker's perspective. Any attempt to examine material which may be relevant to the New Zealand context does not just confirm this trend, but indicates that in New Zealand there is almost a complete absence of research relevant to this perspective. While there has been a considerable amount of material produced dealing with, for example, the historical development of trade unions in this country;¹¹ or the background and reasons for various stoppages and strikes,¹² and management practise in New Zealand,¹³ the number of research projects considering industry in New Zealand from the worker's perspective could very nearly be counted on one hand. This is readily acknowledged, particularly by those associated with the study of industrial relations, where the absence of information about the ordinary worker is acutely felt. As Williams put it; "the bedrock of wide ranging empirical data is notably absent from observations of the New Zealand situation"¹⁴, and Hines has made the same point; "We are working from the basis of a monumental ignorance that the most well-intentioned men cannot overcome by mere concern, co-operation, compassion, and communication".¹⁵

Our understanding of industrial organisation and industrial relations in New Zealand is very much handicapped by the absence of research in the field. This means, as Hines has pointed out, that it is almost impossible for any substantial advances to occur, simply because there is this total lack of knowledge about how the parties in the industrial process, particularly workers, view industry and

their role in it, and what they see as its place in their lives and the rewards it should offer. It is clear from general observation of the industrial scene in this country, that a systematic attempt to structure industrial relations is needed. Legislation in the field, after stagnating for many years under the Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act now appears to be in a state of flux, with no measure having a great deal of success. Again Hines has summed this matter up:

"We are on an industrial relations fishing expedition, casting our hook into the waters, using different sizes and types of bait (much of it imported from overseas with records of success and failure with other types of fish), and hoping-against hope to land the big one - the key to industrial relations problems in New Zealand. Those who engage in such fishing expeditions can tell you that there are sharks and eels as well as tuna in the waters!"¹⁶

The number of hours lost through stoppages and strikes has increased over recent years¹⁷, indicating quite clearly that these piecemeal attempts to solve problems are not successful. In addition, such things as demarcation disputes and other interunion rivalries (for example, the current farm workers union debate - see note 2 to Chapter 5) seem to be increasing, as well as the 'traditional' worker/employer rivalry. To understand and suggest ways of improving this situation, it is imperative to have available, information on all aspects of industry in New Zealand. While the sociologist has a considerable contribution to make in helping to provide information about many aspects of the problem, one of his most important contributions would be an analysis of the worker's perceptions of industry and the work process, and his relationship with management and union.

The inadequacies of the present state of knowledge about the industrial worker in this country can be illustrated by reference to two points developed on the basis of two of the very few studies which consider the New Zealand industrial worker.

As Smith¹⁸ has pointed out, because there is this total lack of knowledge about the New Zealand worker, "worker attitudes in New Zealand are assumed to be the same as those in the U.S.A. and Britain".¹⁹ Research done by Griew and Philipp,²⁰ suggests that New Zealand workers differ considerably from those overseas. They concluded that their initial view -

"that workers attitudes here are very different from those overseas (was) substantiated in several important respects. (For example) In contrast to American workers among whom Advancement and the Company are held to be amongst the most important factors of all, Promotion and and the Firm's Reputation are ranked here relatively low. Replacing these factors as of prior importance are Pay and Working Conditions".²¹

While this research was particularly directed at an analysis of workers' attitudes to shiftwork, the conclusions cast considerable doubt on other assumed characteristics, views and attitudes of New Zealand workers. If they differ from overseas workers on the dimensions mentioned by these researchers, the obvious question is, on how many other dimensions do New Zealand workers differ. At this stage that question cannot be answered.

A second point which is of considerable concern, arises from the findings of a research project carried out by Howells and Woodfield²² in two meat freezing firms. The study was designed to discover how accurately union officers and management, in each case, could predict workers' preferences in regard to seven alternatives that the researchers presented to them. Howells and Woodfield concluded that in some cases "there is a disturbing divergence between managements' and officers' predictions and workers' preferences".²³ While there were variations in the accuracy of the predictions made by management and union officers, the -

"performance of one group of officers in predicting their own members' preferences is very disappointing; they are, after all, part-time officials working with their members and subjected to 'sustained exposure to their constituency'. The predictive ability of full-time provincial or national officers would not be expected to be any better..... Freezing unions, by New Zealand standards, are well organised and yet the gap between officer and worker in Firm 2 is a matter for concern." 24

It seems, then, that even those who might have been expected to understand workers well, their own union officers, know considerably less about the members they represent than is desirable. If the opinions of union officers do not reflect the views of their union's members it is difficult to see how union officers can negotiate solutions to industrial disputes which will be satisfactory for the establishment of long term industrial harmony.

The implications of the conclusions of these two research projects, carried out by Griew and Philipp and Howells and Woodfield, are obvious. Simply, we know practically nothing about the New Zealand worker and his view of industry; this situation is completely unsatisfactory; a great deal of research must be done very rapidly to remedy this situation and, hopefully, to allow the development of a systematic scheme which leads to industrial harmony.

* * * * *

FOOTNOTES:

1. The percentage of New Zealand workers employed in manufacturing industries, for example, is substantial and increasing. See Appendix A, P. 90, for tables (from 1966 Census) of the

industrial distribution of the labour force by numbers (1), and by percentages (2), and for comment comparing percentage of total labour force employed in the manufacturing sector in 1956, 1961 and 1966 (3).

2. Examples of this perspective are:

Etzioni, Amitai, A Comparative Analysis of Complex Organisations, New York, The Free Press, 1961.

Bain, J.S., Industrial Organisation, (2nd ed), New York, London, John Wiley & Sons, 1968.

March, James G., Handbook of Organisations, Chicago, Rand McNally & Co., 1965.

Blau, Peter M. & Scott, W. Richard, Formal Organisations, San Francisco, Chandler Publishing Co., 1962.

3. A point that should be mentioned is that particularly in this view of industry, much of the literature does not represent what is primarily a sociological concern with the field. Much of this material is (for instance) more closely related to business management. However, this perspective should be of interest to the sociologist, and it does have significant implications about the extent to which the individual and social needs of workers influence managerial philosophy and techniques. The classic example of this perspective would be the theories of the 'scientific management' school, which originated with Frederick Taylor. The more recent work of Peter Drucker (e.g. The Practice of Management, London, Heinemann, 1966), and to a lesser extent of Joan Woodward (Industrial Organisation, London, Oxford University Press, 1965), also illustrate this viewpoint.

4. See, for example;

Roberts, B.C., Trade Union Government and Administration, London, University of London, 1956.

Galenson, Walter & Lipset, Seymour Martin, Labor and Trade Unionism, New York, John Wiley & Sons, 1960 (Particularly Sections VI & VII).

- Geare, A.J., "Grassroots Unionism: The Administration of a Freezing Works Branch Union" in New Zealand Journal of Public Administration, Vol. 35, No. 1, P.34, 1972.
5. Purcell, T.V., The Worker Speaks His Mind on Company and Union, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1953.
6. Seidman, Joel; London, Jack; Karsh, Bernard; & Tagliacozzo, Daisy L., The Worker Views His Union, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1958.
7. Blauner, Robert, Alienation and Freedom, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1968.
8. Beynon, H. & Blackburn, R.M., Perceptions of Work: Variations within a Factory, Cambridge, at the University Press, 1972.
9. The Cambridge studies of the affluent worker, particularly, Goldethorpe, John; Lockwood, David; Bechhofer, Frank; & Platt, Jennifer, The Affluent Worker: Industrial Attitudes and Behaviour, Cambridge, at the University Press, 1970.
10. See, for example;
Dean, Lois R., "Interaction, Reported and Observed: the Case of One Local Union" in Human Organization, Vol. 17, No. 3, P.36, 1958.
- 11.* See: Hare, A.E.C., Report on Industrial Relations in New Zealand, Wellington, Victoria University College, 1946.
- Howells, J.M., "Concentration of Union Membership, 1900-1966: a New Zealand Case Study" in New Zealand Journal of Public Administration, Vol. 31, No. 2, P.19, 1969.
- Roth, H., Trade Unions in New Zealand: Past and Present, Wellington, Reed Education, 1973.
- 12.* See: Webb, Leceister, "Trade Unions at the Crossroads: Some Lessons of the New Zealand Strike" in New Zealand Journal of Public Administration, Vol. 14, No. 2, P.1, 1952.

Scott, Richard George, 151 Days; the History of the Great Waterfront Lockout and Supporting Strikes. February 15 - July 15, 1951, Auckland, Southern Cross Books, 1954.

Howells, J.M. & Alexander, R.P., "A Strike in the Meat Freezing Industry; Background to Industrial Discontent in New Zealand" in Industrial & Labour Relations Review, Vol. 21, No. 3, P.418, 1968.

Geare, A.J., "The Problem of Industrial Unrest: Theories into the Causes of Local Strikes in a New Zealand Meat Freezing Works" in Journal of Industrial Relations, March 1973, P.13.

13. See: Hines, George Hamilton, Organisational Behaviour. Wellington, Hicks Smith, 1972; The New Zealand Manager, Wellington, Hicks Smith, 1973.
- New Zealand Journal of Public Administration (Wellington) Vol. 35, No. 1, September, 1972. 1972 Seminar: The Role of Management in New Zealand Industrial Relations.

* Any further material which is relevant may be found in:

Roth, H.O., New Zealand Trade Unions: a Bibliography, Auckland University Press, Oxford University Press, 1970.

Nuttall, T.A., Industrial Relations in New Zealand, 1920-1951: a Bibliography, New Zealand Library School, 1951.

Rodger, Margaret D., Thesis on the History of New Zealand, Parts 1-4, Massey University, 1968-1972. (Particularly Part 4: Economic, Agricultural & Industrial History, 1972).

14. Williams, A., "Industrial Relations in New Zealand: A Sociological Perspective" in Thomson, K.W. & Trlin, A.D. (eds) Contemporary New Zealand, Wellington, Hicks Smith, 1973, P.163.
15. Hines, George, "Industrial Relations Problems: Creating Knowledge for Solutions" in New Zealand Journal of Public Administration, Vol. 35, No. 1, P.100, 1972.
16. Hines, ibid., P.101.
17. See Appendix B, P. 91, for comparative details of New Zealand stoppages for 1967, 1969, 1971 and 1973.
18. Smith, Thomas B., "Role of Management in New Zealand Industrial Relations: a Seminar Report" in New Zealand Journal of Public Administration, Vol. 35, No. 1, P.47, 1972.
19. Smith, ibid., P.47.
20. Griew, Stephen & Philipp, Eileen, Workers Attitudes and the Acceptability of Shift Work in New Zealand Manufacturing Industry, Research Paper No. 12 of the New Zealand Institute of Economic Research (Inc.), 1969.
21. Griew and Philipp, ibid., P.61.
22. Howells, J.M. & Woodfield, A., "The Ability of Managers and Trade Union Officers to Predict Workers Preferences" in British Journal of Industrial Relations, Vol. 8, No. 2, P.237, 1970.
23. Howells & Woodfield, ibid., P.249.
24. Howells & Woodfield, ibid., P.251.

CHAPTER 2

INTRODUCTION TO THE RESEARCH PROJECT

At this stage some of the factors which were likely to influence the research should be apparent - the obvious lack of, and need for, research in this field, and the notable lack of research which considers the worker and his views. In addition, given this lack of research, any project which was undertaken would be essentially exploratory in nature, covering a relatively broad scope in order to develop some insights into the field which would provide a basis for further study. Consequently, the respondents were asked a wide range of questions designed to give extensive information on their own backgrounds, their job stability, job satisfaction, views of management and so on.

Despite the exploratory nature of the project, it was intended that it would focus on some point or points that could be more specifically analysed. Trade unions were selected as the framework within which the research would be carried out, for a number of reasons: the researcher had previously had some (unfortunate) experience, as a worker, with a particular union (not one of those studied); trade union membership lists provided a means of access to the population of industrial workers which, for reasons outlined above, was the one the researcher wished to sample; and, while trade unions are an important element in the industrial scene, little is known about either the union member's perception of the need for such groups, and the appropriateness of their goals, or the

extent to which members are committed to their unions. There are many aspects of the worker's view of trade unions, and matters related to trade unions, that could have been examined, but two points were selected for more specific study.

The first of these was an attempt to evaluate the adequacy of the Marxian theory of class opposition, as a basis for explaining the relationships between worker and employer in modern industrial society, specifically the New Zealand case.

The second matter considered was a preliminary test of the validity of a five stage model (developed from the theoretical concepts of "quasi group" and "interest group"), which attempts to predict the commitment of union members to their union, on the basis of certain preconditions which seem logically necessary for commitment.

MARX AND CLASS¹

Though the Marxian theory of class is interpreted slightly differently by various writers, the basic outline is widely understood. In the capitalist era of history, following the industrial revolution, the traditional norms, values and social rankings, which had given legitimacy to the class structure of prior eras, were broken down, with the result that in the emerging industrial society there were very much cruder distinctions: the basic differentiation was between entrepreneurs and workers (the bourgeoisie and proletariat), who were "characterised solely by the crude indices of possession and non-possession, of domination and subjection"².

Following the industrial revolution the factor that was the

basis for the developing class structure was property (as in the general Marxian scheme), but in this case property took the form of the private ownership of the means of production. This is basic to Marxian theory, for:

"Only if we understand property in the particular context of bourgeois society, i.e. as private ownership of the means of production, as the control of a minority over the wealth of a whole nation, do we in fact grasp the core of the antagonism existing in production and creating class conflict".³

Understanding property as the ownership of the means of production is crucial since the "essential condition of the existence and domination of the bourgeois class is the accumulation of wealth in the hands of private persons, the formation and augmentation of capital; the condition of capital is wage labour"⁴. The line of reasoning is very simple: the clash of interests between classes in industrial society arises from the dominance of the bourgeoisie in all aspects of that society; the dominance of this class is dependent upon their accumulation of capital (a form of wealth, which by the nature of its use, leads to even greater wealth); production of capital wealth is dependent on the availability of wage workers, who have no claim to the products of their work; in turn, however, implicit in the concept of "wage" is the notion that the only thing the worker owns is his time and energy - not the physical or technical means of production. Consequently, this fundamental factor of the private ownership of the means of production, can be seen as determining all the other social and class characteristics of capitalist society.

While this factor, and its consequent effects upon the social and class characteristics of society, are necessary conditions for the existence of class conflict, they are not sufficient in themselves.

Marx claimed that before class conflict developed, the workers had to become aware of the fact that they existed in a state of "false consciousness", and had to have the desire to escape from that state. This state of "false consciousness" is imposed upon the exploited group in any societal era, since the dominant group of that era (in this case the bourgeoisie), has control of the prevailing ideology. They have the power, arising from their control of property, to determine the values relating to, and the rationale for, the existing structure of relationships. Consequently, should the worker accept the prevailing values and rationale, he accepts the "rightness" of the exploitative practices exercised by the dominant group, and is accepting his subservient position in the societal structure: he exists in a state of "false consciousness".

In breaking out of this state of false consciousness, the individual worker will clash with the bourgeois capitalist, but at the same time is likely to become aware that other workers around him have the same problems, the same interests; "Increasingly the collisions between the individual worker and the individual bourgeois assume the character of collisions between classes. The workers start forming coalitions against the bourgeois".⁵ Worker organisations develop, which have, as their aim, the unity of workers in order to pursue, by political (class) action, their common interests. "In this manner a political movement grows everywhere out of the isolated economic movements of the workers; i.e., it is a movement of the class in order to realise its interests in a general form, in a form that possesses universal social constraining force".⁶ Coupled with the rise of the class organisation, is a growing awareness on the part of the individual of the interests of his class generally, that is, there develops "class consciousness".

Once class consciousness develops (that is, there is an awareness of class interests), and an effort is made to promote class interests despite the influence of the bourgeoisie, class conflict develops, and, in the Marxian scheme, becomes the basis for subsequent revolutionary changes.

It is obvious that the basic proposition of Marxian theory - opposition of interests between different groups in the society - has had considerable influence on the sociological analysis of many contemporary areas of interest, among these the fields of industrial sociology and industrial relations. Undoubtedly, the notion of an opposition of interests between the groups interacting in the industrial process is a realistic one, for even if not recognised, this opposition has been illustrated by research dealing with industry, right from the very early days of such studies - for example, in the "bank wiring room", made famous in the "Hawthorne" studies⁷, it is clear that the interests of worker and employer are opposed in many respects. The more recent studies, of such "marginal" men as foremen and supervisors, which show that workers, on the one hand, and management, on the other, impose incompatible demands upon these role players⁸, also have as an implicit assumption, the opposition of interests between worker and employer.

Nonetheless, while the proposition, that there does exist an opposition of interests in industry, may be readily supported, as MacRae⁹ in brief comment on Marx, puts it; "it is evident that all previous history is not the history of class struggles".¹⁰ That is, in neither the industrial context, nor that of the overall society, is the idea of an opposition of interests between various economic groups, in itself, a sufficient explanation for the dynamics of

societal interaction, even where it can be shown there is an awareness of opposed class interests.

Modern trade unions are surely an example of the "workers forming coalitions",⁵ as Marx put it, and an indicator of the existence of class consciousness among industrial workers. Further, such statements as, "We will use all our resources to obtain a greater share for the workers who produce the wealth of the country"¹¹ indicate a clear recognition of the opposition between the worker and employer; a demand that the worker be entitled to make claims on his own behalf, in this situation, and, also a statement of intent, on the workers part, to press those claims with vigour and determination. Here we have all the ingredients of the "class struggle", reflected in modern trade unionism. However, the concluding phase of the Marxian scheme, escalating class conflict and subsequent revolution, is not apparent in the modern industrial setting. The obvious question is, why not?; the equally obvious answer is that there must be other factors involved which mediate the impact of the basic Marxian factor, class struggle.

One of the aims of this research was to provide information about the worker's views of industry, which would, specifically, permit an analysis of the adequacy of the Marxian theory of class opposition as a basis for the explanation of the relationships that exist between workers and employers, and management, in the New Zealand industrial setting.

"QUASI GROUPS" AND "INTEREST GROUPS"

The second matter, on which the present research focused, was

a preliminary evaluation of a simple model, which attempts to differentiate between union members on the basis of factors which are likely to determine their commitment to their union. This model was developed from the theoretical concepts of "quasi" group and "interest" group, which were first used by Ginsberg¹², and have been elaborated on at some length by Ralf Dahrendorf.¹³

The term "quasi group" does not refer to a group in the usual sociological sense of that term. Rather it suggests there are certain characteristics, behaviours and "interests"¹⁴ shared by some members of a society that may be used as a basis for making analytical distinctions between individuals. The social scientist can use these characteristics to delineate aggregates or collectivities that are the "recruiting fields" for groups, once there is an awareness, among some individuals, of the common characteristic, behaviour or "interest" that they share, and they have formed an "interest group" so that they can promote or protect their common characteristic, behaviour or "interest".

An "interest group" on the other hand, is a group in the normally understood sociological sense. It has a structure, organisation, goals, and personnel in the form of a membership. It is an organisation of individuals who are aware that they have a common interest which can be promoted by the strategy of co-operative effort. Generally, an interest group may encompass anything from a football club to a political party. In the sense that Dahrendorf wishes to employ the term, and which is relevant here, the interest group refers, more specifically, to a group who are taking co-operative action to further those interests specifically "related to the legitimacy of relations of domination and subjection".¹⁵ In other

words, an interest group in these terms, is one which by its existence challenges the influence of those other groups which are dominant in the existing authority structure in the society. This clearly excludes sports and recreation clubs, but leaves such things as trade unions and political parties to be considered.

Obviously there is a relationship between the quasi group and the interest group, for while the existence of a quasi group does not predetermine the existence of an interest group, the suggestion is that if an interest group does exist, this is so because some individuals in the quasi group have become aware of the "shared" nature of their characteristics, behaviours or interests; have anticipated some benefit in organising, and have organised, an interest group which, in turn, draws further "recruits" from the quasi group.

Dahrendorf's outline of these concepts, which is an attempt to explain how the class groups in the Marxian scheme develop, has been severely criticised,¹⁶ since it does not explain why certain individuals become aware of their common interests and form a group. However, the criticism made of Dahrendorf's analysis is not relevant here, for Dahrendorf is considering the concepts of quasi group and interest group in a developmental sense - the factors which affect transition from the former to the latter. In the present study, the concepts are not being considered in the developmental context, for the developmental phase - the emergence - of trade unions in this country has long since occurred. There are, however, certain characteristics of the distinction between quasi groups and interest groups, which can be used as the basis of a model which permits the analysis of trade union members in terms of their commitment to their

union. The basis and outline of the model is detailed in the following chapter.

* * * * *

FOOTNOTES:

1. The following brief discussion owes a considerable amount to two sources:
 Dahrendorf, Ralf, Class and Class Conflict in an Industrial Society, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1959, Chapter 1: "Karl Marx's Model of the Class Society".
 Bendix & Lipset, "Karl Marx's Theory of Social Classes", in Bendix, Reinhard & Lipset, Seymour Martin, (eds), Class, Status and Power (2nd ed), New York, Free Press, 1966.
2. Dahrendorf, *ibid.*, P.6.
3. Dahrendorf, *ibid.*, P.12.
4. Marx quoted in Dahrendorf, *ibid.*, P.12.
5. Marx quoted in Dahrendorf, *ibid.*, P.16.
6. Marx quoted in Dahrendorf, *ibid.*, P.16.
7. See: Roethlisberger, F.J. & Dickson, William J., Management and the Worker, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1964.
8. See, for example;
 Dubin, Robert, Human Relations in Administration (3rd ed) Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall Inc., 1968 (particularly Chapter 10, "Supervisors").
9. MacRae, Donald G., "Karl Marx" in Raison, Timothy (ed), The Founding Fathers of Social Science, Penguin Books, 1969.

10. MacRae, *ibid.*, P.65.
11. Skinner, T.E., in President's Report to the Federation of Labour, 1964, P.30.
12. Ginsberg, Morris, Sociology, London, New York, Oxford University Press, 1950.
13. Dahrendorf, *op. cit.*, Chapter 5: "Social Structures, Group Interests, and Conflict Groups".
14. Note: it is not intended that this term should imply a conscious interest on the part of the social actors; rather "interest" here can better be characterised as a "latent" interest.
15. Dahrendorf, *op. cit.*, P.181.
16. Barry, Brian M., Sociologists, Economists and Democracy, London, Collier-MacMillan Ltd., 1970 (particularly Chapter 2: "Political Participation as Rational Action").

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CHAPTER 3

THE MODEL

INTRODUCTION

As already noted, Dahrendorf's approach to the concepts, quasi group and interest group, has been to outline the way in which interest groups develop from quasi groups. This is important for Dahrendorf, since one of his aims is to attempt an explanation of how "classes", which are such an important element in Marxian theory (already briefly touched upon in the previous chapter), actually emerge. The concept of interest group is closely related to that of "class" and also "class consciousness". This developmental perspective is of no concern in the present study, for in New Zealand trade unions have existed from as early, perhaps, as the mid 1800's.¹ However, there is a particular feature of trade unions in the New Zealand industrial situation, which makes the quasi group/interest group distinction relevant as a starting point for the development of the proposed model. That feature is the extent of unionisation of the work force: the fact that in New Zealand industry there is a situation of 'de facto' compulsory unionism - practically 100% of the industrial work force belong to an industrial union.

Given this situation, the relevance of the quasi group/interest group distinction is quite simple to explain. Accepting the validity of the concept "quasi group", one of the fundamental characteristics which could be used as a criterion for differentiating an aggregate

of individuals (a quasi group) is employment in industrial jobs. Now, the interest group likely to develop from this quasi group of industrial workers, is some sort of workers representation group aimed at protecting workers' rights and ensuring that workers' conditions are improved: one possible form of such a group is the trade union as we know it. But, in the New Zealand situation, this means that, because of the extent of unionisation, all members of the quasi group, "industrial workers", are also members of the interest group of industrial workers - at least, they are all nominally members of the interest group. Now, being a member of an interest group, in the ordinary case, will mean that the individual will be aware of some need for such a group, and also have some commitment to the group. In the present New Zealand trade union situation, where all quasi group members are interest group members, it seems theoretically unlikely that all these individuals will be committed members of the interest group, for this would imply an awareness, on the part of all these individuals, of a need for the interest group, and, also agreement among all members, that the group's structure, goals, and the means employed for attaining these goals, are appropriate. This doubt, arising from theoretical considerations, is substantiated in reality, since it is apparent that some individuals impelled to belong to a union, are very much opposed to their compulsory membership: they have no commitment to the union as an interest group at all.²

The proposed model attempts to predict the likely commitment of members to their union, on the basis of certain preconditions that seem essential for commitment to a workers' interest group. Some of these preconditions are derived from the quasi group/interest group distinction, while others have been developed to complete the model.

Before outlining and discussing the stages of the model, there are two points that must be made. The first is that, since the model is an attempt to predict the individual's commitment to his union, based upon his awareness of certain features of the industrial situation and certain characteristics of existing trade unions, what is of major importance for the purposes of analysis is the individuals perceptions of these features and characteristics, not an objective analysis of these features and characteristics. What workers perceive as real will affect their commitment, regardless of whether or not their perceptions can be shown to be objectively accurate. The second point is that the model places these preconditions in a sequential order, for it will be seen that each stage in the model is a logical precondition for those that follow it.

OUTLINE OF THE MODEL³

The following are the preconditions or stages of the model:

Stage 1: Perception of an Opposition of Interests Between Employer and Worker.

This stage is based upon one of the characteristics which is important in the development from a quasi group to an interest group. In the industrial scene, if the worker is to have any interest in any worker representation group, or is to see such a group as at all relevant, he must first be aware that his position in the authority structure of industry, is one which is subordinate to that of the employer. Further, he may be aware that the structured relationships of dominance and subjection, which exist in industry, mean that the employer has the power, potentially at least, to exploit the worker

in some way. The worker, if he is to see any relevance in an interest group, will certainly understand that because of the nature of the employer/worker relationship, what is in the best interests of the worker is not in the best interests of the employer, and that these interests are, indeed, opposed. One underlying assumption of this is that the worker need not perceive the worker/employer relationship as one of opposed interest, in which case he does not satisfy this precondition of the model, and will not be committed to his union. (This assumption, that the worker may have alternative perceptions of the situation, and therefore not satisfy the model's preconditions, is present at all stages).

Stage II: Perception of a Need for Collective Action.

Perception of an opposition of interests between worker and employer is an essential, but not a sufficient, condition for commitment to a workers' interest group. It is also important that the individual worker be aware of the fact that other workers about him have the same problems and interests; that is, he must come to realise that his condition is not an individual one, but rather a group or "class" phenomenon. With this realisation the worker has achieved a state of "class consciousness". Further, he will appreciate that the best way of promoting his own interests is to promote the interests of his class, and that this can best be carried out by collective action; that is, the formation of an interest group.

If any individual does not perceive a need for collective action, but rather considers, for whatever reason, that his interests can best be served by individual bargaining with his employers, then he will not see the trade union as relevant, and will have no commitment to it.

Stage III: Perception of the Appropriate Group for
Representation of the Worker.

The first two stages of the model are based upon some of the characteristics which differentiate quasi groups and interest groups, and which are of general relevance to the Marxian concept of class. This third stage, and subsequent ones, are a logical development of the preconditions necessary to determine the commitment of the worker to his union.

So far, we have a group of workers who perceive an opposition of interests between themselves and employers, and also a need for collective action to promote their own interests. The next important stage, at which the worker's commitment to the interest group is jeopardised, is concerned with the worker's perception of what group is the appropriate one for collective representation. It is theoretically possible, at least, that different workers will view different structural forms of an interest group as being the most desirable one.⁴ Given our present union organisation, and the fact that it is the opinions of existing union members that are being analysed, if some workers do not see this present type of organisation as the most appropriate, then they are unlikely to be committed to the union as it exists.

Stage IV: Perception of What Constitute Appropriate Group
Goals.

Even if a worker perceives the present union structure as quite appropriate, he will not be automatically committed to the group; another point at which the perceptions of individual workers may differ is with regard to what constitute the appropriate goals of the union. If the member does not see the present union'

goals as the ones that are appropriate for the interest group, then once again, the model predicts that this individual will not be a committed member, but rather a nominal member, of the union.

There is a problem that could arise here, namely, the level of generality at which the union goals are defined, and the consequent difficulty of getting members to evaluate these goals. This problem is avoided in the present research: since the focus of the study is upon workers' perceptions, comparisons can be made between perceptions of what union goals should be, and what they are at present. If there is a discrepancy, the workers involved do not satisfy this precondition of the model, and will not be committed to the union, since they do not perceive present union goals as appropriate.

Stage V: Perception of the Appropriate Means for Achieving Group Goals.

The final point at which workers' perceptions may differ, and therefore affect their commitment to the union, is related to their view of what the appropriate means for achieving the goals of the group are. While the means available are, perhaps, limited by various legislative proscriptions,⁵ there still remain a variety of techniques, ranging from regular negotiations to more "militant" action ("working to rule" and "stoppages"), which unions can employ. It is possible that the worker may not see the present methods employed by the union as appropriate; if this is so, this member does not satisfy this precondition of the model, and will not be committed to the union.

This then is the basic outline of the model. It has a number of important characteristics. One of its basic assumptions

is that at each of the stages outlined there are possible alternative perceptions of the situation; only one of these possible alternatives will satisfy the precondition for commitment. Consequently, if union members do not have the appropriate perception of the situation at any stage, they will not be committed members of the interest group - their union. Another characteristic of the model is that its stages are sequential; that is, it is necessary that the individual have the appropriate perception at the first stage, before it is possible for him to perceive the situation at the second stage appropriately (for example, he must perceive an opposition of interests between worker and employer, before he can perceive a need for collective action). The prediction of the model is that if the union member satisfies all the preconditions, then he will be a committed member of the union; that is, he can be considered a genuine member of an interest group, rather than simply a nominal member.

In order to establish the validity of the model, some criterion of commitment is required. While any criterion will, to some extent, be arbitrary, it should be possible to establish the validity of such criteria in the course of research. In the present case two simple measures of commitment were built into the study, along with other measures which would allow an evaluation of these as criteria of commitment. It was expected that one of these, at least, would prove satisfactory as a measure of a member's commitment to the union, and would, therefore, allow an analysis of the validity of the model.

No attempt was made to rigorously test the model; instead, two or three of the stages were focused on to permit a preliminary analysis, which would provide sufficient indication of whether or not the model had any validity, and was worthy of more rigorous testing in later research.

FOOTNOTES:

1. See: Roth, H., Trade Unions in New Zealand; Past and Present, Wellington, Reed Education, 1973.
2. This is illustrated by the fact that in the 1972 parliamentary elections in one or two electorates in the Christchurch area, candidates stood purely as "anti compulsory unionism" candidates. The candidate in the Papanui electorate received 48 votes.
3. For a tabular presentation of the model see Appendix C. (P. 92).
4. In some European countries, where there are competing workers' groups, (for example "socialist" and "Christian" unions), the worker may actually be able to choose the group to which he belongs.
5. "Perhaps" is used here for good reason. It is not widely understood, for example, that legally strikes were deemed unacceptable as a means of a worker action under the Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act, first introduced in 1894. See: G.H. Sorrell, "Industrial Relations in New Zealand" in Journal of Industrial Relations, Vol. 3, P.117, 1961.

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CHAPTER 4

THE RESEARCH PROJECT

The study consisted of interviews conducted with members of two industrial unions. The two unions in question were those representing workers in the printing industry, and waterfront employees. By studying these two unions there was incorporated in the sample considerable variation in such characteristics as the skill levels of workers, their spatial distribution on the job, union size, apparent level of industrial and political activity, the ease of dissemination of union information, and ease of attending union meetings. These kinds of characteristics varied, not just because of the differences between the two unions, but also because there exists considerable heterogeneity within the printers' union itself - for example, three different skill levels are officially recognised (by the fact that there are three different rates for the annual membership subscription), and, especially in the lower skill level, many of the members are women, who are employed in packaging firms which manufacture, for example, cartons and plastic bags.

These varying characteristics were not intended as a basis for analysis because of the small sample size, but, if the research produced any findings that permitted an analysis of the adequacy of the Marxian perspective, or substantiated the predictions of the model, then any conclusions reached would have greater general validity, given that the sample was a very heterogeneous one, than

they would have had if the sample had been very homogenous.

SAMPLING PROCEDURE

This was the first known approach to these unions requesting assistance for an outside research project, and it was expected that the unions would want some assurance of the authenticity of the project. The Federation of Labour was, therefore, approached first; on their approval, the local Canterbury Trades Council was informed of the proposal, and finally the two unions in question were approached, considered the proposal, and agreed to give their assistance. Understandably this process took a long period of time, and it could be that such detail was not necessary. However, good relations have been established with these unions and this should be helpful if any further research is undertaken in this field. The sample was selected on the basis that there were four different groups - the watersiders, and the three different skill levels in the printers union; tradesmen, semiskilled and unskilled workers.

The procedure followed was quite simple. A sample of two hundred respondents was appropriate for this research, given that interviews were to be used. The latest available union membership lists were the basis for selection (although it was known these were not completely up to date, there was no easy way of remedying this). These lists indicated that with some modification, a selection of, on average, one in ten union members would provide the appropriate sample size. The modifications were; to double the proportion of members selected from the semiskilled group of the printers' union

(since the absolute size of this group was small relative to the others); and, to increase the sample selected from the unskilled group by about twenty percent, because union officials suggested that this group tended to have high job mobility and it was likely that many of those appearing on the membership lists would have left their last recorded position, and the union, without informing union officials so that the union's records could be altered.

The sample was selected by numbering workers in the four groups, as they appeared on the union lists, then taking a random sample of these numbers to provide the sample size required for each group.¹ Finally, the lists were consulted again to obtain the names and addresses of the individuals selected. In this way a total sample of 217 was drawn.

DATA COLLECTION

The most appropriate method for collecting the data was personal interviews, since this would allow the exploratory nature of the study to be preserved, while also permitting the collection of information for a preliminary analysis of the particular points already outlined. This method would also result in a higher return rate than any alternative. The interviews were not to be too long, a maximum of 30 - 40 minutes each, and responses were to be recorded by the interviewer.

An initial draft of the questionnaire, covering a variety of matters relating to background characteristics and the more substantive points to be covered, was drawn up. The questions were

"open ended" in many cases, but some required respondents to select a category or alternative which they considered most appropriate. In the pretest, cards were used to present these alternatives to the respondent. An additional three persons in each of the four groups had been selected so that a small pretest could be carried out: of these, two refused to participate, and one had moved - address unknown. After the completed schedules from the pretest had been assessed, a considerable number of items were deleted, as the interview was too long; other items were altered; and the technique of providing cards where respondents were required to make a choice, which had proved cumbersome, was dropped. In subsequent interviews, two versions of the schedule were used, the difference between them being that the respondent's copy did not have any of the prompts, which the interviewer could use in some questions, or the gross categories (Yes, No, Don't Know), that were used to record the respondent's answers where applicable.² Consequently, the respondent's interest was maintained, and he was able to follow the questions quite easily, while no indication was given that any particular answer was expected.

Experience in the pretest indicated that for an interviewer to arrive unannounced on a respondent's doorstep was unsatisfactory, since many respondents were unhappy about the authenticity of the research and the interviewer. To solve this problem a letter was mailed to all the persons to be interviewed, informing them that they would be approached, and that the unions involved had co-operated in drawing the sample.³ This worked very well, many people guessing who the interviewer was before he had introduced himself. As a further introduction to the project, there was a note on the front page of the schedule, which the respondent himself could read, or which the

interviewer could use as an outline of the points he should make before starting the interview.²

The interviews were carried out by the researcher with some assistance from three senior students. Careful instructions were given to interviewers about, how to record answers, so that a maximum of information was retained in the written schedule; what prompting was permissible, and so on. The interviews were then carried out (Appendix F, P. 106, gives details of interviews completed, refusals, etc.)

OBSERVATIONS ON THE SAMPLE AND INTERVIEWS COMPLETED⁴

It seems appropriate here to make some comments on the disappointing number of interviews completed. What was experienced in this study illustrates the kind of difficulties that are, no doubt, partly the reason why little research has been undertaken in this field. Any future research must be designed to cope with these problems.

Clearly the overall response rate (55.61%) was poor for an interview approach, and it was much lower than anticipated. There appear to be several reasons for this low rate: the fact that 13.17% of the original sample had moved, and/or were unknown when attempts were made to contact them is clearly significant, as is the unavailability of another 8.29% of the sample for other reasons - which ranged from retirement because of age or pregnancy, to hospitalisation because of illness. Consequently, before the interviews had even started, 21.46% of the sample were unavailable.

Part of the reason for this was the time lag between compilation of the union membership lists and the interviews. This lag occurred for a number of reasons: in the case of the printers' union, at least, the complete membership list available was some months old⁵ (there is a strong suggestion that even if the lists had just been completed, they would not be accurate, for, as already mentioned, people change jobs and addresses without informing the union so that records can be amended); a further reason for the delay was that the running of the pretest, and the redesigning and printing of the schedule, took a considerable period of time, as did the printing and posting of the introductory letter. This time lag between compilation of the union lists and the interviewing, clearly compounded the problem of the high job and geographical mobility of some sections of the sample.

While it was undesirable that such a high percentage of the original sample should be unavailable, it is interesting to note the varying rates of mobility evidenced by the four different groups (in fact, the watersiders' rate cannot be used for purposes of comparison, since the membership list was much more recent than was that of the printers union). Not too much emphasis can be placed on these differences because of the comparatively small number of cases in each sample, but there does appear to be a very clear trend in the mobility of the printers' union membership, which correlates with the skill level of the individuals in question. This suggested correlation of skill level and mobility is one which could well be pursued in subsequent research.

For future research dealing with trade union members, one method of ensuring that the sample was not depleted, because membership

lists used for drawing samples were not up to date, would be to check the union lists against lists of current employees in various firms. This task would require a lot of extra effort, but would ensure that a much larger percentage of the sample was available for research purposes.

Another aspect of the sample details, which seems to be worth considering here is the percentage of the available sample who refused to participate in the study (29.19%). This was not unexpected, given that the sample consisted of people who were unlikely to have been approached for such research purposes before, and were in many cases suspicious about the reasons why the research was being undertaken. The refusal rate is high, however, and it would be desirable if it were lower in future projects of this type, though it is difficult to see exactly what could be done to bring this about. What is interesting about the rate of refusals is the very definite pattern, again, across the four different groups, and the very strong inverse correlation between skill and rate of refusal in the printers' union groups. This particular pattern is another which could well be examined in future research.

ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

The final number of interviews completed in this study was small. The aim of the research was to provide some preliminary information on, and some understanding of, workers' perceptions of industry, as well as information on a number of points which would enable some conclusions to be reached, first, about the adequacy of

the Marxian perspective as an explanation of industrial behaviour in New Zealand, and also about the potential of the proposed model.

It was never intended that there should be extensive or minute analysis of the information collected; rather, it was intended that the data be examined to see if it exhibited any general patterns which would allow preliminary conclusions to be reached, or if it exhibited any unexpected patterns that were worth consideration in later research. Consequently, the analysis of the data has been statistically unsophisticated, consisting simply of summaries of the responses to various relevant items, or of simply cross tabulations between items, where this is appropriate. These cross tabulations were done using a computer program that was available in the department at the time. Another point that must be mentioned is that no attempt was made to apply tests of significance to the data, for while there has been considerable debate on the use of these tests generally,⁶ given the nature of the present study, and the simple level of data analysis, statistical tests were not considered appropriate.

Some of the information collected in the interviews was not readily amenable to categorisation and statistical analysis, but this does not mean that such information is not relevant or valid, and though it has been treated with some care, such information is used in the following discussion of the research findings.

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FOOTNOTES:

1. In each case an additional three selections were made to provide a sample for a small pretest.
2. See Appendix D, P. 93, for a reproduction of the interviewer's copy of the schedule.
3. See Appendix E, P. 105, for a reproduction of this letter.
4. See Appendix F, P. 106, for details of the sample drawn, refusals, and number of completed interviews.
5. This in no way implies a criticism of the printers' union officials; it is rather a result of the differences in the spatial dispersion of members of the two unions, and the comparative ease of maintaining contact between watersiders and their union.
6. For a summary of this debate, and comment on the appropriate use of statistical tests, see: Galtung, Johan, Theory and Methods of Social Research (revised edition), New York, Columbia University Press, 1969; Part II: Data Analysis; Section 4.4, "On the Use of Statistical Tests".

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CHAPTER 5

RESEARCH FINDINGS

The following discussion of research findings is limited to those two major points already outlined: the adequacy of Marxian theory as an explanation of the relationship between worker and employer; and, the validity of the proposed model.

MARX AND CLASS

The study provided information on a number of points related to the Marxian perspective. One of the first points that was considered, was whether or not workers view their interests and those of employers as opposed. The matter was approached indirectly, since a direct question was not thought satisfactory. In the industrial sphere, the outbreak of conflict indicated by various types of industrial unrest, is an indicator of the opposition between worker and employer. One of the questions in the interview asked; "Is it possible to have industries without any unrest?" As Fig. 1 shows, nearly 65% of the sample felt that it would not be

Fig. 1. Responses to: "Is it possible to have industries without any unrest?"

	Yes	No	Don't Know	Total
N	39	74	1	114
%	34.2	64.9	0.9	100

possible. While this may not be a very high percentage, the situation is not as straightforward as that, for respondents who considered it would be possible to have industries without unrest were asked a further question; "What changes do you think would have to be made in our industrial system to make this possible?" A crude content analysis of the responses to this question indicated that these respondents could be divided into two groups (see Fig. 2). In the first of these two groups were those who had definite practical suggestions, which would make industry without unrest possible. Some of the suggestions were: worker participation on works committees, and in direct negotiations; profit sharing and shareholding, by workers, to ensure a more equitable distribution of the profits of industry between the parties, so that, as one respondent put it, "the worker gets his just rewards rather than the employer getting the cream". The interesting thing about such suggestions is that they imply, even in an industrial system without unrest, an opposition of interests between worker and employer; for what the measure suggested does, is not remove such opposition, but rather provide a mechanism for controlling it.

Fig. 2. Responses of those who consider industry without any unrest possible.

	Practical Measures	"Idealistic" Responses	Others	Total
N	18	16	5	39
%	46.2	41.0	12.8	100

The other general type of response was what might be termed "idealistic". Some of the responses considered idealistic were:

"there would have to be much greater understanding between the parties"; or, that we would "have to change people a hell of a lot"; there were even two respondents who suggested the introduction of a communist or socialist state. The point about this type of response is that it claims it would be possible to have industries without unrest, but only if an ideal state developed, which, one respondent spontaneously acknowledged, is "highly improbable". It seems, then, that in the present situation, workers recognise unrest as inevitable; this, surely, is an indicator of an awareness of the opposing interests of employer and worker.

Two other questions were aimed at assessing the validity of this Marxian conception of an opposition of interests; they asked, respectively; "What do most workers want from their industrial jobs?" and, "What do most employers (or managers) want from their industries?". The response to these questions, categorised into major headings, are shown in Figs. 3 and 4.

Fig. 3. Responses to: "What do most workers want from their industrial jobs?"

	Security (Good Wages/ Permanent Position)	Money (High or Good Wages)	Satisfaction	Combination of security and satisfaction	Other	Total
N	49	44	6	8	7	114
%	43.0	38.6	5.3	7.0	6.2	100

Fig. 4. Responses to: "What do most employers want from their industries?"

	High Production High Profits	Good Return	Good Days Work/Good Workers	Other	Don't Know	Total
N	66	13	21	12	2	114
%	57.9	11.4	18.4	10.5	1.8	100

The majority of respondents consider that workers emphasise a good or high monetary return for their labour, and tend to characterise employers as wanting high production and high profits from their industry. While it can be argued that this perceived emphasis upon monetary return, by both parties to the industrial process, does not necessarily lead to incompatibility in practise, it is clear that the interests of the two parties are seen as opposed. It is hardly surprising then, that when asked what they saw as the main cause of disputes between employer and worker, better than 43% of the sample named "money" and/or conditions, as the main cause, while a further 22% apparently assumed these basic causes and mentioned factors which do not set disputes off, but rather hinder their resolution (for example, pigheadedness, poor communications and misunderstandings). It appears that the opposition of interests between employer and worker is taken for granted by many workers, and their real concern is the means of regulating this opposition.

These questions discussed above establish the validity of one of the features of the Marxian perspective - opposition of interests. Another feature of the Marxian perspective, closely related to that above, awareness of class distinctions, was also

examined. The basic question related to this point was; "What are the most important differences between an employer (or a manager) and a worker like yourself?" (This was an open-ended question, and the findings should be considered tentative, for it was difficult to categorise the responses into a reasonable number of alternatives). Fig. 5 gives the results. It is clear that most respondents do see some differences between themselves and employers/managers. Very few

Fig. 5. Responses to: "What are the most important differences between an employer (or a manager) and a worker like yourself?"

	None	Education	Different Job, Greater Responsibility	Authority	Salary/Money	'Class' Differences	Other	Don't Know	Total
N	21	5	29	20	9	7	13	10	114
%	18.4	4.4	25.5	17.5	7.9	6.1	11.4	8.8	100

of the respondents (6.1%) express these differences in terms that are overtly "class" terms: it was obvious when they did so; for example, "he (employer/manager) can move in a different class"; "workers are in a different class"; "he (employer/manager) looks down on the worker", and "the worker's got to know his place". The results suggest that while very few workers see the differences between themselves and employers in rigid class terms, most workers do

differentiate between the two groups on the basis of such status factors as educational qualification, authority, responsibility, salary, and so on; there is an awareness among workers of different status groups.

The items discussed above indicate that workers, in this sample, do perceive an opposition of interests in the industrial setting, and are aware of the status differences that exist between employer/manager, and the worker. These elements of the Marxian perspective are present in the New Zealand industrial scene.

However, other aspects of the research suggest that to emphasise these factors to the exclusion of any other, as the Marxian perspective tends to do, is to treat the matter much too simplistically. The results of several other items covered during the interview suggest that the Marxian perspective is not a completely adequate explanation of modern industrial behaviour. One of the factors that the Marxian perspective does not account for is the interdependence that workers perceive between themselves and employers. This was indicated very strongly by several of the items. One of these required respondents to say how they felt about the statement: "Industry in New Zealand could not operate without employers and management". Reactions to this statement show that workers readily acknowledge the importance of employers (Fig. 6).

Fig. 6. Responses to: "Industry in New Zealand could not operate without employers and management."

	Disagree	Agree	Total
N	7	107	114
%	6.1	93.9	100

Another item which illustrates the workers' view of the interdependence of the parties in industry, required the respondents to say whether or not they thought either of the following two statements is true: "Some people say that teamwork in industry is impossible because employers and workers are really on opposite sides"; and, "Others say that industry is like a football side because teamwork leads to success and everyone benefits from this".¹ The reactions to these statements are outlined in Fig. 7. A majority

Fig. 7. Reactions to Two Views of Industry.

	Teamwork Impossible	Like Team	Generally like team difficulties at times	Total
N	14	54	46	114
%	12.3	47.4	40.4	100

of the respondents, rather than emphasising the conflict that exists, emphasise the interdependence of the employer and worker, as the most significant element in the industrial process.

This perception of the interdependence between employer and worker, leads the worker to express views about some elements of the industrial system, which are completely incompatible with a Marxian perspective. On the basis of the Marxian view, the worker would be expected to oppose the profit making of the employer: this is not so, as the results of the following item show quite convincingly; respondents were asked how they felt about the statement, "Employers and management are entitled to profits from their industry" (Fig. 8). 87.7% of the respondents agreed with the statement without further comment, while a further 11.4% agreed with the statement, but suggested that the profits should be "reasonable". The extent of agreement on

employer profits was unexpected, and cannot be accounted for in Marxian terms.

Fig. 8. Responses to: "Employers and management are entitled to profits from their industry".

	Disagree	Agree	Agree (qualified: "reasonable profits")	Total
N	1	100	13	114
%	0.9	87.7	11.4	100

The results relevant to this section of the study show that workers do perceive an opposition of interest between themselves and employers; they do have an awareness of status differences, but they also see the relationship of worker and employer as one of interdependence, and maintain the right of employers to make a profit from their industry.

THE MODEL

Although there was no attempt to explicitly examine some of the stages of the model, experience in the interviews, and other developments related to the union scene, allows some comment to be made about all the stages - though very brief in some cases.

The first point that must be considered, is the results of the items which were designed to establish some criterion of commitment to the union, since this measure is basic to the stages of the model. As already noted, two possible measures of commitment were

included; the first, self report of union meeting attendance, proved most satisfactory. The second measure, the worker's perception of how good the Federation of Labour is as a representative of the trade unions, did not prove at all satisfactory, for there was no apparent correlation with workers' reasons for attendance, or lack of attendance, at union meetings.

The criterion used, as already mentioned, was workers' self report of union meeting attendance. While criticisms may be made of this as a measure of commitment, because of the inaccuracies of self reports generally, for purposes of this study the actual objective honesty of the reports is not essential, but rather the extent to which they reflect the worker's apparent commitment to the union. The first item relevant to the measure of commitment, the one used as the indicator of commitment, asked; "Do you go to union meetings; Often/Sometimes/Seldom/Never?" The respondents were required to select one of the categories. While these categories may not be particularly concise, the pattern of responses is highly correlated with the apparent commitment of union members, illustrated by the responses to two subsequent questions; "(Often/Sometimes) Why do you go?"; and, "(Seldom/Never) Why don't you go (more often)?" Results of these questions, tabulated against responses to the original question, are shown in Figs. 9 and 10. Referring to Fig. 9, it is clear that very few of these respondents (who attend meetings often or sometimes), give reasons indicative of low commitment to the union: two individuals (4.1%) claim that such meetings are compulsory, while one individual (2.0%) could not give any reason for his attendance. All the other respondents in this group (93.9%), have positive reasons for attending, and positive reasons are an indicator of commitment.

The situation is totally different in the case of those

Fig. 9. Reasons for Attendance of Those Who Attend Union Meetings

Often or Sometimes.

Reasons		Attendance		Total
		Often	Sometimes	
Like to keep informed	N	15	9	24
	%	48.4	50.0	49.0
Like to know what decisions made	N	5	5	10
	%	16.1	27.8	20.4
Interested in unionism	N	6	2	8
	%	19.4	11.1	16.3
Need to as an Employee	N	4	-	4
	%	12.9	-	8.2
Compulsory	N	1	1	2
	%	3.2	5.6	4.1
Don't Know	N	-	1	1
	%	-	5.6	2.0
Total	N	31	18	49
	%	63.3	36.7	100

who seldom or never attend meetings: referring to Fig. 10 the only responses here that might possibly conceal commitment on the part of the union member are; that the respondent had "no time" to attend, or that he "does not know about them (meetings)". Even being very optimistic about the commitment of these respondents, few more than 25% of this group are likely to have any commitment to the union, and it is probable that the percentage is very much lower than that.

Fig. 10. Reasons for Low Attendance of Those Who Seldom,
or Never, Attend Union Meetings.

Reasons		Attendance		
		Seldom	Never	Total
Not Interested	N	9	18	27
	%	39.1	42.9	41.5
No Reason	N	-	7	7
	%	-	16.7	10.8
Don't Know	N	3	2	5
	%	13.0	4.8	7.7
No Time	N	6	7	13
	%	26.1	16.7	20.0
Not Know About Them	N	2	3	5
	%	8.7	7.1	7.7
Disagree with Unions	N	-	2	2
	%	-	4.8	3.1
Other	N	3	3	6
	%	13.0	7.1	9.2
Total	N	23	42	65
	%	35.4	64.6	100

This self report of union meeting attendance, then, reflects the apparent commitment of union members, and, though it may be criticised, is used in this study as the indicator, or criterion, of commitment to the trade union. It is now possible to consider the stages of the model.

Stage I: Perception of an Opposition of Interests between
Employer and Worker.

The research findings relevant to this stage of the model have already been discussed in the previous section (See Figs. 1-4, and the accompanying discussion, Pp. 42-45). It has been shown that the majority of the workers interviewed do perceive an opposition of interests between themselves and employers. While the model assumes that, at any of the stages, workers may have alternative perceptions of the situation, there are no clear findings on this point for this first stage: while it is clear that nearly all workers do consider that there does exist an opposition, the format of, and responses to, the relevant questions did not make it clear whether or not there were any respondents who were completely unaware of any opposition. Some indication, on this point, is given by the results of a question, to be discussed in the next stage, which show that only two individuals in the total sample felt that there were no important reasons for workers forming unions. The two individuals in question, considered that they could further their own interests more, by an individual approach to management, than by joining a workers' group: that is, they did perceive an opposition of interests, but felt individual action was more appropriate than collective action. It is highly unlikely, therefore, that any of these respondents perceive no opposition of interests in industry.

Because of the extent of agreement on this matter of opposition between employer and worker, it is impossible to make any distinctions between different sections of the sample in terms of their responses to items relevant to this stage. Clearly, practically all those in the sample satisfy this first precondition for commitment to the union.

Stage II: Perception of Need For Collective Action.

The second precondition for commitment to the union is a perception of a need for collective action. It has already been suggested in the outline of this stage of the model, that one important element in this perception, is an awareness of one's own interest, not as a purely individual concern, but rather as a "class" interest, shared by other workers. Again, the research findings relating to the extent of this "class" awareness have already been outlined (See Fig. 5, and the accompanying discussion, Pp. 45-47). It has been shown that the majority of the respondents (81.6%) indicate an awareness of status or "class" differences between themselves and employers/managers.

A later item, more directly related to this matter of perception of a need for collective action, asked; "Are there important reasons for workers forming unions?" The results of this item (Fig. 11) show that, overwhelmingly, there is a perception of a need for collective action, and the fact that nearly 50% of the sample give, as their

Fig. 11. Responses to: "Are there important reasons for workers forming unions?"

	No	Yes (but more so in the past)	Yes (self protection)	Yes (improve wages and conditions)	Yes (other)	Don't Know	Total
N	2	4	56	32	19	1	114
%	1.8	3.5	49.1	28.1	16.7	0.9	100

reason for this (in an open ended question), that a union of some sort is necessary for self protection, reinforces the early findings that there is a perception of an opposition of interests and an awareness of the group nature of the worker's interests. Examples of some of the comments illustrating the depth of feeling about the worker's need for protection, were; "without the union we'd be back in the dark ages with work"; "without the union, workers would still be slaves"; unions are "a must - to safeguard employees interests ^{they} so/are not exploited"; and, without unions, "employers could walk all over you". To check the results of the question about workers forming unions, respondents were asked a further related question; "Do you think the past history of unions supports this view?" Responses (Fig. 12) show that, not only do workers think there are good reasons for forming unions, they also think that this view can

Fig. 12. Responses to: "Do you think the past history of unions support this view?"

	Yes	No	Don't Know	Not * Applicable	Total
N	107	1	3	3	114
%	93.9	0.9	2.6	2.6	100

* Replied, "No", or "Don't Know", to question outlined in Fig. 11 above.

be substantiated in the light of the past history of unions.

The assumption of the model, that there are possible alternative perceptions at any of the stages, is justified in the case of this present stage, for two individuals responded to the question outlined in Fig. 11, by saying that they did not see any important reasons for

workers forming unions. Obviously, two cases out of one hundred and fourteen are no basis for claiming the model is validated, but it is encouraging to note that these two individuals do follow the pattern predicted by the model: neither is in favour of trade unions; both are highly critical of what they see as union goals; and, neither is committed to the union (never attends meetings).

Research findings, at this stage, show that practically all respondents satisfy this precondition for commitment to the union; in the two cases where this is not so, it has been noted that the patterns predicted by the model have been borne out, though this is no guarantee of the model's validity.

Stage III: Perception of the Appropriate Group for Representation of the Worker.

This third stage of the model is one which was not explicitly studied in the interview for two major reasons. The first of these was that, although it is theoretically possible for workers to perceive alternatives to the existing trade union organisation, given that there are no alternatives available for the worker in New Zealand, it was not expected that workers would perceive any alternatives. This presumption was clearly incorrect for during the course of the interview some respondents did make comments on this point. Another development in the union movement, that indicates this presumption was ill founded, was the debate in the early part of 1974 regarding the appropriate group for representation of New Zealand farm workers.²

The other reason for omitting analysis of this stage, was that the idea of alternative representation groups is quite an abstract

and complex one. This makes it very difficult to frame questions, on this topic, at a conceptual level which is sufficiently simple to enable all respondents to understand exactly what it is that is to be discussed.

Despite the fact that no attempt was made to examine this point specifically, as already noted, three or four respondents mentioned it quite spontaneously during the interview. One of the alternatives they suggested, was a system of works' committees, which would be comprised of representatives of the management staff, and of the workers, in each factory; these works' committees would deal with any problems that arose in their own particular firm. The other alternative was much more vague but would consist of a body set up by the government, which all workers would belong to automatically, without having to pay membership fees as at present.

Though, again, a group of three or four individuals is no basis for making generalisations about the validity of the model, it was interesting to note that the other responses of this group also tended to follow the pattern predicted by the model. That is, they were dissatisfied with what they saw as the present goals of the union movement - mentioning such things as too much emphasis on wages, and unwarranted concern with such issues as French bomb testing - and had no commitment to the union (never attend meetings).

No firm conclusions can be reached about this stage of the model, but it appears that most respondents do not see any alternative to the present union organisation. The other responses of those who do mention alternatives, follow the pattern predicted by the model.

Stage IV: Perception of What Constitute Appropriate
Group Goals.

Considerable attention was given to this stage of the model, since this was expected to be a stage which would differentiate between union members, and also because at the time when this study was undertaken, there was considerable debate about union involvement in such issues as French bomb testing, and the Springbok tour of New Zealand.

In order to evaluate this stage of the model, it was necessary to distinguish between those union members who perceive union goals as 'proper' or appropriate and those who do not. This distinction was made on the basis of three different measures, which indicate the extent to which members see different aspects of existing union goals as appropriate.

The first and most important of these measures, consisted of two questions: respondents were first asked, "What do you think should be the main concern of unions in New Zealand?" (The actual responses to this question are of no significance for the discussion here, but since they are of some interest they have been included, tabulated against the sample, and with a brief comment, as Appendix H, P. 108). Immediately following the above question respondents were asked, "Is this the main concern of the union movement at present?" It was the responses to this question which were taken as the first indicator of whether or not the union member perceives present union goals as appropriate. The distribution of responses, categorised into major headings, is shown in Fig. 13.

This table shows that a majority (59.6%) of trade union members, perceive the present major union concerns as the ones

which are most appropriate. However, as was expected, there is a

Fig. 13. Responses to: "Is this the main concern of the union movement at present?"

	Yes	Yes (qualified ¹)	No	No (qualified ²)	Don't Know	Total
N	55	13	27	9	10	114
%	48.2	11.4	23.7	7.9	8.8	100
Total Yes: ³	N: 68		Total No: N: 36		10	114
	%: 59.6		%: 31.6		8.8	100

1. Affirmative responses qualified by comment that suggested, either, that the appropriate concern was still not receiving enough emphasis, or, that other concerns were, relatively, receiving too much emphasis.
2. Negative responses, with comments added to the effect that too much emphasis is being placed on wages.
3. Hereafter the totals for "yes" and "no" responses will be used for analysis.

substantial percentage of respondents (31.6%), who do not perceive the present major union goals as those most appropriate; these respondents do not satisfy this precondition of the model, and it is therefore possible to examine, in more detail, the prediction of the model, that those who do not satisfy the preconditions outlined will not be committed union members. As already discussed, the indicator of commitment used was the reported union meeting attendance. Fig. 14 shows perceived appropriateness of major union goals tabulated against commitment to the union. The table shows that, as predicted by the model, there is a strong tendency for those who do not satisfy the precondition, at this stage (that is, those who do not see present major union goals as appropriate), not to be

committed to the union; 52.8% of these individuals never attend

Fig. 14. Perceived Appropriateness of Present Major Union Goals¹
by Commitment to Union.²

		Is Main Concern			Total	
		Yes	No	Don't Know		
Reported Attendance	Often	N	23	8	1	32
		%	33.8	22.2	10.0	28.1
	Sometimes	N	15	1	2	18
		%	22.1	2.8	20.0	15.8
	Seldom	N	12	8	3	23
		%	17.6	22.2	30.0	20.2
	Never	N	18	19	4	41
		%	26.5	52.8	40.0	36.0
	Total	N	68	36	10	114
		%	59.6	31.6	8.8	100

1. As measured by: "Is this the main concern of the union movement at present?" (See Fig. 13).
2. As measured by reported attendance (See Figs. 9 and 10, and accompanying discussion, Pp. 50-52).

union meetings, and 22.2% attend only seldom. There is, though, a notable break in this pattern, for while the trend is borne out by the very low percentage (2.8%) in this group who only sometimes attend meetings, a surprising 22.2% report attending union meetings often.

The reverse pattern is present, as predicted, for those who see present union goals as appropriate. The pattern is not as strong here, but this also would have been predicted, for there is still another stage of the model, outlining another precondition (perception

of the appropriate means for attaining group goals), which some of this group may not satisfy. Again, it must be noted, with some surprise, that while the general trend is quite noticeable in these results, there is quite a large percentage of this group (26.5%) who, as in the former case, break the pattern; that is, they see major union goals as appropriate, but never attend union meetings - they have no apparent commitment to the union. No explanation, for either of the breaks in the expected trends, can be offered at this point, but it would seem that there is some other factor or factors operating here, which has quite a consistent effect upon the "tail-end" of each of the patterns expected.

The second measure of the appropriateness of present union goals required the respondents to consider union goals in an entirely different way. Rather than enquiring about the main concern of unions, it asked if respondents considered unions are involved in any concerns which were inappropriate. The question asked; "Do you think there are any issues or problems that unions tend to get involved in which are none of their business?" This question gave a different distribution of answers from the first measure, as is shown in Fig. 15. The percentage of the sample who accept all present union goals as appropriate, is much smaller than the percentage who accept the major union goals as appropriate (See Fig. 13). On the basis of the model, it would be expected that those who accept all union goals will be very highly committed to the union (though, there may still be some disagreement among these individuals regarding the appropriate means for attaining these goals). Correspondingly, the trend for those who do not find all union goals appropriate, will

Fig. 15. Responses to: "Do you think there are any issues or problems that unions tend to get involved in which are none of their business?"¹

	Yes	Yes (qualified ²)	Yes (qualified ³)	No	Don't Know	Total
N	31	13	32	28	10	114
%	27.2	11.4	28.1	24.6	8.8	100
Total Yes: ⁴		N: 76		28	10	114
		%: 66.7		24.6	8.8	100

1. Because of the phrasing of the question, those who give negative answers are those who see all union goals as appropriate, and vice versa.
2. Affirmative responses elaborated by mention of union involvement in non-industrial issues generally.
3. Affirmative responses elaborated by mention of union involvement in political issues.
4. Hereafter the totals for "yes" and "no" answers will be used for analysis.

still be evident, but the pattern should not be as strong as in the case of Fig. 14, since many of these respondents disagree with what they see as minor, rather than major, union goals. This in fact does prove to be the case, as Fig. 16, which compares perceived appropriateness of all union goals with members commitment to the union, shows. Those who give a negative response, are those who see all union goals as appropriate: 78.5% of this group (as opposed to 55.9% of those who see major union goals as appropriate), show a high level of commitment, in that they attend union meetings either often or sometimes. Those who give affirmative responses (do not see all union goals as appropriate), are less committed to the union

Fig. 16. Perceived Appropriateness of All Present Union Goals¹
by Commitment to Union.²

		Involved where None of Union Business			
		Yes	No	Don't Know	Total
Often	N	16	16	-	32
	%	21.1	57.1	-	28.1
Sometimes	N	11	6	1	18
	%	14.5	21.4	10.0	15.8
Seldom	N	18	2	3	23
	%	23.7	7.1	30.0	20.2
Never	N	31	4	6	41
	%	40.8	14.3	60.0	36.0
Total	N	76	28	10	114
	%	66.7	24.6	8.8	100

1. As measured by: "Do you think there are any issues or problems that unions tend to get involved in which are none of their business?" (Fig. 15).
2. As measured by reported attendance.
3. In the case of this categorisation those who perceive the unions' goals as appropriate are those who give a negative response, because of the form of the question.

(64.5% attend only seldom or never), but as predicted, this group do not show as low a level of commitment to the union as those who see major union goals as appropriate - Fig. 14 shows that 75.0% of that group have little commitment (attend seldom or never).

The findings of this section show that the patterns of commitment, predicted on the basis of perception of union goals, definitely hold. Further, it is clear that some perceived goals, "major" goals,

influence commitment considerably more than do other, more minor goals. Another conclusion drawn from the outline in Fig. 16, is that the breakdown in the predicted patterns, which was discussed in regard to Fig. 14, is also clearly in evidence here: 21.1% of those with a high level of commitment to the union (attend often) do not see all union goals as appropriate; conversely, a large percentage (14.3%) of those who do see all union goals as appropriate, show no commitment to the union (never attend). There are other factors, not included in the model, which affect commitment. It is worth noting that the patterns of the Don't Know responses, illustrated in both Fig. 14 and Fig. 16, are consistent with the model's predictions. Respondents who "don't know" tend to have little commitment to the union.

The third and final measure of union members' perceptions of union goals, considered union goals from a different perspective again. After three non-industrial issues which the union movement had been concerned with (the Vietnam war, French tests, and the Springbok tour of New Zealand) had been mentioned, the respondents were asked; "Do you think it is a good thing for the movement to be concerned with these issues?". Clearly, responses to this question should be another indicator of perception of union goals, and the distribution of responses (Fig. 17) does show that it differentiates between union members, dividing them into three, approximately equal, groups; those who see these concerns as appropriate (i.e. they agree with present union goals); those who do not see these union concerns as appropriate, and those who say that they agree with the union concern in principle, but qualify this in the practical situation.

Fig. 17. "Do you think it is a good thing for the movement to be concerned with these issues?"

	Yes	Yes (qualified ¹)	No	Don't Know	Total
N	34	41	38	1	114
%	29.8	36.0	33.3	0.9	100
Total Yes:	N: 75		38	1	114
	%: 65.8		33.3	0.9	100

1. Affirmative qualified by comment either that unions sometimes get too involved, or that it depends to some extent upon the issue, whether or not the union should be concerned.

The indicator of perception has been tabulated against commitment in two ways. In Fig. 18, those who have qualified affirmative responses, have been included in the total "yes" responses. This table confirms, again, the patterns that have been predicted regarding commitment to the union, though the patterns are not illustrated as strongly here as they have been in other results. Of those who see union concern in these non-industrial issues as inappropriate, 68.4% have low commitment to the union (attend seldom or never). The expected pattern is not broken by those who see union goals as inappropriate but have a very high commitment to the union (attend often), as is the case in Figs. 14 and 16, ^{instead} but/by those who attend sometimes. This pattern cannot be explained, but it is interesting to note that it does not appear in Fig. 19, to be discussed in a moment. With

Fig. 18. Perceived Appropriateness of Present Union Goals¹
by Commitment to Union.²

		Good Thing Union Concerned			Total	
		Yes ³	No	Don't Know		
Reported Attendance	Often	N	27	4	1	32
		%	36.0	10.5	100	28.1
	Sometimes	N	10	8	-	18
		%	13.3	21.1	-	15.8
	Seldom	N	17	6	-	23
		%	22.7	15.8	-	20.2
	Never	N	21	20	-	41
		%	28.0	52.6	-	36.0
	Total	N	75	38	1	114
		%	65.8	33.3	0.9	100

1. As measured by: "Do you think it is a good thing for the movement to be concerned with these issues?" (Vietnam war, French tests, Springbok Tour, Fig. 17).
2. As measured by reported attendance.
3. Includes qualified affirmative responses.

regard to those who do see union concern with non-industrial issues as appropriate, the expected pattern does exist (36.0% of those who see the union goals as appropriate do have a high level of commitment to the union), but, the trend is very obscure for the other groups. While it can be claimed that Fig. 18 does show the expected trends, it does this only marginally, and is not very satisfactory.

On reconsideration, the inclusion of qualified affirmative

responses in the "yes" category seemed unwise, for if these individuals were unhappy, to some degree, with union concern in non-industrial issues, this indicates that they do not see this involvement as entirely appropriate. Consequently, this data was re-tabulated, including those respondents who qualified their affirmative responses, with those who gave negative responses.

Fig. 19 outlines the result. A glance at these results shows that

Fig. 19. Perceived Appropriateness of Union Goals¹ by Commitment to Union.²

			Yes	No ³	Don't Know	Total
Reported Attendance	Often	N	17	14	1	32
		%	50.0	17.7	100	28.1
	Sometimes	N	4	14	-	18
		%	11.8	17.7	-	15.8
	Seldom	N	4	19	-	23
		%	11.8	24.1	-	20.2
	Never	N	9	32	-	41
		%	26.5	40.5	-	36.0
	Total	N	34	79	1	114
		%	29.8	69.3	0.9	100

1. As measured by: "Do you think it is a good thing for the movement to be concerned with these issues?" (Vietnam war, French tests, Springbok tour, Fig. 17).
2. As measured by reported attendance.
3. Includes qualified affirmative responses.

the trends predicted are much stronger when the data is considered in this way. 64.6% of those who do not see union concern in non-industrial issues as entirely appropriate, have a low level of commitment to the union (attend seldom or never). Conversely, of those who

do see union concern in these issues as appropriate, 61.8% do show quite high commitment to the union (attend often or sometimes). Therefore, on the basis of this measure of appropriateness, the predictions of the model are substantiated, though as in the case of the findings relating to the other two measures (Figs. 14 and 16), it is noticeable that there is a definite break in the patterns; 26.5% of those who do see such union concern as appropriate, are not at all committed to their union (never attend); 17.7% of those who do not see these union concerns as appropriate, are highly committed.

It has been shown that different union members do have different perceptions of what constitute appropriate union goals, and three different measures have been used to evaluate union members perceptions of current union goals. The research findings, which result from all three of these measures, show, quite consistently, that the predictions the model makes about likely union member commitment, are quite valid. However, the disruption of the expected trends which has been noted in regard to all three measures, suggests that the preconditions of the model do not account for all the factors which affect the commitment of union members to their organisation.

Stage V: Perception of Appropriate Means for Achieving Group Goals.

As in the case of stage three of the model, no attempt was made to explicitly examine union members' perceptions on this point. This stage is particularly difficult to examine, since it is unlikely that any one means of achieving goals is perceived as appropriate in all circumstances, and it is quite likely that there are a series of

means which may be seen as appropriate at different stages in the development of a particular issue. Adequate analysis of this matter was, therefore, felt to be too complex and time consuming in the scope of the present study, especially as analysis of other stages in the model was expected to provide a preliminary indication of whether or not the model had any validity. Some respondents (again, only three or four), did comment on present methods employed by unions for achieving goals, but since these comments related to very specific issues, there is no point in considering them here.

This then is the extent of the findings relevant to this preliminary test of the model. Analysis has shown that as the model assumed, it is possible for individuals to have alternative perceptions of the matters covered at each of the stages. At all of the stages considered, except the first, it has been possible to differentiate between respondents on the basis of whether or not they satisfy the precondition outlined at that stage. Unfortunately, the small number of individuals who do not satisfy the preconditions, in the first three stages, makes it impossible to reach any conclusions about the validity of the model's predictions on these stages. However, it has been noted that the individuals who do not satisfy these preconditions do follow the pattern predicted by the model - they disapprove of present union concerns, and they have no commitment to the union.

The first stage at which it has been possible to differentiate between groups of significant size, in terms of satisfying the model's preconditions, is stage four. The relevant findings

have been discussed at some length; it is apparent that the results do follow the patterns predicted by the model - that is, there is a definite trend for individuals who do not satisfy this precondition, not to be committed to the union, and vice versa. The results, however, do show, without any doubt, that the model does not account for all the factors which affect the commitment of union members, for there were notable deviations from the expected trends, both among those who do, and those who do not, satisfy the preconditions of the model.

It would have been much more satisfactory if the data concerning the model could have been analysed, not just in terms of the results for the overall sample, but also for the different sections of the sample. Unfortunately, even with a total sample of one hundred and fourteen, many of the cells in the tables used have been very small, in terms of the absolute numbers involved, and to analyse the data in any more detail would make the results so liable to chance effects that no reasonable conclusions could be reached. The present study has been small, and the analysis not very extensive, nonetheless, the research findings, regarding the model are encouraging.

* * * * *

FOOTNOTES:

1. These statements were taken from one of the questions used by Goldethorpe et al, in their study of the affluent worker. See: Goldethorpe et al., The Affluent Worker: Industrial Attitudes and Behaviour, Cambridge, at the University Press, 1970, P.73.
2. For examples of newspaper clippings related to this debate see Appendix G, P. 107.

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CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS

THE MARXIAN PERSPECTIVE

Marxian theory has had substantial impact on the analysis both of/modern industrial society and the interaction between the parties in industry. The Marxian notion of an opposition of interests between workers and employers cannot be overlooked, and indeed this study shows that there is an awareness of this opposition, and also of the status differences that exist between the two groups, workers and employers. However, the adequacy of the Marxian perspective as a basis for explanation of the interactions that occur in modern industry is, on the results of this study, seriously questioned. While there is an awareness of opposed interests, and of status distinctions, workers also see themselves as being dependent upon the industrial process. Employers are seen as an essential part of that industrial process and, consequently, not only do workers perceive a need for employers and managers, they also maintain the right of that group to make a profit from their industries. These findings run contrary to the pattern that would have been expected on the basis of Marxian theory, which predicts an escalation of "class" opposition, and subsequent revolutionary conflict. But, the worker's involvement in industrial relationships, is not essentially of a destructive nature, as would have been expected; it could better be termed "calculative": there is a deep awareness

of the employer, and his profit making, as an integral part of the industrial system, which is the goose that lays eggs that, even if not golden, are reasonably sustaining!

Now, it could be argued that, since very few workers perceive any overt "class" differences between themselves and their employers, these workers still exist in a state which is one of "false consciousness"; that is they have no "real" perception of class differences; (i.e. have not developed true "class consciousness".) This claim is not tenable, for it has been shown that most workers are aware of status differences between themselves and employers and managers, and, most workers do perceive a need for collective action and a corresponding interest group of some sort; a precondition for this is an awareness of the opposition of interests between the parties, and an awareness that it is not individual interests, but class interests which are involved. Therefore, in the practical situation, it cannot be claimed that there is no class consciousness.

The problem that arises for the Marxian perspective, then, is quite simply, why does this class consciousness not lead to escalating class conflict and revolutionary change.

Various attempts have been made to explain why Marxian predictions have not been borne out. Factors, such as the change from single capitalist ownership of industry, to a corporate structure owned by shareholders, and the separation of management from ownership, have been suggested. While they have considerable merit, these suggestions do not outline the fundamental problem. One of the basic assumptions of Marxian theory is that the bourgeoisie (the capitalists, the employers), have total power. If employers are to be able to exploit and suppress workers at will, they must have total power:

they must be completely self-sufficient in the sense that they are in no way dependent upon the worker, for if they are dependent upon him, then, to this extent, the worker does have some measure of control - of power - over the employer. This assumption, that the employer exercises total power, is at the root of the inadequacy of Marxian theory, for, depending on the general economic and social conditions prevailing, the measure of control that the worker has, in theoretical terms, may be exercised in reality. It is clear that in modern industrial society, employers do not have the total control which Marxian theory assumes; the workers' labour is seen as an essential input to the industrial process, subject to the same rules of supply and demand as any other input - which gives the worker a measure of control; further, the general social and economic conditions - particularly the existence of relatively co-ordinated worker interest groups, which mobilise the worker's potential power, and maximise the likely effects of any worker action - permit the worker to exercise his potential power. Consequently, the employer, instead of being "all powerful", becomes dependent upon the worker, as the worker is dependent upon him.

While this study has highlighted certain elements of modern industrial organisation which do follow the patterns outlined by the Marxian perspective, it has also shown that there exist other important features which mean the Marxian view is an unsatisfactory theoretical basis for developing an understanding of modern industrial organisation, at least, as we know it in New Zealand.

THE MODEL

This research did not exhaustively test the model proposed; however, the research results, and also the experience of actually applying the model, permit considerable comment to be made about it.

The first, most obvious comment is that the model does appear to have considerable validity as a predictor of the likely commitment of trade union members. It does seem that the perceptions that union members have, at the various stages outlined, are important as a basis for their commitment. The model, as a tool for differentiating between union members, has considerable potential. But, of course, this study has shown that there are a number of inadequacies in the model as it stands.

One of the assumptions of the model, that it is possible for workers to have alternative perceptions of the matter in question, at each of the stages, has been verified. However, the first stages of the model do not differentiate between union members, to any great extent, on this basis, and in any future research which used this model, it is probably unnecessary to examine all stages, unless the distinctions they make are of theoretical significance for the study in question. For research which is essentially practically, rather than theoretically, oriented, differentiation between union members on the basis of their perceptions at later stages of the model should be satisfactory for analysis of commitment, since, because of the sequential nature of the stages, those who do not satisfy the early preconditions, do not satisfy the preconditions for commitment at later stages of the model either.¹

Despite the accuracy of the model in predicting the correlation between perceptions and commitment, there were two notable departures from the trends in the research findings. The first departure from the expected pattern occurred because a considerable percentage of those who satisfy the model's preconditions (and would therefore be expected to be committed to the union), have no apparent commitment to the organisation at all. The original outline of the model presented the relationship between the preconditions and commitment as an absolute, almost deterministic one: this is unsatisfactory, and the only conclusion that can be reached is that there tends to be a correlation between the preconditions and commitment. The present research offers no explanation for this break in the expected pattern, but it may be that Olson's theory of "public" and "private" goods could account for it.² Very briefly, a "public good" is a reward or benefit which an individual receives simply by belonging to a group - it does not require any individual effort on his part. On the other hand, a private good can only be obtained by the individual's exertions on his own behalf. Now, it seems possible in the present case, that those individuals who satisfy the preconditions for commitment at the various stages of the model, but show no signs of commitment to the union, define the benefits of the union as being "public goods" - benefits which they will receive whether or not they put any effort into participating into union affairs. Consequently, they see no need to, and do not, make any effort to participate; consequently, on the basis of the measures used in this study, they have been defined as "uncommitted".

The other pattern discovered in the research results which

breaks the expected trend, occurs where persons who do not satisfy the preconditions for commitment, do, in fact, show a high level of commitment to the union. This poses rather more serious problems for the model, since the question that must arise immediately is; do these stages outline factors which are "preconditions" for commitment, in the strict sense of that word? If not, then the whole basis of the present model collapses, for the basic assumption made is that there are preconditions for union commitment, and that the model outlines these. This answer, to the question above, does not seem reasonable, for it has been shown that the model successfully predicts trends that do occur. So, although the possibility that the model is faulty cannot be entirely ruled out, it seems more likely that there are alternative reasons for the discrepancy in the expected pattern.

The most obvious alternative for explaining this break in the pattern of commitment, is that the model does not account for all the factors which are important as a basis for commitment. One of the assumptions of the model is that the existing trade union is an interest group which represents individuals who have concerns related to their common characteristic of being industrial workers. Reconsideration of the theoretical outline which was the starting point of the model - Dahrendorf's discussion of quasi and interest groups - reveals that Dahrendorf considers it possible that one quasi group may give rise to more than one interest group.³ Now, to extend this line of reasoning further, is it not also possible that one structural group - in this case the trade union - may, for different individuals, represent a way of furthering different types of interests - both collective and personal? Up till this point in the

present study, it has been assumed that the trade union represents what are essentially industrial interests only; however, it is possible that for some individuals it does not represent a means of furthering a collective industrial work interest, but rather, for example, a means of furthering political interests; it may even be seen simply as a means of furthering individual self interest (for example, a means of gaining power, status, etc.) If this did prove to be the case, it would explain why some union members do not satisfy the preconditions of the model (which deal with industrial work factors), but are highly committed to the union. There is more than theoretical justification for suggesting this explanation, for in the course of the interview quite a large number of individuals suggested that one field of concern which the unions are involved in too much, is that of "political" issues:⁴ if unions do take an interest in these political issues, even though many of the members do not see this as appropriate, this would suggest that some individuals do see, and are using, the union as a political pressure group - they see it as an appropriate group for furthering a collective political interest. Another comment made by several respondents during the interview was that many union officials were in the job for the sense of power it gave them. Obviously this is no basis from which to make judgements about union officials as "power mad", but it does seem quite possible that some of those who are deeply involved in union affairs may derive some sense of satisfaction from the power associated with their position. More detailed research is required to find out whether or not there are union members who are committed to the union because it represents, for them, interests other than the basic industrial work interests dealt with in this research. At present this must remain an open question.

Another possible explanation for some respondents showing high commitment to the union, but not appearing to satisfy the preconditions, is that this pattern is an artifact of the measuring devices used in the research. For example, it may be that some members who are very highly committed to their union are also much more aware of the criticisms which can be made of it. If they state these criticisms, it may well be that in terms of the gross categories used by this study they appear not to be satisfying the preconditions - they may mention inadequacies in present union goals, for example, and because they have given an answer which makes it appear they do not see present goals as appropriate they will not appear to satisfy the precondition for commitment, relating to perception of union goals. There was one respondent in particular, a union executive member, who would certainly follow this pattern. While one case does not validate the proposed explanation it does indicate it is a reasonable possibility.

The distortion in the pattern predicted by the model, caused because some individuals who are highly committed to the group do not satisfy the preconditions, raises questions about the model's basic assumption, but either of the above alternative explanations, or perhaps a combination of them, would explain the distortion of the expected pattern. Further research is needed to examine the validity of these explanations.

In conclusion, the model needs more rigorous testing to ensure that it has general validity, and does need developing, if this is possible, so that it can account for some of the disruptions of the patterns illustrated in the results of this study. Nonetheless, it does appear to have a considerable degree of predictive validity,

and if it can be refined a little more, it could have a great deal of potential for explaining such apparent inconsistencies in trade union membership behaviour as, for example, why, although nearly all union members see a need for a representative group, so very few of them actually participate in union affairs.⁵

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

At many points in the above text, it has been noted that various patterns were discovered, or peculiarities observed, which could not be explained. All these matters are worthy of consideration in future research.

To briefly mention some of these points again. Two apparent correlations were noted in discussion of the disappointing number of respondents actually interviewed (see "Observations on the Sample and Interviews Completed", P.37). The first was the correlation between skill level and mobility: research on the mobility, particularly job mobility, of workers of different skill levels would be a valuable contribution to our understanding of the reasons why there is such a high labour turnover in some sections of industry. The other correlation noted was between skill level and the rate of refusal to participate in the research. Little or no study has been done which examines the factors which make it likely that a respondent will refuse to participate in research. This is an important methodological problem which cannot be overlooked.

In discussion of the research findings (Pp.42-70), it has been shown that there are individuals at nearly all stages who do not

satisfy the preconditions for commitment to the union: some see no need for collective action; some do not perceive the trade union as the appropriate group for such collective action, and so on. The reasons why the respondents views on these points varies is unknown; these are matters which are basic to justification of the existence of workers' groups, and trade unions as we know them: they are matters which, are not only worthy of study, but must be studied, if we are to develop an understanding of the worker's perspective on industry.

The model itself clearly requires more rigorous testing if it is to be validated, but two matters which must be considered in future research are those already discussed in the conclusions above: the first is to explain why some people, who satisfy all the preconditions of the model, do not have high commitment to the union (see P.76); the second is to explain why some other respondents, who do not satisfy the preconditions, are very highly committed to the group (see Pp.76-69).

There are other more general areas that this research has touched on. Research on women in the labour force is called for (see Appendix H, Pp.108-9). In the outline of some of the stages of the model (Chapter 3, P.25), it was suggested that it would be awkward to examine some stages of the model because of the difficulties of presenting the matters to be discussed at a linguistic and conceptual level which allows all respondents to comprehend them. This complication is an extremely important methodological one, for even in the present research, all the interviewers noticed that some respondents had difficulty understanding what were thought to be quite simple phrases (e.g. "industrial system") and in

some questions (not used in this analysis) there were quite obvious contradictions in respondents' answers. This matter of the conceptual level of different groups, opens up a whole field in the sociology of knowledge which has received very little attention: how does the conceptual ability of different groups vary; what are the sources of information that different groups in society use as the basis of their world view, and so on.

These are some of the general suggestions that can be made for further research on the basis of the present study. There are very many more specific points that could be listed: for example, why do different individuals perceive different reasons for having trade unions; why do some respondents emphasise self-protection, others industrial relations, others the welfare of all New Zealanders as the appropriate main concern of unions (see Appendix H, Pp 108-9); how do women's perceptions of work and the trade union differ from those of their male work companions; how do workers develop their perceptions of what trade union goals are; what are the factors that cause differential rates of participation by members in different unions; and, how does the presence of workers with different skill levels affect the organisation and goals of a trade union?

One of the intentions of this research, since it was of a preliminary or exploratory nature, was that it should develop insights into, and research suggestions for, this field of study. The project has been most successful at doing just that.

* * * * *

FOOTNOTES:

1. This point must be considered with some care, for in this study the results relevant to it are derived from only a handful of cases.
2. See: Olson, M. The Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and the Theory of Groups, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1965.
and, Barry, Brian M. Sociologists, Economists and Democracy, London, Collier MacMillan, 1970, Pp.24-46.
3. See: Dahrendorf, Ralf, Class and Class Conflict in an Industrial Society, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1959, P.181.
4. In fact such comments usually followed the question, "Do you think there are any issues or problems that unions tend to get involved in which are none of their business?" - the answers to which have been outlined in Fig. 15, but only in gross categories (P.62).
5. Very early in the outline of the research findings (Fig. 11, P.54) it was shown that only two of the one hundred and fourteen respondents in the sample felt there were no important reasons for workers forming unions. However, consideration of the marginals in any of the tables which have attendance as a variable (e.g. Fig. 14, P.60) shows that only 28.1% of the respondents attend union meetings "often"; 15.8% attend "sometimes"; 20.2% - "seldom"; and the remaining 36.0% never attend.

* * * * *

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APPENDIX A

DISTRIBUTION OF N.Z. LABOUR FORCE

1. The following table shows the 1966 labour force in the eight industry divisions.

Industry Divisions, 1966

Industry Division	Labour Force		
	Males	Females	Total
Agriculture, forestry, hunting and fishing	119,712	14,868	134,580
Mining and quarrying	6,250	106	6,356
Manufacturing ..	208,965	64,121	273,086
Construction ..	92,972	2,230	95,202
Electricity, gas, water, and sanitary services	12,356	945	13,301
Commerce ..	114,209	66,896	181,105
Transport, storage and communications	82,629	15,581	98,210
Services ..	104,467	112,946	217,413
Activities not adequately described	4,035	2,751	6,786
Totals ..	745,595	280,444	1,026,039

2. The following summary shows the percentages of the total population and of the actively engaged population in each of the eight industry divisions.

Industry Divisions - Percentages - 1966

Industry Division	Percentage of Total Population			Percentage of Actively Engaged Population		
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
Agriculture, forestry, hunting and fishing	8.9	1.1	5.0	16.1	5.3	13.1
Mining and quarrying	0.5	--	0.2	0.8	--	0.6
Manufacturing ..	15.6	4.8	10.2	28.0	22.9	26.6
Construction ..	6.9	0.2	3.6	12.5	0.8	9.3
Electricity, gas, water, and sanitary services	0.9	--	0.5	1.7	0.3	1.3
Commerce ..	8.5	5.0	6.8	15.3	23.8	17.6
Transport, storage and communications	6.1	1.2	3.7	11.1	5.6	9.6
Services ..	7.8	8.5	8.1	14.0	40.3	21.2
Activities not adequately described	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.5	1.0	0.7
Totals, actively engaged	55.5	21.0	38.3	100.0	100.0	100.0
Retired, independent means, etc. ..	6.6	1.0	3.8	...	...	...
Dependent on public or private support ..	37.9	78.0	57.9	...	...	...
Totals, not actively engaged	44.5	79.0	61.7	...	...	...
Grand totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	...	...	...

3. The industry division in which the largest body of workers was engaged in 1966 was Manufacturing, with 208,965 males and 64,121 females, a total of 273,086. This figure represented 26.6 percent of the total labour force in 1966, compared with 24.9 percent in the Manufacturing division at the 1961 Census and 23.7 percent in 1956.

APPENDIX B

COMPARISON OF INDUSTRIAL STOPPAGES IN NEW ZEALAND FOR FOUR DIFFERENT YEARS

Period During Which Stoppage Terminated	Total Number of Stoppages	Working Days Lost	Average Days Lost Per Worker Involved	Approximate Loss in Wages
1967	89	139,490	4.90	869,120
1969	169	138,675	3.15	1,384,350
1971	313	162,563	1.89	2,108,570
1973	394	271,706	2.35	4,289,030

Details Drawn From: Monthly Abstract of Statistics, March 1974, Department of Statistics, Wellington.
Table 16, Industrial Stoppages, P.17.

Note: The fact that there is a gross trend towards decline in the Average Days lost per Worker Involved while there is a substantial increase in Working Days Lost over the four years mentioned would suggest that industrial troubles and stoppages are becoming much more widespread than they were formerly.

APPENDIX C

TABULAR REPRESENTATION OF THE MODEL

STAGES OF THE MODEL	INDUSTRIAL WORKERS ^{1*} (QUASI GROUP)							
1. OPPOSITION OF INTERESTS	INDIVIDUAL PERCEIVES OPPOSITION OF INTERESTS						NO OPPOSITION PERCEIVED	
2. NEED FOR COLLECTIVE ACTION	PERCEIVES NEED FOR COLLECTIVE ACTION					NO NEED COLL. ACT. PERCEIVED		
3. APPROPRIATE GROUP FOR COLL. ACTION	EXISTING TRADE UNION PERCEIVED AS THE APPROPRIATE GROUP			NOT PERCEIVED AS APPROPRIATE				
4. APPROPRIATE GOALS OF THE UNION	PRESENT GOALS PERCEIVED AS APPROPRIATE		NOT PERCEIVED AS APPROPRIATE					
5. APPROPRIATE MEANS TO ATTAIN GOALS	PRESENT MEANS APPROPRIATE	NOT PERCEIVED AS APPROPRIATE						
RESULTING COMMITMENT OF MEMBERS TO UNION	COMMITTED TO TRADE UNION AS INTEREST GROUP		MEMBERS NOT COMMITTED TO THEIR UNION: i.e. NOT GENUINE MEMBERS OF AN INTEREST GROUP, RATHER NOMINAL MEMBERS ONLY.					

1. The bar following each of the stages represents all members of the original quasi group,

APPENDIX D

Pages 93 - 104

Example of Interviewer's Copy of
the Schedule Used

Note: The overall size of the text of schedule has been reduced, by approximately one-third, to allow reproduction; the University of Canterbury letterhead has also been omitted from the cover page.

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Sample No.

Firm

Good (evening), I am from the Sociology Department at the University of Canterbury. Recently we sent you a letter which outlined some research that was being done by one of the graduate students of the department and you were told that you are one of a randomly selected sample of union members who would be approached to help us with this research.

I am the research assistant who, if you are agreeable, is to interview you, and would like to ask you a few questions about some aspects of industry and union activities in this country. As was mentioned in the letter this research is being done with the permission and cooperation of the unions involved.

Anything we discuss is completely confidential, but if there is any question that you would rather not answer, then please tell me and we will leave that question out.

1. Which of these ten groups includes your own age?

(circle) 1 2 3 4 5
 under 20 / 21 - 25 / 26 - 30 / 31 - 35 / 36 - 40 /
 6 7 8 9 10
 41 - 45 / 46 - 50 / 51 - 55 / 56 - 60 / over 60 /

2. Single / Married

3. No of Children: (circle) none / 1 / 2 / 3 / 4 / 5 / 6 / 7 / 8 / 9+

4. Race

5. Born New Zealander / Immigrant from

If immigrant: (a) How many years in N.Z.?

(b) Were you a member of any union before coming to N.Z.?

Yes / No / DK

6. (i) When you took up your first full-time working job:

(a) had you completed primary school? Yes / No / DK

(b) had you had any secondary schooling? Yes / No / DK

If yes: How many years?

(c) had you had any tertiary or trade education Yes / No / DK

Specify:

(ii) Since you started your working life have you ever done any part-time

courses? e.g. night-school Yes / No / DK

Specify:

7. Which of the following categories includes your total annual income?

(circle)	1	2	3	4
	less than \$2000	\$2001 - \$3000	\$3001 - \$4000	\$4001 - \$5000
		5	6	7
		\$5001 - \$6000	\$6001 - \$7000	over \$7001

8. Which political party do you normally support?

9. Do you remember what job your father did most of his working life?

10. Do you have any idea what job your grandfather did most of his working life?

11. Was your father a member of a trade union? Yes / No / DK

(a) Did he think trade unions were important for workers? Yes / No / DK

(b) Did he go to union meetings? Yes / No / DK

(c) Was he a union official at any time? Yes / No / DK

12. Which political party did your father normally support?

* * * *

Now we have some questions about your job.

13. How many employers have you had in the last ten years?

If more than one:

How many years were you working for each of them? Were you doing the same job as you are doing now?

Would you like to go back to any of these former jobs? Yes / No / DK

14. Taking everything into account do you think that your present job is:

- (a) a permanent position for you
- (b) a job to keep for a few years at least
- (c) a temporary position until you get something better

Why do you say that?

15. If you had a young son, what sort of occupation would you like to see him take up?

Why?

* * * *

Now we have some questions about the way that industry is organized in N.Z.

16. Here are two opposing views about industry in general:

- (a) "Some people say that teamwork in industry is impossible because employers and workers are really on opposite sides".
- (b) "Others say that industry is like a football side because teamwork leads to success and everyone benefits from this".

Do you think either of these two statements is true?

Why?

17. What are the most important differences between an employer (or a manager) and a worker like yourself?

18. What do most workers want from their industrial jobs?

Is this reasonable?

19. What do most employers (or managers) want from their industries?

If you were an employer would you want the same thing? Yes / No / DK

20. Which should be given greater emphasis, the goals of workers, or those of employers and managers?

21. What is the main cause of disputes between workers and employers?

22. Is it possible to have industries without any unrest? Yes / No / DK

If yes:

What changes do you think would have to be made in our industrial system to make this possible?

If no:

Why not?

23. Is there any industrial system that you would rather see operating in New Zealand than the one we have at present?

24. Please tell me how you feel about each of these statements:

(a) "Employers and management are entitled to profits from their industry".

(Prompt: Do you agree or strongly agree/Do you disagree or strongly disagree).

(b) "Industry in New Zealand could not operate without employers and management".

(Prompt: Do you agree or strongly agree/Do you disagree or strongly disagree.)

(c) "Employers do all they can to ensure that their workers have the best conditions possible".

(Prompt: Do you agree or strongly agree/Do you disagree or strongly disagree).

* * * *

25. How many years have you been a member of:

(a) your present union?

(b) any other union?

26. Have you ever been a union official?

Yes / No / DK

If in the past: Would you like to be a union official again? Why (not)?

27. Do you go to union meetings:

Often / Sometimes / Seldom / Never

(some indicator of frequency if possible).

Often / Sometimes: Why do you go?

Seldom / Never: Why don't you go (more often)?

Yes / No / DK

28. Do you pay union fees?

Yes / No / DK

29. How do people get to be full time union officials in your union?

(If says is by ballot or election: Do you normally vote in union elections?)

Yes / No / DK

30. Are there important reasons for workers forming unions? Yes / No / DK

What?

Do you think the past history of unions supports this view? Yes / No / DK

31. Should all workers have to belong to unions? Yes / No / DK

Why?/Why not?

32. Do you have any contact with your union through:

(a) any elected representatives Yes / No / DK

(b) any publications Yes / No / DK

(c) any other means Yes / No / DK

33. In any contact that you have had with the union by any means have you ever felt that the union might be showing you only their side of the picture on any issue?

Yes / No / DK

34. If you ever had to approach the union in any troubles you had with your work or your employer, do you think they would do all they could to help you?

Yes / No / KN

35. Do you think that the Federation of Labour is a good representative of the trade unions?

Yes / No / DK

Why? / Why not?

36. Do you always agree with the stand the unions take on industrial and economic matters that are important to you? Yes / No / DK

Do you think other union members always agree with the unions? Yes / No / DK

37. Who, in trade unions, should make the decisions about what action should be taken on industrial and economic matters:

(a) full-time union officials

(b) union members

(c) full-time officials with advice from members

(d) someone else (specify)

Who would you say makes these decisions now?

38. What do you think should be the main concern of unions in New Zealand?

Is this the main concern of the union movement at present? Yes / No / DK

39. (Apart from what you have mentioned above) what other things do you think the union movement should be taking an active interest in? For example are there any social, political or environmental problems in which the union movement should try to represent its members?

Do you think that the union movement is taking an active interest in these particular issues at present? Yes / No / DK

If yes: Do you think that the unions' point of view on these issues is representative of the majority of their members? Yes / No / DK

40. (Only if there is a positive answer to Q.39)

If the unions were active in these other areas of concern, do you think that all their members will always agree with the stand they take on particular issues? Yes / No / DK

If some members do not agree with the stand the union movement takes on any of these (social, political or environmental) problems, does this mean that the union should stop taking an interest in these problems? Yes / No / DK

41. Do you think there are any issues or problems that unions tend to get involved in which are none of their business? Yes / No / DK

42. (If not already mentioned, or fully covered)

In the recent past and at present the union movement has been involved in some issues that do not appear to be of an industrial or economic nature. Three of these stand out: the Vietnam war; the French tests in the Pacific; and the Springbok tour:

(a) Why do you think the union movement has become involved in these issues?

(b) Do you think that it is a good thing for the movement to be concerned with these issues?

(c) Apart from whether you think the union movement should be involved in these issues or not, do you personally agree with the view the union movement has taken on these issues?

- Vietnam war Yes / No / DK

Why/Why not?

- French tests Yes / No / DK

Why/Why not?

- Springbok tour Yes / No / DK

Why/Why not?

43. Do you think that it is important that the opinions of ordinary working people should be represented on non-industrial issues? Yes / No / DK

44. Do you know of any organisations that do try to represent the opinions of ordinary working people on these non-industrial issues and problems?

45. Are you a member of any clubs, committees or organisations?

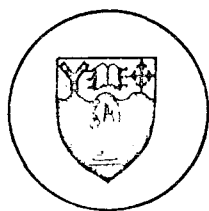
* * * *

Any further comments?

Interviewer Comments:

APPENDIX E

Sample of Introductory Letter
Sent to all Respondents



Psychology and Sociology Department
University of Canterbury Christchurch 1 New Zealand

June 1973

Dear

One of the graduate students in my department at the University is at present engaged in some research that is concerned with the attitude of union members to their union. The unions involved have cooperated in this research and have allowed us to select a sample of their members from union membership lists.

You are one of the people selected in this random sample and we shall be very pleased if you will assist us with this research. Even if you are indifferent to the union and its activities, I am still keen to have that opinion recorded for our study. A research assistant will call on you within three or four weeks for an interview, which, if you agree to help, should last about thirty minutes.

If the research is to be successful, we require people's honest and frank opinions on the matters to be discussed; your opinions will, of course, be completely confidential.

Hoping that you will be prepared to help us,

Yours sincerely

APPENDIX F

DETAILS RELATING TO SAMPLE DRAWN, INTERVIEWS COMPLETED

	Waterside Workers		Tradesmen ¹		Semiskilled ¹		Unskilled ¹		Total	
PRETEST	3 (1 refusal)		3		3 (1 refusal)		3 (1 gone)		12	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
TOTAL SAMPLE ²	60	100	55	100	40	100	50	100	205	100
GONE, UNKNOWN	5	8.33	6	10.91	5	12.5	11	22.00	27	13.17
OTHER ³	3	5.00	2	3.64	6	15.00	6	12.00	17	8.29
AVAILABLE FOR INTERVIEW	52	86.67	47	85.45	29	72.50	33	66.00	161	78.54
REFUSALS	18	T: 30.00 A: 34.62	9	T: 16.36 A: 19.15	8	T: 20.00 A: 27.59	12	T: 24.00 A: 36.36	47	T: 22.93 A: 29.19
INTERVIEWS COMPLETED	34	T: 56.67 A: 65.38	38	T: 69.09 A: 80.85	21	T: 52.50 A: 72.41	21	T: 42.00 A: 63.64	114	T: 55.61 A: 70.81

- NOTES: 1. These three groups differentiated on the basis of the different subscriptions paid by union members.
 2. Excluding pretest sample.
 3. Included such things as: retired; no longer working - pregnant; in hospital; left trade; not comprehend English sufficiently - immigrant, - mentally backward.
 4. T = as a percentage of total sample; A = as a percentage of those available.

APPENDIX G

Newspaper Clippings
Illustrating Debate
Regarding Appropriate
Group for Representation
of Farm Workers.

EVENING STANDARD, MONDAY, APR. 1, 1914.—3

Farm Workers Dig In On Bill

"These include mutual trust, involvement in management, individualism, incentives, industry, and job opportunity," flexibility, and job opportunity, flexibility. Mr Thomson also said industrial conditions were unsuitable because of weather conditions, crop maturity and stock cycle. He said it was feared unionism in farming class dis- managements and shepherds, then mental labourers," he said. "It is wrong in a modern democratic society for the Government to force us into a union which in the past has done very little for us, and in the future is likely to promote better conditions for farm workers."

that it should proceed with its proposed amendment, as it sees no reason why the same index trial legislation that applies to other workers should not apply to farm workers. Mr Thomson said he would be telling Mr Watt that this was ridiculous. "Farm workers are not like any other worker," he said. "We cannot be compared with road maintenance workers, flax workers, hydro electric workers or any of the other occupations represented by the New Zealand General Workers' Union. "We have a unique position among New Zealand workers in that we already have things that trade unions are striving for."

the farm workers into trade unionism, and this move is also being opposed. In a letter to the Deputy Prime Minister, Mr Watt, the Hawke's Bay association said it opposed the Bill, but supported a farm workers' association. Mr Watt replied that while there was nothing to prevent farm workers forming themselves into a separate association, at the present time they had the legal authority to represent such workers in any negotiations for an award under the Relations Act or Agricultural Workers Act. "After considering all factors, the Government has concluded

EVENING STANDARD, THURSDAY, MAR. 23, 1914.

Farm Workers Meet Tonight

By Agricultural Editor
MIKE FORD
A mass meeting of farm workers will be held in Palmerston North tonight to discuss the proposed Agricultural Workers Amendment Bill.

The newly-formed association is totally opposed to farm workers becoming members of the New Zealand Workers Union under the proposed amendment Bill and the national spokesman for the association, Mr Keith Holmes, of Te Awamutu, will speak at the meeting.

The meeting has been organised by the steering committee for the Manawatu district of the New Zealand Farm Workers Association. Farm workers and farmers from the Horowhenua, Manawatu, Rangitikei and Wanganui areas will attend the meeting.

He will explain features of the Bill which have caused confusion, including the section defining farm workers. Under the legislation as it stands, saw mill and bush workers are just two sections of the workforce who will be termed "agricultural workers".

It is expected that several new district branches of the Farm Workers Association could be formed after the meeting.

Tonight's meeting will be in the Manawatu-Oroua Power Board building at 8 p.m.

EVENING STANDARD,

Manawatu Farm Workers Protest Union Bill

The Agricultural Workers Amendment Bill came under strong attack at a meeting of the Manawatu branch of the New Zealand Farm Workers' Association at Linton last night.

Act the New Zealand Workers Union has the legal authority to take over farm workers. However, Mr Barber pointed M.P. for Awarua said in a

Branch chairman, Mr S. Barber said that when the Bill is passed a farm worker would have no choice as to which union he joined. He pointed out that Mr Watt, the Minister of

magazine that there was nothing in the Bill to prevent the farm workers from having their own union. Mr Barber said that it was up to the farm workers to decide if they wanted to go into the New Zealand

APPENDIX H.

Responses to: "What do you think should be the main concern
of unions in New Zealand?",

Tabulated against the Different Sections of the Sample.

		SAMPLE				TOTAL	
		WATERSIDERS	TRADESMEN	SEMI SKILLED	UNSKILLED		
RESPONSES	Wages and/or	N	20	21	12	10	63
	Conditions	%	58.8	55.3	57.2	47.6	55.3
	General Industrial	N	7	7	1	1	16
	& Social Welfare	%	20.6	18.4	4.8	4.8	14.0
	of Members						
	Welfare of All	N	3	2	1	-	6
	New Zealanders	%	8.8	5.3	4.8	-	5.3
	Improving Industrial	N	2	4	2	6	14
	Relations	%	5.9	10.5	9.5	28.6	12.3
	Other	N	1	3	3	2	9
		%	2.9	7.9	14.3	9.5	7.9
	Don't Know	N	1	1	2	2	6
		%	2.9	2.6	9.5	9.5	5.3
	Total	N	34	38	21	21	114
	%	29.8	33.3	18.4	18.4	100	

Though not of significance for the main points studied in this research, the results outlined in the above table are of considerable interest and worthy of some brief comments.

It is notable that these results show that the majority of workers emphasise wages and/or conditions as the major concern of unions. This result would tend to support the conclusions of Griew and Philipp (Chapter One, P.9) that New Zealand workers emphasise pay and conditions more than do their overseas counterparts.

A further point of interest is the tendency of watersiders and skilled workers to emphasise the general social and industrial welfare of the union's members rather more than do the other sections in the sample. The reasons for this emphasis are unknown, and are worthy of further study.

Another point to be noted, is the different emphasis placed upon "improving industrial relations", as a union concern. The reasons why printers' union members place greater emphasis upon this than do the watersiders is unknown - another point of considerable research interest. Notable, of course, is the very high emphasis placed upon this point by the unskilled section of the sample. A possible reason for this is the concentration of females in the unskilled sample (12 of the 21 respondents in this group were female, and 4 of the 6 who mentioned "improving industrial relations" were females). This opens up another very important topic - which is badly in need of research - that of women in the labour force - their reasons for working; perceptions of the job and union; and the effects upon the work process and other factors related to it, when an increasing percentage of the labour force is female.

* * * * *