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WORK ALIENATION AND ITS IMPACT ON POLITICAL LIFE: CASE
STUDY OF DISTRICT COUNCIL 37 WORKERS

City University of New York

PH.D. 1981

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WORK ALIENATION AND ITS IMPACT ON POLITICAL LIFE:

CASE STUDY OF DISTRICT COUNCIL 37 WORKERS

by

JULIAN I. BAIM

A dissertation
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for the degree of
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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Political Science in satisfaction of the dissertation requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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INTRODUCTION

This is a study of worklife's meaning and its relationship to political life. It concentrates upon the quality of worklife: its ability to challenge or engage the worker, and it examines the importance of work as a central life activity. Considered, too, are the political attitudes and behavior which reflect one's ability to affect the political system. The relating of these two dimensions allows for an investigation of the extent to which alienation from work and alienation from the political system are interrelated. The scholarly literature on these two dimensions of alienation has strongly linked the existence of work alienation with political alienation. It has been argued that work and political alienation form part of a comprehensive world view. This study carefully examines whether this theory is tenable.

The concept of alienation has a long and significant past in the history of political and social thought.¹ Its meaning has always been somewhat ambiguous because, as Frank Johnson² points out, alienation has a rich tradition in theology, political science, economics, anthropology, psychology as well as other disciplines. In general, the concept conveys "the idea that something--ties or bonds--connecting man to himself, to others, to the community and to the technologies

and social institutions he has created, is lost, missing, or severed, and that this state of affairs leads to various 'pathologies.'"³ Whether at work or in relation to the political system, alienation suggests a frustration of individual needs or a distance between the individual and certain social structures. While much attention has been paid to either work alienation or political alienation, there has been a frequent but often untested assumption that these two dimensions are necessarily connected; consequently, the conclusion usually drawn is that work alienation generates a sense of estrangement from the political system. In our research, we investigate the depths of alienation from work and from the political system. More importantly, we test whether the hypothetical relationship between work and political alienation is valid.

For purposes of this study, primary concentration is upon the quality of worklife among New York City public employees and on their political attitudes and behavior related to the concept of political alienation. An examination of the extent of work alienation proceeds by analyzing how these municipal employees perceive the difficulty and challenge of their work tasks as well as the meaning they attach to their work. A principal finding that shall emerge is that work alienation, along both dimensions, is quite widespread among municipal employees.

Equally importantly, this study concentrates on the

"centrality" of the work experience and the cultural and social context of work among municipal employees. An individual's work greatly determines his status, way of thinking, and friendships. Most importantly, many observers have contended that work serves as the major source of fulfillment in adult life. We evaluate whether it is now separate, an activity less central to and distinct from other spheres of life. In this manner, we analyze the presence or absence of "working or occupational communities" and their impact on the formation of political ideologies. Thus, the impact of both the individual and social context of worklife on aspects of political attitudes and behavior is considered.

In the study, we also examine and discuss the political attitudes and behavior of these municipal employees, carefully evaluating their feelings of efficacy, trust, and other related attitudes and the extent of their political and union involvement. Political scientists are deeply concerned with the growing levels of political alienation and declining levels of political participation.⁴ These factors are analyzed mainly in the context of their relationship to work alienation and worklife. Our results will indicate a deep sense of alienation from the political system although the relationship between work and political alienation is extremely weak.

Work in American Society

Various aspects of our culture clearly reflect the significance of worklife in contemporary American society. Novelists and social critics frequently have written popular accounts of worklife in the factory or at the office; plays have been produced about the meaning and diversity of the work experience (Studs Terkel's Working is an obvious example, but even A Chorus Line revolves around the trials and tribulations of a dancer's life). Popular or contemporary music often expresses the resentment about the deadening pace of the assembly-line. Bruce Springsteen's Factory speaks of the frustration felt by the assembly-line worker:

End of the day, factory whistle cries
Men walk through these gates with death in their eyes
And you just better believe, boy,
Somebody's gonna get hurt tonight,
It's the working, the working, just the working life.

Elvis Costello's refrain, "Welcome to the working week--I know it don't thrill you--I hope it won't kill you--Welcome to the working week" illustrates today's youth's distaste for menial work and an attitude contemptuous of the Protestant ethic. Contempt for the white-collar worker can be found in The Kinks' Well-Respected Man while other popular artists such as James Taylor and Steve Forbert rail against the deadening pace of modern worklife for mill workers and service workers, respectively. Country music has also employed

worklife as a major theme as in Johnny Paycheck's aptly titled, "Take This Job and Shove It."

The plots of many television shows also revolve around life at work. For example, M*A*S*H*, Taxi, WKRP in Cincinnati, and The Mary Tyler Moore Show all use the work community as a surrogate for the family. In these programs, the characters frequently socialize with each other away from work as well as interacting on the job. As a result among the characters portrayed, strong and intimate bonds are shown to develop and they are revealed as a close-knit working community. On an individual basis, Archie Bunker in All in the Family frequently expressed frustration with his job. His relationship with others, especially his wife and son-in-law, was clearly affected by his attempt to compensate for this unhappy worklife.

The work of industrial psychologists and sociologists continually reflect their concern about the quality of work-life. Their discussions range from organizational studies, productivity reports, and manpower analysis to research on the impact of industrialization and technology on particular cultures or settings.

The two dominant themes about worklife that emerge from our culture and studies of work are the "centrality" of the work experience and the apparent lack of fulfillment at the workplace. The latter theme is particularly surprising

since most opinion polls have shown an overwhelming number of Americans say they are satisfied with their jobs. (A thorough discussion of job satisfaction and work alienation studies will be presented later.) Since work attains such a prominent position in an adult's life, its impact on attitudes, values, beliefs, and the formation of group attachments should be extensive. In the course of assessing the political significance of worklife, this research will present findings about the meaning and importance attached to work revealing much about the level of satisfaction felt by the worker.

In order to gain as broad a perspective on the relationship between worklife and political life as possible, the workers in the study represent a wide spectrum of occupational positions. The research sample of municipal workers, members of District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees in New York City, provides a fairly representative group of workers. Most studies of worklife have concentrated on private industrial workers.⁵ This research is unique in that it deals with public employees who work predominantly in the service sector. The advantages of focusing upon governmental employees are clear. In a study of the relationship between work and political behavior, the public employee should represent the clearest and most direct connection between work and politics. When one's employer is also the government, the link between worklife and politics should be most palpable. Along with

this logically necessary connection, the New York City fiscal crisis and the very active political concerns of District Council 37 should have highlighted the relationship between worklife and politics among members of our sample. Finally, employment patterns in the United States reflect the growth of service sector jobs which further underscore the importance of this study.

Because there is such occupational diversity among these municipal employees, we are also able to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the impact and meaning of work in American society. Instead of concentrating on one particular work setting (e. g., the automobile assembly-line) or the significance of technological changes in any one industry, the occupational diversity of District Council 37 members offers us a broader perspective of American worklife than other studies. In this manner, we can also test the assumption that there is a growing congruence between the content of blue and white-collar work and manual and non-manual workers.

Chapter Outline

Chapter one develops a theory of the impact of work on political attitudes and behavior. This chapter places the meaning of work in historical and theoretical perspective, justifying the significance of the research and clarifying its focus. Various political and social theories are brought together in order to develop the hypotheses about the

relationship between worklife and political life.

Chapter two reviews the empirical literature on the meaning and significance of worklife; further it presents a review of job satisfaction studies. The overview provides several reference points for this study and refines the methodological tools of the research. It also provides a cohesive picture of the research in the field from various social science disciplines.

The third chapter describes the method of study and provides a brief sketch of the union's history and membership.

Chapter four discusses the results of the survey research on the meaning and purpose of work--in it there is a careful relating of the findings to the original hypotheses and comparing the results of this study to previous ones.

Chapter five analyzes the findings concerning the relationship between worklife and political attitudes and behavior. The results are analyzed from the theoretical perspectives developed earlier. Here, too, there is a comparison of these results with previous research.

A concluding chapter places the study in the context of our present understanding of worklife. Suggestions are made about future research in this area and the need for methodological refinement in the study of work. This final chapter also contains the implications of this study's findings on theories about the role of work and workers in the political process.

FOOTNOTES

INTRODUCTION

¹See Louis Feuer, "What is Alienation? The Career of a Concept," New Politics, 1, No. 3 (Spring 1962): 116-34; Joachim Israel, Alienation: From Marx to Modern Sociology (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1971); Frank Johnson, ed., Alienation: Concept, Term and Meaning (New York: Seminar Press, 1973); Richard Schacht, Alienation (Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, 1971).

²Frank Johnson, "Alienation: Overview and Introduction," in Johnson, Alienation, pp. 3-24.

³Eric Josephson and Mary Redmer Josephson, "Alienation: Contemporary Sociological Approaches," in Johnson, Alienation, p. 164.

⁴See for example, Angus Campbell, Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, and Donald F. Stokes, The American Voter (New York: Wiley, 1960); Ada W. Finifter, "Dimensions of Political Alienation" in Ada W. Finifter, Alienation and the Social System (New York: Wiley, 1972), pp. 189-212; Joel Aberbach, "Alienation and Political Behavior," American Political Science Review, 58 (March 1969): 86-99; Dwight Dean, "Alienation: Its Meaning and Measurement," American Sociological Review, 26, No. 5 (1961): 753-58; Robert S. Gilmour and Robert B. Lamb, Political Alienation in Contemporary America (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1975).

⁵See for example, Charles Walker and Robert Guest, The Man on the Assembly Line (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952); Ely Chinoy, Automobile Worker and the American Dream (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1955); Robert Blauner, Alienation and Freedom: The Factory and His Industry (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1964); J. H. Goldthorpe, D. Lockwood, F. Bachofer, and J. Platt, The Affluent Worker: Industrial Attitudes and Behavior (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968).

CHAPTER I

THE THEORETICAL LINK BETWEEN WORK ALIENATION AND POLITICAL ALIENATION

Any study of work must grapple with the complex and diverse interpretations of human labor. This chapter reviews the changing perspectives of work through history and outlines the hypothetical relationships between work alienation and political alienation, the examination and testing of which are the burden of the research undertaken for this study. The hypotheses that are developed reflect the modern concern for fulfilling or psychologically rewarding work and the increasing likelihood that such fulfillment is unlikely to be found. Testing for the existence of substantial work alienation, of course, is a crucial aspect of this study. The existence of alienated work, the inability of the worker to use his unique abilities on the job, and the perception that work is a means to an end rather than an end in itself,¹ provides the theoretical link between worklife and political life. It is argued that the possible existence of this extensive work alienation not only constitutes a major political and social problem in itself, but more importantly, that the psychological impact of work alienation upon the individual worker affects his attitudes towards political life, colors

his perception of the political world, affects the level of his political participation, and affects the content of his non-worklife. Specifically, an investigation will demonstrate that the scholarly literature generally argues that there is a strong correlation between work alienation and a cluster of attitudes associated with political and social alienation.

The hypothetical relationships between work alienation and political alienation are gleaned from historical and theoretical treatments of work and contemporary empirical studies on the meaning and impact of work. Using these studies of worklife, a clarification is made of the theoretical links between work attitudes and political attitudes and behavior. The discussion indicates that hypotheses about the relationship between work and political attitudes are not always consistent. An attempt is made to reconcile these contradictory theories and to identify those hypotheses that are tested in this case study. There is also a development of the process by which work alienation leads to political alienation.

The Significance of Work for Individual Attitudes and Behavior

There have been more diverse interpretations of the meaning and significance of work than almost any other form of human activity. The concept of work has been analyzed and debated almost from the beginning of recorded human

history. Ethologists and anthropologists have even studied work forms of lower organisms in order to understand better the extrinsic and intrinsic value of human labor. Yet, despite an almost unanimous agreement concerning the importance of work, social scientists and philosophers are still essentially unclear about the precise impact (if any) work has on other aspects of human behavior.

The study of work's effect on attitude and behavior still remains a significant undertaking.² Over one hundred million Americans engage in some form of labor during their lifetime. The performance of work, moreover, consumes a majority or more of an individual's waking hours. Thus, work not only remains the largest single focus of an individual's attention,³ but it probably defines an individual's appreciation of and regard for himself more than any other activity. A person's status, outlook on life, feeling of self-worth, and ego-development are all integrally connected to the kind of work one does. Each day of his working life, an individual constantly reaffirms his sense of self and position in society through the kind of labor he performs. Work leaves an indelible mark on what a person thinks of himself and his abilities. A special task force, established in 1971 and empowered by the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare to examine the significance of human labor, clearly underlined work's unparalleled impact:

Work contributes to self-esteem in two ways. The first is that, through the inescapable awareness of one's efficacy and competence in dealing with the objects of work, a person acquires a sense of mastery over both himself and his environment. The second derives from the view, stated earlier, that an individual is working when he is engaging in activities valued by other people. That is, the job tells the worker day in and day out that he has something to offer . . .

The workplace generally, then, is one of the major foci of personal evaluation. It is where one's esteem is constantly on the line, and where every effort will be made to avoid reduction in self-evaluation and its attending sense of failure.⁴

It is abundantly clear, then, that the impact of work upon the individual transcends the workplace. At work, a person can develop attitudes and feelings of competence and self-worth that may dramatically affect his perceptions of the world and participation in non-work activities.⁵ The realization of worklife's potential impact makes its effect on political life, a particularly important concern for the political scientist.

The significance of worklife on attitude and behavior only begins with an evaluation of its psychological effects upon the individual worker. The social context of the work situation also looms as an equally important factor in the development (or restructuring) of political attitudes and behavior. Although individuals sometimes work alone, more often than not, they work in groups. These work groups frequently become occupational communities where rich and rewarding friendships are made, and shared attitudes and

perceptions can be developed and be mutually reinforced. These friendships and work communities often give rise to a "sense of belonging."⁶ Personal ties among workers spillover into joint political and leisure activities.⁷ They can also lead to a "group-consciousness."

In this manner, workers in occupational communities, created through shared experiences, often express views of society and the power and prestige of various groups that are shared by most of their fellow workers. Indeed, the belief that "the individual's social consciousness is to a large extent influenced by the immediate social context"⁸ (i. e., the workplace) has already been substantiated in sociological studies. Thus, primary associations developed at the workplace are certainly another significant aspect of worklife deserving of further study. Unfortunately, unlike the political scientists' interest in the role of unions, the impact of the immediate workgroup on political beliefs has been relatively ignored.

Work and Its Changing Meaning in Different Historical Eras

It is undeniable, then, that work has a major impact on the individual worker's attitudes and behavior. Precisely what the effect is, however, remains a constant source of disagreement. Since worklife has been studied by many diverse and different disciplines, many plausible yet contradictory

theories have been offered. Furthermore, the meaning of work has changed in the course of human history. These changes provoke further ambiguity about the kinds of work that should be fulfilling to humans and the ways in which work affects non-worklife.

Before analyzing the major contemporary theories, it is, therefore, important to review and contrast briefly the diverse meanings attributed to labor throughout history. Not only will a review place contemporary problems in a clearer analytical context by contrasting conflicting views, but historical meanings usually offer insights into the relationship between work and other areas of life. In fact, most of the present hypotheses about the impact of work on human behavior can be found in some form during the course of an historical review. Secondly, the impact of work on the worker is not simply a result of the meaning one attaches to one's labor. As C. Wright Mills stated, the effect of work on the individual is mediated by the views of society and others on the value they place on that form of labor.⁹ In the final analysis, the meaning an individual attributes to his work is a composite of the worker's and society's views.

Two main themes structure the historical evolution of the concept of work. The first is the growing awareness of work's intrinsic value; the second is work's meaning for other spheres of life.¹⁰ Tilgher argued that, although every culture had to consider the place of human activity in

its society, only writers of the past four hundred years emphasized the belief that work was the major expression of man's innate creativity.¹¹ No society doubted mankind's inescapable compulsion to work in some manner, but only since the Renaissance have theorists placed the significance of work on such a high pedestal. The glorification of labor coincided with the belief that man's need to work went beyond mere instinctual drives and emphasized man's ability to intellectualize about the object of one's labor prior to its actual creation. Work was no longer perceived as something external and burdensome, but as the essence of human creativity. This shift of emphasis, however, did not come about quickly.

The Judaic Conceptions of Work

There were two strands of thought within the Judaic conception of work. One conception of work revolving around Adam's expulsion from the Garden of Eden, viewed it as a joyless drudgery. As a result of his disregard of God's command, man, like all other animals, was obliged to work.¹² To labor constantly to maintain one's own subsistence meant an eternal expiation of Adam's sinful act. Man's labor, in essence, was in stark contrast to the act of creation. Unlike God's creation of the earth which, according to Tilgher, was tantamount to a free and playful expenditure of energy,¹³ man toiled constantly in drudgery and without joy.

The second theme within the Judaic conception emphasized

the dignity of labor and its uplifting effects. This theme was found throughout the Talmudic literature.¹⁴ Its value is summarized by Dr. Cohen,

Indeed, work is the very foundation of man's existence. Therefore, choose life (Deut. xxx. 19) i.e., a handicraft, is a terse and forceful expression of the idea. "A blessing only alights upon the work of a man's hands" (Tosifta, ver. vii. 8) is another utterance indicating that labour is the path to happiness.¹⁵

Even Talmudic scholars were exhorted to spend time working and contributing to the community along with time spent studying Judaic law. Within the Jewish community, this tradition, the glorification of labor, remained important. Outside of the Jewish community, its impact was minimal until the Renaissance.

The belief that work was nothing more than atonement for Original Sin was generally accepted in early Christianity. Charity was the only positive factor associated with labor. The concept of sharing goods produced by individuals with the needy enhanced the instrumental value of work but contributed little to its intrinsic worth to the worker himself.

The Greek Concept of Work

The Greeks, too, generally failed to attribute much positive value to most forms of labor. As Hannah Arendt illustrated, the Greeks held most common work activities in contempt as unworthy of the truly good man.¹⁶ Labor, as understood by

the Greeks, referred to all forms of toil undertaken to provide the necessities of life.¹⁷ Since the laborer was constrained by necessity, he did not even have the time or freedom to be a good citizen in the polis. Indeed, Aristotle refused citizenship or citizen excellence to those engaged in menial duties. In his discussion of citizenship, he stated,

The truth is that we cannot include as citizens all who are "necessary conditions" (without being integral parts) of the state's existence. . . . The best form of state (will not go so far, but at the same time it) will not make the mechanic a citizen. In states where mechanics are admitted to citizenship we shall have to say that the citizen excellence of which we have spoken (that of the good citizen who has experience of ruling as well as of being ruled) cannot be attained by every citizen, or by all who are simple free men, but can only be achieved by those who are free from menial duties.¹⁸

Labor detracted from contemplation of the Good, and consequently, was held in low regard. Homer's opinion that man was condemned to work by the gods generally represented the Greek's base view of animal laborans.¹⁹

Work in the Renaissance and Reformation

This degradation of work continued to be dominant until the Renaissance and the Reformation. From the era of Roman dominance through the Middle Ages, no coherent philosophy espousing the intrinsic meaning of work for the individual took hold.²⁰ The Renaissance and the Reformation, however,

marked an abrupt change in the appraisal of work as a central life activity. Yet, a fundamental difference existed between these two visions of work. Although, as Weber showed, the advent of Protestantism elevated work "in the modern mind as the base and key of life"²¹ and as evidence of being among the elect, only the religious rather than the creative aspects of labor were deemed important.²² Work's moral value did not consist in the fulfillment of man's creativity. Rather, according to Luther, an individual's calling "was the only way [of] living acceptably to God,"²³ or, for Calvin, the surest evidence of election was to do good works. Enjoyment of the work process itself was never accorded a prominent place in the Protestant's original conception of work.

The Renaissance writers, however, viewed work as an end and purpose in itself. It is here that theorists began to appraise work as the creative quality of man that distinguishes him from all other animals. The emphasis on both the mental and mechanical processes of work to fulfill man's creative needs was made. Thus, work had a potentially dual meaning. It was still a means to "satisfy his primal needs" but it was also a process that helped fulfill his psychic needs. As Irving Bernstein remarked, "the first (need) he shares with all other animals, the second (need) is unique to Homo sapiens."²⁴ The Renaissance is significant since it, along with the Reformation, established the foundation of a life centered around work but, even of more importance, work

can henceforth be regarded as an intrinsic measure of man's worth and self-esteem.

Nineteenth Century Socialist Theories of Work

Although Thomas More, in Utopia, advocated work for all, it was the nineteenth century socialist and utopian thinkers who adapted man's enthusiasm for work to both their critiques of present society and the construction of their ideal ones. For example, Charles Fourier criticized the "enslavement" of most civilized men to performing loathsome work.²⁵ He found it reprehensible that men were compelled to engage in labor that was unfulfilling and unenjoyable. Indeed, Fourier perceived work as the "key to human happiness."²⁶ He felt that work was a delight for other creatures and sought to apply this belief to his Utopian society. Accordingly, Fourier conceived of his ideal society as a place where tasks were performed that were pleasing to the individual worker. He viewed diversity in tasks, rewarding, and supportive work groups, and the matching of an individual's personality with certain forms of work as a panacea for the unhappy laborer. Although his solutions overlooked the changing nature of work in the nineteenth century, Fourier's ideas represented the growing importance placed on the work process by Proudhon, Saint-Simon, and others.

Marx and Engels on Work

Karl Marx's and Friedrich Engel's writings represented the theoretical culmination of a work-centered life. Their ideas have been translated into testable hypotheses about the relationship between work and non-worklife by empirical sociologists and political scientists. Although the concept of man as a creative being, one who affirms himself through his work, does not originate with Marx and Engels, they approached their understanding of society from the perspective of man as worker. The distinction between man and other animals, according to Marx, was found in the work process:

Admittedly animals also produce. They build themselves nests, dwellings, like the bees, beavers, ants, etc. But an animal only produces what it immediately needs for itself or its young. It produces one-sidedly, whilst man produces universally. It produces only under the dominion of immediate physical need, whilst man produces even when he is free from physical need and only produces in freedom therefrom. An animal produces only itself, whilst man produces the whole of nature.²⁷

Because they believed that man's creativity was stifled by the capitalist mode of production, they emphasized the harmful effects capitalism had upon the worker. Marx outlined four kinds of alienation that the worker experiences: (1) alienation from himself, (2) alienation from the work process, (3) alienation from the product, and (4) alienation from his fellow-worker. The negative consequences upon the individual, according to Marx, were enormous: " . . . Therefore,

he does not affirm himself but denies himself, does not feel content but unhappy, does not develop freely his physical and mental energy but mortifies his body and ruins his mind. The worker therefore only feels himself outside his work, and in his work he feels outside himself. He is at home when he is not working, and when he is working he is not at home."²⁸

Although it may be a disservice to the theoretical approach of Marx and Engels to argue that they were stating empirically testable relationships between worklife and non-work attitudes and activities, the seeds of a causal relationship are present in their writing.²⁹ Indeed, Engel's account of the conditions of the Manchester working class came quite close to offering testable hypotheses. After relating that the worker is constrained in his job and reduced to being a repetitive, thoughtless machine, Engels asserted that the consequences of such work were observable during their leisure time.

On Saturday evenings, especially when wages are paid and work stops somewhat earlier than usual, when the whole working-class pours from its own poor quarters into the main thoroughfare, intemperance may be seen in all its brutality.

Next to intemperance in the enjoyment of intoxicating liquors, one of the principal faults of English workingmen is sexual license. But this, too, follows with relentless logic, with inevitable necessity, out of the position of a class left to itself, with no means of making fitting use of its freedom . . . the workingmen, in order to get something from life, concentrate their whole energy upon these two enjoyments. . . .³⁰

As Harold Wilensky observed, the role of "explosive" leisure activity as a compensation for stifling labor is evident in these writings.³¹

Although many argue that Marx's later writings are unrelated to his earlier "humanistic period" and this idealized concept of work, passages in Das Kapital reaffirmed his concern for the effects of the division of labor and mechanization on the worker. His belief that the processes of production "mutilate the labourer into a fragment of a man" and "degrade him to the level of an appendage to a machine" reflected this concern.³² Parts of this work vividly described the negative impact of unrewarding labor on the nineteenth century worker. Significantly, modern social scientists adopted the core of Marx's argument that the effects of work transcend the workplace.

Beyond their concern for the individual worker, Marx and Engels also emphasized the importance of the social context of work. Class consciousness could only develop in a situation where men worked together, shared mutual experiences, and engaged in discussion. The necessity of a social mode of production to enhance the formation of a politically relevant group distinguished the industrial working-class from the peasantry. The peasants could never be a class for themselves precisely because they rarely interacted. "The small peasants form a vast mass, the members of which live in similar conditions, but without entering into manifold relations with one

another. Their mode of production isolated them from one another, instead of bringing them into mutual intercourse."³³ On the other hand, the social mode of production enabled the industrial worker to associate with others, share mutual experiences, develop a class consciousness, and become a politically active class.

Engels argued, "The workers begin to feel themselves members of a homogeneous social group. They realize that, although they are weak as individuals, they are strong if united. . . . It helps to weld the proletariat into a compact group with its own ways of life and thought and its own outlook on society."³⁴ This concept of class consciousness is very similar to the present idea of an occupational community where the social context of the work situation provides the necessary conditions for the development of shared attitudes, beliefs, and political and leisure activity. Although Marx and Engels were clearly wrong in their "prediction" of a revolutionary working-class or the form of occupational community, the assertion that the workplace assumes a primary position in the formation of political attitudes and ideas is still relevant today.

Freud on Work

While Marx and Engels approached the problem of work as social theorists, Freud briefly discussed the psychological meaning of work. In Civilization and its Discontents, Freud

underlined the importance of work as a reality-testing activity and as a primary path towards intrinsic satisfaction:

It is not possible within the limits of a short survey, to discuss adequately the significance of work for the economics of the libido. No other technique for the conduct of life attaches the individual so firmly to reality as laying emphasis on work; for his work at least gives him a secure place in a portion of reality, in the human community. The possibility it offers of displacing a large amount of libidinal components, whether narcissitic, aggressive or even erotic, on to professional work and on the human relations connected with it lends a value no means second to what it enjoys as something indispensable to the preservation and justification of existence in society. Professional activity is a source of special satisfaction if it is a freely chosen one--if, that is to say, by means of sublimation, it makes possible the use of existing inclinations, of persisting or constitutionally reinforced instinctual impulses. And yet, as a path to happiness, work is not highly prized by men. They do not strive after it as they do after other possibilities of satisfaction. The great majority of people only work under the stress of necessity, and the natural human aversion to work raises most difficult social problems.³⁵

Freud clearly considered work as a potential satisfier of instinctual impulses. Yet, at the same time, he recognized man's ambivalent attitude toward work. Despite its potential for fulfillment, work was not usually performed unless it was necessary. Unlike Marx, Freud did not assume that man becomes alienated without creative work. Even with this disagreement, Freud, like Marx, recognized the intrinsic worth of a creative activity and implied that potentially harmful effects may result from unfulfilling work.

Weber and Durkheim on Work

Other major social theorists elaborated upon the growing alienation of the individual in industrial society. Weber, for example, extended Marx's concept of the division of labor at the workplace to other areas of life.³⁶ As Gerth and Mills pointed out, Weber's theory of bureaucracy and the use of formal rationality applied also to the soldier's separation from the means of violence and the scientist's separation from the means of inquiry. His more inclusive theory was a major corrective to Marx's contention that only the capitalist mode of production was responsible for man's sense of self-estrangement. Durkheim's analysis of the division of labor also differed in approach from that of Marx. His discussion in The Division of Labor³⁷ and in Suicide³⁸ focused on the destruction of the normative structures of traditional society and the breakup of integrated communities. The impact of industrialization may produce a sense of loneliness and isolation for individuals. Durkheim considered this possibility, however, as an abnormal form of the division of labor. Durkehim's approach, although concerned with the individual, centered around the idea of social cohesion.

By the end of the nineteenth century, the concept of work had already undergone a major transformation. Work was no longer simply viewed as a means to an end but was considered

as an end in itself. As this transformation took place, the phenomenon of work became even more important. Consequently, work as a social problem emerged as a central concern for social scientists.

Contemporary Observations on the Meaning of Work

Disciplinary Approaches

Contemporary observers of industrial and post-industrial society recognized the changing structure of work organizations and qualitative changes in work itself. Some agreed with Marx and others that work was becoming less demanding and creative as a result of the constraints of organization and the need for efficiency.³⁹ The worker's performance became subject to the application of time-motion studies to the work process. The formal rationality of the organization replaced the rationality and creativity of the individual.⁴⁰ Others, however, believed that work was becoming more rewarding with a commensurate increase in the need for technical competence.⁴¹ Regardless of their interpretation, the effect of work on the worker particularly concerned the social scientist. It was inescapably clear that a time-consuming activity such as work could not fail to affect the worker's self-esteem and social attitudes. As Georges Friedmann observed, it was safe to assume that the worker brings home what he learns about himself on the job.⁴² The impact of work clearly raised significant issues in the area of political

socialization, particularly in a democratic society.

Political Scientists and Work

Political scientists, sociologists, and industrial psychologists all approached the problem from different perspectives. With their divergent approaches, their results sometimes yielded contradictory, yet equally convincing hypotheses. As a political scientist, Robert Lane was concerned with the impact of work on a democratic society. Since the ideal of democracy implies the need for some degree of citizen participation, Lane questioned the impact of repetitive, boring work on the individual as citizen.⁴³ Since it could be argued that participation depends upon a person's feeling of competence and level of self-esteem, it was possible that stifling work helped produce non-participants in a democratic society. (Perhaps this was Aristotle's contention in his discussion of citizenship.) What an individual learned about himself was easily translated into his non-work or political attitudes and behavior. More specifically, a person who felt helpless and unproductive in the immediate work environment would also feel powerless in the political world. As Lane indicated,

Men who think themselves worthy of attention will petition for change, while others will not--perhaps raging privately instead. Men with self-respect can engage in harmonious and reciprocal relations with others, while those who do not respect themselves must subordinate themselves with occasional outbursts

of protest. Men must respect their own judgment before they exercise initiative or agree to share power.⁴⁴

Workers who were asked to man an assembly line or perform tasks by rote were not likely to develop characteristics associated with the "democratic citizen." The idea that a society's institutions could promote attitudes that so clearly contradicted its own democratic values was quite disconcerting to Lane.⁴⁵

In some aspects, these assertions were very similar to John Dewey's theory about the relationship between a democratically operated schools system, primary or economic association, and a democratic polity. Despite Lane's belief that Dewey's theory was plausible, he was hesitant to accept its validity at face value. (Indeed, Lane's own study found little evidence to support these contentions.)

Empirically oriented political scientists have not actually developed a more extensive theory of the impact of work alienation on political attitudes and behavior. They have often assumed a logical connection between one form of alienation (political) and another (work). No compelling reasons were offered to explain how work alienation would lead to political alienation. Linking these two attitude structures was frequently done without any theoretical justification; nevertheless, the elements for such a theory are present. Much of the theory can be extracted from child

socialization studies; particularly Stanley Renshon's Psychological Needs and Political Behavior. Child and adolescent socialization studies evaluated the impact of schools and parent upbringing on the development of political attitudes and behavior. Renshon's approach, in particular, made use of Abraham Maslow's theory of self-actualization.⁴⁶ Maslow's humanistic psychology posits a hierarchy of needs that a person seeks to fulfill. These needs range from physiological or basic survival needs⁴⁷ up through the need for self-esteem⁴⁸ and self-actualization.⁴⁹ As an individual achieves his lower order needs, he strives to fulfill his higher order ones. If the need for self-esteem, a high evaluation of oneself, and for self-actualization are thwarted, feelings of inferiority, weakness, and helplessness can be produced.⁵⁰ Renshon related Maslow's theory to the need for personal control and proceeded to establish an historical basis that such a need exists.⁵¹

His study, though it dealt with the relationship between childhood autonomy and the acquisition of personal control, offered a number of hypotheses that are useful for our purposes. Renshon argued that one whose needs for personal control go unfulfilled is also likely to experience the external environment as hostile. He will doubt his ability to influence events, mistrust his own abilities, and translate his own mistrust into mistrust of others. Thus,

thwarted needs lead to an individual who feels politically inefficacious and who is unwilling to trust others. Since it is reasonable to assume that participation hinges upon an individual's perception of his own ability to manipulate the environment, a negative self-image serves to limit his involvement. This, in turn, is likely to hinder an individual's participation in group or other social activities. Furthermore, it can also lead to a mistrust of political and social institutions since the individual feels unable to influence others. A theoretical connection between unfulfilled needs and a cluster of attitudes and behavior usually identified with the concept of political alienation is clearly outlined. Renshon's own study of child upbringing supports many of these hypotheses.

It is quite reasonable to apply the theory behind this study of child socialization to a study of work. Primarily, Maslow's own needs theory was particularly geared to an evaluation of modern work:

If work is introjected into the self (I guess it always is, more or less, even when one tries to prevent it), then the relationship between self-esteem and work is closer than I had thought. . . . Maybe more of our contemporary malaise is due to the introjection of nonprideful, robotized, broken-down-into-easy bits kind of work than I had thought.⁵²

Thus, bored and stifled workers may also tend to feel politically inefficacious, mistrust others, mistrust the political system, rarely participate in political, union, and community

activities and express an inability to determine their own future. These hypotheses closely parallel Marx's earlier stated views about the connection between the worker's alienation from the self and alienation from others. Significantly, Maslow's theory and description of self-actualization⁵³ is analogous to Marx's account of man's innate creative needs. (A major difference between them is that Marx expected high levels of work dissatisfaction in capitalist society whereas Maslow made no such claim.) Both argued, nevertheless, that an unfulfilling worklife has a deleterious effect upon citizen participation and upon "healthy" political attitudes. Maslow's theory hence provides the theoretical basis for linking work alienation with political alienation.

Political scientists argued that another dimension of work, beyond the actual duties performed by individual workers, could contribute towards the lack of political participation. Workers in a complex organization or at the lower or lowest rung in a hierarchy are frequently deprived of initiative or participation in the decision-making process. This situation, too, may diminish the worker's self-esteem and may help promote cynical attitudes towards institutions and a sense of individual dependence.⁵⁴ Consequently, the work structure as well as the work content can play a role in the development of political attitudes.

Industrial Psychologists and Sociologists on Work

The industrial psychologists' and sociologists' approach towards an understanding of work and concern for its impact were somewhat different than that of the political scientist. Their concluding hypotheses, however, were sometimes consistent and sometimes inconsistent with the ideas set forth by political scientists. In fact, their contradictory theories on the impact of work presented serious problems in understanding work's effect on political attitudes and behavior.

Most industrial psychologists and sociologists recognized the essential role of work in an individual's evaluation of himself. Whether work's significance stemmed from Freud's belief that it fulfilled instinctual impulses or Maslow's need theory of self-actualization, work attained a prominent place in the study of human behavior. As Arthur Kornhauser stated, work "operates as a great stabilizing, integrating, ego-satisfying central influence in the pattern of each person's life. If the job fails to fulfill the needs of the personality, it is problematic whether man can find adequate substitutes to provide a sense of significance and achievement."⁵⁵

If work was essentially unfulfilling, sociologists and industrial psychologists had to consider its possible consequences outside of work. Generally, their conclusions led to two possible, yet contradictory, alternatives. Some

have argued, along with the political scientists, that the passivity and dependence experienced at the workplace tends to promote passive and inactive leisure life-styles. Erich Fromm contended that the "unsatisfactory character of work" can result in the "ideal of complete laziness."⁵⁶ Fromm assumed that within man there is an innate need for creativity. One who finds himself stifled in a work situation and unable to determine his own work pace eventually comes to accept this self-defined role. Away from work, he remains relatively passive and inactive.

The implications of such a theory are quite broad. The content of leisure-time activities is presumed to "spill-over" from the context of one's worklife. A. W. Bacon clearly stated the theory,

People whose work does not reward their motivational investment, who experience a lack of interest, control or autonomy in their work, learn the lesson of retreatism. This is carried over into the nonwork sphere. Leisure is characterized by passive, home-centered idle amusement; the purported aim is fun, relaxation and a good-time.⁵⁷

Others, especially industrial psychologist Chris Argyris,⁵⁸ agreed that those who are bored and stifled at work duplicate that pattern off the job. Of particular significance to the political scientist is Argyris' suggested connection "between the tendency for increased political apathy that has been reported and the apathy reported in the plant."⁵⁹ Thus, one possible relationship between worklife and non-worklife

suggested by sociologists and psychologists corresponded with the "non-participant" hypotheses posited by political scientists.

Another potential reaction to dissatisfying work has also been suggested by Fromm,⁶⁰ Friedmann,⁶¹ and Wilensky.⁶² They speculated that alienated workers, frustrated and dehumanized by demeaning or unrewarding work, develop a hostility towards everyone connected with work as well as those outside the workplace. Expressions of lack of trust in unions, governmental institutions, and other people (alienation) may thus be a product of alienated work. This corresponded with Lane's speculations. Friedmann went further by suggesting that unrewarding work may arouse aggressive tendencies and "outbursts of self-assertion" including excessive drinking or drug use and participation in brutal games or amusements.⁶³ Wilensky drew an even more vivid picture of this release of aggression:

Think of the Detroit autoworker: gripped bodily to the main line for eight-hours, doing repetitive, low-skilled, machine-paced work that is wholly ungratifying, he comes rushing out of the plant gate, helling down the superhighway at 80 miles an hour in a secondhand Cadillac, stops off for beer (when commuter traffic piles up) and starts a barroom brawl, goes home and beats his wife--and in his spare time throws a rock at a Negro moving into the neighborhood. It is possible that his routine of leisure is an explosive compensation (*italics mine*) for the deadening rhythm of factory life and the frustrating journey to work.⁶⁴

Hostile attitudes and active, although aggressive,

leisure activities were seen as a product of alienating and stultifying work. Once again, these speculations were similar to Engel's description of working-class behavior in Manchester. Engels argued,

The worker comes home tired and exhausted from his labours. He finds that his comfortless and unattractive dwelling is both damp and dirty. He urgently needs some stimulant; he must have something to recompense him for his labours during the day and enable him to face the prospect of the next day's dreary toil.⁶⁵

This active, aggressive reaction is only one form of a more generally stated relationship between work and non-worklife--the compensatory hypotheses. In opposition to a repetitive, passive worklife, the worker seeks to regain his autonomy in his leisure hours. He can do this through creative leisure activities that provide the "initiative, responsibility and sense of achievement denied to him in his work." Creative hobbies, self-help classes, or personal involvement in community and social activities become outlets for self-expression that is lacking during work hours. Leisure time, consequently, compensates for the deadening pace of work. As opposed to the spillover thesis (passivity and alienation), the worker's non-work activities reflect a desire to control one's environment through participation and activity.

These two different sets of hypotheses, the spillover and compensatory theses, thus offer stimulating but internally contradictory hypotheses. Along with the political scientists,

the sociologists, and industrial psychologists have viewed extreme apathy, political, and social alienation as a possible consequence of dissatisfying work. At the same time, other sociologists and industrial psychologists, including some of the same advocates of the spillover thesis, have argued that a creative or active leisure time can compensate for alienated labor. If both explanations are accepted simultaneously, then worklife can be correlated with almost any form of human behavior. A theory, however, that explains in essence everything, offers very few valuable insights. No patterns can be discerned nor can any general conclusions be drawn. What is left, as Robert Lane noted above, are plausibly stated theories that cannot be tested in the "real world."

Yet the literature on work is dominated by those who argue that a consistency between work and non-worklife exists. This viewpoint was upheld particularly by advocates of "participatory democracy" in the 1960s. Pateman, for example, sought to explain the lack of participation by concentrating on the effects of the workplace. Maslow's theory of self-actualization, Fromm's portrait of industrial man, and industrial psychologists generally agreed that the quality of worklife spilled over into (rather than compensated for) other spheres of life.

They all posited an innate need for self-actualization or creative labor. It is equally clear that the "spillover" thesis, as Lane argued, has more serious ramifications for

analysis of political life. If worklife contributes towards political apathy, pessimism and a general withdrawal from community life, then the proper functioning of a democratic system is endangered. Building on this concept, the present research concentrates upon the hypothesized relationships between work alienation and political alienation, passivity, and a cluster of attitudes associated with these feelings. It seeks to study the interaction between work alienation and political behavior, with particular emphasis on the extent of political alienation.

The relationship between work alienation and political attitudes stems from the individual's lack of fulfillment at his actual job. The inability to determine one's pace of work, the insufficient challenge of the job (the tasks are not commensurate with the capability of the worker), and the monotony or repetitiveness of job task all constitute this aspect of work dissatisfaction. These factors contribute or detract from an individual's sense of self and need for self-control which, as has been asserted, is the connecting thread between work and political attitudes. This part of the research is in effect an adult socialization study.

Work Alienation: The Loss of Meaning

The meaning workers attach to their work is yet another component of work alienation that has political ramifications. When work is viewed as a means to an end rather than an end

in itself, that worker is considered to be alienated from his job. Such a perspective is summarized by Blauner's concept of "self-estrangement":

Self-estrangement is experienced as a heightened awareness of time, as a split between present activity and future considerations. Non-alienated activity consists of immersion in the present, it is involvement. Alienated activity is not free spontaneous activity but is compulsive and driven by necessity. In non-alienated activity the rewards are in the activity itself; in alienated states they are largely extrinsic to the activity, which has become primarily a means to an end.⁶⁶

As a result of this self-estrangement, workers consciously seek to separate their worklife from other concerns. The alienated worker seeks escape from his "occupational identity" and from his fellow-workers. Thus, self-estrangement, in the final analysis, leads to one being "socially alienated from the world of work." This form of alienation has political consequences.

As was shown above, Marx asserted that the workplace provided a framework around which the industrial worker's life was centered. This belief emerged from Marx's contention that work was the central activity of human existence. As a result, he felt that a working-class, sharing common work and leisure activities, could form a politically significant community. In the present context, Marx's concept of "working-class" is replaced by the term occupational community.⁶⁷ In this community, workers from the same occupation or workplace frequently socialize together and share common beliefs and

grievances.

Kornblum, in his study of Chicago steelworkers,⁶⁸ presented the possibilities of extending a common work experience as opposed to separating activities:

In their leisure lives outside the mills, South Chicago families could attempt to segregate themselves within ethnic cultural worlds, or they might associate with diverse groups of neighborhood friends, but in every case ethnic segregation was limited by the more universalistic experience of life on rolling mills, blast furnaces, coke ovens, ore docks, and the switchyards of the steel industry.⁶⁹

His study concluded that work groups, where work is not tedious, form stronger attachments than where the work is boring.⁷⁰ In the process, workers develop shared political perspectives that help shape their political views.

This thesis that work forms a focal point for the development of a political community rests on the continued centrality of the work experience. It is, however, a theory which is now seriously questioned.⁷¹ Instead of finding fulfillment at work and building his non-worklife around friendships developed at work, the worker begins to devalue the work experience. Unlike Marx, modern sociologists and social theorists view American society as focusing on leisure activities that are totally divorced from the work experience.

John Alt succinctly articulated this transformation from a work-centered life to a leisure-centered life:

The culmination, then, of these trends is the work-place atomization of the worker and the cultural devaluation of work as a source of values, social relations, and intrinsic satisfaction. Occupational communities, which sought to defend and ameliorate the conditions of early industrial employment, were undermined by the atomization of the worker at the work-place, higher wages, consumerism, and reduced work time. Labor ceased to be a determinant influence on the experience of daily life and gave way to private gratifications of family life and consumersim. The worker, while more reified than before because of Taylorism, tolerated and was even "satisfied" with his work so long as it provided the money to enjoy a new "middle-class" way of life outside the work-place during the newly-gained leisure time.⁷²

A new attitude towards the centrality of the work experience could be reflected in several ways: (1) an extrinsic orientation to work--valuing work for its rewards rather than its intrinsic aspects. (This does not mean that a person does not internalize his work experience.); (2) limited interaction among workers at the workplace and away from work; (3) inability to form an occupational community; and (4) the absence of extensive political discussions among fellow workers. A "devaluation" of the work experience thus raises many serious questions for political scientists.

Viewing work as instrumental may be a product of stifling or psychologically unrewarding work or it may simply reflect the value that American society places on work. Regardless of its origin, this discussion suggests that an instrumental orientation towards work, a form of work alienation, diminishes the importance of the workplace and of fellow workers as sources of political values or beliefs. This possibility will be considered in this study.

Summary

As the historical meaning of work has changed dramatically in importance, there has also been a growing emphasis on its effect on the worker's political beliefs and activities. It was inevitable that social scientists would presume that the "activity of everyday life" would be a major determinant of an individual's perceptions. Work, as the major component of adult life, emerges as a significant activity and the theories of work argue that it plays a central role in the development of an individual's belief system.

Specifically, our review of the literature has shown that the effects of work on political and social attitudes, political and union activities, and non-worklife appear both extensive and damaging to a democratic society. If work is overwhelmingly alienating, then workers become apathetic, alienated, and "culturally dislodged from the world of work." Personal meaning is found in a withdrawal from political life and a retreat from civic duties.

This is not to argue, surely, that every alienated worker is politically and socially alienated or that every satisfied worker is an active citizen and an involved union member. It is asserted, rather, that work plays a major, though not an exclusive, role in the formation (or reformation) of political attitudes and behavior. The process of

socialization, as Stanley Renshon indicated, does not cease simply because one is an adult. Constantly changing experience can either serve to reinforce or repudiate previously formed attitudes. Work, because of its overwhelming importance to an individual's self-esteem and its time-consuming nature is deemed to have such an effect.

Against the background of this historical review and discipline approach, a summary listing of the hypotheses that are being tested in this study can be presented.

- (1) There will be a substantial level of alienation from work regardless of occupational classification and educational achievement. Specifically:
 - (1a) There will be a significant number of municipal workers who find that their jobs fail to bring out the best of their abilities and who are not challenged at the job.
 - (1b) A significant number of municipal workers will experience little freedom or control at their job and will frequently perform tasks that are repetitive and boring.
 - (1c) A significant number of municipal workers will view their work as a means to an end rather than as an end in itself. This "devaluation of the work experience" constitutes a dimension of work alienation that is distinct, although not necessarily exclusive, from the other work alienation dimensions.

- (2) There will be a strong correlation between work alienation and a cluster of attitudes related to the political world. Specifically:
 - (2a) There will be a strong positive correlation between work alienation and feelings of political inefficacy.
 - (2b) There will be a strong negative correlation between work alienation and feelings of trust in other individuals.
 - (2c) There will be a strong positive correlation between work alienation and feelings of fatalism.
 - (2d) There will be a strong positive correlation between work alienation and attitudes reflecting authoritarianism.
 - (2e) There will be a strong negative correlation between work alienation and levels of political participation.
 - (2f) There will be a strong positive correlation between work alienation and alienation from the union.
- (3) Devaluing of work will lead to a greater emphasis on leisure-time or family life.
 - (3a) Workers will tend to devalue the work experience by avoiding fellow workers away from work.
 - (3b) Work alienation will inhibit political communication among fellow workers.

All these hypotheses hinge upon the assumption that work should be fulfilling, that workers indeed seek out

creative work and that work has become less demanding and more alienating in industrial and post-industrial society. Not only have the demands of specialization and bureaucratization of the workplace contributed to this phenomenon, but the secularization of society has deprived work of the religious sanction that was so evident in reviewing the historical meaning of work. Without a significant number of alienated workers, it would be difficult to establish the impact of work on political life.

Work alienation thus serves as the central theme of this study in the relationship between work attitudes and political attitudes and behavior. It is argued that extensive work alienation is correlated strongly with a cluster of political attitudes, levels of political participation, and the content of non-worklife. Having developed the theoretical link between worklife and political life, it is necessary to review prior relevant studies.

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER I

¹Robert Blauner, Alienation and Freedom: The Factory Worker and His Industry (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1964), p. 26.

²Over 3,000 articles and books have been written on this subject in the past 25 years.

³Report of a Special Task Force to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Work in America (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1973), see chapter 1.

⁴Ibid., pp. 4-5.

⁵See, for example, Arthur Kornhauser, Mental Health of the Industrial Worker: A Detroit Study (New York, London, Sydney: John Wiley and Sons, 1965); Robert Lane, Political Ideology (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1962), pp. 228-49.

⁶Graeme Salaman, Community and Occupation: An Exploration of Work/Leisure Relationships (London: Cambridge University Press, 1974), especially pp. 18-41; David Lockwood, "Sources of Variation in Working Class Images of Society," The Sociological Review, 14, No. 3 (November 1966): 249-67.

⁷Seymour Martin Lipset, Martin Trow, and James Coleman, Union Democracy: The Internal Politics of the International Union (New York: The Free Press, 1956), pp. 106-26; Lockwood, "Sources of Variation in Working Class Images of Society."

⁸Lockwood, "Sources of Variation in Working Class Images of Society," p. 249.

⁹C. Wright Mills, White Collar: The American Middle Classes (London, Oxford, and New York: Oxford University Press, 1951), p. 215.

¹⁰Adriano Tilgher, Work Through the Ages (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1958).

¹¹Ibid., p. 71.

¹²Ibid., p. 11.

¹³Ibid., p. 12.

¹⁴A. Cohen, Everyman's Talmud (New York: Dutton and Company, 1949), pp. 191-96.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 193.

¹⁶Hannah Arendt, The Human Condition (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1958), see especially the chapters on work and leisure. Arendt also clarifies the different conceptions of work and labor held by the Greeks. The distinction between these two terms is not followed in this study.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 83.

¹⁸Aristotle, The Politics of Aristotle, trans. and ed. Ernest Barker (London: Oxford University Press, 1958), p. 108.

¹⁹Tilgher, Work Through the Ages, p. 3.

²⁰Ibid., p. 8.

²¹Ibid., p. 47.

²²Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and The Spirit of Capitalism, trans. Talcott Parsons (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958); Mills, White Collar: The American Middle Classes, p. 218.

²³Weber, The Protestant Ethic, p. 80.

²⁴Bernstein, p. 117.

²⁵Charles Fourier, The Utopian Vision of Charles Fourier: Selected Texts on Work, Love, and Passionate Attraction, trans. and ed. Jonathan Beecher and Richard Bienvenu (Boston: Beacon Press, 1971), p. 142.

²⁶Ibid., "Introduction," p. 27.

²⁷Robert C. Tucker, ed., The Marx-Engels Reader (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1972), p. 62.

²⁸Ibid., p. 60.

²⁹Melvin Seeman and others have converted Marx's concept of alienation into empirically testable propositions, and even Marx devised a questionnaire about worklife that he drew up for Benoit Malon's Revue Socialiste. (See Karl Marx: Selected Writings in Sociology and Social Philosophy, trans. and ed. Bottomore and Maximilien Rubel [New York, Toronto, London: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1964], pp. 203-12.

³⁰Friedrich Engels, The Conditions of the Working Class in England, trans. and ed. W. O. Henderson and W. H. Chaloner (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1968), p. 143.

³¹Harold C. Wilensky, "Work as a Social Problem" in Social Problems: A Modern Approach, ed. Howard S. Becker (New York, London, and Sydney: John Wiley and Sons, 1967), p. 118.

³²Tucker, ed., The Marx-Engels Reader, p. 310.

³³*Ibid.*, p. 515.

³⁴Engels, The Conditions of the Working Class in England, p. 137.

³⁵Sigmund Freud, Civilization and Its Discontents, trans. and ed. James Strachey (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1961), p. 27.

³⁶From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology, trans. and ed. George Simpson (New York: The Free Press, 1933).

³⁷Emile Durkheim, The Division of Labor in Society, trans. George Simpson (New York: The Free Press, 1933).

³⁸Emile Durkheim, Suicide, trans. John Spaulding and George Simpson (New York: The Free Press, 1951).

³⁹Daniel Bell, Work and Its Discontents (New York: League for Industrial Democracy, 1970); Harry Braverman, Labor and Monopoly Capital: The Degradation of Work in the Twentieth Century (New York and London: Monthly Review Press, 1974); Georges Friedmann, The Anatomy of Work (New York: The Free Press, 1961); Erich Fromm, The Sane Society (Greenwich: Fawcett Publishing, 1955).

⁴⁰Mills, White Collar: The American Middle Classes, p. 225.

⁴¹Blauner, Alienation and Freedom: The Factory and His Industry.

⁴²Friedmann, The Anatomy of Work, p. 105.

⁴³Robert Lane, Political Ideology (New York: The Free Press, 1962), chapter 15.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, p. 231.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*

⁴⁶Stanley Allen Renshon, Psychological Needs and Political Behavior (New York: The Free Press, 1974), p. 49.

⁴⁷Abraham Maslow, "A Theory of Human Motivation: The Goals of Work" in The Future of Work ed. Fred Best (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1973), p. 18.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, p. 23.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, p. 24.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*

⁵¹Renshon, Psychological Needs and Political Behavior, chapter 4.

⁵²Maslow, "A Theory of Human Motivation: The Goals of Work," p. 27.

⁵³It should be noted that, although Maslow's theory of self-actualization is highly regarded, it is difficult to assert a priori that these higher order needs exist or that they can be found equally among all members of society. For an interesting discussion of this and other problems related to work satisfaction, see Ivar Berg, Marcia Freedman, and Michael Freeman, Managers and Work Reform: A Limited Engagement (New York: The Free Press, 1978).

⁵⁴Carole Pateman, Participation and Democratic Theory (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), p. 52.

⁵⁵Kornhauser, Mental Health of the Industrial Worker: A Detroit Study, p. 7.

⁵⁶Fromm, The Sane Society, p. 163.

⁵⁷A. W. Bacon, "Leisure and the Alienated Worker: A Critical Reassessment of Three Radical Theories of Work and Leisure," Journal of Leisure Research, 7, No. 3 (1975): 180.

⁵⁸Chris Agyris, Personality and Organization: The Conflict Between System and the Individual (New York, Evanston, and London: Harper and Row, 1957), p. 117.

⁵⁹*Ibid.*, p. 118.

⁶⁰Fromm, The Sane Society.

⁶¹Friedmann, The Anatomy of Work.

⁶²Wilensky, "Work as a Social Problem."

⁶³Friedmann, The Anatomy of Work, p. 104.

⁶⁴Wilensky, "Work as a Social Problem," p. 118.

⁶⁵Engels, The Conditions of the Working Class in England, p. 116.

⁶⁶Blauner, Alienation and Freedom: The Factory and His Industry, p. 27.

⁶⁷Lipset, Trow, and Coleman, Union Democracy: The Internal Politics of the International Union.

⁶⁸William Kornblum, Blue-Collar Community (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974).

⁶⁹Ibid., p. 18.

⁷⁰Ibid., p. 43.

⁷¹Mills, White Collar: The American Middle Classes, Robert Dubin, "Industrial Workers' World: A Study of the 'Central Life Interests' of Industrial Workers," Social Problems, 3, No. 3 (January 1956): 131-40; John Alt, "Beyond Class: The Decline of Industrial Labor and Leisure," Telos, No. 28 (Summer 1976): 55-80.

⁷²Alt, "Beyond Class: The Decline of Industrial Labor and Leisure," pp. 73-4.

CHAPTER 2

THE EMPIRICAL STUDY OF WORK ALIENATION AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO POLITICAL ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOR: A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The chapter presents a critical review of previously undertaken worklife studies and work's impact on political attitudes and behavior. We review these fields of research in order to place the present study in its proper setting. As a result of this survey, it is clear that the problem of worker discontent is extremely complex. There is ample evidence that work alienation is substantial--while it is equally apparent that there is a need for further study of this problem. A discussion of those studies analyzing the relationship between worklife and politics reveals very contradictory findings; therefore, there is, too, justification of the need for further study in this area. In addition, there is presented here a more refined statement of the present study's methodology, and objectives are further clarified.

An analysis of the extant literature must focus on three distinct areas: (1) the extent and meaning of worker alienation; (2) the relationship between work alienation and attitudes associated with the concept of political alienation;

and (3) the relationship between worklife and patterns of political, community and social involvement. These three aspects reflect the thrust of the hypotheses for which testing is undertaken in this study. They are clearly interrelated since without evidence of extensive worker alienation many of the relational questions dealing with work cannot be answered. Thus, examining the extent of worker alienation lies at the core of this research and requires immediate consideration.

Job Satisfaction Studies: A Review of the Research

The quality and meaning of worklife and the extent of job satisfaction have inspired a flood of research by social scientists of "different callings."¹ The volume of research has stemmed mainly from the presumed centrality of worklife as well as the multi-dimensionality of the work experience itself. Any attempt to summarize the findings of these studies in a few sentences would be misleading because of the complexity of worklife. The difficulty in reviewing past research is that job satisfaction and work alienation are not necessarily synonymous.

Job satisfaction not only entails assessing the attributes of a job, the desire to work, and centrality of worklife, but it also uncovers attitudes about the competence of supervision, the adequacy of one's income, the chances for upward mobility, as well as analyzing the personal

characteristics of individuals. Thus, the concept of job satisfaction is broader and more comprehensive than the concept of work alienation applied in this study. As it was defined earlier, this research concentrates on the concept of work alienation characterized by the absence of challenge and fulfillment on the job (self-estrangement at the workplace) and the dismissal of work as an instrumental, rather than intrinsically useful, life activity. As a result, job satisfaction studies which fail to specify the dimensions of work are less valuable to our research than those which have this clear focus.

The studies of work satisfaction have produced a wide range of findings. The more intensive studies, especially those that have renewed the dimensions of work alienation under study here, have revealed high levels of dissatisfaction. Although Harris or Gallup-like polls have always shown high levels of worker satisfaction, reaching 80 to 90%,² other evidence has indicated a much higher percentage of dissatisfied workers. Beyond the direct poll inquiries (some of which have been more extensive than others), there have been other indicators of worker reaction to the job. The objective evaluation of skill requirements of different jobs or occupations, the rate of absenteeism from the job, evidence of job slowdowns, the number of strikes related to working conditions, and rank-and-file disaffection with union leaders have all contributed towards obtaining a more composite

picture or worker dissatisfaction. When the evidence is reviewed collectively, results of brief surveys inquiries appear sketchy and often misleading. In the end, work alienation may not have reached epidemic proportions, but it appears to be a substantial problem.

General Studies of Job Satisfaction

On the surface, the most direct way of investigating the extent of worker dissatisfaction has always been the use of survey questionnaires. Direct questions such as "To what extent are you satisfied with your work?" have elicited positive responses from between 60 to 90% of the sample.³ Blauner's early review of worker attitude studies found that 13% was the median level of dissatisfaction in a total of 406 studies and that 21% was the highest level of expressed dissatisfaction in any one study.⁴ Even those studies that claimed to find deep currents of worker alienation often indicated that dissatisfaction is expressed by less than one-third of the sample population.⁵ However, it is inadvisable to draw hasty conclusions from this data. Despite these high-levels of expressed satisfaction, there has been a discernible trend towards more frequent expressions of worker discontent.

Since 1969, responses to direct-poll work satisfaction inquiries have exhibited a decline in expressed work satisfaction as opposed to a consistent upward pattern in positive

responses between 1949 and 1963.⁶ James O'Toole, leading researcher of the Work In America study underscored this trend, "What is clear from almost every study of job dissatisfaction is that the placing of intelligent and highly qualified workers in dull and unchallenging jobs is a prescription for pathology . . ."⁷

More frequent expressions of discontent may reflect a greater demand for self-fulfillment at work as part of a broader demand for self-actualization in the 1960s or simply a greater willingness to articulate deep-seated grievances. More importantly to recognize is that these findings reflected a growing awareness that Harris or Gallup-like polls are too cursory or unsophisticated to understand the complex phenomenon and importance of work. Over a decade ago, Harold Wilensky criticized the broad survey conclusions that yielded a picture of general contentment.⁸ His remarks strongly suggested that questions such as "Is work satisfying to you?" are too ego-threatening to evoke honest responses. Since work is integrally connected to a sense of self-pride and a feeling of accomplishment, a negative response to these kinds of questions is tantamount to admitting failure and expressing self-rejection. This realization makes it understandable why respondents would be unwilling to answer such questions honestly. Daniel Yankelovich added,

The typical opinion poll question, "All things considered, would you say you are very satisfied, somewhat satisfied or not at all satisfied with your job?" is a poor indicator of underlying work attitudes for a variety of reasons (e. g. expectations are not made explicit, there are ambiguities in what the response means and an insensitivity to conflict).⁹

How many individuals would respond affirmatively to a question such as "Do you hate yourself"? Robert Blauner argued that under normal conditions there is a natural tendency to identify with, or at least to be somewhat positively oriented toward, social arrangements in which individuals are involved.

This reservation resulted in Wilensky suggesting that a series of indirect questions related to job-skill descriptions and occupational preferences would yield more reliable results. Thus, Wilensky did not reject empirical testing; rather, he simply proposed certain methodological refinements. Interestingly, those who have followed his suggestion have produced results reflecting higher levels of worker discontent.¹⁰

An equally compelling critique of the "direct-question" technique was offered by Frederic Herzberg and sustained by the Work in America study group. Herzberg contended that work satisfaction and dissatisfaction are not mutually antagonistic terms. Using Maslow's needs hierarchy (discussed in Chapter I), he argued that expressed satisfaction implies the absence of dissatisfaction with extrinsic factors of

work such as wages or job security, but it does not necessarily reflect expressions of engaging in fulfilling, creative, or challenging work. Satisfaction with the intrinsic aspects of work (the content of work), according to Herzberg, is an entirely separate dimension from the job context. Gallup-type questions may evoke positive responses to the extrinsic factors while they fail to gather any information on worker response to the job itself. The Work in America study found that Herzberg's contentions were supported by recent surveys undertaken at the Survey Research Center.¹¹ (Together with Wilensky's critique, Herzberg's observation helped refine the methodology of this study and clarified its interpretation.)

Beyond these methodological critiques of the direct-question inquiries into job satisfaction, there are even more serious theoretical problems with this approach. Since the concept of job satisfaction involves a broad spectrum of attitudes ranging from finding challenge on the job to being satisfied with one's salary or wages, it is difficult to assess what proportion of a worker's expressed dissatisfaction to a single question is attributable to one dimension of work rather than another. It is because this study is concerned with the need for challenge on the job (the need for self actualization) and work as a central-life interest (the separation of work from other spheres of life), that these Harris and Gallup work polls are too inexact and too suspect to be regarded as precise measures of work alienation. The

direct question technique is clearly the least rewarding approach towards assessing the levels of work alienation that are here under study.

Intensive Empirical Research on Job Satisfaction

The empirical research that has gone beyond direct-type questioning has lent greater support to the existence of higher levels of work alienation (though not a majority). Robert Dubin's study found that for "three out of every four industrial workers studied, work and the workplace are not central life interests."¹² There is even more recent corroborating evidence in Campbell's and Quinn's findings "that there may have been a slight downward trend in propensity to work, at least for men during the past two decades."¹³ These findings may cast doubt on philosophical assertions that work lies at the core of the human search for meaning, but it more likely reflects an inability to find such fulfillment at the workplace. Rather than expressing their alienation from work, workers exhibit their displeasure by devaluing the experience itself. Workers develop an instrumental or detached orientation toward their work.

Other studies have found a significant shift in job factors influencing overall satisfaction. Whereas in 1957 workers listed job security and wages ahead of intrinsic work as important factors in satisfaction, by 1967 "six of the eight top-ranking work aspects related to job content"

were the major indicators of satisfaction.¹⁴ Once again, two more recent studies of work satisfaction¹⁵ revealed that the qualitative aspects of the job explain the largest variance of expressed satisfaction. These findings strongly suggested that the concentration on the psychological aspects of work in this study is justifiable and lies at the core of worker alienation.

There have been other indications that alienation from work is more than a philosophical perspective on the human condition. Studies using more in-depth methods of interviewing workers generally have yielded very high levels of worker discontent. Studs Terkel's Working contained numerous examples of the depth of work alienation and dissatisfaction. A receptionist bemoaned the fact that she is "treated like a piece of equipment, like the telephone"¹⁶ and that "a monkey could do what I do";¹⁷ a steelworker complained that he "can't take pride any more";¹⁸ and an accountant regretfully declared that "there just isn't much to talk about" on his job.¹⁹ These interviews revealed that a majority of the respondents in Terkel's book found their work unfulfilling and raised the question in the author's mind of the psychological impact of stultifying work on the individual worker. Other studies which have sacrificed the scope of large quantitative studies for qualitative research sustained Terkel's findings.

Ely Chinoy's famous study of auto workers led him to

conclude that,

Even if they gain some measure of security, both present and future, nonskilled workers in a large highly mechanized plant such as A. B. C., can secure little significant experience of themselves as productive human beings. They are alienated, we may say, from themselves and their work. Labor in such a plant has become, in Marx's words, "not the satisfaction of a need but only a means to satisfy the needs outside it." . . . The psychological tie between worker and product is tenuous enough to be almost meaningless.²⁰

Years later, Judson Gooding's impressions of the blue-collar automobile worker were similar to Chinoy's:

The deep dislike of the job and the desire to escape become terribly clear twice each day when shifts end and the men stampede out the plant gates to the parking lots, where they sometimes actually endanger lives in their desperate haste to be gone.²¹

In hearings before a Senate Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower, and Poverty in 1972, testimony by several automobile workers led Senator Kennedy to conclude that a deep and pervasive sense of alienation existed among American workers who see their jobs as dead-end, depressing, monotonous, and without value.²² Collectively, intensive, in-depth interviews and testimony have indicated that worker dissatisfaction is an extremely serious and extensive problem.

If quantitative or qualitative interviews were the only source for discovering the extent of work alienation, then the final picture would be an array of contradictory statistics. There are, however, other studies and approaches

which shed further light on the context of work and the extent of worker discontent. In Labor and Monopoly Capital, Harry Braverman undertook an extensive investigation of occupational shifts in the United States and corresponding changes in the skill requirements of these occupations.²³ He concluded that a growing number of jobs required less skill and that there was a convergence between the "scientific management" of clerical and manual workers. (For example, Braverman's research revealed that time-motion studies were actually applied to clerical work.) This convergence led to the "degradation of work in the twentieth century" in more and diversified types of jobs. His study reinforced, furthermore, the contention that worker dissatisfaction is not the exclusive domain of the automobile or assembly-line laborer. The broad implication of Braverman's study is that the growing number of service or clerical workers encounter the same demeaning conditions and experience similar feelings of alienation as do factory workers. Thus, the occupational shifts of the past fifty years do not reflect a corresponding growth in the skill requirements of the new vocations. Rather, Braverman concluded that more and more non-manual work closely resembles assembly-line work in content. The Work in America study buttressed Braverman's contention:

The auto industry is the locus classicus of dissatisfying work; the assembly-line, its quintessential embodiment. But what is striking is the extent to which the dissatisfaction of the assembly-line and

blue-collar worker is mirrored in white-collar and even managerial positions. The office today, where work is segmented and authoritarian, is often a factory. For a growing number of jobs, there is little to distinguish them but the color of the worker's collar: computing keypunch operations and typing pools share much in common with the automobile assembly-line.²⁴

Although Robert Blauner, in particular, disputed this trend towards less skill demanding work,²⁵ Braverman's observations found support in the works of Terkel, Gooding, and Sheppard and Herrick.

There has been other indirect evidence that has highlighted the depths of worker alienation. The rate of absenteeism may be an indicator of a desire to avoid a demeaning work situation and it has risen so rapidly in recent years to have even worried Arthur Burns, former Federal Reserve Board Chairman. Before a University of South Carolina graduating class, Burns remarked that in a "typical week last year almost five million workers stayed home from work for a day or more . . ."²⁶ Absenteeism has been chronically high despite substantial unemployment rates in the 1970s. The New York Times also reported a rapidly rising absentee rate among automobile workers; some workers even expressed a preference to be locked out one week for every day they missed.²⁷ In that case, the automobile worker would increase the time he'd be away from his job. Once again, the HEW report corroborated these findings and cited Arthur Kornhauser's classic study of Detroit automobile workers as establishing

the overt connection between the rate of absenteeism and job dissatisfaction.²⁸ Yankelovich's recent study²⁹ sustained Kornhauser's findings.

Another, possibly more direct, reflection of worker alienation has been rank-and-file discontent with union leadership and direction. Although rank-and-file rebellions may be related to wage increases or fringe benefit issues, there has been ample evidence that the quality of work aspect remains a very important source of dissension. Edward Sadlowski's grass roots challenge to Lloyd McBride in an effort to succeed I. W. Abel touched the depths of rank-and-file discontent. A major source of that dissatisfaction was the "frustration, boredom and just plain hard, unpleasant work"³⁰ performed by steelworkers. Although unsuccessful, Sadlowski's candidacy reflected deep-rooted hostility to a union-leadership that had ignored the day-to-day problems of its union membership. Surkin's and Georgakas' study of the Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement (D. R. U. M.)³¹ in Detroit recounted the efforts of insurgent workers to circumvent the U. A. W. and respond to the immediate grievances of Dodge workers. Once again, a major element of this discontent was the unwillingness of the assembly-line workers to perform "dull, monotonous and uncreative work."³² William Serrin's account of the United Automobile Worker³³ also illustrated the depths of worker discontent and the aborted efforts of the union to respond to these grievances. (For example, the

union's attempt at achieving early retirement reflected its membership's desire to leave the factory as early as possible.) Serrin also found that automobile workers had difficulty in conceiving of a job that is inherently fulfilling. A worker's failure to even conceive of the possibility of a satisfying worklife is perhaps the saddest product of an alienation from work. Along with the steelworkers and the U. A. W., other unions such as the U. M. W., I. U. E., and I. L. A. have also experienced rebellion within their ranks.³⁴

The most famous example of rank-and-file dissatisfaction was, of course, the "Lordstown Rebellion." Reputed to be a model of the efficiently operated and technologically developed assembly-line, the Lordstown plant was the sight of several serious disruptions and wildcat strikes. Even the U. A. W. local was unable to control the sabotage, work slowdowns, and intentionally careless work of its rebellious members.³⁵ (It is significant that a large majority of the Lordstown workers were either young or minority group members.) Together with the other incidents of rank-and-file discontent, the Lordstown incident reflects a growing body of evidence that worker dissatisfaction is, if not pervasive, a serious and basic problem.

Arguments for Work Satisfaction

The case for widespread worker alienation is, of course, not indisputable. Besides the number of surveys

that have indicated overwhelming satisfaction, others have expressed major reservations about the work alienation thesis. Blauner, for example, has emphasized that technological changes are generating a shift towards more integrative, fulfilling kinds of work.³⁶ Others, like Levitan,³⁷ have continued to emphasize the survey findings and have argued that man is essentially adaptable to any kind of work situation. Faced with what might objectively be considered repetitive, stultifying labor, he argued that workers are still able to derive some satisfaction with extrinsic factors (money and time-off) and that they seek further satisfaction outside the workplace. Inherent in this criticism, however, is the unstated assumption that this "compensation search" is carried on at the cost of abandoning fulfillment at the workplace. Workers might also blame themselves for their plight, as Lane found, rather than express dissatisfaction. Withdrawal from the workplace is, in itself, a form of alienation and may involve the breakdown of the occupational community, a source of political beliefs and a sense of belonging.

Despite these criticisms, the cumulative research has shown that worker alienation remains a substantial problem. Too many varied and independent sources, using different approaches or methods, have discovered significant levels of alienation or worker discontent. These findings have been supported by indirect evidence and objective evaluations. As a result, the extent of worker alienation has enabled

social scientists to investigate the impact of the work experience on other areas of life.

Studies of the Relationship Between Work Alienation/Political Alienation

The studies investigating the relationship between work attitudes and political attitudes have also produced contradictory findings. An almost equal number of studies have shown that work alienation either has a strong or weak effect on political attitudes. Since the evidence has not been overwhelming for supporting or rejecting the theoretical connection between these two dimensions of alienation, and almost every attempt has had methodological problems, the need for further study is clear.

Political Scientist Studies

The two major studies presented by political scientists were Lewis Lipsitz' account of manual workers³⁸ and Dennis Sobin's more recent analysis of low-skilled minority workers.³⁹ Lipsitz concluded that a "particular job situation can have important effects on a man's political outlook."⁴⁰ Specifically, Lipsitz found that assembly-line workers were likely to be "more fatalistic, more punitive and more politically radical than other workers of comparable salary and education who work in the same plant."⁴¹ Of particular significance is his conclusion that workers with the least control over

their worklife more frequently expressed attitudes reflecting their inability to effect political decisions or alter their political world. This conclusion tends to support the "control theory" developed earlier. Assembly-line workers were also less sympathetic and tolerant of other groups,⁴² had "no sense of solidarity and little indication of participation."⁴³ Lipsitz, however, expressed certain reservations about his own research (due to the size of his sample--27) and encouraged further study.

Sobin's survey of 108 Black workers, 76 holding low-skilled jobs in hospitals and plants and 32 holding para-professional jobs in the city agency of Newark, agreed with many of Lipsitz' findings. Sobin argued,

Unskilled jobs send back into the community people who have been psychologically assaulted and whose feelings and attitudes reflect such mistreatment. The psychological wounds produced by the job affect behavior away from work--in family life, social relations and other respects.⁴⁴

Sobin's study revealed that only 43% of the unskilled workers were involved in community organizations compared to 81% of the skilled workers.⁴⁵ The extent of involvement was also greater for the skilled worker when measured by the number of organizations to which they belonged. The unskilled and alienated workers tended to vote less often and to be less well informed about political events and issues.⁴⁶

The work of Sobin lends credence to the hypothesized

relationships between work and political attitudes and behavior. However, like the Lipsitz study, there are several drawbacks to Sobin's findings. Primarily, the sample size is not large enough to provide quantifiably significant data and Sobin's work does not offer any table with statistical correlations to justify his conclusions. Secondly, since Sobin focused his study on Black workers only, he fails to account for the impact of race on political and social attitudes. Certainly, race is an important factor with regard to many of the attitudes measuring political alienation and community involvement. Despite these drawbacks, Sobin's effort is still valuable because it represents one of the few systematic attempts to study work/non-work relationships of non-assembly line workers.

Studies by Other Social Scientists

Several other social scientists have supported the hypothesized relationships between work tasks and political attitudes and behavior. Sheppard's and Herrick's study of Michigan assembly-line workers found significant correlations between work satisfaction and feelings of political efficacy and trust. Beyond expressions of political alienation, the discontented worker also was more likely to vote for George Wallace in the 1968 presidential election,⁴⁷ less likely to evaluate his union in positive terms,⁴⁸ and less likely to believe that an individual can play an important role in political change.⁴⁹ Their study was substantially more

compelling than either Lipsitz' or Sobin's because of the larger sample size and the more in-depth questions and calculations. (It is also interesting that their research showed that worker's subjective feelings about their job tasks closely corresponded to objective evaluations of their jobs.)⁵⁰ Arthur Kornhauser's 1965 Detroit study⁵¹ found that job dissatisfaction tended to carry over into feelings of dissatisfaction about life.⁵² Expressions of interpersonal trust, political tolerance, and self-esteem were less frequent among dissatisfied workers. Although these findings were only of secondary interest in Kornhauser's larger scheme, the evidence further supports the contention that the job context significantly affects one's political perspectives and behavior.

Along with these systematic attempts to study worker attitudes and behavior, several other sources have supported the work/political behavior hypotheses. It is interesting to note that the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders found that the participants in ghetto riots were more likely to be "underemployed" than un-employed.⁵³ If acts of violence are considered to be expressions of political alienation, then perhaps there is something significant between "under employment" and some forms of political behavior. Certainly, this evidence is more circumstantial than conclusive but it does suggest some provocative connections. Testimony before the Senate Subcommittee led to the following

conclusion:

Alienation often results in high levels of frustration among workers with the following consequences: poor mental health, poor motivation, alcoholism, drug abuse and social dissatisfaction (italics mine) among workers.⁵⁴

Gary Brynner, President of UAW Local 1112 claimed:

The use and turning to alcohol and drugs is becoming a bigger and bigger problem, and apathy-- apathy within our union movement toward union leaders and to the Government. I think those lead from the alienation of the worker.⁵⁵

The Work in America study group also supported many of the findings of the above studies.

There is still, nevertheless, a great deal of evidence that disputes the effect of work on political attitudes and behavior. Seymour Martin Lipset flatly declared that there is no evidence to support the contention that the work situation affects the development of political attitudes. "Whether job satisfaction and creativity contribute independently to political behavior over and beyond differences in status and economic conditions is still, however, not proved."⁵⁶

Robert Lane, ironically Lewis Lipsitz' dissertation sponsor, also found little justification for the work/political behavior theories. Although he felt those hypotheses were very plausible, his study⁵⁷ of fifteen Eastport workers presented contradictory evidence. Most of the workers found something fulfilling in their jobs, developed a shared sense

of purpose and did not suffer a loss in self-esteem, but Lane's findings are far from conclusive. Clearly, the sample (though interviewed in-depth) is too small to warrant generalization. More importantly, Lane's own observations are filled with reservations, internal contradictions, and inconclusive evidence. For example, despite having stated that these workers developed a relationship that "encourages social relations of a reciprocal team-oriented kind," this relationship, according to Lane, still lacked something necessary for men living in a democratic society.⁵⁸ Lane also cited mitigating circumstances that offset the potentially harmful impact of monotonous jobs. Yet, his argument that avenues for special pleading or some consultation compensate for repetitive work is hardly compelling and essentially speculative. Lane did not consider whether repetitive work is, by itself, damaging. Finally, Lane contended that the work role does not extend into the private area of a man's life; that a worker can escape from his work situation in his leisure time. This contention is precisely one of the hypotheses that needs to be further considered. Yet, Lane offered little to substantiate his viewpoint. Clearly, his findings warrant further evaluation.

John Goldthorpe's study⁵⁹ of English industrial workers did lend support to Lane's findings. In this study, the impact of the immediate work experience on political attitudes and behavior was found to be negligible.⁶⁰ Instead,

Goldthorpe concluded that generalizations about the effects of work cannot be made. Each individual, he argued, brings a unique perspective to his job and this orientation will determine the manner in which he will define the job context. Thus, two individuals, working at the same job, might react differently to identical tasks. One might be fulfilled while the other is totally dissatisfied. Accordingly, the individualized meaning attached to the job prevents the development of any kind of systematic or uniform relationships. Goldthorpe also found little evidence that a coherent image of society or the social order existed among workers at the same plant.⁶¹ Although these conclusions are compelling, the questionnaire did fail to investigate sufficiently attitudes that measure the extent of political alienation. (For example, Goldthorpe did not examine the attitudes of trust, cynicism, or efficacy. Instead, he analyzed only voting patterns.)

Perhaps the most convincing evidence refuting the work/political behavior hypotheses was offered by Melvin Seeman.⁶² He is a pioneer in the empirical study of alienation, and he helped develop the categories of study; consequently, his work is necessarily quite significant. Seeman's survey of 275 Swedish workers led to the conclusion that "work alienation is not consistently and significantly related to the postulated outcomes."⁶³ No relationship was established between work alienation and feelings of political powerlessness, intergroup hostility, political awareness, or normlessness.

Seeman's methodology was carefully developed and his findings are consequently persuasive. Despite his own findings, though, he too advocated further study of the impact of work.

The research on the work alienation/political attitude relationship is evidently uneven and contradictory. Most of the studies, both supporting and rejecting the hypotheses under study, have either methodological or theoretical weaknesses, and more research is clearly warranted. By clarifying the concept of work alienation that is theoretically related to political attitudes and through the use of a broad-based occupational sample, the present study attempts to overcome many of the weaknesses of past research.

Studies on the Relationship Between Work,
Union Activity, and Non-Worklife

Beyond these efforts to study the relationship between work and political attitudes and behavior, other research has contributed to our understanding of work's impact on non-worklife. Studies of the connection among job satisfaction, the work context, and union participation and satisfaction have produced very significant findings. William Spinrad concluded,

The objective conditions conducive to union activity are those which encourage personal contact with work colleagues (particularly other active unionists) and those which stimulate relative job satisfaction. The resulting orientations which encourage union participation include the acceptance of the work experience

as a central life value and the acceptance of the workgroup or the "working class" or both as a salient reference group.⁶⁴

Worker satisfaction was thus positively correlated with union satisfaction and participation. Blume⁶⁵ and Glick et al.⁶⁶ have supported Spinrad's contentions in their own studies. They found, too, that the extent of a union member's job satisfaction was connected with willingness to support the union's positions and to participate in union meetings and activities. These findings support the hypotheses that work satisfaction is correlated with union satisfaction or, more specifically, that alienation from work and alienation from one's union are related.

Along with union activity, other studies have analyzed the determinants of occupational communities. Occupational communities exist where workers spend the predominant part of their leisure time with fellow-workers and develop secondary associations or social clubs with co-workers. Blauner found a strong correlation between levels of work satisfaction and the existence of "occupational communities."⁶⁷ Lipset, in his classic study of the ITU, also found that "another factor quite independent of the status of printing which might lead printers to associate with fellow workers is job satisfaction."⁶⁸ He concluded, it is important to note, that job satisfaction generates a desire to associate with fellow workers which, in turn, appears to spur involvement

and interest in union politics.⁶⁹ Although there are clearly other factors involved in the formation of occupational communities, including job setting, size and location of the industry and job status, work satisfaction still looms as a necessary component in this development. For political scientists, these conclusions are valuable not only for insights they provide into the reasons for union participation or participation in general, but since they also demonstrate that occupational communities help promote or foster shared ideological perspectives. Several studies in Britain have shown how architects and railwaymen share certain views regarding power distributions and political orientation.⁷⁰ More research in this area is still desirable.

Attempts at studying the work/leisure hypotheses have been quite infrequent. The failure to research this relationship systematically stems partly from the contradictory nature of the spillover and compensatory theses (discussed in Chapter I). As Kavdo and Summers⁷¹ have argued, if "both patterns (spillover and compensatory) occurred in nearly equal proportions, there would be no discernible effect of work."⁷² The complexity in assessing and interpreting any data looms as a major problem. Moreover, the contentions⁷³ that work alienation leads to an exaggerated concern with false consumer needs is almost a self-defeating hypothesis. It would be extremely difficult, probably impossible, to distinguish empirically between false and real needs. Secondly, since

most people in our society are predominantly consumers, the implied relationship is necessarily true.

An example of a flawed effort to study work-leisure relationships was A. W. Bacon's study.⁷⁴ In his research, Bacon tried to assess the hypothesis that people who experience their work as a calamity will compensate for this degradation by an "obsessive leisure time preoccupation with false consumer needs."⁷⁵ As a measure of consumer obsession, Bacon questioned various workers' desires for washing machines, record players, refrigerators, etc.⁷⁶ His finding that both alienated and satisfied workers had the same material ambitions is, however, neither surprising nor enlightening. Clearly, Bacon's measure of consumer obsession is totally unacceptable. Who could possibly deny one's desire for those items on Bacon's list? Any expectation that a significant correlation can be produced when the dependent variable is likely to yield uniform responses is unreasonable. Bacon's research is a prime example why the false consumption thesis is difficult to evaluate and no attempt to support this hypothesis will be made in this present study.

Meissner's research,⁷⁷ however, is a more successful attempt at studying the work-leisure relationship. Instead of trying to use concepts (e. g., the false consumption theory) that cannot be easily measured, Meissner investigated other relational hypotheses. His data suggested that workers who are allowed more creativity and variety on the job and

have a greater chance for social interaction at the workplace tend to participate more in voluntary associations and organized activities.⁷⁸ He therefore concluded that the work context can affect the extent and kinds of activity away from work.

Very few other studies have tried to test the work-leisure relationship in this manner. The difficulty in developing adequate measures is clearly evident; however, other approaches may offer valuable insights.

The use of in-depth interviews may not yield enough data to meet the standards of a reliable sample. Their findings, though, often have been illuminating and suggestive. Terkel's interviews frequently provided valuable information. For example, the following description of the steelworker's after-worklife was remarkably similar to Wilensky's compensatory leisure theory (described in Chapter I).

After work I usually stop off at a tavern. Cold beer. Cold beer right away. When I was single, I used to go into hillbilly bars, get into a lot of brawls. Just to explode. I got a thing on my arm here. I got slapped with a bicycle chain. Oh, wow! Mmm. I'm getting older. I don't explode as much. You might say I'm broken in. No, I'll never be broken in. When you get a little older you exchange the words. When you're younger, you exchange the blows.⁷⁹

Summary

Research on the quality of worklife and the level of work alienation is evidently uneven. Many studies of work

satisfaction and involvement have been made and still continue to produce seemingly inconsistent and contradictory results. Some have discovered a high level of satisfaction and fulfillment among their respondents while others have shown extensive and deep-seated alienation and dissatisfaction. Some of the disparity in findings is attributable to the complexity of worklife. Blauner explained this problem:

The theory of alienation has been and continues to be a fruitful perspective on the world of work, but it must be pointed out that it is a limited perspective. With all its social-psychological subtleties, it does not fully comprehend the complexities and ambiguities of the inner meaning of work to the individual.⁸⁰

Much more of the discrepancy in findings, in all probability, is explained by the use of different occupational samples, different methodological approaches, and different questions posed to those in the sample. This review indicates that more indirect questions on work satisfaction yield more honest and fruitful responses. Analysis also reveals that a trend towards greater expressions of dissatisfaction is apparent in recent years. Collectively, this survey of the literature confirms the relevance of work alienation studies and presents supportive data for the claim that work alienation is a significant, if not pervasive, problem in the American workforce.

Research on the relationship between work attitudes and political attitudes and behavior has not been nearly as

extensive as work satisfaction studies. Whereas over 3,000 articles, books, and dissertations have concentrated on the quality of work issue,⁸¹ few researchers have delved into the work satisfaction/political attitudes relationship. The studies that have been made in this area have produced contradictory and inconclusive results. As has been shown, some studies have found significant correlations between work attitudes and political attitudes and behavior while others have found little or no relationship. This study hopes to build upon previous research and add to the understanding of the role work plays in the formation of political attitudes and behavior.

Finally, the work-leisure hypotheses have been rarely tested. That there are difficulties in measurement and investigation of these theories is evident. Yet, there have been efforts in this direction and in the materials that follow further light will be shed on the work/non-work relationship with both descriptive and comparative information. Although statistically reliable information may be unattainable, in-depth interviews should provide valuable insights in this area.

A summary of the literature indicates that work/political attitudes relationship does not without further study allow definitive conclusions to be drawn. There has been no extensive testing of the hypothetical relationships developed in Chapter I.

Because the impact of work of evidently unclear, this research should contribute towards the empirical testing of the work theories and it should help to clarify many of the lingering questions. It certainly cannot be the final word on the worklife/political life relationship. A carefully designed study, nevertheless, building upon previous research but consciously trying to avoid prior errors of omission and commission, can contribute towards understanding the development of political attitudes and behavior. Before proceeding to a discussion of the findings, a review of the methodological approach and operationalization of this study seems in order.

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER II

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CHAPTER 3

OPERATIONALIZING THE STUDY: THE NATURE OF THE SAMPLE AND THE PROBLEM OF MEASUREMENT

Before analyzing the extent of work alienation and its hypothetical relationship to political attitudes and behavior, a sample population must be selected and these concepts must be translated into operational terms. A limited sample cannot lead to generalizations about the entire population with absolute certainty. The sample population is selected to increase the chances that these findings are generalizable. Secondly, selecting the best measures of work and political attitudes is always uncertain, especially in a sphere of life (work) that so delicately questions a person's self-esteem and care is taken in devising the questionnaire. There has also never been a generally accepted method for studying the relationship between work and political attitudes and behavior. Various approaches, as will be shown, sacrifice statistical rigor and quantitative data for the sake of qualitative information. Others alter their methods to emphasize quantitative results at the expense of sacrificing the subtle information that narrowly-based studies can provide. Each approach has its advantages and drawbacks. Although there is no ideal approach to studying the relationship

between work and politics, a middleground between the two should be attainable so that this study might reap the benefits of both approaches.

The Selection of the Sample

The selection of District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees for the study sample is desirable for many reasons. For demographic, occupational, and historical reasons, the study of these New York City municipal workers should provide generalizable results. Many studies have concentrated on one kind of worker or one form of work. For example, Chinoy,¹ Walker,² and Blauner³ chose automobile workers as the focus of their study. Their reasoning was quite explicit. Walker argued that automobile workers had become the "classic symbol of the subjection of man to the machine in our industrial age."⁴ The effects of technological development, time motion studies (Taylorism), the rationalization process, and the fragmentation of work would be most visible on the automobile assembly-line. Unfortunately, even Blauner asserted that the automobile worker is mistakenly viewed as the typical industrial employee of today.⁵

Those results, consequently, though major and significant contributions to the sociology of work, were essentially inapplicable to workers as a whole. Other studies,⁶ including Blauner's, expanded their sample either by undertaking cross-

cultural research or by encompassing other forms of industrial work. Goldthorpe's sample included several types of industrial workers ranging from assembly-line workers to craftsmen engaged in process maintenance. Miller, on the other hand, concentrated his research on scientists and engineers in a bureaucratic setting.⁷ Although these samples reflected a particular environment, conducive to the researchers' analytical approaches, the findings were often limited to a narrow spectrum of workers. If one wanted to develop general hypotheses about work in America, these studies were inappropriate. The selection of District Council 37 employees in this study overcomes many of these limitations.

District Council 37, like other American Federation of State, Municipal, and County Employees (AFSCME) Councils, represents a diverse number of occupations and titles. It has approximately 100,000 members,⁸ making it the largest public employee union in a single jurisdiction in the country, with over 1200 different job titles represented.⁹ These job titles range from nominally menial types of work and blue-collar occupations to a substantial number of professional employees. Table 3.1 presents the occupational breakdown of AFSCME members throughout the country.¹⁰

TABLE 3.1

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF AFSCME MEMBERSHIP BY
OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES

Occupational Category	%	Occupational Category	%
Clerical and Allied	14.6	Park and Recreation	
Medical Service Workers	12.1	Workers	2.4
Domestic and Custodial	11.8	Other Skilled Trades	2.4
Food Service	7.8	Supervisor	2.3
Laborers, Helper, Allied		Engineers	1.7
and Drivers	7.0	Utility Workers	1.6
Street and Highway		Sewage Workers	1.6
Maintenance Worker	5.1	Probation/Parole	
Social Workers, Case		Officers	1.3
Workers, etc.	3.3	Inspection	1.2
Technical and Allied	3.2	Poverty Workers	.6
Correction and Detention		Nurses (R. N. and	
Personnel	3.2	Grad)	.6
Heavy Equipment Opera-		Librarians	.5
tions and Maintenance	3.0	Conservation and	
Sanitation Workers	2.9	Natural Resources	
All Other Professionals	2.8	Officers	.3
Public Safety Personnel	2.7	All Others	3.6

By comparison, Table 3.2 presents the occupational distribution of this sample:

TABLE 3.2

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF STUDY SAMPLE

Total Sample = 553		
Professional and Technical	N = 144	26.0%
Clerical	N = 191	34.6%
Service	N = 150	27.1%
Blue-Collar	N = 40	7.2%
Others	N = 28	5.1%
Totals	N = 553	100.0%

Within the professional and technical classification are such diverse titles as engineer, addiction counselors, librarians, medical surgical technicians, and physicists. Included among the clerical workers are such titles as cashiers, college administrative assistants, typists, and data processors. Titles of workers in the service category include lunch aides, custodial assistants, and dietary aides. Blue collar workers consist of such occupations as foremen, motor vehicle operators, laborers, and stationary firemen.

As the data and the titles indicate, the range of occupational skills required for these positions and the prestige or status spans among these jobs are extensive. Some occupations require working with machines or tools

(stationary firemen, laborers, and clerks) while others demand working directly with people or clients (hospital or welfare workers). Certain titles (e. g., engineers or social workers) require at least a college education while custodial workers and dietary aides must meet less stringent educational qualifications. A review of the occupational prestige scale¹¹ also indicates that the status range of municipal employees varies from among the highest prestige occupations to among the lowest. In sum, District Council 37 workers represent a virtual cross section of different kinds of work, involving varying degrees of expertise and technological factors. Because of this diversity, a good sample of DC 37 members should provide more accurate information about the American work force in general than would, for example, a sample of UAW members. Since this study's goal is to gain a broad understanding of work attitudes in America, the sample avoids the pitfalls of selecting a too narrow or particular kind of occupation. It does include a wider selection of workers than a study that concentrates on one particular occupation.

District Council 37 members also comprise a diverse and heterogeneous social, economic, and educational population. In fact, Dr. Seymour Mann asserted that "it is a society in microcosm, particularly reflective of the characteristics of the city itself."¹² A Bureau of Applied Social Research (BASR) Survey in 1973 found that 53% of its sample were men,¹³ although there were great variations among the occupational

titles. Forty-two percent of that study were black, although blacks were found disproportionately in low-prestige, low-paying jobs.¹⁴ The religious preferences of DC 37 members in that study also reflected the religious persuasions of New York City residents as a whole (although there are disproportionately fewer Jews among the DC 37 members): 38% of the BASR sample were Catholics, 31% were Protestants, 17% were Jewish and 14% either expressed another preference or refused to respond. Educational attainment was extremely varied with 19% having less than a high school education, 42% having high school diplomas, 21% having some college education and 18% having at least a Bachelor's degree. Age and income distributions of the BASR study (Tables 3.3 and 3.4) also indicated that DC 37 members are indeed a representative sample of the city's population.

TABLE 3.3

1973 BASR STUDY--AGE DISTRIBUTION
OF DC 37 MEMBERS

<u>Age</u>	<u>%</u>
30 or less	22.9%
31-40	20.8%
41-50	29.3%
51 and up	<u>27.0%</u>
Total	100.0%

TABLE 3.4

1973 BASR SURVEY--INCOME DISTRIBUTION

<u>Income</u>	<u>%</u>
Up to 8,000	19.6%
8-12,000	21.1%
12-16,000	24.5%
16-20,000	17.1%
20,000 and up	17.7%
Total	100.0%

The diversity of District Council 37 members is confirmed by the present research. Differences in the demographic breakdown between the survey on which the findings of this research are based and the BASR research can be attributed to the time and method of the survey. The present survey was conducted in 1977-78, well after the effects of the city's 1975 and 1976 budget cuts and employee layoffs had been felt. As a result, the mean age of respondents in this survey is somewhat higher than the BASR study. Since younger, less-tenured workers were the first to be fired in the New York City fiscal crisis, this result was expected. The present survey also includes the Council's Schools Division (which the BASR survey did not), and those it represents are predominantly female. Thus, the sex breakdown of the sample is approximately 3:2 female (Table 3.6). Finally, the educational, religious and income characteristics of this research (Tables 3.7 to 3.9) closely approximate the BASR findings. In any event, the diversity of DC 37's membership is visibly reflected in the present study.

TABLE 3.5
PRESENT SURVEY--AGE DISTRIBUTION OF
DC 37 MEMBERSHIP

Category	%	N	1973 BASR Survey
30 or less	13.3%	73	22.9%
31-40	20.4%	111	20.8%
41-50	22.8%	124	29.3%
51 and up	43.5%	237	27.0%
Total	100.0%	545	100.0%

TABLE 3.6
PRESENT SURVEY--SEX DISTRIBUTION OF DC 37
MEMBERSHIP (1978)

	%	N
Male	41.4%	N=223
Female	58.6%	N=538
Total	100.0%	N=538

TABLE 3.7

PRESENT SURVEY--EDUCATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF
DC 37 MEMBERSHIP

Category	%	N	1973 BASR Survey
Less than High School	15.0%	82	19%
High School Diploma or Equivalent	36.6%	200	42%
Some College	22.9%	125	21%
College Grad or More	25.5%	139	18%
Total	100.0%	546	100%

TABLE 3.8

PRESENT SURVEY--RELIGIOUS DISTRIBUTION OF
DC 37 MEMBERSHIP

Category	%	N	1973 BASR Survey
Catholic	36.6%	187	38%
Protestant	24.1%	123	31%
Jewish	23.5%	120	17%
Other	15.8	81	14%
Total	100.0%	511	100%

TABLE 3.9
PRESENT SURVEY--INCOME DISTRIBUTION OF DC 37 MEMBERS

	%	N
Under \$7,500	15.8%	84
7,500-10,000	31.6%	168
10,000-15,000	30.1%	160
15,000-20,000	16.8%	89
20,000 and up	5.7%	30
Total	100.0%	531

Historical Background of the Union

District Council 37 was chartered by the American Federation of Labor in November 1944 and the core of its membership evolved from employees in the Department of Hospitals, Parks, Finance, Health and several other city agencies.¹⁵ From its initial goal of establishing collective bargaining in the public employee sector, DC 37 has expanded its horizons to fight for increased pension and health benefits, to secure an agency shop provision and to supporting many traditional liberal programs and policies. It is considered to be one of the most politically active unions (particularly on the local level). A separate Political Action Committee supported by the professional staff of the Council's Political Action Department

canvasses voters and conducts phone banks at election time. DC 37 members are frequently asked and/or assigned to help in the campaigns of "friendly political candidates." The union also holds training seminars on fund-raising, poll-taking and other political topics.

Structurally, the union is subdivided into six separate divisions, each representing various locals containing clusters of occupational titles and dealing with different city or quasi-city agencies (e.g. Health and Hospital Corporation). The Schools Division represents approximately 16.4% of the union membership.¹⁶ All members are in local 372 and the job titles covered include "school lunch orderlies, family paraprofessionals, school neighborhood workers and other school aides." The Blue Collar Division represents 11.7% of the union membership, spanning such job titles as motor vehicle operators, custodial workers, laborers, stationary firemen, parks department employees and foremen. (Not all members in this division are employed in blue-collar occupations.) The Hospital Division includes 13.6% of the entire DC-37 membership whose jobs range from dietary or food aides to nurses aides and operating room technicians. The Professional, Technical and Cultural Division, comprising 17.2% of the union membership, includes blue-collar workers, social workers and other professionals working in mayoral agencies. The White-Collar Division, with 12.6% of the DC 37 population, represents mostly administrative or clerical workers in non-mayoral agencies. The largest

division with 28.3% of the union rank-and-file is the Administrative and Clerical Division. Their ranks include many of the same titles in the White-Collar division but they are employed in mayoral agencies. (A comparison of the figures which were obtained from the union with the divisional breakdown of this sample reveals that the survey population closely approximates the union's figures (Table 3.10)).

TABLE 3.10
COMPARABLE DIVISIONAL BREAKDOWN OF
UNION MEMBERSHIP

	Union	Survey
Professional and Technical	17.3%	22.1%
White Collar	12.6%	8.3%
Administrative	28.3%	26.1%
Blue Collar	11.7%	14.0%
Hospital	13.6%	13.1%
Educational	16.4%	16.4%
Total	100.0%	100.0%

District Council 37 also maintains a longstanding commitment to the "achieving of dignity and self-respect for the public worker."¹⁷ This goal especially concerns the public employee union leadership because of the low esteem in which municipal employees are generally held. As part of their educational program, the union seeks to provide advanced

educational degrees to its membership to enhance the chances for upward mobility. A statement of purpose, prepared by Dr. Seymour Mann for its educational programs, aptly summarizes the union's position.

The serving of its members by enhancing the quality of their lives through the achievement of equitable economic advantages and dignifying and satisfying working conditions. It must also serve by exercising its efforts to insure that the city in which the members live and/or work has the amenities and social and political conditions which provide the environment for personal fulfilment and satisfaction--in short, "a just and competent city."

The development in the membership of an understanding that to achieve the above stated goal they must be truly "collectivists"--that a union is a collectivity. This means their learning and appreciating that to serve each other is to serve themselves--that without solidarity (which does not mean subservience or absence of intra-organization conflict in accordance with mutually accepted "rules of the game" about the selection of means and leadership by which and with which such is achieved) there can be no collectivity and, consequently, no effective representation.

The development of a wide-spread understanding among the membership that they serve each other by the very quality of their job and task performances, and that in so doing they serve the city; for in truth, they and their families are in large measure the city itself. Put in another way, it means the internalization of a belief by the members that what in the end is good for the city is a veritable good for them, and that an effective and efficient union while not the ultimate good is a substantially significant one of equally mutual benefit to the individual member, to the group of which he is a part, and to the polity in which he is a constituent.

Building a union that is a genuine social institution so that it can provide for its own membership and their families, at least, much of the cement which gives cohesiveness in an otherwise fragmented and sometimes deviously pluralistic society. This is the kind of cohesiveness that makes for a sense of belonging that in other times and in a different kind of

society was provided by what in a common sense way was usually called "community." The attainment of this kind of social institution capacity and status should then operate to reinforce the securing of the kinds of understandings implied in the immediately previous statement and the achievement of the objectives contained therein.¹⁸

This statement of purpose reflects a concern for the quality of work issue as essential to the self-esteem of the public-employee. Moreover, it emphasizes the importance of worklife as the basis for developing a sense of occupational community and stimulating political activity. The union recognizes that common bonds developed at work can provide a cohesiveness and sense of belonging rarely found in other spheres of life. Because the union expresses concern for this issue, it even will be more significant if the workers in the study fail to express some sense of occupational solidarity. (A failure to find such a community among these municipal workers would be even more striking since it is an articulated goal of the union leadership.)

The union hierarchy is also concerned with the level of job satisfaction among its members. As the Mann and Mann study stated, "they are highly sensitive to the fact that there are myriads of working conditions that need attention and can be improved."¹⁹ Victor Gotbaum, Executive Director of DC 37, underscored his concern by stating that "the union must concern itself with the problem of worker alienation and must work with the city to increase job satisfaction."²⁰ This concern is filtered down to the rank-and-file at local meetings. For

example, Ella Woodley, Local 420 Chairperson at Bellevue Hospital, explained how, at Local meetings, all workers' tasks are praised and that members are encouraged to express pride in their work and in their contribution to the effectiveness of the hospital system.²¹ This "morale building" applies to all union members, regardless of the difficulty of their work.

District Council 37 is evidently a desirable union to use in a case study. If, as the Work in America Report argued, work alienation is increasing regardless of the extent of technological innovations or the kind of occupational setting, then DC 37 employees provide a good testing ground because of their extraordinarily wide-range of occupations and working conditions. Along with its demographic heterogeneity, DC 37 is almost unique in its potential to offer broad insights on work-life and its impact.

Operationalizing the Study: Problems in Method and Approach

The survey sample certainly provides a very valuable opportunity to gain insights into the relationship between man's work and his political attitudes and behavior. Valid measurements and an appropriate methodology, nevertheless, were still necessary to ensure that the study properly focused on work alienation, work as a central-life interest, political attitudes, political behavior and non-work life.

As the review of past research has shown, work is such

an integral part of an individual's self-concept that it may be difficult to elicit or ascertain honest responses. Blauner described this dilemma:

There are further problems which stem from the special character of work attitudes. There is a certain naiveté in expecting frank and simple answers to job satisfaction questions in a society where one's work is so important a part of one's life.... In addition, even if a person could be as honest in reporting about his job satisfaction as in reporting the number of children in his family, this problem is as inherently vague and nebulous as the latter is precise.²²

The threatening nature of work satisfaction questions frequently renders the results of "direct-question inquiries" unproductive and misleading.²³ Thus, the conducting of the survey and the questionnaire, as will be seen, was devised to overcome the inherent problems of quality of work studies.

Although refining the questionnaire items posed a major problem, it was also clear that the method of the research was equally important. A review of the literature in this field suggested that the exclusive use of survey research may not present a complete understanding of worklife. This possibility was reflected clearly by the different findings produced by in-depth studies as opposed to the survey approach. Chinoy, Walker, Gooding, Goldthorpe and Terkel all discovered greater levels of discontent than those found through survey research alone. The difference in findings may be explained best by the more intense probing that in-depth interviewing allows. Lipsitz, for example, argued that poor people, when given a

chance to express their views on politics, had a fairly cohesive set of ideals.²⁴ His findings contradicted the generally accepted position established by previous studies but, more importantly, implied that his method of study was significantly related to the results. Lipsitz stated, "Beyond this, latent grievances may exist which people are themselves unaware of and which can only be grasped or defined through unusually sensitive interviewing²⁵ (emphasis added). Given a forum for expression and time to clarify their beliefs, respondents can articulate grievances that are simmering beneath the surface.

Similar arguments can be made about the study of work. Since expressing one's own feelings about worklife is understandably sensitive, initial or brief responses tend to be overly defensive or unreasonably positive. However, during the course of an in-depth interview, defense mechanisms may break down and respondents may begin to express their dissatisfaction more willingly or clearly. Probing interviews do tend to sacrifice the statistical certainty of the survey approach but they are likely to contribute valuable information about the nature of work. William Gomberg aptly remarked,

Novelists have attempted to capture the essence of the worker's complete life experience, both occupational and nonoccupational, ranging from Upton Sinclair's Jungle to Harvey Swados' On the Line. The novelist uses his intuitive insight to probe the character of his actors and to portray an impressionist picture of an implicit group. On his part, the systematic investigator attempts to set up rigorous categories and criteria for classification in the hope that he

may thereby portray meaningful and predictive behavior.²⁶

By using in-depth interviews to supplement the survey questionnaire, the present approach strives to achieve a middleground between these two approaches. Detailed documentation is obtained while sterility is avoided.

The Method of Study

A combination of survey research and in-depth interviewing was used in this study. With the help of District Council 37's Political Action Department, two samples of 991 workers each from all six divisions were randomly selected by computer to obtain a representative sample. From each division, the computer selected every 995th worker in order to obtain the desired sample population. Two samples were selected and separate mailing, one each in the Summer and Winter of 1977, took place. The mailed questionnaire²⁷ was sent to each member of the sample with a covering letter explaining the nature and purpose of the study. Since each sample produced 991 prospective respondents, the total potential sample population was 1,982. Five hundred fifty three responses were received which constituted a response rate of 27.9%. However, because the union's computer facilities had not been updated during the fiscal crisis and some of the respondents had moved without leaving a forwarding address, 356 questionnaires never reached the members and were returned unopened. The adjusted response rate for the survey was 34.1%.

After evaluating these data, in-depth interviews were carried out with 16 union members. Each interview was 60 to 75 minutes in duration. The members were selected from several Divisions and represented a variety of job titles. The workers were contacted and interviewed either at their place of work or at union headquarters. Many questions from the mailed survey were asked and the respondents were given the opportunity to expand on their answers. The fundamental purpose of these interviews was to supplement or buttress the results of the quantitative study and to evaluate as to whether difference methodological approaches would affect the findings. "Qualitative richness" (in Chinoy's terms) was obtained to enhance the findings of the survey research.

Operational Measures

The research was carefully designed to evoke responses about those aspects of work and politics under consideration in the study. Each of the hypothesized attitudes is listed below, and it is followed by the questions and scales to measure them.

Measures of work alienation: Intrinsic job satisfaction, powerlessness and self-estrangement. In selecting the measures of work alienation, questions were employed that best reflect the "need for control, self-actualization and self-fulfillment" at the workplace. Since it was argued that the frustration of these needs at work is the theoretical link between work and political attitudes, the questionnaire

items had to elicit responses along these dimensions. Blauner helped to clarify this approach to work alienation by delineating its four modes.²⁸ The most relevant mode of alienation for measuring self-actualization is self-estrangement:

Self estrangement refers to the fact that the worker may become alienated from his inner self in the activity of work. Particularly when an individual lacks control over the work process and a sense of purposeful connection to the work enterprise, he may experience a kind of depersonalized detachment rather than an immediate involvement or engrossment in the job tasks....When work encourages self-estrangement, it does not express the unique abilities, potentialities, or personality of the worker. Further consequences of self-estranged work may be boredom and monotony, the absence of personal growth, and a threat to self-approved occupational identity."²⁹

Accordingly, questions about the pace, variety and control experienced at the workplace were incorporated in the study.

The following questions were used:

1. Some jobs provide a great deal of opportunity to learn more about the work and enable people to increase their knowledge of the process and their skills; other jobs provide few such opportunities to learn more. How is it on your job?
 ___ There are very great opportunities to learn more.
 ___ There are fairly good opportunities to learn more.
 ___ There is little opportunity to learn more
 ___ There is almost no opportunity to learn more.
2. Do you have variety on your job (can you do different things, change methods, location, speed of working and so forth)?

☐ I always do the same things on my job; there is no variety.

☐ I mostly do the same things, but there is a little variety.

☐ I have to do quite a number of different things on my job; there is a fair amount of variety.

☐ I have to do a lot of different things on my job; there is a great deal of variety.

3. Which statement best describes the kind of job you have?

☐ I have no freedom to do my work as I want.

☐ I have little freedom to do my work as I want.

☐ I am fairly free to do my work as I want.

☐ I am completely free to do my work as I want.

4. Which of the following statements fits your job?

☐ Almost anyone could do my job.

☐ A good many people could do my job.

☐ Only a limited number of people could do my job.

☐ Very few people could do my job.

☐ Can't answer; hard to say.

5. How often would you say that the demands of your job bring out the best of your abilities?

☐ Very often.

☐ Fairly often

☐ Not very often.

☐ Not at all.

6. Which of the following comes closest to describing how you feel about your present job?
- ☐ Interesting nearly all the time.
 - ☐ Interesting most of the time.
 - ☐ Interesting some of the time.
 - ☐ Rarely interesting.
 - ☐ Never interesting.
7. How often can you do your work and still think about other things?
- ☐ Very often.
 - ☐ Fairly often.
 - ☐ Not very often
 - ☐ Not at all.

All these items corresponded to traditional lines of inquiry in work satisfaction studies.³⁰ Since they were not direct questions about the worker's expressed satisfaction (ego-threatening questions), they were considered to be especially sensitive measures of work alienation. Significantly, the questions about job tasks and skills also measured another category in Blauner's alienation scheme: powerlessness. He defines powerlessness as a condition under which the worker "is directed or dominated, rather than self-directing."³¹ Powerlessness can be experienced as a lack of control over the immediate work process, especially over those matters which affect the worker's immediate jobs and tasks.³² In their study,³³ Campbell et al. also found that the relationship

between assessment of job attributes and general expressions of job satisfaction is extremely important. These series of questions thus provided valuable insights into the level of work alienation, feeling of self-worth and estimation of personal control.

From among these questions, we also developed a job-task scale that measured this dimension (intrinsic satisfaction) with greater sophistication. A "job-task" scale, using the response to questions about variety, freedom and learning on the job and dichotomizing the responses produced the results presented in Table 3.11. The following questions were used:

- (1) Do you have a variety on the job? (82% passed)
- (2) Some jobs provide a great deal of opportunity (47% passed).
- (3) Which statement best describes the degree of freedom you have on the job? (7% passed).

TABLE 3.11
JOB-TASK SCALE*

	N	%
3 (low-task rating)	30	5.6
2	207	38.7
1	218	41.0
0 (high-task rating)	78	14.6
Total	534	99.9

* A coefficient of reproducibility score of .9 or higher is considered acceptable for purposes of scaling. It should also be noted that the responses to these items are dichotomized in order to obtain a statistically acceptable coefficient of reproducibility score. This is accomplished at the expense of dividing each response item at the "logically expected division point."

Measures of work alienation; work as a central-life interest and as a source of personal gratification. The first series of questions elicited responses about individual fulfillment or "self-actualization" on the job. However, they did not probe another dimension of alienation, that is central to this study: work as a central-life interest. Blauner defined this mode of alienation: "Work becomes primarily instrumental, a means toward future considerations rather than an end in itself."³⁴ Although an "instrumental orientation" toward work can be linked to demeaning work, the connection is not a necessary one. This mode of alienation is reflected by the meaning and significance attached to work, work's relative importance compared to other spheres of life (e.g. family, leisure-time) and commitment to work. The following questions were used.

1. If you were completely free to go into any type of job you wanted, what would your choice be?

____ I would want the same type of job I have now.

____ I would want to retire and not work at all.

____ I would prefer some other job (in the public service) to the one I have now.

____ I would prefer some other job (not in the public service) to the one I have now.

____ I would prefer the same job, but not in the public service.

____ I really don't know what I'd do.

2. Where do you feel that you enjoy yourself most?

____ at work ____ away from work

2a. Why?

3. If you had two more hours of spare time during the day, what would you do?

____ Extend the work day to earn more money.

____ Extend the work day to be with friends.

____ Spend the time with family.

____ Work on a hobby or play sports.

____ Spend the time watching TV.

____ Get involved in community or church affairs.

4. If you won the New York State Lottery and received \$1,000 per week for life, would you

____ Quit work entirely?

____ Quit your present job but look for another one?

____ Stay in your present job?

Responses to these items evidently constituted an important dimension of work alienation. C. Wright Mills underlined this aspect: "Work is split from the rest of life, especially from the spheres of conscious enjoyment; nevertheless, most men and many women must work. So work is an unsatisfactory means to ulterior ends lying somewhere in the sphere of leisure."³⁵

Clearly, this series of questions provided responses about the meaning of work without necessarily touching upon the individual worker's self-concept. Viewing work as a necessary but un-enjoyable activity implies the disjunction between labor and

leisure and suggests a devaluation or degradation of work as a valued life-activity. Significantly, what has been done here is to relate this orientation towards work with the declining importance of occupational communities and work as a determinant of political beliefs.

The social content of work: Determinants of an occupational community. As a result of the individual's estrangement from work and the work process, it has been propounded here that the occupational community, the willingness of workers to seek out and socialize with fellow-workers inside and outside the workplace, diminishes in importance. In order to measure this concept, the following questions were used:

1. During the average week, how many hours do you spend doing the following:
 - a) Socialize with friends from work? ☐ none ☐ under 5 hours ☐ 5 to 10 hours ☐ 11 to 20 hours ☐ over 20 hours.
 - b) Socialize with neighborhood friends: ☐ none ☐ under 5 hours ☐ 5 to 10 hours ☐ 11 to 20 hours ☐ over 20 hours.
2. How many hours a week do you spend on union affairs? ☐ less than 5 hours ☐ 6 to 10 hours ☐ 11 or more hours.
3. At work, how often do you speak about the union and

union affairs with your co-workers?

____ very often ____ fairly often ____ not very often
____ not at all.

4. At work, how often do you speak about politics with your co-workers?

____ very often ____ fairly often ____ not very often
____ not at all.

5. I would rather take my vacation

____ with my family ____ with friends from work
____ with friends from the neighborhood ____ by myself.

In this manner, an attempt was made to gain insights into the extent of worker involvement on and off the job and whether the work experience provides a setting for the formation of an occupational community. Work life is presumed to provide a framework for political communication and the development of shared perspectives among fellow-workers. This presumption is based on the belief that work is central to an individual's life. Measuring the extent of worker interaction also indirectly gathered information about the importance that these individuals place on their work. If work is especially significant to the individual worker, he is proud of his occupational identity and is likely to spend non-work time with fellow workers. Conversely, limited social interaction among co-workers reflects a devaluation of work as well as a shifting emphasis on non-work life. Along with these items measuring work as

a central-life interest, these questions provided useful information about the political significance of worklife.

General indicators of work satisfaction. To complete the analysis of worklife, several general questions were added to the survey instrument:

1. Is the job you have now the best one you've had?
☐ Yes ☐ Maybe ☐ No
2. Do you think the job you have now is the best you'll ever have before you retire?
☐ Yes ☐ Maybe ☐ No
3. Choose the statement that best describes your feeling
☐ I have a great deal of pride in my work.
☐ I have a fair amount of pride in my work.
☐ I have a little pride in my work.
☐ I have no pride in my work.
4. How would you feel if you were to describe your job to someone you have just met?
☐ I would feel very proud to describe my job
☐ I would feel somewhat proud to describe my job.
☐ I would feel somewhat embarrassed to describe my job.
☐ I would feel very embarrassed to describe my job.
5. How well would you say your job measures up to the job you wanted when you first took it?
☐ It's very much like the one I wanted.

☐ It's somewhat like the job I wanted.

☐ It's not very much like the job I wanted.

☐ It's not at all like the job I wanted.

6. To what extent are you satisfied with the wages you receive?

☐ A great deal ☐ not very much ☐ somewhat
☐ not at all.

7. Would you want your children to have the same job that you have when they grow up?

☐ Yes ☐ No

8. How often do you leave work with a good feeling that you have done something particularly well?

☐ Very often ☐ fairly often ☐ not very often
☐ not at all.

These questions asked the respondent to express his feelings of general satisfaction and pride in the job. Since some were "ego-threatening" because of their directness, there should have been a natural tendency among the respondents to respond positively or defensively to these inquiries. Nevertheless, these items traditionally are used in job satisfaction studies³⁶ and they generally provide a valuable glimpse at an individual's overall estimation of the job, his aspirations and chances for mobility. In sum, these questions provided an overview for this study.

Two other scales measuring the extent of work satisfaction were developed from among these items. The first scale,

using four questions from the general indicators of work satisfaction, produced the following distribution (Table 3.12).

The following questions were used:

- (1) To what extent are you satisfied with your wages?
(93% passed)
- (2) Is the job you have now the best you've ever had?
(65% passed)
- (3) Do you think that the job you have now is the best you'll ever have before you retire? (41% passed)
- (4) How well would you say your job measures up to the kind of job you wanted when you first took it?
(30% passed).

TABLE 3.12
GENERAL WORK SATISFACTION SCALE

	N	%
Low satisfaction (4)	78	14.5%
(3)	144	26.8%
(2)	195	36.2%
(1)	102	19.0%
High satisfaction (0)	19	3.5%
Total	538	100.0%

Coefficient of Reproducibility = .8783

Minimum Marginal Reproducibility = .7193

Coefficient of Scalability = .5662

The second scale was developed by integrating items from the various subcategories of work alienation. By using five questions, a second general work satisfaction scale was created (Table 3.13). The following questions were used:

- (1) Which one of the following comes closest to describing the interest in your job? (82% passed)
- (2) How often would you say that the demands of your job bring out the best of your abilities? (62% passed)
- (3) How often do you feel you leave work with a good feeling that you have done something particularly well? (23% passed)
- (4) How would you feel if you were to describe the extent of pride or embarrassment about your job to someone you have just met? (17% passed)
- (5) Choose the statement that best describes the feeling of pride about your work? (8% passed).

TABLE 3.13
GENERAL WORK SATISFACTION SCALE II

	N	%
Low satisfaction (5)	18	3.6%
(4)	41	8.3%
(3)	74	14.9%
(2)	174	35.1%
(1)	130	26.2%
High Satisfaction (0)	59	11.9%
Total	496	100.0%

Coefficients of Reproducibility = .9274

Minimum marginal reproducibility = .7911

Coefficient of Scalability = .6525

By using these scales, we were able to measure the collective impact of individual work alienation and satisfaction variables.

Measures of political attitudes: Political powerlessness. The measures of political attitudes and behavior were also carefully constructed to test the denoted hypotheses. In order to evaluate these relationships, the work of Melvin Seeman is extremely important. Seeman was among the first group of social scientists to convert the theoretical concept of alienation into empirically measurable categories. The difficulty of this task derives from the diverse meanings attached to the concept of alienation. Alienation has been considered an objective condition (e.g., when the industrial worker does not own the product he produces) or a subjective feeling where one feels estranged from a certain situation. Seeman tried to "make the traditional interest in alienation more amenable to sharp empirical statement."³⁷ In this connection, he delineated five distinct forms of alienation. He defined the first, powerlessness, as the expectancy or probability held by the individual that his own behavior cannot determine the occurrence of the outcome, or reinforcement, he seeks.³⁸ This concept is taken from the Marxian view of the

worker's alienation from his work and is closely correlated with the concept of political efficacy. (Renshon defined political efficacy as "the belief that one has sufficient personal control over political processes to satisfy the need for control in relevant life areas."³⁹ The following items were used to measure political efficacy:

- 1) I don't think that public officials care much about what people like me think.
- 2) The way people vote is the main thing that decides the way things are run in the country.
- 3) Voting is the only way that people like me can have a say about how the government runs things.
- 4) People like me don't have much say about how the government runs things.

These items directly measure an individual's sense of political control. Seeman aptly emphasized the connection between worker alienation and political efficacy,

...the use of powerlessness as an expectancy means that this version of alienation is very closely related to the notion (developed by Rotter) of "internal versus external control of reinforcements." The latter construct refers to the individual's sense of personal control over the reinforcement situation, as contrasted with his view that the occurrence of reinforcement is dependent upon external conditions, such as chance, luck, or the manipulation of others.⁴⁰

Campbell et al.,⁴¹ Renshon,⁴² Gilmore and Lamb⁴³ are among many who have used these items in survey analysis. What is argued here is that alienation experienced at the workplace contributes toward the individual's broader perception that he has little control over external events. Political powerlessness

is a clear manifestation of that attitude.

From among these four questions, a "political powerlessness scale" was developed for data analysis (Table 3.14).

The following questions were used:

- (1) I don't think that public officials care much about what people like me think.
- (2) People like me don't have much say about how the government runs things.
- (3) Voting is the only way that people like me can have a say about how the government runs things.

TABLE 3.14

POLITICAL POWERLESSNESS SCALE

	N	%
Most powerless (3)	199	38.1%
(2)	256	49.0%
(1)	55	10.5%
Least powerless (0)	12	2.3%
Total	522	100.0%

Coefficient of Reproducibility = .8761

Minimum marginal reproducibility = .7433

Coefficient of Scalability = .5174

Measures of Political Anomie and Trust. A second generalized attitude that was used in association with work alienation is anomie and distrust of people (misanthropy).

The link between estrangement at work and these attitudes revolves around the thwarting of the need for self-actualization and personal control at the workplace. As Renshon argued, "Trust in oneself and one's abilities can develop through successful mastery of interpersonal and environmental challenges."⁴⁴ The absence of a challenge at work and fulfillment helps generate this distrust. Interviewees in this study were asked to respond to the following items:

1. These days a person doesn't really know whom he can count on.
2. In spite of what some people say, the lot of the average man is getting worse.

Both questions were used by Srole in his exploratory study of anomie⁴⁵ and the first item is a variation of a question employed by Rosenberg in his study of misanthropy.⁴⁶

Measures of political fatalism. Closely connected to the measure of anomie is the concept of political fatalism. Fatalism, the belief that man is not really the master of his environment, is likely to develop when an individual fails to master his own immediate environment. The following questions were used:

1. You can't plan ahead for long range goals.
2. There will always be poverty in the world.
3. Men and nations will always fight wars with one another.
4. In spite of what some people say, the lot of the average man is getting worse.

Along with feelings of powerlessness and anomie, the concept of fatalism is considered a significant measure of ego-strength which, it is contended, is affected deeply at the workplace.

A "political fatalism scale" was also developed by using three of the four items in this dimension. The distribution was produced by using the following questions:

- (1) There will always be poverty in the world (91% passed).
- (2) Men and nations will always fight wars with one another (90% passed).
- (3) In spite of what some people say, the lot of the average man is getting worse (75% passed).

TABLE 3.15
POLITICAL FATALISM SCALE

	N	%
Most fatalistic (3)	359	68.8%
(2)	114	21.8%
(1)	34	6.5%
Least fatalistic (0)	15	2.9%
Total	522	100.0%

Coefficient of Reproducibility = .9451
 Minimum marginal Reproducibility = .8550
 Coefficient of Scalability = .6211

Measures of political authoritarianism. Another attitude dimension linked to worker alienation is political

authoritarianism. Rosenberg, for example, found that the "authoritarian personality tends to have relatively low faith in human nature."⁴⁷ Thus, authoritaerianism is correlated with the work experience because of the distrust that the alienated worker might develop. In order to measure "authoritarianism" the following statements were incorporated in the survey schedule:

1. The most important thing to teach children is absolute obedience to their parents.
2. Any good leader should be strict with people under him to gain their respect.
3. A few strong leaders could do more for the country than all the laws and talk.

A Guttman scale, incorporating these three items, was then created. The following questions were used in this "political autharianism scale" to produce the distributio of Table 3.16:

- (1) The most important thing to teach children is absolute obedience to their parents (82% passed).
- (2) A few strong leaders could do more for the country than all the laws and talk (56% passed).
- (3) Any good leader should be strict with people under him to gain their respect (32% passed).

Measures of union satisfaction and powerlessness. Along with feelings of political alienation, the notion that this study sets forth is that there is a strong positive relationship between worker alienation and union dissatisfaction. This

TABLE 3.16
POLITICAL AUTHORITARIANISM SCALE

	N	%
Most authoritarian (3)	127	23.9%
(2)	175	33.0%
(1)	171	32.2%
Least authoritarian (0)	58	10.9%
Total	531	100.0%

Coefficient of reproducibility = .9171

Minimum marginal reproducibility = .6861

Coefficient of scalability = .7360

attitude is also a derivative of the lowered self-esteem that unchallenging work produces. A variation of the political powerlessness scale was used.

1. I don't think that union officials care much about what union members like me think.
2. Union members like me don't have much say about how the union runs things.
3. Sometimes union affairs seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on.

In addition, two general questions measuring the extent of union satisfaction, were also employed.

1. Compared to most other unions would you say that your union is:

___more effective ___about average ___less effective.

2. How well would you say union leaders performed during the fiscal crisis?

___very effectively

___not very well ___not at all.

The first three questions were then used in the creation of a union alienation scale. Table 3.17 produced a distribution for which the following questions were used:

- (1) Sometimes union affairs seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on (56% passed).
- (2) Union members like me don't have much say about how the union runs things (48% passed).
- (3) I don't think that union officials care much about what union members like me think (41% passed).

TABLE 3.17

UNION ALIENATION SCALE

	N	%
High alienation (3)	147	28.3%
(2)	248	47.7%
(1)	72	13.8%
Low alienation (0)	53	10.2%
Total	520	100.0%

Coefficient of reproducibility = .8923

Minimum marginal reproducibility = .7135

Coefficient of scalability = .6242

Measures of political and union participation. Alienation involves not only feelings of withdrawal or helplessness but also is reflected in low levels of participation in the political process. Feelings of inefficiency and lack of trust in others very likely produce withdrawal from the political arena. In order to measure the level of political participation, these questions were asked:

1. How often do you vote in elections?

☐ very often ☐ fairly often ☐ not very often
☐ not at all

2. How often do you vote in primaries?

☐ very often ☐ fairly often ☐ not very often
☐ not at all

3. How often do you go to meetings or rallies?

☐ very often ☐ fairly often ☐ not very often
☐ not at all

4. How often do you donate money to candidates?

☐ very often ☐ fairly often ☐ not very often
☐ not at all

5. How often do you donate money to political causes?

☐ very often ☐ fairly often ☐ not very often
☐ not at all

6. How many political organizations do you belong to?

☐ none ☐ one or two ☐ three or four ☐ five or more

7. How many community organizations do you belong to?

☐ none ☐ one or two ☐ three or four ☐ five or more

Similarly, several questions were included to determine the extent of union participation.

1. To what extent do you participate in the decision-making process of your union local?

___a great deal ___a fair amount ___very little
___not at all

2. How many hours a week do you spend on union affairs?

___less than five ___6 to 10 ___11 or more

3. Do you hold a position in the union?

___Yes ___No

Measures of non-work activity and life. A final series of questions were included to explore the work/non-work life relationship. It has already been argued that there is great difficulty in analyzing the content of non-work life and asserting that certain leisure activities are compensatory or active and others spill over from worklife. Nevertheless, several items were included to determine patterns of non-work activity that might suggest some correlation between work and non-work. They were:

1. During the average week, how many hours do you spend doing the following:

a) Spend time with family ___none ___under 5 hours

___5 to 10 hours ___11 to 20 hours ___over 20 hours

b) Watch TV/listen to radio ___none ___under 5 hours

___5 to 10 hours ___11 to 20 hours ___over 20 hours

- c) Play or watch sports ___none ___under 5 hours
___5 to 10 hours ___11 to 20 hours ___over 20 hours
- d) Work on a hobby ___none ___under 5 hours
___5 to 10 hours ___11 to 20 hours ___over 20 hours
- e) Take part in community affairs ___none ___under 5
hours ___5 to 10 hours ___11 to 20 hours ___over
20 hours
- f) Take part in church affairs ___none ___under 5 hours
___5 to 10 hours ___11 to 20 hours ___over 20 hours.

The in-depth interviews tried to flesh out the work/non-work relationship with a series of open-ended questions. A series of questions probed the meaning workers attribute to their leisure time, particularly in relation to the significance of worklife.

Summary

The selection of the sample, the method of study and the design of the questionnaire reflected a concern that the research would yield fruitful results. Selecting a diverse and heterogeneous sample population, District Council 37 workers, ensured findings that should be applicable to a broader spectrum of workers. Using survey analysis along with conducting in-depth interviews guaranteed that most of the hypotheses about the work life/political life relationship would be statistically tested. Certain of these hypotheses (e.g., the relationship between work life and non-work life) were not as

easily measured in quantifiable terms; but they were emphasized during the in-depth interviews. Those results may not meet tests of statistical certainty but, like Studs Terkel's book, they should have captured much of the "flavor of worklife."

In sum, the methodology represented a conscious effort to combine the best aspects of quantitative and qualitative approaches to the study of work. Consciously sought, too, was the placement of the study in the most appropriate form for political analysis. As a result of these concerns and the heterogeneity of the sample population, the findings contributed to a better understanding of worklife and its impact on political attitudes and behavior.

Footnotes

¹Ely Chinoy, Automobile Workers and the American Dream (Garden City: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1955).

²Charles Walker and Robert Guest, The Man on the Assembly Line (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1952).

³Robert Blauner, Alienation and Freedom: The Factory Worker and His Industry (Chicago: The University Press, 1964).

⁴Walker, The Man on the Assembly Line, p. 9.

⁵Blauner, Alienation and Freedom, p. 89.

⁶John Goldthorpe, David Lockwood, Frank Bechofer and Jennifer Platt, The Affluent Worker: Industrial Attitudes and Behavior (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968); William H. Form, Blue-Collar Stratification: Autoworkers in Four Countries (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1976); William A. Rushing, Class, Culture, and Alienation: A Story of Farmers and Farm Workers (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1972).

⁷George A. Miller, "Professionals in Bureaucracy: Alienation Among Industrial Scientists and Engineers," American Sociological Review 32 (October 1967):755-768.

⁸Seymour Z. Mann and Sheldon Mann, "Decision Dynamics and Organizational Characteristics: The AFSCME and NYC District Council 37," Urban Research Center (N.Y.: Hunter College, 1975), p. 9.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹This study made use of the National Opinion Research Center's occupational prestige scale.

¹²Mann, "Decision Dynamics," p. 14.

¹³Bogdan Denitch, "DC 37 Study," (Columbia University, Bureau of Applied Social Research, 1973), p. 3.

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵June Ringel, "A Short History of DC 37 AFSCME," Public Employee Press, Vol. X, No. 15 (December 12, 1969):11.

¹⁶Daisy Lovell, Interview on July 9, 1978. In the interview, Ms. Lovell provided figures for all the divisions.

¹⁷Mann, "Decision Dynamics," p. 17

¹⁸Ibid., p. 48

¹⁹Ibid., p. 58.

²⁰Ibid.

²¹Ella Woodley, Interview at Bellevue Hospital on July 16, 1978. Ms. Woodley was a shop steward at the time.

²²Robert Blauner, "Work Satisfaction and Industrial Trends in Modern Society," in Labor and Trade Unionism, ed. by Walter Galenson and Seymour Martin Lipset (New York and London: John Wiley and Sons, 1960), p. 355.

²³An example of a direct question is, "All in all, would you say that you are satisfied with your job?"

²⁴Lewis Lipsitz, "On Political Belief: The Grievances of the Poor," in Power and Community: Dissenting Essays in Political Science ed. by Phillip Green and Sanford Levinson (New York: Random House, 1970), pp. 142-172.

²⁵Ibid., p. 167.

²⁶Arthur Shostak, "Introduction" in Blue-Collar World: Studies of the American Worker, ed. by William Gomberg and Arthur Shostak (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1964), p. xvi.

²⁷For a copy of the Questionnaire and the frequencies of items in this chapter, see Appendices A and B respectively.

²⁸Blauner, Alienation and Freedom, see Chapter 2.

²⁹Ibid., p. 26

³⁰Harold L. Sheppard and Neal Q. Herrick, Where Have all the Robots Gone? Worker Dissatisfaction in the '70s (New York: The Free Press, 1972); Daniel Yankelovich and Raymond A. Katzell, Work Productivity and Job Satisfaction: An Evaluation of Policy-Related Research (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1975); Agnes Campbell, Phillip E. Converse and Willard L. Rogers, The Quality of American Life: Perceptions, Evaluations and Satisfaction (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1976).

³¹Blauner, Alienation and Freedom, p. 16.

³²Ibid., p. 17.

³³Campbell et al., The Quality of American Life, p. 306.

³⁴Blauner, Alienation and Freedom, p. 26.

³⁵C. Wright Mills, White Collar: The American Middle Classes (New York: Oxford University Press, 1951), p. 237.

³⁶See, for example, Sheppard and Herrick, Where Have all the Robots Gone?

³⁷Melvin Seeman, "On the Meaning of Alienation," American Sociological Review, Vol. 24, No. 6 (December 1959): 783.

³⁸Ibid., p. 784.

³⁹Stanley Renshon, Psychological Needs and Political Behavior (New York: The Free Press, 1974), p. 75.

⁴⁰Seeman, "On the Meaning of Alienation," p. 735. For a discussion of internal vs. external control, see Julian B. Rotter, Melvin Seeman and Liverant Shepard, "Internal vs. External Control of Reinforcements: A Major Variable in Behavior Theory," in Decisions, Values and Groups Vol. 2, ed. by Norman F. Washburne (London: Pergamon Press, 1962), pp. 473-516.

⁴¹Angus Campbell, Phillip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller and Donald F. Stokes, The American Voter (New York: Wiley, 1960).

⁴²Renshon, Psychological Needs.

⁴³Robert Gilmour and Robert Lamb, Political Alienation in Contemporary America (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1975).

⁴⁴Renshon, Psychological Needs, p. 154.

⁴⁵Leo Srole, "Social Integration and Certain Corollaries: An Exploratory Study," American Sociological Review, Vol. 21, No. 6 (1956), p. 713.

⁴⁶Morris Rosenberg, "Misanthropy and Political Ideology," in Alienation and the Social System, ed. by Finifter, pp. 76-83.

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 83.

CHAPTER 4

WORKLIFE AND WORK ATTITUDES AMONG MUNICIPAL WORKERS:

THE CASE FOR ALIENATION

Half the people don't care about their job at all. They don't care if they are written up ten times a week. They don't care if they're facing termination in five minutes. You know. Just give me my paycheck and let me go out and buy an ounce of grass and I can get stoned and go out and party. Who cares about work? - A fiscal office assistant and union shop steward.

The results of the research make a convincing case for the existence of work alienation among these New York City governmental employees. Members of District Council 37 paint a picture of worklife that is frequently unchallenging, psychologically unrewarding and as an activity that no longer serves as the major source of personal gratification. The data support our contention that work alienation, in terms of both self-estrangement and as a central-life interest, is a significant and substantial problem among New York City municipal employees. Although discontent with these dimensions of work does not reach epidemic proportions, the survey data and the in-depth interviews reflect the city worker's lack of fulfillment on the job and their desire and need to achieve fulfillment during their leisure hours.

A significant proportion of DC 37 workers, regardless of their education level or occupational classification,

fails to attain the need for self-actualization at the workplace. In Maslow's, Fromm's or Blauner's terms, these workers are self-estranged at the workplace. An even larger proportion of these city workers compensate for their lack of meaning at work by focusing on enjoyment of life away from work; hence they dismiss work as an instrumental, less-central activity.

At the same time that the data do support most of the hypotheses that are being examined, there is also ample evidence that an overwhelming majority of the municipal workers adapt or adjust to this less than satisfying worklife. It is also clear that this work alienation has neither crystallized as a collective grievance among the municipal workers, nor do individual workers seem obsessed with their lack of enjoyment at the workplace. There is even contradictory evidence that most of the workers derive some gratification from their work although it is difficult to measure the extent to which workers lower their expectations in order to feel somewhat satisfied.

Beyond these findings, the failure of work to serve as a central-life interest has far-reaching implications. The workplace is neither the central source of social contacts or social interaction (this will be pursued at greater length in the next chapter) nor of personal enjoyment and self-fulfillment. The perceived disjunction between work and leisure is explicit throughout the responses. These findings held true

regardless of occupational classification or educational level. The data does support, then, the contention that leisure-time pursuits compensate for an unfulfilling worklife--albeit there is no clear relationship between patterns of leisure activities and types of work. These findings strongly emphasize an earlier contention that was made of the necessity of further study, particularly by political scientists, and the need to reappraise the methodology for studying work.

Factor Analysis of the Work Attitude Questions

Although factor analysis was the last statistical procedure used in analyzing the data, it is presented here first in order to better structure the presentation of our data. Factor analysis of all the work attitude questions was used to determine which items fall along the same attitudinal dimension. Table 4.1 which represents a factor analysis of 56 variables, reveals that at least two major work attitudinal dimensions are measured. Although a total of 6 factors emerged in the analysis of the data, only two include questions related to work satisfaction and work alienation. The others are related to political attitudes and behavior and will be discussed in the following chapter. Factor 1 contains all of the items dealing with subjective task-evaluations (i.e. how workers describe the diversity and complexity of their jobs), subjective evaluations of their jobs in relation to their

ability and their learned skills (e.g. How often does the job bring out the best of their abilities) and attitudes reflecting general feelings about their jobs. Since this dimension contains attitudes about the intrinsic aspect of one's work, the assumption is that it measures Maslow's assertion of the need for self-actualization or creative expression and is a reflection of the worker's self-esteem. The second dimension discovered during factor analysis relates to more general expressions of satisfaction at work, the possibility of job mobility and union satisfaction. In this sense, it represents a more composite measure of work and union satisfaction but clearly does not tap attitudes or feelings of accomplishment and fulfillment on the job as clearly as the first dimension does.

Factor analysis thus confirms the multi-dimensionality of attitudes toward work and supports the validity of the questions used in the survey. (Those items that were expected to fall along the same dimension did so.)

General Indicators of Work Satisfaction

As a result of the factor analysis, a more elaborate review of the work attitude questions is demanded. Analysis of those questions reflecting general indications of satisfaction with one's work reveals a relatively high degree of contentment with the job.* From Tables 4.2 and 4.3 it is apparent that approximately 60% of the sample population believe

* It should be noted here that responses to these questions

TABLE 4.1
 FACTOR LOADING OF 56 VARIABLES
 N=317

Work Satisfaction		Extrinsic Work Satisfaction	
Factor 1		Factor 2	
Variable Name	Factor Loading Score	Variable Name	Factor Loading Score
Job interest	0.75816	Union care	-0.59304
Job embarrass	0.73035	Union say	-0.56831
Job measure	0.65381	Participate union local	0.52491
Job pride	0.64278	Union grievance	0.48272
Job learn	0.62882	Union rate	0.47166
Job ability	0.61820	Wage satisfaction	0.39852
Good feel job	0.60311	Job best ever	0.34404
Job variety	-0.50736		
Good day work	0.38174		
Job freedom	-0.37112		
Job best now	0.32496		

their job is or probably will be the best they'll ever have. Even the negative responses cannot be construed as evidence of dissatisfaction since they might also indicate a belief in one's chances for upward mobility.

do not indicate the aspects of the job to which these workers are referring. Positive responses may only reflect these workers' feelings about fringe benefits, wages or other non-intrinsic aspects of work. They do not necessarily imply that DC 37 workers do not experience alienation at the workplace.

TABLE 4.2

IS THE JOB YOU HAVE NOW THE BEST ONE
YOU'VE EVER HAD?

Yes	N = 230	42.0%
Maybe	N = 90	16.4%
No	N = 228	41.6%
Total	N = 548	100.0%

TABLE 4.3

DO YOU THINK THAT THE JOB YOU HAVE NOW
IS THE BEST ONE YOU'LL EVER HAVE?

Yes	N = 189	34.7%
Maybe	N = 147	27.0%
No	N = 209	38.3%
Total	N = 545	100.0%

By crosstabulating these two responses (Table 4.4), we can arrive at a more incisive measurement of workers who are presently satisfied and optimistic about their future as well as those NYC municipal employees who are both dissatisfied and pessimistic about their occupational future. The table reveals that 13.3% (N=72) of the survey respondents are satisfied with their present position and optimistic about chances for upward mobility; 18.8% (N=102) are presently satisfied but pessimistic about future chances; 12.0% (N=65) are

TABLE 4.4

CROSSTABULATION OF RESPONSES TO BEST JOB NOW
BY BEST JOB ONE WILL EVER HAVE

		BEST EVER?			
		Yes	Maybe	No	Total
BEST NOW?	Yes	N=102 54.2%	N= 55 37.7%	N= 72 34.4%	N=229 42.2%
	Maybe	N= 21 11.2%	N= 39 26.7%	N= 30 14.4%	N= 90 16.6%
	No	N= 65 34.6%	N= 52 35.6%	N=107 51.2%	N=224 41.2%
	Total	N=188 100.0%	N=146 100.0%	N=209 100.0%	N=543 100.0%

Chi Square = 31.31894

$p < .01$

tau b = 0.15624

tau c = 0.15042

gamma = 0.23914

dissatisfied but hopeful about their future; and 19.7% (N=107) are both dissatisfied and pessimistic. The remainder of the sample are unable to specify their feelings about their present job and their future. These data indicate a fairly even distribution between workers in the satisfied/optimistic and dissatisfied/pessimistic categories.

Responses to other general indications of work satisfaction items reinforce the finding of "general job contentment" among these N.Y.C. municipal employees.

Table 4.5 and 4.6 report the response patterns to the following questions: (1) Choose the statement which best describes your feeling about your job and (2) How would you feel if you were to describe your job to someone you've just met? Both tables reveal substantial pride (between 80-90%) in one's job which can be interpreted as resounding expressions of job satisfaction. The frequencies of the "job pride" responses are consistent with other studies¹ that use direct lines of inquiry (e.g. Are you satisfied with your job?). Those studies usually uncover a level of discontent ranging from only 11 to 23% and have led those researchers to dismiss job dissatisfaction or work alienation as a theoretical problem that bears slight resemblance to the real world of work.

TABLE 4.5

EXPRESSIONS OF PRIDE IN ONE'S PRESENT WORK

	N	%
I have a great deal of pride in my work	N=348	63.9%
I have a fair amount of pride in my work	N=152	27.9%
I have little pride in my work	N= 31	5.7%
I have no pride in my work	N= 14	2.6%
Total	N=545	100.0%

TABLE 4.6

HOW WOULD YOU FEEL IF YOU WERE TO DESCRIBE YOUR JOB
TO SOMEONE YOU'VE JUST MET?

	N	%
I would feel very proud to describe my job	N=166	32.2%
I would feel somewhat proud to describe my job	N=262	50.9%
I would feel somewhat embarrassed to describe my job	N= 63	12.2%
I would feel very embarrassed to describe my job	N= 24	4.7%
Total	N=515	100.0%

The mean scores of occupational classifications (Table 4.7) for these job pride questions reveal that there is little difference among professional, clerical, service and blue collar workers.² In fact, professionals score only marginally better than any of the other groups. The results suggest either that the two questions are too ego-threatening to elicit honest responses from those with lower status (Blauner's reservations stated in Chapter 3) or that job satisfaction is high across the occupational spectrum.

The similarity in responses of the different occupational classifications is further reinforced by crosstabulating responses to the "general indicators of work satisfaction scale" by the occupational groupings (Table 4.8). The data even indicate that professionals are less likely to express

TABLE 4.7

MEAN AND MEDIAN SCORES FOR JOB PRIDE ACCORDING TO
OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION

		Professional	Clerical	Service	Blue Collar
Job Pride	Mean	1.54 (N=139)	1.42 (N=191)	1.48 (N=147)	1.40 (N=40)
	Median	2.00	3.00	3.00	2.00
Job Embarrassment	Mean	1.87 (N=132)	1.93 (N=181)	1.88 (N=142)	1.82 (N=40)
	Median	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00

Ratings range from: (1) very positive ratings about work
to: (4) most negative ratings about work

TABLE 4.8

GENERAL INDICATORS OF WORK SATISFACTION SCALE
ACCORDING TO OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION

		Prof.	Clerical	Service.	Blue Collar	Total
General Indicators of Work Satisfaction	High Satisfaction 0	N = 4 2.8%	N = 1 0.5%	N= 11 7.3%	N = 3 7.5%	N= 19 3.6%
	1	N= 22 15.6%	N= 32 16.7%	N= 35 23.3%	N = 9 22.5%	N= 98 18.7%
	2	N= 60 42.5%	N= 63 32.8%	N= 44 29.3%	N= 21 52.5%	N=188 35.9%
	3	N= 38 27.1%	N= 56 29.2%	N= 39 26.0%	N= 5 12.5%	N=138 26.4%
	Low Satisfaction 4	N= 17 12.1%	N= 40 20.8%	N= 21 14.0%	N= 2 5.0%	N= 80 15.4%
Total		N=141 100.1%	N=192 100.0%	N=150 99.9%	N= 40 100.0%	N=523 100.0%

Chi square = 34.21146

p < .01

extensive satisfaction than any other occupational classification except clerical workers, and that clerical workers fall more disproportionately into the lowest job satisfaction category than any other group (20.8% in the least satisfied character).

A review of these general indicators of job satisfaction thus suggests a fairly high level of job satisfaction. As argued earlier, the strong possibility exists that these inquiries are either too "ego threatening" and unspecific to render an incisive account of worklife and work alienation, or that they fail to measure feelings about what these workers actually do. It will be shown that the more indirect line of inquiry presents a much stronger case for the devaluation of and disenchantment with work.

Measures of Intrinsic Job Satisfaction,
Powerlessness and Self-Estrangement

Within the intrinsic work satisfaction dimension, more indirect measures of job satisfaction, those that specifically measure work alienation were included. A series of questions first used by Turner and Lawrence and duplicated by Sheppard and Herrick were designed to measure the subjective job-task ratings for these city employees. The findings from these questions are significant for several reasons. Primarily, the results are valuable because the jobs-task scale developed from these items provides a fairly accurate measure

of intrinsic job satisfaction. Secondly, the similarity among clerical, service and blue-collar workers underscores the growing convergence among these types of work. Finally, the relationship between self-rating of jobs and objective analysis of work skills is considered very strong. Sheppard and Herrick argued: "We are confident based on the Turner and Lawrence experience, as well as our own internal evidence, that the ratings of job tasks by the workers in our own study bear a high relationship to the reality to be found in their work situations."³ Tables 4.9 to 4.12 clearly show the remarkable similarity between these results and Sheppard's and Herrick's study of blue-collar workers.

TABLE 4.9

JOB TASK RATINGS: LEARNING ON THE JOB

(Some jobs provide a great deal of opportunity to learn more about the work and enable people to increase their knowledge of the process and their skills; other jobs provide few such opportunities to learn more)

	Municipal Employees Present Study		Blue-Collar Sheppard & Herrick
There are very great opportunities to learn more	N=101	18.5%	23.%
There are fairly good opportunities to learn more	N=191	35.0%	35%
There is little opportunity to learn	N=136	25.0%	25%
There is almost no opportunity to learn more	N=117	21.5%	17%
Total	N=545	100.0%	100%

Do you have variety on your job (can you do different things, change methods, locations, speed of working and so forth)?

TABLE 4.10

JOB TASK RATINGS: VARIETY ON THE JOB

	Municipal Employees Present Study		Blue-Collar Sheppard & Herrick
I have to do a lot of different things on my job; there is a great deal of variety	N=100	18.2%	27%
I have to do quite a number of different things on my job; there is a fair amount of variety	N=181	32.9%	37%
I mostly do the same things; but there is a little variety	N=164	29.8%	20%
I always do the same thing; there is no variety	N=105	19.1%	16%
Total	N=550	100.0%	100%

Which statement best describes the kind of job you have?

TABLE 4.11

JOB TASK RATINGS: FREEDOM ON THE JOB

	Municipal Employees Present Study	Blue-Collar Sheppard & Herrick
I have no freedom to do my work as I want	N= 38 7.0%	9%
I have a little freedom to do my work as I want	N=111 20.6%	16%
I am fairly free to do my work as I want	N=290 53.7%	56%
I am completely free to do my work as I want	N=101 18.7%	19%
Total	N=540 100.0%	100%

Which of the following statements fits your job?

TABLE 4.12

RATING OF THE JOB

	Municipal Employees Present Study	Blue-Collar Sheppard & Herrick
Almost anyone could do my job	N= 97 17.7%	18%
A good many people could do my job	N=186 34.0%	34%
Only a limited number of people could do my job	N=141 25.8%	37%
Very few people could do my job	N= 45 8.2%	10%
Can't answer; hard to say	N= 78 14.3%	1%
Total	N=547 100.0%	100%

Except for the question about freedom on the job, approximately 50% of the respondents in this study rate their jobs negatively. More importantly, Sheppard and Herrick found these items to be highly correlated with their other measure of worker alienation or job discontent.⁴ Thus, job-skill ratings produce significantly higher levels of discontent than did the general indicators of work satisfaction.

Among the occupational categories, professionals, as expected, score better on the job skill ratings (Table 4.13).

TABLE 4.13

MEAN AND MEDIAN SCORES OF JOB-SKILLS ACCORDING
TO OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION

		Profession- al	Clerical	Service	Blue-Collar
Learning on the job	Mean	2.23 N=141	2.56 N=191	2.71 N=144	2.52 N=40
	Median	2.0	2.0	3.0	2.0
Variety on the job	Mean	2.23 N=141	2.50 N=192	2.70 N=148	2.43 N=40
	Median	2.0	3.0	3.0	3.0
Freedom on the job	Mean	2.19 N=137	2.19 N=190	2.22 N=146	2.16 N=39
	Median	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0
Difficulty of the job (excluding Don't knows)	Mean	2.29 N=127	2.85 N=166	3.08 N=119	2.63 N=35
	Median	2.0	3.0	3.0	2.0

Scores range from (1) very positive to (4) very negative.

Note, however, that clerical workers, nominally white-collar employees, fare as poorly as service or blue-collar workers on these questions. These findings continue to suggest that the keypunch operator, the secretary and the office worker perform comparable tasks no more satisfying than those of the housekeeping aide, hospital worker, and the blue-collar laborer or machine operator. If the results accurately mirror contemporary American society, the implications are staggering to those concerned with the harmful effects of work alienation. As the convergence of job skills takes place, old occupational distinctions are eroded and the problems of meaningless work are more pervasive despite broad occupational shifts towards "more demanding" jobs in the 20th century.

This conclusion is further reinforced by crosstabulating occupational classification with the "work-task scale" (Table 4.14). As expected, professionals (18.4%) score best by far in the highest task rating category. The difference, however, between clerical workers on the one hand and service and blue-collar workers on the other hand, is marginal. Whereas 52% of the clerical workers fall into the two highest categories, 52.5% of the blue-collar workers and 42.7% of the service workers fall into the same categories.

A final series of questions falling on this factor dimension were designed to measure the relative demands of the job compared to the individual worker's estimate of his ability.

TABLE 4.14
CROSSTABULATION OF "WORK-TASK SCALE"
BY OCCUPATION

			Prof.	Cleri- cal	Service	Blue Collar	Total
Work Task Scale	High Task	0	N= 26 18.4%	N= 21 10.9%	N= 15 10.0%	N= 6 15.0%	N= 68 13.0%
		1	N= 67 47.5%	N= 79 41.1%	N= 49 32.7%	N= 15 37.5%	N=210 40.2%
		2	N= 43 30.5%	N= 76 39.6%	N= 73 48.7%	N= 18 45.0%	N=210 40.2%
	Low Task	3	N= 5 3.5%	N= 16 8.4%	N= 13 8.7%	N= 1 2.5%	N= 35 6.7%
Total			N=141 99.9%	N=192 100.0%	N=150 99.9%	N= 40 100.0%	N=528 99.9%

Chi Square = 20.12831 $p < .01$

It is possible that a job may involve a variety of skills or even be a learning experience and yet still fail to measure up to the capabilities or aspirations of the worker. This problem is indicative of underemployment where people are employed at jobs that fail to use all their training. Table 4.15 to 4.17 present the response rates to those questions designed to measure this approach to work alienation. Generally, the findings reveal a level of alienation falling somewhere between those measures of job-skills and the more direct line of inquiry. Approximately 30% of the respondents score poorly on these measures (i.e. in the bottom 2 categories of these questions). It is arguable that this measure is the most

accurate reflection of the three measures of work alienation since it involves a worker's estimate of the job in relation to his own ability (a subjective and relative measure).

TABLE 4.15

HOW WELL WOULD YOU SAY YOUR JOB MEASURES UP TO THE KIND
OF JOB YOU WANTED WHEN YOU FIRST TOOK IT?

	N	%
It's very much like the one I wanted	N=146	26.7%
It's somewhat like the one I wanted	N=237	43.4%
It's not very much like the job I wanted	N= 82	15.0%
It's not at all like the job I wanted	N= 81	14.8%
Total	N=546	99.9%

TABLE 4.16

HOW OFTEN WOULD YOU SAY THAT THE DEMANDS OF YOUR JOB
BRING OUT THE BEST OF YOUR ABILITIES

	N	%
Very often	N=203	37.2%
Fairly often	N=190	34.8%
Not very often	N=115	21.1%
Not at all	N= 38	7.0%
Total	N=546	100.1%

TABLE 4.17

WHICH ONE OF THE FOLLOWING COMES CLOSEST TO DESCRIBING
HOW YOU FEEL ABOUT YOUR PRESENT JOB

	N	%
Interesting nearly all the time	N=104	19.2%
Interesting most of the time	N=147	27.2%
Interesting some of the time	N=188	34.8%
Rarely interesting	N= 83	15.3%
Never interesting	N= 19	3.5%
Total	N=547	100.0%

When these items are measured against occupational classification, the results are extremely revealing. The professional group, which ranks highest according to job-task ratings, rate their jobs quite poorly along these lines (Table 4.18). These findings imply that fewer jobs at the highest occupational levels are designed to involve intensively the well-educated, highly trained worker. Indeed, such a finding lends credence to recently stated theories that the well-educated and trained worker, rather than the unskilled one, is more likely to experience dissatisfaction on the job.⁵ Moreover, such a trend would be extremely unsettling to those who wish to maintain the status quo since the more articulate workers might develop deep-seated hostility to a system that can't fulfill their needs. In a recent article in Dissent, Paul Blumberg⁶ raises this precise possibility.

TABLE 4.18

MEAN AND MEDIAN SCORES OF RELATIVE JOB RATINGS ACCORDING
TO OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION

		Professionals		Clerical		Service		Blue-Collar	
Job Measures up to Expectation	Mean	2.12	N=139	2.29	N=192	2.13	N=146	1.60	N=40
	Median	2.0		2.0		2.0		2.0	
Job Brings out Best Ability	Mean	2.14	N=140	1.98	N=191	1.93	N=147	1.72	N=40
	Median	2.0		2.0		2.0		1.0	
Job Interest	Mean	2.57	N=138	2.74	N=190	2.44	N=145	2.48	N=40
	Median	3.0		3.0		2.0		2.0	

Mean Scores range from (1) very high to (4) very low for the Job Measure and job ability questions and from (1) very high to (5) very low for the job interest question.

The relationship between education and work alienation is also particularly interesting for perceiving any trends in the level of work alienation. Table 4.19 is especially revealing because it shows that the more highly educated worker is somewhat more likely to express overall work alienation or dissatisfaction with his job than any other group. Since education is significantly related to occupation (Table 4.20), the results suggest that job dissatisfaction may be festering among the highly educated who occupy higher status positions.

The notion that the higher educated worker in nominally more skilled positions should feel more underutilized (the skills of the job fail to measure up to one's ability) than others is not new. Berg et al. found that a majority of college educated workers (51%) were underutilized.⁷ They also concluded that these underutilized workers were more likely to express dissatisfaction with their jobs than any other group.⁸ Indeed, they expressed concern about the long term impact of having highly educated people fill low skill positions. Kantner and Stein reaffirmed these conclusions: "College graduates are increasingly unsatisfied with traditionally entry-level work."⁹

Evidently, this intensive analysis of the intrinsic job satisfaction dimension creates a significantly different array of statistics from the general indicators of satisfaction. These items report much deeper levels of alienation than do the

TABLE 4.19

JOB SATISFACTION SCORES* ACCORDING TO EDUCATION

		E d u c a t i o n				
		Less than H.S.	H.S. Grad. Voc.School	Some College College Grad.	Grad. School	Total
Factor 1 Score Work Satis- factor	Most Satis- 1 fied	N= 12 29.3%	N= 31 28.4%	N= 27 22.5%	N= 7 15.9%	N= 77 24.7%
	2	N= 13 31.7%	N= 27 24.8%	N= 30 25.0%	N= 9 20.5%	N= 79 25.1%
	3	N= 7 17.1%	N= 26 23.9%	N= 32 26.7%	N= 14 31.8%	N= 79 25.1%
	Least Satis- 4 fied	N= 9 22.0%	N= 25 22.9%	N= 31 25.8%	N=14 31.8%	N= 79 25.1%
		N= 41 100.1%	N=109 100.0%	N=120 100.0%	N= 44 100.0%	N=314 100.0%

Chi Square = 6.88610

tau b = .10506

gamma = .14507

p < .6

tau c = .10126

*Factor scores were arranged in four quartiles from those who scored highest on the work satisfaction dimension to those who scored poorest. It is important for statistical analysis to note that these scores provide a range from from satisfied to least satisfied workers. It does not mean, however, that respondents who scored highest are objectively satisfied with their work.

TABLE 4.20

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL ACCORDING TO OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION

Educational Level	Professional	Clerical	Service	Blue Collar	Total
High School Grad. or less	N= 8 5.7%	N=103 54.2%	N=111 74.5%	N= 24 63.2%	N=246
Vocational	N= 2 1.4%	N= 9 4.7%	N= 12 8.1%	N= 3 7.9%	N= 26
Some College or Coll.Grad.	N= 75 53.6%	N= 75 39.5%	N= 25 16.8%	N= 11 28.9%	N=186
Graduate School	N= 55 39.3%	N= 3 1.6%	N= 1 0.7%	N= 0 0.0%	N= 59
Total	N=140 100.0%	N=190 100.0%	N=149 100.1%	N= 38 100.0%	N=517

Chi Square = 244.21338
tau b = -0.51291
gamma = -0.71479

p .01
tau c = -0.45467

TABLE 4.21
PREFERENCE FOR WORK OVER NON-WORK

	N	%
(1) Quit work entirely?	N=178	33.3%
(2) Quite your present job but look for another?	N=115	21.5%
(3) Stay in your present job?	N=242	45.2%
Total	N=535	100.0%

TABLE 4.22
PREFERENCE FOR WORK OVER NON-WORK ACCORDING TO
OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION

	Profes- sional	Clerical	Service	Blue- Collar	Total
Would quit work	N= 42 30.9%	N= 62 33.3%	N= 51 34.9%	N= 15 38.5%	N=170 33.5%
Would quit work but look for another job	N= 40 29.4%	N= 47 25.3%	N= 17 11.6%	N= 6 15.4%	N=110 21.7%
Stay in present job	N= 54 39.7%	N= 77 41.4%	N= 78 53.4%	N= 18 46.2%	N=227 44.8%
Total	N=136 100.0%	N=186 100.0%	N=146 100.0%	N= 39 100.0%	N=507 100.0%

Chi Square = 16.70718

$p < .01$

general indicators. Different measures elicit levels of work alienation ranging from 12% to 50%. The disparity in these findings makes it difficult to state confidently the exact level of dissatisfaction. Although the variation of the findings is troubling, a review of the previous research (Chapter 2) had indicated that such a possibility of contradictory findings existed. There is, however, sufficient evidence to draw two broad conclusions from the intensive analysis and the earlier discussion of job preference. The first of these is that once indirect measures of work alienation are used the level of dissatisfaction from the job increases significantly. There is a clear case for the existence of widespread work alienation. Secondly, work attitudes among clerical, service and blue-collar workers are similar enough to suggest the convergence of these classifications. It is also apparent that the need for self-actualization among professionals goes relatively unfulfilled.

The Loss of Meaning at Work: The Devaluation of Worklife

Following the review of the items related to job-skills, analysis of the data is now directed towards the second dimension of work alienation that was defined as the meaning workers attach to their work and personal gratification derived at work.

This study has taken the view that a major aspect of

work, the meaning and centrality of the work experience, contributes significant information to an understanding of work-life. Understanding the meaning attached to work is crucial to a social scientist's approach towards work alienation since this dimension constitutes the crux of the social theorists' critiques of work (e.g. Mills and Friedmann). Even if workers score highly on the intrinsic job satisfaction dimension, these responses do not necessarily signify that work maintains its central role as the source of personal gratification or social relations. It is possible that a worker can simultaneously express satisfaction with a given work situation because he has lowered his expectations of fulfillment there and still be alienated (it will indeed be shown that this lowering of expectations is actually taking place).

In support of this contention, Alt maintained, "It is misleading to interpret workers' satisfaction with their Taylorized jobs as an indicator of nonalienation, for they have come to symbolically define their satisfaction in terms of monetary rather than occupational freedom and the enjoyment of consumerism rather than labor."¹⁰ Mill supported this theme: "Alienation in work means that the most alert hours of one's life are sacrificed to the making of money with which to "live."¹¹ This position is similar to the theoretical argument that workers derive personal gratification as consumers rather than producers. This devaluation or degradation of work may be culturally determined (i.e. reinforced by a

culture that values leisure over work) or can be a direct result of the worker's inability to find satisfaction in their worklife. It is, in Wilensky's terms, a search for compensation of the unrewarding aspects of worklife. Regardless of its origins, an attitude that devalues the work experience is certainly a measure of work alienation. As a result, the previous analysis needs to be enhanced by other questions and the in-depth interviews for a complete understanding of worklife. Not surprisingly, few industrial sociologists or psychologists have developed questions along this line. Their concerns remain either in the field of job development, productivity or individual effects on the job. This dimension, orientation to one's work, involves a perspective on work rather than rating one's specific job.

Two questions that were used to measure the meaning of and satisfaction with work are: (1) Given complete freedom to choose, would workers continue to work or would they spend their time on non-work activities? and (2) given complete freedom to choose, would workers continue in their present job or would they select another occupation? Table 4.21 reports the results of the first question. The 66.7% of the respondents who indicate a preference to continue working does not compare favorably with Morse's and Weiss' previous study.¹² Out of 401 respondents in their survey, 314 or 78.3% indicated they would continue working.¹³ (In a more recent nationwide survey, however, Campbell et al. found that 69% of

their 1114 person sample would continue to work.¹⁴) A difference of proportion tests, however, reveals that the discrepancy between the study's findings and the Morse and Weiss findings is not statistically significant (at the .05 level). Morse and Weiss concluded, partly from the expressed desire to continue working, that working gives people a feeling of being tied into the larger society and of "having a purpose in life."¹⁵ Specifically, they found that two thirds of their sample would continue working because of what they deemed to be positive reasons. Prominent among those "positive reasons" was the need to keep occupied.¹⁶

What is revealed from the in-depth interviews of city workers conducted for this study, however, does not support such an overly optimistic interpretation of the data. For example, when asked why he would continue working, a district foreman replied, "I would rather work than just do nothing. To be busy is a very important part of life." Similarly, an operating room technician explained her reason for continuing to work by declaring, "If I would stay home, I'd get bored very quick--so the job would keep me going." These responses represented the general tone of all the in-depth interviews. The most significant indication is that a commitment to work is not necessarily synonymous with having found satisfaction on the job, being positively involved in one's work or having a defined purpose in life. On the other hand, it seems to reflect a desire to attain such fulfillment or the absence of

alternative ways of keeping busy. It does not necessarily imply that these workers derive much satisfaction at the workplace.

Indeed, the inability of Americans to develop their own leisure activities was a major concern of sociologists and political scientists in the early 60s.¹⁷ Since the combined response of either changing jobs or quitting work constitutes a majority of the replies, New York City municipal employees do not express overwhelming satisfaction with their present worklife. This response pattern holds true regardless of occupational classification (See Table 4.22). Together, the findings not only represent a substantial (if not statistically significant) rise in the non-work preference¹⁸ but they raise doubts about justifiably equating a commitment to work with having a satisfying or fulfilling worklife. More than anything else, these data tell us that many of our workers' lives are so impoverished they are unable to imagine how they enjoyably spend time if they were not compelled to spend time working. Simultaneously, it affirms the need of seven out of ten municipal workers to continue working either at their present job or at some other endeavor.

In response to the second question about choice of occupation, Table 4.23 is quite revealing. Free to choose any profession, only 34.9% prefer to keep their present job, either within the public sector or in the private one. By comparison, Robert Kahn's study for the Work in America report found that

43% of a cross-section of white collar workers would elect their own job again and only 24% of blue-collar workers would do similar work. Collectively, municipal workers fall somewhere in the middle; yet their figure is relatively low. (For example, 93% of urban university professors in another study¹⁹ preferred their occupation to any other!)²⁰ The Health, Education and Welfare Task Force considered this question particularly sensitive to the worker's intimate feeling about his job. Their position was, "This question, some researchers feel, is a particularly sensitive indicator because it causes respondents to take into account the intrinsic factors of the job and the very personal question of self-esteem. Those in jobs found to be least satisfying on other measures seldom would choose their present occupation again."²¹ Only blue-collar workers, unskilled steelworkers and unskilled automobile workers in other studies scored more poorly on this question in other studies than the cross-section of all municipal workers do in this study.²²

TABLE 4.23

IF YOU WERE COMPLETELY FREE TO GO INTO ANY TYPE OF JOB
YOU WANTED, WHAT WOULD YOUR CHOICE BE?

	N	%
I would want the same type of job I have now	N=167	30.7%
I would prefer the same job, but not in the public service	N= 23	4.2%
I would want to retire and not work at all	N= 38	7.0%
I would prefer some other job (in the public service) to the one I have now	N=195	35.8%
I would prefer some other job (not in the public service) to the one I have now	N= 61	11.2%
I really don't know what I would do	N= 60	11.0%
Total	N=544	99.9%

A more intensive investigation of occupational preference according to job classification (Table 4.24) shows that preferences for a different line of work varies little from one category to another. This finding is somewhat surprising because professionals only score marginally better than any other occupational strata. (It should be noted, however, that the Department of Labor's classification of professionals is quite broad and that professionals may be unusually disillusioned as a result of New York City's fiscal crisis.) Particularly revealing is the remarkable similarity among

TABLE 4.24

JOB PREFERENCE ACCORDING TO OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION

	Professionals	Clerical	Service	Blue-Collar	Total
Want the same job	N= 40 28.4%	N= 52 27.5%	N= 46 30.9%	N= 13 35.1%	N=151 29.3%
Want the same job but not in the public service	N= 9 6.4%	N= 8 4.2%	N= 3 2.0%	N= 0 0.0%	N= 20 3.9%
Want to retire and not work at all	N= 10 7.1%	N= 9 4.8%	N= 12 8.1%	N= 5 13.5%	N= 36 7.0%
Would prefer some other job in the public service	N= 34 24.1%	N= 87 46.0%	N= 58 39.6%	N= 11 29.7%	N=191 37.0%
Would prefer some other job not in the public service	N= 34 24.1%	N= 14 7.4%	N= 7 4.7%	N= 5 13.5%	N= 60 11.6%
Don't know	N= 14 9.9%	N= 19 10.1%	N= 22 14.8%	N= 3 8.1%	N= 58 11.2%
Total	N=141 100.0%	N=189 100.0%	N=149 100.1%	N= 37 99.9%	N=516 100.0%

Chi Square = 51.54414

p < .001

clerical, service and blue-collar workers. The results seem to support the earlier contention of a growing convergence between nominally manual and non-manual occupations and between white and blue-collar workers.

The in-depth interviews reinforce these statistical findings. Preference and reasons for other lines of work are illustrated by the following responses:

A Dietary Aide:	"I'd work for myself. I'd go into business...I could control what I'm doing."
Housekeeping Aide:	"I'd take something better. I wouldn't be looking for no housekeeping work!"
Stationary Fireman:	"A craneman. A guy who runs cranes. There's more money in it. It's a good job."
Keypunch Operator:	"I'd leave this position and do what I'd want to do--computer programming."
Fiscal Office Assistant:	"I'd work for myself. I'd be a consultant. I'd make my time be very valuable because I know I could do a good job regardless of what I do and I'd make myself worth more."
A dietary Aide:	"I would take radiology because it pays more money..."

These remarks indicate that there are various reasons for selecting a different kind of occupation but an underlying theme of dissatisfaction pervades the responses. Those workers who would remain in their present occupation do so because of the satisfying nature of their work. For example, a laborer explained his reason for selecting the same job:

"I like working with machines...I get a feeling of

accomplishment when a guy brings in a machine and can't get it started and before you know it you've got this thing running...." The results emphasize a desire for work that is either intrinsically or financially rewarding. There is little evidence that the former need is satisfied in their present kind of work.

A third question measuring what workers want from their jobs, was included in this study. Table 4.25 supports the contention that what workers do, the intrinsic aspect of their work, is perceived as especially important by these municipal workers. Although a majority of respondents (57.4%) do not specify any particular aspect of their work, the most frequently mentioned job factor is the "quality and kind of work I do." This finding closely corresponds to the Sheppard and Herrick study where six out of the eight most frequent responses referred to the quality of work.²⁴ Other research has supported these conclusions.²⁵ It is significant that wages score quite poorly in this study as did the "friendships made on the job." (Contradictory evidence will be offered later that suggest this question tapped responses made under "ideal" circumstances.) Analysis of the important job factors according to occupational classification (Table 4.26) indicates that professionals, more than any other classification, sought qualitative fulfillment from their jobs. This is not particularly surprising since professionals presumably have more extensive training for their profession and are likely

to want to use these skills in their line of work. Interactive relationship between education and aspiration each increases with the other. The response differences, however, among other occupational categories is negligible. Collectively, the data imply that workers do indeed seek fulfillment on the job although there is variation among occupations.

TABLE 4.25

RATING OF JOB FACTORS: ON YOUR JOB, WHICH
IS MOST IMPORTANT TO YOU?

	N	%
The quality and kind of work I do	N=130	24.9%
The wages that I receive	N= 29	5.5%
Job Security	N= 62	11.9%
The friendships that I make	N= 2	0.4%
I can't say which is most important; they are all important to me	N=300	57.4%
Total	N=523	100.1%

TABLE 4.26

RANKING OF JOB FACTORS ACCORDING TO OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION

	Professional	Clerical	Service	Blue-Collar	Total
Quality of Work	N= 45 32.8%	N= 41 22.7%	N= 26 18.6%	N= 7 18.4%	N=119 24.0%
Wages	N= 15 10.9%	N= 6 3.3%	N= 6 4.3%	N= 1 2.6%	N= 28 5.6%
Job Security	N= 10 7.3%	N= 19 10.5%	N= 21 15.0%	N= 6 15.8%	N= 56 11.3%
Friendships	N= 0 0.0%	N= 1 0.6%	N= 1 0.7%	N= 0 0.0%	N= 2 0.4%
Don't know; they're all important to me	N= 67 48.9%	N=114 63.0%	N= 86 61.4%	N= 24 63.2%	N=291 58.7%
Total	N=137 99.9%	N=181 100.1%	N=140 100.0%	N= 38 100.0%	N=496 100.0%

Chi Square = 25.13167

p < .015

This analysis thus leads to several basic conclusions: (1) the need or desire for work is evident among an overwhelming majority of municipal employees, (2) prominent among the motivations to work is the need or desire for fulfillment or, in Maslow's terms, self actualization. (This finding is particularly important because it has been argued here that the frustration of this need is correlated with certain political attitudes, i.e. political alienation) and (3) the expressed desire for other lines of work indicates fairly widespread alienation with their present jobs.

Preference for the Non-Work Sphere: The In-Depth Interviews

In order to focus more clearly upon this aspect of work alienation, other questions in both the survey and in-depth interviews were designed to tap this dimension. One question that measured the worker's work perspective is: Where do you feel that you enjoy yourself most? At work or away from work? Although the choices are not mutually exclusive (one can enjoy these two different spheres of life for different reasons), the responses (Table 4.27) are exceptionally meaningful. They reflect a pattern of the centrality of non-work life and the devaluation of the work experience. The open-ended responses to this question underscore the devaluation of work. Many themes emerge from these answers but all reflect a degradation of the work experience. The following is a sample of reasons for enjoyment of the non-work

sphere:

- A Caseworker: "One works to obtain the time and money to enjoy oneself."
- A Caseworker: "Because when I work, I work and when I relax, I relax and take full enjoyment from the short weekends."
- Park Maintenance worker: "I have other interests besides my work. At work I do my job that is given to me so when I leave work, I'm free to enjoy the rest of the day."
- Stenographer: "Because the things I enjoy most are not work related."
- Administrative Aide: "I do not enjoy a job which is demeaning. I try to do my best, but the job is boring."
- Supervising Clerk: "Most jobs are routine. Away from work you have a variety of things to do."
- Real Estate Manager: "Work even at its most enjoyable is only a means of making a living. Away from work is freedom to do as one wishes."
- Senior Hospital Case Investigator: "My job is necessary for me to have a satisfactory life away from work."
- Nurses Aide: "One is able to be free to do what he or she feels most comfortable doing."
- Asst. Civil Engineer: "Engineering is a profession I can pursue every day of my life with a high interest but it is work. My main enjoyment is with my family and friends."
- Librarian: "Away from work is more pleasurable (friends, sports, etc.)."
- Clerk: "The job is routine, day to day. Away from work, I vary my days constantly--no opportunity to be bored."
- Custodial Assistant: "I depend on this job for my daily bread for my family."
- College Assistant: "You go to work to work--not to socialize."

Recreation
Director: "No longer get satisfaction from work. I am able to pursue my outside interests away from work."

Foreman: "One must work to support family--by doing so, salary provides the means to enjoy private likes with self and family."

Supervising
Stenographer: "Because I have hobbies and can go about doing what I want when I want."

Instructor/
Addiction: Right now, I am very dissatisfied with my job, and while I look for another one have chosen to get more satisfaction out of my leisure time."

Fiscal Office
Assistant: "A job is not necessarily a place to have fun."

Sen. Clerk: "Because my job is not everything or the only thing in my life."

Special
Officer: "I have many other interesting hobby [sic] that I enjoy and love to be with my family and friends."

Watchman: "I find pleasure in doing the personal things that make my life bearable."

Supervisor
Clerk: "I do not go to work to enjoy myself, just to do my job to the best of my ability."

Supervisor
Clerk: "I go to work to do my job, of course. If I have an enjoyable day that is good, but I seek to enjoy myself while away from job."

Project
Coordinator: "Work has become almost a dull routine."

Planner: "The job is boring, non-productive and uninteresting."

Hospital Case
Investigator: "The job is not stimulating or challenging."

Librarian
Cataloger: "I have a lot of other interests to spend time in, like photography, or simply being a human being."

Senior
Assessor: "Work is not for personal enjoyment."

Sen. Clerk: "I don't go to work to enjoy myself."

Supervisor

Clerk:: "I don't feel a job is a place to find time for enjoyment since I go there to do specific duties."

Caseworker: "Job is professionally/financially dead-end."

Senior Electrical Engineer:

"Very little challenge at work--more satisfaction on projects away from work."

TABLE 4.27

WORK/NON-WORK ENJOYMENT. WHERE DO YOU FEEL THAT YOU ENJOY YOURSELF MOST?

	N	%
At work	N=118	26.9%
Away from work	N=320	73.1%
Total	N=438	100.0%

These responses do not constitute conclusive proof of the devaluation of work nor of the reasons for having such a perspective. At best, the answers are suggestive of several themes present in previous research and criticisms of work. Yet, they do imply an orientation towards work (instrumental) that is a resounding expression of work alienation.

Foremost among the themes expressed in the open-ended responses is viewing work as a means to another end rather than as an end in itself. This perspective towards work, termed "instrumental" by Goldthorpe,²⁶ has been discovered in other studies.²⁷ Goldthorpe described the impact of an

"instrumental orientation:

From the foregoing, then, one very definite result emerges: that the job satisfaction in terms of workers' experience of their immediate work-tasks and -roles cannot be associated in any direct way with job satisfaction in terms of workers' attachment to their present employment. The degree of this attachment is clearly determined by a number of factors of which the nature of work-tasks and -roles is but one--and, in the case of the workers in question, one which may be of no overwhelming importance. Thus, work which offers relatively high intrinsic rewards may not in fact form the basis of a powerful tie between the worker and his employment because of countervailing dissatisfactions and grievances; and, conversely, work which by its very nature entails severe deprivations for those who perform it may nonetheless offer intrinsic--that is, economic rewards which are such as to attach workers fairly firmly to the employer who offers this work.²⁸

An instrumental orientation means viewing work simply as a means of earning money in order to enjoy oneself during leisure time with one's family or friends. Such an orientation reinforces the contrast between work and play and renews emphasis on fulfillment during leisure-time pursuits. It encourages "privatization" where individuals "retire" into a very private and personal sphere of leisure. (The implications of privatization will be discussed in the following chapter.) Leisure becomes totally distinct from the work experience and replaces work as the predominant source of personal gratification while work, the predominant activity (in time) of the adult, is degraded and devalued. Labor ceases "to have a determinant influence on the experience of daily life" and "gives way to the private gratification of family life and consumerism."²⁹ The assertion that there is causal

relationship between the degradation of work and the growth of consumerism (which supposedly ties the worker to the present economic system) is perhaps an overstatement and, as was argued earlier, a theory that is almost impossible to support statistically. The evidence offered from the attitudes of these municipal workers, however, represents an emphasis on fulfillment during leisure at the expense of experiencing gratification at the workplace.

The in-depth interviews, in fact, provide supportive evidence that municipal workers do not value work mostly for its own sake. When asked about his work, a dietary aide who has spent 17 years on his present job, proclaimed, "After 17 years, what can you dislike? You just got to deal with it. It's a living...I get my day's pay for a day's work and the City gets their money's worth." On the other hand, he enjoyed himself away from work because he can be "going out--playing, riding, running...I play baseball, basketball (a vivid example of the distinction between work and play).

A Fiscal Office Assistant, who is a union shop steward, simply defined work as "boring" and indicated that this view is pervasive among fellow workers: "Half the people don't care for their job at all. They don't care if they're facing termination in five minutes. You know. Just give me my paycheck and let me go and buy an ounce of grass and I can get stones." (These are clerical workers--not assembly-line or automobile workers!)

Another dietary aide explained her dissatisfaction with the job: "As far as the job it self, it is a job, it's a salary," and a keypunch operator defined work "as something you have to do." A stationary fireman, explaining why he can't find anything to dislike about his job, asserted, "A job is a job. Let's put it this way. You have to do it, you do it. It's making a living, right." Finally, a laborer emphasized the importance of the instrumental aspects of work: "Job security is more important than anything especially when you have a family....At the end of two weeks, that's going to determine whether you're going to bring home a salary or not." Undoubtedly, earning a salary must be considered a necessary reward of the job. What is startling, however, is the apparent willingness of these workers to accept a job that is unfulfilling as long as a satisfactory wage is received.

Further evidence of an instrumental orientation towards work is observable in Table 4.28. This question, suggested by the Work in America researchers,³⁹ asked, "If you had two or more hours of spare time during the day, what would you do?" Although the respondents' choices are constrained, it is clear that non-work activities are preferable; particularly spending time with the family. Equally significant to note is that the motivation to work is based on the desire to earn more money (an instrumental orientation). An interesting observation is that the third most frequent response

of these municipal workers is to have an active leisure-time pursuit. This suggests, as Friedmann observed, that the "worker seeks to regain in his leisure hours the initiative, responsibility and sense of achievement denied to him in his work."³¹

No attempt is made here to argue that a one-to-one relationship between alienated work and kinds of active leisure pursuit exist. This relationship was proposed by Engels (see Chapter 1) and has been the subject of frequent but often fruitless study. No evidence is actually found in this research to support such an assertion. Rather, the position supported here is that this focus on leisure suggests a tendency to value non-work over worklife, regardless of the worker's level of satisfaction with his job. Although it will be shown that an instrumental orientation is statistically related to the intrinsic-job dimension, worklife seems to be devalued by even the more satisfied workers.

Despite the fact that the line of argument has thus far been to support the notion that an "instrumental orientation" towards work probably exists regardless of an individual's line of work, Table 4.29 shows that the more alienated worker more likely finds his fulfillment away from work.

Even the majority of most satisfied workers still derive greater satisfaction of enjoyment away from the workplace. This finding suggests, that an instrumental orientation is probably a combined response to a culture that

TABLE 4.28

SPARE TIME PREFERENCE: IF YOU HAD TWO MORE HOURS
OF SPARE TIME DURING THE DAY, WHAT WOULD YOU DO?

	N	%
Extend the workday to earn more money	N=109	21.5%
Extend the work day to be with friends	N= 26	5.1%
Spend the time with family	N=211	41.7%
Work on a hobby or play sports	N= 87	17.2%
Spend the time watching TV	N= 6	1.2%
Get involved in Community or Church affairs	N= 67	13.2%
Total	N=506	99.9%

TABLE 4.29

JOB SATISFACTION AND ITS IMPACT ON ENJOYMENT

		Job Satisfaction Factor Score			
		Most Satisfied	—————→		Least Satisfied
where do you enjoy yourself most?	at work	N= 21 35.0%	N= 20 32.3%	N= 14 21.2%	N= 7 9.2%
	away from work	N= 39 65.0%	N= 42 67.7%	N= 52 78.8%	N= 69 90.8%
Total		N= 60 100.0%	N= 62 100.0%	N= 66 100.0%	N= 76 100.0%

Chi Square = 15.89051, $p < .00$, tau b = .21942, Gamma = .41061

TABLE 4.30

USE OF SPARE TIME ACCORDING TO INTRINSIC JOB SATISFACTION SCORE

	Most Satisfied —————> Least Satisfied				
Extend the workday to earn more money	N= 10 13.2%	N= 14 18.9%	N= 16 21.3%	N= 21 27.6%	N= 61 20.3%
Extend the workday to be with friends	N= 3 3.9%	N= 8 10.8%	N= 6 8.0%	N= 1 1.3%	N= 18 6.0%
Spend the time with family	N= 42 55.3%	N= 42 56.8%	N= 24 32.0%	N= 30 39.5%	N=136 45.5%
Work on a hobby	N= 8 10.5%	N= 7 9.5%	N= 21 28.0%	N= 15 19.7%	N= 51 17.1%
Spend the time watching TV	N= 0 0.0%	N= 0 0.0%	N= 1 1.3%	N= 1 1.3%	N= 2 0.7%
Get involved in Community or Church affairs	N= 13 17.1%	N= 3 4.1%	N= 7 9.3%	N= 8 10.5%	N= 31 10.4%
Total	N= 76 100.0%	N= 74 100.1%	N= 75 99.9%	N= 76 99.9%	N=301 100.0%

Chi Square = 36.26170 p < .001

devalues work and to an unrewarding or unfulfilling job. Table 4.30 further indicates that proportionally more dissatisfied workers view work as a means of making money and seek to spend this extra time working on hobbies (perhaps regaining a sense of autonomy lost at the workplace by engaging in the creative aspects of work freed from the compulsion of cash?).

Finally, Tables 4.31 and 4.32 provide further support for work as a subsidiary, non-central activity. Table 4.31 shows that the least satisfied group of workers are most likely to quit work entirely. It is conceivable that these workers, once they receive a stable income to support their basic needs, would seek personal fulfillment and gratification away from work.

Table 4.32 reports the vacation preference for municipal employees. The distribution of responses indicates that co-workers are not important in the consideration of non-work activities. Dubin, who used similar items in his study of central life interests, regarded these responses as indicative of a devaluation of worklife.

An orientation which reduces work, though not entirely, to a means of making money, may not be surprising or particularly revealing to some. It can be suggested that there is nothing unnatural or unusual about wanting to spend spare time with one's family or seeking money for outside enjoyment. Yet, no matter how reasonable these explanations are, they do not refute the fact that an instrumental orientation towards

TABLE 4.31

WORK/NON-WORK CHOICE ACCORDING TO JOB SATISFACTION FACTOR SCORE

	Most satisfied —————> Least satisfied				
Quit work entirely	N= 14 17.7%	N= 30 38.0%	N= 30 38.0%	N= 35 43.8%	N=109 34.4%
Change jobs	N= 12 15.2%	N= 8 10.1%	N= 20 25.3%	N= 33 41.3%	N= 73 23.0%
Remain at same job	N= 53 67.1%	N= 41 51.9%	N= 29 36.7%	N= 12 15.0%	N=135 42.6%
Total	N= 79 100.0%	N= 79 100.0%	N= 79 100.0%	N= 80 100.1%	N=317 100.0%

Chi Square = 56.22653 p .000
 tau b = -0.27746 tau c = 0.29000
 Gamma = -0.38606

TABLE 4.32

VACATION PREFERENCES OF MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES

	N	%
I would rather take my vacation with my family	N=395	75.4%
I would rather take my vacation with friends from work	N= 15	2.9%
I would rather take my vacation with friends from the neighborhood	N= 37	7.1%
I would rather take my vacation by myself	N= 77	14.7%
Total	N=524	100.1%

work is certainly a major aspect of work alienation. Mills convincingly argued in White Collar, "Work may be a source of livelihood, or the most significant part of one's inner life; it may be experienced as expiation, or as exuberant expression of self; as bounden duty, or as the development of man's universal nature."³² When work loses its intrinsic significance, when it fails to be a major source of personal gratification, it is, in Daniel Bell's words, a source of discontent.³³ It is also important to note that this view of work appears to be a relatively recent historical phenomenon.³⁴

Reservations about the analysis. Three prominent reservations must be made about drawing such negative conclusions about worklife from the data. At the outset, it should be kept in mind that viewing work as a means of personal fulfillment is a value judgment, although one that is fairly easy to justify. Secondly, unlike either Mills or Bell, it is not this writer's position that Taylorism or bureaucratic regimentation is directly responsible for an instrumental orientation towards work (though certain tables suggest this) or that such attitudes are peculiarly American. Finally, it must be acknowledged as critics of American society do,³⁵ that an element of drudgery is present in any form and kind of work. Despite these caveats, the attitudes of the NYC municipal workers still reflect a significant sense of alienation from the workplace. Work is not viewed merely as having elements of drudgery, it is seen as essentially and relatively unenjoyable.

Summary

Various measures of work alienation and job dissatisfaction have been used to analyze the attitudes of district Council 37 workers. As was seen, more traditional methods (those that follow along past measures of work satisfaction studies) of measuring job satisfaction generate a broad range of findings. The disparities in these results in turn do contribute to a thread of uncertainty about the level or

extent of work alienation. These doubts are reinforced by the in-depth interviews which contain replies indicative of both pleasurable and unpleasurable experiences at work. For example, a dietary aide, whose main responsibility was to serve food to patients and then remove their trays and who espoused a "day's work for a day's pay" philosophy, still felt gratified by "working around people" and "doing for people." An operating room technician, who wanted to change jobs, still maintained, "I enjoy helping people. It has helped me to learn about my body and how to treat myself... I really feel like I'm doing something." Although the tasks may not be challenging and there is little opportunity to develop skills, these workers still derive satisfaction from providing a necessary and helpful public service.³⁶

Friendships with co-workers are another compensating factor for unfulfilling work. Although this enjoyment may not spill over into shared leisure activities, the data (Table 4.33) show that 81.3% of the respondents feel working with other people frequently is the most enjoyable part of their job. (It is significant that they did not say this aspect is an enjoyable one but that it is the most enjoyable part of their worklife.)

These findings support the Roethlisberger study³⁷ that emphasized the "human relations approach" to work. It also suggests that workers can develop informal ways of interaction on the job that counter the stifling effects of

of work. There is even contradictory data on the importance

TABLE 4.33

HOW OFTEN DO YOU FIND THAT WORKING WITH OTHER PEOPLE
IS THE MOST ENJOYABLE PART OF YOUR JOB

	N	%
Very often	N=226	42.1%
Fairly often	N=211	39.2%
Not very often	N= 75	13.9%
Not at all	N= 26	4.8%
Total	N=538	100.0%

of the "quality of work" issue.

Although there appears to be a substantial level of work alienation, these workers do not mention "quality of work" issues as the most important ones for the union to raise with city management. This finding (Table 4.34) runs counter to the response analysis arrayed in an earlier Table where workers maintain that "quality of work" is the most important job aspect. Given the state of New York City's fiscal crisis and the stress and uncertainties of the workplace associated with it, worker concern with wages and job security is not surprising. This table thus reflects worker concerns in the "real world" while the earlier emphasis on "the quality of work" reflects opinion under

TABLE 4.34

MOST IMPORTANT ISSUES FOR THE UNION TO RAISE: ARE THERE
ANY ISSUES THAT THE UNION DOES NOT RAISE THAT
YOU FEEL SHOULD BE RAISED?

	N	%
Pay/Wages	N= 78	40.6%
Promotion	N= 35	17.2%
Working Conditions	N= 29	15.2%
Pension/Fringe Benefits	N= 18	9.3%
Union Democracy	N= 11	5.7%
Union is Powerless	N= 4	2.1%
Quality of Work	N= 2	1.1%
Others	N= 17	8.8%
Total	N=192	100.0%

ideal conditions.

Along with these mitigating factors, methodological problems remain central to this and any other work study. The marked discrepancies in the findings of direct and indirect questions illuminate this problem. More importantly, the in-depth interviews, as expected, not only yield more frequent expressions of worker discontent (although statistically untenable), they also provide a greater opportunity for workers to vent their frustrations. In three specific instances, the city worker began with a statement of general

satisfaction with his job and ended with expressions of disaffection. For example, early in the interview, a housekeeping aide acknowledged, "I'm well contented in housekeeping." As the interview proceeded, she was asked whether she'd continue in her present position and derisively stated, "I know I could do something else other than wear this blue dress" (the housekeeper's uniform). When asked if this will be the best job she'll ever have, she replied, "No, I can't feel like that...I can't let myself feel like that because I'd want to do more." Another housekeeping aide who responded affirmatively to a question as to whether he is satisfied with his job, later admitted (in a sarcastic tone) that he'd never take this job again and he "wouldn't be looking for no housekeeping work." Finally, a dietary aide first stated "that the job is really an interesting job and it does keep me really on my feet." Later on, she confessed, "You know, you get to roll the food on the plate; anybody I guess can do that."

In all three instances, an initial positive response was eventually contradicted by expressions of discontent, unfulfillment or dissatisfaction. Perhaps, as was argued in an earlier Chapter, the respondent begins to feel more at ease as the interview proceeds and is likely to be more open with his feelings. It is probably more the case that the shifting and often contradictory nature and tone of most of the in-depth interviews underscores the complexity of work

and the limitation of large-scale questionnaires. This does not mean that questionnaires are worthless; rather it is simply suggested that in-depth interviews must be conducted to augment any quantitative data collected through survey research--especially when a self-administered schedule is used. It is hoped this study has taken these problems into consideration.

Despite this reservation about the data and the fact that this is a case study of public employees in an urban environment, there is sufficient evidence of alienation on the job. Work discontent is found equally among clerical, service, and blue-collar workers. Even professionals fare only slightly better than other kinds of workers on certain job satisfaction measures. Education also does not appear to affect the level of work alienation.

Although no effort is made to gauge the effects of Taylorism or bureaucratic rationalization on the different occupational categories, the similar responses of various occupational groups suggest that, as the Work in America group suspected, the assembly-line should no longer be the focal point of worklife and work alienation studies. The most convincing evidence of pervasive work alienation among these municipal workers is found in their replies about the meaning and declining centrality of the work experience. Where work was once considered to be the activity around which other spheres of life revolved, it is now a less central and

minimally rewarding task. It is believed that the evidence along these lines is overwhelming.

This study is only one in a long and often contradictory list of research in the area of work. By clarifying methodological problems and carefully analyzing different concepts of work alienation, it has been shown that work alienation among municipal workers is a serious problem. The political significance of these findings will be discussed at greater length in the following chapter. However, the mere existence of widespread work alienation is already a significant political problem that merits attention by policy makers in both the public and private realms.

Let us now restate the hypotheses that were examined in this Chapter and the related findings:

(1) We were testing for the existence of a substantial level of work alienation among New York City municipal workers regardless of their occupational classification and educational achievement. The data indicate that a significant number of governmental employees express attitudes reflecting alienation from work. This held true regardless of occupational classification and educational level. Specifically:

(1a) We were testing for the existence of alienation defined by the underutilization of worker skills. The data show that negative or alienated responses to questions dealing with the job bringing out the best of the worker's ability ranged from 18.8% to 20.8%. This finding held true

regardless of occupational classification and educational level.

(1b) We were testing for the number of workers who felt their job offered little variety or freedom. The results indicated that negative responses to these questions ranged from 27.6% (regarding freedom on the job) to 47.9% (regarding the variety of things to do on the job). A substantial level of work alienation was found.

(1c) We were testing for the level of work alienation defined by viewing work as an "instrumental activity." Analysis of the data indicated that an overwhelming number of New York City municipal workers (approximately 75%) held to this view. The in-depth responses underscored these findings. The case for widespread alienation along this dimension was strong.

There has been established the existence of work alienation among these New York City municipal employees. Analysis can now be directed towards these workers' political attitudes.

Footnotes

¹Robert Kahn, "The Meaning of Work: Interpretation and Proposals for Measurement," in The Human Meaning of Social Change ed. by Angus Campbell and Phillip E. Converse (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1972), p. 172.

²Occupational classification was made according to the United States Department of Labor's Dictionary of Occupational Titles, 4th edition (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1977).

³Harold L. Sheppard and Neal Q. Herrick, Where Have All the Robots Gone? Worker Dissatisfaction in the '70s (New York: The Free Press, 1972), p. 45.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 21.

⁵Paul Blumberg and James M. Murtha, "College Graduates and the American Dream," Dissent, vol. 25, No. 1 (Winter, 1977):45-51; see also, Ivar Berg, Marcia Freedman and Michael Freedman: Managers and Work Reform: A Limited Engagement (New York: The Free Press, 1978), chapter 6 and Ivar Berg, Education and Jobs: The Great Training Robbery (New York: Praeger, 1970).

⁶Blumberg and Murtha, "College Graduates."

⁷Berg et al., Managers and Work Reform, p. 81.

⁸*Ibid.*, p. 103.

⁹John Alt, "Beyond Class: The Decline of Industrial Labor and Leisure," Telos No. 28 (Summer, 1976), p. 74.

¹⁰C. Wright Mills, White Collar: The American Middle Classes (New York: Oxford University Press, 1951), p. 236.

¹¹Nancy Morse and Robert Weiss, "The Function and Meaning of Work and the Job," American Sociological Review, Vol. 20 No. 2 (April, 1955):191-198.

¹²*Ibid.*, p. 192.

¹³Angus Campbell, Phillip E. Converse and Willard L. Rogers, The Quality of American Life: Perceptions, Evaluations and Satisfaction (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1976), p. 291.

¹⁴Morse and Weiss, "The Function and Meaning of Work," p. 191.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 192.

¹⁶ See, for example, Sebastian DeGrazia, Of Time, Work and Leisure (Garden City: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1964); Joffre Dumazedier, The Sociology of Leisure (New York and Amsterdam: Elsevier Scientific Publishing Co., 1974); Joffre Dumazedier, Toward a Society of Leisure (New York: The Free Press, 1967); Stanley Parker, The Future of Work and Leisure (New York and Washington: Praeger Publishing, 1971).

¹⁷ A difference of proportions test was performed and the change was not significant at the .05 level.

¹⁸ Robert L. Kahn, "The Work Module: A Proposal for the Humanization of work," in Work and the Quality of Life, ed. by James O'Toole (Cambridge and London: The MIT Press, 1974), pp. 199-226

¹⁹ For those readers who are surprised or puzzled by the overwhelming satisfaction of university professors in an urban setting, don't worry! The survey was taken in Detroit, not at CUNY.

²⁰ Work in America, pp. 15-16.

²¹ Kahn, "The Work Module," p. 204.

²² This desire is similar to those expressed by automobile workers in Chinoy's Automobile Workers and the American Dream.

²³ Sheppard and Herrick, Where Have All the Robots Gone?

²⁴ Report of a Special Task Force to the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare. Work in America (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1973).

²⁵ John Goldthorpe, David Lockwood, Frank Bechofer and Jennifer Platt, The Affluent Worker in the Class Structure (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969).

²⁶ Dubin, "The Central-Life Interest;" Carl Tausky, "Meanings of Work Among Blue-Collar Men," Pacific Sociological Review, Vol. 12, No. 1 (Spring, 1969):49-55; Robert S. Weiss and Robert L. Kahn, "Definitions of Work and Occupation," Social Problems, Vol. 8, No. 2 (Fall, 1960):142-151.

²⁷ Goldthorpe et al, The Affluent Worker, pp. 31-32.

²⁸ Alt, "Beyond Class," p. 73.

- ²⁹Work in America, p. 16.
- ³⁰Georges Friedman, The Anatomy of Work (New York: The Free Press, 1961), p. 105.
- ³¹Mills, White Collar, p. 215.
- ³²Daniel Bell, Work and Its Discontents (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1956).
- ³³Alt, "Beyond Class"; Edward Shorter, ed., Work and Community in the West (New York: Harper & Row, 1973).
- ³⁴Christopher Lasch, The Culture of Narcissism (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1978), p. 102.
- ³⁵Commercials on WCBS radio with DC 37 employees have emphasized this theme and have corresponded closely with the interviews in this study.
- ³⁶Fritz Roethlisberger and W. Dickson, Management and the Worker (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1939).
- ³⁷Donald F. Roy, "Banana Time: Job Satisfaction and Informal Interaction," in The Social Dimensions of Work, ed. by Clifton Bryant (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1972), pp. 374-389.

CHAPTER 5

WORKLIFE, POLITICAL ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOR: A TENUOUS RELATIONSHIP

"Politics--I can't do anything about it. You put these people in office. They make promises. They never live up to them." A Municipal Hospital Worker.

"I can't change it. All you can do is vote.... Politics is politics." A municipal Hospital Worker

"I don't think that public officials care. They listen when they're running. After they get your vote, what the hell do they care?" A House-keeping Aide.

With the discovery of substantial and widespread work alienation and of the devaluation of the work experience among these municipal workers, our attention is now directed towards the hypothetical relationship between work alienation and political life. The hypotheses developed in Chapter 1 argue that work alienation leads to or is correlated with a cluster of attitudes and behavior associated with political alienation. David Schwartz emphasized the significance of linking different dimensions of alienation,

...the degree of relationship between political and socio-cultural alienation is an empirical question of enormous significance; the existence of such a relationship must be demonstrated, not simply assumed. If social or cultural alienation is the same thing or explains political alienation, then there is little reason for the separate modeling of political alienation.¹

This study's findings suggest, however, that there is no necessary connection between work alienation and political

alienation, and that the theoretical tie between these two attitude clusters is, indeed, tenuous.

Specifically, analysis of the data in this study does not support most of the related hypotheses developed in the initial chapter. Little, if any, relationship is found between levels of work alienation and levels of political efficacy, political fatalism, political trust, authoritarianism and political participation. A somewhat stronger but still relatively weak correlation between work alienation and/or job satisfaction and union alienation conforms to the earlier stated hypotheses. In effect, the plausibility of a theory, as Lane had argued, is undermined by the absence of supportive empirical evidence.

Since this data is remarkably similar to Seeman's study² which also refuted the work/politics nexus, careful thought is given to explain the unexpected findings. Several lines of analysis are presented to modify the theoretical tie that was developed between work and political attitudes. The argument is primarily that the impact of worklife on other spheres of life cannot be theoretically divorced from the original formation of political attitudes or treated as if it operated in a vacuum. An adult has already developed conceptions of political life and of the accessibility of the political system during childhood and adolescence that the work experience alone may not substantially alter. (This factor was alluded to in the first Chapter but was not fully

considered there.) Other factors, such as the "politicization of the workplace" and individual adaptations to work process also appear to weaken the possible relationship. Although these findings refute the postulated impact of work alienation on political attitudes in this study, it is still premature to reject the hypotheses outright. Work remains a complex activity that dramatically affects one's self-esteem,³ and there is a clear need to more fully explore its political ramifications.

The other major focus of this study is the relationship between work as a central-life activity and the formation of occupational communities. In Chapter 1, it was posited that alienation from work and the degradation of work life lead to a withdrawal from fellow-workers during non-work hours and the absence of a mutually-reinforcing ideology. Evidence presented in the preceding chapter already lends credence to such a relationship (although not statistically) and it is further developed below. The data indicates that work-life, at least among municipal employees in an urban environment, does not lead to the formation of an occupational community and is unlikely to generate shared values and collective action outside of union-directed activities.⁴ As a result of this finding, the compartmentalization of life into work and non-work segments has wide-ranging effects on the workplace as a source of social change or joint political activity. Some of the supportive information is derived from

the in-depth interviews, although statistical support is given. There is no direct evidence that shared values are not developed, but the non-ideological character of the membership and lack of coherent values among them justify such speculation.⁵ At the very least, a negative relationship between the devaluation of work and the formation of shared beliefs is strongly suggested by the present study.

An Overview of New York City Municipal Employees' Political Attitudes

To begin our discussion of DC 37 members' political attitudes and their relationship to work attitudes, a brief overview of their responses to political items in the questionnaire is presented. Since the population for this study is comprised of governmental employees, there is some concern that their work situation might affect their sense of political efficacy and/or political trust. By comparing these New York City employees' responses to those of respondents in national samples conducted by the National Opinion Research Center and the CPS National Election Study (Tables 5.1 to 5.6), it is evident that these New York City municipal employees do not differ significantly in their attitudes about political officials and personal efficacy from the respondents' attitudes in the national samples.

The governmental employees appear to be even more cynical and distrustful than the respondents in the national

sample. They are more likely than samples of the national population to believe government officials to be uncaring (Table 5.1) and unresponsive (Table 5.2). They are less likely to realize that their political activity might extend beyond voting--despite the vaunted political action successes of their union (Table 5.3) and are more likely to say that they do not feel they know upon whom they can rely (Table 5.4). This discrepancy might be best explained by different educational levels of the samples and by the unhappy experiences of New York City municipal workers during the ongoing fiscal crisis. The results also suggest, surprisingly, that these workers, the cogs of the governmental bureaucracy, do not perceive the relationship between their performance and governmental responsiveness. The data essentially reveal fairly high levels of political inefficacy and distrust.

Finally, Table 5.6 shows that our municipal employees are more likely than the public at large to think that people like themselves can understand what is really going on in government and politics. Perhaps their perceptions of the political world are accurate. It is also quite possible that on this issue their union provides them with an adequate frame of reference for understanding the world of politics.⁶

TABLE 5.1

COMPARABLE RESPONSES TO THE CONCERN OF PUBLIC OFFICIALS

DC 37 Study	1977 NORC General* Social Survey	1978 CPS* National Election Study
I don't think that public officials care much about what people like me think	The people running the country don't really care what happens to you.	I don't think that public officials care much about what people like me think.
1 strongly agree N=258 47.8%		
2 N= 90 16.7%		
3 N=103 19.1%	Yes 779 53.4%	Agree 1155 53.0%
4 N= 26 4.8%		
5 strongly disagree N= 63 11.7%	No 678 46.6%	Disagree 1024 47.0%
N=540 100.1%	Total 1457 100.0%	Total 2179 100.0%

* National Opinion Research Center (NORC) and the Center for Political Studies (CPS) data are made available courtesy of the International Consortium for Political Science Research (ICPSR).

TABLE 5.2

COMPARABLE RESPONSES TO SAY IN GOVERNMENT POLICY

DC 37 Study			1978 ICPS Study*		
People like me don't have much say about how the government runs things.			People like me don't have any say about how the government runs things.		
1. Agree	207	38.4%			
2.	74	13.9%			
3.	88	16.6%			
4.	56	10.5%	Agree	1029	45.9%
5. Disagree	<u>109</u>	<u>20.5%</u>	Disagree	<u>1210</u>	<u>54.1%</u>
Total	531	99.9%	Total	2239	100.0%

*CPS data were made available courtesy of ICPSR.

TABLE 5.3

COMPARABLE RESPONSES TO VOTING EFFICACY QUESTION

DC 37 Study			1978 CPS Study*		
Voting is the only way that people like me can have a say about how government runs things.			Voting is the only way that people like me can have a say about how government runs things.		
1 Agree	213	39.8%			
2	61	11.4%			
3	97	18.1%			
4	65	12.1%	Agree	1325	59.3%
5 Disagree	99	18.5%	Disagree	909	40.7%
Total	535	99.9%		2234	100.0%

*CPS data are made available courtesy of ICPSR.

TABLE 5.4

COMPARABLE RESPONSES TO TRUST IN PEOPLE QUESTION

DC 37 Study			1976 NORC General Social Survey*		
These days a person doesn't really know whom he can count on.			These days a person doesn't know whom he can count on.		
1 Agree	292	54.2%			
2	83	15.4%			
3	83	15.4%			
4	39	7.2%	Agree	1121	75.8%
5 Disagree	42	7.8%	Disagree	358	24.2%
	539	100.0%		1479	100.0%

* NORC data are made available courtesy of ICPSR.

TABLE 5.5

COMPARABLE RESPONSES TO THE LOT OF THE AVERAGE MAN

DC 37 Study			1976 NORC STUDY*		
In spite of what people say, the lot of the average man is getting worse.			In spite of what people say, the lot of the average man is getting worse.		
1 Agree	218	40.7%			
2	79	14.7%			
3	107	20.0%			
4	52	9.7%	Agree	877	60.6%
5 Disagree	80	14.9%	Disagree	570	39.4%
	<u>536</u>	<u>100.0%</u>		<u>1447</u>	<u>100.0%</u>

* NORC data was made available courtesy of ICPSR.

TABLE 5.6

COMPARABLE RESPONSES TO COMPLICATED ISSUE

DC 37 Study			1978 CPS Study*		
Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what is going on.			Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what is going on.		
1 Agree	183	33.9%	Agree Disagree	1647	73.2%
2	89	16.5%		604	26.8%
3	87	16.1%			
4	64	11.7%			
5 Disagree	117	21.7%			
Total	540	99.9%	Total	2251	100.0%

* CPS data are made available courtesy of ICPSR.

The Relationship Between Work and Political
Attitudes: Bivariate Analysis

Having determined that these DC 37 workers' political attitudes generally resemble responses reported by surveys of the national population, a closer examination is begun of the relationship between work alienation and political attitudes and behavior. The hypotheses that were developed asserted that a strong positive relationship existed between work alienation and a cluster of political attitudes associated with political alienation and cynicism. A Pearson product-moment correlation matrix measures initially the strength of relationships between all pairs of items.⁷ A sample of the product-moment correlations (Table 5.7) reveals that there are few, if any, consistent and strong correlations between work and political variables. Only the correlation between work satisfaction and alienation variables and union satisfaction variables yield any significant correlations and even that relationship is only moderately consistent.

Items that measure political efficacy (Officials care), political trust (Person count), political fatalism (always war) consistently fail to correlate strongly with almost every work alienation and job satisfaction variable. Most of these correlations range from -0.09 to +0.09 and there is no consistent positive or negative direction to the relationship between the variables. Rating the union's effectiveness, on the other hand, generates weak positive correlations (from 0.1 to 0.2) with most of the work satisfaction variables. The bivariate analysis thus raises

TABLE 5.7

SAMPLE OF PEARSON PRODUCT-MOMENT CORRELATION BETWEEN
WORK AND POLITICAL VARIABLES*

	Political and Union Alienation Variables							
	Officials care	Vote Important	Say Run	Person Count	Always War	Cant Plan	Union Care	Union Rat
Job Best Now	-0.0754	0.0536	0.0168	-0.0487	-0.0291	-0.0029	-0.0935	0.1066
Job Measure	-0.0673	0.0416	-0.0364	-0.0296	-0.0231	-0.0102	-0.1853	0.1375
Job Learn	-0.0548	0.0721	-0.0710	-0.1277	-0.0189	-0.0407	-0.1291	0.1353
Job Variety	0.0499	0.0173	0.0652	0.0600	0.0991	0.0938	0.0895	-0.0267
Job Freedom	0.0127	-0.1377	0.0235	-0.0566	0.0796	0.0200	0.1182	-0.1067
Job Pride	-0.0647	0.1055	-0.0225	0.0247	0.0534	-0.0059	-0.1024	0.1253
Job Ability	-0.0276	0.0748	-0.0611	0.0388	0.0401	0.0036	-0.1277	0.1566
Job Think	0.0440	0.0675	-0.0557	0.0820	0.0572	-0.0214	-0.0302	0.0729

* The Strength of the Relationship ranges from +1.0 to -1.0. A score of 0 indicates no relationship.

serious questions about the hypotheses under examination.

Multivariate Analysis: Guttman Scaling
and Controls

In order to strengthen the collective impact of the individual variables and to uncover any hidden relationship between work and political attitudes, both Guttman scaling and controlling for third variables are introduced into the analysis. The results, which reflect the thrust of the entire analysis, again indicate that no strong relationship exists between work alienation and political attitudes.

Crosstabulation of the Guttman scales (Tables 5.8 to 5.19) yield weak correlations between work alienation scales and political attitude scales. With the possible exceptions of Table 5.8 (Political Powerlessness Scale correlated with Job-Task Scale), Table 5.16 (Political Authoritarianism Scale correlated with General Work Satisfaction Scale II) and Table 5.19 (Union Alienation Scale correlated with General Work Satisfaction Scale II), there are consistently weak correlation scores (below 0.1). Of even more significance is that the correlation scores in Tables 5.8 and 5.16 are not in the anticipated direction! Although some of these results can be attributed to the unequal size of the table cells (a statistical problem), there is little evidence to support the earlier propounded hypotheses. Even a comparison between those workers who fall in the most dissatisfied category and those who

are in the most satisfied category fails to generate any observable difference. Whereas Sheppard and Herrick discovered great differences in political attitudes between the alienated and satisfied worker by using an index similar to our job-task scale (they call it a "blues index"), the analysis of our scale crosstabulations provides little corroborative evidence for their findings.

The impact of educational level and length of time on the present job as mediating variables between work alienation and political attitudes proves negligible. Since educational attainment alone is related to the political authoritarianism and political fatalism scales (Tables 5.20 and 5.21) and is not as clearly related to the job-task scale, it is felt that education might mask a stronger relationship between these political attitudes and the job-task scale. However, controlling for this variable, through partial correlations, fails to strengthen the work alienation/political attitude relationship (Tables 5.22 and 5.23). The introduction of education as an intervening variable strongly suggests, instead, that the educational level's impact on political attitudes is much greater than that of work alienation. (The partial correlation coefficients between the job-task scale and political attitudes are clearly weaker after the introduction of education as a mediating variable--from .09 to .04 and from -.01 to -.02.)

TABLE 5.8

CROSSTABULATION OF POLITICAL POWERLESSNESS SCALE BY JOB-TASK SCALE

		J O B T A S K S C A L E				
		High Task Rating/ Low Alienation		Low Task Rating/ High Alienation		
		0	1	2	3	Total
Partial Powerlessness Scale	Low Power- lessness	N= 0 0.0%	N= 7 2.3%	N= 2 2.0%	N= 2 11.1%	N= 11 2.2%
	0					
	1	N= 7 8.3%	N= 33 10.9%	N= 8 7.9%	N= 6 33.3%	N= 54 10.7%
	2	N= 44 52.4%	N= 39 45.7%	N= 56 55.4%	N= 9 50.0%	N=248 48.9%
	High Power- lessness	N= 33 39.3%	N=125 41.1%	N= 35 34.7%	N= 1 5.6%	N=194 38.3%
	3					
Total		N= 84 100.0%	N=304 100.0%	N=101 100.0%	N= 18 100.0%	N=507 100.0%

Chi Square = 26.10529

p < .00

Tau B = -0.08474

Tau C = -0.06633

Gamma = -0.14436

TABLE 5.9

CROSSTABULATION OF POLITICAL POWERLESSNESS SCALE BY GENERAL INDICATOR
OF WORK SATISFACTION SCALE

		General Indicator of Work Satisfaction Scale						
		High Satisfaction  Low Satisfaction						
Partial Powerlessness Scale	Low Powerlessness	0	1	2	3	4	Total	
		N= 1 5.6%	N= 3 3.2%	N= 0 0.0%	N= 6 4.3%	N= 0 0.0%	N= 10 2.0%	
		1	N= 2 11.1%	N= 10 10.5%	N= 17 9.2%	N= 13 9.4%	N= 10 9.4%	N= 52 10.2%
		2	N= 11 61.1%	N= 49 51.6%	N= 90 48.9%	N= 62 44.9%	N= 40 54.1%	N=252 49.5%
	High Powerlessness	3	N= 4 22.2%	N= 33 34.7%	N= 77 41.8%	N= 57 41.3%	N= 24 32.4%	N=195 38.3%
Total		N= 18 100.0%	N= 95 100.0%	N=184 99.9%	N=138 99.9%	N= 74 99.9%	N=509 100.1%	

Chi Square = 16.59891 $p < .16$
 Tau b = 0.00837
 Tau c = 0.00741
 Gamma = 0.01256

TABLE 5.10

CROSSTABULATION OF POLITICAL POWERLESSNESS SCALE BY GENERAL
WORK SATISFACTION SCALE II

		General Work Satisfaction Scale II							
		High Satisfaction → Low Satisfaction							
Political Powerlessness Scale	Low Power- lessness	0	1	2	3	4	5	Total	
		N= 1 1.8%	N= 3 2.5%	N= 1 0.6%	N= 4 5.7%	N= 3 7.7%	N= 0 0.0%	N= 12 2.5%	
		1	N= 7 12.5%	N= 11 9.0%	N= 17 10.1%	N= 4 5.7%	N= 8 20.5%	N= 1 5.6%	N= 48 10.1%
		2	N= 25 44.6%	N= 62 50.8%	N= 82 48.5%	N= 33 47.1%	N= 16 41.0%	N= 10 55.6%	N=228 48.1%
	High Power- lessness	3	N= 23 41.1%	N= 46 37.7%	N= 69 40.8%	N= 29 41.4%	N= 12 30.8%	N= 7 38.9%	N=186 39.2%
	Total		N= 56 100.0%	N=122 100.0%	N=169 100.0%	N= 70 99.9%	N= 39 100.0%	N= 15 99.9%	N=474 99.9%

Chi Square = 18.31833
 Tau b = -0.02083
 Tau c = -0.01885
 Gamma = -0.03055

p < .24

TABLE 5.11

CROSSTABULATION OF POLITICAL FATALISM SCALE BY JOB-TASK SCALE

		J O B T A S K S C A L E				
		High Task Rating/ Low Alienation		Low Task Rating/ High Alienation		
		0	1	2	3	Total
Political Fatalism Scale	Low Fatalism 0	N= 2 2.4%	N= 8 2.6%	N= 4 3.9%	N= 1 5.3%	N= 15 3.0%
	1	N= 5 6.1%	N= 17 5.6%	N= 7 6.8%	N= 3 15.8%	N= 32 6.3%
	2	N= 21 25.6%	N= 67 22.1%	N= 21 20.4%	N= 4 21.1%	N=113 22.3%
	3	N= 54 65.9%	N=211 69.6%	N= 71 68.9%	N= 11 57.9%	N=347 68.4%
	High Fatalism					
Total		N= 82 100.0%	N=303 99.9%	N=103 100.0%	N= 19 100.1%	N=507 100.0%

Chi Square = 4.84770

p < .84

tau b = -0.00986

tau c = -0.00688

Gamma = -0.01853

TABLE 5.12

CROSSTABULATION OF POLITICAL FATALISM SCALE BY GENERAL INDICATORS
OF WORK SATISFACTION SCALE

		General Indicators of Work Satisfaction Scale					
		High Satisfaction → Low Satisfaction					
		0	1	2	3	4	Total
Political Fatalism	Low Fatalism 0	N= 0 0.0%	N= 2 2.2%	N= 6 3.2%	N= 5 3.6%	N= 2 2.7%	N= 15 2.9%
	1	N= 1 5.6%	N= 5 5.4%	N= 10 5.4%	N= 13 9.4%	N= 3 4.1%	N= 32 6.3%
	2	N= 6 33.3%	N= 21 22.6%	N= 42 22.6%	N= 27 19.4%	N= 13 17.8%	N=109 21.4%
	High Fatalism 3	N= 11 61.1%	N= 65 69.9%	N=128 68.8%	N= 94 67.6%	N= 55 75.3%	N=353 69.4%
	Total	N= 18 100.0%	N= 93 100.1%	N=186 100.0%	N=139 100.0%	N= 73 99.9%	N=509 100.0%

Chi Square = 6.69826
tau b = 0.01773
tau c = 0.01388
Gamma = 0.03024

$p < .87$

TABLE 5.13

CROSSTABULATION OF POLITICAL FATALISM SCALE BY GENERAL
WORK SATISFACTION SCALE II

		General Work Satisfaction Scale II						
		High Satisfaction → Low Satisfaction						
Political Fatalism Scale	Low Fatalism 0	0	1	2	3	4	5	Total
		N= 1 1.8%	N= 7 5.7%	N= 3 1.8%	N= 3 4.2%	N= 1 2.6%	N= 0 0.0%	N= 15 3.1%
	1	N= 3 5.4%	N= 5 4.1%	N= 12 7.1%	N= 5 7.0%	N= 2 5.1%	N= 3 16.7%	N= 30 6.3%
	2	N= 18 32.1%	N= 25 20.3%	N= 37 21.8%	N= 13 18.3%	N= 8 20.5%	N= 4 22.2%	N=105 22.0%
	High Fatalism 3	N= 34 60.7%	N= 86 69.9%	N=118 69.4%	N= 50 70.4%	N= 28 71.8%	N= 11 61.1%	N=327 68.6%
		N= 56 100.0%	N=123 100.0%	N=170 100.1%	N= 71 99.9%	N= 39 100.0%	N= 18 100.0%	N=477 100.0%

Chi Square = 13.25277

p < .58

tau b = 0.02024

tau c = 0.01627

Gamma = 0.03339

TABLE 5.14

CROSSTABULATION OF POLITICAL AUTHORITARIANISM SCALE BY
JOB TASK SCALE

		Job Task Scale				
		High Task Rating/Low Alienation		Low Task Rating/High Alienation		
		0	1	2	3	Total
Political Authori- tarianism Scale	Low Authori- tarianism	N= 10 11.5%	N= 40 13.1%	N= 7 6.7%	N= 1 5.6%	N= 58 11.3%
	1	N= 37 42.5%	N= 91 29.8%	N= 33 31.4%	N= 4 22.2%	N=165 32.0%
	2	N= 21 24.1%	N= 98 32.1%	N= 39 37.1%	N= 12 66.7%	N=170 33.0%
	High Authori- tarianism	N= 19 21.8%	N= 76 24.9%	N= 26 24.8%	N= 1 5.6%	N=122 23.7%
	Total	N= 87 99.9%	N=305 99.9%	N=105 100.0%	N= 18 100.1%	N=515 100.0%

Chi Square = 19.16243

p < .02

tau b = 0.06393

tau c = 0.05497

Gamma = 0.09946

TABLE 5.15

CROSSTABULATION OF POLITICAL AUTHORITARIANISM SCALE BY GENERAL
INDICATORS OF WORK SATISFACTION SCALE

		General Indicator for Work Satisfaction Scale					
		High Satisfaction  Low Satisfaction					
Political Authori- tarianism Scale	Low Authori- tarianism ↓ High Authori- tarianism	0	1	2	3	4	Total
		N= 4 23.5%	N= 15 15.8%	N= 14 7.4%	N= 14 9.9%	N= 8 10.8%	N= 55 10.6%
		N= 3 17.6%	N= 27 28.4%	N= 62 32.8%	N= 54 38.0%	N= 24 32.4%	N=170 32.9%
		N= 6 35.3%	N= 28 29.5%	N= 61 32.3%	N= 45 31.7%	N= 26 35.1%	N=166 32.1%
	3	N= 4 23.5%	N= 25 26.3%	N= 52 27.5%	N= 29 20.4%	N= 16 21.6%	N=126 24.4%
Total		N= 17 99.9%	N= 95 100.0%	N=189 100.0%	N=142 100.0%	N= 74 99.9%	N=517 100.0%

Chi Square = 12.42179
tau b = -0.02172
tau c = -0.02105
Gamma = -0.02978

p < .41

TABLE 5.16

CROSSTABULATION OF POLITICAL AUTHORITARIANISM SCALE BY GENERAL
WORK SATISFACTION SCALE II

		General Work Satisfaction Scale II						
		High Satisfaction → Low Satisfaction						
		0	1	2	3	4	5	Total
Political Authori- tarianism Scale	Low Authori- tarianism	N= 3 5.1%	P= 9 7.1%	N= 27 16.1%	N= 8 11.0%	N= 7 17.9%	N= 1 5.6%	N= 55 11.4%
	1	N= 13 22.0%	N= 42 33.3%	N= 53 31.5%	N= 31 42.5%	N= 10 25.6%	N= 5 27.8%	N=154 31.9%
	2	N= 18 30.5%	N= 41 32.5%	N= 58 34.5%	N= 19 26.0%	N= 15 38.5%	N= 10 55.6%	N=161 33.3%
	High Authori- tarianism	N= 25 42.4%	N= 34 27.0%	N= 30 17.9%	N= 15 20.5%	N= 7 17.9%	N= 2 11.1%	N=113 23.4%
	Total	N= 59 100.0%	N=126 99.9%	N=168 100.0%	N= 73 100.0%	N= 39 99.9%	N= 18 100.1%	N=483 100.0%

Chi Square = 32.59917
 tau b = -0.12698
 tau c = -0.12564
 Gamma = -0.17056

$p < .005$

TABLE 5.17

CROSSTABULATION OF UNION ALIENATION SCALE BY
JOB TASK SCALE

		Job Task Scale					
		High Task Rating/Low Alienation			—————→	Low Task Rating/High Alienation	
Union Alienation Scale	Low Alien-ation	0	1	2	3	Total	
		N= 12 13.8%	N= 28 9.4%	N= 8 7.8%	N= 4 22.2%	N= 52 10.3%	
		N= 11 12.6%	N= 43 14.4%	N= 12 11.8%	N= 2 11.1%	N= 68 13.4%	
		N= 40 46.0%	N=144 48.2%	N= 52 51.0%	N= 4 22.2%	N=240 47.4%	
	High Alien-ation	3	N= 24 27.6%	N= 84 28.1%	N= 30 29.4%	N= 8 44.4%	N=146 28.9%
Total		N= 87 100.0%	N=299 100.1%	N=102 100.0%	N= 18 99.9%	N=506 100.0%	

Chi Square = 9.29047
tau b = 0.03685
tau c = 0.03045
Gamma = 0.05915

p < .41

TABLE 5.18

CROSSTABULATION OF UNION ALIENATION SCALE BY GENERAL INDICATORS
OF WORK SATISFACTION SCALE

		General Indicators of Work Satisfaction Scale						
		High Satisfaction			Low Satisfaction			
Union Alienation Scale	Low Alien- ation	0	0	1	2	3	4	Total
		N= 1 5.3%	N= 17 18.7%	N= 19 10.3%	N= 11 8.0%	N= 5 6.6%	N= 53 10.4%	
	High Alien- ation	1	N= 4% 21.1%	N= 14 15.4%	N= 23 12.5%	N= 15 10.9%	N= 13 17.1%	N= 69 13.6%
		2	N= 10 52.6%	N= 29 31.9%	N= 89 48.4%	N= 77 55.8%	N= 39 51.3%	N=244 48.0%
		3	N= 4 21.1%	N= 31 34.1%	N= 53 28.8%	N= 35 25.4%	N= 79 25.0%	N=142 28.0%
Total		N= 19 100.1%	N= 91 100.1%	N=184 100.0%	N=138 100.1%	N= 76 100.0%	N=508 100.0%	

Chi Square = 20.00310
 tau b = 0.01698
 tau c = 0.01583
 Gamma = 0.02411

$p < .06$

TABLE 5.19

CROSSTABULATION OF UNION ALIENATION SCALE BY GENERAL
WORK SATISFACTION SCALE II

		General Work Satisfaction Scale II						
		High Satisfaction $\xrightarrow{\hspace{1.5cm}}$ Low Satisfaction						
Union Alienation Scale	Low Alien- ation	0	1	2	3	4	5	Total
	0	N= 13 23.6%	N= 14 11.7%	N= 9 5.3%	N= 3 4.2%	N= 3 7.5%	N= 1 5.6%	N= 43 9.1%
	1	N= 9 16.4%	N= 24 20.0%	N= 22 13.0%	N= 8 11.1%	N= 4 10.0%	N= 0 0.0%	N= 67 14.1%
	2	N= 20 36.4%	N= 45 37.5%	N= 92 54.4%	N= 40 55.6%	N= 22 55.0%	N= 10 55.6%	N=229 48.3%
	High Alien- ation	N= 13 23.6%	N= 37 30.8%	N= 46 27.2%	N= 21 29.2%	N= 11 27.5%	N= 7 38.9%	N=135 28.5%
Total		N= 55 100.0%	N=120 100.0%	N=169 99.9%	N= 72 100.1%	N= 40 100.0%	N= 18 100.1%	N=474 100.0%

Chi Square = 34.06671 $p < .003$
 tau b = 0.11385
 tau c = 0.10754
 Gamma = 0.15952

The use of work tenure as an intervening variable was suggested by Sheppard's and Herrick's study where length of time on the job proved to have an impact on the relationship between work alienation and political attitudes. They reasoned that younger workers, with fewer years on their present job, and not having adapted themselves to their job, were more likely to be affected by an alienating work situation. They therefore maintained and statistically supported the notion that the work alienation/political alienation relationship would be strongest among workers with the fewest years on the job. Our data fails to support their contention. Controlling for job longevity fails to change our finding of no discernible pattern between work attitudes and political attitudes. If their argument were valid, the correlation between work satisfaction scales and political attitude scales would weaken as the number of years at the present job increase. Tables 5.24 to 5.27 reveal no such consistent weakening pattern. The correlation coefficients between the work satisfaction scales and the political attitude scales change randomly. These findings, along with the control for education, continue to refute the earlier stated hypothetical work/political attitude relationship.

TABLE 5.20

CROSSTABULATION OF POLITICAL AUTHORITARIANISM SCALE
BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL

		E d u c a t i o n a l L e v e l				
		Less Than H.S.	H.S. Graduate	Some College/ College Grad.	Graduate School	Total
Political Authoritarianism Scale	Low Authori- tarianism					
	0	N= 4 4.9%	N= 10 5.0%	N= 26 12.8%	N= 18 29.5%	N= 58 10.6%
	1	N= 17 20.7%	N= 55 27.5%	N= 79 38.9%	N= 23 37.7%	N=174 31.9%
	2	N= 33 40.2%	N= 67 33.5%	N= 59 29.1%	N= 15 24.6%	N=174 31.9%
	High Authori- tarianism					
	3	N= 28 34.1%	N= 68 34.0%	N= 39 19.2%	N= 5 8.2%	N=140 25.6%
Total		N= 82 99.9%	N=200 100.0%	N=203 100.0%	N= 61 100.0%	N=546 100.0%

Chi Square = 59.86058
tau b = -0.25327
tau c = -0.23844
Gamma = -0.35451

P < .001

TABLE 5.21
CROSSTABULATION OF POLITICAL FATALISM SCALE
BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL

		E d u c a t i o n				
		Less Than H.S.	H.S. Graduate	Some College/ College Grad.	Graduate School	Total
Political Fatalism Scale	Low Fatalism 0	N= 4 4.9%	N= 6 3.0%	N= 4 2.0%	N= 1 1.6%	N= 15 2.7%
	1	N= 5 6.1%	N= 13 6.5%	N= 14 6.9%	N= 2 3.3%	N= 34 6.2%
	2	N= 14 17.1%	N= 41 20.5%	N= 42 20.7%	N= 21 34.4%	N=118 21.6%
	High Fatalism 3	N= 59 72.0%	N=140 70.0%	N=143 70.4%	N= 37 60.7%	N=379 69.4%
	Total	N= 82 100.1%	N=200 100.0%	N=203 100.0%	N= 61 100.0%	N=546 99.9%

Chi Square = 9.54566
 Tau B = -0.02664
 Tau C = -0.02020
 Gamma = -0.04658

$p < .3885$

TABLE 5.22

PARTIAL CORRELATION COEFFICIENT OF POLITICAL AUTHORITARIANISM SCALE BY JOB TASK SCALE WITH EDUCATION AS INTERVENING VARIABLE

Correlation Coefficients

Political Authoritarianism/Job Task Scale = 0.09946

Political Authoritarianism/Education = -0.35451

Job Task Scale/Education = -0.17139

Partial Correlation Coefficient
for Political Authoritarianism Scale/
Job Task Scale after the Introduction
of Education as an Intervening Factor = 0.041

TABLE 5.23

PARTIAL CORRELATION COEFFICIENT OF POLITICAL FATALISM SCALE BY JOB TASK SCALE WITH EDUCATION AS AN INTERVENING VARIABLE

Correlation Coefficients

Political Fatalism/Job Task Scale = -.01853

Political Fatalism/Education = -.04658

Job Task Scale/Education = -.17139

Partial Correlation Coefficient for
Political Fatalism Scale/Job Task
Scale after the Introduction of
Education as an Intervening
Variable = -.027

TABLE 5.24

POLITICAL POWERLESSNESS SCALE--JOB TASK SCALE
CORRELATIONS CONTROLLING FOR LENGTH OF
TIME ON THE JOB

Length of Time	Gamma	N	^p (Significance)
One year or less	-0.50000	8	0.6884
2 or 3 years	-0.14856	50	0.3983
4 or 5 years	0.12565	81	0.0002
6 to 9 years	-0.23835	134	0.4495
10 to 15 years	-0.29379	129	0.0844
16 to 20 years	0.04598	56	0.5541
Over 20 years	-0.20833	48	0.8263

POLITICAL POWERLESSNESS SCALE--GENERAL INDICATORS OF
WORK SATISFACTION SCALE II CORRELATIONS
CONTROLLING FOR LENGTH OF TIME ON
THE JOB

Length of Time	Gamma	N	^p (Significance)
One year or less	-0.23077	8	0.4433
2 or 3 years	-0.34624	47	0.1894
4 or 5 years	0.09771	73	0.9583
6 to 9 years	0.01957	121	0.3642
10 to 15 years	-0.03593	123	0.3708
16 to 20 years	0.10834	57	0.7463
Over 20 years	-0.17409	44	0.1898

TABLE 5.24 (CONT'D)

POLITICAL POWERLESSNESS SCALE--GENERAL INDICATORS OF
 WORK SATISFACTION SCALE CORRELATIONS CONTROLLING
 FOR LENGTH OF TIME ON THE JOB

Length of Time	Gamma	N	^p (Significance)
One year or less	-0.20000	8	0.6594
2 or 3 years	-0.02564	49	0.9306
4 or 5 years	-0.02276	84	0.3025
6 to 9 years	-0.05039	134	0.3210
10 to 15 years	-0.06905	131	0.6145
16 to 20 years	0.26748	54	0.5276
Over 20 years	-0.01465	48	0.2822

TABLE 5.25

POLITICAL FATALISM SCALE--JOB-TASK SCALE CORRELATIONS
CONTROLLING FOR LENGTH OF TIME ON THE JOB

Length of Time	Gamma	N	p
One year or less	-0.10000	7	0.2857(Fisher's
2 or 3 years	0.12632	48	0.8190
4 or 5 years	-0.16896	81	0.0308
6 to 9 years	-0.03724	136	0.4031
10 to 15 years	0.20360	131	0.6760
16 to 20 years	-0.23573	55	0.1151
Over 20 years	-0.15360	48	0.8560

POLITICAL FATALISM SCALE--GENERAL INDICATORS OF WORK
SATISFACTION SCALE II CORRELATIONS CONTROLLING
FOR LENGTH OF TIME ON THE JOB

Length of Time	Gamma	N	p
One year or less	-0.66667	7	0.1359
2 or 3 years	0.47768	46	0.0674
4 or 5 years	0.04289	75	0.0015
6 to 9 years	0.01375	125	0.7208
10 to 15 years	-0.00407	124	0.4278
16 to 20 years	-0.06362	56	0.4694
Over 20 years	-0.13939	43	0.5282

TABLE 5.25 (CONT'D)

POLITICAL FATALISM SCALE--GENERAL INDICATOR OF WORK
SATISFACTION SCALE CORRELATIONS CONTROLLING
FOR LENGTH OF TIME ON THE JOB

Length of Time	Gamma	N	p
One year or less	1.0000	7	0.0719
2 or 3 years	0.24390	47	0.3874
4 or 5 years	-0.07933	85	0.1963
6 to 9 years	-0.07444	135	0.6299
10 to 15 years	0.05948	133	0.6436
16 to 20 years	-0.08151	53	0.9019
Over 20 years	0.10263	48	0.8831

TABLE 5.26

POLITICAL AUTHORITARIANISM SCALE--JOB TASK SCALE
CORRELATIONS CONTROLLING FOR LENGTH OF TIME
ON THE JOB

Length of Time	Gamma	N	p
One year or less	0.0	9	0.4506
2 or 3 years	0.38407	50	0.1984
4 or 5 years	0.06912	81	0.6355
6 to 9 years	0.01077	139	0.1996
10 to 15 years	0.19137	132	0.5051
16 to 20 years	0.03286	56	0.7488
Over 20 years	-0.00690	47	0.7755

POLITICAL AUTHORITARIANISM SCALE--GENERAL INDICATORS OF
WORK SATISFACTION SCALE II CORRELATIONS CON-
TROLLING FOR LENGTH OF TIME ON
THE JOB

Length of Time	Gamma	N	p
One year or less	0.50000	9	0.7653
2 or 3 years	0.00352	47	0.4381
4 or 5 years	-0.19555	75	0.1185
6 to 9 years	-0.16355	126	0.3713
10 to 15 years	-0.24602	126	0.3634
16 to 20 years	-0.24336	57	0.1564
Over 20 years	-0.08502	42	0.8267

TABLE 5.26 (CONT'D)

POLITICAL AUTHORITARIANISM SCALE--GENERAL INDICATORS
OF WORK SATISFACTION SCALE CONTROLLING FOR LENGTH
OF TIME ON THE JOB

Length of Time	Gamma	N	p
One year or less	-0.11111	9	0.7768
2 or 3 years	0.04861	49	0.6682
4 or 5 years	-0.11743	85	0.4396
6 to 9 years	0.00020	138	0.9024
10 to 15 years	-0.02861	134	0.2463
16 to 20 years	-0.08259	54	0.1802
Over 20 years	0.14530	47	0.2404

TABLE 5.27

UNION ALIENATION SCALE--JOB TASK SCALE CORRELATIONS
CONTROLLING FOR LENGTH OF TIME ON THE JOB

Length of Time	Gamma	N	p
One year or less	0.62500	9	0.3167
2 or 3 years	0.06329	50	0.4822
4 or 5 years	0.12137	80	0.7368
6 to 9 years	-0.05634	138	0.6282
10 to 15 years	0.00035	127	0.5948
16 to 20 years	0.08637	54	0.0980
Over 20 years	0.25612	47	0.4607

UNION ALIENATION SCALE--GENERAL INDICATORS OF WORK
SATISFACTION SCALE II CORRELATIONS CONTROLLING
FOR LENGTH OF TIME ON THE JOB

Length of Time	Gamma	N	p
One year or less	0.30000	9	0.5232
2 or 3 years	0.14591	47	0.6296
4 or 5 years	0.15714	74	0.1931
6 to 9 years	0.26066	125	0.1330
10 to 15 years	0.06574	121	0.1552
16 to 20 years	0.13351	54	0.9126
Over 20 years	0.11591	43	0.7593

TABLE 5.27 (CONT'D)

UNION ALIENATION SCALE--GENERAL INDICATORS OF WORK
SATISFACTION SCALE CORRELATIONS CONTROLLING
FOR LENGTH OF TIME ON THE JOB

Length of Time	Gamma	N	p
One year or less	0.0	9	0.2929
2 or 3 years	-0.10480	49	0.7126
4 or 5 years	-0.11975	84	0.1287
6 to 9 years	0.1835	138	0.9368
10 to 15 years	-0.02706	129	0.9036
16 to 20 years	0.19003	51	0.5668
Over 20 years	0.19468	47	0.5073

Factor Analysis

Evaluation of the work attitudes/political attitudes and behavior relationship is extended to include a factor analysis of 56 variables. In the previous chapter, an intrinsic work satisfaction dimension (Factor 1) and a less specific work satisfaction dimension (Factor 2) were discussed. Table 5.28 reveals that several other dimensions are tapped by the survey questions. Factor 3 contains a battery of questions related to the level of political and community participation. Involvement in political campaigns, community activities and church affairs are among the items falling along

this dimension. Factor 4 includes a series of questions traditionally associated with political alienation. Seeman's "meaninglessness scale" and parts of Srole's scale are among the questions clustered along the fourth factor. Factor 5 contains attitudinal questions related to political efficacy (or political powerlessness) and political authoritarianism. Factor 2 not only includes the measure of general satisfaction with work discussed previously but also contains a number of items measuring attitudes towards and participation in the union. Finally, the sixth and last dimension (factor 6) is not well-defined although a reasonable argument can be made that it reflects an "active leisure-time scale." Included on this factor are questions about socializing with neighbors and workmates, time spent on hobbies and involvement in community affairs."

The use of factor analysis contributes significantly to the evaluation of the data. The dimensions reinforce the validity of the data since questions clustered along expected lines. (This was particularly important in a mailed survey. The factor analysis discounts the possibility that respondents misunderstood the meaning of certain questions since the items clustered along the anticipated dimensions.)

The loading of items on the factor dimension is of even more importance since it provides another valuable analytical tool. It clearly indicates that political attitudes and behavior are analytically distinct from the work attitude

items. Factor analysis reinforces the earlier conclusions drawn from the bivariate and multivariate analyses that work alienation and political alienation develop independently of each other. As Schwartz suggested, work alienation and political alienation represent different and distinct dimensions. Indeed, the only observable relationship between work and other attitudes is found on the second factor dimension where both work satisfaction and union satisfaction items are clustered. Indeed, the clustering of these two measures of satisfaction indicates that they may well not be analytically distinct. That is, satisfaction with work may be inseparable from satisfaction with the union. Factor analysis thus further questions the validity of the worklife-political life hypotheses.

In order to strengthen further the collective impact of the individual variables, the factors were also cross-tabulated. Table 5.29 presents the correlations between the work satisfaction and political attitude/behavior dimensions. The weak correlations again reflect the weak relationship between the factors. No correlation coefficient exceeds ± 0.1 . A comparison with Seeman's study (reproduced as Table 5.30) reveals the remarkable similarity in findings. The data, as Seeman argued, show that "work alienation is not significantly related to the postulated outcomes."⁸

After crosstabulating the factor dimensions, we again control for the impact of education on the relationship between

work alienation and political attitudes. Table 5.31 indicates that, as with the Guttman scale analysis, the use of education as a control variable fails to uncover any stronger or consistent relationship between work and political attitudes. Except for education's impact on political and community participation, controlling for education weakens rather than strengthens the work alienation/political attitude relationships.

Finally, occupational classification is introduced as a possible intervening variable between work attitudes and political attitudes and behavior. Crosstabulating several factor dimensions measuring political attitudes with occupational classification reveals that occupational status is strongly correlated with those political attitudes. This finding raises the possibility that the occupational variable masks potentially strong correlations between work and politics since occupational status is not highly correlated with work alienation alone. Tables 5.32 to 5.39, which show no consistent pattern between work alienation and political anomie and political participation when controlling for occupation, dismisses this possibility. (The variations in the work/political attitudes correlations is most likely a sampling error, resulting from the small number of respondents in each cell.)

Along with the earlier analysis, the introduction of factor analysis underlines the conclusion drawn from this study

TABLE 5.28

VARIMAX ROTATED FACTOR MATRIX USING 56 VARIABLES

Factor 2		Factor 3		Factor 4		Factor 5	
Extrinsic Work Satisfaction/ Union Alienation		Political and/or Community Participation		Political Anomie and Fatalism		Political Powerlessness/ Political Authoritarianism	
Variable	Factor Loading	Variable	Factor Loading	Variable	Factor Loading	Variable	Factor Loading
Union Care	-0.59304	Give Money Cause	0.65353	Can't Plan	0.56477	Vote Important	0.45364
Union Say	-0.56831	Give Money Can- didate	0.62215	Personal Count.	0.54473	Teach Obedience	0.40393
Partic.Union Local	0.52491	Belong Pol.Org.	0.58857	Always War	0.53678	Vote Only	0.39797
Un.Grievance	0.48272	Meetings,Rally	0.57910	Always Pov.	0.52793	Life Better	0.31986
Union Rate	0.47166	Belong Com.Org.	0.52748	Teach Obed.	0.42133	Leader Do	0.31755
Wage Satisfaction	0.39852	Vote Often	0.48733	Complicated	0.40253	Union Say	-0.30208
Job Best Ever	0.34404	Demonstration	0.48223	Lot Worse	0.38902	Union Care	0.29459
		Group Union	0.37680	Leader Do	0.37138	Leader Strict	0.28272
		Vote Often	0.35804	Union Complicated	0.34690	Say Run	-0.27182
		Elections					
		Group Politics	0.31648				
		Church Affairs	0.31460				
		Read Pep.	0.31454				

TABLE 5.58 (CONT'D)

Factor 6	
Active Leisure Time (?)	
Variable	Factor Loading
Socialize Neighbors	0.57707
Community Affairs	0.42530
Socialize Work	0.41958
Work Hobby	0.35310

TABLE 5.29
INTERCORRELATION* OF FACTORS

	Factor 1 Intrinsic Job Satisfaction	Factor 2 Union Alienation	Factor 3 Polit.& Comm. Participation	Factor 4 Pol.Anomie, Trust and Fatalism	Factor 5 Pol.Powerlessn./ Authoritarianism	Factor 6 Active Leisure
Factor 1	--	-0.036 N=317 p<.75	0.022 N=317 p<.70	-0.032 N=317 p<.40	0.070 N=317 p<.79	0.007 N=317 p<.18
Factor 2	--	--	0.048 N=317 p<.13	-0.095 N=317 p<.68	0.054 N=317 p<.58	-0.018 N=317 p<.28
Factor 3	--	--	--	0.040 N=317 p<.08	0.005 N=317 p<.53	-0.085 N=317 p<.06
Factor 4	--	--	--	--	0.065 N=317 p<.92	-0.012 N=317 p<.98
Factor 5	--	--	--	--	--	-0.017 N=317 p<.88
Factor 6	--	--	--	--	--	--

*All Correlations are Tau C.

TABLE 5.30

SEEMAN'S INTERCORRELATION OF WORK ALIENATION AND OUTCOME
INDICES FOR MANUAL AND NON-MANUAL WORKERS
IN SWEDEN

	Political Knowledge	Anomie	Powerlessness
Manual Work Alienation	.04	.15	.05
Non-Manual Work Alienation	-.13	.06	.09

that work alienation does not, by itself, correlate with or lead to feelings of political powerlessness, trust (anomie), fatalism and authoritarianism nor is it related to the level of political participation. These results clearly refute the earlier stated hypothetical work alienation/political alienation relationship.

PAGE 5.31

PARTIAL COEFFICIENTS OF FACTOR SCORES CONTROLLING
FOR THE IMPACT OF EDUCATION

	Correlation
Work Satisfaction Factor/Pol. & Community Participation Factor	.0227
Work Satisfaction Factor/Education	.1450
Political & Community Participation Factor/Education	-.0675
Work Satisfaction Factor/Pol. & Community Participation Factor	.0329
Controlling for Education	
Work Satisfaction Factor/Pol. Anomie and Fatalism Factor	-.0329
Work Satisfaction Factor/Education	.1450
Pol. Anomie and Fatalism Factor/Education	.4153
Work Satisfaction Factor/Pol. Anomie and Fatalism Factor	-.1137
Fatalism Factor Controlling for Education	
Work Satisfaction Factor/Political Powerlessness and Authoritarianism Factor	.0707
Work Satisfaction Factor/Education	.1450
Political Powerlessness and Authoritarianism Factor/Education	.1995
Work Satisfaction Factor/Political Powerlessness and Authoritarianism Factor	.0440
Controlling for Education	

TABLE 5.31 (CONT'D)

	Correlation
Work Satisfaction/Active Leisure Factor	.0074
Work Satisfaction Factor/ Education	.1450
Active Leisure Factor/Education	.0305
Work Satisfaction Factor/Active Leisure Factor	.0030
Controlling for Education	

TABLE 5.32

CROSSTABULATION OF WORK SATISFACTION FACTOR BY POLITICAL AND COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION FACTOR CONTROLLING FOR OCCUPATION

Occupation: Professional		Highest Participation ← → Lowest Participation				Total
Work Satis- faction	Most Satisfied	N= 5 18.5%	N= 3 13.6%	N= 7 26.9%	N= 4 22.2%	N= 19 20.4%
		N= 9 33.3%	N= 3 13.6%	N= 5 19.2%	N= 6 33.3%	N= 23 24.7%
		N= 5 18.5%	N= 11 50.0%	N= 8 30.8%	N= 3 16.7%	N= 27 29.0%
	Least Satisfied	N= 8 29.6%	N= 5 22.7%	N= 6 23.1%	N= 5 27.8%	N= 24 25.8%
Total		N= 27 99.9%	N= 22 99.9%	N= 26 100.0	N= 18 100.0%	N= 93 99.9%

Chi Square = 9.54015

p < .3890

Tau b = -0.04282

Tau c = -0.04255

Gamma = -0.05677

TABLE 5.33

CROSSTABULATION OF WORK SATISFACTION FACTOR BY POLITICAL AND COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION FACTOR CONTROLLING FOR OCCUPATION

Occupation: Clerical		Political and Community Participation				Total
		Highest Participation			Lowest Participation	
Work Satis- faction	Most Satisfied	N= 4 23.5%	N= 8 26.7%	N= 8 26.7%	N= 10 27.8%	N= 30 26.5%
		N= 2 11.8%	N= 7 23.3%	N= 9 30.0%	N= 9 22.2%	N= 26 23.0%
		N= 9 52.9%	N= 7 23.3%	N= 6 20.0%	N= 8 22.2%	N= 30 26.5%
	Least Satisfied	N= 2 11.8%	N= 8 26.7%	N= 7 23.3%	N= 10 27.8%	N= 27 23.9%
Total		N= 17 100.0%	N= 30 100.0%	N= 30 100.0%	N= 36 100.0%	N=113 99.9%

Chi Square = 8.35166
 Tau b = -0.00844
 Tau c = -0.00835
 Gamma = -0.01132

$p < .4991$

TABLE 5.34

CROSSTABULATION OF WORK SATISFACTION FACTOR BY POLITICAL AND COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION FACTOR CONTROLLING FOR OCCUPATION

Occupation: Service		Political and Community Participation				Total
		Highest Participation ←			→ Lowest Participation	
Work Satis- faction	Most Satisfied ↑	N= 9 36.0%	N= 2 11.8%	N= 3 20.0%	N= 5 31.3%	N= 19 26.0%
		N= 7 28.0%	N= 6 35.3%	N= 4 26.7%	N= 4 25.0%	N= 21 28.8%
		N= 4 16.0%	N= 4 23.5%	N= 5 33.3%	N= 2 12.5%	N= 15 20.5%
	Least Satisfied ↓	N= 5 20.0%	N= 5 29.4%	N= 3 20.0%	N= 5 31.3%	N= 18 24.7%
Total		N= 25 100.0%	N= 17 100.0%	N= 15 100.0%	N= 16 100.1%	N= 73 100.0%

Chi Square = 5.83238 $p < .7566$
 Tau b = 0.07584
 Tau c = 0.07506
 Gamma = 0.10121

TABLE 5.35

CROSSTABULATION OF WORK SATISFACTION FACTOR BY POLITICAL AND COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION CONTROLLING FOR OCCUPATION

Occupation: Blue Collar		Highest Participation ← → Lowest Participation				Total
Work Satis- faction	Most Satisfied ↑	N= 2 28.6%	N= 0 0.0%	N= 3 50.0%	N= 2 33.3%	N= 7 25.9%
		N= 2 28.6%	N= 4 50.0%	N= 0 0.0%	N= 1 16.7%	N= 7 25.9%
		N= 2 28.6%	N= 2 25.0%	N= 1 16.7%	N= 1 16.7%	N= 6 22.2%
	↓ Least Satisfied	N= 1 14.3%	N= 2 25.0%	N= 2 33.3%	N= 2 33.3%	N= 7 25.9%
Total		N= 7 100.1%	N= 8 100.0%	N= 6 100.0%	N= 6 100.0%	N= 27 99.9%

Chi Square = 8.06632

p < .5275

Tau b = 0.01835

Tau c = 0.01829

Gamma 0.02370

TABLE 5.36

CROSSTABULATION OF WORK SATISFACTION FACTOR BY POLITICAL ANOMIE AND FATALISM
FACTOR CONTROLLING FOR OCCUPATION

Occupation: Professional		Political Anomie and Fatalism				Total
		Most Anomic/ Fatalistic ←		→ Least Anomic/ Fatalistic		
Work Satis- faction	Most Satisfied	N= 3 27.3%	N= 3 15.8%	N= 7 26.9%	N= 6 16.2%	N= 19 20.4%
	↕	N= 4 36.4%	N= 6 31.6%	N= 3 11.5%	N= 10 27.0%	N= 23 24.7%
		N= 2 18.2%	N= 6 31.6%	N= 8 30.8%	N= 11 29.7%	N= 27 29.0%
		Least Satisfied	N= 2 18.2%	N= 4 21.1%	N= 8 30.8%	N= 10 27.0%
Total		N= 11 100.1%	N= 19 100.1%	N= 26 100.0%	N= 37 99.9%	N= 93 99.9%

Chi Square = 5.38664

p < .7994

Tau b = 0.07636

Tau c = 0.07400

Gamma = 0.10435

TABLE 5.37

CROSSTABULATION OF WORK SATISFACTION FACTOR BY POLITICAL ANOMIE AND FATALISM
FACTOR CONTROLLING FOR OCCUPATION

Occupation: Clerical		Political Anomie and Fatalism				Total
		Most Anomic/ Fatalistic			Most Anomic/ Fatalistic	
Work Satis- faction	Most Satisfied	N= 9 36.0%	N= 6 18.2%	N= 5 16.1%	N= 10 41.7%	N= 30 26.5%
		N= 5 20.0%	N= 8 24.2%	N= 8 25.8%	N= 5 20.8%	N= 26 23.0%
		N= 7 28.0%	N= 7 21.2%	N= 11 35.5%	N= 5 20.8%	N= 30 26.5%
	Least Satisfied	N= 4 16.0%	N= 12 36.4%	N= 7 22.6%	N= 4 16.7%	N= 27 23.9%
Total		N= 25 100.0%	N= 33 100.0%	N= 31 100.0%	N= 24 100.0%	N=113 99.9%

Chi Square = 10.26809

p .3292

Tau b = -0.03668

Tau c = -0.03655

Gamma = -0.04860

TABLE 5.38

CROSSTABULATION OF WORK SATISFACTION FACTOR BY POLITICAL ANOMIE AND
FATALISM FACTOR CONTROLLING FOR OCCUPATION

Occupation: Service		Political Anomie and Fatalism				Total
		Most Anomic/ Fatalistic			Most Anomic/ Fatalistic	
Work Satis- faction	Most Satisfied ↑	N= 4 15.4%	N= 4 23.5%	N= 6 31.6%	N= 5 45.5%	N= 19 26.0%
		N= 10 38.5%	N= 7 41.2%	N= 2 10.5%	N= 2 18.2%	N= 21 28.8%
		N= 3 11.5%	N= 3 17.6%	N= 6 31.6%	N= 3 27.3%	N= 15 20.5%
	↓ Least Satisfied	N= 9 34.6%	N= 3 17.6%	N= 5 26.3%	N= 1 9.1%	N= 18 24.7%
Total		N= 26 100.0%	N= 17 99.9%	N= 19 100.0%	N= 11 100.1%	N= 73 100.0%

Chi Square = 12.32834

p < .1954

Tau b = -0.12825

Tau c = -0.12610

Gamma = -0.17027

TABLE 5.39

CROSSTABULATION OF WORK SATISFACTION FACTOR BY POLITICAL ANOMIE AND
FATALISM FACTOR CONTROLLING FOR OCCUPATION

Occupation: Blue Collar		Political Anomie and Fatalism				Total
		Most Anomic/ Fatalistic			Most Anomic/ Fatalistic	
Work Satis- faction	Most Satisfied	N= 5 38.5%	N= 0 0.0%	N= 2 50.0%	N= 0 0.0%	N= 7 25.9%
		N= 2 15.4%	N= 3 50.0%	N= 1 25.0%	N= 1 25.0%	N= 7 25.9%
		N= 3 23.1%	N= 1 16.7%	N= 0 0.0%	N= 0 50.0%	N= 6 22.2%
	Least Satisfied	N= 3 23.1%	N= 2 33.3%	N= 1 25.0%	N= 1 25.0%	N= 7 25.9%
Total		N= 13 100.1%	N= 6 100.0%	N= 4 100.0%	N= 4 100.0%	N= 27 99.9%

Chi Square = 8.71153
 Tau b = 0.11962
 Tau c = 0.11340
 Gamma = 0.16230

$p < .4643$

Discussion of Findings: Statistical
Explanations

All these results (factor analysis, Guttman scaling, Pearson correlations) contradict the findings of Sheppard and Herrick, Sobin and Lipsitz. Some discrepancies in the data may be explained by differences in measurement or statistical techniques. For example, Sheppard and Herrick developed a "worker with the blues category" that gauged the distance between expectation and achievement on the job. Using this index of "blues" as a measure of work alienation, they found strong relationships between this variable and feelings of political inefficacy and political alienation.⁹ Their "blues" index is still highly correlated with the job-task scale developed in this research. Although there might have been some variation in the findings, it is unlikely that using somewhat different items to measure work alienation could explain contradictory results. Secondly, the use of indices in their research (a less refined analytical tool than the Guttman scale analysis used in this research) might have altered the results to a degree, but not to the extent that was found. Lipsitz and Sobin also used different statistical techniques, but their approaches (as was indicated in Chapter 2) were clearly less rigorous than the kind of analysis used in this study. It is evident, summarily, that these different findings could not be explained simply by variations in measurement and statistical

technique alone.

It is also possible that weak correlations in this research may mask a curvilinear relationship between work attitudes and political attitudes/behavior. A review of the theoretical assumptions about work can arouse such speculations. It is evident that certain theories contradict others or are internally inconsistent. For example, Wilensky had argued that passivity or work alienation might either "spillover" into non-work attitudes or might even be compensated for through an active leisure life. Thus, work alienation may have diametrically opposite effects on different individuals. This possibility was recognized by Kardo and Summers who tried to develop a rather intricate schema to predict accurately whether the "spillover" or "compensatory" effect would take place. If work alienation were to have equally and diametrically opposite effects on alienated workers, we might expect to observe an equal number of alienated workers to be at the extreme ends of political attitudes and behavior dimensions. A single U- or inverted-U shaped curve would be observable. Figures 5.1 and 5.2 reveal, however, that no such expected curvilinear relationship is detected especially among alienated workers or generally across the spectrum of satisfied and dissatisfied workers. As a result, the possibility that these findings mask a more complex relationship between work alienation and political attitudes is, for the moment, rejected.

Respondents

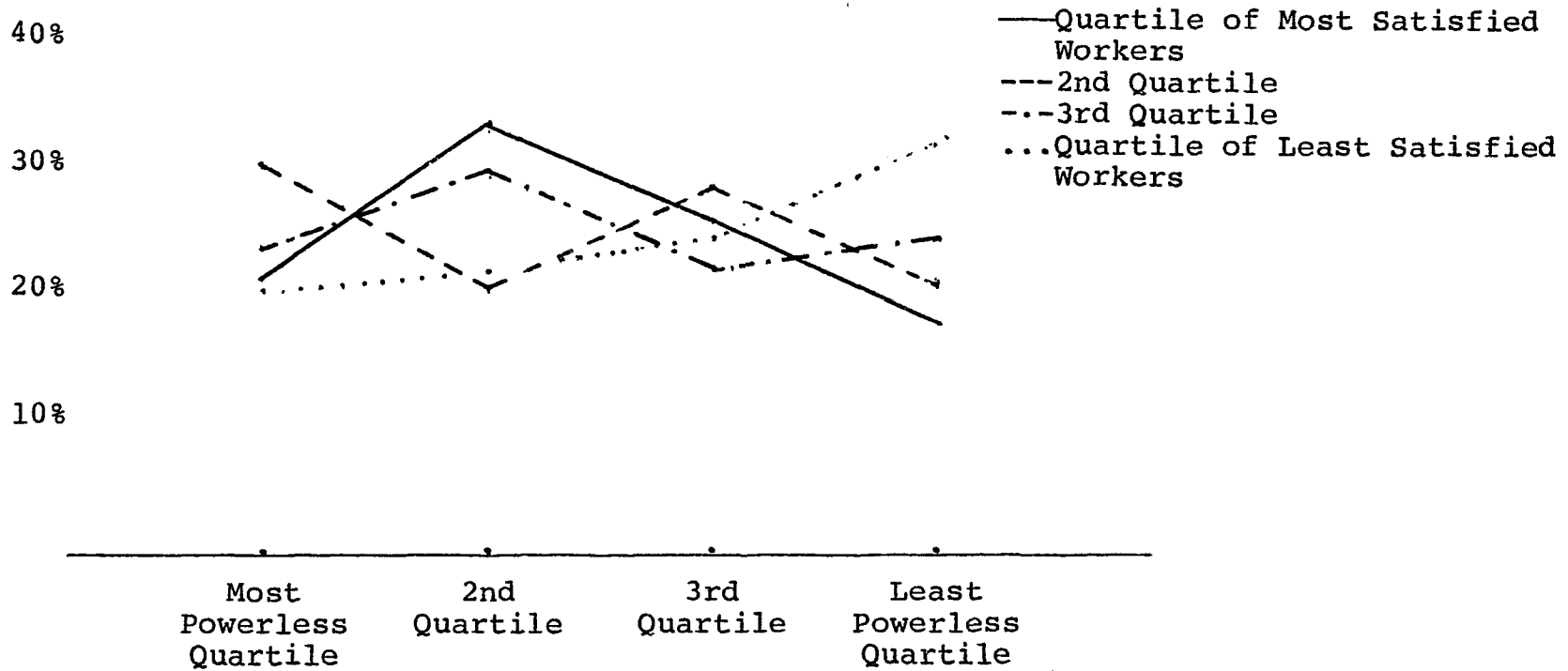


Figure 5.1 Line Graph of Relationship Between Work Satisfaction Factor and Political Powerlessness/Political Authoritarianism Factor

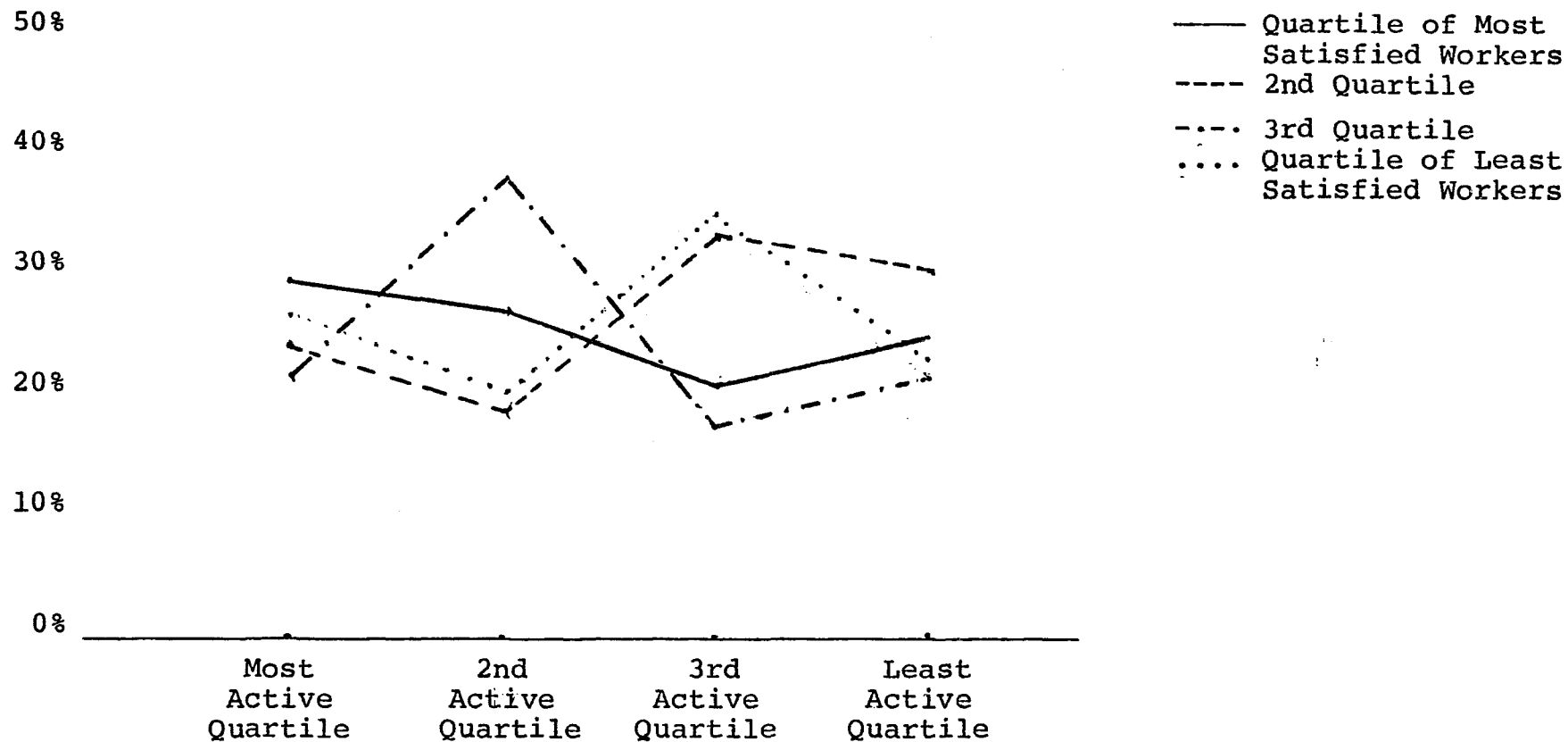


Figure 5.2 Line Graph of Relationship Between Work Satisfaction Factor and Active Leisure Factor

Theoretical Explanation for Rejecting the Work Alienation/
Political Alienation Connection

Having rejected technical and statistical vagaries for the lack of support of the hypotheses, it is necessary to explore more complex theoretical reasons for the tenuous link between work alienation and political attitudes. Seeman offered an initial explanation of the failure to find a work alienation-political alienation connection. After arguing that the Marxian view of work is idealized, he stated,

Despite the eminent reasonability of these mechanisms of generalization, the present data raise doubts about their validity of descriptions of what is, in fact, going on in the world of work. One is forced to entertain alternative images of that world. One such alternative would suggest that workers simply come to terms, more easily than our theories imply, with the only worklife they know and can reasonably expect for themselves. There is, in this view, no constant comparison with some ideal standard or with someone else's work. Work is nothing else than what it is known to be--often not very rewarding in itself, and always necessary. And the big task for the worker is not to convert it into a major source of intrinsic satisfaction, but to manage it so that it can be an acceptable life of the moment by creating occasions, however, small, for humor, sociality, decision-making, competition, argument, etc., that are at once trivial and remarkable.¹⁰

This "coming-to-terms" with the reality of work is illustrated best by a dietary aide in this study who describes her work in the following manner:

Just feed the patients and we set up the food and everything for the patients. We go in the wards and give out the trays to the patients and after they finish eating, we pick the trays up, take them downstairs and wash the dishes. And we start setting up for the next meal.

Although her work seems to be routine and, most likely, boring, she still maintains that "the job is interesting and it does keep me really on my feet," and "It's a salary." Apparently, as Seeman suggested, workers in objectively routine or dull jobs still manage to grasp on to something worthwhile associated with it. Even Seeman, though, proceeded to argue that coming "to grips" for workers in the most routine types of work probably involves some damage to their "self-regard."¹¹ This argument is precisely the thrust of contemporary critiques of work and is indeed the theoretical basis for linking work alienation with political alienation. For this reason alone, Seeman's explanation can not be entirely convincing.

Despite this "flawed analysis," Seeman's discussion provides a key clue towards explaining these findings. Instead of proposing that workers adapt to their situation, it can be more cogently argued, as Maslow did,¹² that individuals vary in their need for personal control. What may be unfulfilling work to some may be acceptable to others. It is, consequently, difficult to generalize about the impact of work. Secondly, the need for personal control and self-actualization is also met outside the workplace--in the sphere of leisure. Indeed, fulfillment outside the workplace is apparent in the open-ended responses about enjoyable activities in the previous chapter. It can then be argued that while workers may become alienated from work, their apathy or hostility may be confined within the workplace. Accepting the

limitations of the workplace may involve recognizing the possibility of satisfaction outside of it.

A second, more specific explanation of these findings revolves around the linkage between the dimensions of work and politics. It should be remembered that, as Schwartz implied, there is no overt or compelling reason for combining work or socio-cultural alienation with political alienation. This assertion places the theoretical tie between the two under close scrutiny. In the first Chapter it was succinctly argued that the need for personal control and the level of self-esteem significantly affects the formation of political attitudes, and that work is a major factor in the fulfillment of this need and of the level of self-esteem. A schematic diagram of this relationship is presented in Figure 5.3.¹³ A cursory glance at the diagram indicates that the link between work and political attitudes is developed without regard to other factors that affect an individual's self-esteem and need for self-actualization. For example, Renshon's study connected familial upbringing, family emotional dynamics and parental occupational status to the child's fulfillment of the need for personal control.¹⁴ In this manner, Renshon placed "great emphasis on the impact of basic beliefs, arising out of the attempt to satisfy basic psychological needs."¹⁵ He further argued,

...although basic beliefs about the nature of the world are acquired at an early age and are resistant to change, they are not impervious to it. That is, to

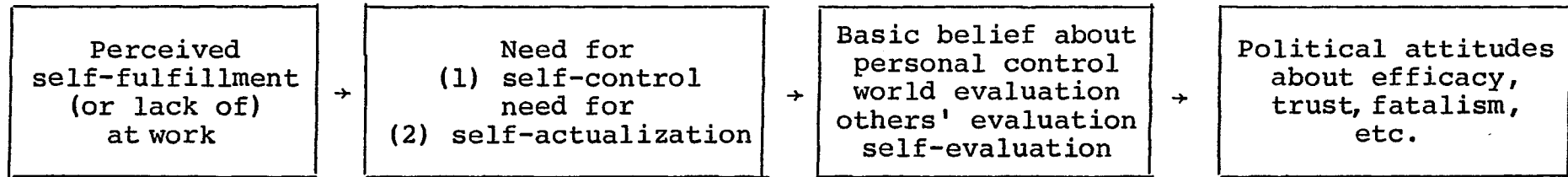


Figure 5.3 Schematic Representation of the Link Between Work Satisfaction and Political Attitudes

the extent that later life experiences are congruent with basic beliefs and reinforce them, we would expect those beliefs to remain stable. However, to the extent that later experiences (including experiences with social institutions such as schools, armed forces, jails and so on) are dissonant with basic beliefs, we would hypothesize that the potential for change in these basic beliefs would increase.¹⁶

Renshon thus argues that the need for personal controls and its subsequent impact on self-esteem is felt continually from childhood. Consequently, the work experience should be viewed within this framework. When experiences at work are congruent with previous experiences, they would likely reinforce basic beliefs. However, when worklife conflicts with prior experiences, work's effect on the individual's esteem still must be judged as only part of a lifelong process. The impact of work on political and social attitudes falls along a time-line of experiences (figure 5.4) and can only be considered in this context. Such a process underscores the complexity in understanding the effects of worklife. Work evidently affects one's self-esteem but it is also apparent that its impact on political and social attitudes must be understood in the context of a lengthy developmental process beginning during childhood. Those who assert that work alienation has such an overwhelming or dominant effect on an individual's political attitudes appear to underestimate the complexity of attitude development. This reason by itself might explain why strong relationships between work alienation and political attitudes

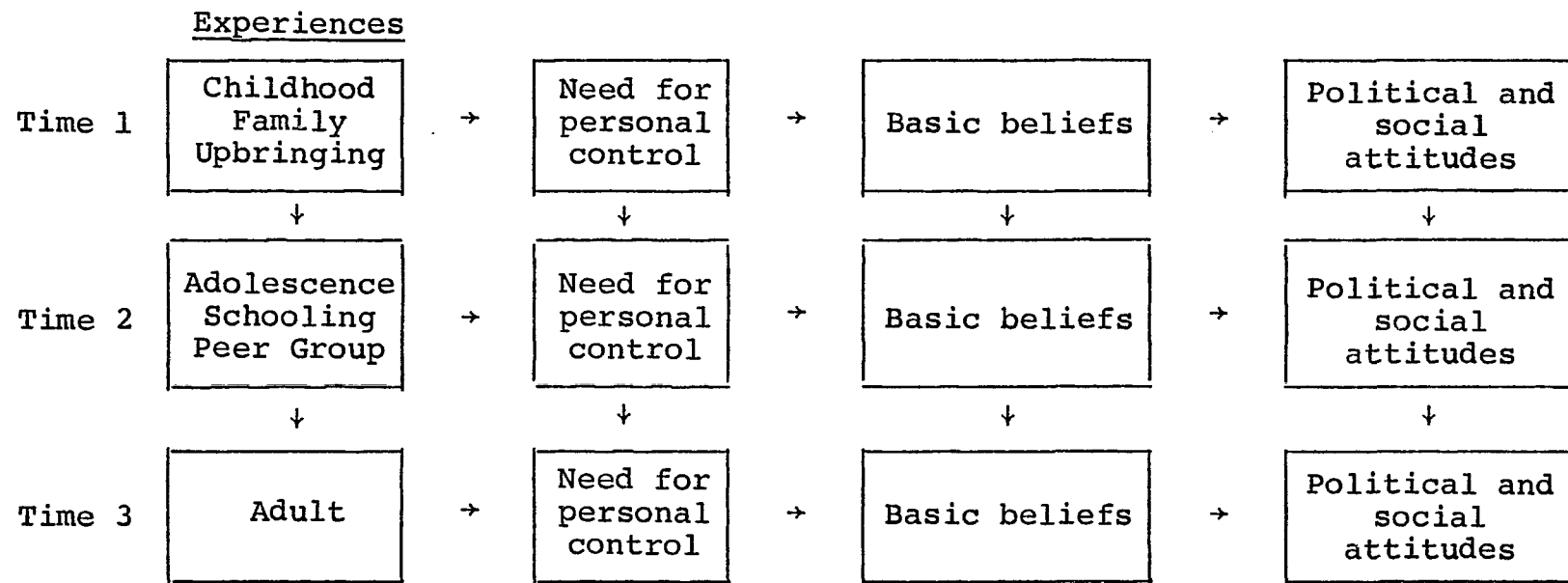


Figure 5.4. The Acquisition and Transformation of Basic Beliefs

and behavior are not found in spite of the generally accepted impact of work on individual self-esteem.

That other factors affect the extent of political alienation, authoritarianism, etc. is observable even from this data (Graphs 5.1 and 5.2). Both graphs illustrate the relationship between occupational classification and political attitudes. Since occupation is frequently associated with status or prestige, it is not surprising that differences are found. Campbell et al., Sigel, Nie and Verba, Gilmour and Lamb, and Renshon are among many who have asserted or discovered such a relationship. In Political Alienation in Contemporary America, for example, Gilmour and Lamb found substantial correlations between occupation and alienation.¹⁷ This finding, though, should not be viewed as does Richard Sennett,¹⁸ as supportive evidence of the link between work alienation and political alienation. Status is certainly an outcome of work-life, but, as we have seen, it is not necessarily synonymous with levels of work alienation.

Status is, as C. Wright Mills ably argued in White Collar, a form of satisfaction derived from worklife. There are, however, other means of satisfaction to be gained from work. For example, the intrinsically rewarding aspects of a fulfilling job, the level of income and the power exercised over others are all elements of a satisfactory worklife. If the path for self-fulfillment is blocked (work alienation) and much greater emphasis is placed on obtaining status from

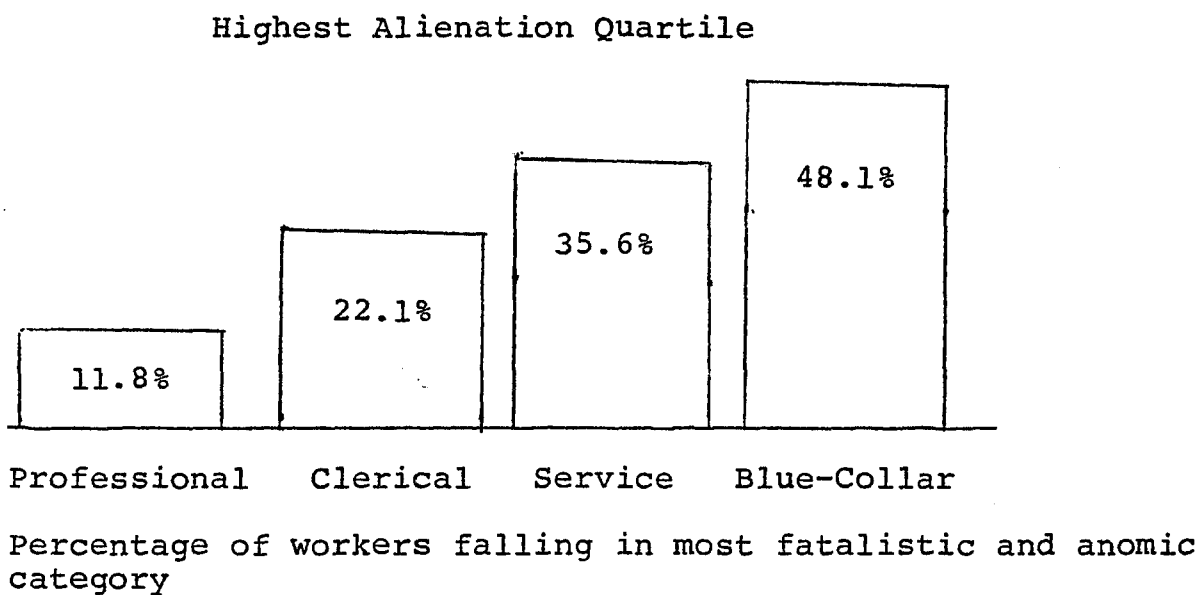
one's work (Mill's concept of status panic), then it could be maintained that work alienation has an indirect impact on the ultimate shaping of political attitudes. (This hypothesis is consistent with Mill's contention that the degradation of work may make status the major source of personal gratification from one's job.) The data indicate that there is much evidence in this study (see Chapter 4 and below) that worklife has been devalued in contemporary American society. We also discover, however, that occupational status and work alienation are not highly correlated among these NYC municipal workers. The indirect impact of work alienation on individual political attitudes, such as powerlessness and authoritarianism, therefore, has not been substantiated in this study.

It is furthermore apparent that occupational status is a more comprehensive concept than work alienation. An individual's occupational choice is often the product of his inherited social status, upbringing, level of education and social connections. To confuse or identify the effects of status with the impact of work alienation is to miss the thrust of contemporary critiques of work. Along with these negative evaluations of worklife, this study has attempted to isolate theoretically and statistically the impact of one's work from the other dimensions of worklife. In the process, we cannot overlook the interaction of all the various work factors on an individual's self-esteem and on his political attitudes and behavior. Our focus, however, has been on the extent of these

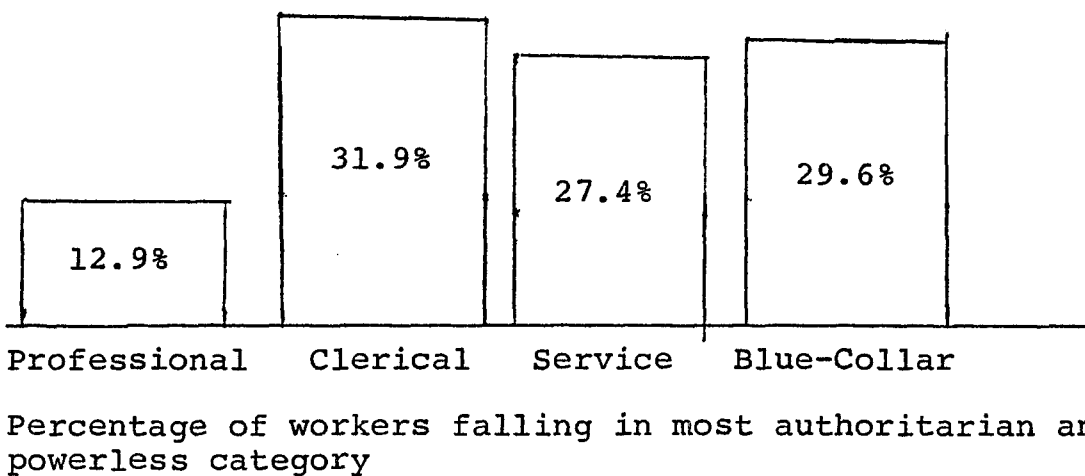
municipal employees' work alienation and their feelings about their job. In this regard few strong relationships have been found between work alienation and individual political attitudes and behavior.

The salience of work. A final explanation of the findings clearly leads to questioning the necessary link between work and political attitudes. All the theories arguing that work alienation leads to political alienation presume an identification of work with politics; however, that presumption might hold true only in a highly politicized work environment or where workers perceive their grievances as a collective problem. Where problems at work are considered to be an outgrowth of governmental policy or ruling-class decisions, the nexus between work and politics should be highly visible. When the relationship between the two dimensions is not as clearly perceived, or where individuals tend to blame themselves for their plight, then there is no compelling reason to link work problems with politics. Political alienation is likely to be identified with work alienation only where politics is viewed as a salient sphere or where work alienation becomes a shared rather than individualized grievance.

This discussion explains why the data does not support the hypothesized relationship between work alienation and political attitudes and behavior. It should also be evident that while refuting the work alienation-political alienation nexus, a critical perspective on the effects of alienating



Graph 5.1 Occupational Classification and the Extent of Political Anomie and Fatalism



Graph 5.2 Occupational Classification and Expressions of Political Powerlessness and Authoritarianism

work is still retained. Arguing that work alienation does not necessarily generate feelings associated with political alienation does not lead to a rejection of the belief that work alienation has serious effects on an individual's self-esteem and also (as will be shown) on the centrality of work in an individual's life. Rather, it is asserted that too many other factors are involved to argue simply that a one-to-one relationship between work alienation and political alienation exists.

Work Alienation, Occupational Community
and Ideology

The other major aspect of the work-politics relationship deals with the workplace as a source of friendship (occupational community) and as a determinant of shared values. It has been asserted that if the workplace is perceived as a source of personal gratification, associations among co-workers will form that are politically meaningful. In this regard, Caplow argued,

It is by consensus and by the sharing of attitudes that occupational groups on the large scale become socially meaningful. These common values and understandings are not limited to the working situation but through every corner of human activity. For the purpose of analysis, a distinction can be drawn between occupational attitudes and extra-occupational attitudes associated with a particular occupation, but in practice this distinction is difficult, and probably unnecessary.¹⁹

Frequent social interaction among workers is likely to lead toward shared values, a shared concept of one's place within

the social hierarchy and a necessary, if not sufficient, condition for joint political action (beyond involvement in the union itself). Precisely because Marx believed that the workplace functioned as the source of leisure contacts and social interaction, he felt "class consciousness" among industrial workers was possible.

The concept of occupational community even can be understood in a more limited sense than that of "class consciousness." As Lockwood explained, its broader importance is reflected in a life revolving around the world of work:

These primary groups of workmates not only provide the elementary units of more extensive class loyalties but work associations also carry over into leisure activities, so that workers in these industries usually participate in what are called "occupational communities." Workmates are normally leisure-time companions, often neighbours, and not infrequently kinsmen. The existence of closely-knit cliques of friends, workmates, neighbours and relatives is the hallmark of the traditional working class community. The values expressed through these social networks emphasize mutual aid in everyday life and the obligation to join in the gregarious pattern of leisure, which itself demands the expenditure of time, money and energy in a public and present-oriented conviviality and eschews individual striving "to be different." As a form of social life, this communal sociability has a ritualistic quality, creating a high moral density and reinforcing sentiments of belongingness to a work-dominated collectivity.²⁰

Undoubtedly, these municipal workers, unlike miners or steelworkers, do not work or live under optimum conditions for forming an occupational community. They do, however, represent a broad spectrum of people who work under similar circumstances in an urban environment. In this sense, these findings are

applicable to a large number of American workers.

Data about the devaluation or degradation of work, presented earlier, already provide evidence that worklife and leisure-time are perceived as separate and distinct aspects of life. A clear majority of municipal employees define work as a means towards outside enjoyment rather than as a psychically or socially rewarding experience in itself. As long as this perceived difference is maintained, the worker's consciousness or belief system (ideology) is unlikely to be determined through the work experience. They will probably avoid contact with fellow workers and develop friendships outside the workplace as a result of mutually enjoyed leisure activities. This position is vastly different from the hypotheses about the individual workers' search for personal fulfillment to compensate for the stifling effects of work. The focus is on the collective, rather than individual impact of work. It emphasizes that work and the work community no longer serve as an integrative mechanism in American society and as a major determinant or mold of values. The data from the study reinforces this contention.

The existence of an occupational community among fellow workers has been measured by the frequency of contact among workers during non-work hours (sometimes determined by the number of friends who are fellow workers), the extent of involvement in union-related activities²¹ and the perception of work as the central-life interest of the individual worker.

The data indicate that few, if any, of these attributes are present among these municipal employees. Table 5.40 represents the extent of social interaction among municipal workers in an average week. Nearly 40% (38.1%) of the respondents state that they never socialize with their coworkers on a weekly basis and another 42.1% respond that their social contact is limited to fewer than 5 hours per week. Compared to the frequency with which municipal workers socialize with neighborhood friends (Table 5.41), the rate of worker interaction is relatively low. Although leisure-time spent with fellow workers is not the same measure that Lipset used to measure occupational community (he used the number of friends at work), this figure is a fairly accurate reflection of the workplace as a source of social interaction.

To the extent that municipal workers socialize with each other, it is the union meeting or other union-directed activities that serve as the focal point for such gatherings. A district foreman explains:

If it isn't at a union meeting which we have approximately once a month, I see my fellow workers then. We may arrange to have dinner together prior to the meeting. We may have coffee after the meeting. That would be socially about as social as I get with people at work...it just never happens...I'm more family-oriented. It's my wife and I and my brothers and sisters.

The relationship between an individual's expressed work alienation and perceiving work as instrumental, presented in Tables 5.42 to 5.44, reveals that the more alienated, less

TABLE 5.40

FREQUENCY OF SOCIAL INTERACTION AMONG FELLOW WORKERS

Number of Hours	N	%
None	N=200	38.1%
Less than 5	N=221	42.1%
5-10	N= 83	15.8%
11-20	N= 15	2.9%
Over 20	N= 6	1.1%
Total	N=525	100.0%

TABLE 5.41

FREQUENCY OF SOCIALIZING WITH NEIGHBORHOOD FRIENDS

Number of Hours	N	%
None	N=109	20.9%
Fewer than 5	N=239	45.8%
5-10	N=116	22.2%
11-20	N= 43	8.2%
Over 20	N= 15	2.9%
Total	N=522	100.0%

TABLE 5.42

FREQUENCY OF SOCIALIZING WITH FELLOW WORKERS ACCORDING TO EXPRESSED
WORK SATISFACTION FACTOR SCORES

	Number of Hours	Most Satisfied → Least Satisfied				Total
Social- izing with other workers	None	N= 30 38.0%	N= 20 25.3%	N= 27 34.2%	N= 41 51.3%	N=118 37.2%
	Less than 5	N= 31 39.2%	N= 41 51.9%	N= 37 46.8%	N= 28 35.0%	N=137 43.2%
	5-10	N= 13 16.5%	N= 14 17.7%	N= 14 17.7%	N= 7 8.8%	N= 48 15.1%
	11-20	N= 3 3.8%	N= 3 3.8%	N= 1 1.3%	N= 2 2.5%	N= 9 2.8%
	20 or more	N= 2 2.5%	N= 1 1.3%	N= 0 0.0%	N= 2 2.5%	N= 5 1.6%
Total		N= 79 100.0%	N= 79 100.0%	N= 79 100.0%	N= 80 100.1%	N=317 99.9%

Chi Square = 16.96005

p < .15

Tau b = -0.10727

Tau c = -0.09991

Gamma = -0.15240

TABLE 5.43

EXTENT OF SOCIALIZING AMONG FELLOW WORKERS ACCORDING TO EXPRESSED
SATISFACTION WITH JOB TASKS

	Number of Hours	Job Task Scale				Total
		High Task Rating			Low Task Rating	
Frequency of Sociali- zation with other workers	None	N= 18 23.7%	N= 74 35.7%	N= 90 42.9%	N= 18 56.3%	N=200 38.1%
	Less than 5	N= 41 53.9%	N= 89 43.0%	N= 79 37.6%	N= 12 37.5%	N=221 42.1%
	5-10	N= 13 17.1%	N= 38 18.4%	N= 31 14.8%	N= 1 3.1%	N= 83 15.8%
	11-20	N= 3 3.9%	N= 5 2.4%	N= 6 2.9%	N= 6 3.1%	N= 1 2.9%
	More than 20	N= 1 1.3%	N= 1 0.5%	N= 4 1.9%	N= 4 0.0%	N= 0 1.1%
	Total	N= 76 99.0%	N=207 100.0%	N=210 100.1%	N= 32 100.0%	N=525 100.0%

$p < .084$

tau b = -0.12063
tau c = -0.16548
Gamma = -0.18360

TABLE 5.44

EXTENT OF SOCIALIZING AMONG FELLOW WORKERS ACCORDING
TO ENJOYMENT AT WORK

	Number of Hours	Expressed Enjoyment At Work $\longrightarrow$ Away from Work		Total
fre- quency of social- ization with other workers	None	N= 42 37.5%	N=128 42.2%	N=170 41.0%
	Fewer than 5	N= 47 42.0%	N=121 39.9%	N=168 40.5%
	5-10	N= 19 17.0%	N= 39 12.9%	N= 58 14.0%
	11-20	N= 1 0.9%	N= 12 1.0%	N= 13 3.1%
	More than 20	N= 3 2.7%	N= 3 1.0%	N= 6 1.4%
	Total	N=112 100.1%	N=303 100.0%	N=415 100.0%

Chi Square = 5.8165 p .235
 tau b = -0.04043
 tau c = -0.04085
 Gamma = -0.07755

involved worker is also less likely to socialize with co-workers. Thus, those workers who might have a shared grievance are the most likely to avoid contact with one another outside the workplace. Although escaping from or avoiding an unrewarding experience is not unexpected, the political implications of the data are quite significant. If grievances are to become public or politically important, there must be a conscious recognition that a problem, rather than being a unique one, is really a collective one. The likelihood of this consciousness developing among alienated workers appears to be undermined by their antipathy towards work-related contacts in non-work hours. A vivid but contrary example of this process is offered by the almost total integration of a miner's work and leisure life. As in this case, extensive off-hours contact among workers appears to be a necessary if not sufficient condition for the development of an occupational solidarity or community. Evidently, this condition is not found among these municipal workers, especially among those who might have common sources of discontent, such as alienation from work.

Reflected in the data is a pattern of separating work from leisure time that was initially apparent in the municipal employees' devaluation of work. By defining their rewarding experiences in terms of non-work activities, municipal employees shift their focus to the more private family sphere and leisure-activities. Many factors have contributed to this privatization (residential mobility, higher standard of living,

a culture that devalues work as an intrinsically rewarding activity), but the data still indicate that work dissatisfaction contributes significantly to this separation.

The open-ended responses underscore the disjunction between work and leisure. Explaining why workers rarely see each other outside the workplace, a supervising clerk maintained, "Because I feel that this is a job for them. They're here on the job. When they leave the job, they leave everything and their outside activities are completely...refrained from whatever goes on on the job, and I think they're here mainly for the money and because they need the job."

A keypunch operator offered this reason for not socializing with fellow-workers, "I just think of them as co-workers, not as people I'd go out with and party or whatever."

A dietary aide reasoned, "there's other things in life besides work. You gotta go out and enjoy yourself, away from work--on the golf course, going out, playing, riding, running...I play baseball, basketball--Most of the people I play with don't work here....Besides working, there's other things out there. You gotta enjoy yourself. Work is secondary. It's something you have to do anyway. It's not an important part of my life. I'm not overjoyed. You have to survive."

Responding to a question as to whether blue-collar municipal employees form a special working group, a laborer explained, "No, we know what our jobs are. We're laborers.

That's it, we understood more or less what we were before we took the job."

Finally, a fiscal office assistant, who is also a shop steward in the union, remarked, "I don't particularly care for the plastic people at work...I don't associate with people at work socially."

Significantly, none of the 15 workers interviewed in-depth had friendships with more than two of their fellow workers and these friendships never constitute more than 25% of the total number of close friends they have.

Corroborating evidence that an occupational community does not exist among municipal workers is demonstrated by the minimal time members spend on union activities. Table 5.45 represents the frequency distribution of a response to time spent on union affairs. An overwhelming 92.7% spend fewer than 5 hours per week (many indicate none) on union related activities. This pattern is also visible by tables 5.46 and 5.47 showing the extent to which union members participate in their local union and approach union officials with their particular grievances. These findings support the conclusions of the 1973 BASR study of the union.²² Interestingly, the BASR study found that hospital workers, who most enjoyed union activities and membership, constituted the division most supportive of DC 37 positions²³ within the union.

Once again, the implications of these findings are clear. As work and union membership decline in their importance to the individual worker (reflected in their attitudes

TABLE 5.45

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF TIME SPENT ON UNION AFFAIRS
(PER WEEK)

Hours per Week	N	%
Fewer than 5	N=382	92.7%
6-10	N= 19	4.6%
11 or more	N= 11	2.7%
Total	N=412	100.0%

toward work, the limited participation in union affairs, and the strong relationship between these two factors), the union will be unable to strongly mobilize workers on issues that do not directly affect their direct self-interests. Although stating that unions, to be effective, can only be economically oriented in the United States is not a new argument, the underlying explanation here is somewhat different from the generally accepted ones. Perlman²⁴ and others have long maintained that workers are essentially economically motivated (pecuniary interests) and that appeals on other grounds are likely to fall on deaf ears. Instead of rejecting that explanation, it is suggested that such reasoning neglects a necessary condition for mobilizing workers on broad issues. Work must be the central source of social interaction to engender the development of occupational consciousness. This condition is absent among municipal employees and hence promotes an individualized orientation towards work and work-related issues.

TABLE 5.46

FREQUENCY WITH WHICH UNION MEMBERS APPROACH
OFFICIALS WITH GRIEVANCES

	N	%
Very often	N= 37	7.1%
Fairly often	N=100	18.9%
Not very often	N=234	44.3%
Not at all	N=157	29.7%
Total	N=528	100.0%

TABLE 5.47

EXTENT OF PARTICIPATION IN UNION LOCAL

	N	%
A great deal	N= 41	7.9%
Fair amount	N=157	30.1%
Very little	N=207	39.7%
Not at all	N=116	22.3%
Total	N=521	100.0%

TABLE 5.48

FREQUENCY OF DISCUSSING UNION AFFAIRS ACCORDING TO JOB SATISFACTION SCORE

	Factor Scores				Total
	More Satisfied			Less Satisfied	
Very often	N= 24 30.4%	N= 13 16.5%	N= 12 15.2%	N= 13 16.3%	N= 62 19.6%
Fairly often	N= 27 34.2%	N= 37 46.8%	N= 34 43.0%	N= 30 37.5%	N=128 40.4%
Not very often	N= 24 30.4%	N= 26 32.9%	N= 32 40.5%	N= 34 42.5%	N=116 36.6%
Not at all	N= 4 5.1%	N= 3 3.8%	N= 1 1.3%	N= 3 3.8%	N= 11 3.5%
Total	N= 79 100.1%	N= 79 100.0%	N= 79 100.0%	N= 80 100.1%	N=317 100.1%

Chi Square = 12.15396

p < .21

tau b = 0.09451

tau c = 0.08890

Gamma = 0.13336

TABLE 5.49

DISCUSSING UNION AFFAIRS ACCORDING TO ENJOYING WORKING WITH OTHERS

	How often do you find that working with other people is the most enjoyable part of your job?					
		Very Often	Fairly Often	Not Very Often	Not at all	Total
At work, how often do you speak about the union and union affairs with your co-workers?	Very often	N= 69 30.8%	N= 35 16.8%	N= 10 13.5%	N= 4 15.4%	N=118 22.2%
	Fairly often	N= 87 38.8%	N= 90 43.3%	N= 22 29.7%	N= 8 30.8%	N=202 38.9%
	Not very often	N= 61 27.2%	N= 79 38.0%	N= 37 50.0%	N= 12 46.2%	N=189 35.5%
	Not at all	N= 7 3.1%	N= 4 1.9%	N= 5 6.8%	N= 2 7.7%	N= 18 3.4%
	Total	N=224 99.9%	N=208 100.0%	N= 74 100.0%	N= 26 100.1%	N=532 100.0%

Chi Square = 31.45738 p < .001

tau b = 0.18662

tau c = 0.16422

Gamma = 0.27998

TABLE 5.50

DISCUSSING POLITICS ACCORDING TO ENJOYING WORKING WITH OTHERS

	How often do you find that working with other people is the most enjoyable part of your job?					
		Very Often	Fairly Often	Not Very Often	Not at all	Total
At work, how often do you speak about politics with your co- workers?	Very often	N= 29 12.9%	N= 14 6.7%	N= 6 8.1%	N= 2 8.0%	N= 51 9.6%
	Fairly often	N= 94 41.8%	N= 78 37.3%	N= 20 27.0%	N= 7 28.0%	N=199 37.3%
	Not very often	N= 79 35.1%	N=101 48.3%	N= 33 44.6%	N= 11 44.0%	N=224 42.0%
	Not at all	N= 23 10.2%	N= 16 7.7%	N= 15 20.3%	N= 5 20.0%	N= 59 11.1%
	Total	N=225 100.0%	N=209 100.0%	N= 74 100.0%	N= 25 100.0%	N=533 100.0%

Chi Square = 22.97942 $p < .006$
 tau b = 0.13600
 tau c = 0.11869
 Gamma = 0.20567

TABLE 5.51

DISCUSSING UNION AFFAIRS ACCORDING TO
CENTRAL LIFE INTEREST

		Enjoy Self		Total
		At Work	Away from Work	
Frequency of talking to co-workers about union and union affairs	Very often	N= 41 35.0%	N= 64 20.0%	N=105 24.0%
	Fairly often	N= 44 37.6%	N=124 38.8%	N=168 38.4%
	Not very often	N= 28 23.9%	N=117 36.6%	N=145 33.2%
	Not at all	N= 4 3.4%	N= 15 4.7%	N= 19 4.3%
	Total	N=117 99.9%	N=320 100.1%	N=437 99.9%

Chi Square = 12.53434
 tau b = 0.15030
 tau c = 0.15550
 Gamma = 0.28528

$p < .0058$

Although there is no direct evidence that workers whose central-life interest is work are more likely to share an ideology, the data reveals that they are more likely to discuss union and political affairs with each other. Tables 5.48 to 5.51 indicate that those workers who enjoy or are satisfied with their work or who find that working with other people is the most satisfying aspect of their job, are also more likely to discuss union affairs and, to a lesser degree, politics with their co-workers. Thus, it is the satisfied or work-oriented municipal employee who engages in mutual discourse with fellow workers. This finding suggests that they are also more likely to have a greater influence on the thoughts of fellow-workers. By exchanging experiences, observations or grievances, it is more likely that they will recognize their common bonds and that they will develop similar orientations.

A further implication from the data is that work no longer serves as an organizing activity around which all other activities devolve. Instead, in Lockwood's view,

...the privatised worker finds himself in a work situation that is socially isolating and, to a large extent, socially meaningless; a situation in which the dominant relationship is the cash-nexus. But, although he is 'alienated' labor, he is unlikely to possess a strongly developed class consciousness because his involvement in work is too low to allow for strong feelings of any kind, except perhaps for the desire to escape from it altogether. He is neither deeply involved with his work-mates nor deeply antagonistic to his employer; on the whole his attitude to both more nearly approximates one of indifference.²⁶

Although findings from this study do not firmly support such a view, the evidence is weighed heavily in that direction. Simply stated, workers who value work for its instrumental worth are much more likely to refrain from union participation and are less likely to socialize with or have friends from the world of work. In turn, the absence of social interaction outside the workplace inhibits the development of any kind of occupational solidarity.

Summary

Analysis of the data clearly provides significant information about the effects of worklife on political attitudes and behavior. The thrust of the findings points toward rejecting the work sphere as a major factor in the formation of certain political attitudes. Contrary to what was at first expected, the data show that among municipal workers there is little, if any, relationship between the extent of work alienation and political attitudes of alienation, anomie, fatalism, trust, and authoritarianism. It can further be concluded that the level of the worker's political involvement is not related to the extent of work satisfaction.

Although it was earlier argued that work alienation appears to have a negative or harmful impact on the formation of political attitudes, particularly in a democratic society, by discouraging participation and promoting feelings of personal inefficacy in the political realm, there is little

evidence to support this claim. Instead, the findings reinforce those of Lane, Lipset and Goldthorpe who argued that work attitudes constitute a separate and distinct dimension from attitudes related to alienation from the political system. This study attempts to explain these results without necessarily rejecting the work/political attitudes relationship entirely. Unlike Lane, for example, there is no rejection of the assertion that work has serious and long-lasting effects on an individual's self-esteem and self-concept. Although individuals probably have the ability to find something rewarding in even the most alienating work situation, this does not mean that one can escape all of its negative consequences. At the same time, a scheme has been presented that explains why work should not have such an overwhelming effect on an individual's political attitudes. It still is necessary to specify the conditions under which work will affect attitudes and behavior in the political sphere in order to explain the contradictory findings of Lipsitz, Sobin and Sheppard and Herrick. (Some possible explanations were suggested above.) Thus the findings about the relationship between worklife and political attitudes among municipal workers leave enough unanswered questions towards which future research can be directed.

The results of the role of worklife as a central-life activity and as a source of social interaction and political values also have important political implications. Clearly, the declining significance of and corresponding "instrumental

orientation" towards work which a majority of municipal employees exhibit, is not necessarily surprising in itself. American culture is rife with examples of devaluing the work experience and the decline of the Protestant Ethic. This was reflected in ex-President Richard Nixon's expressed concern in a Labor Day Speech²⁷ on the decline of the work ethic and business leaders' fretting about work alienation's effect on productivity. The emphasis here, however, is on the political significance of work devaluation. The data reveal, it is contended, a form of work alienation that is often neglected in studies related to productivity. Instead of concentrating only on job-task ratings or job attributes, it is maintained that an "instrumental orientation" towards work is a dimension of work alienation. The possibility exists that a worker can express satisfaction with his tasks or job and, at the same time, perceive work as an activity whose major value lies in its monetary reward. Viewing work in this manner may not directly affect productivity but it certainly reduces the workplace's importance as a vehicle for social change.

The municipal employees, represented by the sample from which the data was elicited for this study, appear to have their central-life interests in activities originating outside of and distinct from their work experience. The separation between work and leisure in turn creates a distance between fellow-workers that inhibits the formation of primary groups among them. As a result, it is unlikely that worklife

serves as a reference point from which individuals develop beliefs. Regrettably, the data are only suggestive in this area and further research here too is clearly warranted.

Let us now summarize the findings in this chapter:

Among municipal workers:

- (1) There is little correlation between work alienation and a cluster of attitudes related to the political world.
 - (1a) Specifically, there is virtually no correlation between work alienation and feelings of political inefficacy.
 - (1b) There is virtually no correlation between work alienation and feelings of trust in other individuals.
 - (1c) There is virtually no correlation between work alienation and feelings of fatalism.
 - (1d) There is virtually no correlation between work alienation and political authoritarianism.
 - (1e) There is virtually no correlation between work alienation and levels of political participation.
 - (1f) There is a weak but positive correlation between work alienation and alienation from the union.
- (2) There is a positive correlation between work alienation (the devaluation of work) and emphasis on leisure-time.
 - (2a) There is a positive correlation between workers who devalue the work experience and avoidance of fellow workers away from work.
 - (2b) There is a positive correlation between work alienation and the lack of political communication among fellow workers.

Having reached these conclusions, we must more explicitly reevaluate this study's hypotheses on the relationship between worklife and political life.

Footnotes

¹David Schwartz, Political Alienation and Political Behavior (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1973), p. 6.

²Melvin Seeman, "On the Personal Consequences of Alienation in Work," American Sociological Review 32 No. 2 (April 1967):273-285.

³Arthur Kornhauser, The Mental Health of Industrial Workers: A Detroit Study (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1965); Report of a Special Task Force to the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, Work in America (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1973)

⁴The ability of DC 37's leadership to mobilize its workers should not, however, be underestimated. DC 37 is considered a potent force in New York City and State politics precisely because it can generate enthusiasm for union supported candidates and issues among its members.

⁵The BASR study, for example, found that blue-collar members and professionals went their separate ways on non-economic issues.

⁶Despite these "alienated" responses, we should again emphasize that our data reveal that 85.9% of the respondents vote in general elections fairly often or even more frequently (71.9% answered "very often"). The BASR study also underscored that union's ability to mobilize its members on various political issues. Hence, union members appear to be responsive to its leadership, in spite of their very cynical view of the political world. It is also clear that the level of political alienation among the general population has increased substantially in the 1970s.

⁷For a complete listing of the Pearson-Product-Moment correlation, see Appendix C.

⁸Seeman, "On the Personal Consequences of Alienation," p. 277.

⁹Harold L. Sheppard and Neal Q. Herrick, Where Have All the Robots Gone?; Worker Dissatisfaction in the '70s (New York: The Free Press, 1972), pp. 32-3.

¹⁰Seeman, "On the Personal Consequences of Alienation," pp. 284-285.

¹¹Ibid., p. 285.

¹²Abraham Maslow, "A Theory of Human Motivation: The Goals of Work," in The Future of Work, ed. by Fred Best (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1973), p. 29.

¹³This diagram was suggested in a conversation with Stanley Renshon and is a simplified version of his diagram in Psychological Needs, p. 73.

¹⁴Renshon, Psychological Needs.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 119.

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷Robert Gilmour and Robert Lamb, Political Alienation in Contemporary America (New York: St. Martins Press, 1975), pp. 37-40.

¹⁸Richard Sennett, "The Boss's New Clothes," The New York Review of Books, vol. XXVI, No. 2 (February 22, 1979), p. 42.

¹⁹Theodore Caplow, The Sociology of Work (New York, Toronto and London: McGraw-Hill, 1954), p. 130.

²⁰David Lockwood, "Sources of Variation in Working Class Images of Society," The Sociological Review, Vol. 14, No. 3 (November 1966):251.

²¹Seymour Martin Lipset, Martin Trow and James Coleman, Union Democracy (Garden City: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1962), Chapter 6. Although the quantity of time is used as a measure of occupational community, this measure can sometimes underestimate the qualitative aspect of membership interaction. Workers can meet quite infrequently; yet the emotional content of union meetings can be so great that its impact is often understated by the participants themselves.

²²Bogdan Denitch, "DC 37 Study" (Columbia University, BASR, 1973).

²³Ibid., p. 9.

²⁴Selig Perlman, The Theory of the Labor Movement (New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1968).

²⁵The entire Wisconsin school of labor history is based on this assumption.

²⁶Lockwood, "Source of Variation," p. 257.

²⁷Work in America, Foreword, pp. vii-viii.

CHAPTER 6

WORKLIFE AND POLITICAL LIFE: FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

This study has attempted to clarify the relationship between worklife and political life. We have focused on both individual attitudes towards work and politics as well as the social context of worklife and its impact on the formation of occupational communities. The close relationship between work and politics has been clearly asserted by many theorists and empirical researchers, especially during the last two centuries. Unlike many others, however, this study has concentrated on the quality of worklife, rather than zeroing in on the distribution of rewards, the class structure of worklife, or the activities of unions. Looking at the political, psychological and sociological ramifications of work alienation should have contributed to a better understanding of worklife and the development of political attitudes.

Our findings do, indeed, provide valuable information about the tenuous connection between work and political alienation as well as suggesting the importance of work alienation in understanding the shaping of group beliefs. This study also should stimulate more, and better refined, research in the areas of work and politics.

Summary of Findings

The results of this study have significant implications about the relationship between political life and worklife. Work, because of its time consuming nature, has been presumed to have an inordinate and substantial impact on an individual's sense of personal efficacy and to play an important role in the formation of shared values among fellow workers. As in the previous discussion and analysis, it has been postulated that an individual's work was intimately related to one's self-esteem and sense of mastery over the environment. It has been further maintained that work attitudes would have a specific impact on one's political attitudes--i.e., feelings of inefficiency would spillover into feelings of being powerless in the political sphere as well as to other attitudes related to political alienation. Little support, however, for this particular relationship between work attitudes and political attitudes has been established in the analysis of the data for this study. The findings, in fact, have suggested that political attitudes are not significantly affected by the depth and extent of one's sense of work alienation.

A second focus of this study has been the role of worklife in the development of shared beliefs or perspectives among fellow workers. The hypothesis was adopted that the centrality of work in an individual's life could create strong

primary group relationships among fellow workers. In turn, these groups would serve to reinforce mutually shared beliefs among the individual workers and to promote a strong sense of occupational solidarity or community. Smith had concluded with respect to this contention that:

People are social and cultural beings who seek to act out the norms and values of their particular sub-cultures....The mind is a synthesizing as well as a differentiating organism. It gives order and meaning to the diverse contents of the external world, as well as making distinctions. The particular order and meaning attributed to the external world by the individual receive confirmation or rejection as a result of social interaction with other members of the primary and secondary groups to which the individual belongs.¹

At the same time, however, it was argued that the growing sense of alienation at the workplace as well as the resulting disjunction between work and other spheres of life might diminish the significance of the workgroup as a source of beliefs. Ironically, while work itself, it was argued, retained a predominant influence on an individual's sense of self, lack of fulfillment at the workplace reduced its perceived importance by workers themselves. Indeed, the evidence indicated that most of the municipal workers viewed work as a necessary but unenjoyable activity the sole value of which lay in the monetary rewards of the job. This separation and devaluation of work clearly weakened the influence of worklife as a source of beliefs and limited the extent of involvement among fellow workers during leisure-time.

To summarize briefly, the following findings were made

regarding the hypotheses under examination in this study:

- (1) The data indicated that a significant number of municipal employees express alienation from work. The findings were constant despite controlling for occupational classification and educational level.
- (1a) Between 20-30% of the respondents found that their jobs were unchallenging and unable to bring out the best of their abilities.
- (1b) An even larger proportion of government employees (between 27.6% and 47.9%) experienced little freedom on the job and frequently performed tasks that were repetitive and boring.
- (1c) A substantial majority of New York City municipal workers (75%) had an instrumental orientation towards work and most of those respondents viewed work as a means to an end rather than as an end in itself.
- (2) There was virtually no correlation between work alienation and a cluster of attitudes related to the political world.
- (2a) There was virtually no correlation between work alienation and feelings of political inefficacy.
- (2b) There was virtually no correlation between work alienation and feelings of trust in others.
- (2c) There was virtually no correlation between work alienation and feelings of fatalism.
- (2d) There was virtually no correlation between work alienation and attitudes reflecting authoritarianism.
- (2e) There was virtually no correlation between work alienation and levels of political and community participation.
- (2f) There was a weak but positive correlation between work alienation and alienation from the union.
- (3) There was a positive correlation between work alienation (devaluing work) and emphasis on leisure time.

- (3a) There was a positive correlation between workers devaluing the work experience and their avoidance of fellow-workers away from work.
- (3b) There was a positive correlation between work alienation and the lack of political communication among fellow-workers.

Thus, this study's findings dramatically raise questions about the relative importance of worklife in the political sphere and suggest, as will be more fully explained below, the need for further research in this area and reconsideration on theories on the relationship between worklife and political life.

Suggestions for Future Research on Worklife

The limitations of this or any other case study raise doubts about the applicability of its conclusions for the entire American population. The findings about worklife and its relationship to political life are clearly drawn within the framework of a case study, and many of the findings are suggestive rather than conclusive. Yet, implications and recommendations from this study of municipal workers can be made about both methodological approaches to the study of work as well as fruitful areas of research for political scientists. Along with encouraging different methods for studying work, the results of this study underscore the need for further research in the area of work and adult socialization and the relative political and social significance of work and leisure-time activities.

Along with studies of automobile and industrial workers, there are particular settings and unique historical circumstances which affect the outcome of this questionnaire and the in-depth interviews. Some of these factors enhance the applicability of these findings while others detract from drawing broader conclusions. On balance, there are cogent reasons for arguing that these findings can be applied to a much larger population.

The research was undertaken within a controlled framework: membership in District Council 37 of AFSCM . Workers in this union function in an unusually complex urban environment, and they are members of a highly politicized and active union. (DC 37's impact on its members' attitudes, on specific issues, although interesting, was not the major focus of the study.) In contrast to miners or, to a lesser extent, automobile workers, these municipal employees do not reside in a small, self-contained community nor do they work in an "isolated" environment. These factors alone would hinder the development of an occupational community. Nevertheless, this urban environment better reflects the work context of more American workers than the "restrictive" environment of coal miners or "company-town" employees. Clerical and service workers comprise a large segment of the American work force. DC 37 workers also have lived through an unprecedented municipal fiscal crisis that affected them both as citizens as well as employees. Though unique, this situation theoretically should

have strengthened the potential work-alienation political attitudes relationship. When an employee's "boss" also happens to be the government, the link between politics and work should be inescapably clear. Thus, the findings of little, if any, relationship between work and political attitudes is even more significant. If under the most fortuitous conditions work alienation is not correlated with political alienation, then there is a strong case for rejecting the hypothetical relationships between work alienation and political attitudes entirely.

The analysis of work attitudes, although at times offering contradictory findings, reveals substantial levels of work alienation. This finding alone, as Seeman emphasized,² constitutes an indictment of modern society even though work alienation is not correlated with a worker's political orientation and behavior. A former President of the United States and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare would not have authorized an extensive study of work unless they considered it to be a major contemporary problem. Significantly, the level of work alienation is directly related to both the method and analysis applied in this study. When direct, "ego-threatening" questions were asked, work satisfaction was widespread. Not surprisingly, the use of indirect measures of work attitudes and open-ended questions generated a substantial increase in the number and depth of negative responses about work. A review of the literature (Chapter 2) indicated that

discrepancies in the level of work alienation might be found, and the data presented by this research supported such a contention.

These contradictory findings obviously and significantly present a challenge to empirically-oriented researchers. Since different methods and questions evoked vastly different responses, it is important to clarify perspectives and ensure the reliability of questions and methodology. This challenge is especially relevant to political scientists whose concern with work varies from that of industrial sociologists and psychologists³ and who have played a minimal role in the development of work-satisfaction surveys. Whereas those involved with industry essentially focus their attention upon improving productivity or worker morale,⁴ or try to discover changes in industrial techniques or broad occupational shifts,⁵ the thrusts of political and social critiques are directed at the individual or societal concept of work and its implications for political attitude formation and social values.

These distinctions must be clarified and understood for political scientists to develop their own methodology and technique for studying worklife. For example, an analysis of job-tasks and the interplay among workers is particularly significant to industrial psychologists who intend to diversify a worker's job or increase social interaction at the plant or at the office. Although these attempts are laudable and necessarily related to the political scientist's study of work

and adult socialization (job-task analysis is a valid gauge of an individual's self-concept at work), they are not thorough measures of the extent of work alienation. There is a clear need to incorporate questions that elicit responses on the meaning of work and its role as a central-life activity. Only then can we even begin to give an adequate portrayal of work and workers in American society. Robert Dubin, many of his students and John Goldthorpe have begun this attempt although recent studies along this line only illustrate the failure to grasp thoroughly the import of political and social critiques.

When work loses its focal point as a source of personal fulfillment, when it ceases to be valued for itself, either by individuals or by society, a prima facie case for extensive work alienation can be made. Although this study has shown a direct relationship between intrinsic job satisfaction (i.e. subjective evaluation of work tasks) and viewing work as a central life interest, these two attitude configurations can exist independently of each other. Thus, the cultural degradation of work, reflected in expressions that work should not be a pleasurable or rewarding experience or that it should be viewed simply as a means of making a living, contradict the frequently cited survey evidence that work satisfaction is extremely high. Once work is devalued (the loss of Veblen's instinct of workmanship or the idealized concept of the craftsman) or expectations of fulfillment at the job are lowered

or nonexistent, statements of contentment on the job become meaningless. As an example, how does one evaluate a response to "Are you satisfied at work?" such as "Yes, I like my job. After all, it's a living and I've got to make money for my family." Statistically, the answer is considered to be affirmative but the explanation for satisfaction casts doubt about the respondent's true feelings about the nature of his work.

Indeed, it is difficult to reconcile high levels of expressed job satisfaction with the high rates of absenteeism and drug use on the job (see Chapter 2). Since satisfaction is a relative concept, lowered expectations of rewarding work experiences increase the likelihood of positive responses. Almost twenty years ago, Harvey Swados tried to explode the "myth of the happy worker," but his argument has been continually refuted by the survey results showing high rates of work satisfaction. A reappraisal of his contention, in light of this study's findings and the methodological questions they raise, seems in order. In fact, the view of work as an unenjoyable activity permeates aspects of our culture. Equating Monday, the beginning of the work week, with rainy or depressing days, symbolizes the negative view of work just as the expression, "Thank God it's Friday," reflects the emotional release found at the end of the workweek. In both instances, work is perceived as an "activity devoid of enjoyment while weekends are seen as pleasurable and as means of escape from

the drudgery of work life. This contract is reflected best by the commercial that recommends, "On the weekend, let your other half live." Similar to Bell's belief⁶ that workers' reveries enable them to get through the working day, leisure time is valued as an escape mechanism for unfulfilled needs.

Of equal importance is the apparent acceptance of work as merely instrumental in value.⁷ It is evident from the present and other studies that there have been relatively few attempts at studying this aspect of worklife. Perhaps the problem with such an approach to work is its normative view of worklife and empirical research shies away from such undertakings. Researchers can still discover what is and yet maintain that this is not what ought to be. Until such studies are made, researchers will have an incomplete and insufficient understanding of the meaning of work and the extent of work alienation. The present research represents only an initial attempt at analyzing and evaluating this dimension of worklife.

Beyond extending and clarifying the concept of work alienation, and, in turn, expanding the direction of any future research, the results of this study raise other methodological concerns. The dilemma between choosing either quantitative or qualitative research still persists. Perhaps, as Braverman suggested,⁸ the survey technique is too limited to analyze such a complex activity as work. It is evident that the in-depth interviews provided information that was more subtle and revealing than the responses to the questionnaire. Although

studies such as Chinoy's are narrow in scope, they may be more productive in generating significant findings about work. For example, Chinoy could describe ways in which workers sustained themselves through social interaction despite "stifling work." This kind of information, at best, can only be inferred from survey data. In the final analysis, any study of work should include both methods, including participant observation, in order to obtain a thorough understanding.

The need for longitudinal studies of worklife is also suggested by a review of the literature and this study's findings. Although this approach is costly and extremely time-consuming, only research spanning several years can best discover the impact of worklife. Over the course of time, one is able to observe ways of adapting to unfulfilling work or the manner in which work affects attitudes and life styles. As a result, the researcher can be more confident that changes in orientation or behavior are the product of worklife.

Finally, many more studies of other occupational categories in both the United States and other countries are necessary. In this manner, comparable and comparative data will be accumulated and a more comprehensive understanding of work will be gained. Other studies may sustain the present findings or may illustrate the limitations and reservations of the research conducted for this study. Comparative analysis should provide valuable information about the diverse meanings and interpretations attributed to work. In the first chapter,

it was emphasized that work has had various meanings throughout history. Most, if not all, of those perspectives represented a moral judgment about the significance and value of work. Comparative studies should establish whether viewing work as a predominantly "instrumental" activity is peculiar to the United States or is maintained by most workers throughout the world.⁹ (Such a finding would not undermine criticisms of viewing work as "instrumental." It would, however, emphasize the practical difficulties of criticizing such a perspective.) Ultimately, comparative studies must be developed and undertaken to understand the effects of industrialization, technology and cultural or religious beliefs.

The Relationship Between Work Alienation and Political Life

Unlike the critiques of work, the theories about the relationship between work and political attitudes and behavior were not borne out in this study. Although high levels of work alienation (defined by perceiving work as instrumental) were discovered, it did not spillover into attitudes reflecting political alienation or "passive" political behavior. During the course of analysis, the hypotheses of Fromm, Mills, Lipsitz and others went unsupported. Various theories were offered to explain the failure to find worklife/political life relationships. We found that linking work alienation with political alienation is highly suspect. Yet, it is still clear that Fromm and Mills touch upon a serious problem in American

society--the degradation of work. There is still convincing evidence, furthermore, that worklife does have a deep and longlasting effect upon an individual's self-esteem.¹⁰ Lip-sitz emphasized this connection, "One of the most important, if unproven, implications of this study is that the work men do can have important consequences for their ego strength. Here the concerns of Fromm and Mill are significant."¹¹ Although the effects of work on one's self-concept are generally acceptable, it is the contentions about work's effect on political attitudes that remain unsupported.

The weakness in the hypotheses about the worklife/ political life relationship (as well as our preliminary support of these theories through the use of Maslow) stems from underestimating the complexity of adult socialization and from a concomitant lack of research in that area. Having established that socialization is a developmental process spanning many years, it is unlikely that work alone would have such a dominant and complete influence on political attitudes. This argument holds true despite worklife's time-consuming nature. The contention here has been that the impact of work must be understood within the context of the entire socialization process, including the influence of family, schools and peer groups and continuing in adult life. As Renshon¹² and Schwartz¹³ have cogently argued, attitude formation is a complex process and work is but one of many of the factors involved.

The relative impact of work is further complicated by

an individual's expectations and the importance he attaches to his worklife. Where work is a politically salient issue, it is likely to have an inordinate influence on a person's perspectives and beliefs. Where it is devalued or dismissed as a relatively unimportant though time consuming aspect of one's life, its impact is diminished. Work must then be viewed as but one factor along a time-line of experiences. Although it can directly and significantly affect self-esteem, there is no necessary connection between work and political attitudes. This reappraisal of the hypotheses about the work alienation/ political attitude relationship illustrates the difficulty of asserting one-to-one relationships between worklife and political life. The data have shown that individuals do try to compensate for an unrewarding worklife (their focus on leisure and family) but there is no evidence in this study that passive worklife leads to an active leisure life or vice-versa. Many of the specific effects of work alienation depend upon the individual worker involved. His reaction to alienating work may be to compensate for it during leisure time--but this "compensation search" appears to be idiosyncratic. (Placing the effects of work within the context of a lengthy socialization process would also stress the need for longitudinal study of these hypotheses.)

Beyond indicating the need for rethinking the hypotheses about work's effect on political attitudes, the findings renew the need for reevaluating the significance of worklife

in America. In a recent exchange with Richard Hamilton in Dissent,¹⁴ Paul Blumberg argued that the sustained underemployment of university graduates might have politically explosive results. He stated, "We suggested that this crisis of underemployment might manifest itself in a variety of political or nonpolitical ways. Graduates might come to blame the universities, the corporations, the government or even themselves. They might redefine their goals, turning away from career toward family or other personal, extra-vocational fulfillment. Politically, they might turn left or right or, perhaps even more likely, we said, end up in a kind of privatized despair that has much psychological but little social and political effect. And we cautioned, 'Never underestimate the capacity of Americans to individualize even the most collective misfortunes and social evils.'" ¹⁵ Blumberg proceeded to support the possible work alienation-political radicalism connection by citing studies taken of university students during the May 1968 Paris revolt.¹⁶ Yet, his argument illustrates what is still lacking in our understanding of the impact of worklife. A careful reading of Blumberg's argument reveals that work alienation can explain almost any kind of political orientation or behavior. One can become radicalized or more reactionary, active or passive, involved or withdrawn as a result of work alienation. These are the exact same possibilities offered 20 years ago! Unless the relationship between work and politics becomes more clear theoretically, social scientists

will be unable to explain cogently the impact of work on political attitudes and behavior.

Further clarification of work's effect can emerge from combining the individual's perceived work satisfaction with the social context of work. In the previous chapter, it was asserted that work alienation was probably a necessary but insufficient condition for the formation of a political movement. Until, or unless, a sense of community is developed at the workplace (whether it is called an "occupational community" or a class), values, perspectives and grievances will not be shared. This "occupational community" arises only when people view the workplace as a source of friendships and when leisure activities are shared. Stanley Aranowitz recognized the significance of reinforcing leisure activities:

But there are better ways for workers to structure their leisure. The typical working-class barroom of the first half of the century was the place where fraternity that was denied to workers in the isolating environment of the shop could be asserted. Drinking itself provided a refuge from both the shop and the home. But it was more important as an occasion for entering social life. The tavern was the center of political discussion, gossip about the shop and the neighborhood, and some sports activities such as miniature bowling, pinballs and darts. The older working class groups did their drinking in the ethnic fraternal clubs or veterans' organizations. Later, the bowling alley and the union hall were added as places for workers to congregate.¹⁷

The centrality of worklife, individually as a source of personal gratification and socially as a source of friendships and beliefs, clearly emerges as a necessary condition for joint political action among workers. Data from the present

study indicated that work is neither valued for its personal rewards nor for its "social advantages." The limited social interactions among municipal employees, despite District Council 37's centrally located headquarters at 140 Park Place and the numerous educational and social services it offers, only underscored the absence of a necessary precondition for united political action. Significantly, alienated workers in this study were even less likely than others to socialize with other workers. Once again, it is incumbent upon social scientists to discover the conditions under which occupational communities develop or flourish. Comparable studies of miners or policemen (occupations that tend to isolate workers from others by location, uniform or sense of loyalty) with other kinds of workers should yield valuable information along these lines. By combining the social prerequisites for political action with individual reaction to the workplace, political scientists could state more confidently when or whether political activity is the likely result of worker alienation.

The concept of occupational community has remained a relatively untapped area of study for political scientists. Lipset's Union Democracy and Kornblum's Blue Collar Community stand out as the most significant attempts to use the concept and even their studies are limited in their analytical approach. Participant observation among various groups is necessary to establish the existence of these communities and also to observe whether the link between worklife and politics is

perceived by the workers. While underemployment may be especially important as a source of radicalism in France, it appears to have little impact among workers in the United States. Perhaps the most viable explanation for the conflicting effects is the perceived link between work and politics in France that is not visible here. Undoubtedly, future research would add considerable information about this aspect of worklife.

Collectively, such research should enhance our understanding of the political significance of worklife and the likelihood of work or occupational experiences affecting the political system. Years ago, Werner Sombart concluded that socialism did not develop in the United States primarily because of the heterogeneity of America's working class and today many still adhere to this explanation. In a more limited perspective, intensive analysis of the centrality of worklife in contemporary America would be helpful in explaining the present condition of America's working class. Socialist thinkers presume that work remains the focal point of an individual's life; even though this assumption frequently goes unstated. A study of the work-leisure relationship would provide information as to whether this assumption is still tenable. If it isn't, if people perceive work and leisure as two separate and distinct activities, and if they value the latter more than the former, the the implications for reappraising socialist thought are great. (The emergence of

a "worker-oriented" politics is much less likely.) This criticism of the "centrality of work" position is not new; only the failure of social scientists to investigate systematically the work-leisure nexus is glaring. Along these lines, this study is strongly suggestive; but much more research is needed in this area.

The findings of this study also suggest that leisure-time activities should no longer be the predominant concern of sociologists. Patterns of leisure not only need study in itself, but the communities that develop and the values that are shared require analysis. Although these findings did not establish any direct correlation between worklife and types of leisure activities, it is still likely that the interplay between the two is great. How do leisure pursuits fulfill the search for personal fulfillment and gratification lacking at the workplace? Do special bonds or communities formed from leisure activities replace "occupational communities"? What is the political significance of the concentration on leisure activities? Empirical research and theory building in these areas are highly desirable.

This Study's Findings and Future Research Endeavors, a Concluding Observation

In the final analysis, a case study results in conclusions that emanate from the uniqueness of the data generated, and it uncovers possibilities for future research that emerge from unanswered questions and the issues raised in

contrasting findings from other case studies. This study of municipal workers refutes most of the hypotheses about the relationship between work alienation and political attitudes and behavior. At the same time, the results reveal a high level of work alienation and the "devaluation" or degradation of work. The contradictory nature of the findings only underscores the complexity of worklife, its diverse meanings and difficulty in measuring these concepts. Although most of the initial hypotheses are rejected, no claim is made to dismiss or disregard the role of work or even of trade unions. A firm conclusion is that there is a need for social scientists to reevaluate carefully the political significance of worklife in light of the present findings. As a result of careful analysis and further research, long-held theories and preconceptions about work might have to be altered or even rejected. This study of municipal workers contributes to clarifying the political impact of worklife. There is still much more empirical research to be done in this area. Only then can we even begin to clarify the meaning of work apropos its political significance.

Footnotes

¹Michael P. Smith, The City and Social Theory (New York: St. Martins Press, 1979), p. 219.

²Melvin Seeman, "On the Personal Consequences of Alienation in Work," American Sociological Review, 32 No. 2 (April 1, 1967):273-285.

³Harry Braverman, in Labor and Monopoly Capital (New York and London: Monthly Review Press, 1974), clearly argues that most work satisfaction studies have accepted the basic ordering of the system, rather than seriously questioning underlying assumptions.

⁴For a synthesis of divergent approaches to work satisfaction, see Berg et al., Managers and Work Reform.

⁵Robert Blauner, Alienation and Freedom: The Factory Worker and His Industry (Chicago: The University Press, 1964).

⁶Daniel Bell, Work and Its Discontents (Boston: Beacon Press, 1956).

⁷Christopher Lasch, The Culture of Narcissism (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1978); Herbert Marcuse, One-Dimensional Man (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964); C. Wright Mills, White-Collar: The American Middle Classes (New York: Oxford University Press, 1951).

⁸Braverman, Labor and Monopoly Capital.

⁹David C. Thorns, "Work and Its Definition," Sociological Review, Vol. 19, No. 4 (November, 1971):543-555.

¹⁰Report of a Special Task Force to the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, Work in America (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1973); Arthur Kornhauser, Mental Health of the Industrial Worker: A Detroit Study (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1965).

¹¹Lewis Lipsitz, "Worklife and Political Attitudes: A Study of Manual Workers," American Political Science Review LVIII (December, 1964):961

¹²Stanley Renshon, Psychological Needs and Political Behavior (New York: The Free Press, 1974).

¹³David Schwartz, Political Alienation and Political Behavior (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., Inc., 1973).

¹⁴Paul Blumberg, "Social Research and Social Reality," Dissent (Fall, 1978):416-424.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, 417

¹⁶*Ibid.*

¹⁷Stanley Aronowitz, False Promises (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973), p. 411.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE USED IN STUDY AND GLOSSARY

1. Sex ☐ Male ☐ Female
2. Age ☐ 21-30 ☐ 31-40 ☐ 41-50 ☐ 51-65
3. Race ☐ Hispanic ☐ Black ☐ White ☐ Other
4. How much education do you have [EDUC]? ☐ Less than High School Graduate
☐ H.S. Graduate ☐ Some College Education ☐ College Graduate
☐ Vocational School ☐ Graduate School
5. Where do you live [RESIDENCE]? ☐ Bronx ☐ Brooklyn ☐ Queens ☐ Manhattan
☐ Staten Island ☐ Nassau or Suffolk ☐ Westchester or Rockland ☐ New Jersey
☐ Other
6. How long have you been working in your present job? [WORK TENURE]
☐ Less than one year ☐ 2-3 years ☐ 4-5 years ☐ 6-9 years ☐ 10-15 years
☐ 16-20 years ☐ More than 20 years
7. What is the title of your present job? [JOB TITLE] _____
8. Is the job you have now the best one you've ever had? [JOB BEST NOW]
☐ Yes ☐ Maybe ☐ NO
9. Do you think that the job you have now is the best one you'll ever have before you retire? [JOB BEST EVER] ☐ Yes ☐ Maybe ☐ No
10. To what extent are you satisfied with the wages you receive? [WAGE SAT]
☐ A great deal ☐ Somewhat ☐ Not very much ☐ Not at all
11. If you were completely free to go into any type of job you wanted, what would you choice be? (CHOOSE ONE) [JOB CHOICE]
☐ I would want the same type of job I have now
☐ I would want to retire and not work at all
☐ I would prefer some other job (in the public service) to the one I have now
☐ I would prefer some other job (not in the public service) to the one I have now
☐ I would prefer the same job, but not in the public service
☐ I really don't know what I'd do.
12. How often do you leave work with a good feeling that you have done something particularly well?
☐ Very often ☐ Fairly often ☐ Not very often ☐ Not at all

13. How well would you say your job measures up to the kind of job you wanted when you first took it? (CHOOSE ONE) [JOB MEASURE]

☐ It's very much like the one I wanted

☐ It's somewhat like the job I wanted

☐ It's not very much like the job I wanted

☐ It's not at all like the job I wanted.

14. Some jobs provide a great deal of opportunity to learn more about the work and enable people to increase their knowledge of the process and their skills; other jobs provide few such opportunities to learn more. How is it on your job? [JOB LEARN]

☐ There are very great opportunities to learn more

☐ There are fairly good opportunities to learn more

☐ There is little opportunity to learn

☐ There is almost no opportunity to learn more

- 14a. If there is LITTLE OR NO OPPORTUNITY, how frequently does it bother you? [LEARN BOTHER]

☐ nearly all the time ☐ very often ☐ sometimes ☐ rarely

15. How often does management put an emphasis on your doing quality work? [MANG QLTY]

☐ very often ☐ sometimes ☐ not very often ☐ not at all

16. How much importance do you place on doing a good day's work? [GOOD DAY WORK]

☐ a great deal ☐ a fair amount ☐ not very much ☐ none at all

17. Do you have a variety on your job (can you do different things, change methods, location, speed of working and so forth)? [JOB VARIETY] CHOOSE ONE

☐ I always do the same things on my job; there is no variety

☐ I mostly do the same things, but there is a little variety

☐ I have to do quite a number of different things on my job; there is a fair amount of variety.

☐ I have to do a lot of different things on my job; there is a great deal of variety.

- 17a. IF YOU HAVE A LITTLE OR NO VARIETY ON YOUR JOB, how often does it bother you? [VARIETY BOTHER]
 ___nearly all the time ___very often ___sometimes ___rarely or never.
18. Which statement best describes the kind of job you have? [JOB FREEDOM]
 ___I have no freedom to do my work as I want
 ___I have a little freedom to do my work as I want.
 ___I am fairly free to do my work as I want.
 ___I am completely free to do my work as I want.
- 18a. IF YOU HAVE LITTLE OR NO FREEDOM ON YOUR JOB, how often does it bother you? [FREEDOM BOTHER]
 ___nearly all the time ___very often ___sometimes ___rarely or never
19. On your job, which is most important to you? [JOB QUALITY]
 ___The quality and kind of work I do
 ___The wages that I receive
 ___Job Security
 ___The Friendships that I make
 ___I can't say which is most important; they are all important to me.
20. Which of the following statements fits your job? [JOB DIFFICULTY]
 ___Almost anyone could do my job
 ___A good many people could do my job
 ___Only a limited number of people could do my job
 ___Very few people could do my job
 ___Can't answer; hard to say.
21. In your immediate work group, how many people are there? [WORK GROUP]
 ___less than 5 ___6-10 ___11-15 ___16-20 ___over 20
22. How often do you find that working with other people is the most enjoyable part of your job? [GROUP ENJOY]
 ___very often ___fairly often ___not very often ___not at all
- 22a. I would rather take my vacation: [VACATION]
 ___with my family ___with friends from work
 ___with friends from the neighborhood ___by myself

23. At work, how often do you speak about the union and union affairs with your co-workers? [GROUP UNION]
☐ very often ☐ fairly often ☐ not very often ☐ not at all
24. At work, how often do you speak about politics with your co-workers? [GROUP POLITICS]
☐ very often ☐ fairly often ☐ not very often ☐ not at all
25. Choose the statement that best describes your feeling [JOB PRIDE]
☐ I have a great deal of pride in my work
☐ I have a fair amount of pride in my work
☐ I have little pride in my work
☐ I have no pride in my work.
26. How often would you say that the demands of your job bring out the best of your abilities? [JOB ABILITY]
☐ very often ☐ fairly often ☐ not very often ☐ not at all
27. How often can you get your job done while you are thinking of other things? [JOB THINK]
☐ very often ☐ fairly often ☐ not very often ☐ not at all
28. Which one of the following comes closest to describing how you feel about your present job? [JOB INTEREST]
☐ Interesting nearly all the time ☐ Interesting most of the time
☐ Interesting some of the time ☐ Rarely interesting
☐ Never interesting.
29. Where do you feel you enjoy yourself most? [ENJOY SELF]
☐ at work ☐ away from work Why did you answer this way?

MANY OF THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS ASK FOR YOU TO AGREE OR DISAGREE. "1" MEANS STRONGLY AGREEING AND "5" MEANS STRONGLY DISAGREEING. Please check the number which comes closest to how you feel about each statement.

	Agree	Disagree			
	1	2	3	4	5
30. I don't think that public officials care much about what people like me think. [OFFICIALS CARE]	1	2	3	4	5
31. The way people vote is the main thing that decides the way things are run in this country. [VOTE IMPORTANT]	1	2	3	4	5
32. Voting is the only way that people like me can have a say about how government runs things. [VOTE ONLY]	1	2	3	4	5
33. People like me don't have much say about how the government runs things. [SAY RUN]	1	2	3	4	5
33a. I think my life will be better in five years [LIFE BETTER]	1	2	3	4	5
34. Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what is going on. [COMPLICATED]	1	2	3	4	5

Over

35.	These days a person doesn't really know whom he can count on. [PERSON COUNT]	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
36.	In spite of what some people say, the lot of the average man is getting worse. [LOT WORSE]	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
37.	Men and nations will always fight wars with one another. [ALWAYS WAR]	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
38.	There will always be poverty in the world. [ALWAYS POVERTY]	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
39.	You can't plan ahead for long-range goals. [CANT PLAN]	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
40.	The government ought to help people get doctor and hospital care without regard to people's ability to pay. [GOV MEDIC]	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
41.	The most important thing to teach children is absolute obedience to their parents. [TEACH OBEDIENCE]	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
42.	Any good leader should be strict with people under him to gain their respect. [LEADER STRICT]	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
43.	A few strong leaders could do more for this country than all the laws and talk. [LEADER DO]	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
44.	I don't think that union officials care much about what union members like me think. [UNION CARE]	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
45.	Union members like me don't have much say about how the union runs things. [UNION SAY]	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
46.	Sometimes union affairs seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on. [UNION COMPLICATED]	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
47.	In order to influence public officials, you have to do more than just vote. [MORE VOTE]	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
48.	Are you a registered voter [REGISTERED] <u>yes</u> <u>no</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
49.	In the 1976 elections, whom did you vote for? [VOTE 76] <u>Carter</u> <u>Ford</u> <u>Other</u> <u>Did not vote</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
50.	Which party do you consider yourself a member of? [PARTY ID] <u>Democrat</u> <u>I am an Independent</u> <u>Republican</u> <u>Other</u>					
51.	Do you know whom the union supported in the presidential elections? [UNION SUPPORT] <u>yes</u> <u>no</u> IF YES, whom? _____					
52.	How often do you vote in elections? [VOTE OFTEN ELECTION] <u>very often</u> <u>fairly often</u> <u>not very often</u> <u>not at all</u>					

53. How often do you vote in primaries? [VOTE OFTEN PRIMARY]
☐ very often ☐ fairly often ☐ not very often ☐ not at all
54. How often do you go to meetings or rallies? [MEETINGS RALLY]
☐ very often ☐ fairly often ☐ not very often ☐ not at all
55. How often do you take part in demonstrations? [DEMONSTRATION]
☐ very often ☐ fairly often ☐ not very often ☐ not at all
56. How often do you donate money to candidates? [GIVE MONEY CANDIDATE]
☐ very often ☐ fairly often ☐ not very often ☐ not at all
57. How often do you donate money to political causes? [GIVE MONEY CAUSE]
☐ very often ☐ fairly often ☐ not very often ☐ not at all
58. How many political organizations do you belong to? [BELONG POLITICAL ORG]
☐ none ☐ one or two ☐ three or four ☐ five or more
59. How many community organizations do you belong to? [BELONG COMMUNITY ORG]
☐ none ☐ one or two ☐ three or four ☐ five or more
60. To what extent do you participate in the decision making process of your union local? [PARTICIPATE UNION LOCAL]
☐ a great deal ☐ a fair amount ☐ very little ☐ not at all
61. How often do union officials speak to you about grievances that you may have? [UNION GRIEVANCE]
☐ very often ☐ fairly often ☐ not very often ☐ not at all
62. Compared to most other unions, would you say that your union is:[UNION RATE]
☐ more effective ☐ about average ☐ less effective
63. Are there any issues that the union does not raise that you feel should be raised? [UNION RAISE] ☐ yes ☐ no IF YES, what are they? _____
-
64. How often do you feel the union should act to improve the quality of work? [UNION ACT]
☐ very often ☐ fairly often ☐ not very often ☐ not at all
65. How often do you read the Public Employee Press? [READ PEP]
☐ very often ☐ fairly often ☐ not very often ☐ not at all
66. Which division of DC 37 are you a member of? [DIVISION MEMBER]
☐ Blue collar ☐ White collar ☐ Hospital workers ☐ Educational
☐ Administrative and Clerical ☐ Professional and Technical
67. Do you feel that any division of workers gets favored treatment in the union? [DIVISION FAVOR] ☐ yes ☐ no
 IF YES, which one? ☐ Blue Collar ☐ White collar ☐ Hospital worker
☐ Educational ☐ Administrative and Clerical ☐ Professional/Technical

68. Do you hold a position in the union? [UNION POSITION] ☐ yes ☐ no
 IF YES, which one? ☐ Local Union Official ☐ Executive ☐ Steward
☐ Grievance Rep. ☐ DC 37 delegate's council ☐ Union Committee
69. How many hours a week do you spend on union affairs? [UNION TIME]
☐ Less than 5 ☐ 6 to 10 ☐ 11 or more
70. During the average week, how many hours do you spend doing the following? (IF NONE, Check NONE).
 Spend time with family [TIME FAMILY] ☐ None ☐ under 5 hours
☐ 5-10 ☐ 11-20 ☐ over 20
- Watch TV/Listen to Radio [TV WATCH] ☐ None ☐ under 5 hours
☐ 5-10 ☐ 11-20 ☐ over 20
- Read newspapers and magazines [READ NEWS] ☐ None ☐ under 5 hours
☐ 5-10 ☐ 11-20 ☐ over 20
- Play or watch sports [SPORTS] ☐ None ☐ under 5 hours
☐ 5-10 ☐ 11-20 ☐ over 20
- Work on a hobby [WORK HOBBY] ☐ None ☐ under 5 hours
☐ 5-10 ☐ 11-20 ☐ over 20
- Take part in Community Affairs [COMMUNITY AFFAIRS] ☐ None ☐ under 5 hours
☐ 5-10 ☐ 11-20 ☐ over 20
- Take part in Church Affairs [CHURCH AFFAIRS] ☐ None ☐ under 5 hours
☐ 5-10 ☐ 11-20 ☐ over 20
- Socialize with friends from work [SOCIALIZE WORK] ☐ None ☐ under 5 hours
☐ 5-10 ☐ 11-20 ☐ over 20
- Socialize with neighborhood friends [SOCIALIZE FRIENDS] ☐ None ☐ under 5 hours
☐ 5-10 ☐ 11-20 ☐ over 20
71. Do you own your own home? [HOME] ☐ yes ☐ no
72. When you relax, do you do it ☐ by yourself ☐ with other people [RELAX]
73. Do you think of yourself as? [CLASS] ☐ Lower working class,
☐ Upper working class ☐ Lower middle class ☐ Upper middle class
74. What is your religious preference? [RELIGION]
☐ Catholic ☐ Protestant ☐ Jewish ☐ Other
75. Approximately, what is your income? [INCOME] ☐ Under \$7,500 ☐ \$7,500-10,000
☐ \$10,000-15,000 ☐ \$15,000-20,000 ☐ Over \$20,000
76. Are you? [MARRIED] ☐ Married ☐ Single ☐ Divorced
77. Are you the head of your household [HEAD HOUSE] ☐ yes ☐ no

Over

78. If you had two more hours of spare time during the day, what would you do? [SPARE TIME]

- ☐ Extend the work day to earn more money
- ☐ Extend the work day to be with friends
- ☐ Spend the time with family
- ☐ Work on hobby or play sports
- ☐ Spend the time watching TV
- ☐ Get involved in Community or Church affairs

79. If you won the New York State Lottery and received \$1,000 per week for life, would you? [Lottery]

- ☐ Quit work entirely
- ☐ Quit your present job but look for another one
- ☐ Stay in your present job

80. How would you feel if you were to describe your job to someone you've just met? [JOB EMBARASS]

- ☐ I would feel very proud to describe my job
- ☐ I would feel somewhat proud to describe my job
- ☐ I would feel somewhat embarassed to describe my job
- ☐ I would feel very embarassed to describe my job

81. Would you want your children to have the same job that you have when they grow up? [CHILD IMITATE]

- ☐ yes ☐ no

82. During the New York fiscal crisis, how well would you say the leaders of the union served the interests of union members? [FISCAL CRISIS]

- ☐ Very well ☐ Fairly well ☐ Not very well ☐ Not well at all

APPENDIX B

RESPONSE FREQUENCIES OF VARIABLES LISTED IN CHAPTER 3

Some jobs provide a great deal of opportunity to learn more about the work process and enable people to increase their knowledge of the process and their skills; other jobs provide few such opportunities to learn more. How is it on your job?

	N	%
There are very great opportunities to learn more	101	18.5
There are fairly good opportunities to learn more	191	35.0
There is little opportunity to learn more	136	25.0
There is almost no opportunity to learn more	<u>117</u>	<u>21.5</u>
TOTAL	545	100.0

Do you have variety on your job (can you do different things, change methods, location, speed of working and so forth)?

	N	%
I always do the same things on my job, there is no variety	105	19.1
I mostly do the same things but there is a little variety	164	29.8
I have to do quite a number of different things on my job; there is a fair amount of variety	181	32.9
I have to do a lot of different things on my job; there is a great deal of variety	<u>100</u>	<u>18.2</u>
TOTAL	550	100.0

Which statement best describes the kind of job you have?

	N	%
I have no freedom to do my work as I want	38	7.0
I have little freedom to do my work as I want	111	20.6
I am fairly free to do my work as I want	290	53.7
I am completely free to do my work as I want	<u>101</u>	<u>18.7</u>
TOTAL	540	100.0

Which of the following statements fits your job?	N	%
Almost anyone could do my job	97	17.7
A good many people could do my job	186	34.0
Only a limited number of people could do my job	141	25.8
Very few people could do my job	45	8.2
Can't answer; hard to say	<u>78</u>	<u>14.3</u>
TOTAL	547	100.0

How often would you say that the demands of your job bring out the best of your abilities?	N	%
Very often	203	37.2
Fairly often	190	34.8
Not very often	115	21.0
Not at all	<u>38</u>	<u>7.0</u>
TOTAL	546	100.0

Which of the following comes closest to describing how you feel about your present job?	N	%
Interesting nearly all the time	104	19.2
Interesting most of the time	147	27.2
Interesting some of the time	188	34.8
Rarely interesting	83	15.3
Never interesting	<u>19</u>	<u>3.5</u>
TOTAL	541	100.0

How often can you do your work and still think about other things?	N	%
Very often	189	36.1
Fairly often	174	33.2
Not very often	121	23.1
Not at all	<u>40</u>	<u>7.6</u>
TOTAL	524	100.0

If you were completely free to go into any type of job you wanted, what would your choice be?	N	%
I would want the same type of job I have now	167	30.7
I would want to retire and not work at all	38	7.0
I would prefer some other job (in the public service) to the one I have now	195	35.8
I would prefer some other job (not in the public service) to the one I have now	61	11.2
I would prefer the same job, but not in the public service	23	4.2
I really don't know what I'd do	<u>60</u>	<u>11.1</u>
TOTAL	544	100.0

Where do you feel that you enjoy yourself most?	N	%
At work	118	26.9
Away from work	<u>320</u>	<u>73.1</u>
TOTAL	438	100.0

If you had two more hours of spare time during the day, what would you do?

	N	%
Extend the day to earn more money	109	21.5
Extend the work day to be with friends	26	5.1
Spend the time with family	211	41.7
Work on a hobby or play sports	87	17.2
Spend the time watching TV	6	1.2
Get involved in community or church affairs	<u>67</u>	<u>13.2</u>
TOTAL	506	99.9

If you won the New York State Lottery and received \$1,000 per week for life, would you

	N	%
Quit work entirely	178	33.3
Quit your present job but look for another one?	115	21.5
Stay in your present job?	<u>242</u>	<u>45.2</u>
TOTAL	535	100.0

During the average week, how many hours do you spend socializing with friends from work

	N	%
None	200	38.1
Under 5 hours	221	42.1
5 to 10 hours	83	15.8
11 to 20 hours	15	2.9
Over 20 hours	<u>6</u>	<u>1.1</u>
TOTAL	525	100.0

During the average week, how many hours do you spend socializing with neighborhood friends?

	N	%
None	109	20.9
Under 5 hours	239	45.8
5 to 10 hours	116	22.2
11 to 20 hours	43	8.2
Over 20 hours	<u>15</u>	<u>2.9</u>
TOTAL	522	100.0

How many hours a week do you spend on union affairs?

	N	%
Less than 5 hours	382	92.7
6 to 10 hours	19	4.6
11 or more hours	<u>11</u>	<u>2.7</u>
TOTAL	412	100.0

At work, how often do you speak about the union and union affairs with your co-workers?

	N	%
Very often	123	22.5
Fairly often	210	38.5
Not very often	194	35.5
Not at all	<u>19</u>	<u>3.5</u>
TOTAL	546	100.0

At work, how often do you speak about politics with your co-workers?

	N	%
Very often	52	9.5
Fairly often	204	37.3
Not very often	231	42.2
Not at all	<u>60</u>	<u>11.0</u>
TOTAL	547	100.0

I would rather take my vacation

With my family	395	75.4
With friends from work	15	2.9
With friends from the neighborhood	37	7.1
By myself	<u>77</u>	<u>14.7</u>
TOTAL	524	100.1

Is the job you have now the best you've ever had?

Yes	230	42.0
No	228	41.6
Maybe	<u>90</u>	<u>16.4</u>
TOTAL	548	100.0

Do you think the job you have now is the best one you'll ever have before you retire?

Yes	189	34.7
No	209	38.3
Maybe	<u>147</u>	<u>27.0</u>
TOTAL	545	100.0

Choose the statement that best describes your feeling:

	N	%
I have a great deal of pride in my work	348	63.9
I have a fair amount of pride in my work	152	27.9
I have little pride in my work	31	5.6
I have no pride in my work	<u>14</u>	<u>2.6</u>
TOTAL	545	100.0

How would you feel if you were to describe your job to someone you've just met?

I would feel very proud to describe my job	166	32.2
I would feel somewhat proud to describe my job	262	50.9
I would feel somewhat embarrassed to describe my job	63	12.2
I would feel very embarrassed to describe my job	<u>24</u>	<u>4.7</u>
TOTAL	515	100.0

How well would you say your job measures up to the job you wanted when you first took it?

It's very much like the one I wanted	146	26.7
It's somewhat like the job I wanted	237	43.4
It's not very much like the job I wanted	82	15.0
It's not at all like the job I wanted	<u>81</u>	<u>14.8</u>
TOTAL	546	99.9

To what extent are you satisfied with your wages?

A great deal	36	6.5
Somewhat	179	32.5
Not very much	184	33.4
Not at all	<u>152</u>	<u>27.6</u>
TOTAL	551	100.0

Would you want your children to have the same job that you have when they grow up?

	N	%
Yes	77	15.3
No	<u>425</u>	<u>84.7</u>
TOTAL	502	100.0

I don't think that public officials care much about what people like me think.

	N	%
Strongly agree (1)	258	47.8
(2)	90	16.7
(3)	103	19.1
(4)	26	4.8
Strongly disagree (5)	<u>63</u>	<u>11.6</u>
TOTAL	540	100.0

The way people vote is the main things that decides the way things are run in this country.

	N	%
Strongly agree (1)	160	29.7
(2)	47	8.7
(3)	89	16.5
(4)	75	13.9
Strongly disagree (5)	<u>168</u>	<u>31.2</u>
TOTAL	539	100.0

Voting is the only way that people like me can have a say about how the government runs things

	N	%
Strongly agree (1)	231	39.8
(2)	61	11.4
(3)	97	18.1
(4)	65	12.2
Strongly disagree (5)	<u>99</u>	<u>18.5</u>
TOTAL	535	100.0

People like me don't have much say about how the government runs things.

	N	%
Strongly agree (1)	204	38.4
(2)	74	13.9
(3)	88	16.6
(4)	56	10.5
Strongly disagree (5)	<u>109</u>	<u>20.6</u>
TOTAL	531	100.0

These days a person doesn't really know whom he can count on

	N	%
Strongly agree (1)	292	54.2
(2)	83	15.4
(3)	83	15.4
(4)	39	7.2
Strongly disagree (5)	<u>42</u>	<u>7.8</u>
TOTAL	539	100.0

In spite of what some people say, the lot of the average man is getting worse.

	N	%
Strongly agree (1)	218	40.7
(2)	79	14.7
(3)	107	20.0
(4)	52	9.7
Strongly disagree (5)	<u>80</u>	<u>14.9</u>
TOTAL	536	100.0

Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what is going on

	N	%
Strongly agree (1)	183	33.9
(2)	89	16.5
(3)	87	16.1
(4)	64	11.9
Strongly disagree (5)	<u>117</u>	<u>21.6</u>
TOTAL	540	100.0

You can't plan ahead for long range goals

	N	%
Strongly agree (1)	169	31.5
(2)	73	13.6
(3)	77	14.3
(4)	80	14.9
Strongly disagree (5)	<u>138</u>	<u>25.7</u>
TOTAL	537	100.0

There will always be poverty in the world

	N	%
Strongly agree (1)	322	60.2
(2)	91	17.0
(3)	50	9.3
(4)	24	4.5
Strongly disagree (5)	<u>48</u>	<u>9.0</u>
TOTAL	535	100.0

Men and nations will always fight wars with one another

	N	%
Strongly agree (1)	278	51.9
(2)	72	13.4
(3)	93	17.4
(4)	38	7.0
Strongly disagree (5)	<u>55</u>	<u>10.3</u>
TOTAL	536	100.0

The most important thing to teach children is absolute obedience to their parents.

	N	%
Strongly agree (1)	197	36.5
(2)	63	11.7
(3)	117	21.7
(4)	62	11.5
Strongly disagree (5)	<u>101</u>	<u>18.7</u>
TOTAL	540	100.1

Any good leader should be strict with people under him to gain their respect.

		N	%
Strongly agree	(1)	111	20.6
	(2)	63	11.7
	(3)	106	19.7
	(4)	73	13.5
Strongly disagree	(5)	<u>186</u>	<u>34.5</u>
	TOTAL	539	100.0

A few strong leaders could do more for the country than all the laws and talk.

		N	%
Strongly agree	(1)	217	40.3
	(2)	84	15.6
	(3)	82	15.2
	(4)	47	8.8
Strongly disagree	(5)	<u>108</u>	<u>20.1</u>
	TOTAL	538	100.0

I don't think that union officials care much what union members like me think.

		N	%
Strongly agree	(1)	160	29.7
	(2)	62	11.5
	(3)	112	20.8
	(4)	76	14.1
Strongly disagree	(5)	<u>129</u>	<u>23.9</u>
	TOTAL	539	100.0

Union members like me don't have much say about how the union runs things.

		N	%
Strongly agree	(1)	190	35.7
	(2)	68	12.8
	(3)	87	16.4
	(4)	68	12.8
Strongly disagree	(5)	<u>119</u>	<u>22.3</u>
	TOTAL	532	100.0

Sometimes union affairs seem so complicated that a person like me can't understand what's going on.

	N	%
Strongly agree (1)	141	26.4
(2)	75	14.0
(3)	86	16.1
(4)	78	14.6
Strongly disagree (5)	<u>154</u>	<u>28.9</u>
TOTAL	534	100.0

Compared to most other unions would you say that your union is

	N	%
More effective	114	21.3
About average	289	54.0
Less effective	<u>132</u>	<u>24.7</u>
TOTAL	535	100.0

How well would you say union leaders performed during the fiscal crisis?

	N	%
Very well	68	27.2
Fairly well	100	40.0
Not very well	54	21.6
Not at all	<u>28</u>	<u>11.2</u>
TOTAL	250	100.0

How often do you vote in elections?

	N	%
Very often	389	71.9
Fairly often	76	14.0
Not very often	51	9.4
Not at all	<u>25</u>	<u>4.6</u>
TOTAL	541	99.9

How often do you vote in primaries?	N	%
Very often	258	48.4
Fairly often	118	22.1
Not very often	93	17.4
Not at all	<u>64</u>	<u>12.0</u>
TOTAL	533	99.9

How often do you go to meetings or rallies?	N	%
Very often	33	6.2
Fairly often	97	18.2
Not very often	249	46.6
Not at all	<u>155</u>	<u>29.0</u>
TOTAL	534	100.0

How often do you donate money to candidates?	N	%
Very often	16	3.0
Fairly often	59	11.0
Not very often	179	33.4
Not at all	<u>287</u>	<u>52.6</u>
TOTAL	541	100.0

How often do you donate money to political causes?	N	%
Very often	13	2.4
Fairly often	57	10.5
Not very often	188	34.8
Not at all	<u>283</u>	<u>52.3</u>
TOTAL	541	100.0

How many political organizations do you belong to?	N	%
None	397	74.1
One or two	130	24.3
Three or four	6	1.1
Five or more	<u>3</u>	<u>0.6</u>
TOTAL	536	100.1

How many community organizations do you belong to?	N	%
None	261	48.4
One or two	224	41.6
Three or four	47	8.7
Five or more	<u>7</u>	<u>1.3</u>
TOTAL	539	100.0

To what extent do you participate in the decision-making process of your union local?	N	%
A great deal	41	7.9
A fair amount	157	30.1
Very little	207	39.7
Not at all	<u>116</u>	<u>22.3</u>
TOTAL	521	100.0

How many hours a week do you spend on union affairs?	N	%
Less than 5	382	92.7
6 to 10	19	4.6
11 or more	<u>11</u>	<u>2.7</u>
TOTAL	412	100.0

Do you hold a position in the union?	N	%
Yes	38	7.1
No	<u>495</u>	<u>92.9</u>
TOTAL	533	100.0

During the average week, how many hours do you spend with family?	N	%
None	13	4.7
Under 5 hours	18	6.5
5 to 10	59	21.4
11 to 20	37	13.4
Over 20	<u>149</u>	<u>54.0</u>
TOTAL	276	100.0

During the average week, how many hours do you spend watching TV/listening to radio?

	N	%
None	3	0.6
Under 5 hours	188	36.5
5 to 10	156	30.3
11 to 20	112	21.7
Over 20	<u>56</u>	<u>10.9</u>
TOTAL	515	100.0

During the average week, how many hours do you spend playing or watching sports?

	N	%
None	179	34.4
Under 5 hours	198	38.1
5 to 10	103	19.8
11 to 20	32	6.2
Over 20	<u>8</u>	<u>1.5</u>
TOTAL	520	100.0

During the average week, how many hours do you spend working on a hobby?

	N	%
None	188	36.2
Under 5 hours	202	38.8
5 to 10	90	17.3
11 to 20	29	5.6
Over 20	<u>11</u>	<u>2.1</u>
TOTAL	520	100.0

During the average week, how many hours do you spend taking part in community affairs?

	N	%
None	280	53.8
Under 5 hours	168	32.3
5 to 10	53	10.2
11 to 20	12	2.3
Over 20	<u>7</u>	<u>1.3</u>
TOTAL	520	99.9

During the average week, how many hours do you spend taking part in church affairs?

	N	%
None	286	55.3
Under 5 hours	166	32.1
5 to 10	51	9.9
11 to 20	9	1.7
Over 20	<u>5</u>	<u>1.0</u>
TOTAL	517	100.0

APPENDIX C

PEARSON CORRELATION MATRIX BETWEEN WORK ATTITUDES AND POLITICAL ATTITUDE AND BEHAVIOR VARIABLES

		Political Attitude and Behavior Variables						
		Official Care	Vote Important	Vote Only	Say Run	Life Better	Complicated	Person Count
Work Attitude Vari- ables	Job Best Now	-0.0256 N=536 p=.277	0.0536 N=535 p=.108	0.0168 N=531 p=.350	-0.0438 N=521 p=.158	0.0766 N=496 p=.044	0.0816 N=536 p=.030	-0.0487 N=535 p=.131
	Job Best Ever	-0.0754 N=534 p=.041	0.0642 N=532 p=.069	0.1022 N=529 p=.009	0.0275 N=525 p=.265	-0.2059 N=494 p=.001	0.1146 N=533 p=.004	0.0650 N=532 p=.067
	Wage Sat	-0.0953 N=540 p=.013	0.0748 N=538 p=.042	0.0189 N=535 p=.331	-0.1076 N=531 p=.007	-0.0096 N=498 p=.415	-0.0349 N=539 p=.209	-0.0482 N=538 p=.132
	Good Feel Job	-0.0659 N=532 p=.064	0.0632 N=530 p=.073	0.1369 N=527 p=.001	-0.0795 N=523 p=.035	0.0456 N=491 p=.157	0.0632 N=532 p=.073	0.0784 N=531 p=.036
	Job Measure	-0.0673 N=532 p=.060	0.0416 N=533 p=.169	0.0710 N=529 p=.051	-0.0364 N=525 p=.203	-0.0103 N=493 p=.410	0.0354 N=534 p=.207	-0.0296 N=534 p=.247
	Job Learn	-0.0548 N=534 p=.103	0.0721 N=533 p=.048	0.0267 N=529 p=.270	-0.0710 N=525 p=.052	0.0250 N=493 p=.290	-0.0814 N=534 p=.030	-0.1277 N=534 p=.002
	Mang Qty	-0.0998 N=521 p=.011	0.0321 N=519 p=.233	0.0670 N=518 p=.064	-0.0354 N=512 p=.212	0.0046 N=482 p=.460	-0.0577 N=522 p=.094	-0.0788 N=520 p=.036
	Good Day Work	0.0296 N=533 p=.247	0.0598 N=532 p=.084	0.1189 N=528 p=.003	-0.1096 N=524 p=.006	0.0547 N=491 p=.113	0.0857 N=533 p=.240	0.1192 N=533 p=.003
	Job Variety	0.0499 N=538 p=.124	0.0173 N=537 p=.344	-0.0429 N=533 p=.161	0.0652 N=529 p=.067	-0.0455 N=496 p=.156	0.0600 N=538 p=.082	0.0991 N=538 p=.011

		Political Attitude and Behavior Variables						
		Official	Vote	Life			Person Count	
		Care	Important	Vote Only	Say Run	Better		Complicated
Work Attitude Vari- ables	Job Freedom	0.0127 N=529 p=.385	-0.1377 N=529 p=.001	-0.1468 N=525 p=.001	-0.0235 N=520 p=.296	-0.0176 N=487 p=.349	-0.0566 N=529 p=.097	0.0796 N=529 p=.034
	Job Rate	-0.0141 N=535 p=.372	0.0799 N=535 p=.032	0.0889 N=530 p=.020	0.0875 N=527 p=.094	0.0508 N=494 p=.130	0.0442 N=535 p=.153	0.0533 N=535 p=.109
	Job Pride	-0.0647 N=537 p=.067	0.1055 N=536 p=.007	0.1893 N=532 p=.001	-0.0225 N=528 p=.303	0.0301 N=495 p=.252	0.0199 N=537 p=.323	0.0247 N=536 p=.284
	Job Ability	-0.0276 N=540 p=.261	0.0748 N=537 p=.042	0.1337 N=535 p=.001	-0.0611 N=530 p=.080	0.0062 N=497 p=.445	0.1171 N=538 p=.003	0.0388 N=536 p=.185
	Job Think	0.0440 N=516 p=.159	0.0675 N=516 p=.063	-0.0096 N=511 p=.415	-0.0557 N=507 p=.105	0.0418 N=494 p=.177	0.0733 N=516 p=.048	0.0820 N=514 p=.032
	Job Interest	-0.0738 N=533 p=.044	0.1348 N=533 p=.001	0.1524 N=528 p=.001	-0.0677 N=525 p=.061	0.0318 N=492 p=.241	0.0736 N=532 p=.045	-0.0161 N=531 p=.356
	Job Embarrass	-0.0207 N=505 p=.321	0.0642 N=503 p=.075	0.1622 N=500 p=.001	-0.0238 N=496 p=.299	-0.0109 N=484 p=.405	0.0230 N=507 p=.303	-0.0318 N=504 p=.238
	Child Imitate	-0.0548 N=491 p=.113	-0.0191 N=490 p=.337	0.0080 N=486 p=.430	-0.0531 N=482 p=.122	0.0328 N=471 p=.239	-0.0143 N=493 p=.376	-0.1056 N=491 p=.010

		Political Attitude and Behavior Variables						
		Lot Worse	Alway War	Alway Poverty	Cant Plan	Teach Obedience	Leader Strict	Leader Do
Work Attitude Variables	Job Best Now	-0.0262 N=532 p=.273	-0.0281 N=532 p=.252	-0.0470 N=531 p=.140	-0.0029 N=533 p=.187	-0.0384 N=536 p=.365	-0.0150 N=535 p=.091	-0.0577 N=534
	Job Best Ever	-0.0049 N=530 p=.456	0.0461 N=529 p=.145	0.0621 N=529 p=.077	0.1606 N=530 p=.001	0.0252 N=533 p=.281	0.0827 N=532 p=.028	0.0919 N=531 p=.017
	Wage Sat	-0.1228 N=536 p=.002	0.0055 N=535 p=.449	-0.0133 N=535 p=.379	0.0235 N=536 p=.293	-0.0514 N=539 p=.117	0.0296 N=538 p=.247	-0.1046 N=537 p=.008
	Good Feel Job	0.0067 N=528 p=.439	-0.0039 N=527 p=.465	0.0171 N=528 p=.348	0.0142 N=528 p=.372	0.1205 N=531 p=.003	0.1416 N=530 p=.001	0.0116 N=529 p=.395
	Job Measure	-0.0421 N=530 p=.166	-0.0231 N=530 p=.298	-0.0484 N=529 p=.133	-0.0102 N=531 p=.407	-0.0047 N=534 p=.457	-0.0112 N=533 p=.398	-0.0822 N=532 p=.029
	Job Learn	-0.0493 N=530 p=.129	-0.0089 N=530 p=.332	-0.0137 N=529 p=.377	-0.0407 N=531 p=.175	-0.0176 N=534 p=.342	0.0340 N=533 p=.216	-0.0909 N=532 p=.018
	Mang Qty	-0.0556 N=519 p=.103	-0.0325 N=520 p=.230	0.0106 N=517 p=.405	-0.0466 N=519 p=.144	-0.0142 N=521 p=.373	0.0247 N=520 p=.287	-0.0509 N=519 p=.123
	Good Day Work	0.0046 N=529 p=.458	-0.0223 N=529 p=.305	-0.0105 N=529 p=.405	0.0223 N=530 p=.305	0.0770 N=533 p=.038	0.0429 N=532 p=.162	0.0198 N=531 p=.924
	Job Variety	0.0660 N=534 p=.064	0.0705 N=534 p=.052	0.0384 N=533 p=.188	0.0938 N=535 p=.015	0.0678 N=538 p=.058	-0.0318 N=537 p=.231	0.0930 N=536 p=.016

		Political Attitude and Behavior Variables						
		Lot Worse	Alway War	Alway Poverty	Cant Plan	Teach Obedience	Leader Strict	Leader Do
Work Attitude Vari- ables	Job Freedom	-0.0028 N=525 p=.474	0.0813 N=525 p=.031	0.0079 N=525 p=.428	0.0200 N=526 p=.323	-0.0567 N=529 p=.097	-0.1593 N=528 p=.001	0.0061 N=527 p=.445
	Job Rate	0.0403 N=531 p=.177	0.0560 N=532 p=.099	-0.0114 N=530 p=.397	-0.0323 N=532 p=.229	0.0267 N=535 p=.269	0.0526 N=535 p=.112	0.0909 N=534 p=.018
	Job Pride	-0.0210 N=532 p=.315	0.0534 N=532 p=.110	0.0059 N=531 p=.446	-0.0059 N=533 p=.446	0.0675 N=536 p=.059	0.0724 N=535 p=.047	0.0226 N=535 p=.301
	Job Ability	0.0136 N=535 p=.377	0.0401 N=534 p=.178	0.0371 N=534 p=.196	0.0036 N=535 p=.467	0.2079 N=538 p=.001	0.1200 N=537 p=.003	0.0594 N=536 p=.085
	Job Think	0.1273 N=513 p=.002	0.0572 N=512 p=.098	0.0024 N=511 p=.479	-0.0214 N=513 p=.314	0.0953 N=515 p=.015	0.0658 N=514 p=.068	0.1059 N=513 p=.008
	Job Interest	-0.1002 N=529 p=.011	-0.0364 N=528 p=.202	-0.0282 N=527 p=.259	-0.0604 N=529 p=.083	0.0829 N=532 p=.028	0.0639 N=531 p=.071	0.0326 N=530 p=.227
	Job Embarrass	-0.0617 N=503 p=.084	-0.0367 N=502 p=.206	-0.0092 N=502 p=.419	-0.0456 N=503 p=.154	0.0872 N=505 p=.025	0.0200 N=505 p=.327	-0.0183 N=503 p=.341
	Child Imitate	-0.0427 N=489 p=.173	-0.0332 N=490 p=.232	-0.0452 N=488 p=.159	0.0070 N=490 p=.439	0.0151 N=492 p=.369	0.0036 N=491 p=.468	-0.0687 N=491 p=.064

		Political Attitude and Behavior Variables							
		Union Care	Union Say	Union Complicated	Vote Often Election	Vote Often Primary	Meetings Rally	Demonstra- tion	Give money Candidate
Work Attitude Vari- ables	Job Best Now	-0.0935 N=535 p=.015	-0.0284 N=528 p=.257	0.0521 N=530 p=.116	0.0766 N=537 p=.038	0.0246 N=529 p=.286	-0.1032 N=530 p=.009	-0.0849 N=536 p=.025	-0.0024 N=532 p=.478
	Job Best Ever	-0.0838 N=532 p=.027	-0.0328 N=526 p=.226	0.0560 N=527 p=.100	0.1194 N=534 p=.003	0.0575 N=526 p=.094	0.0008 N=528 p=.493	0.0343 N=533 p=.215	-0.0033 N=529 p=.470
	Wage Sat	-0.2168 N=538 p=.001	-0.1604 N=532 p=.001	0.0558 N=533 p=.099	0.0934 N=540 p=.015	0.0981 N=532 p=.012	-0.0325 N=534 p=.227	0.0416 N=539 p=.167	0.0718 N=535 p=.049
	Good Feel Job	-0.1534 N=530 p=.001	-0.1486 N=524 p=.001	0.0734 N=525 p=.046	0.0502 N=532 p=.124	0.0408 N=524 p=.176	0.0788 N=526 p=.035	0.0788 N=531 p=.047	0.0728 N=527 p=.047
	Job Measure	-0.1853 N=533 p=.001	-0.1299 N=527 p=.001	0.0288 N=528 p=.255	0.0376 N=536 p=.192	-0.0245 N=528 p=.287	-0.0078 N=529 p=.429	0.0036 N=535 p=.466	0.0247 N=531 p=.285
	Job Learn	-0.1291 N=533 p=.001	-0.1040 N=527 p=.008	-0.0460 N=528 p=.146	0.0539 N=536 p=.106	0.0259 N=528 p=.276	0.0700 N=529 p=.054	0.0489 N=535 p=.130	0.0771 N=531 p=.038
	Mang Qty	-0.0413 N=522 p=.173	-0.1094 N=516 p=.006	-0.0010 N=517 p=.491	0.0733 N=523 p=.047	0.0748 N=515 p=.045	0.0681 N=518 p=.061	0.0486 N=521 p=.134	0.0481 N=518 p=.137
	Good Day Work	-0.0999 N=532 p=.011	-0.1279 N=526 p=.002	-0.0134 N=527 p=.379	0.0488 N=535 p=.130	0.1138 N=527 p=.004	0.1132 N=528 p=.005	0.0992 N=534 p=.011	0.1253 N=530 p=.002
	Job Variety	0.0895 N=537 p=.019	0.0767 N=531 p=.039	0.0126 N=532 p=.386	-0.0336 N=540 p=.218	-0.0496 N=536 p=.127	-0.0992 N=533 p=.020	-0.1041 N=539 p=.008	-0.1100 N=535 p=.005

		Political Attitude and Behavior Variables							
		Union Care	Union Say	Union Complicated	Vote Often Election	Vote Often Primary	Meetings Rally	Demonstra- Candidate	Give money Candidate
Work Attitude Vari- ables	Job Freedom	0.1182 N=528 p=.003	0.0506 N=522 p=.124	0.0007 N=523 p=.494	0.0214 N=529 p=.312	0.0663 N=522 p=.065	-0.0022 N=523 p=.480	-0.0215 N=528 p=.311	-0.0196 N=524 p=.327
	Job Rate	0.0403 N=536 p=.176	0.0160 N=529 p=.357	0.0441 N=529 p=.155	-0.0050 N=536 p=.454	0.0258 N=528 p=.277	-0.0922 N=529 p=.017	-0.1131 N=535 p=.004	-0.0947 N=531 p=.015
	Job Pride	-0.1024 N=535 p=.009	-0.1322 N=528 p=.001	-0.0122 N=530 p=.390	0.1195 N=534 p=.003	0.1123 N=526 p=.005	0.1063 N=527 p=.007	0.1100 N=533 p=.006	0.0842 N=529 p=.026
	Job Ability	-0.1277 N=537 p=.002	-0.1664 N=530 p=.001	0.0818 N=532 p=.030	-0.0096 N=536 p=.412	0.0289 N=528 p=.253	0.1288 N=530 p=.001	0.0980 N=535 p=.012	0.0641 N=531 p=.070
	Job Think	-0.0302 N=516 p=.247	-0.0157 N=508 p=.362	0.0425 N=510 p=.169	-0.1371 N=513 p=.001	-0.0708 N=505 p=.056	0.0324 N=506 p=.233	0.0435 N=513 p=.163	-0.1117 N=508 p=.006
	Job Interest	-0.2791 N=532 p=.001	-0.2357 N=524 p=.001	-0.0034 N=526 p=.469	0.0408 N=530 p=.174	0.0717 N=522 p=.051	0.1691 N=523 p=.001	0.1826 N=529 p=.001	0.1637 N=526 p=.001
	Job Embarass	-0.2059 N=506 p=.001	-0.1173 N=499 p=.004	0.0509 N=501 p=.128	0.0217 N=506 p=.313	0.0028 N=498 p=.475	0.0138 N=500 p=.379	0.0633 N=506 p=.078	0.0506 N=502 p=.129
	Child Imitate	-0.0916 N=493 p=.021	-0.1142 N=485 p=.006	-0.0013 N=487 p=.489	-0.0088 N=494 p=.423	-0.0179 N=486 p=.347	-0.0692 N=487 p=.064	-0.0282 N=494 p=.266	0.0229 N=491 p=.306

		Political Attitude and Behavior Variables							
		Give Mo- ney Cause	Belong Pol. Org.	Belong Com. Org.	Participate Union Local	Union Rate	Read Pep	Union Time	Time Family
Work Attitude Vari- ables	Job Best Now	-0.0230 N=537 p=.298	0.0477 N=534 p=.136	0.1039 N=536 p=.008	0.0946 N=518 p=.016	0.1066 N=531 p=.007	-0.0537 N=537 p=.107	-0.0565 N=409 p=.127	-0.0517 N=274 p=.197
	Job Best Ever	0.0197 N=534 p=.324	0.0356 N=530 p=.206	0.0308 N=533 p=.239	0.0887 N=514 p=.022	0.1550 N=528 p=.001	0.0513 N=534 p=.118	-0.0392 N=410 p=.214	-0.0715 N=270 p=.121
	Wage Sat	0.0673 N=540 p=.059	0.0302 N=535 p=.243	0.0157 N=538 p=.358	0.1901 N=520 p=.001	0.2645 N=534 p=.001	0.0349 N=540 p=.209	-0.1233 N=412 p=.006	-0.0373 N=275 p=.269
	Good Feel Job	0.1118 N=532 p=.005	0.0367 N=527 p=.200	0.0477 N=530 p=.136	0.1024 N=513 p=.010	0.2007 N=526 p=.001	0.0408 N=533 p=.174	-0.1046 N=405 p=.018	-0.0134 N=271 p=.413
	Job Measure	0.0521 N=536 p=.114	0.0524 N=531 p=.114	-0.0230 N=534 p=.298	0.1325 N=517 p=.001	0.1375 N=530 p=.001	-0.0609 N=536 p=.079	-0.0304 N=410 p=.270	-0.0354 N=271 p=.281
	Job Learn	0.0736 N=536 p=.044	-0.0382 N=532 p=.189	-0.0187 N=535 p=.333	0.0912 N=518 p=.019	0.1353 N=530 p=.001	-0.0188 N=536 p=.332	-0.1471 N=408 p=.001	-0.0175 N=274 p=.386
	Mang Qlty	-0.0157 N=522 p=.360	-0.0009 N=518 p=.492	-0.0222 N=520 p=.307	0.1695 N=503 p=.001	0.0626 N=516 p=.078	-0.0897 N=521 p=.020	-0.0985 N=399 p=.025	-0.0053 N=265 p=.466
	Good Day Work	0.1124 N=535 p=.005	-0.0795 N=530 p=.034	-0.0818 N=533 p=.031	0.0835 N=515 p=.029	0.1157 N=529 p=.004	0.1566 N=535 p=.001	-0.0473 N=407 p=.170	-0.1155 N=273 p=.028
	Job Variety	-0.0740 N=540 p=.043	0.0630 N=535 p=.073	0.1561 N=538 p=.001	-0.0964 N=520 p=.014	-0.0267 N=534 p=.269	-0.0140 N=540 p=.373	0.0594 N=410 p=.115	0.0726 N=275 p=.115

		Political Attitude and Behavior Variables							
		Give Mo- ney Cause	Belong Pol. Org.	Belong Com. Org.	Participate Union Union Local Rate		Read Pep	Union Time	Time Family
Work Attitude Vari- ables	Job Freedom	-0.0420 N=529 p=.168	-0.0572 N=524 p=.096	-0.0744 N=527 p=.044	-0.1352 N=511 p=.001	-0.1067 N=523 p=.007	0.0572 N=529 p=.094	0.0372 N=403 p=.228	0.0344 N=272 p=.286
	Job Rate	-0.1068 N=536 p=.007	0.0713 N=531 p=.050	0.0833 N=534 p=.027	0.0246 N=516 p=.289	0.0286 N=530 p=.256	0.0551 N=536 p=.101	0.1147 N=408 p=.010	0.1084 N=275 p=.036
	Job Pride	0.0918 N=534 p=.017	-0.0465 N=529 p=.352	-0.1121 N=532 p=.005	0.1550 N=514 p=.001	0.1253 N=528 p=.002	0.1472 N=534 p=.001	-0.0587 N=406 p=.119	-0.2046 N=273 p=.001
	Job Ability	0.0467 N=536 p=.140	-0.0645 N=531 p=.069	-0.0243 N=533 p=.288	0.0880 N=516 p=.023	0.1566 N=530 p=.001	0.0863 N=535 p=.023	-0.0642 N=408 p=.098	-0.0510 N=273 p=.200
	Job Think	-0.0942 N=513 p=.016	0.0124 N=510 p=.390	0.0704 N=513 p=.056	0.0686 N=494 p=.064	0.0729 N=508 p=.050	0.0554 N=513 p=.001	-0.0115 N=390 p=.411	0.0127 N=255 p=.420
	Job Interest	0.1477 N=531 p=.001	-0.0942 N=525 p=.015	-0.0851 N=528 p=.025	0.1829 N=510 p=.001	0.2028 N=524 p=.001	0.1349 N=530 p=.001	-0.1546 N=404 p=.181	-0.0558 N=269
	Job Embarrass	0.0437 N=507 p=.163	-0.0202 N=503 p=.325	-0.0400 N=506 p=.185	0.1229 N=487 p=.003	0.1717 N=500 p=.001	-0.0271 N=507 p=.271	-0.0761 N=389 p=.067	-0.1535 N=253 p=.007
	Child Imitate	0.0459 N=495	-0.0555 N=491	-0.0077 N=494	0.1072 N=475	0.0308 N=490	-0.1160 N=495	-0.0455 N=382	-0.0187 N=249

		Political Attitude and Behavior Variable							
		TV Watch	Read News	Sports	Work Hobby	Community Affairs	Church Affairs	Socialize Work	Socialize Neighbors
Work Attitude Vari- ables	Job Best Now	0.0157 N=511 p=.362	0.1039 N=521 p=.009	0.0417 N=516 p=.172	0.1104 N=516 p=.006	0.0964 N=516 p=.014	0.0650 N=513 p=.071	-0.0829 N=521 p=.029	0.0627 N=518 p=.077
	Job Best Ever	-0.0103 N=508 p=.408	0.0692 N=518 p=.058	0.0634 N=513 p=.076	0.1175 N=514 p=.004	0.0508 N=513 p=.125	-0.0006 N=510 p=.495	0.0074 N=518 p=.434	0.0114 N=515 p=.398
	Wage Sat	0.0445 N=514 p=.157	0.0631 N=524 p=.075	0.0014 N=519 p=.487	-0.0394 N=520 p=.185	0.0316 N=519 p=.236	-0.0861 N=516 p=.025	0.0259 N=524 p=.277	0.0269 N=521 p=.270
	Good Feel Job	0.0912 N=507 p=.020	0.1015 N=517 p=.010	0.0625 N=512 p=.079	-0.0173 N=513 p=.348	0.0576 N=512 p=.097	-0.1166 N=509 p=.004	-0.0376 N=517 p=.197	0.0591 N=514 p=.091
	Job Measure	0.0074 N=509 p=.434	0.0488 N=519 p=.134	0.0330 N=515 p=.228	-0.0305 N=515 p=.245	-0.0114 N=515 p=.399	-0.0566 N=510 p=.101	-0.0610 N=520 p=.082	0.0202 N=517 p=.323
	Job Learn	0.1215 N=510 p=.003	0.0257 N=520 p=.279	-0.0325 N=515 p=.233	0.0331 N=515 p=.227	-0.0628 N=515 p=.077	-0.0200 N=512 p=.326	-0.0871 N=520 p=.024	0.0298 N=517 p=.249
	Mang Qty	-0.0347 N=495 p=.221	0.0744 N=505 p=.047	-0.0551 N=500 p=.109	0.0269 N=502 p=.274	0.0176 N=499 p=.347	-0.0159 N=497 p=.362	-0.0736 N=506 p=.049	-0.0103 N=503 p=.409
	Good Day Work	0.0384 N=509 p=.193	-0.0392 N=519 p=.186	0.0343 N=514 p=.219	0.0066 N=514 p=.440	-0.0249 N=514 p=.287	-0.1086 N=511 p=.007	-0.0283 N=519 p=.519	0.1026 N=517 p=.010
	Job Variety	-0.0366 N=513 p=.204	0.0497 N=523 p=.128	0.0060 N=518 p=.446	0.1067 N=518 p=.008	0.1140 N=518 p=.005	0.0321 N=515 p=.234	0.0873 N=523 p=.095	0.0624 N=520 p=.078

		Political Attitude and Behavior Variables							
		TV Watch	Read News	Sports	Work Hobby	Community Affairs	Church Affairs	Socialize Work	Socialize Neighbors
Work Attitude Vari- ables	Job Freedom	0.0324 N=503 p=.234	0.0186 N=513 p=.337	-0.0496 N=508 p=.132	-0.0530 N=508 p=.117	-0.0389 N=508 p=.191	0.0201 N=505 p=.326	0.0585 N=513 p=.093	0.0203 N=510 p=.324
	Job Rate	-0.0036 N=510 p=.467	0.0067 N=520 p=.439	0.0185 N=515 p=.337	0.0202 N=515 p=.324	0.0548 N=515 p=.107	-0.0326 N=512 p=.231	0.0435 N=520 p=.161	-0.0421 N=517 p=.170
	Job Pride	-0.0442 N=510 p=.160	-0.0288 N=519 p=.257	-0.0463 N=514 p=.148	-0.0704 N=514 p=.055	-0.1213 N=514 p=.003	-0.0837 N=511 p=.029	-0.1014 N=519 p=.010	-0.0278 N=516 p=.264
	Job Ability	0.0448 N=510 p=.156	0.0695 N=519 p=.057	-0.0727 N=514 p=.050	0.0448 N=515 p=.155	-0.0613 N=514 p=.082	-0.1212 N=511 p=.003	-0.0849 N=519 p=.027	0.0169 N=516 p=.351
	Job Think	-0.0082 N=489 p=.428	0.0095 N=498 p=.416	-0.0229 N=494 p=.306	-0.0015 N=495 p=.487	0.0287 N=495 p=.262	0.0276 N=491 p=.271	-0.0996 N=499 p=.013	-0.0936 N=497 p=.018
	Job Interest	0.0763 N=506 p=.043	0.0517 N=514 p=.121	-0.0103 N=509 p=.409	-0.0120 N=509 p=.393	-0.0915 N=510 p=.019	-0.0929 N=507 p=.018	-0.0475 N=515 p=.141	0.0258 N=511 p=.280
	Job Embarrass	0.0871 N=485 p=.028	0.0464 N=495 p=.151	0.0019 N=491 p=.483	0.0380 N=492 p=.200				
	Child Imitate	-0.0641 N=474 p=.082	-0.0332 N=484 p=.233	-0.1093 N=480 p=.008	0.0289 N=480 p=.264				

APPENDIX D

FACTOR ANALYSIS USING 56 VARIABLES (N=317)

Variable Name	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5	Factor 6
Job best now	0.32496	0.14489	-0.17646	-0.02074	-0.04708	0.10038
Job best ever	0.15195	0.34404	-0.06027	0.21751	-0.10573	0.11935
Wage sat	0.2400	0.39852	0.03500	0.02734	-0.09189	0.12958
Good feel job	0.60311	0.08840	0.04765	0.11442	0.11957	0.04585
Job measure	0.65381	0.22624	-0.05194	-0.01252	-0.06595	0.00272
Job learn	0.62882	0.06654	-0.03662	-0.04336	-0.12125	-0.02204
Mang Qlty	0.23552	0.10762	-0.01153	-0.00846	-0.11956	-0.07188
Good day work	0.38174	0.03870	0.18432	0.01212	0.08876	0.07889
Job variety	-0.50736	0.03448	-0.11575	0.21212	0.05879	0.10502
Job freedom	-0.37112	-0.14005	0.16268	0.05137	-0.10300	0.03415
Group enjoy	0.24469	0.07284	0.11790	0.08530	0.18943	-0.13768
Group union	0.06537	0.05717	0.37680	0.18404	0.17524	-0.26971
Group politics	-0.02901	0.05964	0.31648	-0.02279	0.09435	-0.20142
Job pride	0.64248	0.01733	0.09466	0.05393	0.10945	-0.05393
Job ability	0.61820	0.07691	0.07712	0.16469	0.26055	-0.07603
Job think	-0.22699	-0.01507	-0.02544	0.12288	0.20008	-0.21884
Job interest	0.75816	0.06022	0.16752	-0.02189	0.15261	0.00965
Officials care	-0.06148	-0.23129	-0.07262	0.09612	-0.15830	-0.02766
Vote important	0.00664	0.12820	0.06489	0.00054	0.45364	0.04336
Vote only	0.12435	0.19006	0.02289	0.00612	0.39797	0.02377
Say run	-0.09037	-0.18768	-0.05286	-0.05286	0.24328	-0.01646

Variable Name	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5	Factor 6
Life better	-0.01715	-0.03982	-0.04482	-0.09062	0.31986	-0.02035
Complicated	0.10022	0.01048	-0.17775	0.40253	0.22762	0.01435
Person Count	-0.04848	-0.03910	0.03415	0.054473	0.01406	0.03041
Lot worse	-0.04700	-0.17602	0.01430	0.38902	-0.10560	-0.10653
Always war	-0.01698	0.11416	-0.05248	0.53678	-0.09091	-0.03000
Always poverty	-0.05736	0.09301	-0.00886	0.52793	-0.16111	-0.01638
Cantplan	0.01387	-0.03451	-0.02497	0.56477	-0.04161	0.04880
Govmedic	0.02527	-0.01857	0.01401	0.13502	0.08461	-0.12753
Teach Obedience	0.05798	-0.02017	-0.02219	0.42133	0.40393	-0.01802
Leader Strict	0.00485	0.06353	-0.04661	0.24572	0.28272	0.06503
Leader Do	-0.04270	-0.04437	0.06232	0.37138	0.31755	0.02367
Union Care	-0.16888	-0.59304	-0.04173	0.18696	-0.29459	-0.02714
Union say	-0.18962	-0.56831	-0.10465	0.22815	-0.30208	0.04862
Union complicated	0.07699	-0.08342	-0.14618	0.34690	0.06468	-0.00932
More vote	-0.06178	-0.05534	0.14368	0.16330	0.01469	-0.01232
Vote often election	0.04779	0.29109	0.35804	-0.13243	0.02393	0.14346
Vote often primary	0.00526	0.23134	0.48733	-0.07174	0.06771	0.15619
Meetings Rally	0.02261	0.05378	0.57910	0.05300	0.14724	-0.15856

Variable Name	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5	Factor 6
Demonstration	0.03599	0.13219	0.48223	-0.03930	-0.03157	-0.21524
Give money candidate	0.03749	0.11672	0.62215	-0.04015	-0.17994	0.24758
Give money cause	0.02535	0.12672	0.65353	-0.08907	-0.15809	0.15801
Belong Political org	0.00881	0.09712	-0.58857	0.13106	0.00177	0.11271
Belong community org	-0.07911	0.16090	-0.52748	0.14655	0.09649	0.24140
Participate union local	0.09755	-0.20427	-0.08255	-0.02226	0.04498	-0.20427
Union grievance	0.00350	-0.48272	0.10114	-0.05241	-0.04081	-0.28025
Union rate	0.17751	0.47166	0.11676	0.13441	0.28271	0.04389
Read pep	-0.04738	0.16064	0.31454	0.16304	0.17862	0.03837
Work hobby	-0.03895	0.07063	-0.11943	0.05905	0.09498	0.35310
Community affairs	-0.07512	0.20396	-0.31460	0.05645	0.05748	0.42530
Church affairs	-0.13868	0.00906	-0.31460	-0.07909	-0.08616	0.23053
Socialize work	-0.12797	-0.09446	0.00146	-0.08515	-0.01392	0.41958
Socialize neighbors	-0.00274	-0.06659	-0.07671	0.07017	0.10371	0.57707
Lottery	-0.13115	0.19784	-0.17770	0.12195	-0.16899	-0.01294
Job embarrass	0.73035	0.07100	0.06118	0.00648	0.02394	-0.04556
Child imitate	0.37807	0.03154	-0.09992	-0.12378	-0.02761	-0.08127

APPENDIX E

MANIFEST FOR IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS

1. Could you tell me a little bit about yourself? E.g. where were you born? Your education? Other jobs that you have held? How did you get your present job? How long have you held the present job?
 2. Could you describe your present job?
 3. What are the things you like about your present job?
 4. What things do you dislike about your job?
 5. If you could have your choice of any job, what job would you want? Why?
 6. Here are some of the things often thought important about a job [a card is shown with the choices]. Which would you look for first in a job? Why? And which next? Why?
 - (1) Interest and Variety
 - (2) Good pay and the chance of plenty of overtime
 - (3) Good workmates
 - (4) Job security
 - (5) Pleasant working conditions.
 7. If there was one thing you could change about your job, what would it be? Why?
 8. If you had to choose between a job that offered higher pay or a job that allows you to develop your skills, which would you take? Why?
 9. Is this the best job you ever had? If no, which one was and why?
 10. Will this be the best job you'll ever have?
 11. Would you want your children to have the same job that you have?
 12. If you won the lottery, would you continue to work?
 13. Do you feel you are indispensable to the effective operation of the agency or department for which you work?
- Now, let's turn the conversation to politics:
14. What do you think are the most important problems facing the country today? The city?

15. Is there anything about your work that makes you feel these problems are important?
16. Do you think that you can do anything about these problems?
17. Do you feel the government will do anything about these problems?
18. What political party do you belong to? Why?
19. Do you know what political party your fellow workers belong to? Do you care?
20. How frequently do you vote in elections? In primaries?
21. How frequently do you participate in demonstrations, rallies, campaigns?
22. How frequently do you participate in local union affairs?
23. How frequently do you attend meetings of your union local?
24. Are you satisfied with your union's local's performance? With the general union leadership?
25. Do you talk frequently about politics with your fellow workers?
26. If yes, what do you talk about? Do you often agree?
27. In conversations with your fellow workers, do you talk about who really runs this country? If yes, who?
28. Are there other issues that you and your fellow workers talk about?
29. Do you see yourself as part of a special working group?

Now, let's turn the conversation to your "away from work" life:

30. Could you tell me what you like to do when you get home from work on a typical day? On a good day? On a bad day?
31. Do you have any particular hobbies? What are they? Why do you like them?
32. Do you feel that your work affects the way you behave away from work? If yes, how?
33. What are the important parts of your leisure life?
34. Do you like to talk shop away from work?
35. How many of your close friends are fellow workers?
36. How many of your close friends are not fellow workers?

37. Do you belong to any fraternal or social leagues connected with your work or the union?
38. How often do you see fellow workers away from work?
39. Some people say you'd be lost without work? Do you agree? Why?
40. Some people talk about escaping from work when they get home? Do you try to escape? If yes, how?
41. How would you describe yourself to someone you've just met?

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