# ROCKING THE BOAT: A CHANGE IN THE POWER BALANCE OF A MODERN CORPORATION

CENTRE FOR NEWFOUNDLAND STUDIES

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# ROCKING THE BOAT: A CHANGE IN THE POWER BALANCE OF A MODERN CORPORATION

BY

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis studies the effect which a union campaign to organize the clerical white-collar workers of a modern corporation had upon the attitudes and behavior of those workers. The Corporation referred to provides a utility service to the majority of the province of Newfoundland. Throughout the unionization attempt, both the Union and the Company vied for the clerks' support by issuing bulletins and holding meetings which expounded their respective points of view.

In researching this process over its one-year duration the author utilized both participant observation and ethnographic interviews. Factors such as peer pressure, physical work environment, social group participation, managers' attitudes, work benefits, perceived differences with blue-collar and higher management employees, feminization of the clerical workforce, masculination of management and style of the Union and Corporate campaigns were all investigated and found to play roles in the unionization process.

These elements were then incorporated in an effort to formulate a theory of white-collar unionization which groups them into six important components. Each of these components

are capable of producing a significant impact on a worker's attitudes towards supporting some form of collective representation.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---|---|
| International Brotherhood of Trades Workers | IBTW |
| International Union of Radio, Electrical and Machine Operators | IUREMO |
| Productivity Gain Group | PGG |
| Senior Citizens' Association | SCA |
| Scientific Management Consultants | SMC |
| Utilco Recreation Association | Rec. Association |
| Utility Corporation of Newfoundland, Limited | Utilco |
| Utility Workers of Canada | UWC |

The theoretical problem of industrial sociology... is a problem of exploring the several types of alienation and morale which we come upon as we consider systematically the structure of power and its meanings for the individual lives of workmen. It requires us to examine the extent to which psychological shifts have accompanied structural shifts and in each case, why? In such directions lies the promise of a social science of modern man's working life.

C. Wright Mills in
The Sociological Imagination, pg.96.

# 1. INTRODUCTION

> Modern industry has converted the little workshop of the patriarchal master into the great factory of the industrial capitalist. Masses of laborers, crowded into the factory, are organized like soldiers. As privates of the industrial army they are placed under the command of a perfect hierarchy of officers and sergeants. Not only are they slaves of the bourgeois class, and of the bourgeois state; they are daily and hourly enslaved by the machine, by the overlooker, and, above all, by the individual bourgeois manufacturer himself. The more openly this despotism proclaims gain to be its end and aim, the more petty, the more hateful, and the more embittering it is.

Karl Marx -, "The Manifesto of the Communist Party" in Marx and Engels: Basic writings on Politics and Philosopy, 1959, p.14.

The month of December, 1983, brought with it the culmination of a year long campaign drive by the Utility Workers of Canada (UWC) union to organize and represent the clerical office workers of the Utility Corporation of Newfoundland Limited (Utilco), a large province-wide utility corporation. This study views this campaign and its effects from a sociological perspective examining the physical, social and attitudinal factors impacting on the various workers involved. The result of this examination is the formation of a unionization model which incorporates the most significant of these factors and relates them to the tendency of white-collar workers toward unionization.

In order to ensure that the white-collar workers and their unions are adequately understood their historical development will be briefly reviewed. This will enable the reader to view the UWC campaign in its proper context and to be fully aware of trade union evolution and its status in today's North American society. An appropriate starting point for this introduction into the white-collar trade union movement would be during the late 1800's, when the composition of the industrial world's labour force began to undergo a radical change. This change, which is still continuing in modern capitalist societies, saw a gradual shift from a majority of blue-collar to that of white-collar workers in the modern business world. As business

grew larger more workers were needed to handle the increased volume of paperwork created by the growing bureaucratization of society. This growth initially started on a large scale in financial areas, such as banking and the insurance industry, and was a result of the demands of business for increased finances needed to expand their own operations. The result of this growth was that it prompted the creation of the "office army", - an increase in the number of white-collar workers.

In this early period there existed little in the way of any white-collar trade unions, even though by this time there were many well developed blue-collar unions or labour movements. Many white-collar workers formed local social clubs and societies, the main interest of which was in social and educational activities. This emphasis of the white-collar worker shifted in the early 1900's toward national organizations. However, as was illustrated by British workers, most still rejected the designation of 'trade union' and denied association with the labour movement (Adams, 1975). The advent of the World Wars and the Great Depression of the 1930's again caused a shift in emphasis, mainly due to the requirements for higher output, greater overtime and generally more stress and control being placed on the workforce. White-collar workers were beginning to accept the concept of 'labour union' as an

effective method for their representation and protection in the modern capitalist world.

As stated earlier, white-collar expansion commenced in the late 1800's and early 1900's. As it continued to grow, so did the need for new office technologies. In many large corporations, offices became more departmentalized and rationalized. This was prompted by the desire to increase output and reduce costs. Later, work-flow patterns were studied and, increasingly, offices started to reflect factory-like production processes. Job fragmentation occurred in the name of 'efficiency'. These processes were also aided by the introduction of office machinery (for example, typewriters and basic adding machines) and later automation techniques. This mechanization or automation of the office, Lowe (1980) terms a by-product or off-shoot of progresssive rationalization. One of the more significant office technologies was the "scientific management" technique, which was introduced during the early 20th century and offered the employers more benefits. For example, employees who constantly performed basic tasks could be paid at a lower wage, produced more, and were more easily regulated. This form of task specialization developed into a modern production-line type of office operation (Lowe, 1980). Similar conclusions were reached by Brown (1977) in his study of bureaucracy. Also, these new organizational techniques created a process of

differentiation and occupational specialization causing a severe split in the white-collar workforce. The jobs which were made boring and lacking in any type of challenge were generally located at the lower end of the white-collar hierarchy and termed 'clerical', while the higher ranking jobs were termed 'management'. Due to the availability of relatively inexpensive female labour wishing to enter the workforce, the clerical jobs were reserved for them (see also Kanter, 1977).

During this period the numerical growth of both workers and their unions varied throughout the industrial world. For example, in Britain between 1914 and 1920 the white-collar union membership more than doubled and, from that point on, continued to increase although at a slower pace. In Canada, however, white-collar unionization had its big rise in the late 1960's and the early 1970's when collective bargaining rights were extended to public employees. Since that time many workers have begun to organize white-collar unions in the private sector and have met great resistance. The oppostion to these unions came from both the corporate world as well as from many white-collar workers themselves. In Canada during 1981 union membership stood at 3,160,068 workers or 32.9 percent of the paid workers in industry. This reflected a growth of 108.6 percent since 1962. Presently, throughout North America the labour movement seems to be in a state of

retreat or at best holding constant. With high unemployment and rising cost of living the unions are losing their bargaining power. At the same time, their memberships have been reduced by massive layoffs. This points to a dramatic shift in the power balance, moving away from labour to management, induced by the recessionary period[1] (List, 1983).

This type of conflict situation has had and will continue to have many serious ramifications for both the corporate business world and the individual worker. The situation illustrates the importance of research in this area which can help answer basic questions such as, 1) what variables cause workers to seek union representation?; 2) why do many corporations resist employee unions?; and 3) what new influences have caused the shift toward increased unionization of the white-collar workers? One problem confronted in such a study stems from the association of white-collar with the sterotypical blue-collar union characteristics. Another problem stated by Crompton (1976) is that perhaps utilizing models which explain union growth and behavior in the universal framework is holding back our ability to explain this area better. It is possible that the same white-collar situation may promote varied forms of collective representation which might not necessarily be best explained by the same model. Therefore, an effective model must incorporate a degree of flexibility to allow for individual case

differences.

The concept of 'white-collar' itself is unique in that it is an arbitrary concept mainly derived from historical precedent. These workers are categorized differently from other workers purely on the type of work performed or on work location. According to Lumley (1973) it is one concept which is in desperate need of further explanation. In the field of industrial sociology the recognition and study of the white-collar worker is constantly increasing in importance. This is especially true since the early 1960's when the number of white-collar workers in North America exceeded blue-collar workers for the first time (Bendix, 1963; Hall, 1975).

A further product of the white-collar expansion has been the growth in white-collar unions. Lumley (1973:20) defined a white-collar union as, "...the existence and activity of any organization of employees in protecting and furthering the interests of its members, as employees". I believe this definition tends to be very broad in its scope; more properly perhaps it could be restricted to those employees or representative groups who are involved in a form of collective bargaining over worker conditions or remuneration for the group's members.

The growth in these office workers' unions seems inevitable when one considers the nature of capitalist industry. There will always be an inherent difference between the employer and the employee - the issue of salaries and benefits. The employer sees this as one of his largest expenses[2], which must be reduced, while the employee would like to see it rise in order to fulfill his personal needs. Since the employee by himself cannot successfully combat the larger corporate forces which tend to dictate his working conditions, he turns to the collective representation found in unions.

Most of these white-collar workers are found in the economic middle strata (Bechhofer, Elliott & McCrane, 1978), a group whose occupational structure has expanded since the early 1900's due to changes in the overall economic and industrial structure of society. The authors also state that advances in education combined with a loss of work distinction and differentiation from the lower status has caused a loss of identity. The previously middle-class life styles, material objects and leisure pursuits have been relatively diminished when compared to those now available to the lower economic strata in society. Perhaps the underlying new purpose of white-collar unionization may be to unify the middle-class and preserve a little of what they had.

These relatively new white-collar groups are seeking a form of what Poole (1982:181) terms an "industrial democracy"[3]. This he defines "in terms of the exercise of power by workers or their representatives over decisions within their places of employment coupled with a modification in the locus and distribution of authority within the workplace". This control over corporate decisions has been previously excluded from the trade unions' influence.[4]

In North American societies the trend toward white-collar unions is relatively new and, as yet, has not been adequately studied. Much of the research in this field has stemmed from Europe and Britain, where white-collar unions had their greatest boost during the World Wars. In order to understand the present situation concerning these unions we must briefly trace their development. In doing this a heavy reliance must be placed on the great number of studies performed by sociologists in the area of white-collar workers (the most notable being done by Mills, 1956; Lockwood, 1958; Crozier, 1965; and Kanter, 1977). However it should also be kept in mind that their treatment of white-collar unions has been rather limited because their primary concern was the broader field of white-collar workers, of which unions were only a small part.

Some white-collar workers have avoided the word "union" by forming "associations" or "guilds". In

Newfoundland these white-collar groups are best represented by the Newfoundland Teachers' Association or The Newfoundland Association of Public Employees. Even though these are in reality unions, through the use of the word 'association', they have avoided the stigma normally attributed to the word "union" by those of the middle and upper classes.

Since the early 1900's there has been an increase in the unionization of North American white-collar workers, due in part to a reduction of their personal affiliation with the owners and higher managers within business. As well, factors such as inflation, standardization, and economic recession contributed further to the workers' search for more protection and assistance in various areas (e.g. wage and benefit bargaining). They have been rapidly losing the special type of bond which they once had with the corporations themselves. The paternalism of the early business has gone and been replaced by the theme of efficiency.

Other changes in unionization occurred as a result of the World Wars. For example, during World War I the British government decided it needed the support of labour and consequently adopted a pro-union policy. When this was combined with a scarcity of goods and services, and rising costs of living, worker discontent rose and so did the union memberships. For example, in the area of the white-collar workers, main sources of satisfaction have been, and

still are to a certain degree, the economic and status advantages they possess over blue-collar workers. Mills (1956) and Lockwood (1958) both confirmed that following World War I these advantages had stabilized. Then during World War II the blue-collar salaries gained, aided by overtime pay. This situation reduced the degree of satisfaction which the white-collar worker derived from his/her job and contributed to his/her tendency towards unionism.

David Lockwood (1958:15) studied this economic advantage within what he termed - "social class identification" and stated that it was not based on ownership or non-ownership of the means of production as previously believed. He listed three factors which make up a perceived class position:

1) Market situation - Income level, job security, opportunity for upward mobility.

2) Work situation - The set of social relationships in which the worker is involved while at work.

3) Status situation - The prestige position of the worker in society.

These three factors, stated by Lockwood, form the basis of the "sociological approach" utilized in the study

of white-collar unions. This approach is critized by the "industrial relations" theorists (e.g. Bain) in that it attempts to establish a relationship between social class and union membership, which they say has never been demonstrated. This criticism, according to Crompton (1983), reduces the sociological approach to its simplest form and therefore neglects an important relationship. She believes an understanding of the white-collar workers' class situation is "essential" to interpreting white-collar union activity, and this understanding can best be gained through the analysis using Marxist principles. However, she continues to point out that any universal theory is prone to the danger of being too general to be useful. "There will be qualitative differences in both strategy and behavior between middle class collective organizations" (Crompton, 1983:245).

This concept of middle class is also evident in the proletarianization theses of the white-collar labour force. This is based on three premises: 1) There has been an erosion of the market advantages of the white-collar over the blue-collar worker. 2) The white-collar workers are facing promotion blockages similar to those faced by blue-collar workers. 3) The typical shop-floor conditions of the blue-collar workers are being extended into white-collar office situations (e.g. open-landscaped office, performance measurement techniques, etc.) These factors cause white-

collar workers to identify more with the blue-collar workers. Utilizing this thesis Roberts et al. (1983) concluded that the individual situation is the determining factor in a worker's union tendencies. They state all workers, whether white-or blue-collar, are willing to support collective action depending on what best suits their own situation.

Other factors which affect the white-collar office worker are the degree of bureaucratization and the effects of a "dehumanized system". Both these factors contribute to the isolation of a separate clerical class and increase requirements for union representation among these workers. It should also be noted that the separate class is predominately female, which characteristically has a lower density of union membership when compared to male groups. This trend, according to Tilly and Scott (1978), is due to the relatively short periods of their employment, high turnover, and family pressures, which all make it difficult to establish a sense of collective membership or to devote time or money to a union. Also, during the first half of this century many unions were ambivalent towards organizing females. However, according to Lumley (1973), recent data indicates a strong reversal of this pattern. In British Columbia, for example, Marchak (1973) found that union potential was highest among women when compared to men due to their lower income and weaker bargaining position. She

"loss in prestige". The recent tendency for this group to unionize is justified in two ways: 1) by the increased separation of mangers from ownership; and 2) by the belief that they are a distinct professional group. He also found that the manager's age is an important factor. The older managers prefer conservative solutions to problems, while the younger favor the more "reformist" solutions offered through uniohization.

This growth in white-collar unions may be summarized by Mills (1956:285):

> As insecurities become widespread and their sources beyond the individual's control, as they become collective insecurities, the population has groped for collective means of retaining individual security. The most dramatic means has been the labour union.

Other reasons for this union growth have been suggested by researchers studying various aspects of the white-collar workforce. One major factor indicated by many researchers (Chamot, 1976; Carter, 1979; Albert & Plovsing, 1972) is the increased feeling of insecurity and the loss of independance that come with being an employee within the large corporation. In the modern corporate office the employee seems to be losing the identity with, and pride in, his work that was once predominant. "Streamlining" and "efficiency" within the office force many employees to view

found 63 percent of men associated with management versus 42 percent of the non-union females. Another reason for increased union emphasis being given to females is their growth in the workforce. Statistics Canada (1984) reported females in Canada's labour force increased close to 60 percent from 1971 to 1981 - two and one-half times that for men. Women workers during 1981 comprised 31 percent of all union members in Canada compared to only 16.4 percent in 1962. (Statistics Canada, 1981).

Industrial society has also seen the development of a second separate white-collar group - i.e., management. In essence, there are two divisions within this group: 1) executive managers - those who occupy the higher management positions on the organization's hierarchy and are in contact with the owners or their representatives on a daily basis; and 2) junior managers - those who are more involved with the organization's daily operations and the supervision of non-management personnel, and who usually occupy low levels on the mangement hierarchy[5]. Derossi (1981), in studies of management in Italy and other European countries, states that managers are increasingly turning to unions for representation. This is an attempt to have their group supported by external institutional organizations. He states their fear against unionizing centers around the belief that "union representation would debase the position of managers" (Derossi, 1981:138). It would constitute a

themselves as merely members or indicator factors on the corporate books. Along with this sense of being 'only a statistic' are feelings of a decline in status in relation to both the previous white-collar workers' status position, and this position in relation to that of a blue-collar worker. Albert and Ploving (1972) also support factors such as the impact of automation and lack of promotional chances due a great degree to a country's weak or slow economic growth. Other factors which they term "socio-psychological" (i.e. this type of impact is based on the belief that union members are convincing non-union workers to join unions) and "industrial relations" (i.e. due to management's lack of skill in handling the growing number of white-collar office workers) have also contributed significantly to this growth.

There are of course, other factors which rather than contribute to the union growth, contribute to the reluctance of many white-collar office workers to join labour unions. Two of the most influencial are: 1) a reluctance due in part to the stereotype of unionized blue-collar workers who often go on strike for various reasons and who face rigid work rules, standards, quotas, etc. when at their place of work; and 2) a reluctance based on the narrowing of the perceived gap between the white - and blue-collar worker. Since the early 1900's, the white-collar worker has generally assumed his position to be slightly

better than that of the blue-collar worker. Because of the union's primary association with the blue-collar workforce, there is a psychological pressure on the office worker to reject unions, the acceptance of which would be felt to lower one's status to that of the blue-collar worker.

These types of positive and negative forces have tended to result in a form of worker organization (i.e. white-collar unions) which has its own unique characteristics. For example, Fiorito and Greer (1982) state that education is negatively associated with unionization. This is because the more highly educated workers generally have greater individual bargaining power and therefore less need for collective action. Also, white-collar union members are generally males, belong to the middle socio-economic class and, compared to blue-collar union members, tend to be less militant and to identify more with the corporation (Carter, 1979).

The impact of many of these characteristics on the workers is also reflected in a change in their work ethic. Buchholz (1978) argues that the old ethic, which held that hard work is good for the worker, is gone. This has been replaced with the "humanistic ethic" - founded on premises which stress personal fulfillment and satisfaction in one's job, learning new tasks and obtaining personal growth. He

believes work, to the modern white-collar workers, should be a personally rewarding experience.

One of the few theorists to develop an explanatory model for unionization is George Bain. His model implies that the amount of white-collar unionization is a function of employer policy and bureaucratic working conditions. The employer policy is mainly a function of government policy. Bain suggests that bureaucracy is pushing workers towards unions, but resistance from employers holds them back. Adams (1975) research contradicts Bain's in many ways. He says that it is not bureaucracy but workers' discontent with their economic situation, that is the prime factor. Also, this discontent is neither necessary nor sufficient to prompt union growth by itself. The employee must believe that unionization will improve his/her personal situation. Secondly, while employer policy is important, a favorable policy is not essential for union growth.

As was illustrated by the above discussion, the field of white-collar unionization has not been comprehensively documented and no reliable over-all model has yet been developed. As Lumley (1973) states, it is a field lacking scientific documentation and universal theory. This review of the research on white-collar unionization indicates three problems which require further research:

1) The vast majority of the research has been performed prior to the 1970's, and consequently does not reflect the effects of high inflation, unemployment computerization or female liberation in a modern technological era.

2) In the research available there is relatively little agreement on the important factors affecting white-collar unionization, especially within North America. This has been partially due to the fact that in many cases the study of white-collar unions was done as merely part of a study of the broader field of white-collar workers, thereby generally permitting little in-depth or limited research in the area. There are relatively few comprehensive studies on white-collar unionization itself.

3) White-collar unions in North America are a relatively new phenomenon which have been increasing rapidly. Yet, unlike Europe, there has been little in the way of a comprehensive study of white-collar unionization performed within the North American setting. The mere fact that European white-collar unions are well developed, organized and accepted, while in Canada and the United States they are in the developmental stages indicates cultural differences exist which may influence the white-collar North American worker.

The idea that white-collar workers and their unions are in need of further research is also supported by Adams (1975), who states that there exists a "white-collar labour problem" in most industrial countries. This is due to two factors - 1) the growing importance of white-collar occupations, and 2) the traditional weakness of trade unionism among these workers. He concludes that even though it is an important area of investigation, researchers have not yet achieved a high degree of theoretical sophistication.

Cook and Stanley (1978), in their study of white-collar trade unions, offer one possible reason for this problem. They conclude that many previous researchers have assumed occupational group strategies (e.g. unionization) imply differences in basic workers' attitudes while it would be more beneficial to study the individual circumstances which induce the occupational groups to adopt various strategies. In other words, more may be gained from the study of the individual worker who faces the choice to unionize or not, than to study the existing union presently operating within a workplace. In so doing a more dynamic, individualized model (i.e. worker oriented rather than work-group oriented) may be created which could better explain the major, active forces involved in the unionization process.

As we have seen thus far there has been no comprehensive model of unionization developed. Many important factors have been discussed, all of which in one way or another affect the white-collar workers' attitudes toward unionization. However, there has been little research into the integration or the attaching of weighted values to these factors. It will be the goal of this research study to develop a model of the unionization process incorporating factors which interact to determine the white-collar workers' present tendency towards unionization. It should be noted however, that this model, since it has only been formulated based on the Utilco case study and existing research in the area, should be considered provisional or tentative pending future applications elsewhere in North America. The factors which will be discussed are:

1) The general economic situation of the country. For example, during periods of high unemployment Lumley (1973) states that the employer's position is stronger because workers try not to antagonize their employers for fear of losing their jobs and, as a consequence, do not join unions. However, I believe these general societal effects may be off-set by more local factors. For example, in the present North American workforce there is high unemployment, yet rising white-collar unionism. This may be the result of corporations 'laying-off' workers based on mixed criteria (e.g.

seniority, redundant positions, performance) rather than on a more socially accepted criterion (i.e. seniority); or employers laying-off workers without much notice or lay-off pay. The white-collar worker seeks protection from such occurrences[6] and, seeing the blue-collar worker receive this security, looks to similar organizations for representation and protection.

2) The worker's economic situation influences his/her attitude toward unionization. With high inflation and cost of living the worker seeks alternatives which may help improve the situation. With many white-collar workers observing the higher increases received by blue-collar unions. White-collar workers are increasingly viewing unions as a positive aid.[7]

3) Increases in the bureaucracy within organizations affect the tendency towards unionization. The development of the white-collar workforce occurred coincidentally with rationalization, centralization and departmentalization. All these factors increased the organization's need for greater rules, regulations and policies. With increases in these regulations, etc., the degree of worker frustration, discontent and alienation increased, thereby moving workers towards collective affiliation and representation. This also makes identification, communication and organization much easier. Also, dealing with bureaucracy

requires a specialized understanding which is available and offered by most union organizations.

4) Employer policies, if perceived as being biased by the workers, will influence attitudes concerning unionization.

5) The workers' realization that they have problems which can best be solved through collective, not individual, representation and, the workers' acceptance that unions represent a valid and favorable alternative for this representation will be conducive to a worker's pro-union attitude and behavior.

6) Another factor is the degree and style of the union's membership drive. For example, white-collar workers currently have a low degree of unionization and one primary reason is that the concept of a 'union' itself has presented a status threat to the worker (Ritzer, 1972). This is due to the perceived blue-collar influence in unions. Therefore, the union's approach is critical - appealing to white-collar workers using approaches designed for blue-collar workers, theoretically, could produce negative results.

7) The level of female union membership or their percentage in the white-collar office worker group to be organized affects both the success in unionization and the degree

of militancy. Characteristically, as Lumley (1973) illustrated in his study on British workers, females are generally more conservative than men in unions and they develop a stronger sense of loyalty to their employers; this is especially true among the more senior female workers. Perhaps, since they characteristically occupy the most vulnerable economic positions in the organization (Phillips and Phillips, 1983), they feel loyality is the best method to protect their insecure positions. However, Phillips and Phillips also concluded that the worker's sex is not a main determinate of whether or not a person joins a union. More important is the industry and occupation to which the person belongs. If this conclusion is valid, then in certain cases females would be more vulnerable and consequently more conservative in their actions.

8) Peer groups or family pressure (as well as the presence of other union members within the immediate family) may influence a worker's attitude toward unions. Through his/her association with peer groups and family members, the worker will feel support and/or pressure to conform to group norms and attitudes.

9) A relative loss in salaries and benefits when compared to blue-collar and executive white-collar levels of

labour will affect worker attitude. There are many studies that support the idea that white-collar workers resent the closing of the social status gap between their members and the members of the blue-collar group (Mills, 1956; Ritzer, 1972; Jenkins & Sherman, 1979; Lumley, 1973). However, the question which may be even more significant at this time is whether the white-collar workers who are in the position of becoming members of a union, also perceive a widening of the social status gap between themselves and other white-collar workers who occupy positions higher up in the organizational hierarchy (i.e. executive managers). In view of present trends towards a reduction in the blue-collar workers and corresponding increases in the white-collar workforce (i.e. both in clerical and managerial levels), it would seem that this gap within the white-collar workforce is growing in importance.

10) The workers' physical and social work environment can influence their attitude toward unionzation. In the case of the physical layout, separation from higher level management by partitions or walls can impede communication and identification. Also, an active social life within the coporation can increase group solidarity and identification with the corporation or be an aid in promoting a pro-union attitude.

This research provides a unique opportunity to study white-collar unionization from its beginnings in a modern corporation, through its subsequent development, to its final stage. For the purpose of this study the final stage would be either recognition by the employer and full representation of the employees, or the defeat of the union campaign through company interference or because of pro-company employees. In this case, the opportunity was the attempt by the U.W.C. to unionize the clerical level of Utilco. This Corporation is one of the largest employers in the province of Newfoundland and is a member in the Trans Canada Utility System.[8] Through the study of this situation insights are gained in the areas of attitudes, policies, actions and reactions of the various people and organizations involved. Also, many sociological factors affecting white-collar workers, unions and corporations are explored and examined within a North American context.

The primary methods of data gathering utilized throughout this study were ethnographic sources and interviews with the participants involved. Other information was gained through examination of both Corporate and Union bulletins or newsletters, Corporate financial reports, local and national newspaper articles and scientific research concerning white-collar workers (Appendix 1 presents a more detailed description of the methods used).

The remainder of this thesis is organized in the following manner: First, the reader will be introduced to the Utilco organization in three parts; its history and attitude toward the Union, its physical environment and social atmosphere. This, it is felt, will give the reader an insight into the workers' lives at Utilco and some of the organizational problems present which contributed to the desire among some workers for union representation. Following this is a discussion on each of the employee hierarchical groups offering a glimpse into these workers' attitudes and the specific problems faced by each organizational level. Next, we look at the UWC and the results of its campaign on the various employee groups. The concluding section presents a provisional model of white-collar unionization. This model is discussed with reference to the Utilco case and its potential for broader applicability within North America.

In summary, the goal of this research is to present an unbiased objective description and explanation of an attempt by a group of workers to alter the power balance in a large corporation through the introduction of a white-collar union. This study also presents insights into peoples' interactions in this type of conflict situation, which will be of value to others in understanding the presssures and dynamics involved in the process of unionization. Through the analysis of this data a tentative model of white-collar unionization is proposed.

## 2. UTILCO: THE PHYSICAL AND SOCIAL SETTING

"To think of the business corporation, then simply as an economic instrument is to fail totally to understand the meaning of the social changes of the last half century.

Daniel Bell, The Coming of Post-Industrial Society, 1976, p. 289.

A. Utilco history

The Utility Corporation of Newfoundland Limited is a pseudomyn for a utility corporation[9] with its head office located in St. John's, Newfoundland, a small city by North American standards with a population of approximately 150,000 in its metropolitan area. Utilco provides a necessary utility service to most parts of Newfoundland and Labrador and is a participating member in a Canada wide consortium, set up in 1931, which coordinates this service throughout all the provinces. (Utilco actually became an associate member in the consortium in 1956).

On March 20th., 1878 this utility service was first installed in St. John's on a limited basis. However, it was not until 1919 that the present Corporation started up under the name of Utility Avalon Limited, servicing only the Avalon peninsula portion of the province. Later in 1954 its controlling interest was sold to a group of Newfoundland and Montreal businessmen. These shares were later brought by CanCorp (one of Canada's largest multinational corporations) in 1962. The "Avalon" name was changed to "Newfoundland" in 1970 reflecting the Corporation's broader base of operations. Since then it has experienced constant growth. One indicator of this is seen in the expansion of its employees, who have been nearly doubled in the last ten years to

the present number of approximately 1,500. Another indicator of this growth is the Corporation's net income which, even during the recent recessionary years of 1981 and 1982, increased from $11,781,000 to $14,516,000 - a 23.2 percent gain. However, from Utilco's point of view this growth in profits did not come easily. These were recessionary times when everyone was told to tighten their belts, so-to-speak. There was nationwide high inflation and rising unemployment due to many lay-offs and bankruptcies. In its 1982 Annual Report, Utilco, while reporting its significant profit on page one, later partially explains how it achieved such success:[10]

> Impressive cost reductions and modest rate adjustments have enabled us to report a significant improvement in earnings. ... In the past year we have adjusted successfully to a slow growth environment. We have learned, too, that our employees have the capacity and determination required to cope with the changes that are occurring. Reductions in the workforce and strict controls on operating budgets have placed a considerable strain on our human resources. Employees throughout the Company have accepted the challenge and reaffirmed their dedication to quality and service.

Throughout many Corporate documents such as this, one can easily cite examples of the writing style which illustrates the Corporation's paternalistic attitude toward its workers.

With cost restraint measures such as 'personnel streamlining', cuts in all departments' operating budgets for travel, equipment, supplies, training programs, duplication services and overtime, the Corporation made it through one of the country's hardest times with amazing results (ie. a gain of 23.2 percent in net income). Also, using the recession as its justification, it was able to 'trim a great deal of fat' from the Corporation. For example, one major "key indicator" used within Utilco is the number of employees per one thousand utility units. In 1978 this was 8.41, while by 1982 it was cut to 6.42 - a drop of 23.7 percent (by coincidence a comparable drop to the 23.2 percent gain in net income). However, it should be noted that also during 1982, the Corporation applied for and was granted three rate increases by The Public Utilities Commission - the provincial regulator.

In any broad overview of Utilco, one must discuss the effect of its parent corporation - CanCorp. In the personnel area this is easily visible to all employees. Management training for example, is an area where Utilco has its own training department which offers courses to employees on topics varying from, "How to handle subordinate problems", to "Letter writing", or self-improvement courses designed to assist the new manager in coping with the Utilco environment and methods of behavior. These courses are, for the most part, direct copies of those

designed and used by CanCorp. That Corporation has designed its training programs for the large urban-centered multinational corporations like itself. Utilco brought these programs to Newfoundland and attempted to duplicate a similar style of business as well as the type of employee it is designed to mold. Another example of Utilco's duplication of CanCorp is in its organizational hierarchy (discussed later in Section 3 and diagrammed in Appendix 2), the only exception being that there are two fewer middle managerial strata.

As illustrated by the above examples, CanCorp's influence in Utilco decisions and style is still very strong. This influence accounts for the 'aura' of a large scale multinational one feels when working at Utilco. The feeling is illustrated by, on the one hand, the degree of professionalism exhibited by its workers and, on the other, the bureaucratic processes required to order merely a pencil or pen, for example. Also, at Utilco the worker is constantly under pressure to meet deadlines and production quotas. One employee who has been at Utilco for just two years, put it this way;

> This place really belongs to the Toronto or Montreal type rat race, not in peaceful Newfoundland. Here (at Utilco), if anyone wants anything its rush, rush, rush. They all want it yesterday and its vitally important. You end up working your balls off for something they won't use for weeks.

Utilco's organizational structure can basically be divided into two major types of workers - the blue-collar workers involved in the more physically demanding work, and the white-collar, office employees. This study will concern itself with only the latter which may also be divided into two major groups - managerial and clerical.

B. Physical environment

If we are to investigate the cause of internal strife or 'rebellion' within Utilco, the working environment must first be studied - Under what physical constraints do the employees work? Are there possible causes within this environment for discontent? In this case, while small confrontations among workers occur in various corporate locations and Union meeting halls, the major portion takes place within the confines of Utilco's head office building in St. John's. The physical structure and the psychological barriers it presents, in many cases, brings on employee feelings of isolation and alienation. It is, therefore, the purpose of this section to illustrate, through the examination of the actual Corporate setting, how Utilco's modern office complex was not designed merely for aesthetics or job function, but to add support to the organizational power structure.

The physical fringe benefits and perks present at Utilco have developed into a form of 'psychological pay' which can and generally does reflect one's power and/or hierarchical status in the Corporation. The study of physical lay-outs by sociologists often centers on the study of proxemics. Similar to many other social animals, the

white-collar worker's territorial control is relative to his rank. For example, as we find with Utilco, the boss may walk freely into a subordinate's workspace, but the subordinate does not have the right to do the reverse. When applied to the 'office world' this implies that those workers at the higher level in the hierarchical organization not only have more 'control', but are able to increase and support this control through their possession and use of more office appurtenances than their subordinates. One such benefit of higher organization status is spatial entitlement (Bell, 1984; Summer, 1969). Hall (1959), in The Silent Language, states that spatial change not only can set a tone for communication, but at times can override the communication itself.

This section then, illustrates that the use and availability of certain symbols and architectural designs, which are characteristic of the various levels in Utilco's hierarchy, tend to be more important and predominant at ascending levels. The actors in each status level do not have infinite possibilities of behavior open to them - they are restricted in that they behave as that specific status level is expected to behave. The limits of choice are partially structurally defined through the physical design of the work environment. Those at the lower levels - the clerks - face these physical restrictions at their max-

imum level. This is not designed as a picture of gloom out of which no individualization can occur. It merely points out a problem which must be faced and overcome by Utilco if the fabric of the clerical and even the managerial job relationships is to be altered.

In the case of Utilco the majority of its several hundred employees work in a modern, seven story, head office building. The building, with a multi-faced red brick exterior, was designed for Utilco by one of Canada's leading architectural firms. Its size is very large in relation to most other buildings in the area, with a big parking lot on the side and some other parking space underground.

It is at this point that the employee's organizational status becomes evident in the architecture. The majority of the employees park in any spot they can find and walk, exposed to the weather, to the building. The executive managers meanwhile, are given reserved parking next to the building, or if they are Utilco Department Presidents, have reserved parking places in the underground garage (see Appendix 2).

As early as 7:30 a.m. employees begin to fill the parking lot with their cars, most arriving at 8:00 or 8:30 a.m. The majority of those who arrive early are clerical

staff and some junior managers. Later, either at 8:30 or 9:00 a.m., the remaining staff report to work. This group, mostly high-level managers, enter an office which is already busy with activity. This scene is reversed at the end of the day when those who came in early leave at 4:00 or 4:30 p.m., while the high-level managers usually stay until 5:00 p.m. or later.

Upon entering the building one is confronted by a large atrium which rises through the center of all seven floors. The first six floors are open to the atrium except for a low partition and hand rail around the atrium's edge. The seventh floor is the President's level which is enclosed by a glass wall and a more elaborate hand rail.

Upon exiting the elevators on either of the first six floors, the scene is identical. The architects term it "open landscaping". There are no interior walls, just hundreds of sound absorbing partitions of various heights and shapes (Appendix 2). The open landscaping concept for offices was designed to improve communication by removing physical barriers and to be more cost efficient than permanent walls. It was expected to yield a sense of common purpose and shared goals by matching spatial working environments to the functional requirements of the work-force (Bell, 1974).

At Utilco the lowest partitions are placed immediately in front and attached to both sides of all clerical and low level managers' desks. These 4½ foot high 'walls' form the basis of most office workers' worlds. Some have them ornamented or personalized (when permitted by their Department) with pictures of family members, jokes, vacation schedules or other personal momentos which provide moments of day-dreaming escape from the Corporation's world. The Corporation terms this arrangement a "work station".

Running alongside the walls and windows of each floor are arrangements of higher partitions which the Corporation terms "offices". These are reserved for the middle managers and some executive managers. The difference in status becomes obvious in the partition height. The middle managers' partitions are 5½ feet high and surround an office space of 100 square feet. The executive managers' offices are 200 square feet and have 7 foot high partitions. Other differences, such as the fact that middle managers' offices usually have one window while executives usually have two, also tends to support their Corporate status. Other appurtenances such as the number of visitors chairs, shelves and plants in one's office, name plate on the partition, style of desk, chair and even coat rack also increases with hierarchical position (refer to Appendix 4).

Inside these offices, uniformity within each status level is again the dominant principle. Most middle managers' offices have their desk against one of the partitions, and a small round table and two chairs in front of the window. Their two shelves (one more than the junior managers) above their desks and the coat tree is in one of the office's corners. In the executive offices the desk is in the corner with only one side against a partition or positioned with free space on all sides. There are three chairs, a bigger table by the window, and a chaulkboard on the wall next to a portable coat closet. Behind the large desk is a credenza and a mini wall filing cabinet. One wall of the office is usually adorned with various corporate slogans and awards in the form of wall plaques.

On the fifth floor is an employee cafeteria. This cafeteria is special in that it has a glass roof and windows the full length of the exterior side. There is also a small outdoor eating area for use during fine days. This has the effect of allowing the employees the feeling of leaving Utilco during their lunch hours, yet they are physically contained inside the building under corporate influence.

The seventh floor is called by some employees the "seventh floor heaven". This floor is reserved for the Department Presidents, Corporate President and their pri-

vate secretaries. In this "heaven" of the office building, which employees visit only by appointment and very few get to see, one can find pure wool carpets, top quality chairs, sofas and office equipment. Even here in this section, separated from the rest of the building by its being on the top floor and by its glass walls around the atrium, there are still architecturally designed hierarchical differences. As one might expect, the Department Presidents' offices are smaller, have less window space, office furniture, fewer plants and appurtenances than the Corporate President's office. Also, this floor contains two roof top patios - one which is shared by the Department Presidents and one (with the superior view), which is used exclusively by the Corporate President himself.

Space and Supervision

To aid in the understanding of the Utilco workers feelings, a brief review should be made of a system designed for prisons in the early 1800's. It is known as "Bentham's Panopticon" and is an architectural design where the prisoners would be isolated from one another by walls. However each cell would be open to the view of an observer from one side. Due to the design the prisoner could never tell when he was being watched. He would only be able to see his immediate cell while the guard could see both inside the cell

is parallelled by the executive managers' offices being against the wall, with high partitions and occupying corner (ie. central tower) positions. The majority of the office workers on the lower end of the hierarchy, when sitting at their desks, have little visibility due to their partitions being attached to their desks. They are constantly exposed to their supervisor's observations yet, unless they turn around, they are unable to know who, if anyone, is looking at them. If a worker stands up, he/she becomes visible over the partitions (due to their low height in most workers' cases) and can be seen by any supervisor on the floor who happens to be looking. The feeling this has on many workers is expressed by Janet, a clerk in the Customer Services section:

> You're afraid to get up, for God's sake. If they (the managers) see your head they know you're not at your desk and so they think you're goofin' off. You almost feel like you have to explain anytime you get up for any reason.

Space and Communication

The open-landscaping concept, as used at Utilco, also tends to support the hierarchy through its different allocations to the various status levels. The most obvious allocation is the varying partition height. These partitions imply that the higher the level the more important

or into the outside world.

> Each individual, in his place, is securely confined to a cell from which he is seen ... by the supervisor; but the side walls prevent him from coming into contact with companions. He is seen, but he does not see; he is the object of information, never a subject in communication. The arrangement of his room, opposite the central tower, imposes on him an axial visibility; but ... those separated cells, imply a laterial invisibility. And this invisibility is a guarantee of order (Foucault, 1979:200).

This system could have an equally beneficial result if used in the business world. A system where the worker is restricted in what he sees, yet can generally be observed, gives the observer power which is "visible and unverifiable", This can result in more conformity, less disorder, and increased productivity. It is a system which considers the location of bodies in space and also in relation to one another and the organizational hierarchy. "Without any physical instrument other than architecture and geometry, it acts directly on individuals; it gives 'power of mind over mind'. The panoptic schema makes any apparatus of power more intense" (Foucault, 1979:200).

As with panopticism, one major effect that the design and location of the "work stations" and "offices" has on people is the constant reinforcement of the organizational power structure. At Utilco, the panoptic idea

the person and the need for greater privacy. In practical terms this is a fallacy; there is very little difference in the degree of sound absorption derived from a 4½-foot versus 5½-foot partition for example. With this architectural design verbal privacy is achieved by very few employees. However, what this height difference actually achieves is to support the worker's status, create another psychological barrier to communication, and offer select employees a 'psychological pay bonus' confirming their importance to the organization upon the advancement into a higher organizational level. Just as in medieval times the foot soldiers surrounded and formed a guard for the castles where the items of greatest value were protected by the walls of greatest height, so is the feeling of a worker's value to and power in the organization at Utilco equivalent to the height and position of each office or work station.[12]

Status and Access to the External World

At Utilco, having a window or receiving a morning newspaper reflects status and power. For example, a logical energy conservation plan would recommend lower partitions nearest windows so light would flow freely throughout the entire office floor, or higher partitions with built-in windows so as not to obstruct the natural light. This

would enable energy-consuming electrical lighting to be cut back at certain times. (Utilco executives are proud of the claim that their new head office building is "one of the most energy efficient buildings in Canada") yet, built into its design is the idea that areas with the most natural light be awarded to the fewest people and the highest hierarchical positions (one executive office with its two large windows could provide enough light for a minimum of eight clerical positions). The status of window positions is often the topic of great debate among workers. It is so obvious that in one section an executive manager was given a large picture of a window for a Christmas gift by his staff because his office happens to be against a wall with no window.

The windows and newspapers are also symbolic in other respects as well. It is assumed that the higher executives are the ones who need greater external stimulus. When one junior manager requested the morning newspaper from his supervisor's secretary she replied, "No, my boss is the only one here who gets and needs the morning newspaper, and anyway junior managers aren't supposed to get the paper, they don't need it". This reflects an unofficial Corporate policy. The windows also permit a superior view of the surrounding countryside, or outside world as hierarchical position increases. This even continues in the

seventh floor offices where the Department Presidents' offices overlook the city and some portion of the harbour or parking lot, while the Corporate President has a spectacular view of both the city and harbour.

This form of access is also documented by Sommer (1969) who concludes that in human society the elite possess more space in their home lives and more spatial mobility and opportunities to escape when they become tense and bored. So it is at Utilco where those at the higher levels may escape the stress of work through gazing out their windows or moving around their offices - these are the elite of the modern corporate world. Those at the lower end of the hierarchy are restricted in that their total field of view at their work station consists of the partitions directly attached to their desks. For these workers there is no visual escape from Utilco, no relaxation, unless they briefly close their eyes to daydream.

One might compare the restrictions which these partitions place on the worker's vision to the blinders used on the old fashioned workhorses. These horses, as the low-level Utilco employees, were supposed to see only the subject of their work - this was all their owners (bosses) considered necessary. On the other hand, there were pleasure horses who wore blinders less and were used for rides

through the country, which permitted them a greater field of vision. They were characteristically considered to be superior in spirit and worth, just as the higher status executives with their superior view and freedom of movement are considered by some to be of greater worth and intelligence within the Corporation. Could it be that by restricting the workhorses' vision and movement that the horses spirit was further broken? Or, to put it in the context of the present discussion, if we begin to desensitize or restrict the mobility of a worker, does it produce 'robot type responses' culminating in reduced creativity and initiative of the desensitized worker?

Physical and Psychological Movement

In The Hidden Dimension Hall (1969) states that there are three hidden zones in most American offices: 1) The immediate work area of the desktop and chair, 2) the points within arms reach outside of the area stated above, and 3) spaces which can be reached when one pushes away from the desk but does not actually get up. He states that office enclosures which permit only the first zone of movement are experienced as cramped. This can be compared to the "work stations" of Utilco's clerical and junior managers, which permit only restricted movement of the physical self or even perhaps the worker's thoughts. The senior

managers or executives however, are able to utilize all three zones in varying degrees. As concluded by Bell (1974), the open plan office works well on paper, but in practice many workers generally experience considerable dissatisfaction. At Utilco this is exemplified by those who feel their privacy has been invaded or, like Janet the service clerk, who felt spied upon and watched by those in higher status positions. Also, due to the restrictions on free movement, other higher managers felt their status had been lowered. This has been caused by the introduction of standardized partitions and office designs, which has eliminated the benefit gap they previously enjoyed between the boss and the subordinate positions.

As is illustrated at Utilco, the architecture of the large modern corporate office does support the hierarchy and power structure. Those at the lowest levels (ie. clerical workers) have a world which is restricted to Utilco - they can only look at their work station and usually eat in the glass enclosed cafeteria; while those at the other extreme (ie. Presidents) have an outside view, higher partitions which provide them with greater protection and secrecy from those of lower status, large offices offering them an overview of the entire floor and if they wish can have their lunch served to them in their private seventh floor lounge.

Interior architecture has become a very important factor in the corporate office world. It can and does offer psychological rewards for those who exhibit superior performance, and erects psychological barriers to communication between various organizational levels. For example, at Utilco there is more prestige and power in requesting to see someone "in my office" rather than "at my desk" or "at my work station".

Architects, as has been illustrated in this case, traditionally have been preoccupied with visual patterns of space (those which can be seen), rather than tactile patterns (those concerned with the freedom of movement). This preoccupation has now found its way into the modern office setting with varying effects on the workers. These sterile, "open landscaped" offices fail to consider that people tend to reject alien environments built according to exact square footage allocations. They prefer space which they can call their own and personalize to meet their own needs (Summer, 1969). Unfortunately, in many cases the negative effects which the offices' physical lay-out may have on workers have not been fully considered; in other instances the personal benefits for those who make the decision are overvalued.

In conclusion, higher organizational status does

bring with it a greater number or superior quality of office appurtenances and psychological pay bonus items. These items tend to increase a worker's tactile environment and insulate him/her from subordinate workers, both psychologically (through larger desks, name plates and parking places located to reduce the impact of adverse weather conditions as faced by the lower status workers) and physically (through the use of higher partitions). Yet, as this form of 'enclosure' increases with position in the hierarchy, so does the degree of openness to the outside world. With their better window positions, newspapers, and superior floor locations, the higher managers are able to see much more than their subordinates. The executives' world provides protection and insulation, while at the same time offering an increased freedom or access to the world outside the office. Meanwhile, as the hierarchy is descended, the working day world of the employee is constantly being reduced to the matters dealing directly with the outcome of their official production.

C. The corporate social life

In the early twentieth century individuals had strong ties with their peer groups, families, communities and churches; with growing industrialization these traditional social bonds have weakened. The individual's sense of justice and self- esteem which were previously derived from these institutions have been increasingly transferred to the working world of the corporation. Thus, corporations have become more than mere business centers; they have also become a way of life for their members (Bell, 1976).

The emphasis on the personal interests of the worker has caused what Mills (1964) terms a shift from the old middle class work ethic to a leisure ethic where work is now judged in terms of its leisure value. Although Mills' statement tends to imply a complete loss of the work ethic, which has not occurred, it is safe to say that leisure time has significantly risen in importance - so much so that large industrial and commercial organizations are increasingly providing their workers with facilities for off-hour recreation, sports activities and cafeterias. Utilco, offers its employees these extra benefits with varying effects on the worker and the work product. Corporate growth in this area indicates a trend toward a form

of totalistic institution as discussed by Erving Goffman (1980).

In Goffman's "total institutions" the barriers separating the social and work lives of workers are eliminated, and an individual carries on all aspects of his/her life "in the same place and under the same single authority".[13] As yet these total institutions are incompatible with the work-payment structure of society (ie. the worker's needs and desires rising vs. the corporations' desire to reduce costs) and therefore cannot be fully applied to the workplace. However, in Utilco and many other large corporations in the Western world, there is a trend toward improving the individual's social life within the 'work world'. This has been done at Utilco through the organization of Company sponsored sports leagues, photographers' club, 'The Senior Citizens Association' (a volunteer community service organization), exercise rooms, showers, modern cafeteria with glass walls and roof to fully appreciate the view, lounges and library. In other words, there is a tendency for large corporations, such as Utilco, to create a form of total institution for their workers in that the worker is provided most of the essentials of life within the domain or control of the corporation. Outside interaction with the community is still encouraged, however, only when it improves the corporate image within that community.[14]

Through the use of these structures, corporations like Utilco are able to encourage conformity, as exhibited by the "company man", or equally, to be a location for company-directed, personal initiative. More and more corporations are learning to utilize both structures to their best advantage. Bell (1976) stated that corporations are on a continuum with economizing modes, with their desire to reduce costs, on one end and sociological modes, emphasizing human resources, on the other. Over the recent decades the emphasis has been shifting more to the sociological end.

At Utilco, these social structures have been developed into many overlapping systems of small groups ranging from the 'Senior Citizens Association' to the intra-corporate dart league. These groups, like individuals can and often do make social comparisons and demands on one another (Smith, 1973). Their formation can be attributed to many sources, including jobs which permit social conversation while working, social interaction at break or lunch times (Dubin, 1964), or as Kanter (1977) states, it may result from blocked job mobility that causes workers to meet their need for recognition through social groups. In either event most workers do establish informal relations with co-workers on the job, forming social groups and a system of cliques which often cut across the formal line of authority and work.

i) Social Associations

As is common in many large organizations, Utilco workers participate in intra-corporate sports. What is perhaps unique is the degree of organization and variety of sports offered to workers. Those who wish to participate must first join the Corporation's Recreation Association, which co-ordinates all sports activities within Utilco.[15] This association began operating in 1976 with 132 members and has since grown to its present size of approximately 440.

Considering the total population of the Corporation (approximately 1500) most association members are very proud of their success rate. One member commented, "You'll never find another corporation with that kind of success record".

In order that we might better understand the present situation and value of the "Rec. Association", two cases which typify the members' reasons for joining will be examined.

The first type is illustrated by Calvin, a junior manager in Customer Services. Calvin is in his late twenties and willingly admitted to being very ambitious. Most of the workers in Calvin's section were members of the as-

sociation.

> They kept nagging at me to join. Don't be an odd-ball they said. I thought about it and looked at who was involved in the various activities - VP's, high level muckitimucks, etc. and decided it might be a way of becoming more well known and be of help to my promotion.

He is still an active member 1½ years later and claims that he doesn't enjoy it all that much, but he is more popular among the higher managers - "so it must be working". In Utilco, with so many young managers the competition is tough and the peer pressure to conform, very great. The Rec. Association offers one method to enhance power through visibility in informal groups.[16]

A second and seemingly more important factor for most members is the social life. It provides an avenue through which the Association's members socialize and develop stronger and/or new friendships. Dubin (1968) found that the informal group offers a form of social life at work where the worker can be treated as an individual with unique characteristics.

This rationale was primary for Elizabeth who is a clerk in the Research Department. She is single and in her early thirties. One day over coffee she explained her reasons for joining the Association:

> I had a few free evenings and nothing to do. The Rec. Association offered me a way to meet other people outside the work environment, in a social light. I've been a member now for four years and really enjoy it. I've made many new friends and am always busy, and surprisingly I have even grown to like some sports too.

These cases exemplify reasons for the workers joining and participating in the Corporation's recreational activities, but there is another side to consider - the benefits for the Corporation. Utilco contributes space for meetings, employee time for organizing and some money for operating costs (seven dollars per member per year). The most important benefit for the workers is that it offers the employees a social life at work. The Corporation in return gets a healthy worker and one who is further bonded to the Corporation, thereby increasing dedication and hopefully productivity and profits.

ii) Volunteer Associations

Among Utilco's informal organization there is one which is unique to Utilco and its affiliates. I have termed this "The Senior Citizens Association' (SCA) not because its members are elderly, although many are, but because only those employees or retired employees of a member corporation who have more than 18 years service with that corporation are eligible for membership. Therefore, within

the age range of the Utilco worker this is a senior citizens' group.

The SCA had its beginnings in the parent corporation in the United States, in 1911, as a purely social organization for its members. It spread into CanCorp, the Canadian parent corporation in 1923, where the first Canadian chapter was formed. By 1940 its emphasis began to shift toward public service or charity work. In 1972 Utilco introduced the SCA in Newfoundland where it has grown to its present size of approximately 300 members (internationally the membership stands at over 600,000).[17] Most of its effort is directed at supporting charities and children's hospitals. The Newfoundland chapter alone donates approximately $20,000 - $25,000 to charities each year. This it raises mostly through craft fairs, lottery ticket sales and its "smoke shop" located in the lobby of the Utilco head office building.

When viewing most corporate sponsored associations one should look at both the corporate and worker perspectives. In the case of the SCA the goal is twofold: 1) The SCA through its civil involvement provides the Corporation with excellent public relations benefits. 2) The SCA offers employees another form of social interaction at the workplace. This group holds meetings every two months

and also have many committees which are constantly working on fund-raising drives or a social evening. The costs to the Corporation for these benefits amounts to permitting SCA members to conduct some SCA business during working hours, allocating space for their activities, footing the bills for necessary travel, and paying the Association's national and international dues.

The members' perspectives may be illustrated through discussions held with John, who is a past president and is currently on the organization's executive, and William, who became a member after completing the 18 years of service, but who does not participate at all in the Association's activities.

John has been with Utilco for over 28 years and is middle management. He has only two more years before retirement. He had been president of the SCA on two previous occasions and now is treasurer. In reality, however, he still runs the organization. He talked somewhat freely about Jane who is now the president:

> You know, she doesn't know much about the business side of the job and has no clout because she is just a clerk. But, she wanted to be president and I said I would stay on in this job until her term was over, to help out.

Somehow this seemed almost charitable on John's part, until he explained how the SCA organization was run.

> We play at politics and power like everyone else in this Company. When we donate we ensure that a portion is donated to those charities in which Utilco VP's are members. This keeps us in their good books. It's the same inside the SCA. We have elections but the results are known before hand. For example, Jane is the president because she was the vice-president last year and the nominating committee thought she was OK. So even though there were elections, Jane was destined to be president. If someone else whom we didn't want ran for the position, then his nomination would not be accepted. All the executive posts in the SCA are chosen that way.

The nominating committee to which John referred is chaired by the Utilco VP in charge of Administration. Thus, it was obvious that Utilco controlled the SCA through not only monetary but also leadership control. John added that even at the national level it is the participating member companies who pick the organization's executive.

> You will never see in any of our chapters a SCA executive without a high level manager near the top to call the shots. This way the corporation keeps control. Also, of course, if the chapter didn't have a high level manager they would probably get little in the way of help from inside the corporation. Take Jane, if she has to call around looking for a special favor, do you think anyone will listen to her - a clerk. No boy, you've got to have the clout, the power - that's what's important around here.

It was obvious that John takes his duty to the SCA very seriously, yet makes it part of a private game which only those in higher management can play.

William is a high level manager who has only been a SCA member for one year. He joined because it was expected, everyone else does it and its "only three bucks a year dues." However, he has yet to attend a meeting and doesn't wear the SCA lapel pin which is a common sight among its members. His reasons for not participating, he says, are relatively simple:

> I just haven't bothered. I can't see coming back to work after work, so-to-speak. That group is an excellent idea but its part of Utilco. When five o'clock comes I'm finished with that, I go home and don't want to come back for any volunteer work.

Thus, there are some like William who seem to know or somehow have a feeling which tells them that while it is proper to become a member, you are still becoming a member of a corporate organization and that is work.

As was illustrated through John and William, the Corporation by introducing the SCA has further attempted to extend its territory into the worker's social life. In so doing it still controls the power - only now this power has invaded the personal side of the worker. The

SCA has been permitted to enjoy a false independence while its organization is permeated by the corporation.

iii) Cliques

In discussing informal groups within Utilco one must give special attention to the many cliques which have been established. The clique is different from other groups in that there is a greater degree of like-mindedness among its members. When together, its members tend to isolate themselves from other workers and groups, and as a group they tend to believe they know the solution to most organizational problems (Dublin, 1964). George Homans (1950:133) defined a clique to mean that workers "form a subgroup within a larger unit; that is, their interactions with one another are more frequent then they are with outsiders or members of other subgroups".

A major factor in the original formation of cliques (as it is for other informal social groups) is interpersonal attraction. The more attractive one individual is to another or to a group, then the more likely he will want to participate in the group and its activities. This attraction may be the result of many variables such as sex, age, economic status, personality, etc. (Shaw, 1980).

One example of such a clique in Utilco is 'the knitting circle' which became noticeable in the fall of 1981. During this period a slow change began to emerge among the clerical workers in the Research Section, which, within the following year, could be observed in many groups located throughout the head office building. This change was the emergence of knitting as a popular lunch-time activity. It started with just two girls - one who wanted to learn how to knit a sweater for herself (Sheila) and the other (Linda) who accepted the role of teacher.

Linda is the elder of the two and is old enough to be Sheila's mother; therefore, she easily accepted the role of teaching Sheila knitting. It may have been that Linda saw this as an opportunity to prove her expertise in a 'household' or 'motherly' task.[19] Whatever the reason the idea began to gain momemtum and the other young girls began to join the lunch-time 'class'. This activity the girls would continue at home after work and bring in the next day for comments from peers on their progress. Soon, the first thirty minutes of each day would be filled with the sounds of clerks scurrying from one desk to another with plastic supermarket bags of knitting under their arms. At each

desk there would be such comments as:

> How marvelous! You really did a good job on that sleeve (or whatever). I wish I could do that as good as you - I mean look at the piece I did last night, its such a mess, I might as well ravel it all out and start again.

The other girls would then issue the seemingly standard reply:

> No, don't be silly, girl. That's just as good as mine; there's nothing wrong with that.

This of course, was the desired reply which would result in:

> Well, if you think it's really all right! Yes, I suppose you're right, but it's still not as good as yours, though.

As the months passed, the knitting circle grew in size - other clerks would come from other departments and floors. They meet in the large employee lounge and arranged the comfortable sofa chairs in a circle to facilitate conversation and also to enable each to see the other's product better.

While these types of groups can be viewed as manifestations of autonomy and independence within the confines

of the organization, as suggested by Katz (1967), there is another motive to consider especially in the study of their formation - that of a search for the individuality of its members. Linda, for example, may have believed she was losing her individuality in her work group (i.e. her superiority due to her work knowledge) as the two new members learned their tasks. Knitting provided her another area where she could show her superiority to "the bunch of young kids", as she so often called them. When younger, experienced knitters joined the group, Linda's status again became eroded, so she began in another group where she is, for a time, considered one of the leaders.

It is obvious that at Utilco an all encompassing life - that of formal and informal, or business and social - has been the goal of the organization. The hypothesis that if the company can exert some control and gain further dedication from a worker by offering him a more "total institution" in which to identify, then production will increase, has become the practising creed of higher management. They have realized an important application of Maslow's need hierarchy, as expressed by Cummings and Dunham (1980:75) - "organizations encourage the fulfillment of these needs during non-work hours but not in the workplace. As a result, a good deal of potential work-related motivation is lost".

The social groups also provide a dialectic of purpose for the worker. In one sense, through participation, the worker accepts he is conforming to the total corporate life, and accepts as a reward for his conformity this contribution by the corporation to his social life. In another sense he participates to experience the illusion of being somebody and ascending the scale (Mills, 1964). This creates an internal conflict for the worker who reacts by dismissing the fact that he is conforming in order that he might gain the rewards in his social life. The other alternative was illustrated by William's view of the SCA, where he still sees that offered reward as an extension of the corporate world of which he wants no part "after five".

For those who do participate, the social group opens a further opportunity to members or participants to achieve or meet their recognition needs which may or may not be available through their regular jobs (Kanter, 1977). It also accords them a special status and an opportunity to build personal relationships (Roethlisberger & Dickson, 1960). Others may use it as a help for promotion - John admitted that active participation in the SCA "means brownie points for that employee when it comes time for his job review or consideration for promotion". Or they join up simply because they do not want to be left out or considered an "oddball" among their peers.

A final point may be explained by Adams (1965): - it is not important whether a worker's perceptions of his co-workers or work environment are correct or incorrect; what is important is that it is these subjective impressions on which he bases his actions. Therefore, at Utilco it is not important why the Corporation set up any social organization or whether the workers' perceptions of it are justified. What is important is the workers' actions which are the result of these perceptions.

## 3. THE WHITE-COLLAR HIERARCHY

Within Utilco the white-collar hierarchy can be divided into three main groups of workers - clerical, junior managers and executive managers. Also, within each of these groups are other sub-levels (refer to Appendix 3). This section discusses the differing characteristics specific to each group and how these characteristics are fostered and promoted within the corporation. As an aid to the understanding of the organization's hierarchy each of the worker groups will be discussed separately. The first portion of this section deals with the 'clerical workers' at Utilco. It review the hierarchical levels, attitudes and the specific problems which they face that may have contributed to their desire for union representation. In the second portion the initial step in the management hierarchy is discussed - the 'junior managers'. Again, as with the clerical employees, there are sub-levels within this group, each with its own attitudes and preceptions of the Corporation. Finally, this section will deal with the 'executive managers' or those at the highest level in Utilco's white-collar hierarchy. These workers form the most powerful group and are directly responsible for the formation of Company policy and major decisions made during the day-to-day operation of the Corporation.

A. Clerical

The lowered social status of blackcoated work at the present time is the outcome of a long and complex process of change whereby many of the former bases of the clerk's prestige have been undermined, making the line between the middle and working classes less distinct.

David Lockwood in The Blackcoated Worker, 1958, p.211.

The clerical group at Utilco is the largest classification of employees in the Corporation. In its head office building approximately 800 out of the 600 employees are clerks. Within this classification there are six sub-levels (reference Appendix 3), which, while ranking the clerical worker in pay, prestige and job worth[20], does not necessarily increase the worker's power over those in levels below him/her. This is partially due to the fact that a clerical employee may have been hired at any level.

Generally, the employees in this classification are from mixed social background, high school graduates (many with typing programs), and predominately females in their mid to late twenties. If we exclude the jobs in which physical strength is an asset (e.g. lifting mail bags, moving boxes of supplies in the supply center, etc.) there are only three male clerical positions at Utilco. (The issue of the feminization of the clerical occupations shall be discussed later in this section.)

One attitude that is prevalent throughout the various clerical levels is that of low self-esteem, when considering their relative position within the entire Utilco hierarchial structure. Clerks feel they are considerably lower than managers in power and status. This feeling is perpetuated by managers like Tom, who once, when discussing the intelligence of certain low forms

of animal life, compared the animal's intelligence to that of Utilco's lower level clerks - "to me they are about the same. Neither requires much brains to do their daily job, and that's lucky for them." This type of 'clerical inferior' attitude permeates the entire Corporation, through policies which state that clerks can not approve any type of expenditure, are usually not permitted to issue letters either destined for external distribution or even internal between different sections, and usually are excluded from section business meetings. This distinction between the managerial and clerical groups is further illustrated in a discussion held with Janice, a first line manager in the Finance Department. Janice tells of the time she had her first Utilco job review, after being with the Corporation only two months. It should be noted that at this time she was working in the Personnel Department. In his summation of Janice's initial two months of performance her supervisor gave her some advice on techniques for advancement. The technique relevant to this issue concerned one rule in the 'manager's game' - disassociation with clerical staff. Janice had regularly gone on her morning break with the two clerks in her office. The supervisor advised her that if she wanted to "get ahead" she should not socialize with clerks. This implied a strong distinction between "managers" and "clerks".

Throughout the industrial world this disassociation from management or from corporate objectives has been supported by more than mere feelings or attitudes of the clerical workers. The industry has deskilled the labour process and made the nature and status of a clerk's work significantly different than that of a "manager". Crompton (1979) terms this a process of "double proletarianization" in which the clerks no longer work for the function of capital as their supervisors do. This has caused a decline in both the market and work situations of these clerks - thereby adding support to unionization attempts.[21]

Within the Utilco clerical worker group itself, there is a form of resentment because of this status difference. This is illustrated by one clerk who stated, "they (managers) all go around acting like they know it all and that they're so much better than us meager clerks. I've got news for them." This resentment also appears in statements made by other clerks; for example, "we do all the dirty work and they (managers) get all the glory", and "I don't see why they think the're so great, they're only lowly managers - not gods".

Within this clerical strata there exists a mini-hierarchy with clerks of various levels being the prime participants. In this case, it was hypothesized that those at the higher end of the hierarchy (e.g. H clerks ) would

rarely associate with those clerks at the lower end of the scale (e.g. B. clerks). In order to add support to this theory the number of casual conversations with the Research Section were recorded for a six week period.[22] The results, as can be seen from Table 1, support this hypothesis. The higher J level clerks had the largest number of social conversations with the Level I managers and a very small percentage with the lower level clerks. The E clerks followed a similar pattern with high percentages for casual conversation with the next highest clerical level (i.e. Clerk J).

Table 1

Clerical initiated informal conversations (%)

| | | Rank of person spoken to: | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Management* | | | Clerical* | | | |
| | | III | II | I | J | E | D | total |
| Rank of initial speaker | J | - | - | 67(62) | 31(29) | 9(8) | 1(1) | 108(100) |
| | E | - | - | 46(27) | 55(33) | 37(22) | 31(18) | 169(100) |
| | D | - | - | 41(17) | 27(11) | 80(33) | 93(39) | 241(100) |

* Management N = 12; Clerical N = 9.

At the bottom end of the clerical scale the Clerk D's conversed mostly with others at the same or next highest level. Two patterns emerged from these results: 1) There were no conversations with high level managers initiated by clerical workers. 2) Clerical workers at

Utilco generally tend to initiate social conversations with their next highest level and initiate very few informal conversations with those at lower levels. This may reflect a desire for promotion and/or, as this researcher contends, a desire to play a status or "levelitis" game, like the managers discussed in a later section. The clerical game is learned through imitation of the managers (as exhibited by with whom they initiate their social conversations), but, due to the lack of power and symbols, is played on a reduced scale.

The existance of this 'clerical game' is further supported by an examination of the participants' wearing apparel. This was done by daily recording the style of apparel and categorizing this into various degrees of business dress (see Table 2). The data illustrates that the top level clerical workers tend mostly toward a very business-style apparel, the mid-levels toward intermediate styles, and the lower levels toward casual outfits (refer to Appendix 6, Table 4 for description of standards).

This use of clothing among clerical workers was also studied by Greenhill (1979) in her analysis of a reinsurance company in Toronto. She found that the upwardly mobile women dressed differently than their groups' average - it was one small form of non-conformity. At Utilco the highest level clerks do not conform to their

peers' dress code, but dress as their counterparts in management. This illustrates their perceived status as a higher level or upwardly mobile clerical group.

Table 2

Clerical wearing apparel - %*

| Clerical level | Dress category: Business | Intermediate | Casual | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| J | 67 | 26 | 7 | 100 |
| E | - | 60 | 40 | 100 |
| D | 6 | 21 | 73 | 100 |

* N = 9

It is also interesting to note that when the female managers apparel is applied to the same categories as clerical employees the majority fall into the intermediate category (54%), with the next highest being business (30%) (Appendix 6, Table 4). This fact illustrates that the J clerks are 'out-dressing' the female managers. However, this is explained through the examination of two points: 1) The clerical female levels must be examined separately from female management levels. When this is done, it fully supports the idea of an unofficial hierarchy - the J clerks are the most business-like in appearance because they are the top strata, and as the hierarchy is descended, so the calibre of dress decreases. 2) The level 1 females - not

the clerk's are actually playing the 'managers' game'. Therefore, they feel no need to compete with any clerical levels. The female level 1 managers have to play by the 'managers' game' rules, and thus they conform to the dress code of the male Level 1's - an intermediate or mid-range style.

This section has demonstrated that the clerical workers at Utilco have created their own hierarchy and this hierarchy is similar in many respects to the managerial. The most obvious difference between the managerial and clerical hierarchies is visible simply by looking at its members; that is, the clerical hierarchy is almost entirely made up of women, while the mangement hierarchy is predominately a male's domain. At Utilco the feminization of the clerical workforce plays a very important role. The female position is summarized by this statement - "Women are to clerical labour what men are to management - in almost the same proportions" - (Kanter, 1977:17). Historically, the cause of this pattern can be attributed to the decline of the household occupations (e.g. dressmaker, servant) causing a surplus of female labour, combined with growth in the area of white-collar clerical work.

At Utilco there are very few male clerical workers, even fewer than female managers. This type of ratio helps in the development of the idea that the clerical positions

are "women's work" or the female domain. These positions generally offer few opportunities for mobility and many involve the more menial or housekeeping functions. For example, one executive manager's secretary, Jane, is often referred to as the "office wife" or "mother" and is responsible for remembering birthdays, keeping the files neat and clean, putting up the Christmas decorations and getting her boss coffee whenever he wants.

Throughout the Corporation one can observe a feeling of despair among clerks because they believe they have to perform low level, menial tasks. This is common even though they find their overall jobs to be satisfying because of the freedom available to them. One senior clerk summed up her feelings by saying her "job is not challenging - it's da pits. There are too many small, changing jobs - I feel like a girl Friday".

One result of this clerical job stereotyping is that it produces an apathetic attitude. This causes females to be under-represented in unions and also to occupy lower positions in the union decision-making functions (Baker & Robeson, 1981).

Also, because of the job content, the female clerks tend to care more about their working relationships than the work itself. In the Research Group it is common place to see small groups of clerks gather at another clerk's desk discussing a personal problem. Socially, they all participate in the darts or bowling leagues and socialize to a large degree after work. This is in contrast to the male managers, who rarely socialize after work.

This social interaction at Utilco and the impact of peer pressure play very important roles. The clerks are constantly under peer pressure to conform. Those 'deviants' who fail to conform face many informal punishments or sanctions such as gossip or 'being left out'.[23] They participate in this social process to supplement the social interaction they receive while doing their jobs, or in many cases as a substitute for the lack of job satisfaction.

B. Junior managers

Since he is likely to be a scion of the higher classes, he is considered one of the villains of the situation. His work relations are therefore not merely technical but are constantly colored by the social and political strains of which he is a part. He is involved in a social conflict and cannot but be one of the main characters in it.

Floria Derossi in The Technocratic Illusion, 1981, pp. 5-6.

At Utilco the initial step into the management hierarchy is termed Level 1 (see Appendix 3). Within this level there are four sub-levels - 101, to 104 in ascending wage value. Entrance into one sub-level or another is based purely on the Corporation's evaluation of the position itself.[24] However, there are minor differences in the degree of status attached to each level. Those lower on the Level 1 scale (i.e. 101 and 102) are often without any post-high school academic background, and in many cases have previously been clerical or tradespersons who were promoted. The mid-level is reserved mostly for those workers hired directly into Level 1 and who have general bachelors degrees from some university. The 104 level is composed of those who were hired directly into Level 1 management but who have more 'professional status' university degrees (e.g. engineering). The title of the 104 workers also illustrates their higher positions - they are "associates", while the other Level 1's are "assistants". It is in this initial division that the upcoming high-level manager begins to feel the value and benefits of rising up the organization's hierarchy.

It is also in this division where the masculinization of management becomes visible. In the lower sub-levels there are mostly females, while the higher levels are almost entirely male. Kuyek (1979) in her study of Bell Canada workers, found only 26.8 percent of management were females, with the vast majority being junior managers. She also

discovered that in most cases these females were in jobs where they managed other women. This pattern is confirmed at Utilco where, for example, in the customer service section there are no male but approximately a dozen female junior managers. In this section practically all of the 54 clerks are female.

Within the junior management group there appear to be two prevalent attitudes toward the Corporation. First, in the 101 sub-level there is a pro-corporate attitude summarized by Helen - "They (Utilco) give us a fair deal, if you do your job well you get moved up, and if the Corporation fires or demotes anybody, you can bet there is a pretty good reason." Helen is typical of this level in that she has no university training, started as a low-level clerk, and was promoted into management about four years ago. From Helen's perspective Utilco has rewarded her superior performance and enables her now to earn much more than she previously expected, even without any time at university. On the top end of this management level there are the 104's. This group is also generally pro-corporation, but for a different reason. They have professional status, such as engineers, and as a result have superior prospects for promotion into higher management. They, like Joseph (an engineer), continually support Corporate policy, when it is under attack by others. "There's nothing wrong with this system, they (executive managers) do everything

they can." The second type of attitude seems to be found mostly in the larger mid-level groups (i.e. 102 and 103) where there are increased anti-corporate feelings and behavior. In the Research Section there are four mid-level 1 managers. Each of these workers expressed some form of unhappiness with their jobs and Utilco itself. Their attitude is illustrated through a discussion which Tom and Gayle had one day after hearing about a demotion of another Level 1. Tom was saying how little, as far as he is concerned, the high-level management cared about the feelings of those lower than themselves. Gayle agreed and added that the feelings they do exhibit are mostly for show - "It's part of the game, a manager should express concern about the welfare of his workers, or at least make the workers and his supervisors believe that he cares."

Even though these four levels joined together to form the Level 1 managerial group, as we see, there is a discrepancy among its participants in their attitude toward the Corporation and the 'levelitis game'. In actual fact, the various Level 1 sub-levels formed their own mini-hierarchy with regard to, for example, wearing apparel (see Table 3). Among the seven Level 1 workers in the Research Section, the higher the sub-level, the more formal the wearing apparel appears to be. The higher level males tend

TABLE 3

Male wearing apparel - %

| | | Wearing apparel | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | 3-piece suit | 2-piece suit | 2-piece casual | casual shirt | Total |
| Male Level 1's* | $1_{104}$ | 23 | 32 | 46 | - | 101 |
| | $1_{103}$ | 23 | 23 | 53 | 1 | 100 |
| | $1_{102}$ | - | - | 33 | 68 | 101 |
| | $1_{101}$ | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a |

*N = 7

to wear three-piece suits more often, while the 102 level wear mostly dressy-casual clothing. Also, it is obvious that the 103 and 104 sub-levels dress in a similar fashion. This may illustrate that both the two top levels have aspirations for promotion and therefore are 'learning the game', while the 102 does not have the same aspirations. This may be due to the fact that at Utilco a university background is, at this time, almost essential for promotion to higher level management (as stated previously). Since most of the 101's and 102's have no university background they appear to totally adapt to their positions in the Corporation and realize their present organizational level as their upper limit, for the time being.

The high-level managers hold the most power in the Corporation, while the clerks have the least, thereby positioning the junior managers in the middle. For example, in the area of approving expenses for office supplies, a Level II executive manager can approved up to $500, a Level I - $100, and a clerk none. As this case illustrates, the Level I manager is closer to the clerical group than to upper managers. This is typical of many areas of power within Utilco and produces an attitude of powerlessness within the Level I group. Many in this level call themselves the "glorified clerks". This attitude is also held by some clerks, like Jane, the executive secretary mentioned earlier, who when asked by a Level I for a copy of the morning paper on a daily basis, replied - "No, William (her boss) is the only one here who gets and needs the daily paper. The second levels said they didn't want any, and anyway no Level I should get the paper. They don't need it."

Another link between the Level I's and the high-level managers is found in the area of casual or informal conversations. The higher Level I managers (i.e. 103 and 104) tend to initiate conversations with those on their own level in the majority of cases (59 percent). Following this they initiate conversations with the lower Level I's, high level clerks, and Level II managers, respectively. This supports

the principle put forth earlier in Section 2, that the Level II office tends to create a social barrier for those lower on the hierarchy. Another difference between the high and low sub-levels is also evident in the recording of these conversations. It was discovered that most 102 initiated conversations occur with 103 and 104's (46 percent). However, in this study only two percent of their casual conversations occur with Level II's, and only seven percent with their own sub-level. The second highest number of their social conversations occur with clerical personnel (45 percent). This illustrates that while there is a tendency for the higher Level I's to converse with those higher in the hierarchy, perhaps reflecting their ambition, the lower Level's, who were originally promoted from the clerical ranks, tend to talk with workers from their previous reference group. This adds support to the postulate that the lower Level I's have relatively low ambition in the area of promotion further up the management ladder at Utilco and tend, therefore, to realize their hierarchical limits.

At Utilco there are two major factors, power and conformity, which tends to affect the individual workers in different ways and to various degrees. To illustrate the effect of these factors we can examine the case of Don - a junior manager who feels he has all his hopes of advancement blocked. Don is a Level I manager, age 51, and

has been with Utilco for 19 years. He entered the Corporation at his present level and ten years ago was transferred to the Network Department. Don is a 'company man' in many respects - he works overtime and does not request payment, often works through his lunch, follows all Corporate rules, and has a high opinion of Utilco. In these respects he conforms to the 'corporate ideal'. However, he is resentful because he feels the Corporation has passed him by for promotion. He explains it this way:

> You know, Utilco is a great Corporation to work for and I think the organization is ok. Sure some people get carried away with being a Level II or III, or whatever, but they're usually the younger ones - those new at that level... You see, to get promoted around here you have to be real smart or sucked-in good with someone. Why do you think they don't have open competition for jobs like the government does. The guy like me, who does his job faithfully gets nothing.

In comparison to many of his earlier peers, most of whom by now have been promoted, Don is powerless. He has stagnated for 19 years, while all his friends moved on. In order to justify his position Don has created his own 'mini-office'. He has become an expert on the Corporate regulations and releases his knowledge to fellow workers only when necessary. Earlier this year another junior Level I was moved into Don's sub-section to assist in its operations. It was Don's task to ensure complete cross-training of the new assistant, which he performed only to

the minimum degree necessary. Now, whenever this group has a major job, Don has ensured that he will get called in for advice - in essence, he has refused to let go of control of the group, the only form of power he believes himself to possess. This pattern of behavior, balancing power and conformity, has been noted in other research by Ritzer (1972). It illustrates the important role these two factors play in the 'levelitis game' and the behavior of some participants in securing some of the power so they may continue to play the 'game'. As we can see, the game can and does provide workers with a form of compensation for their low self-image at work or blocked opportunities for advancement.

One factor which tends to compound the stagnation or blocked career path, experienced by Don and many others in Utilco, is the Corporation's specialized training programs. At Utilco the workers learn many skills which are unique to this industry, and not generally useful in other industries, thus blocking an outward career path as well. Kuyek (1979:18) discovered this work specialization in Bell Canada and states it had "the effect of trapping the employees in the company". It locked in those who wish to maintain their salaries, thereby reducing turnover and training costs.

## C. Executive managers

Managers are the quintessential bureaucratic work group; they not only fashion bureaucratic rules, but they are also bound by them. Typically, they are not just in the organization; they are of the organization. As such, managers represent the prototype of the white-collar salaried employee.

Robert Jackall in "Moral mazes: bureaucracy and managerial work", 1983, pg 119.

The executive management at Utilco are those employees at mangement level II and above (See Appendix 3)[25]. Their primary duty is the same as their counterparts in any large corporation. In Bell Canada, Kuyek (1979:18) states this "comes down to ensuring that the job gets done- and at the lowest possible cost to the company."

At Utilco the trend of masculinization of management continues to the extreme in this group of employees. The executive manager group is predominately a male domain,[26] becoming even moreso as the hierarchy is ascended. This is obvious in the Utilco structure in which only approximately ten percent of the Level II managers are female, four percent of the Level III's and zero percent of the vice-presidents. This 'masculine ethic' (i.e. the principle of male domination of the managerial group) takes the traits typically assumed to be masculine (e.g. aggressiveness) and superimposes them on the qualities certain corporations consider desirable for its management (Kanter, 1977).

This trend continues to play a strong role in many occupations due to a system outlined by Ritzer (1972) termed - "homosexual reproduction". In this system male managers tend to promote workers who are reflections of themselves or mostly in their own image. This in reality translates into males tending to treat other males as managers and consequently leading them to promotions.

There are many reasons why women are generally not well represented in the management ranks. At Utilco, two of the most prominent, as preceived by those male managers now in power, are that they lack dedication and lack the ability to handle subordinates (particularly if they are male). Women are seen as having to face conflicting loyalities, such as the marriage roles and having children. Men on the other hand, are ambitious, task-oriented, and work-involved. It is also the feeling of many male managers that women tend to find it difficult to handle those from another minority group or from a group different than their own. This is illustrated by cases at Utilco where women tend to manage relatively powerless groups of females, such as typing pools and clerical staff. At Utilco the only Level III female executive manager is in charge of a staff composed of approximately 95 percent females.

Management at Utilco also tend to play what lower level employees call the "levelitis game", only at this level the 'game's' stakes are more significant (e.g. possible loss of job, ruined career on demotion) than at the clerical level where the 'game' is first noted. In this 'game' the participants all compete for increased power, and more importantly, show others how much power they have. For example, one of the basic postulates put forth by those observing the 'game' is that high-level managers ignore those belonging to levels below them.

This is exhibited in work-related matters where a high-level manager requires some information from a lower-level employee, either in another section, or even in a sub-part of his/her own section. Instead of requesting directly from the source, they will go to his/her corresponding level or higher in that specific group. Other cases occur socially where a higher level ignores a lower-level employee in either greetings or in social conversation.

The general rule seems to be that high-level management should not communicate down the hierarchy unless it is to their advantage to so. To illustrate this perception, one junior manager told about the case of Kim (an E Level clerk in the Finance Department) who had a difficult time earlier this year when her mother died. For Kim this was her only family and she took it very hard. On the day of the funeral, certain Level I and II managers went to the service to offer their support. Everyone expected her Level III Supervisor to attend the funeral - however, instead he stayed in his office. One Level II who went to the funeral and noted his boss's absence dropped his usual composure and said;

> You know why he wasn't there, for Jesus sake, because the V-P wasn't there. For frig sake it's his best clerk's only family. You can bet that if his boss were there he would have been there in his best three-piece suit, talkin' to everybody and showing real concern.

A contrasting type of behavior is exhibited during

Christmas week when the President and the Department Vice-President come down to each section to shake hands with all the staff. This has been viewed by many as the annual visit designed to encourage corporate unity and illustrate that everyone is equal and works as a team.

This scene was described by Brad, a junior manager;

> The Lord High himself has condescended to grace our lowly lives with his holy presence. Now we will see how the thirds play the game. Look at them straightening their ties and preening themselves, like a bunch of pigeons getting ready to parade for their mates. Each third follows the Pesident while he shakes hands with us plebs. Then just when he enters another third's territory, the first third stops. Another third level who rules this roost is waiting and protects his territory.

Brad typifies the feelings of many other Level I's and clerks who are excluded from this high-level game. But, he does acknowledge the existence of 'levelitis', just as did the Level II at Kim's mother's funeral. This in itself is significant because, when asked about the existence of 'levelitis' in the Corporation, most high-level managers deny its existence or say it's very weak. A level III in the Administration Department said;

> There's nothing to this level crap at Utilco: everyone is treated alike. I don't see anyone flaunting their power.

If a 'levelitis game' is present, it would point to the existence of an informal stratification system similar to that found in other Utilco levels. One example of this

appears in the area of informal conversations (see Table 4) within the Research Section.

Table 4

Manager initiated informal conversations (%)

| | | Rank of person spoken to | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Management | | | Clerical | | | |
| | | III | II | I | J | E | D | Total |
| Rank of initial speaker* | III | n/a | 11(85) | 2(15) | - | - | - | 13(100) |
| | II | 32(24) | 83(63) | 12(9) | 1(1) | 2(1.5) | 2(1.5) | 132(100) |

*N = 4 executive managers

It appears that the high-level management tend to initiate informal conversations mainly within their own status level, then with higher levels. Only on rare occasions does a high-level manager initiate a casual conversation with a clerical employee. When this does occur, it appears to be a form of tokenism on behalf of the high-level managers. One Level II manager (Harry) once told me, while discussing the clerical status position, that; "we (managers) must say hello to the clerks once in a while, just so they feel they are part of the team. It makes them feel they're needed and important."[27] This tokenism is also evident in the morning

greetings, where the high-level managers on most mornings either ignore all other workers or greet only other managers. There were only six instances over the observation period where a Level II or III manager greeted any clerical workers while on their way to their offices in the morning (the high-level managers generally arrive later than most Level I and clerical employees, and in order to reach their offices have to walk through a large group of lower level employees).

In observing this group of workers it is obvious there is a high degree of conformity in the way they view those lower in the hierarchy and, also, in the way they themselves behave. For example, the third level manager in the Research section wore a three-piece suit approximately 80 percent of the time. This trend was duplicated in two out of the three second levels [28] over the duration of the mini-study.

An integral part of the North American style of capitalist bureaucracy is that as hierarchical status increases, so does the degree of power attached to that position. In fact, after we reach a certain level in the hierarchy, money begins to lose its value as an incentive, while prestige and power gain importance. This shift in value at the top end of the hierarchy has created a managerial demiurge, stressing both informal and official hierarchies. At the lower levels, the workers are becoming more

the object of management manipulation (Mills, 1956). Mills postulates that a result of this system would be that contact with non-management employees probably would increase as the hierarchy was descended. Those at the top would rarely speak to anyone except other managers. This trend is substantiated by the results of this study on Utilco white-collar employees. Here, power is the key ingredient in playing the 'levelitis game'. It is both the tool used and the prize to be won. This is summarized by Max Weber (Gerth & Mills, 1980) - the striving for power is in part conditioned by the social honor it entails or in which it results.

Another characteristic which increases proportionally to the social and organizational status is conformity. The higher the status of the employee, the more he/she believes they have to gain by conforming to peer group norms. Levinson (1971) offered four alternatives open to workers who are inconsistent in role conception or personality with the organization or reference group. These are: to change their personalities to that required by the organization; to leave the organization; to remain in a state of apathetic conformity; or to gain enough power to effect an organizational change. The reformer, if not dealt with, tends to threaten middle and executive managers. These managers fear their weaknesses may become visible to the executive managers or corporate owners, or fear the reformer's

accusations may be proved correct (O'Day, 1978). One method of control available at Utilco is provided by the Corporation and utilized effectively by the executive managers. Throughout the various training and personnel programs, the Corporation spends much time and effort convincing the workers that they are lucky to be working for Utilco and have personally fulfilling positions. Therefore, if for any reason a lower-level worker is not happy, then this points to a problem within that worker himself. At Utilco this is termed "having an attitude problem" and is often used at employee review boards to describe those who do not conform to expected Corporate attitudes.

There are two important reasons for the executive's conformity: improved chances for advancement and peer pressure. The sentiments regarding chances for advancement were echoed by Barry - "If you want to get ahead, you have to play the game. If you try to play a new game, you'll be left behind - it's your choice." This also illustrates the idea that "if you try to play a new game", you may, in all liklihood, not find any other players. Hence, the importance of peer pressure in controlling worker behavior becomes evident.

Excluding the social status benefits of belonging to this specific level in the hierarchy, there are official

Corporate-offered privileges. As one might expect there is the primary or more common benefit of increased pay. However Utilco, in other concrete ways, also supports an artificial hierarchy. This is ironic if we consider that the official Corporate position is against 'levelitis' because of its unfavourable effects. Yet, knowing the detrimental effects, Utilco, even in the previous year, had introduced many new regulations which supported 'levelitis'. The prime example of this is the physical office entitlements of those at various levels in the hierarchy which are enhanced by the office design of the relatively new head office building.

As can be seen from this information, the 'game' or status in the artifical hierarchy plays a prominent role in the participants' behavior. This game of levelitis is constantly denied by high-level managers and the Corporation itself. Yet, both continuously contribute to its survival - the Corporation by increasing the status symbols according to increases in the worker's hierarchicial level; and, the high-level managers by continuously 'playing the game' or imposing sanctions on those who do not follow the game rules. These rules are learned in the so-called 'training camps' of the high-level managers, that is, in the Level I ranks.

## 4. THE RISE OF THE UTILITY WORKERS OF CANADA

Under Canadian Law, the relationships between you and your employer are determined by the theory of "management rights". This system gives the rights to management alone to set your salaries and benefits, to determine whether or not you will get a raise or a bonus, to decide who will be laid off, to decide who will be promoted, and to unilaterally make all the decisions which affect your daily working lives. As employees you have no voice in the decision-making process. In fact, no-one speaks for employees under this system.

Excerpt from a UNC Bulletin - "At the Crossroads" issued to Utilco workers early in 1983.

The Utility Workers of Canada (UWC) is a union composed of approximately 32,000 utility industry members nation-wide. It had its beginnings in Western Canada and during 1981 through 1983 expanded rapidly across the entire country. In October, 1983, it voted for a merger with the International Union of Radio, Electrical and Machine Operators (IUREMO). This merger increased its membership to approximately 42,000. However, the utility industry is still its focal point, with its largest membership group working within CanCorp itself.

Prior to joining the UWC most Canadian utility workers belonged to a rival union - the International Brotherhood of Trades Workers (IBTW). As the UWC grew, it drained members from the IBTW. For example, just prior to the Newfoundland clerical campaign the UWC signed-up the utility workers in New Brunswick, where the tradesperson's group voted 71 percent to switch to the UWC. In Utilco itself, the IBTW had only the tradesperson's group, which it lost by an almost 100 percent vote to the UWC. One tradesperson compared the UWC national sweep to "a steamroller heading downhill flattening anything or anybody that gets in its way". It seems that its specialization within the utility industry and the fact that it is an entirely Canadian union are paying off. The IBTW, which has members in many industries and has its head office in

the United States, is suffering badly in Canada. This shift towards nationalism of unions in Canada is also reflected by Statistics Canada reports (1981) which show a drop of 0.4 percent in international unions operating in Canada, during 1981, while national unions increased by 5.9 percent over the same period.

In 1983, the country was beginning to see an end to the recession which had reduced union bargaining power consistent with the deterioration of the economy (List, 1983). Workers were again considering the union as a necessary companion to help regain ground lost to business over the past two or three years. The unions were also realizing they needed growth in the white-collar areas if salaries and benefits were to be increased for the worker.[29] The recession was forcing the unions to re-evaluate their strategy and select new campaign issues which were more in fashion with today's white-collar workers' concerns. In the case of the Utilco clerical campaign, the UWC stressed three prime issues: 1) Salary increases which are abreast or ahead of the inflation rate, 2) lay-off and other security provisions, and 3) the effects of technological change on the white-collar worker.

Throughout the year-long campaign the UWC issued more than a dozen bulletins or letters to the clerical work-

ers, most of which made reference to at least one of the above issues in some way. For example, in the area of salary increases the UWC constantly alluded to the higher salaries of clerks elsewhere in Canada, some of which, they stated "are up to 50% higher than many of the clerical salaries currently paid at Utilco". Another bulletin was issued with the headline reading - "You have some of the lowest wages in the industry". In discussing lay-offs or employee job security they campaigned on higher lay-off allowances, and stated that "serious lay-offs have never occurred in UWC's utility units". Also, as with salaries, they presented sensationalist bulletin headlines such as - "Have you heard rumors of lay-offs in clerical?" Later in the campaign it issued a sheet outlining what it termed "the facts". One fact which stressed security read - "SMC group - the shadow of things to come". In this paragraph they outlined briefly some of the consequences of the SMC's (ie. efficiency experts) study in CanCorp[30] and implied the SMC link with employee "cut-backs which have already occurred in CanCorp". Its most sensationalist discussion of the third issue - technological change - was at the beginning of an "open letter to all concerned clerical employees".

> It's moving up from the U.S. and washing across Canada like a tidal wave! And there's real cause for alarm. It's called by different names - automation, technological change, high-tech, or computerization - but the effects are the same. They're

> job cuts, lay-offs, demotions, reduced working hours (with reduced pay); part-timing and de-skilled, less meaningful work for those employees who are lucky enough to keep their jobs.

As is evident by the above quotations the UWC bulletins tended toward sensationalism in their presentation. This was obviously the style of campaign which the UWC felt to be the most effective; it stressed an aggressive and personalized approach. In one case the Union even offered to come to the workers' homes to sign them up. To the Utilco workers this was an approach which treated them as individuals, and because of this, some of them in return gave the Union the signatures which it needed.

One final Union position to discuss concerns the issue of the normal clerical year-end wage increases being withheld. This was stated in a Utilco Employee Bulletin issued in early December. The Bulletin stated that due to the upcoming union vote the Corporation would be withholding the increases in order not to influence the voting outcome. The UWC quickly replied in an open letter to the Utilco management that they had "no objection whatsoever to the granting of salary increases to clerical employees at this time. In fact, we urge you to implement the salary increases normally due the employees in this season without any further delay". In their own information bulletin the UWC sent all clerical workers a copy of their letter to

Utilco, and further stated that the reason they believed Utilco withheld the raises was because they were anticipating a majority vote in favor of the Union and, therefore, wanted any increases included in the bargaining process. From discussions with various clerical workers during this period, it was evident that this move by the Corporation cost them many votes and needless to say, the UWC gained in popularity. Many clerks felt the Corporation had let them down. Dee, a clerk in one Finance Department section, expressed it this way:

> Mostly all the other girls in my group were against the union until this happened. We were surprised the Company would do something like that. It was a dirty tactic. Some of those who were in favor of the Union started saying - "see, see; I told you the Company would screw you the first chance they had".
>
> Maybe they were right. It sure began to look like we needed some sort of protection. Anyway, we discussed it awhile and decided we probably had nothing to lose and our increases to gain. So, we all switched over to the Union side.

Dee was not alone, and the UWC had the campaign experience to know a good campaign issue. The organizers and/or the pro-unionist in the various departments had another cause which they could discuss over coffee break. This issue provided a good example of the mistakes made by Utilco throughout the campaign and the tactics utilized by the UWC which capitalized on this lack of an effective Utilco cam-

paign strategy.

Perhaps the key to the UWC campaign was to 'start the ball rolling' and make use of any Utilco mistakes in the hope that more workers would sign-up throughout the campaign, thus producing a snow-ball effect. This was illustrated by the slogan which ended almost all their bulletins - "Join the swing to UWC". As we will see later in this section, this was an attempt to capitalize on peer pressure and the notion that nobody wants to be left out or to be on anything but the winning side.

Among clerks at Utilco, the level of support toward unionization was dependent on many individual characteristics such as age, prospects for advancement and their future job security. At Utilco, age could not be verified as a significant factor because the average age of the clerical employees is in the early twenties. However, most of the older clerks could be represented by the comments of Mary, a senior clerk in the Administration Department, who, at age 52, is now one of the older clerks in the Corporation.

> All this talk about unions and things like that is a complete waste of time. People are not stupid enough to bring in something like that. Anyway, who needs 'em? They're only a bunch of trouble makers and radicals. We got along fine without them so far.

Mary also illustrates the importance of peer pressure, when two months after the above statement was made she approached me to discuss (from an extremely pro-union perspective) a recent union-corporate confrontation. During these two months Mary was ignored and left out of many clerical informal discussions because of her pro-corporate attitude within what was mostly a pro-union peer group. Her new pro-union stance was a definite shift in her outward image. One person in her peer group seemed to notice this change and stated "the reason is obvious - she wants to cover her ass in case the union wins. I hope she doesn't believe she's foolin' anybody".

One factor which proved non-significant was the degree of job satisfaction. Overall, most clerks interviewed said they were satisfied with their jobs in Utilco. Even though in many cases the job content lacked appeal, this seemed to prove secondary to the degree of freedom available. For example, Sue, a senior Customer Service representative, explained her feelings;

> I'm satisfied in my job because it gives me a complete challenge. I'm on my own with nobody looking over my shoulder. My time is not programmed and the group has a very adult atmosphere.

Even employees who were not satisfied with their

jobs gave the degree of freedom as the major reason. One D clerk in the Network Department who signed up with the Union said;

> I have to do my work, ask no questions, don't waste time - you gotta keep in mind they're (managers or the newly hired efficiency experts) there with stop watches - and for that I'm underpaid and get no freedom or satisfaction from my job.

Other clerks complained of being treated "as if you were a machine" or "working on an assembly line".[31] As one might expect the majority of workers who were dissatisfied with their job voted in favor of a union. However, the oddity was that among those who enjoyed their job the majority also voted for the union. Thus, the level of job satisfaction by itself, was not found to be a significant variable in determining a worker's attitude toward a union.

Another factor which many clerks stated was important in their decision of whether or not to vote in favor of a union was that of having their <u>own</u> union. Many clerks seemed to want a union for clerical workers who could represent the special occupational interests of their group.[32] With the UWC they are not only offered a union which represents other white-collar clerks across Canada, but also a union specializing in the utilities industry on a national level.

Also, the clerical workers were worried - they had recently heard many rumors concerning demotions, and lay-offs were becoming a weekly fact of life within the Corporation. These were relatively new worries for Utilco clerks, brought on, in their eyes, by the economic recession and big business's desire to cut costs to increase profit. They needed protection and job security. Edwina, an executive manager's secretary, and Norma, an E Level clerk in the Planning Department, discussed this issue in the break area on the morning prior to the second union organizing meeting:

Norma: I hope you're going to the next union meeting.

Edwina: I'm going to try. But sure, it's probably a waste of time for me. In my job they might not even let me join. Then I'll be up shit creek, wouldn't I? The Company would have known that I would have tried to join the union but got rejected only because of my job. I'd have no protection then - they would probably fire or demote me.

Norma: If you don't try you'll never know, and for jesus sake, you know we need protection. They (the Union) can give us that.

Edwina: Protection from what? This Company has always laid off according to seniority or when it was deserved.

Norma: Bull-shit, this fuckin' Company does what it damm well pleases. It always has. It's just that we never see half of it. Do you think all the demotions that occurred last year were based on seniority. Don't fuckin' worry, if they (the managers)

> didn't like someone they tried to get rid of them. There's where we would have needed a union. Oh, it makes me so fuckin' mad when I have to argue with someone like you who is probably anti-union. It's all right for you - you think you're secure in your job and have a lot of seniority - you don't think you need protection, but if you did then a union would be ok. Yet, if someone else needs it and you don't, then a union is a waste of time. But you should remember that your time may come.

This illustrated a typical argument between a pro-union and a pro-company employee which, over the 12 month campaign period, may have been repeated hundreds of times with one variation or another. In this particular case Norma was correct in at least one point. Later in this Section, the case of one worker with only two years seniority, yet who was not laid-off or demoted, while others with greater seniority were affected, will be discussed. This case, in which favoritism played a strong part, is evidence of prejudicial treatment.

Overall, the Union organizing meetings were very successful if the clerical group's attitudes were any indication. In Table 5 the clerical workers' opinion of the Union's meetings is compared to their opinion of the meeting held in the Utilco head office building one month later, to air the Corporate side of the argument. As this Table indicates the UWC meetings created a greater im-

pression on the workers. In most cases the same clerks attended both meetings. Therefore, their impressions were made relative to the other meeting. The Utilco meeting dropped significantly in the information conveyed and the amount of excitement

Table 5

Clerical attitude to meetings (%)

| | UWC Meeting (N=22) | Utilco Meeting (N=17) |
|---|---|---|
| found meetings informative | 17 (77) | 8 (47) |
| found meetings exciting | 13 (59) | 9 (53) |
| found union/corporate representatives exciting | 14 (64) | 3 (18) |

generated by their speakers. These meetings may also help to account for the percent of union cards signed. The interviews indicated that while only 50 percent of the clerks had a favorable attitude toward a union, 73 percent eventually signed cards and attended meetings. Prior to the meetings 27 percent of the clerks had indifferent attitudes toward the union, indicating that the meetings may

As to the attitudes of the junior managers toward a union, there was great disagreement. On one extreme was Joseph who said, "no union will ever succeed in unionizing the office workers here; sure, they've got it too good. No, b'y, that's one worry I'll never have". The other extreme was represented by John, a Level I[103] in the Network Department -

> I hope they (UWC) go on and try for us managers. If they don't they're fools. Now's a great time with the "efficiency experts" sneaking around making people even more insecure.

This division of opinion had also been noticed by the clerical workers. When asked how they perceived their supervisor's attitude toward unionization, their replies indicated 40 percent perceived their bosses as being pro-union, while only 27 percent were judged to be pro-company, and the remaining 33 percent were indifferent. The most common line of thought was presented by one clerk who stated:

> I don't know why they would not want to include first levels - they are the most nervous. If there are lay-offs they're the first to go out the door. Us clerks just get moved around or demoted, and the executives, well, they're pretty secure...

These comments tend to indicate that overall the junior managers were perceived to be favoring unionization,

have brought over the additional 23 percent from the group of indifferent voters. The prime reason for this swing seemed to be twofold. While at the meetings many clerks signed union cards, which they readily admitted to having done because of the excitement and/or peer pressure.

Throughout the campaign, there appeared to be three major divisions among the clerical workers at Utilco - pro-company, pro-union, and indifferent. The views of these camps are summarized by the statements of three clerks:

> All this talk about unions and things like that is a complete waste of time. People are not stupid enough to bring in something like that.
>
> It's gonna be a union landslide, no sweat. There's no need to worry. All we gotta do now is sit back and wait, it will happen any day now.
>
> I don't really care. I have an ok job. A union probably couldn't do anything for me, but then it couldn't do any harm either. If it gets in that's fine, or if it doesn't then that's fine too.

As these statements indicate, definite divisions which have been illustrated by this study, did exist. Of those interviewed, prior to the government vote, approximately 70 percent indicated that they voted for the UWC. However, within this group were 10 percent who stated that if another vote were taken they would probably not support the union. The remaining 30 percent were strongly anti-union.

and may indeed be the next group in Utilco to attempt to unionize. Prior to the present UWC campaign there were attempts by other unions to organize clerks and even junior managers within the Corporation. All met with defeat because of a lack of worker support. However, if the present level of aggressive expansion by the UWC continues there is no doubt that an attempt will be made within the not-to-distant-future. In one phone conversation with a UWC organizer, she admitted;

> There's no question there is enough support among the managers for a union; they're pretty unhappy with the situation. But, right now we want to take it in stages, one group at a time. When the clerks are settled then we'll look at the junior managers.

What the UWC campaign indicated for the clerical workers may be the same for junior managers - that is, a reflection of generally poor morale or a disgruntled workforce; a workforce which seriously considers a white-collar participatory union as an alternative to an autocratic corporate rule. The move by the UWC on the clerical workforce may be a preview of a future move against the next possible hierarchial level.

In the third white-collar group at Utilco, the executive managers, there is a consensus of opinion that there was no need or value for the clerical workers to unionize.

One Level III manager offered his opinion over coffee one afternoon:

> I can't see why anyone would want a union here. They'd have to be fuckin' crazy. It's not going to get them any more, and anyway, they don't need it.
>
> Why do you think technology has come in so fast? It's because business knows it's a way of getting rid of union people. So unions are the cause of the technological revolution - if you want to call it that - in the business world. If you never had unions you would not need protection from technology. Where required, companies would protect their workers.

If we ignore the argument's logic, and merely interpret the underlying attitude, it seems to represent the executives' attitude regarding unions: that they cause problems for all concerned and offer little or no worthwhile benefits. Other executives voiced similar opinions and believed the clerical desire to unionize to be "foolish" or "just silly". It must be kept in mind that these are employees who have 'learned the game' and have been rewarded by promotions. Had they possessed a pro-union attitude while being junior managers the chances are unlikely that they would be where they are today.

The executive managers expressed their opinions mostly through company bulletins. These are of two types - orange for management-only bulletins and green for gen-

eral employee bulletins. During the campaign the Corporation used principally the green bulletins since its comments were directed at the general group. Even though these bulletins are written by executive managers and not by the President or Board of Directors, they are considered the official Corporate view. In reading them one could say the Corporation was officially impartial toward a clerical union and concerned only with assisting the workers in making the correct choice for themselves. However, through certain subtle statements made in these bulletins the unofficial Corporate view was obvious. For example, in Utilco's first "Employee Bulletin" regarding the UWC attempt, the Corporation states that it had "a regular practice of open communications with our employees". It then proceeds to suggest some items to consider prior to signing union membership cards: such as to be "aware of all financial obligations to the union" and, "you have the right of choice, ... you are equally protected from intimidation by a union". After having read this, one clerk was overheard to say;

> Open communication - like hell, since when? Have you ever tried to speak openly around here? It's OK if it's something they like or don't care about.

This then, was the situation going into the final week of the campaign. The UWC had applied for government

certification, to which Utilco filed a disagreement. The provincial government labour board then conducted its own investigation and ordered a secret ballot vote be taken among the clerks, the results of which would be binding on all parties concerned. This vote was taken by mail during December, 1983, and resulted in a UWC victory. The Union was in. The Corporation made its final appeal based on what it termed "irregularities in voting", but this was not accepted by the Labour Board, which awarded official certification to the UWC. The voting results closely reflected those found in this study - 60 percent voted in favor of the UWC, 19 percent voted against and 21 percent abstained. This indicates that there were a number of clerks who did originally sign membership cards at the campaign meetings, but either abstained or voted against the Union in the secret vote.[33]

One obvious factor which influenced the workers throughout the campaign was peer pressure or a desire to conform. This supports recent studies by Hollinger and Clark (1982), who concluded that the informal social control present in primary work-group relationships influences a worker's behavior more than the formal reactions of those in positions of authority within the formal organization. At Utilco this effect was admitted by one clerk who stated -

> When you are at the Union meeting you get caught up in everything. Everybody else signs-up, so you do.

Of those clerks surveyed, 57 percent were working in groups which they themselves perceived as having a majority of pro-union co-workers. Of these only 12 percent voted against the Union, 88 percent were pro-union. A similar trend was exhibited among those who believed their group to be pro-Company. In these cases 83 percent voted against the Union.

The principle of using peers to apply pressure on dissidents to conform was also used by the UWC during the campaign meetings. At these meetings there were representatives from the other unionized non-management group at Utilco (i.e. tradespersons). They were present to create a greater sense of solidarity and to exert peer pressure on the clerical workers. This resulted in many Union membership cards being signed there, rather than having them taken home to be sent in at a later date or discarded.

In discussing the campaign meetings, it should be noted that while the majority of clerks perceived the UWC representatives who chaired the meetings as being "pushy", "aggressive" and even "hostile", the meetings were certainly effective in recruiting members. Many of those who

prior to the meetings were "undecided" yielded to peer pressure and the aggressive style of the organizers and signed up prior to leaving the meeting. This developed a sense of commitment within the new members which carried through to the present time. The same could not be said of the Corporation's meeting, which was relatively low-key and more of an attempt to "present the facts clearly and honestly", as stated by one senior manager. While the UWC meetings were seen by some pro and anti-unionists alike as being a "complete snow job", the Utilco meeting had the impression of being "more honest" or perhaps merely more skillfully managed. After the Corporation's meeting, one clerk said, "they just presented some charts comparing the clerk's benefits with those of other Utilco union members and answered anyone's questions in a fairly unbiased manner". One senior clerk in the Service Department described it this way -

> They made it seem that we would get nothing more but have to pay union dues. They said we needn't worry over security; the Corporation would look after us as they have in the past. I don't know who they thought they were kidding. They made it seem like the Union was telling us things they couldn't do. Like they (the Union) were trying to pull a fast one. They were really good - playing the psychological game all the way.

It appeared that while this meeting did reflect favourably on the Corporation it lacked the intensity and

frequency of the UWC meetings. Had the clerical workers been able to avail themselves of a number of these meetings, as they could with the Union meetings, it might have produced significantly different results. More Utilco meetings throughout the campaign would have provided the clerical workers with an alternative 'camp' in which to belong. As we saw, peer pressure was important and many of these clerks found a sense of belonging in the UWC, which held regular meetings and issued regular bulletins to the clerks. (The Corporation bulletins regarding unionization were infrequent and either were addressed to all Utilco employees or to Utilco management. The clerks rated little special attention as they did with the UWC which issued the vast majority of their bulletins to the clerical workers themselves).

Another major factor in the Union victory was the clerks' belief that favoritism, not qualifications or knowledge, is the dominant principle for promotion[34] and a good management-clerical environment within Utilco. Almost 90 percent of those interviewed listed favoritism as the most predominant problem with Utilco. Opinions such as the following are common among employees:[35]

> There's too much favoritism going on now in the Company. People get jobs by sucking in good to their boss, while the ones who are better qualified get nothing.

Generally, however, such a statement might be dismissed as jealously or "sour grapes" if it were not for the cases which you were personally aware of. Take, for example, a case in point; Ruth is a D Level Clerk in the Administration Department, who volunteered this information:

> I am a good example, I was supposed to be laid-off last Christmas but my boss said he liked my work and would arrange for me to stay. I just had to stay quiet about it. It worked. If there was a union I would have had to go. Some of the other girls with a lot more seniority than me were pissed-off because I got to stay while they were being laid-off, but that's the breaks. If they said anything it would kill their chances of getting back. If you're in good with the boss it's important.

Ruth admitted feeling bad when other clerks were laid-off, but she also wanted to keep her job. She said that it was because of what happened that she voted in favor of the Union. "If it happened to me, it happens to others - maybe even worse. Someday the tables might be reversed against me". This was only one case; however, it appears to be only a small portion of what actually occurs within Utilco if we are to believe even half the cases told by other clerks, or managers for that matter. Judging by the concern exhibited by those interviewed about favoritism, there seems to be no doubt that had Utilco taken steps earlier to quell this problem, the UWC campaign would surely have met with failure. However, as one

employee stated:

> What do you expect? That should be the function of a personnel or labour relations department. But in this Company those positions are filled with engineers, finance people or those with no human resources training whatsoever. These types are put there to save bucks and do what the Company wants - not to help the employees.

It could also be predicted that, if this problem of "favoritism" is not treated seriously by the executive managers, then it will again become a major factor in any future attempt to unionize the junior management level.

Another major factor which has grown in concern for most workers is security against both lay-off and demotion, as well as against unwanted transfers into jobs which the worker dislikes. At Utilco this concern appears even more prevalent among the junior managers, most of whom can easily cite examples of such cases. However, even though this feeling is not as predominant within the clerical ranks, it nonetheless, played a vital role in the campaign. One E Level Clerk summarized the workers' feelings:

> I voted for the Union because one day I might be transferred and get a job like most of the other girls. I mean one with a bad boss or boring work, things like that. Then I may need a union for protection.
>
> I hear a lot of horror stories from other clerks - things like favoritism or the SMC (Scientific Man-

> agement Consultants) group tearing your job up in little pieces that have to be timed. Sure, I hear you even have to log the time you go to the bathroom or use the phone. What they're trying to do is eliminate jobs, truth be known.

As this illustrates there is a concern as to their treatment. This is basically a result of three factors: 1) The economy, 2) Utilco lay-offs, and 3) the SMC group. In studying these it is obvious that all three are related. It could even be said that the latter two are a direct result of the first. In North America the economy during 1982 and 1983 suffered a recessionary period which in turn forced business to cut-back expenses in order to maintain a satisfactory profit. One of the more popular methods of reducing costs was, and still is, through a reduction in manpower.

Consequently, private business began laying-off workers. Utilco was no exception; over 100 of its workers were affected by either lay-offs or demotions, some of which the workers believed were caused by the SMC.

There are some clerical workers who joined the Union because of SMC, but who would cancel their votes given the opportunity. One such person explained:

> I signed-up because of the lay-offs and the SMC group which made me insecure. Nowadays, I feel more secure. If the vote were held again, I would

not send in my card.

The actual government vote implied that 10 percent of those who originally signed cards withdrew their support on the secret ballot vote. This indicated that a pro-union attitude was highest while lay-offs and SMC were fresh in the workers' minds. As time progressed and the work environment became stable, people tended to forget the bad experiences which occurred only months previous.

One surprising factor was job satisfaction. It was expected that a high degree of worker jobs dissatisfaction would be present at Utilco, considering the pro-union voting results. However, this was not the case. Only one-third of those interviewed were not very satisfied in their present positions, listing "no challenge" and "restricted freedom" as the two primary reasons. Also, there was little concern over jobs being lost due to technological advances or automation. This is contrary to Kuyek's (1979) study which found clerical workers in Bell Canada were concerned over these factors.[36] In order to explain these factors one must consider the total internal working environment. At Utilco, as we so far have seen, clerks are at the bottom of the hierarchy and as such are relegated to being pawns in the levelitis game. There also must be a desire for clerical solidarity within the organ-

ization thereby, producing peer pressure for those who do not conform. Lay-offs and demotions caused by the economy combined with the ever-present recording of performance by SMC or PGG also contributed to a poor working environment and morale. Overall then, it seemed that position satisfaction was only one portion of the overall job environment. In this case many other factors combined to outweigh the satisfaction obtained from one's position.

In 1977, a study was conducted by Manley, McNichols and Young on attitudes toward unionization. It found that those who had family members with union experience were more likely to favor unionization for themselves. Among this present study's sample at Utilco, 45 percent had no union members in their families, and out of this group only 64 percent voted pro-union. This paralleled the overall voting results (approximately 60 percent voted for the UWC) indicating no significant difference among workers without any union members in their families. However, among those who had family members with union experience over 80 percent voted in favor of a clerical union. This indicates that prior family experience with unions was an important factor in whether or not a person voted in favor of a union for him/herself. This type of factor will be termed an 'associate factor" for the purpose of this study and the model to be discussed in the final section.

Another 'associate factor' is the degree of association with the corporation or with the executive managers who are the main representatives of the corporation. Or, in Marx's terms, 'the degree of alienation which the worker feels from the organization or the product of his work'. One measure of this is the degree to which the worker believes the organization actually cares about him as a person, rather than merely as a worker or figure on an expense sheet. This may indicate if he perceives himself as only a tool or another type of "machine" to be utilized as the large corporation feels fit. In this study, of those interviewed, 63 percent felt the Corporation cared little about them as individual people. Of this group 90 percent voted in favor of unionization. Among those who believed Utilco did care about them as people, only 45 percent voted for the UWC. This tends to support the belief held by many of the smaller, local business firms, that if you treat your employees fairly as people, not machines, then you will never have to worry over a union moving into your business.

This latter principle is linked to the workers' association with the corporation and therefore with management. In a study performed on an engineering manufacturing operation, Shrivastava and Verma (1978) discovered a similar pattern. Their results indicate that the work-

men who perceived themselves to be similar to their supervisors have a less favorable attitude toward unionism.[37] Also, from a corporate perspective, those supervisors who perceive greater similarity between their own needs and those of their workers are more effective in handling their subordinates. The traditional attitude of most corporations and managers toward unions reflects the belief that unions oppose management. Therefore, if you are a worker who considers yourself similar to your boss, then a union will pose a threat against your own personal belief system and logically, to avoid this threat, you will vote against such a union. Unfortunately for the modern corporation, in many cases there is a large difference between the goals of the owners and senior management, and those of the rank-and-file workers. As Kuyak (1979:19) states, "the company can buy the workers' time but not their enthusiasm".

In many cases where workers have introduced a union into a previously non-union environment the two prime areas of concern were salaries and benefits. At Utilco, however, this was not the case. Of those surveyed, over 50 percent felt their salaries were satisfactory and 40 percent felt the benefits were adequate.[38] Also, only 40 percent felt other Utilco unionized groups' salaries and benefits had grown faster than their own. However, what does support a modern trend, discussed in the opening

section, is that 57 percent felt that higher management salaries and benefits had grown disproportionately to their own. As stated earlier, the status gap between the white-collar and blue-collar worker is decreasing in importance, while the gap between the white-collar worker who is low on the corporate hierarchy and those managers higher on the hierarchy is increasing. At Utilco some clerks and even low-level managers complain because their salary increases were low and their peers were being demoted and laid-off, while the vice-presidents were receiving new, more expensive corporate cars for their personal use or increased travel.

One final factor to discuss is the effect of the boss (i.e. the immediate supervisor) on the clerical voting patterns. The interviews conducted suggest that at Utilco 40 percent of the low-level managers were perceived as being pro-union, while 27 percent were pro-company and the remainder undecided. The effect this seemed to have on the clerical staff reporting to them was also interesting. Among those clerks with pro-union supervisors, 100 percent voted for the UWC. However, among the pro-company group of supervisors, only 50 percent voted for the UWC, with similar results being recorded in the undecided supervisors' clerks. This tends to indicate two items of concern. First, a supervisor's perceived attitude toward unionization does

influence the attitude of the subordinate. In this area it is perhaps not unlike the effect of peer pressure and certainly would provide the necessary force to sway a clerk who was undecided. Secondly, the Utilco executive managers and the Corporation directors should begin to pay close attention to their low-level managers if they do not wish another local of the UWC on their hands. With 40 percent of the low-level managers being perceived as pro-union, there appears to be a definite interest in unionization. Also, there was talk among this group that the UWC made some inquiries and were planning a campaign geared specifically for this first line managerial group. For the UWC this move would be the next logical step. With the low-level managers, the UWC would have control of all the Utilco workers.[39] This would naturally increase the Union bargaining power, especially during contract negotiations. Currently, in the event of a strike by any union group within Utilco, the low-level managers would be the ones sent out to fill in. If they became unionized, the UWC would probably not permit this form of strike breaking behaviour thus they would possess the potential to, in effect, shut down the daily operation of the Corporation.

As was illustrated in the previous discussions there are many factors which interact and influence a worker's tendency toward unionization. The factors noted during the

Utilco campaign varied from the worker's home and peer group members, perceived status gaps with other worker levels and the impact of both UWC and Utilco campaigns. The final result was that the clerical group at Utilco were successful in their unionization attempt, and now the Corporation must accept and deal with this new force in the most mutually beneficial way possible.

As for the future of the UWC, little can be said. It may be quickly coming to the end of its expansionary period. For such a young union to have moved across the entire country and have successfully organized most members of an entire industry has to be a source of pride. However, where can they go from here? They basically have two choices if they wish to avoid stagnation, which, in a climate where jobs are constantly being lost to technology, would eventually lead to a union with reduced power to bargain or protect its members. The first of these is to expand outside the utility industry, as it has done in its merger with IUREMO. This opens the door for new areas of growth. A second choice is to expand further within the utility industry. This means expanding up the hierarchical structure of the organization. This is a solution posed by Hamermesh (1971), which he sees as a way to gain increases for present clerical or white-collar union members. However, for the UWC this would pose many new problem areas,

such as possibly introducing a conflict of interest situation where the membership included both the clerical workers and tradespersons, plus their first line of supervisors. Also, there could be possible problems with government labour legislation concerning who should be defined as management. Therefore, if the corporation opposed the union such a management unionization campaign might find the proposed members are not eligible for union membership. Another area of concern would be the union campaign itself. It has been demonstrated that the higher the worker's position in the hierarchy, the more he will identify with the corporation and its policies. This may prove to be a tougher battle than the Union wishes or is prepared for. In any event, the discussion of the future possibilities for unions is not within the scope of this thesis. However, it should certainly be an issue of future research and a concern for all those involved.

# 5. TOWARD A THEORY OF WHITE-COLLAR UNIONISM

People are not the simple product of the forces that work on them. People are not 'the effect' or 'the cause' but both one and the other at the same time.

Theo Nichols & Huw Beynon in Living with Capitalism: Class Relations and the Modern Factory, 1977, p.77.

Within each worker's culture there exists a formal set of ideas about how its participants are expected to behave, feel and think in a specific social situation. Pavalko (1971) concluded that each occupation may have a readily distinguishable or unique idea about what its members' goals or aims should be and how they should behave to reach these ends. Within the corporate setting these ideas may be typified through concepts such as being a "corporate man", ambitious, competent in one's job, and troublemaker. Also, as in Utilco, these concepts have to be balanced against one's peers or reference group norms and expectations. Under certain circumstances, such as a unionization attempt, the worker also faces other forces which demand his attention. On one hand, the worker must deal with sometimes intense peer pressure, while, on the other, he must avoid any significant conflict with the corporation and its executive managers. As we observed at Utilco, there were numerous factors which influenced a worker's decision concerning unionization. There was no readily distinguishable rule about how to behave and even the goal was often confusing - "Do I want a union?" "Is this my only alternative?" Most workers will attempt to avoid being labeled as a "corporate man" by his peers, or as a "troublemaker" by his supervisor and other management. Consequently, in order for us to understand the process of unionization within the individual worker, we must understand the primary variables involved and how they interact

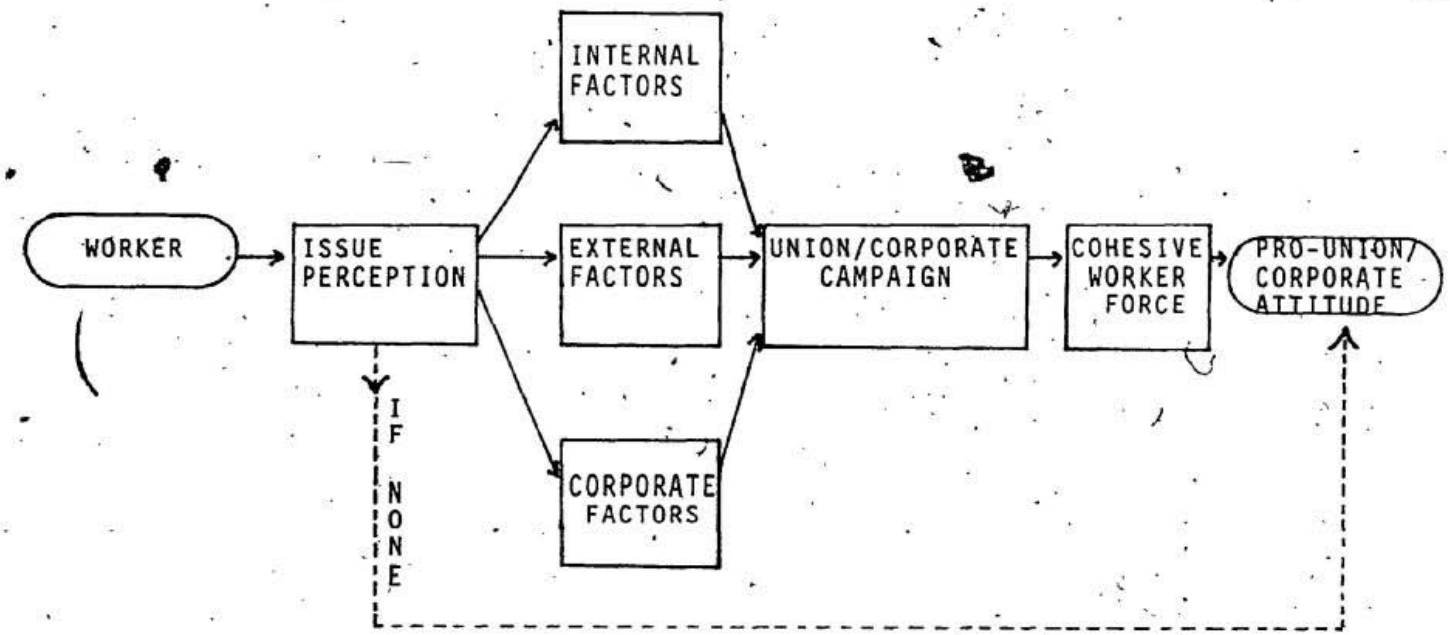
to culminate in the pro-union or pro-company worker.

Utilizing the available literature on the topic and the data gathered from the Utilco case study a model of this interactive process has been developed. This model (refer to Diagram 1), consists of six elements or components, each being composed of a group of related individual or 'associate factors'. It begins with the worker himself and diagrams the possible role of each element in the process leading to the pro-union or pro-company attitude of the worker.

The first component of the model is one which, in effect, can start the process or end it immediately. This component is termed 'issue perception' and involves the worker engaging in conscious, deliberate thought on his present work situation. He is faced with the task of deciding if there are problems or possible future problems in his work life which can be best solved by a form of collective representation. Also, is a union a viable alternative for this representation? If, after thinking through his situation, the response to these questions is that a union will not help, then he will bypass all the model's remaining components and decide not to support a union and perhaps even become more pro-company. If, however, a union does offer the best viable alternative then the model's other components will come into play.

DIAGRAM 1

Model of the unionization process



The model's next series of components impact on the worker simultaneously. They constitute the worker's prime considerations when making the decision as to vote either for or against a union. This group is composed of three components - internal, external and corporate, representing the three areas of the worker's life relevant to his work. These components are distinct from the model's first component in that, in the first component the worker decides if there are enough problems to warrent consideration of collective representation as a viable alternative method for improving his situation. In the second, third and fourth components the worker reviews some of these problems and benefits related to his worklife and which contribute to the decision as to whether or not he believes this specific union will help or hinder his personal situation. Also, in these components are factors impacting on the worker's decision at a less concrete or subconscious level (e.g. peer pressure, conformity).

The 'internal component' will be discussed first because this represents the worker's most obvious concerns. These concerns stem directly from the day to day job and are consciously faced every day. For the purpose of this model, seven individual 'associate factors' have been specified, although in certain circumstances some other concerns may apply which would be specific to a peculiar type of work or location.

1) Salaries and benefits - Although this area tends to be the one most often vocalized by media and union sources, it is not necessarily an important factor in the worker's decision. For example, in Kuyek's (1979) study of Bell Canada, she noted that in an effort to offset a unionization attempt, Bell increased its employees' wages more often than normal, introduced a stock purchase plan for employees and set-up Joint Conference Committees (i.e. employee-management committees for the purpose of expressing concerns associated with work). These maneuvers failed to suppress the unionization movement.

2) Job satisfaction - This aspect tends to be somewhat broad and general in its definition. It relates to the degree of personal satisfaction the worker receives from his job or from the product of his labour. It excludes any satisfaction which might be received from the other aspects of the job (e.g., the other internal factors discussed in this section).

3) Security - Such clauses as "bumping" and "seniority" found in almost all union contracts illustrate the importance of this aspect. The concern is even greater during years of economic hardship where bankrupties, lay-offs and slow-

downs are more prevalent. During the Utilco campaign workers saw friends who they had worked with for years get laid-off or demoted, all in the name of "efficiency" or "streamlining". As we saw by the case of Ruth (i.e., the clerk who avoided being laid-off because she was "in-good" with her boss, even though she had little seniority), the concern of most workers about security was not only popular, but obviously valid. Workers want to feel that their long years of labour for a company do count for something and do provide some form of security.

4) Physical environment - This aspect of the internal factors includes concerns such as safety, cleanliness and physical comfort, as well as physical barriers which inhibit communication and association. The importance of the first group is obvious - who would enjoy working in an unsafe or dangerous environment, or working in an office infested with insects or rarely cleaned, or working throughout the year in an office where it is too hot or where there is no ventilation? If a union could offer help to correct these conditions, most would be willing to consider it. The second portion of this concern is the physical barriers which create psychological impressions within the worker. For

unionization as a means to eliminate favoritism or to guarantee that procedures such as "job posting" are introduced into the workplace. They are often resentful of the corporation for not giving them the advancement alluded to when they first joined the corporation. The opposite is true of those who believe they are upwardly mobile - they tend toward the pro-corporate views. These are workers with a future and who see, or believe they see, evidence of how the corporation is taking care of them.

6) Work peers - As was evident in the Utilco case, a worker's co-workers are a prime factor when making a decision as to whether or not to vote union. During the campaign meetings, for example, many workers admitted to signing Union membership cards only because the majority of their co-workers did. Had they not signed-up for the Union, they might have been subjected to peer pressure along the lines of that applied to group deviants (e.g. being excluded from group conversations and social activities). This aspect is especially important in the case of workers who are "sitting on the fence".

7) Social group contact - Most organizations such as Utilco offer their employees many social activities in which they may participate. These

example, Kanter (1977) noted that certain managers in high corporate positions maintain their prestige and power levels through techniques such as strata-oriented appurtenances and by surrounding themselves with low-level personnel. In these cases, those higher levels build up an efficient psychological screen around themselves and hence heighten their own prestige. At Utilco these techniques are referred to by the lower level workers as "levelitis". As the managerial hierarchy was ascended, the office partitions got higher, the offices larger and more impressive, etc. These physical appurtenances have created a screen which can be pierced easily only by those of the same strata or higher. This form of psychological constraint causes workers to seek solidarity within their own organizational level.

5) Mobility - The white-collar office workers interviewed generally expressed some degree of concern about their mobility within the Corporation. Some saw their futures filled only with blocked avenues of advancement, while others merely wanted a move to a different type of job. Those workers with diminished opportunities for promotion will tend to support unions as a method of rejecting the corporation's legitimacy. They also favor

clubs vary, but can basically be divided into two types - employee-oriented and employer-oriented. The employee-oriented activities are often sports leagues (e.g. darts, curling and hockey) or hobby-oriented (e.g. photographic or philatelic clubs). These activities tend to be ideal spots for the promotion of pro-union attitudes. They almost entirely exclude dominant corporate influence when in progress. This type may be contrasted with the employer-oriented activities. For example, at Utilco one would be the Senior Citizens Association. This type of group is operated and funded largely by the corporation. It often benefits the commmunity at large and thereby acts as a public relations organization for the corporation. In these meetings there is often a great concern as to the corporation's needs and opinions. Therefore, workers who participate in these groups would be subject to a pro-corporate or anti-union attitude.

The second of the three components mentioned earlier is termed 'external'. This component covers factors external to the employee's work environment. They are concerns the worker must face while at home or visiting friends, and may be thought of either consciously or unconsciously throughout the entire day. This component may be sub-divided into two aspects:

1) Personal economic situation - This 'associate factor' brings into play the effects of the economy on the life of the individual worker. The effect has been illustrated in many studies of union attitudes. For example, Stern and Murphy (1980) touched on this area when they noted that workers from lower status backgrounds will tend to favor unions more than those from higher status backgrounds. This could even be extended by making the assumption that the less financially secure a worker is or the more a worker's life depends on the finances derived from his job, then the more that worker will feel a union is necessary to provide him with greater security, benefits and, of course, salary. Those in higher economic levels may have greater assets built-up during their life, more marketable skills and are able to enjoy the power of their position more. Therefore, they are not as desperate for union assistance. As briefly mentioned earlier, this factor also considers an employee's social status. Previously, the aspect of economic status was noted. However, for the purpose of this model, social status will be treated under the same component. The principle behind this idea is that white-collar workers mostly are middle-class and perceive unions as belonging to the lower (i.e. blue-collar) strata. Strauss (1954) stated that

white-collar workers are unique and will not join a union unless they believe it necessary to protect their middle-class dignity and independence which has been denied them by management and the work-situation itself. Allen (1983) supportes this and concludes that white-collar workers are striving for prestige to maintain their middle-class self-image which has weakened in relation to their economic situation.

2) Family and peers - The family and peers outside the work place can exert an influence over the worker. This is expecially important if the worker has a close, favorable relationship with this person and if some family member or peer has belonged to or dealt with a union. A positive reaction from such a close person, who had a good experience dealing with a union, can mean a great deal to the worker. Likewise, the contrary also would hold true.

The next component - 'corporate' - involves those influences imposed on the worker by the corporation. It, in essence, represents the formal and informal regulations under which the employee works and which he is expected to follow. The direction these influences take tends to flow down from the top of the hierarchy. Those who deviate from this influence or approach tend to stagnate as far as promotion or career development are concerned. The three 'associate factors'

of this component are: 1) supervisor's attitude, 2) executive managers' attitudes, and 3) style of management. Effective use of this component by the corporation can quell 'union fever'. For example, in Bell Canada, unionization was effectively controlled for a long period by the corporation either intimidating workers into silence or convincing them that the Company had their best interests at heart (Kuyek, 1979). In the discussion of the three aspects of this component, one should keep in mind that it applies psychological pressure specified by the corporate board against the worker.

1) Supervisor's attitude - The supervisor is the initial source from which the worker receives his impression of the corporate attitude and expectations. It is also the group of managers with whom the potential unionized office workers have the most dealings. If this line of managers present a pro-corporate attitude and are themselves generally pro-company, then this opinion will influence their subordinates in a similar direction. If, however, as we saw at Utilco, a significant portion of the junior managers is perceived to be pro-union, then this would tend to support pro-union views among the clerical workers.

2) Executives' attitudes - In this group are included all those managers above the level of first line supervisor, the department presidents and even the

Board of Directors members. This group is the one who sets the standard for corporate attitude and style of management. It has the power to operate the corporation in a manner which those lower in the organization will understand and accept as being in everyone's best interest. Unfortunately, in many corporations this message is lost as it descends the hierarchy. Kuyek (1979:91) stated that in Bell Canada the work was:

> clearly not organized in the best interest of employees any more than customers. It is organized in the interests of its owners and it is run in a way that ensures the increased wealth and power of that small group.

One wonders if this was also perceived by the clerical workers and even many of the pro-union junior managers at Utilco, who, while they were being told their salary increases would be minimal, saw the department directors and Corporate president receive new expensive cars, or saw shareholders receive high rates of return on their monetary investments and the Corporation itself make record profits. If this type of attitude (i.e. owner first, then executives, then customers or other workers) is perceived as being present at corporations like Utilco, then understandably the clerical office workers or junior managers would see themselves as being close to the bottom of the list. The big difference between the groups is that unlike the

owners or executive managers, the clerks cannot by themselves improve their lot. They will begin to look for help elsewhere in society and many find this help in unions. Unions can offer these workers protection against the stronger corporate group and strength in bargaining for improved benefits and conditions, while at the same time provide a source of solidarity for its members.

3) Style of management - This 'associate factor' of the corporate component considers the type of organization, power structure and method of administration within the corporation. This aspect will establish the basic policies for the supervisors and executives in running the organization. It could favor a humanistic or employee-oriented approach, which tends not to be cost efficient for the corporation, or it could favor the other extreme of corporate efficiency, which would be owner-oriented. For example, Kuyek (1979) found that one such owner-oriented technique has been used in Bell Canada for years. This is termed "scientific management" and the division of labour brought about by it is still a vital part of Bell's management theory. According to Kuyek, much employee dissatisfaction results from the subsequent alienation. Bell has justified many of the management theories through its own version called "functional organization".

This basically is the system at Utilco where allocation of labour is dictated by the functional requirements offering the maximum benefits to the organization. One advantage which the UWC possessed was that throughout the campaign Utilco had introduced and was using the SMC "efficiency experts", which tended to draw even more attention to the Corporation's owner-oriented approach. The fact that clerks were timed and had their tasks all recorded was the deciding factor which convinced many of them that union protection was needed. As this example illustrated, the dehumanizing effects of certain styles of management can and do affect unionization attempts and attitudes.

Also, another effect management styles have on workers can be found in the resulting degree of association which workers have with management and the organization. A system where workers are made to feel more like machines will reduce association and thereby increase pro-union attitudes. To prevent this form of employee division, corporations should work toward equal and just benefits and treatment for all employees - workers and owners alike. Instances where executives are given greater benefits than the workers below them should be avoided. This is especially important during hard

> economic times where the common worker is having enough problems paying for his basic necessities and is being forced to cut back on his few luxuries. During these times he does not appreciate, for example, a corporation which reports record profits, gives its executives new, more expensive cars and its shareholders increased dividends, yet tells its workers various cut-backs must be made or restraint imposed on their salaries. Corporations should take care not only to prevent this occurrence but also to avoid the workers' perception that such discrepancies can occur within the corporation. This may be too late for those corporations which presently have unionized employee groups.' However, in these cases serious consideration should be given to involving the unions and workers to a greater degree in policy formation rather than bringing in policies and having the unions disagree with them at a later date (Beyer, 1980).

The fifth component of the model is the 'union/corporate campaign'. In these days where traditionally blue-collar unions are moving in and trying to organize white-collar workers the type of campaign waged is growing in importance. Many researchers cited thus far have found evidence of a status gap between the blue-and white-collar worker and,

as indicated by this study, another gap between the lower and upper status levels of the white-collar workers is continually increasing in both size and importance. If we accept the existence of at least these three distinct worker groups, then we must assume each has certain unique characteristics. Accordingly, the most effective means to organize the white-collar worker would be to bring into play those characteristics important to that group. For example, managers typically stay in the workforce longer than clerical workers. Therefore, a union campaign to organize managers might emphasize long-term rather than short-term benefits. In another case a clerk in a large office building would be more interested in job mobility than a skilled tradesperson who is trained only as a welder, for example. Here the union could emphasize job posting or transfers. The philosophy holds true for the corporation in its desire to defeat the union. If it is realized that a gap exists between the two white-collar groups, then it would be in the corporation's interest to minimize this difference by emphasizing how much the lower white-collar workers are similar to and part of the upper corporate strata. Here, an emphasis could be placed on the workers' concerns and more consideration given to the opinions of this group when making corporate decisions.

According to Blum and Plovsing (1972), the most effective techniques in white-collar unionization attempts

are large amounts of agitation, propaganda and personal contact. This implies that to be effective unions have to campaign harder than they did previously and utilize a different style emphasizing the above three techniques. The increased emphasis on these techniques would be especially important for blue-collar unions which are trying to expand into the white-collar workers' area. These unions would first have to overcome the stigma of being a blue-collar union only. Because of the gap between the blue- and white-collar workers, unions would have to eliminate or reduce the effect of this stigma in order to be effective. In the case of the UWC its approach was to emphasize they had a great deal of experience dealing with clerical workers in the utility industry across Canada. Even though they also represent many blue-collar groups, it was the white-collar office workers which they emphasized. Also, as was included in Bain's unionization model, the corporation's degree of anti-union attitude during the campaign will swing many of those workers who were, up to that point undecided, toward the corporation. Blackburn and Prandy (1965) listed the attitude of employers as an important factor in determining the degree of preference for a union among its workers. Effective employer opposition to a union campaign is vital for the campaign's ultimate failure.

The sixth component is the 'cohesive worker force' present throughout the campaign. It is the presence of this force or worker bond which will help maintain the campaign's inertia and keep the workers interested and together in respect to their attitude. Without a good, solid bond among the workers any unionization attempt could easily fail. Apathy will set in and, generally, the apathetic worker will favor the corporation because it offers the path of least resistance and risk.

Also, under this component the concept of "unionateness" may be introduced. This is a measure of the committment of a body to the general principles and ideology of trade unionism (Blackburn and Prandy, 1965). This may be applied to the workers' degree of committment - do they themselves, as individuals, have a high degree of unionateness. In other words, are they ready to be identified and registered as trade union members, or are they prepared to be militant, if necessary, to achieve the union's goals. A high degree of 'worker unionateness' will significantly improve a union campaign's chance of success.

As this model illustrates, the resulting interaction of each of these components will produce either a pro-union or pro-corporate attitude within the worker. To extend this concept even further one could attach negative and positive values to each component. For example, under

ideal conditions for unionization, one could expect the majority of the components to be exerting a positive influence toward unions. In other words, the worker would have to believe that there is a need for a union (component 1), his/her homelife would be supportive of this need and alternative (component 3), the union's campaign would be effective in pointing out the worker's problems and offering viable solutions and/or the corporate campaign would fall short of its pro-corporate objective (component 5); also, there would be a good degree of worker solidarity behind the union (component 6). At the same time the worker's internal job situation would be poor, both due to his immediate environment (component 2) and the corporation's pro-owner attitude (component 4) thereby exhibiting negative values. A pro-corporate worker attitude would result from a negative value for component 1 (i.e. the worker perceives either no need for a union, or that a union would not represent a viable alternative for the solving of his problem), or an overall reversal of the other components' values.

As a conclusion, it should be pointed out that this study and integrated model merely illustrates the major factors of the group dynamics and the artifical and formal constraints which affect the white-collar office worker's desire for unionization. Researchers now need to study the relative importance of the model's components and their

effects on employee motivation and attitude.

This research is essential for mutually beneficial growth to occur in the areas of corporate human relations and productivity. It is a well known fact that status, power and hierarchical structure are major constraints on motivation and workers' attitudes. Therefore, any change must be part of an overall program; no one change in itself will solve all the problems. If nothing is done and both the corporations and unions continue on their currently opposing paths, the cost to society will be high in wasted human talent and damage to the workers' potential. One should not expect to solve all the workers' problems and have no more need for unions. However, significant reductions in these problems and a mutually beneficial co-existence with unions may be achieved.

## 6. REFERENCES

SECTION 1

1. The effect of economic forces on labour unions is not only limited to the financially well-off industrial countries. For example, in Mexico white-collar unions have relatively little power and generate little interest among the white-collar workers. This might be due to the sustained economic growth in white-collar areas or stability relative to blue-collar areas which provide ample job opportunities, thereby increasing the workers' security and the neutral position of government (Blum, 1972). In Poland also, the economy has helped provide the government with the necessary rationale to attempt complete suppression of independent unions.

2. The portion of the employer's operating expenses attributable to employee salaries varies according to factors such as how labour-intensive the industry is and how comparable labour market wage rates are.

3. It is interesting to note that even in 1875 The Bullock Report - A Committee of Inquiry on Industrial Democracy in Britain, had as its terms of reference that - "Accepting the need for a radical extension of industrial democracy in the control of companies by means of representation on boards of directors, and accepting the essential role of trade union organizations in this process, to consider how such an extension can best be achieved ..." (cited in W.B. Creighton's The Bullock Report: The Coming of the Age of Democracy, 1977, p.1).

4. The two main alternatives for extended control according to Ogden (1982) are worker directors and extended issues in collective bargaining. Thus far, the data on these alternatives lead to inconclusive results.

5. Mills (1956) supported the distinction between the two levels of management in their involvement with other employees. The senior managers rarely had dealings with those in lower levels, while the reverse was true of lower or junior managers.

6. In a recent study of union membership in the United States, Fiorito (1982) discovered the opposite trend - during high periods of inflation union membership stagnated. He stated that this trend required further study, in order to explain it adequately.

7. This need for protection by white-collar workers is also exhibited in the newest policy available from insurance agencies - that of job insurance. Under these policies workers may purchase insurance which can cover their salary in the event they are laid-off for any length of time. The success of these policies confirms the need within the white-collar workgroup for greater security.

8. A more detailed description of both the Corporation and the Union will follow in other Sections of this study.

SECTION 2

9. Throughout this thesis the names of employees and other minor details have been altered to protect the identity of those involved. It should be noted, however, that these changes in no way affect the overall description of the organization.

10. Utility Corporation of Newfoundland in the "1982 Annual Report", p. 3.

11. Those clerks in secretarial positions and confidential jobs who are exempt from the union received their increases on schedule.

12. Also, Caplow (1976) stated that partitions or physical barriers such as a row of filing cabinets, etc. tend to inhibit communication and create an elitist feeling among those who control entry into the space inside the barrier.

13. Erving Goffman in "The characteristics of total institutions", 1980, p. 320.

14. This is encouraged through the Corporation contributing toward a worker's membership fees in community clubs and organizations. In this way the Corporation extends its influence even more in the worker's personal life.

15. These include darts, bowling, racketball, curling, skating, hockey, swimming, softball, and soon - volleyball.

16. This has also been noted in a study by Kanter (1977).

17. The SCA was, at the time of writing, the largest industrial social organization in the world, according to Utilco publications.

18. Dubin (1968) states that sociability may be the sole reason for the existence of informal groups. Their social activity may be independent of their working relationships. If this happens, the group may become neutral toward the main organization's goals. To avoid this problem and to exert greater control over the total lives of its employees, the corporation could organize an informal organization within its own structure.

19. Linda has been in her technical job more than 11 years. In this job she has trained many of her supervisors and all of her co-workers. The last two years have seen her co-worker promoted and a new co-worker (Sheila) as well as a new supervisor introduced. Both new group members are in their early twenties compared to Linda's fifty. They are "know-it-alls who don't care about the job like I do", Linda once said. In her cross-training, Linda often neglects to tell everything, keeping certain knowledge or tasks to herself, thereby maintaining a superior group position.

SECTION 3

20. Clerical job evaluation took place approximately three years ago, and job worth points were assigned to each clerical position. These points were then banded together and positions were grouped into clerical levels.

21. This premise has been challenged by Heritage (1980) who claims its impact is minimal on clerical unionization. He stated that employer attitude, government policies, and many other factors are more significant.

22. Throughout this study, reference will be made to The Research Section mini-study which added support to many hypotheses. There were two main reasons for the choosing of this group. - 1) They are considered to be typical of other Company groups based on age, sex, and job classification variables, and 2) Since I worked in this group I was able to maintain consistent records on it. Further information on this mini-study may be found in Appendix 1.

23. The importance of these factors in controlling deviant group behavior has been illustrated in studies done by Freedman (1970) and Gross (1965).

This type of conforming behavior can be understood if we examine the concept of a reference group. Kelly (1952) distinguished two major functions performed by these groups; 1) Normative function - they set and enforce standards or norms of behavior. 2) Comparison function against which a person may evaluate him/herself. This was expanded by Shibutani (1955) who added two further functions. First, it may be a group in which a person wishes to gain or maintain acceptance. Secondly, the group's perspectives may constitute a frame of reference for the individual members.

24. Utilco set up a committee of executive managers, in February 1981, to evaluate all positions on a standard point system.

25. Strictly speaking, Level II are considered middle management, with the executives those at Level III and above. However, for the purpose of this study the executives will include Level II.

26. This trend of executive management being predominately a male domain has also been discovered in studies by Kanter (1977), Ritzer (1972) and Pavalko (1971), just to mention a few.

27. To nurture this feeling of being part of the "team" within the workers, the Corporation offers many perks. One such perk is the "employee savings plan" where employees have the opportunity to buy Utilco stock under a cost-sharing type of arrangement. It has to be admitted that this is a benefit to employees. However, it also enables the Corporation to use employee savings which thereby helps its capital base, while at the same time promoting employee identification with Corporate goals.

28. The exception was George who rarely wore a three-piece suit, but rather a sports jacket or two-piece suits.

SECTION 4

29. This expansion, and the unions' effect on various workers' salaries and benefits have been topics for study by sociologists for many years (Raimon & Stoikov, 1969; Hamermesh, 1971; Kahn, 1978; Shapiro, 1978).

30. In an effort to reduce overhead (i.e. "Streamline the operation") and improve efficiency, Utilco, following reported successes in CanCorp, hired a consultant firm from the United States to study the organization and make some recommendations - SMC. These people utilized stop watches, flow-charts and duty sheets they claimed would reduce redundancy and increase production. This group was hired on a six month basis, but to maintain their system an in-house group was formed - this the Corporation termed the "Productivity Gain Group" (PGG). Its results are feared by the workers in a similar way as those of SMC. However, the PGG is not as much in the lime-light.

31. This feeling of a lack of control or independence has often been mentioned as a prime factor in the white-collar workers' desire for unionization (Blackburn & Prandy, 1965).

32. Bowen and Shaw (1972) in their study of clerks who were members of a blue-collar steel workers' union also noted this desire for special union representation.

33. Several clerical who initially voted in favor of the UWC at the meetings, later admitted that, "when I got home and thought about it, it didn't look so great", or "if I had my time back I'd definitely change my vote. I'd vote against the Union".

34. This was also the conclusion in a study by Morse (1953). He found managers believed promotions were based on merit, whereas most other workers believed it was merely decided by luck or on knowing the right person.

35. This is also a very popular belief among the junior managers as well. Rarely a day goes by without hearing some junior manager cite what he/she believes to be a case involving favoritism.

36. She stated the trend toward office automation in Bell was expected to reduce the clerical staff by 20 to 30 percent.

37. Support is also found in social psychology. Stotland, Zander and Natsoules (1961) concluded people empathize with and adopt feelings of others whom they find similar to themselves.

38. It is interesting to note that the benefit most workers felt needed to be improved was vacation. Currently, most Utilco workers receive only 3 weeks vacation until their tenth year when they receive 4 weeks. Most workers felt this should be changed to 4 weeks immediately and 5 weeks after ten years. This reflects the workers' interest in leisure time which many researchers feel is a growing trend in today's workforce.

39. "Workers" is a term the SMC group introduced into Utilco to denote those who actually do the manual and day-to-day work. The executive managers are termed "managers" whose main job it is to manage or supervise the "workers" reporting to them.

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## APPENDIX SECTION

APPENDIX 1

Methodology

This study utilizes an ethnographic approach, which, it is felt offers its readers the best possible understanding of the people involved and how various factors impact on their attitudes. The data used was gathered through observation, formal and informal interviews, and library research.

Since the author works within the Utilco setting and has done so for the past six years, access to and gaining the confidence off most other employees was not a problem. Also, this working knowledge of Utilco provided experience and, in many ways pointed to areas where employee problems existed. The job within Utilco enabled observations of many employees to be made without any great difficulty.

One of the more valuable of these observations was the recording of wearing apparel and the conversations of a working section within a Utilco department. The Research Section was chosen because it was near the author's personal work location, so there were no barriers to observation over the prolonged period of the three to four weeks of this mini-study. Also, the section is composed of a selection of employees from almost all Corporate levels, which provide a representative sample. Although this working group is composed of only 21 employees, it is felt

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the insights gleaned from its study would be useful in understanding the Utilco worker's environment.

The main evidence in this study rests on the formal interviews conducted with thirty clerical employees and on data and insights gathered through personally working in Utilco from January, 1978 to July, 1984. The majority of the interviews were conducted during non-work hours at offices in the Sociology Department at Memorial University of Newfoundland. The exceptions were those clerks who lived outside the city, which made after hours interviews impractical. In these cases the interviews were conducted during lunch hours at various locations in and around the place of work. The duration of the interviews varied from 20 minutes to close to 3 hours. The sample of employees for these interviews was randomly selected from an employee list using every tenth name or if these had left the Corporation or could not be contacted, then the next name on the list was picked. The random sample as it turned out was representative of most Utilco departments. Its clerical distribution corresponded to the actual distribution within the various departments. Also, the representativeness was supported by the Provincial Labour Board's official union vote. This vote indicated 60 percent of the clerical population wanted to join the Union. Considering this survey's sample, if the

three clerks who stated they filled out union cards during the campaign but would not vote union in the government vote because they changed their minds, are excluded, then this sample would also reflect a 60 percent pro-union composition. Other variable such as age, sex and clerical level corresponded to the actual clerical population.

In all, thirty-three clerical workers were asked for an interview and only three refused. One such refusal, typical of the other two, was an executive secretary named Sharon. Sharon was afraid her boss would find out she had been interviewed and what was said. Her comments reflected the fear many expressed in one way or another -

> No, I can't talk to you. There's too much racket around here now because of the Union, I don't want to make any more. It'll just cause more trouble - you know what they're (managers) are like. I don't need any more headaches because of this place.

Even though she was assured the interview and the results would be kept strictly confidential, she still declined saying - "they'll find out, don't you worry". Although other clerks admitted having this fear originally, they said it was soon forgotten. Their reasons for

consenting to be interviewed were "mainly out of curiosity", "something different to do", wanting to help out, or believing it was a Utilco issue which needed to be investigated.

With regard to the cooperation from Utilco and the UWC, it could be said that from both sources it was practically non-existent. The initial contact was with the Union which was asked to supply any background history that might be available on the UWC, and to discuss the rationale of the present campaign. The local representative on numerous occasions over the 14 month study postponed the interview and stated, "I don't have the time this week to send you out the history pamphlets". After more than a dozen deadlines or appointments being cancelled by the UWC organizer, it was obvious no information was going to be made available, even though the request was never officially refused. Official requests sent to the UWC President in Ottawa by the author and the thesis advisor, Dr. Peter Sinclair, also went unanswered.

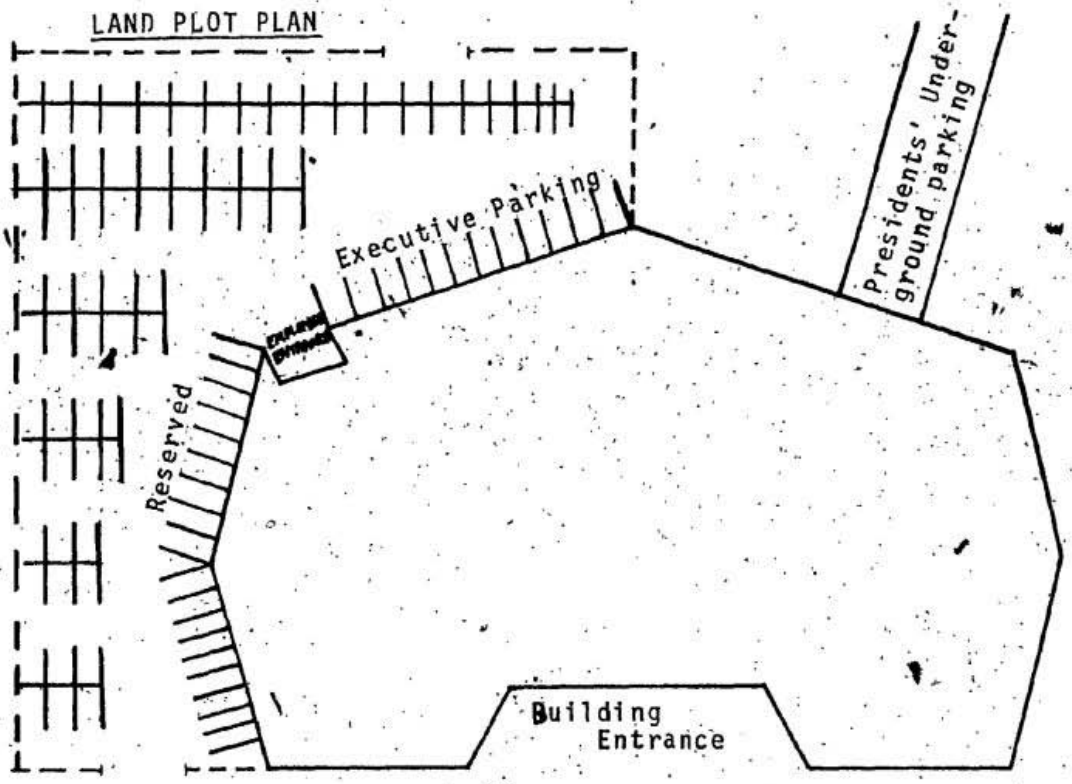
With regard to Utilco assistance, a somewhat different behavior occurred. The Head of the Personnel Department was only too willing to discuss the project, which he believed was "definitely worthwhile". However,

when it came to supplying a clerical list from which to select a sample, use of the interoffice mail for the mail-out of a planned questionnarie (stamped, return postage would have been suppled), or use of an interview room during lunch hours (Utilco has 17 such rooms in a centralized conference area), the request was rejected. The rationale used was that Utilco did not want it to look as if it was "involved" for fear the Union might claim a breach of accepted labour practices. Luckily another source, by coincidence one close to the Director, supplied the clerical list from which the sample was chosen. However, because there was no possible method for distribution of the planned questionnaire to the clerical workers without Utilco assistance, that part of the study was cancelled. Unfortunately, this has reduced the confidence that may be placed in the study's conclusions.

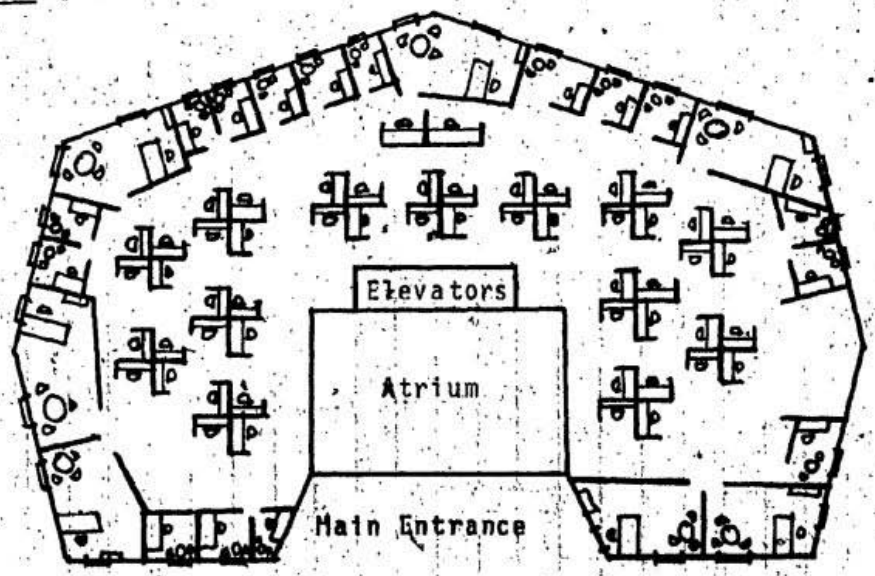
The results of these interviews were compiled on a master questionaire (Appendix 5) which was then analyzed using 2 x 2 or 3 x 2 reference tables. Chi square tests were applied. However, due to the small sample size these produced few statistically significant results.

APPENDIX 2

LAND PLOT PLAN

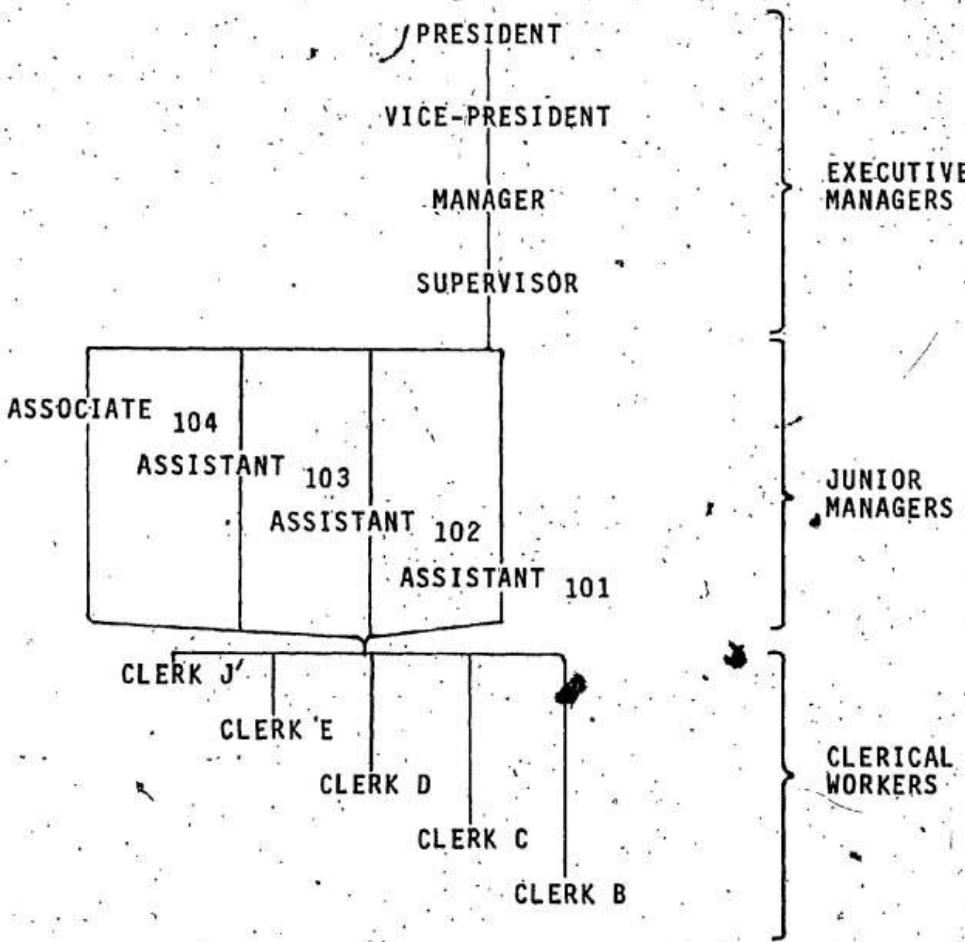



SECOND FLOOR



APPENDIX 3

## UTILCO HIERARCHICAL STRUCTURE




NOTE:

Present union employees in the tradesperson group are organizationally on the same level as the clerical group - both groups report to lower level management.

APPENDIX 4

UTILCO OFFICIAL STATUS BENEFITS

| CLERICAL | LEVEL I | LEVEL II | LEVEL III | LEVEL IV |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Single pedestal desk & chair. | Single pedestal desk & chair. | Double pedestal desk & chair. | Double pedestal desk & high back chair. | Large wooden desk & high back chair. |
| One line phone. | One line phone. | Two line phone in many cases. | Multiple line speaker phone. | Multiple line speaker phone. |
| Utility bill discount after 10 yrs service- 50% . | Utility bill discount after 5 yrs service- 50% ; after 10 yrs, 100%. | Immediate discount on utility bill 100% of normal service. | Immediate discount on utility bill 100% on all service inside Province. | Immediate discount on utility bill 100% on all service inside Country. |
| Name, 1 initial in Utilco phone book. | Name, 2 initials in Utilco phone book. | Name, 2 initials & home #, in Utilco phone book. | Name, 2 initials, home # & TWX # in Utilco phone book. | Name in capitals, all initials, home # & TWX # in Utilco phone book. |
| Partitions around desk, height 4½ ft., 1 shelf. | Partitions around desk, height 4½ ft., 1 shelf. | Office-100 sq. ft., partitions 5½ ft., 2 shelves. | Office-200 sq. ft., partitions 7 ft., 2 enclosed shelves. | Office-250 sq. ft., permanent walls. |
| | 1 Guest Chair. | 2 Guest Chairs. | 3 Guest Chairs. | 2 Guest Chairs & Sofa. |
| | | 1 Work Table | 1 Work Table. | 1 Coffee or work table. |
| | | Coat rack. | Portable coat closet. | Coat closet. |
| | | Name on Office. | Name on Office. | |
| | | Small plant(if desired) | 1 large & 1 small plant. | Large & small plants (if desired) |
| | | | Credenza | Credenza |
| | | | Shared Secretary | Private Secretary |
| | | | Reserved Parking place on lot. | Reserved Parking place indoors. |
| | | | Small pictures on wall. | Large & small picture(s) on wall (if desired). |
| | | | | Corporate Car. |
| | | | | Private lounge & patio. |
| | | | | Office on 6th Floor |

APPENDIX 5

MEMORIAL UNIVERSITY OF NEWFOUNDLAND
St. John's, Newfoundland, Canada A1C 5S7

*The Institute of Social and Economic Research*

*Telex: 016-4101*
*Telephone: (709) 737-8157*

TO ALL CLERICAL EMPLOYEES

Attached is a questionnaire which is designed to be part of a study being conducted into unions and their impact on the office worker. The study will be utilized as input to a graduate thesis in the Sociology Department of Memorial University. The aim of this project is to determine what factors contribute to an increase in union membership, or the introduction of a union element in a formally non-union workplace. It also looks at the effects of personal characteristics, the economy and Company and Union actions on employee attitudes.

It should be stressed that this study, while being done with the co-operation of the Newfoundland Telephone Company (Nfld. Tel.) and the Communication Workers of Canada (CWC), is an independent project. While the completed thesis will be available to the CWC, Nfld. Tel. and its employees, the individual questionnaires or any other new data compiled from them will not be made available.

Please note that no name is required and that replies to these questions will be kept confidential.

Since this type of research has never before been conducted in Canada, its results could be very important. Therefore, your co-operation in answering this questionnaire is essential.

Completed questionnaires should be mailed to Claude Flight, c/o The Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland, before June 13th, 1983. For your convenience a stamped, addressed envelope is attached. If you have any questions on this study please call Claude at home (722-0262).

Thank you for your co-operation.

1983.05

Please answer all questions by checking the appropriate box or writing in the space provided (if more space is needed use the back of the page).

1. In which department do you work? 4 A.S. 9 C.S. 7 F. 5 N.S. 5 P.

2. What is the clerical level of your job?
   3 B 10 C 16 D 1 E J other _____

3. Please indicate your sex. 2 Male 28 Female

4. In which of the following age categories do you belong?
   23 Under 20 6 20-29 1 30-39 40-49 50 & over

5. What is your maritial status? 19 Married 10 Single 1 Other _____

6. Is your spouse a member of a union? 10 Yes 8 No 12 Does not apply

7. If you are not married, is any member of your immediate family a member of an official trade union? 6 Yes 5 No 19 Does not apply

8. Which of the following best describes your attitude toward a clerical union at Nfld. Tel.
   7 Extremely favorable 8 Very favorable 8 Indifferent 3 Not very favorable. 4 Not at all favorable.

9. What is the single main reason you supported or opposed a clerical union at Nfld. Tel.?

Support - Protection = 8; favoritism = 6; more benefits = 2

Oppose - Will deteriorate relationships = 5; apathetic = 4

No comment = 5

10. Were you aware of earlier attempts by the IBEW to unionize clerical employees at Nfld. Tel. during 1982? 21 Yes 9 No

11. How many meetings, held to discuss unionization, did you attend hosted by the IBEW in 1982? 24 0 5 1 2 3 1 More than 3.

12. Did you send in a signed union card during the IBEW attempts?

6 Yes 24 No

13. What was the single main reason you did or did not send in a signed union card during the IBEW attempts?

Support - Favoritism = 3; more benefits = 2

Oppose - Not interested = 6; not aware = 7

14. Did you send in a signed union card during the recent CWC Union campaign?

22 Yes 8 No

15. If yes, was your card sent in prior to February 1, 1983? 17 Yes 5 No

16. Did you attend any CWC sponsored meetings? 22 Yes 8 No

17. What was the single main reason you did or did not attend any CWC sponsored meetings?

Did Attend - information = 9; curiosity = 7; show support = 3; insecure = 2; union pressure = 1

Did Not Attend - no interest = 4; unaware = 2; out of town = 1

18. If yes to question 16, did you find these meetings:

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a) | Extremely informative. | 12 Very informative. | 5 Somewhat informative. | 3 Not very informative. | 2 Not at all informative. |
| b) | 1 Extremely exciting. | 5 Very exciting. | 7 Somewhat exciting. | 3 Not very exciting. | 6 Not at all exciting. |

19. If yes to question 16, did you find the CWC representatives:

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a) | 3 Extremely exciting. | Very exciting. | 11 Somewhat exciting. | 6 Not very exciting. | 2 Not at all exciting. |
| b) | 4 Presented all points fairly. | Presented most points fairly. | 8 Presented the points somewhat fairly. | 9 Exaggerated most points in favor of the Union. | 1 Exaggerated all points in favor of the Union. |
| c) | Were extremely well organized. | 14 Were very well organized. | 5 Were somewhat organized. | 1 Were not very organized. | 2 Were not at all organized. |

20. How many CWC sponsored meetings did you attend?

8 (0) 16 (1) 4 (2) 2 (3) More than 3.

21. Did you attend any meetings concerning unionization held at Nfld. Tel. during office hours? 17 Yes 13 No

22. What was the single main reason you did or did not attend any of the meetings referred to in question 21?

Did Attend - hear Company's views = 12; something to do (free time off) = 5

Did Not Attend - busy at work = 5; at different location = 3

23. If yes to question 21, did you find these meetings:

a) 5 Extremely informative. 5 Very informative. 3 Somewhat informative. 8 Not very informative. 1 Not at all informative.

b) 5 Extremely exciting. 5 Very exciting. 4 Somewhat exciting. 5 Not very exciting. 3 Not at all exciting.

24. If yes to question 21, did you find the Nfld. Tel. representatives:

a) 1 Extremely exciting. 2 Very exciting. 2 Somewhat exciting. 5 Not very exciting. 9 Not at all exciting.

b) 3 Presented all points fairly. 4 Presented most points fairly. 7 Presented the points somewhat fairly. 2 Exaggerated most points in favor of the Company. 1 Exaggerated all points in favor of the Company.

c) 12 Were extremely well organized. 12 Were very well organized. 2 Were somewhat organized. 2 Were not very organized. 1 Were not at all organized.

25. How satisified are you with your job at Nfld. Tel.?

5 Extremely satisified. 8 Very satisified. 7 Somewhat satisified. 5 Not very satisified. 5 Not at all satisified.

26. What are the main reasons why you are or are not satisified with your job at Nfld. Tel.?

Not Satisfied - No challenge = 8; no freedom = 4; poor boss = 3; poor work = 1

Satisfied - Fulfilling = 6; good boss = 4; variety of work = 3; freedom = 1

27. Did you feel you had a reasonable degree of "job security" in your position prior to January, 1983? 19 Yes 11 No

28. How many years have you been in your present position?
19 0-2 9 3-5 2 6-9 10-14 Over 14.

29. Have you requested a job transfer within the last year?
8 Yes 22 No

30. Do you feel you have a good supervisor? 18 Yes 12 No

31. Do you feel there are posibilities of promotion open to you at Nfld. Tel. within the next ten years? 21 Yes 9 No

32. Do you feel your salary is reasonable when considering the work you do and comparable salaries elsewhere in the community?
16 Yes 14 No

33. Do you feel that over the past five years craft and/or operator employees at Nfld. Tel. have gained more in the areas of salaries and benefits than the clerical group has? 13 Yes 16 No 1 No Idea

34. Do you feel that over the past five years management employees at Nfld. Tel. have gained more in the areas of salaries and benefits than the clerical group has? 17 Yes 13 No

35. Do you feel that you deserve more company benefits (e.g. increased vacation, greater health benefits, pensions, etc.)? 18 Yes 12 No

36. If yes to question 35, which benefits do you feel should be improved? Vacation = 11; equal utility concession = 5; pensions & health = 3

37. The attitude of your supervisor toward the Union for clerical was:
8 Pro-Company. 10 Indifferent. 12 Pro-Union.

38. The attitude of the other clerical personnel in your work group was mostly:
6 Pro-Company. 7 Evenly mixed. 17 Pro-Union.

39. How much do you feel Nfld. Tel. cares about you as an individual person (as opposed to you being "just another number on their employee list")?

| Very much. | Some. (11) | Not very much. (8) | Not at all. (11) |
|---|---|---|---|
| ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |

40. Are there any additional comments you would like to make?

Thank You.

APPENDIX 6

TABLE 1

INFORMAL CONVERSATIONS (%)

| | | RESPONDENT | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | III | II | $I_{104/3}$ | $I_{102}$ | J | E | D | TOTAL |
| INITIATOR | III | n/a | 11(85) | 2(15) | - | - | - | - | 13(100) |
| | II | 32(24) | 83(63) | 11(8) | 1(1) | 1(1) | 2(1.5) | 2(1.5) | 132(100) |
| | $I_{104/3}$ | 1(1) | 12(8) | 84(59) | 15(11) | 22(15) | 5(4) | 3(2) | 142(100) |
| | $I_{102}$ | - | 3(2) | 78(46) | 11(7) | 22(13) | 30(18) | 24(14) | 168(100) |
| | J | - | - | 52(48) | 15(14) | 31(29) | 9(8) | 1(1) | 108(100) |
| | E | - | - | 9(5) | 37(22) | 55(33) | 37(22) | 31(18) | 169(100) |
| | D | - | - | 14(6) | 27(11) | 27(11) | 80(33) | 93(39) | 241(100) |

TABLE 2

MORNING GREETINGS - %

| | | NOBODY | MGMT ONLY | SUBORDINATES | EVERYONE | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| MGMT. LEVEL | III | 86 | - | 14 | - | 100 |
| | II | 73 | 17 | 2 | 7 | 99 |
| | $I_{104}$ | 7 | 19 | 37 | 37 | 100 |
| | $I_{103}$ | 32 | 14 | 16 | 38 | 100 |
| | $I_{102}$ | 11 | 7 | 29 | 53 | 100 |

NOTE:

The Initiator was deemed to be the person who opened the conversation or who physically went to the respondents location, with the intent of entering into a social conversation, which the respondent may have actually opened.

APPENDIX 6

TABLE 3

WEARING APPAREL - % (Males)

| | | 3-Piece Suit | 2-Piece Suit | 2-Piece Casual | Casual Wear | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| MANAGERIAL LEVEL | III | 79 | - | 21 | - | 100 |
| | II | 42 | 9 | 49 | - | 100 |
| | $I_{104}$ | 23 | 32 | 46 | - | 101 |
| | $I_{103}$ | 23 | 23 | 53 | 1 | 100 |
| | $I_{102}$ | - | - | 33 | 67 | 100 |

TABLE 4

WEARING APPAREL - % (Females)

| | | Business[1] | Intermediate[2] | Casual[3] | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| FEMALE LEVELS | I (Mgr) | 30 | 54 | 16 | 100 |
| | J | 67 | 26 | 7 | 100 |
| | E | - | 60 | 40 | 100 |
| | D | 6 | 21 | 73 | 100 |

1. Skirt, blouse, and jacket combination.

2. Fashionable dress, shirt and blouse, slacks and blouse combination.

3. Casual slacks and blouse combination.