

Problems In Mobilisation

A Case Study

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ABSTRACT

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The Quebec provincial government attempting to redeem part of its budgetary deficit on different fronts in nineteen eighty-two imposed salary cuts on employees in the health sector of Quebec. Unions in the health sector attempted to mobilise their memberships against this as well as against other government proposals to "adversely" modify their collective agreements. The thesis that follows examines the dispositions of nurses within United Nurses Inc., one of the unions affected by the budget cuts in the health sector. The data reveal that the nurses undergoing some strains are likely to support a full strike. Positive evaluations of the Order of Nurses of Quebec (ONQ) diminishes the proportion by which nurses support the strike, and more so when examined in the contexts of professionalism and participation in the ONQ. Positive evaluations of the United Nurses Inc and its related organisational affiliations are generally associated with support of a full strike, however, the support undergoes no marked increase when examined in the contexts of union activities and negotiation items.

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PREFACE

This thesis is a study of one union in the public health sector of the province of Quebec. At the time of the data gathering, (January -December 1982) the social, political and economic contexts within Quebec and the rest of Canada were such that politicians, the business community and various social movements separately and collectively stimulated antagonism toward organised labour.

The economy was characterised by an eleven percent rate of inflation, accompanied by 10.6% unemployment (or 1.2 million unemployed) of whom the eighteen to twenty-four age group underwent the highest rate of unemployment (20%). Further, plant closings and bankruptcies exhibited an increase of 36% (LaPresse; June 14, 1982). In addition, the provincial government's credit rating was reduced by two American financial institutions, Moody's and Standard and Poor. T. Crowell of Moody's indicated that Finance Minister J. Parizeau's delay of public sector wage restraint did not go down well in New York (Gazette; July 17, 1982).

The Quebec provincial government announced early in 1982 that budget cuts would be applied to the public sector in general (LaPresse; March 19, 1982). More particularly,

the Parti Quebecois, in 1982, legislated Bill 72 outlawing all strikes in the public sector until 'essential services' were agreed to and Bill 70, imposing a graduated scale of salary decreases (Gazette; April 22, 1982:A1). The graduated scale of salary decreases corresponded more or less with the government's original proposals made in 1979.

The provincial government received the open support of the Conseil du Patronat which advocated a firm stand by the provincial government in its negotiations with public sector unions and that salaries, which were sixteen percent above those in the private sector, be kept at the level of those in the private sector (LaPresse; March 19, 1982). The Jutras Report, the result of a study commissioned by the provincial government into labour relations in the Montreal Community Urban Transportation Commission placed most of the blame for deteriorating relations on the union (LaPresse; June 14, 1982). The president of the Quebec Chamber of Commerce demanded that all strikes in the public sector be banned (LaPresse; June 25, 1982).

Ian Sinclair, chairman of Canadian Pacific Enterprises, argued that, because prices and profits had been more adversely effected by the recession than wages, and because wages were traditionally tied to inflation, wages had to be

among the first targets in an anti-inflation program (Globe and Mail, July 31, 1982). The Royal Bank of Canada supported wage controls in its monthly periodical Econoscope, while the president of MacMillan Bloedel advocated wage controls to curb union demands (Devoir; June 1, 1982).

Robert Dean, formerly a president of a United Auto Workers local which took a long strike against Pratte and Whitney Aircraft, as deputy minister of labour supported Bill 70 and explained that workers would have to realise that the economy had worsened, necessitating changes to collective agreements.

At the national level, the Business Council of Canada, comprising the two hundred largest corporations in Canada, preceded Prime Minister Trudeau's call for wage restraints by advocating stringent wage controls (Gazette; May 19, 1982). In a speech to the Conference Board of Canada, D. Johnston, president of the Federal Treasury Board, stated that wages were the main cause of inflation and that unions in the public sector had been allowed to become too big and powerful (Gazette, May 28, 1982)

The Supreme Court of Canada meanwhile, ruled that air traffic controllers were disallowed any strike activity in a

sector considered as 'essential'. (Gazette; June 1, 1982).

In Quebec, a citizens group was formed to combat the right of unions to strike in the public sector (Gazette; June 1, 1982). The same objective was expressed by the Committee of the Sick, headed by Claude Brunet, by demanding that 'essential' services not be a negotiable item (LaPresse, April 20, 1982). Further, a Gallup poll revealed that eighty percent of workers preferred a ten percent reduction in wages rather than loss of employment (Financial Time; July 19, 1982:1). Another survey conducted by SORECOM within Quebec revealed that a majority of union members supported the provincial government's policy of budget cuts (LaPresse, June 5, 1982).

Though the public sector unions were not completely without outside support, this was limited to the condemnation of Bill 70 by the regional party associations of the Parti Quebecois (Devoir, June 12, 1982) and support from the Canadian Labour Congress as well as other unions within Canada.

With the foregoing in mind, we proceed with our study of problems in mobilisation as this applies to a sample of nurses in United Nurses Inc. *EOI

INTRODUCTION

This thesis deals with collective action among nurses in Quebec around the issue of whether they choose to participate in a full strike. In order to explain this mobilisation, the thesis examines nurses' attitudes toward and involvement in three organisational settings: the administration of their employer, the administration of their professional corporation and the administration of their collective bargaining agent or union. In other words, we are interested in the personal and contextual factors which could explain their mobilisation and readiness to get involved in protest action around work and profession related issues.*

In any organisation, whichever level of democratic structure there is, a certain number of people have to be active if any collective action is to be taken. Sympathy or interest is not sufficient to generate mobilisation as Olson (1965) has argued. Most individuals expect action to be taken by others and also expect to benefit, as 'free riders', from this action.

* Concerning the need for contextual analysis in mobilisation, see Fitzsimmons-LeCavalier and LeCavalier (1979).

Some efforts have been made recently in the sociological literature to give an account of the factors which will mobilise people around issues for a collective action. Such efforts were particularly made within the "resource mobilisation" perspective, as represented by such authors as Marx (1975), Oberschall (1973,1979), McCarthy and Zald (1977,1979), and Gamson (1975,1979). However we will complement these approaches with Smelser's notion of strain to explain nurses' orientation and involvement.

Rationality And The Resource Mobilisation Approach

There is still a debate concerning rationality and irrationality as these are associated with collective action. Following LeBon (1896), William Kornhauser (1959) attributed the causes of the emergence of collective action to a "declining" sense of responsibility and reality. Turner and Killian (1961) kept the notion of contagion as a major driving force in the process of normative breakdown and a search for new modes of action as did Lang and Lang (1961,1978). Although Smelser has introduced structural factors to explain collective behavior, he also kept elements of irrationality in his approach, such as his notion of 'generalised belief'. McCarthy and Zald as well as other representatives of the resource mobilisation

approach have found that maintaining an assumption that members of social movements are just as rational as those who are involved in routinised activities is more fruitful and suitable. This is so because these members are dealing with similar kinds of activities such as: strategies, tactics, and bargaining.

While the theme of irrationality as a factor of mobilisation is usually accompanied by a notion of an unattached individual, the rational approach places the individual in the contexts of informal and formal associations. Social groupings and organisations provide opportunities for communication and the transfer and "affirmation" of ideas necessary for mobilisation of action (Pinard, 1971:188). Individuals who lack associations will tend to be the last rather than the predominant participants in collective action. Oberschall (1973:107, 142) argues that individuals bound together in networks of groupings are more likely to mobilise for collective action than unattached individuals. This tendency is reinforced when attached individuals face the possible costs of peer sanctions. Gary Marx (1975) citing his own research and that of Oberschall, Freeman and Pinard, subscribes to the thesis that secondary organisations and not unattached individuals are the major context of resources for mobilisation.

Rationality assumes a process of ascertaining the rewards and risks involved with a particular individual or collective action. By this process, individuals and groups seek to minimise the costs of collective action and to maximize the benefits. Thus, rationality comprises alternatives going from maximum acceptable costs to maximum desirable benefits. (Blau, 1964:18-19; and Tilly, 1979:87) We do not assume that individuals have complete information, nor do we assume that restrictive covenants do not exist.* Situations of high rewards and low risks are more likely to engender participation in collective action whereas situations of low reward and high risks are likely to constrain action. Oberschall (1979:52 in Zald and McCarthy) points to losses and gains being assessed by groups and leaders in the face of probable success or failure of collective action. Pinard (1971:9, 131) argues that a self-interested 'leadership' comprising individuals held in esteem by others is a contributing factor to mobilisation as does Oberschall (1973, 1979); Freeman (1975:88) and McCarthy and Zald (1977:1221)

* The 'code of ethics' that applies to nurses would be an example of a restrictive covenant. Nurses agree to abide by the code of ethics espoused by their professional corporation; which entails maintaining the public interest above any other interest.

Oberschall (1973:161) bases participation on the individual calculus of risks and rewards as these are influenced by the leaders, sources of coercion, government policies, and public opinion. For example, a situation which provides opportunities for high rewards and low risks would induce individuals to participate in collective action. Selective incentives are operative particularly when the group has decided on opposition, creating a situation whereby gratification is achieved through conformity with peers.

Olson (1965), citing the organisational context of unions and professional organisations, argues that individuals will participate in the achievement of goals if the benefit to the individual exceeds the costs of participation, otherwise, the individual will reason that any benefits accruing can be enjoyed without any expenditure of effort by the individual.* Organisations in this situation can provide selective incentives, however, only those organisations that have the authority and the ability to be coercive or have sources of positive inducements they can offer are in this position.

* The significance of these specific organisations for this thesis, resides in their coercive power to gain compliance of members by their control over employment opportunities. For our purposes, however, the union's coercive power is strictly limited, while that of the professional corporation and the employer is quite extensive.

The character of individual and group interests impinges on the assessment that individuals make of rewards and risks. Pinarđ (1971, 1975) points to a differentiation of interests and suggests that short term interests serve as selective incentives for Olson's latent group, while not only short term but long term interests sustain the mobilisation of activists.

Fireman and Gamson (1979) have criticised the resource mobilisation perspective for the overemphasis placed on individual self-interests. They provide the correctives of changing interests, changing opportunities and threats to interests, and changing inclinations to act on group interests. Fireman and Gamson place Olson's "free rider" in a solidary context of norms and execution of commitment emanating from them tend to undermine deviant behaviors. Solidarity in this sense moderates the wholesale predominance of selective incentives in the utilitarian form espoused by Olson and others.

Thus, while an assessment of costs and benefits appears consistently as a major element of collective behavior, in this section we propose that in addition to costs and rewards strain is also an element in mobilisation.

Elements For Theoretical Propositions And Formulation Of Hypotheses

1) strain

Neil Smelser (1962) has put a great emphasis on strain as a factor for mobilisation. This factor has also been the subject of various controversies in the resource mobilisation perspective. McCarthy and Zald (1977), in particular, have questioned the existence of any close link between frustrations, grievances or strain and the growth and decline of movement activity. Gamson (1975) and Marx (1975) have argued that strain is a necessary factor contributing to collective action. The latter, no more than Smelser, however, argue that strain could be a sufficient factor on mobilisation and all refer to the presence of structural conditions.

We hypothesise in this thesis that strain might have some impact on collective action as Pinard (1971) has shown in the case of support for the Social Credit Movement. We also hypothesise that strain can be exerted on individuals from all spheres and not just from the structure where a collective action can occur (March, and Olsen, 1976:15-19).

In our analysis of strain, despite the controversy, we will place an emphasis on 'relative deprivation' as it may occur within the frame wherein collective action can occur. Relative deprivation contributes to strain to the extent that a discrepancy exists between individual beliefs about what they are entitled to, that is, value expectations based on perceived favourable trends, and what they are capable of attaining or maintaining that is, based on trend reversals or deterioration (Freeman, 1975:15; Marx, 1975:375).

The occurrence of strain can also be due to events within the social structural configuration, that is, within the political, economic and social spheres. In terms of social structural effects, a debate prevails with regard to the opportunity to act collectively. Oberschall (1975:115) argues that collective action has a higher probability of occurrence during an economic 'boom' and a lower probability during an economic depression. Davies (1975:376 in Marx and Wood), on the other hand, proposes that collective action will probably occur not only when conditions improve but also when they worsen. Pinard (1971:137) suggests that collective action is probable when loosened social control accompanies the trends of 'boom' and 'bust'. He also asserts that participation in collective action is limited to those individuals who are not enduring economic hardship, which tends to create concern for oneself or family, and

resignation or mute despair at worst.

Gamson (1975:111) argues that advantages accrue to those involved in collective action regardless of the economic cycle. He goes on to argue, however, that the degree of centralisation and the extent of bureaucracy within groups prior to and during crisis periods is positively associated with the probability of attaining advantages.

Strain within the social sphere may be cross pressures emanating from membership in several organisations or conflicting views of appropriate attitudes and responses to particular objects between organisation members and powerful outsiders.

Strain in the political sphere usually comprises decisions or behaviors by state representatives which alter or deprive organisation members of previously acquired privileges or rights, including the ability to mobilise or act.

Overall, whatever perspective is taken, that is, whether deterioration or improvement, both have an impact on mobilisation, and strain due to either a deterioration or to a gap between expectations and reality is a frequent factor

for most authors.

The following are the propositions on strain which we intend to test with the data.

S.1) We have seen from previous studies that economic strains play a role in mobilisation. We want to know therefore if strain contributes to a likelihood of collective action, especially disruptive ones among nurses.

S.1.1) Nurses who feel that the government was unjustified in rolling back their salary are more likely to support a variation of strike activity than those who feel that the government was justified or have no opinion.

S.1.2) Nurses who consider the present economic situation in Quebec as being worse than it was two or three years ago are more likely to support a variation of strike activity than those who consider the economic situation as better or the same.

S.1.3) Nurses who are worried about their economic situation are more likely to support a variation of strike activity than those who are not.

S.1.4) Nurses who have a high total gross family income

are less likely to support a full strike when their worry about their financial situation is low than those who do not worry but have a low gross family income. The opposite is also expected to be true, that is, those who have a high gross family income are more likely to support a strike when their worry about their financial situation is high than those who do not worry but have a low gross family income.

S.1.5) The relationships in S.1.1, S.1.2, and S.1.3 might be stronger when nurses value a good salary than when they value a good job or good friends more.

S.2) The greater the perception of political strain the greater the likelihood of a readiness for disruptive tactics.

S.2.1) Nurses who believe that the government policy of budget cuts is unjustified are more likely to support a variation of strike activity than those who believe it is justified.

S.2.2) Nurses who consider that the health services are worse than they were two or three years ago are more likely to support a variation of strike than those who consider that health services are the same or better.

S.2.3) 2.1 and S.2.2 may be stronger when nurses feel that they are generally opposed to the provincial government than when they do not.

S.2.4) S.2.1 and S.2.2 may be stronger when nurses intend to vote for another political party than when they intend to vote for the Parti Quebecois.

S.2.5) S.2.1 and S.2.2 may be stronger when nurses view Bill 101 as being either basically bad or as having bad features than when they view Bill 101 as either basically good or as having good features.

2) costs

Costs are a factor through which participation by an individual or group in collective action will be restrained, that is, the higher the costs, the lower the probability of individual or collective action.

Costs can be viewed in absolute terms, for example, a quantified cost per unit of action, or in relative terms. For example, a subjective cost is assigned to each unit output or input. In the relative sense, costs may be gauged in association with sources of strain, factors which may increase strain and threats that provide not only relative costs but also carry absolute costs. The relative nature of costs is maintained by its association with the nature of the benefits to be achieved. Costs take into account available resources both at the individual and group levels, the nature of the goods to be attained, the parties most likely to benefit from the attainment of the goals as well as those most likely to oppose their achievement, the degree of probable success or failure in acting to achieve the goals, and the extent of a shared vindication for goal achievement.

The resource mobilisation perspective considers costs

both at the individual and group levels as well as at the hierarchical levels of organisations. Within this perspective, costs are both tangible and intangible. Examples of tangible costs at the individual level might include "personal" time invested and loss of revenue. Intangible costs at the individual level are generally dependent on the context of the group membership. Where a group is willing to invest to achieve certain benefits, we can expect 'free riders' to be exposed to the costs of negative peer sanctions (Coser, 1956:112; Freeman, 1975:15; Oberschall, 1973:117, 242-248; Gamson, 1975:59.; Turner, and Killian, 1961:343; Tilly, 1979:49). Tangible costs at the group level are those that are readily quantifiable. An obvious example of costs is the drain on the organisational treasury.

Intangible costs at the group level, though not readily quantifiable, can assume a characteristic of immense proportions. For example, action in favor of a collective benefit is likely to be restrained among individuals who sustain negative evaluations of the organisation.

Restrained action by individuals exerts a proportional decrease in any benefits that can be achieved by the magnitude of the action (Oberschall, 1979:52; Tilly, 1979:87). We will hypothesise that the degree of restraint

within the organisation exerts a proportional increase in the costs of contemplated action, that is, a high degree of restraint is likely to be associated with little likelihood of any action.

The following are the propositions on costs that we intend to test with the data.

C.1) Collective action usually entails costs. When the costs are too high, people are less likely to get involved in collective action. Cross pressures emanating from multiple group membership are likely to contribute to a diminished likelihood of collective action, especially disruptive ones. Nurses who tend to be active in the Un Inc., the O.N.Q. and the employer administration are faced with organisational settings which carry different vested interests, ideologies and views on disruptive tactics. As a consequence, individuals who are highly involved in all three or even two of the organisations are less likely to support any variation of strike activity than those who are involved in only one of these organisations.

We will also want to distinguish informal cross-pressures from the formal ones just mentioned above. While the formal cross-pressures emanate from participation within different organisations, informal cross-pressures

emanate from interaction between and among individuals who exhibit different orientations toward the formal settings in which they find themselves. In this sense, formal and informal cross-pressures though distinct are not separate.

C.1.1) Nurses who have a favourable view of the employer administration are less likely to support any variation of strike activity than those who have a more or less unfavourable view.

C.1.2) Nurses who have a favourable view of the O.N.Q. are less likely to support any variation of strike activity than those who have a more or less unfavourable view.

C.1.3) Nurses who have a unfavourable view of the U.N. Inc are less likely to support a variation of strike activity than those who have an favourable view.

C.1.4) C.1.1 and C.1.2 are likely to be stronger when nurses agree with the ban on the right to strike than when they do not.

C.1.5) C.1.1 and C.1.2 are likely to be stronger when nurses are oriented to professionalism than when they are not.

C.1.6) C.1.1 and C.1.2 are likely to be stronger when nurses are active members of the O.N.Q. than when they are not.

C.1.7) C.1.3 may be stronger when nurses are not active members of the UN Inc than when they are.

C.1.8) C.1.3 may be stronger when nurses perceive a lack of exterior support than when they do.

C.1.9) C.1.3 may be stronger when nurses do not value negotiation items than when they do not.

C.1.10) C.1.3 may be stronger when nurses do not devolve the prerogatives of the O.N.Q. than when they do.

C.1.11) C.1.3 may be stronger when nurses feel that their education did prepare them well for their functions as a nurse than when it did not.

C.1.12) C.1.1, C.1.2 and C.1.3 may be stronger or weaker depending on which organisation the nurses vest their rights; for example, C.1.3 may be stronger when nurses vest their rights in ONQ than when they do not.

C.2.1) Nurses who are in interaction with a peer group

at work which is composed on the one hand of nurses who have a positive orientation toward the union, (UN Inc.) and on the other hand, of nurses who are favourable to O.N.Q., are less likely to support disruptive action than those who are involved in a peer group at work composed of nurses who have a positive orientation toward the UN Inc.

C.2.2 The impact of interaction with a peer group at work on the readiness to be involved with disruptive tactics is likely to be effective when peers opinions are important for the nurse.

3) rewards

The other side of the cost dimension is the benefit dimension. Benefits act as stimuli to counteract the negative effects of costs of individual participation and collective action. These rewards also take on tangible and intangible characteristics at the group and individual levels and can be viewed as the converse of costs. For example, peer sanctions for non-conformity are replaced by peer reinforcement for conformity, a benefit especially if one values the opinions of peers. A similar analogy applies to the situation of contemplated action. Action in favor of a collective benefit is likely to be stimulated among individuals who sustain positive evaluations of an organisation's efficiency and effectiveness.

Benefits comprise rewards derived from group membership and selective incentives that are differentially distributed for individual participation. Group membership can provide benefits, for example, when an individual's preferences are also those of other group members, thus legitimising the choices (Pinard, 1971:183; Coser, 1956:112, 128; Oberschall, 1973:242-248; Freeman, 1975:15; Tilly, 1979:49, 79; Blau, 1964:295-297). Selective incentives comprise participation in a social movement organisation, and interest in the

activities of the organisation (McCarthy and Zald, 1977:1227). Participation and interest combined result in loyalty to an organisation and act as a strong incentive for the individual to seek the goals of the organisation and to apply the tactics approved by the organisation.

The following are the propositions on rewards that we intend to test with the data from the questionnaire.

R.1) The hypotheses formulated in the section on costs necessarily deal with rewards, however, some are more directly linked with rewards per se.

R.1.1) Nurses who are oriented to activities in the union are more likely to support activities that are directly related to union tactics than those who are not oriented to union activities.

R.1.2) Nurses who hold formal positions in the union are more likely to support activities related to disruptive tactics than those who hold no official position.

R.1.3) R.1.1 is likely to be stronger when the nurses hold an unfavourable attitude toward the professional corporation than when they have a favourable attitude.

R.1.4) R.1.1 is likely to be stronger when the nurses tend to be inactive in the activities of the professional corporation than when they tend to be active.

R.1.5) R.1.1 is likely to be stronger when the nurses disagree with any proposal to ban disruptive tactics than when they agree.

R.1.6) R.1.1 is likely to be stronger when the nurses are generally dissatisfied with working conditions than when they are satisfied.

R.1.7) R.1.1 is likely to be stronger when the nurses place high emphasis on negotiation items than when they do not.

R.1.8) R.1.2 is likely to be stronger when the nurses' total family incomes are high when than their gross family incomes are low.

R.1.9) R.1.2 is likely to be stronger when the nurses participate in other voluntary associations, than when they do not.

R.1.10) R.1.2 is likely to be stronger when the nurses interact with a peer group that is oriented toward unionism

than when the peer group is oriented toward professionalism.

Organisation Of The Study

Before testing the foregoing hypotheses, it is necessary to describe and estimate the accuracy of our sample of nurses (Chapter I). The remainder follows the order of our sets of hypotheses. Chapter II examines the impact of strain on mobilisation followed by Chapter III on the impact of costs and Chapter IV on the impact of rewards. The last chapter summarises the findings, indicates where and how our hypotheses are supported by the data, pinpoints some limitations of the data and proposes avenues for further research.

CHAPTER I

SAMPLING PROCEDURES AND SAMPLING ACCURACY

The data for the sample population were obtained through a self-response questionnaire mailed to 6690* nurses in the newspaper of their union, the United Nurses Inc. Out of 6690 potential respondents, only 147 answered, that is, a proportion as low as two percent. This low rate of response might be due to a lack of concern among most nurses about the issue or, more likely, the newspaper of the union. Another factor could be the fact that postage-paid envelopes were not included with the questionnaire, thus discouraging potential respondents. Such a procedure for gathering our data, together with a low response rate, may have compromised the representativeness of the population we are looking at. In order to verify the representativeness of the sample, in this chapter we examine the distribution of the sample by comparing it to the population distribution contained in the master register of the United Nurses Inc.

* The number of possible respondents differs from the total number of actual members (7830). This difference is explained by the fact that the union sent copies of the newspaper to members for whom the union had up-to-date addresses. The union deleted from the mailing list any members for whom mail was returned to the union.

for the month of August 1982, the most recent version available to us prior to the distribution of the questionnaire. We will consider gender, marital status, status as nurse, mother tongue, age, institution of work and union status as these are directly or indirectly present in the master register.

Note On The Variable Categories

1) gender

When coding the variable gender from the union's master register we relied primarily on the presence of words or abbreviations such as Miss, Mrs., Mlle, Mme, Mr., and M(monsieur) for the categories of female and male respectively. When any of the indicators were missing, we relied on the first name of the registered member. Otherwise we coded gender as missing which represents seven percent of the population.

2) marital status

Our discussion of marital status will be a comparison comprising four categories: single, married, other and missing. The indicators we used in coding this variable were the same as those used for gender, that is, words or abbreviations such as Miss, Mrs., Mlle, Mme. However, registered members lacking these indicators were coded as missing as well as members prefixed with Ms and Mr., since these prefixes do not allow us to determine the marital status of the individual. Fortunately, the majority of nurses are females (98%) and the prefix Ms occurred very infrequently (less than 1%). Unfortunately, the proportion of union members missing a marital status was as high as twenty-five percent.

3) status as a nurse

Contrary to the previous two types of variable categories the indicators used to determine the status of nurses from the master register were clear: 'PFT' for the status of permanent full time, 'PPT' for the status of permanent part time, 'TFT' for the status of temporary full time, 'TPT' for the status of temporary part time and 'LOA' for the status of leave of absence. This indicator was

absent in thirteen percent of the cases.

4) mother tongue

The indicators used to determine mother tongue were the same as those used to determine gender and marital status. More specifically, names preceded by Miss, Mrs. or Mr. were coded as English, those preceded by Mlle, Mme or M(monsieur) were coded as French. For individuals lacking any of these indicators we relied on the first name and family name as indicators to establish mother tongue. Any comparisons we will make here must be considered as tentative owing to the nature of the indicators used and the means used to interpret these indicators. This indicator was absent in eighteen percent of the cases.

e) age

The indicator for age was the year of birth as recorded on the union's master register. This indicator was absent in twenty percent of the cases.

f) institution of work

The indicator for the institution of work in the master register was very clear: it was a computer code which we subsequently retained instead of the names of the institutions in order to preserve the anonymity of both the individuals and the institutions.

g) union status

The indicators for the union status, that is, the positions held by nurses within their union, were obtained from lists maintained by the union for the purpose of knowing which persons held which positions. There were actually one hundred and fifty-eight positions occupied within the union hierarchy. These positions include one hundred and twenty-eight representatives at the local level and thirty positions within the two Boards of Directors.*

* Representatives at the local level are those individuals who maintain the presence of the union at the institutions of work. The two Boards of Directors are the Board of the UN INC. and the Board of the Federation of United Nurses. The president of the UN Inc., who is also president of the Federation of United Nurses, sits on both boards as well as members and union representatives elected to sit on the board.

TABLE 1.1
Distribution of Socio-demographic Characteristics For The
Sample And The Actual Population

	sample (147)	population (7830)	difference percent
Gender			
Female	96	98	-2
male	4	2	+2
Marital Status			
single	36	34	+2
married	38	41	-3
other	26	NIL	+26
missing	NIL	25	-25
Mother Tongue			
english	38	36	+2
french	53	52	1
other	9	12	-3
Age			
1915-1943	32	33	-1
1944-1953	38	35	+3
1954-1963	30	32	-2
Union Status			
representative	38	2	+36
member	62	98	-36
Work Status			
permanent full	70	53	+17
permanent part	21	19	+2
temporary full	2	4	-2
temporary part	5	17	-12 ^o
leave of absence	1	4	-3
PFT +PPT*	1	0	+1

* PFT+PPT is a dual status comprising permanent full time and permanent part time. This category comprises thirty-one nurses and the percentage is based on 7856 rather than 7830.

TABLE 1.2

Distribution of Institution of Work For The Sample And Actual Population

<u>Institution of Work*</u>	Sample (147)	Population (7830)	Difference Percent
025	.8	.4	+4
033	.8	1.3	-.5
035	.8	.1	+7
037	0	.2	-.2
038	0	.5	-.5
039	0	.2	-.2
040	0	.1	-.1
041	0	.1	-.1
042	0	.3	-.3
045	.8	.3	+5
047	0	.2	-.2
048	.8	.1	+7
050	0	.1	-.1
055	1.6	.5	+1.1
065	0	0	0
070	0	.1	-.1
075	0	.1	-.1
080	7.0	6.8	+2
095	3.1	2.9	+2
105	0	.3	-.3
110	0	.2	-.2
111	0	.8	-.8
115	1.6	.4	+1.2
125	8.5	8.5	0
145	0	.3	-.3
155	2.3	1.5	+8
165	7.0	4.3	+2.7
170	1.6	2.0	-.4
175	2.3	.6	+1.7
185	16.3	16.4	-.1
195	2.3	.8	+1.5
205	4.7	5.7	-1.0
215	0	.8	-.8
225	7.8	10.0	-2.2
235	4.7	1.7	+3.0
245	0	.1	-.1
250	0	.1	-.1
265	6.2	3.4	+2.8
275	.8	2.0	-1.2
285	7.0	13.1	-6.1
305	.8	.9	-.1
307	0	.2	-.2
308	0	.3	-.3
309	0	.3	-.3

TABLE 1.2(continued)

<u>Institution of Work*</u>	<u>Sample</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Percent Difference</u>
310	0	.1	-.1
315	3.1	4.8	-1.7
325	3.9	3.9	0
355	1.6	1.7	-.1
365	0	.2	-.2
367	.8	0	+.8
375	0	.1	-.1
405	0	.1	-.1
2 Clsc's	1.6		

 * We will only refer to the computer code indicator in the table and refrain from using the institutional names to maintain the anonymity of the respondents.

Though the sample was not chosen at random, but based on a self-response procedure, most of the distributions that are presented in Table 1.1 and 1.2 exhibit a great deal of similarity to the total population. The observed deviations correspond often to what would have been expected from a pure random sample of this size. For such a sample (147) the tolerated error would be plus or minus eight percent at the ninety-five percent level of confidence.

However, a bias was found in regard to two characteristics. The category 'union representative' is over-represented along the dimension of union status relative to the total population. This is also the case for the permanent full time category which is over-represented along the dimension of 'status as a nurse' relative to the total population. While the variable 'marital status' appears to be over-represented along the dimension of 'other', we assumed that the category 'missing' in the population distribution cancelled out the effects of this over-representation (Table 1.1).

In order to solve the problem of over-representation, either a weighting procedure to render the sample more representative could be used or a control for the variables 'union status' and 'work status' could be introduced during the analysis. The latter procedure was preferred because of

the effect the weighting procedure has on the workable sample: the weighting procedure would have had the effect of increasing the number of cases so no statistical test could have been used. On the other hand, by using a common denominator to reduce the weighted sample size to the original number of cases would have created the awkward situation where a union representative would have comprised a fraction of an individual. In order to avoid this difficulty, controlling for these two variables appeared to be the most appropriate solution.

For economy, one can check whether or not one should control for one of these two variables only or for the two. A high level of correlation between the two would indicate a need to control for just one of them. Unfortunately, Table 1.3 shows that union status and work status are sufficiently independent to have their own effects, requiring that each of them be controlled for in our analysis.

TABLE 1.3
The Degree of Association Between Union Status and Work Status

<u>Work Status</u>	<u>Union Status</u>	
	Representative	Member
Permanent full time	82	65
other	18	35
N	(56)	(91)
phi=.19, P < .05		

Comparison of the Sample With Voter Turnout in November 1982

This section will be devoted to an examination of the sample and the percentage of the total population that voted on a twenty-four hour strike mandate which was sought by the UN Inc. in the month of November 1982. We used a report of the voter turnout prepared by the UN Inc. and compared those figures with those found in the sample.

This comparison is appropriate since the data were gathered not long before the November vote. This information will tell us to what extent the results in our sample correspond to the results of the vote.

In the questionnaire we asked respondents to rate their preference for a twenty-four hour strike on a scale of one to five. We also asked respondents to choose a strike strategy which they would be willing to adopt to support negotiation items. As well, we asked them to choose a strike strategy in the event the provincial government was to reduce acquired benefits in addition to maintaining a wage rollback already imposed by the government for a longer period.

TABLE 1.4.1

Comparisons Of The Sample And Its Support For
The Twenty-Four Hour Strike To The Total Population

	sample (147)	population (2352)	percent difference
favor	58	51	+7
against	42	49	-7

TABLE 1.4.2

Comparison Of Those Who Favor A Twenty-Four Strike In
Support Of Negotiation Items To Those Favoring A
Twenty-Four Hour Strike In The November Vote

	sample (147)	population (2352)	percent difference
favor	49	51	-2
against	51	49	+2

TABLE 1.4.3

Comparison of Those Favoring a Twenty-Four Hour Strike
In The Face of Prolonged Wage Cuts and the Loss of
Already Acquired Benefits to Those Favoring the
Twenty-Four Hour Strike In The November Vote

	sample (147)	population (2352)	percent difference
favor	65	51	+14
against	35	49	-14

The observed deviations in Tables 1.4.1 to 1.4.2 fall within the tolerated error of plus or minus 8% but not in the case of those favoring a strike in the face of prolonged wage cuts and the loss of already acquired benefits (Table 1.4.3). In this instance, those favoring a twenty-four hour strike are over-represented relative to the total population. However, we do have some support for the assertion that the sample population's participation is similar to that of the total population. The sample differed in its support of a twenty-four hour strike by 7% compared to the population. This difference was reduced to 2% when the sample supported a twenty-four strike in regard to negotiation items.

Support For The Full Strike

We will see that a majority of the respondents supported a full strike in the face of prolonged wage cuts and the loss of already acquired benefits. (Table 1.5). Further, this support for the full strike occurred just prior to the vote that was taken in November 1982. The full strike entails the highest direct costs in terms of lost income. In addition, this form of strike implies the full withdrawal of services except in the case of 'essential'

services.* We decided to compare the sample distributions for the full strike in three different contexts rather than examine all the strike options indicated in the questionnaires. The contexts of the full strike comprise the following:

Context 1) A supposition tha the union has exhausted all possible means in its negotiations with the provincial government and the union president recommends the strategy of a full strike.

Context 2) A choice of the full strike is made by the respondents to back up items for negotiations that the respondent supports.

Context 3) A choice of full strike by the respondent in the face of the supposition that the government proposed to maintain the wage cuts in the health sector for a longer period and to reduce benefits already acquired.

TABLE 1.5
Comparison of the Support for a Full Strike in
Context 1, Context 2, Context 3

	Context 1	Context 2	Context 3
Support of full strike N=147	8 28	23	52

* Essential services are usually negotiated by the union and the individual managements of each institution of work.

We had four reasons for choosing to examine the full strike and more particularly the full strike where the respondents were faced with prolonged wage cuts and the loss of acquired benefits.

First, the context of the prolonged wage cuts and loss of acquired benefits prevailed at the time the questionnaire was distributed. Second, we saw that the inclusion of the full strike in the third context contributed to a deviation beyond the tolerated error of plus or minus eight percent (see Table 1.4.3). Thirdly, Table 1.5 reveals that fifty-two percent supported a full strike in Context 3, while only twenty-eight percent and twenty-three percent supported it in Context 1 and Context 2. Further, the support for the full strike deviates by only one percent from that given for the twenty-four hour strike in November. The vote taken in November by the United Nurses Inc was only one of many occurring at that time with other unions in the public sector. Lastly, the questionnaire was distributed and returned one month before the November vote. For these reasons, we decided to examine the full strike in the face of a prolonged wage cut and the loss of acquired benefits as our dependent variable.

CHAPTER II

STRAINS AND THEIR IMPACT ON SUPPORT OF A FULL STRIKE

We hypothesised that strain might have some impact on collective action and that the sources of strain could occur in all spheres and not just from the structure of collective action. So we will examine, in this chapter, various aspects and instances of strain.

As mentioned in the Introduction, relative deprivation involves a feeling of being penalised in regard to expected rewards and the existence of the possibility that the penalty will prevail in addition to other penalties. Economic strain involves the perception that economic conditions have worsened in the past two or three years. These conditions may be accompanied by some anxiety about one's own and family's financial situation.

The relationship between relative deprivation and collective action is controversial as mentioned earlier. Some authors argue that relative deprivation is directly related to collective action (e.g. Smelser, 1961, Freeman, 1975 and Marx, 1975). Others (e.g. McCarthy and Zald 1977) argue that it contributes little to collective action unless accompanied by external support mechanisms.

There is a similar controversy about economic strain. Some authors argue that collective action has a greater probability of occurrence during an economic 'boom' and a diminished probability during an economic depression while others argue that collective action can occur either in time of boom or depression: the gap between the expected situation and the actual being an important factor. Yet another scenario, that of depression, contributes to collective action to the extent that individuals undergoing strain are not worried about their financial situation (Pinard, 1971:152).

Our hypotheses on strain also include strains from a political source that might have an impact on nurses' mobilisation. Political strains included budget cuts in the health sector as well as the condition of the health sector itself. We expected that a negative view on the budget cuts and the health sector were more likely to be associated with strike action than a positive view on these two areas of provincial government jurisdiction.

When we consider the effects of economic and political strains we will also examine their differential effects in the different contexts in which the nurses find themselves. With regard to economic strain, we wanted to know which individuals were more likely to undergo strain. We

hypothesised that nurses who valued a good salary and who were undergoing economic strain were more likely to support a full strike than those who valued a good job and were undergoing strain. In addition, we hypothesised that nurses who enjoyed a high gross family income and were not worried were less likely than nurses who had a low gross family income and were not worried to support a full strike. We also expected that nurses who had a high gross family income and were worried about their financial situation were more likely to support a full strike than those who have a low income and were not worried.

Earlier we indicated that a nurse's union status and her work status would be utilised as controls in our analysis. We hypothesised that union representatives who were undergoing economic strain were more likely to support a full strike than members. We also expected that permanent full time nurses who were experiencing strain would be more likely to support a full strike than nurses holding other than permanent full time.

Our expectations about union representatives are based on the argument asserted by Olson (1965). Union representatives are generally more active than members in the affairs of the union. Further, members are more or less dependent on the union representatives for much of the

information concerning any of the goings-on within the union. This role of dependency also leads to the expectation by members that representatives will be the initiators of any action and that they will benefit as members from action taken by union representatives.

As regards permanent full time nurses, our expectations are based on the relatively greater stake of these nurses compared to others in maintaining advantages accrued in the past. These advantages include a higher income subject to a relatively higher wage cut as well as advantages that accrue with longer service as a nurse.*

Political strain is examined in conjunction with nurses' predispositions toward the provincial government as well as their opinions on Bill 101 and their voting preference if there was to be an election. We expected that nurses undergoing political strain and who were opposed to the provincial government were more likely to favor a full strike than those who agreed with the provincial government and were not undergoing political strain. We also expected

* The provincial government maintained that the higher echelon nurses were targetted for salary decreases in the provincial government's April 16, 1982 offer made through Bill 70, while lower echelon nurses could expect a moderate increase. However, United Nurses maintained that Bill 70, legislated in late June 1982, imposed a 1.82% decrease for first echelon nurses and a .42% decrease for twelfth echelon nurses. (Special assembly, June 21, 1983-United Nurses).

that an adverse opinion of Bill 101 as well as a vote intention for other than the Parti Quebecois would strengthen the tendency for support of a full strike when nurses experienced political strain.

Measurement

In order to measure relative deprivation, respondents were asked whether they felt the government was justified or unjustified in rolling back their wages. The provincial government, in July 1982, legislated Bill 70. This legislation described wage rollbacks applicable to the public sector employees, which included employees in the health sector. Economic strain was also measured by asking nurses whether the Quebec economy was better or worse than it was two or three years ago and whether they were worried about their own and their family's financial situation. Political strain was measured by asking nurses to indicate if they believed that the policy of budget cuts in the health sector was justified or unjustified. Along with this, we asked nurses to compare the health sector in Quebec to what it was two or three years ago.

Findings

Our expectations about relative deprivation and political strain were supported but not those about financial anxiety.

1) attitude to wage rollback

Table 2.1 shows that the nurses who considered the wage rollback unjustified were more likely to support a full strike than those who considered it justified.* Further, of those who considered the rollback unjustified, union representatives were more likely than members to support a full strike (Table 2.2; q-115). In addition, support for a full strike among those who considered the rollback unjustified was stronger among nurses who had a work status other than permanent full time (q-251). Nurses who considered that the rollback was unjustified and valued a good salary were only somewhat more likely to support a full strike than those who valued a good job (Table 2.2; q-143).

* The tables for this chapter are found at the end of the chapter between page 49 and page 52.

2) anxiety about economic situation

Table 2.1 (q-142) also reveals that a lack of anxiety rather than anxiety about one's economic situation was more conducive to support of a full strike. Further, the support for a full strike was much greater among union representatives who were not worried about their financial situation (q-115). There was a moderate increase of support for a full strike among nurses having other than permanent full time as a work status (q-251). In addition low income nurses were more likely to support a full strike than high income nurses regardless of their financial anxiety (q-268). High income nurses were just as likely to support a full strike when their worry about their financial situation was high as low income nurses whose financial worry was low. Further, low income nurses who were not worried about their financial situation were more likely to support a full strike than high income nurses who were not worried. Work conditions exerted no change on the original relationship (Table 2.3;q-143).

3) political strain

Political strain resulting from the decision-making apparatus of the state was conducive to support of a full strike across all dimensions (Table 2.4). Nurses who

considered the budget cuts unjustified exhibited a greater tendency to support a full strike than those who considered them justified (Table 2.4). This relationship was stronger when nurses were union representatives rather than members and somewhat stronger when nurses were opposed to the provincial government rather than in agreement with it (q-115, q-138). The effect of nurses' opinion on Bill 101 exerted no change on the original relationship; rather, nurses who considered Bill 101 as basically bad were just as likely to support a full strike when they thought the policy of budget cuts unjustified as those who considered Bill 101 as basically good.

Nurses who saw the health sector as being worse than two or three years ago were more likely to support a full strike than nurses who considered that it was the same or better (Table 2.4; q-141). This relationship was stronger for union representatives than members (q-115). A moderate increase in support for a full strike can be seen among nurses who expressed a vote intention for other than the Parti Quebecois. Nurses' work status exerted no change in support for a full strike when the budget cuts were viewed as unjustified.

Conclusions About The Effects Of Strains On The Support Of A Full Strike

Nurses' perception of the Quebec economy was eliminated as a variable because ninety-six percent of the nurses considered that it was worse than it was two or three years ago, leaving very few nurses with whom a comparison could be made. Otherwise, worry about one's own and family's financial situation and political strain were significantly related to support of a full strike (Tables 2.1,2.4).

With regard to economic strain, however, we were unable to disentangle the theoretical ambiguity of the 'boom' and 'bust' perspectives. At the micro (individual) level, a negative view of the wage cut was significantly related to support of a full strike, while a lack of financial anxiety and not anxiety as such, was linked with support of a full strike. In the latter instance, therefore, individuals not enduring economic hardship were more likely to support a full strike which supports Pinard's findings mentioned earlier.

A further examination of the relationship between strain and collective behavior revealed that work conditions, nurses' work status, gross family income and union status contributed no significant increases in support

of a full strike among nurses opposed to the wage cut. Two of the control variables, union status and gross family income, exerted their greatest influence among nurses who considered the wage cut justified. Among the nurses who were not worried about their financial situation, support of a full strike increased when framed in the context of their union status. Otherwise, nurses in the contexts of work conditions, work status and gross family income exhibited no significant increases in support of a full strike.

Though political strain was significantly associated with support of a full strike, the contexts of political strain did not exert substantial increases in support of a full strike among nurses who considered the budget cuts unjustified (Table 2.5). Their greatest impact occurred among nurses who considered the budget cuts justified when the nurses were union representatives, opposed to the provincial government, considered Bill 101 basically bad and indicated a vote preference for other than the Parti Quebecois. The same contexts, while exerting little if any increases in support of a full strike among nurses who considered the health sector worse than it was two or three years ago, did bring about increases in support of a full strike among nurses who viewed the health sector as being the same as it was.

Overall, some support exists for the assertion that some economic strains and political strains are sufficient in order for some nurses to become involved in support of a full strike. On the other hand, the contexts of the nurses not undergoing strain were found to contribute to the increase of their level of support of a full strike.

Our expectations about relative deprivation were supported. More specifically a greater percentage of respondents having a negative attitude toward the wage rollback supported a full strike than those who maintained a positive attitude to the rollback (Table 2.1). However, the same cannot be said about the relationship between financial anxiety and choice of a full strike. In this instance the respondents who were not worried about their economic situation were more likely to support a full strike than those who were worried (Table 2.1).

Our hypotheses on political strain were also supported. In particular, respondents who considered the budget cuts in the health sector unjustified were more likely to support a full strike than those who considered the budget cuts justified (Table 2.4). In addition, those who considered that the health sector was worse than it was two or three years ago were more likely to support a full strike than those who saw it as the same or better (Table 2.4).

TABLE 2.1

Support Of A Full Strike By Economic Strain*

Q-136 Attitude to Wage Rollback *	% full strike	
	Justified	Unjustified
	18 (22)	60 (122)
q-140 Quebec economic situation	same	worse
	50 (6)	53 (141)
Q-142 Anxiety about economic situation*	Worried	Not Worried
	49 (52)	55 (65)

 * A significant relationship exists wherever the asterisk appears. Significance was based on chi squared with a $P < .05$. A double asterisk indicates that a relationship is significant, but only when the raw chi squared has a significance of $P < .05$. This applies to all the tables for Chapter II.

TABLE 2.2

Support Of A Full Strike By Attitude To Wage Rollback Controlling for Various Strains

q-143 work conditions	% full strike	
	attitude to wage rollback justified	unjustified
good job*	21 (19)	59 (96)
good salary	0 (00)	61 (23)
q-115 nurses' union status representative member*	50 (2)	67 (52)
	15 (20)	54 (70)
q-251 nurses' work status permanent full time*	23 (13)	59 (90)
other*	11 (9)	63 (32)
q-268 gross family income low*	29 (7)	63 (54)
high*	13 (15)	57 (68)

TABLE 2.3
Support Of A Full Strike By Anxiety About Financial
Situation Controlling for Various Strains

situation	anxiety about financial	
	worried	not worried
q-143 work conditions		
good job	46 (54)	55 (67)
good salary	50 (20)	100 (3)
q-115 nurses' union status		
member	40 (40)	49 (51)
representative	58 (36)	75 (20)
q-251 Nurses' work status		
other	41 (22)	60 (20)
permanent full time	52 (54)	55 (51)
q-268 gross family income		
low	54 (35)	61 (28)
high	44 (41)	54 (43)

TABLE 2.4
Support Of A Full Strike By Political Strain

	% full strike	
	justified	Unjustified
Q-137 Attitude to budget cuts*	38 (63)	64 (81)
Q-141 Health sector situation*	same	worse
	24 (17)	57 (127)

TABLE 2.5
Support Of A Full Strike By Attitude To Budget Cuts
Controlling For Various Strains

	% full strike	
	justified	unjustified
q-115 nurses' union status		
representative	59 (17)	70 (37)
member*	30 (46)	59 (44)
q-251 nurses' work status		
permanent full time	42 (43)	62 (61)
other	30 (20)	70 (20)
q-138 feeling to provincial government		
agree	27 (30)	25 (4)
opposed	48 (31)	67 (76)
★ q-139 opinion of Bill 101		
basically good	34 (50)	63 (27)
basically bad	58 (12)	64 (52)
q-269 political affiliation		
vote for other than the		
Parti Quebecois	50 (42)	64 (77)
Vote for Parti Quebecois	15 (20)	100 (3)

TABLE 2.6
Support Of A Full Strike By Health Sector Situation
Controlling For Various Strains

	% full strike health sector situation	
	same	worse
q-115 nurses' union status		
representative	40 (5)	67 (51)
member*	17 (12)	57 (35)
q-251 nurses' work status		
permanent full time	27 (11)	57 (92)
other	17 (6)	57 (35)
q-138 feeling to provincial government		
agree*	0 (9)	38 (24)
opposed	57 (7)	62 (100)
q-139 opinion of Bill 101		
basically good*	9 (11)	52 (64)
basically bad	50 (6)	63 (59)
q-269 political affiliation		
vote for other than the Parti Quebecois	31 (13)	62 (106)
vote for the Parti Quebecois	0 (4)	32 (19)

CHAPTER III

COSTS AND THEIR IMPACT ON THE SUPPORT OF A FULL STRIKE

One of our hypotheses is that costs could restrain nurses' support of a full strike. Restraint may be constituted of several factors such as the preferences that nurses have for particular organisations, activities and policies that may enhance the organisational preferences, and a peer environment that supports the organisational preferences. In particular, preferences for the ONQ and the employer are a cost in terms of the restraint that these preferences could impose on the extent to which nurses support a full strike. Preferences for these two organisations could mitigate the extent to which particular collective interests are pursued, thus reducing both the extent by which these interests could become shared preferences and the limits of the legitimacy of these interests. In addition, an orientation to professionalism combined with a preference for either the employer or the ONQ could act as a strong incentive for the individual to neither seek the goals nor apply the tactics approved by the union. The disincentive to support strike activity accompanying the preferences for these two organisations could likely be strengthened when the organisational

preferences are also those of nurses' peers, thus legitimising the restraint and concomitantly increasing the individual and group costs of contemplated strike action. The extent to which nurses are active in organisations and the degree to which they support organisational policies and goals may enhance the direction of nurses' organisational affiliations and thus their restraint of strike activity.

We hypothesised earlier that nurses who have a favourable attitude to the employer administration would be less likely to support a full strike than those who were unfavourable to the employer. Similarly, nurses who have a favourable attitude to the ONQ would be less likely to support a full strike than nurses unfavourable to the ONQ. It is also expected that nurses would be even less likely to support a full strike when a favourable attitude was accompanied by either a high interest in professionalism or in the activities of the ONQ.

Nurses' attitudes to the ONQ are examined in conjunction with their predisposition to certain administrative policies of the ONQ. These policies were an apparent endeavour of the ONQ to strengthen the professional status of nurses in light of other professionals within the health sector.

An examination of the association between nurses' attitudes to the ONQ and support for a full strike relative to their predispositions to certain ONQ policies was considered relevant for five reasons:

1) the ONQ mandate to protect the public interest is sanctioned in law and actively promoted in the ONQ code of ethics (ONQ, 1981:56).

2) the legal mandate to uphold the public interest involves increasing nurses' responsibilities as well as their qualifications to support this principle. For example, university trained nurses would eventually be expected to perform certain functions which are now the preserve of doctors or nurses under a doctor's supervision (Castonguay-Nepveu Report 1970: article 1383).

3) the ONQ sought to maintain an exclusive domain for the nursing profession when it lobbied the provincial government to exclude nursing assistants from the Quebec Nursing Act in 1977. This it failed to do.

4) the ONQ prepared a brief in 1982 outlining the disruption and hazards of the strike activity of nurses. Resting its case on nurses' responsibility to maintain the public interest, the ONQ requested that the right to strike be abolished in those sectors where nurses were employed.

5) while employer administrations were mainly responsible for implementing the PRN, the ONQ maintained that nurses had the responsibility to apply it as part of maintaining the

public interest (ONQ,1980:23).

Further, the compulsory dual membership of nurses in the ONQ and the United Nurses has resulted in conflict in the past, particularly with regard to work methods initiated by professionals in the university domain. These methods were supported by the ONQ and opposed in general by the unions, with the unions achieving a partial victory against the PRN (Billet,A.1982:9). This suggests a set of incompatible structural arrangements, in which conflicting goals and vested interests of distinct groups or divisions in an organisation as well as conflicting perspectives and ideologies all interact. This leads to the perception of vested interests, goals and ideologies through social experience. Likewise, the commonality of the unions' and the ONQ's membership base suggests the interaction of competing norms, particularly with regard to strike activity.*

It was hypothesised that nurses who had an unfavourable attitude to the United Nurses Inc. would be less likely to support a full strike than those having a favourable attitude. This is so because those having an unfavourable attitude would be more likely to consider a full strike a

* The foregoing also applies in the instance of the nurses as members of a union and the Canadian Nursing Association.

dispensable cost in support of items of interest to the union in general. Further, those having an unfavourable attitude to the union were expected to be less likely to support union activities as well as any roles within the union. In addition, an unfavourable attitude to the union would be more likely to be accompanied by a perception of little external support for any interests promoted by the union.

Nurses' attitudes to the union and their propensity to support a full strike were examined in conjunction with their hierarchical functions within the union as well as their preferences for negotiation items. Likewise, their predispositions to the union and a full strike were scrutinised in light of their perception of outside support. The hierarchical functions range from that of member, through unit representative, chief representative, council representative to board of directors. In addition, an opportunity was available to obtain the views of forty-five nurses participating at the negotiation commission of the RIIQ in Quebec city.

Measurement

Nurses' attitudes to their employer comprised five aspects of their work environment. They included two dimensions of autonomy on the job, two dimensions of promotions and an aspect of hospital administration implemented by the Quebec Hospital Association and promoted by professionals in the academic field.

The attitude to the ONQ comprised an assessment of the functions of the ONQ relative to the nurses themselves as well as the nurses' affiliation to the ONQ. In addition, the attitude to the ONQ included policy and ethical dimensions of the professional organisation.

The attitude to the union comprised an evaluation of the union, an assessment of the union's process of federation and nurses' affiliation to the union as well as to the federation.

The attitude to the employer was measured by asking respondents to provide their agreement or disagreement with five aspects of their work:

- a) freedom to decide how to work
- b) promotions were handled fairly
- c) promotion chances were good

- d) doing the job without being bothered by anyone
- e) the implementation of the PRN by certain hospital administrations

Nurses' attitudes to the ONQ were measured by asking nurses to evaluate the role of the ONQ for their purposes as well as maintaining the public interest and its members' interests. Their attitudes to the ONQ were additionally measured by asking nurses whether they would leave the ONQ and whether they supported the PRN.

In order to measure nurses' attitudes to the union, they were first asked to evaluate the role of the union for their needs. Further, they were asked if they approved of United Nurses Inc. federating with two other nurses' unions into the RIIQ. They were also asked whether they would be willing to leave either the UN Inc or the RIIQ.

Findings

1) attitude to employer

It was hypothesised that nurses who have a favourable attitude to the employer administration would be less likely

to support a full strike than those who were unfavourable to the employer. Further, it was hypothesised that nurses who were oriented to the ONQ would be less likely to support a full strike than those who were not.

With two exceptions, nurses who were favourable to the employer were almost as likely as those who were unfavourable to the employer to support a full strike (Table 3.1). But nurses who considered that promotions were handled fairly were more likely to support a full strike than those who disagreed. Those who agreed that promotion chances were good were less likely to support a full strike than those who disagreed. The latter instance, though not significant, is the only relationship that supports the hypothesis about nurses' attitudes to the employer (Table 3.1; q-129, q-130). The greater tendency to support a full strike among nurses' who considered that promotions were handled fairly could not be untangled in the contexts of professionalism or ONQ activities. However, Tables 4.26-4.32 show that many of these nurses have high evaluations of union activities and as well, are directly involved as participants in the union. Their involvement in the union explains in part why these nurses, and not those

* The tables for Chapter III were placed at the end of the chapter and can be found on page 72 to page 102.

who disagreed that promotions were handled fairly, exhibit a greater tendency to support a full strike.

2) attitude to ONQ

Nurses who were oriented to the ONQ were consistently less likely to support a full strike than nurses who were not oriented to the ONQ, which supports our hypothesis (Table 3.2).

It was also hypothesised that nurses who were favourable to the ONQ would be even less likely to support a full strike when they were oriented either to professionalism or ONQ policies. As well, nurses who were active in ONQ activities were also expected to be even less supportive of a full strike.

Professionalism and agreement with ONQ policies exerted a substantial decrease in support of a full strike among nurses who agreed that nurses with a BSc or higher degree should perform delegated medical acts (Table 3.3;q-232). In this instance, organisational preference combined with an orientation to professionalism acted as a disincentive to support of a full strike, reducing the legitimacy and increasing the costs of strike action contemplated by

others. Otherwise, professionalism and ONQ policies exerted negligible to moderate decreases (4% to 9%) in support of a full strike. Participation in ONQ activities exerted a mixed effect on the tendency of nurses favourable to the ONQ to support a full strike (Table 3.4). Nurses favourable to the ONQ exhibited a substantial decrease in support of a full strike when they valued the ONQ district meetings (q-165). Otherwise, high ONQ participation and a high value placed on the ONQ annual convention brought about minimal increases in support of a strike activity, while a high value on the ONQ liability insurance program and the ONQ journal exerted negligible to moderate decreases respectively in support of strike activity among nurses oriented to the ONQ (q-113, q-164, q-166, q-167).

The hypothesis that nurses favourable to the ONQ would be even less supportive of a full strike when they vested their rights in the ONQ is not supported (Table 3.5; q-108). However, the hypothesis that support of a full strike would decline among nurses favourable to the ONQ when they agreed with a ban on the right to strike is supported (Table 3.5; q-220, q-221). This strengthens support for the assertion that strike activity is viewed as a cost by those nurses having a preference for the ONQ.

3) attitude to union

The hypothesis that nurses unfavourable to the union would be less likely to support a full strike than nurses who were favourable to the union is supported (Table 3.6). Further, the expectation that nurses unfavourable to the union would be even more unlikely to support a full strike when they were not active in the union is partially supported (Tables 3.7-3.21). Union status and union position exerted negligible to moderate decreases in support of a full strike among nurses unfavourable to the union when they were either members or not holding formal union positions (Tables 3.7-3.11). In addition, substantial decreases in support of a full strike occurred among nurses who did not value the union when they had a low evaluation of council representative meetings and were low on union participation (Tables 3.12, 3.13, 3.17; q-159, q-228). Substantial decreases also occurred among nurses unfavourable to the RIIQ when they had a low evaluation of council representative meetings and did not participate in collective agreement voting (Tables 3.14; q-159, 3.19; q-227). Nurses who were willing to leave the RIIQ were even more supportive of a full strike when they had a low value of council representative meetings, general meetings and special assemblies (Table 3.18; q-159, q-160, q-161). The hypothesis that nurses unfavourable to the union would be

even more unlikely to support a full strike when their education prepared them well for their job is partially supported but only moderately so when these nurses are willing to leave the United Nurses Inc. and when they are unfavourable to the dues increase (Tables 3.24, 3.26; q-259).

Low external support was hypothesised as exerting a downward effect on support of a full strike among nurses unfavourable to the union. This hypothesis was supported only among nurses who either did not value the United Nurses Inc. or were willing to leave the United Nurses Inc. (Tables 3.27, 3.29). Among those nurses who did not value the United Nurses Inc., low media support and low public support exerted the greatest decreases in support of a strike activity, followed by moderate decreases incurred by low public and private sectors union support and low provincial government and low business community support (Table 3.27; q-148, q-149). Of those nurses who wanted to leave the United Nurses Inc., all but two elements of external support, low public and provincial government support, exerted moderate decreases in support of strike activity (Table 3.29; q-149, q-152).

It was hypothesised that a low evaluation of negotiation items would result in a greater decrease of

support of strike activity among nurses unfavourable to the union. The hypothesis was supported in the case of those nurses who did not value United Nurses Inc. (Table 3.32). In this instance, a low evaluation of negotiation items resulted in substantial decreases in support of a full strike with only seniority for transfers exerting a moderate decrease of eight percent. The hypothesis was only partially supported among nurses unfavourable to the RIIQ (Table 3.33). Here, nurses having a low evaluation of improved grievance procedure, replacement of absentees and job security were even more unlikely to support a full strike (q-210, q-213, q-215). Nurses wishing to leave the United Nurses also demonstrated a greater disinclination to strike activity (Table 3.34). This occurred when they had low evaluations of a reduced work week, improved grievance procedure and job security (q-209, q-210, q-215). Moderate decreases were exerted by low evaluations of income security and vacation privileges (q-212, q-214). Nurses wishing to leave the RIIQ were more disinclined to strike activity when they had a low evaluation of all but two negotiation items, a reduced work week and seniority for transfers (Table 3.35; q-209, q-211). Of the remaining six items, all but one, vacation privileges, exerted substantial decreases in support of strike activity, with vacation privileges exerting a moderate decrease (q-214).

The hypothesis that nurses working with peers, who on the one hand were favourable to the ONQ, and on the other hand, were favourable to the union, would be the least likely to support a full strike is supported (Table 3.42). However, the hypothesis that support of a full strike among these nurses would decrease when they valued their peers' opinions was not supported (Table 3.43). Rather, support of a full strike increased by twelve percent among nurses who valued their peers' opinions.

Conclusions

Our discussion of nurses' propensity to support a full strike was based on the costs that such an act entails. A favourable attitude to either the employer or the ONQ was also considered as a restraint on support of a full strike, and ultimately as a cost in terms of a group's ability to achieve organisational goals through strike action. Likewise, support of a full strike was also examined in light of the costs of union membership. In this section we will attempt some conclusions based on a review of the major findings on costs. In particular, was there support for the hypothesis that nurses oriented to the employer or the ONQ were less likely to support a full strike than those who

were not oriented to these two organisations? If nurses oriented to the employer, or the ONQ were less inclined to support a full strike, does support of a full strike decrease even more when nurses are favourable to ONQ policies and interested in ONQ activities? In addition, was there support for the hypothesis that nurses unfavourable to the union were less likely to support a full strike than those who were favourable? Further, were these nurses who were unfavourable to the union more unlikely to support a full strike when they were low level participants in the union? Likewise, were they more unlikely to support a full strike either when external support was perceived as low or interest in negotiation items low.

Nurses' dispositions toward their employer were not significantly associated to support of a full strike. In addition, the five dimensions of their work environments were rejected as having any significant impact in any of the contexts considered and therefore not discussed in conjunction with professionalism, ONQ activities or ONQ policies. Likewise, with one exception, nurses' orientations to the ONQ were not significantly associated to a lack of support for a full strike (Table 3.2; q-108).

When nurses' value orientation to the ONQ and support of a full strike are examined within the policy contexts of

the ONQ, contradictory results to those hypothesised were presented (Table 3.3). That is, a high value orientation coinciding with a high evaluation of ONQ policies did not result in an increased lack of support of a full strike, except when nurses agreed that BSc nurses only should perform delegated medical acts (14% versus 40%). Nurses who valued the ONQ were even more unlikely to support a full strike when they agreed with some of its policies. This suggests that an affiliation with the ONQ does moderate support of a full strike in most cases, while agreement with its policies did increase the inhibition to strike when nurses agreed with the ban on the right to strike and agreed that only nurses with a BSc or higher degree should perform delegated medical acts. On the other hand disagreement with its policies did however diminish overall commitment to the ONQ and increased support of a full strike. This was most evident when nurses' attitudes to the ONQ strike ban were examined. Here, nurses favourable to the ONQ who disagreed with the ban exhibited moderate increases in support of a full strike regardless of their value orientation to the ONQ (Table 3.5).

Participation in ONQ activities did not have the expected results among nurses oriented to the ONQ. In general, high participation together with a high evaluation of the ONQ resulted in no significant decrease in support of

a full strike. However, among nurses not oriented to the ONQ, support of a full strike increased when they were interested in ONQ activities.

Organisational preference, while not exerting any significant decrease in support of a full strike among nurses favourable to the ONQ, did substantially reduce support of a full strike among nurses who were not oriented to the ONQ when they vested their rights in the ONQ or employer.

We have seen that support of a full strike among nurses unfavourable to the union was consistently lower than that of nurses favourable to the union except in the case of nurses who were unfavorably disposed to the union newspaper and union bulletins. This lack of support of a full strike among nurses unfavourable to the union underwent no significant changes when nurses' positions within the union were controlled for. Similarly, low participation in union activities among nurses unfavourable to the union most frequently exerted no substantial decreases in support of a full strike. On the other hand, they were more unlikely to support a full strike when they had a low evaluation of council representative meetings.* By the same token, but

* The only exception to this tendency occurred among nurses wishing to leave the United Nurses when they had a low

less frequently, nurses unfavourable to the union were more unlikely to support a full strike when they had no voting experience and were generally inactive union participants. Further, the context of devolution exerted opposition to the conditional hypothesis that nurses unfavourable to the union would be more unlikely to support a full strike when they agreed with devolution. Educational preparation also exerted opposition to the conditional hypothesis that nurses unfavourable to the union would be more unlikely to support a full strike when their education left them well prepared for their job.

As regards the effects of external support mechanisms on the support of a full strike, we observed that nurses unfavourable to the United Nurses were more unlikely to support a full strike when external support was perceived as low. Conversely, nurses unfavourable to the RIIQ and to the union dues increase were somewhat more likely to support a full strike when they judged external support to be low. Thus, the hypothesis that nurses who are low on unionism would be less likely to support a full strike when they perceive external support to be low was supported in the case of those nurses who were unfavourable to the UN Inc or willing to leave the UN Inc but not so in the case of those

evaluation of council representative meetings.

nurses who were unfavourable to the RIIQ or willing to leave the RIIQ.

The conditional hypothesis that nurses unfavourable to the union would be more unlikely to support a full strike when they had a low evaluation of negotiation items was supported (Tables 3.32-3.36). More particularly, nurses who either considered the UN Inc inessential or were willing to leave the UN Inc were more unlikely to support a full strike when they had a low evaluation of negotiation items. Similar results obtained among nurses who were either unfavourable to the RIIQ, willing to leave the RIIQ or unfavourable to the dues increase.

We can conclude that the tendencies occurring when costs were examined suggest that while negative evaluations of the union organisation were a concomitant of restraint of support of a full strike, the restraint is increased when nurses were indisposed to participation within the union and to support of collective interests. These tendencies were repeated within the contexts of external support among nurses unfavourable to the United Nurses.

TABLE 3.1

Support Of A Full Strike By Work Characteristics

% full strike

q-128 freedom on how to work		
true	51	(77)
not true	54	(70)
q-129 promotions handled fairly		
true	60	(47)
not true	50	(99)
q-130 promotion chances good		
true	38	(21)
not true	55	(123)
q-131 job without bother		
true	54	(61)
not true	51	(84)
q-132 attitude to PRN		
favourable	49	(43)
unfavourable	54	(103)

TABLE 3.2
Support Of A Full Strike By Affiliation To ONQ

	* full strike
q-110 value of ONQ**	
essential	40 (43)
not essential	58 (102)
q-111 ONQ and public interest	
good	49 (87)
poor	57 (58)
q-112 ONQ and member interests	
good	40 (30)
poor	56 (115)
q-127 leave the ONQ	
yes	60 (79)
no	46 (61)

** A double asterisk signifies that the relationship was significant when utilising the raw chi squared as a measure of significance. A single asterisk signifies that the relationship was significant when chi squared had a $P < .05$. This applies to all tables in Chapter 3.

TABLE 3.3
 Support Of A Full Strike By Value Of ONQ
 Controlling For Professionalism and ONQ Policies

		% full strike Value Of ONQ	
		essential	not essential
q-223 increase nurse responsibility	agree**	36 (33)	57 (70)
	disagree	50 (10)	59 (32)
q-224 nurses qualified	agree*	36 (22)	67 (64)
	disagree	43 (21)	44 (36)
q-231 nurses not auxiliaries	agree*	31 (29)	59 (90)
	disagree	62 (13)	50 (12)
q-232 BSc only perform delegated act	agree	14 (7)	38 (8)
	disagree	46 (35)	60 (94)

TABLE 3.4
 Support Of A Full Strike By Value Of ONQ
 Controlling For ONQ Activities

		% full strike value of ONQ	
		essential	not essential
q-113 ONQ participation	active	41 (27)	57 (30)
	inactive	38 (16)	58 (71)
q-164 ONQ annual convention	high	43 (21)	64 (22)
	low	36 (22)	56 (79)
q-165 ONQ district meetings	high	29 (21)	79 (14)
	low	50 (22)	54 (87)
q-166 ONQ liability insurance	high	32 (25)	53 (60)
	low	50 (18)	63 (40)
q-167 ONQ journal	high	39 (26)	52 (42)
	low	44 (17)	63 (59)

TABLE 3.5
Support Of A Full Strike By Value Of ONQ
Controlling For Strike Ban

	% full strike Value Of ONQ	
	essential	not essential
q-108 organisational preference		
employer and ONQ	35 (17)	39 (13)
union	42 (26)	60 (88)
q-220 CNA strike ban		
agree	19 (21)	32 (31)
disagree	59 (22)	69 (71)
q-221 ONQ strike ban		
agree	17 (18)	28 (29)
disagree	56 (25)	70 (73)

TABLE 3.6
Support Of A Full Strike By Affiliation To The Union

q-109 value of union*	
essential	59 (115)
not essential	27 (30)
q-124 attitude to RIIQ*	
favourable	57 (123)
unfavourable	27 (22)
q-125 leave United Nurses*	
no	59 (110)
yes	31 (35)
q-126 leave RIIQ*	
no	61 (87)
yes	41 (49)
q-133 attitude to dues increase*	
agree	72 (53)
disagree	42 (93)

TABLE 3.7
Support Of A Full Strike By Value Of Union
Controlling For Union Status And Union Positions

	% full strike value of union	
	essential	not essential
q-115 union status		
representative*	74(46)	22(9)
member	49(69)	29(21)
q-116 unit representative		
no*	56(91)	26(27)
yes	71(24)	33(3)
q-117 chief representative		
no*	56(100)	28(29)
yes	80(15)	0(1)
q-118 council representative		
no*	55(88)	24(25)
yes	71(27)	40(5)
q-119 board of directors		
no*	59(104)	25(28)
yes	64(11)	50(2)
q-122 union committee		
no*	56(77)	22(18)
yes	65(34)	36(11)

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TABLE 3.8
Support Of A Full Strike By Attitude To RIIQ
Controlling For Union Status And Union Positions

	% full strike attitude to RIIQ	
	favourable	unfavourable
q-115 union status		
representative	69(51)	25(4)
member	49(72)	28(18)
q-116 unit representative		
no	54(99)	26(19)
yes	71(24)	33(3)
q-117 chief representative		
no*	54(107)	27(22)
yes	75(16)	0(0)
q-118 council representative		
no*	53(93)	25(20)
yes	70(30)	50(2)
q-119 board of directors		
no*	57(111)	24(21)
yes	58(12)	100(1)
q-122 union committee		
no*	56(79)	19(16)
yes	59(41)	50(4)

TABLE 3.9
Support Of A Full Strike By Leave United Nurses
Controlling For Union Status And Union Positions

	% full strike leave United Nurses	
	no	yes
q-115 union status		
member*	52(65)	27(26)
representative	69(45)	44(9)
q-116 unit representative		
no*	56(87)	29(31)
yes	70(23)	50(24)
q-117 chief representative		
no*	57(97)	28(32)
yes	77(13)	67(3)
q-118 council representative		
no*	55(85)	28(29)
yes	72(25)	50(4)
q-119 board of directors		
no	58(100)	31(32)
yes	70(10)	33(3)
q-122 union committee		
no	57(72)	26(23)
yes	64(33)	42(12)

TABLE 3.10
Support Of A Full Strike By Leave RIIQ
Controlling For Union Status And Union Positions

	% full strike leave RIIQ	
	no	yes
q-115 union status		
member	57(46)	37(38)
representative	66(41)	55(11)
q-116 unit representative		
no*	59(65)	39(44)
yes	68(22)	60(5)
q-117 chief representative		
no*	59(73)	38(47)
yes	71(14)	100(2)
q-118 council representative		
no*	58(105)	38(12)
yes	70(23)	57(7)
q-119 board of directors		
no*	63(78)	37(46)
yes	44(9)	100(3)
q-122 union committee		
no*	60(52)	38(37)
yes	61(33)	50(10)

TABLE 3.11
Support Of A Full Strike By Attitude To Dues Increase
Controlling For Union Status And Union Positions

	% full strike	
	attitude to dues increase	
	agree	disagree
q-115 union status		
member	60 (25)	39 (66)
representative*	82 (28)	48 (27)
q-116 unit representative		
no*	67 (43)	40 (76)
yes**	90 (10)	53 (17)
q-117 chief representative		
no*	68 (44)	41 (86)
yes	89 (9)	57 (7)
q-118 council representative		
no*	68 (31)	41 (83)
yes	77 (22)	50 (10)
q-119 board of directors		
no*	71 (45)	42 (88)
yes	75 (8)	40 (5)
q-122 union committee		
no**	66 (32)	42 (64)
yes*	81 (21)	38 (24)

TABLE 3.12
Support Of A Full Strike By Value Of Union
Controlling For Union Activities

	% full strike value of union	
	essential	not essential
q-159 council rep meetings		
high*	65 (79)	38 (16)
low**	46 (35)	14 (14)
q-160 general meetings		
high	66 (61)	33 (9)
low**	50 (52)	24 (21)
q-161 special assemblies		
high*	70 (80)	27 (15)
low	30 (33)	27 (15)
q-162 union bulletins		
high*	55 (83)	15 (20)
low	67 (27)	50 (10)
q-163 union newspaper		
high	58 (81)	21 (24)
low	60 (30)	50 (6)

TABLE 3.13
Support Of A Full Strike By Value Of Union
Controlling For Union Participation

	% full strike value of union	
	essential	not essential
q-226 influence on union		
high*	68 (83)	31 (16)
low**	53 (30)	21 (14)
q-227 collective agreement voting		
high**	65 (71)	35 (17)
low**	51 (39)	17 (12)
q-228 union participation		
high	74 (53)	56 (9)
low*	48 (61)	14 (21)

TABLE 3.14
Support Of A Full Strike By Attitude To RIIQ
Controlling For Union Activities

	% full strike attitude to RIIQ	
	favourable	unfavourable
q-159 council rep meeting		
high	62 (66)	50 (4)
low	43 (37)	17 (12)
q-160 general meetings		
high	62 (66)	50 (4)
low**	49 (55)	22 (18)
q-161 special assemblies		
high	65 (88)	43 (7)
low	33 (33)	20 (15)
q-162 union bulletins		
high	52 (88)	14 (14)
low	67 (30)	50 (8)
q-163 union newspaper		
high	53 (88)	25 (16)
low	65 (30)	33 (6)

TABLE 3.15
Support Of A Full Strike By Attitude To RIIQ
Controlling For Union Participation

	% full strike attitude to RIIQ	
	favourable	unfavourable
q-226 influence on union		
high	60 (92)	29 (7)
low	50 (30)	29 (14)
q-227 collective agreement voting		
high	62 (77)	30 (10)
low	49 (41)	27 (11)
q-228 union participation		
high	72 (60)	50 (2)
low	43 (63)	26 (19)

TABLE 3.16
Support Of A Full Strike By Leave United Nurses
Controlling For Union Activities

		% full strike leave United Nurses	
		no	yes
q-159	council rep meetings		
high*		67 (76)	29 (18)
low		39 (33)	35 (17)
q-160	general meetings		
high*		70 (56)	29 (14)
low		46 (52)	33 (21)
q-161	special assemblies		
high*		71 (75)	35 (20)
low		30 (33)	27 (15)
q-162	union bulletins		
high*		55 (77)	27 (26)
low		68 (28)	44 (9)
q-163	union newspaper		
high		57 (79)	27 (26)
low		63 (27)	44 (9)

TABLE 3.17
Support Of A Full Strike By Leave United Nurses
Controlling For Union Participation

		% full strike leave United Nurses	
		no	yes
q-226	influence on union		
high*		64 (80)	32 (19)
low		48 (29)	33 (15)
q-227	collective agreement voting		
high*		67 (63)	38 (24)
low		50 (42)	20 (10)
q-228	union participation		
high		73 (48)	62 (13)
low*		49 (61)	14 (22)

TABLE 3.18
 Support Of A Full Strike By Leave RIIQ
 Controlling For Union Activities

	% full strike leave RIIQ	
	no	yes
q-159 council rep meetings		
high	64 (66)	52 (25)
low	50 (20)	29 (24)
q-160 general meetings		
high	59 (51)	73 (15)
low*	62 (34)	27 (34)
q-161 special assemblies		
high	67 (66)	61 (23)
low	37 (19)	23 (26)
q-162 union bulletins		
high**	57 (61)	35 (34)
low	68 (22)	50 (14)
q-163 union newspaper		
high	58 (62)	39 (36)
low	67 (21)	46 (13)

TABLE 3.19
 Support Of A Full Strike By Leave RIIQ
 Controlling For Union Participation

	% full strike Leave RIIQ	
	no	yes
q-226 influence on union		
high	61 (69)	50 (24)
low	61 (18)	35 (23)
q-227 collective agreement voting		
high	58 (60)	61 (23)
low*	67 (24)	25 (24)
q-228 union participation		
high	70 (47)	73 (11)
low	50 (40)	32 (37)

TABLE 3.20
Support Of A Full Strike By Attitude To Dues Increase
Controlling For Union Activities

	% full strike attitude to dues increase	
	favourable	unfavourable
q-159 council rep meetings		
high*	72 (43)	50 (52)
low**	67 (9)	32 (47)
q-160 general meetings		
high	73 (33)	53 (38)
low*	68 (19)	33 (54)
q-161 special assemblies		
high*	78 (45)	51 (51)
low	29 (7)	29 (41)
q-162 union bulletins		
high*	69 (36)	36 (67)
low	79 (14)	54 (24)
q-163 union newspaper		
high*	72 (39)	36 (66)
low	73 (11)	54 (26)

TABLE 3.21
Support Of A Full Strike By Attitude To Dues Increase
Controlling For Union Participation

	% full strike	
	attitude to dues increase favourable	unfavourable
q-226 influence on union		
high*	70 (47)	47 (53)
low**	83 (6)	37 (38)
q-227 collective agreement voting		
high	67 (42)	52 (46)
low*	90 (10)	33 (42)
q-228 union participation		
high	72 (39)	70 (23)
low*	71 (14)	33 (69)

TABLE 3.22

Support Of A Full Strike By Value Of Union
Controlling For Devolution Of ONQ Functions And Educational
Preparation

	% full strike value of union	
	essential	not essential
q-225 devolution of ONQ functions		
agree	60 (50)	33 (15)
disagree*	59 (64)	24 (13)
q-259 educational preparation		
well prepared*	59 (82)	27 (22)
not well prepared	63 (32)	25 (8)

TABLE 3.23

Support Of A Full Strike By Attitude To RIIQ
Controlling For Devolution Of ONQ Functions And Educational
Preparation

	% full strike attitude to RIIQ	
	favourable	unfavourable
q-225 devolution of ONQ functions		
agree	55 (58)	33 (6)
disagree*	60 (63)	27 (15)
q-259 educational preparation		
well prepared	55 (89)	33 (15)
not well prepared*	64 (33)	14 (7)

TABLE 3.24

Support Of A Full Strike By Leave United Nurses
Controlling For Devolution Of ONQ Functions And Educational
Preparation

	% full strike leave United Nurses	
	no	yes
q-225 devolution of ONQ functions		
agree**	60 (50)	29 (14)
disagree**	60 (58)	35 (20)
q-259 educational preparation		
well prepared*	60 (79)	28 (25)
not well prepared	58 (31)	44 (9)

TABLE 3.25

Support Of A Full Strike By Leave RIIQ
Controlling For Devolution Of ONQ Functions And Educational
Preparation.

	% full strike leave RIIQ	
	no	yes
q-225 devolution of ONQ functions agree	57 (47)	43 (14)
disagree**	67 (39)	41 (34)
q-259 educational preparation well prepared	61 (62)	41 (34)
not well prepared	63 (24)	40 (15)

TABLE 3.26

Support Of A Full Strike By Attitude To Dues Increase
Controlling For Devolution Of ONQ Functions And Educational
*Preparation

	% full strike attitude to dues increase	
	favourable	unfavourable
q-225 devolution of ONQ functions agree*	74 (27)	40 (38)
disagree*	75 (24)	44 (54)
q-259 educational preparation well prepared*	74 (39)	39 (66)
not well prepared	64 (14)	50 (26)

TABLE 3.27
Support Of A Full Strike By Value Of Union
Controlling For External Support

	% full strike value of union	
	essential	not essential
q-148 media support		
low*	68 (56)	13 (15)
high	49 (57)	40 (15)
q-149 public support		
low*	65 (57)	0 (11)
high	53 (57)	42 (19)
q-150 public sector union support		
low*	73 (37)	21 (14)
high	51 (75)	31 (16)
q-151 private sector union support		
low*	64 (74)	16 (19)
high	44 (36)	50 (10)
q-152 provincial government support		
low*	62 (94)	20 (20)
high	39 (18)	40 (10)
q-153 business community support		
low*	61 (84)	22 (23)
high	50 (28)	50 (6)

TABLE 3.28
Support Of A Full Strike By Attitude To RIIQ
Controlling For External Support

	% full strike attitude to RIIQ	
	favourable	unfavourable
q-148 media support		
low	60 (63)	33 (9)
high	52 (58)	23 (13)
q-149 public support		
low	59 (59)	30 (10)
high	54 (63)	25 (12)
q-150 public sector union support		
low	64 (39)	36 (11)
high*	52 (82)	10 (10)
q-151 private sector union support		
low	58 (76)	31 (16)
high**	52 (42)	0 (5)
q-152 provincial government support		
low	58 (114)	35 (17)
high**	48 (23)	0 (5)
q-153 business community support		
low	56 (90)	35 (17)
high**	59 (29)	20 (5)

TABLE 3.29
Support Of A Full Strike By Leave United Nurses
Controlling For External Support

	% full strike leave United Nurses	
	no	yes
q-148 media support		
low*	67 (54)	24 (17)
high	50 (54)	39 (18)
q-149 public support		
low**	63 (51)	33 (18)
high	55 (58)	29 (17)
q-150 public sector union support		
low*	69 (39)	25 (12)
high	55 (58)	29 (17)
q-151 private sector union support		
low*	64 (69)	22 (23)
high	44 (36)	55 (11)
q-152 provincial government support		
low*	63 (86)	31 (29)
high	38 (21)	33 (6)
q-153 business community support		
low*	62 (79)	25 (28)
high	46 (28)	67 (6)

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TABLE 3.30
Support Of A Full Strike By Leave RIIQ
Controlling For External Support

	8 full strike leave RIIQ	
	no	yes
q-148 media support		
low	57 (42)	43 (21)
high	54 (43)	39 (28)
q-149 public support		
low	60 (40)	55 (22)
high*	61 (46)	30 (27)
q-150 public sector union support		
low	65 (26)	55 (22)
high*	57 (58)	30 (27)
q-151 private sector union support		
low*	66 (50)	40 (35)
high	47 (32)	46 (13)
q-152 provincial government support		
low**	63 (71)	42 (36)
high	43 (14)	33 (12)
q-153 business community support		
low*	62 (63)	39 (36)
high	52 (21)	50 (12)

TABLE 3.31
 Support Of A Full Strike By Attitude To Dues Increase
 Controlling For External Support

	% full strike attitude to dues increase	
	favourable	unfavourable
q-148 media support		
low*	76(29)	44(43)
high**	65(23)	39(49)
q-149 public support		
low*	76(25)	43(44)
high**	67(27)	41(49)
q-150 public sector union support		
low**	78(18)	49(33)
high*	68(34)	36(58)
q-151 private sector union support		
low*	70(30)	46(63)
high*	70(20)	30(27)
q-152 provincial government support		
low*	73(45)	43(70)
high	57(7)	33(21)
q-153 business community support		
low*	72(39)	42(69)
high	69(13)	38(21)

TABLE 3.32
Support Of A Full Strike By Value Of Union
Controlling For Negotiation Items

	% full strike value of union	
	essential	not essential
q-209 reduced work week		
low*	55 (40)	0 (10)
high	61 (74)	40 (20)
q-210 improved grievance procedure		
low*	49 (47)	12 (17)
high	66 (67)	46 (13)
q-211 seniority for transfers		
low*	62 (50)	19 (16)
high	57 (65)	36 (14)
q-212 income security		
low**	50 (20)	0 (7)
high*	61 (94)	35 (23)
q-213 replacement of absentees		
low	45 (20)	0 (5)
high*	61 (93)	32 (25)
q-214 vacation privileges		
low*	64 (47)	6 (16)
high	55 (66)	50 (14)
q-215 job security		
low	22 (9)	0 (6)
high*	60 (100)	33 (24)
q-216 temporary versus permanent		
low*	60 (42)	13 (16)
high	59 (70)	43 (14)

TABLE 3.33

**Support Of A Full Strike By Attitude To RIIQ -
Controlling For Negotiation Items**

	% full strike attitude to RIIQ	
	Favourable	unfavourable
q-209 reduced work week		
low	49 (37)	31 (13)
high**	60 (85)	22 (9)
q-210 improved grievance procedure		
low*	49 (51)	7 (14)
high	62 (71)	63 (8)
q-211 seniority for transfers		
low	57 (54)	31 (13)
high	57 (69)	22 (9)
q-212 income security		
low*	56 (18)	0 (9)
high	57 (104)	46 (13)
q-213 replacement of absentees		
low	44 (18)	14 (7)
high	58 (103)	33 (15)
q-214 vacation privileges		
low**	57 (51)	23 (13)
high	56 (70)	33 (9)
q-215 job security		
low	22 (9)	0 (6)
high	57 (108)	38 (16)
q-216 temorary versus permenent		
low**	56 (45)	21 (14)
high	57 (75)	38 (8)

TABLE 3.34
Support Of A Full Strike By Leave United Nurses
Controlling For Negotiation Items

	% full strike leave United Nurses	
	no	yes
q-209 reduced work week		
low**	53 (38)	17 (12)
high	62 (71)	39 (23)
q-210 improved grievance procedure		
low	45 (51)	21 (14)
high*	71 (58)	38 (21)
q-211 seniority for transfers		
low**	60 (47)	32 (19)
high**	59 (63)	31 (16)
q-212 income security		
low	42 (19)	25 (8)
high*	62 (90)	33 (27)
q-213 replacement of absentees		
low	35 (17)	36 (8)
high*	63 (91)	30 (27)
q-214 vacation privileges		
low*	59 (46)	24 (17)
high	58 (62)	39 (18)
q-215 job security		
low	20 (10)	0 (5)
high*	61 (95)	35 (29)
q-216 temporary versus permanent		
low	51 (43)	33 (15)
high*	64 (64)	30 (20)

TABLE 3.35
Support Of A Full Strike By Leave RIIQ
Controlling For Negotiation Items

	% full strike leave RIIQ	
	no	yes
q-209 reduced work week		
low	52(25)	36(22)
high	64(61)	44(27)
q-210 improved grievance procedure		
low*	53(34)	21(28)
high	65(52)	67(21)
q-211 seniority for transfers		
low	63(32)	42(31)
high	60(55)	39(18)
q-212 income security		
low*	64(11)	20(15)
high	60(75)	50(34)
q-213 replacement of absentees		
low	50(14)	20(10)
high	62(71)	46(39)
q-214 vacation privileges		
low**	61(36)	32(22)
high	59(49)	48(27)
q-215 job security		
low	20(5)	13(8)
high	61(77)	45(40)
q-216 temporary versus permanent		
low*	62(29)	31(26)
high	60(55)	52(23)

TABLE 3.36
 Support Of A Full Strike By Attitude To Dues Increase
 Controlling For Negotiation Items

	% full strike attitude to dues increase	
	favourable	unfavourable
q-209 reduced work week		
low	62 (13)	38 (37)
high*	75 (40)	44 (55)
q-210 improved grievance procedure		
low*	71 (24)	22 (41)
high	72 (29)	57 (51)
q-211 seniority for transfers		
low*	80 (20)	40 (47)
high**	67 (33)	44 (46)
q-212 income security		
low*	89 (9)	11 (18)
high**	68 (44)	49 (74)
q-213 replacement of absentees		
low**	71 (7)	22 (18)
high*	72 (46)	45 (73)
q-214 vacation privileges		
low*	76 (25)	33 (39)
high	67 (27)	47 (53)
q-215 job security		
low	50 (2)	8 (13)
high*	71 (49)	45 (76)
q-216 temporary versus permanent		
low*	72 (18)	37 (41)
high*	71 (34)	46 (50)

TABLE 3.37

Support Of A Full Strike By Value Of Union
Controlling For Organisational Preference And Attitude To
PRN

	% full strike value of union	
	essential	not essential
q-108 organisational preference employer and ONQ union**	50 (16) 60 (98)	21 (14) 31 (16)
q-132 attitude to PRN favourable*	62 (29)	21 (14)
unfavourable**	58 (86)	31 (16)

TABLE 3.38

Support Of A Full Strike By Attitude To RIIQ
Controlling For Organisational Preference And Attitude To
PRN

	% full strike attitude to RIIQ	
	favourable	unfavourable
q-108 organisational preference employer and ONQ union*	39 (23) 61 (99)	29 (7) 27 (15)
q-132 attitude to PRN favourable	55 (33)	30 (10)
unfavourable	58 (90)	25 (12)

TABLE 3.39

Support Of A Full Strike By Leave United Nurses
Controlling For Organisational Preference And Attitude To
PRN

	% full strike leave United Nurses	
	no	yes
q-108 organisational preference employer and ONQ* union	53(19) 60(90)	9(11) 42(24)
q-132 attitude to PRN favourable*	67(27)	19(16)
unfavourable	57(83)	42(19)

TABLE 3.40

Support Of A Full Strike By Leave RIIQ
Controlling For Organisational Preference And Attitude To
PRN

	% full strike leave RIIQ	
	no	yes
q-108 organisational preference employer and ONQ** union	62(13) 60(73)	21(14) 49(35)
q-132 attitude to PRN favourable*	68(19)	32(22)
unfavourable	59(68)	48(27)

TABLE 3.41

Support Of A Full Strike By Attitude To Dues Increase
Controlling For Organisational Preference And Attitude To
PRN

	% full strike attitude to dues increase	
	favourable	unfavourable
q-108 organisational preference employer and ONQ union*	40(5) 75(48)	36(25) 43(67)
q-132 attitude to PRN favourable**	86(7)	42(36)
unfavourable	70(46)	42(57)

TABLE 3.42
 Support Of A Full Strike By Crosspressures*

	% full strike
not oriented to union	41(34)
oriented to neither the ONQ nor the union	83(6)
oriented to both the ONQ and the union	21(19)
oriented only to the union	62(84)
N=	143

TABLE 3.43
 Support Of A Full Strike By Crosspressures Controlling For
 Value Of Peer Opinion

	% full strike peer opinion	
	low	high
not oriented to the union	40(25)	44(9)
oriented to neither the ONQ nor the union	75(4)	100(2)
oriented to both the ONQ and the union	15(13)	33(6)
oriented only to the union	61(58)	64(33)

CHAPTER IV

REWARDS AND THEIR IMPACT ON SUPPORT OF A FULL STRIKE

It was hypothesised earlier that nurses who were interested in union activities would be more likely to support a full strike than those who were more or less disinterested. Further, it was predicted that support of a full strike among nurses who were favorably disposed to union activities would likely increase when nurses maintained a negative evaluation of the ONQ and were inactive in ONQ activities as well. Likewise, it was hypothesised that interested nurses' support of a full strike would likely increase when they were opposed to any strike ban by either the CNA or the ONQ. Negative evaluations of nurses' work environment were also expected to increase support of a full strike among nurses interested in the union.

The hypotheses were based on the theory that individuals derive benefits from group membership when preferences of group members were shared preferences. Shared preferences legitimised member choices and when combined with participation resulted in loyalty. Loyalty, we said, would act as a strong incentive for the individual

to seek the goals of the organisation and to apply the tactics approved by the organisation (Tilly, 1979:71).

In order to examine the theory in the light of loyalty and tactic preference, it was predicted that nurses interested in union activities would be more likely to support a full strike when they were also interested in negotiation items.

If participation and interest combined were likely to result in support of organisational tactics, then nurses holding formal positions within the union could be expected to support a full strike more so than those not holding formal positions. Though participation and interest, as these are manifest through formal positions in the union, may be linked to support of a full strike, this may be a continuation of a level of interest and participation in other associations or clubs. That is, persons inclined to being interested in organisational activity would be more likely to support organisational tactics than those who are more or less uninvolved in any organisational activity. However, a surplus of available resources may be a concomitant of organisational interest and tactic application; interested persons with relatively great resources would be more likely to support tactic choices than those with little interest and relatively few

resources. Thus, a continuation of organisational interest and relatively surplus resources were two contexts applied in examining nurses' relationship to the United Nurses Inc. and support of a full strike.

Looked at from the perspective of shared preferences, union representatives could be expected to provide greater support of a full strike when the peers with whom they interacted were oriented to unionism rather than professionalism.

Measurement

Evaluations of union activities were measured by asking nurses to evaluate various activities of the union such as general assemblies, special assemblies, and the extent to which they valued union bulletins and the newspaper. Nurses were also asked to assess their own level of participation in the union. Union positions were ascertained by asking nurses to indicate whether they functioned as union representatives and in which capacity. Nurses' evaluations of the ONQ were determined by asking them to evaluate specific organisational activities of the ONQ as well as specific organisational responsibilities of the ONQ. Shared preferences were measured by asking nurses to rank specific

negotiation items. Additional organisational activities outside of the union were measured by asking nurses to indicate whether they belonged to clubs or associations. Surplus resources were measured by the nurses' gross family income before taxes. Nurses having more than \$24,900 were considered as having surplus resources.

Findings*

Rewards, it was said, act as stimuli on support of strike activity. The stimuli considered in this chapter include participation in union activities such as voting on collective agreements and discussing union issues as well as holding formal union positions. Positive evaluations of union activities, such as council meetings, general meetings and special assemblies were also considered as stimuli that would result in support of a full strike. Rewards may be enhanced through shared preferences, thus legitimising individual as well as group preferences.

* The tables for this chapter appear from pages 117 to 149.

1) evaluations of union activities and dimensions of direct involvement

Interest in union activities is generally linked with greater support of a full strike than lack of interest (Table 4.1).

Two exceptions to this trend occur when nurses have a low evaluation of union bulletins and the union newspaper. In each instance, nurses with low interest in both of these union items exhibited greater support of a full strike than those who had a high interest (Table 4.1; q-162, q-163). Further, nurses occupying formal union positions were more likely to support a full strike than those who did not (Table 4.2).

The hypothesis that nurses having high evaluations of union activities would be even more likely to support a full strike when they were negatively oriented to the ONQ is, in general, not supported (Tables 4.3-4.18). Moreover, with several exceptions, an unfavourable disposition to the ONQ contributed little if any increase in support of a full strike among nurses interested in union activities. Percentage increases in most cases ranged between zero and nine percent. However, substantial increases in support of strike activity occurred among nurses interested in general

meetings and who were favourable to the ONQ execution of member interests (Table 4.4; q-112). Substantial increases in support of a full strike also took place when nurses who valued the union newspaper (61% versus 50%) were also unfavourable to the ONQ's execution of member interests (Table 4.7; q-112). Nurses high on union participation were much more likely to support a full strike (85% versus 71%) when they were favourable to the ONQ's execution of member interests (Table 4.10; q-112). Nurses' attitudes to the PRN generated opposite results to what was hypothesised (Table 4.3, 4.8, 4.10, 4.11; q-132). Here, the nurses who were unfavourable to the PRN were less likely to support the tactic choice of their activity group than were those who were favourable to the PRN. Similar results obtained when nurses were high participants in the union and thought highly of the ONQ's support of member interests (Tables 4.4, 4.10; q-112). The tendency for opposition was dominant when nurses were both high union participants and favourable to the ONQ (Table 4.11).

2) ONQ activities

Overall, a low evaluation of ONQ activities exerted little if any increase in support of a full strike when nurses were interested in union activities. Nevertheless, a low evaluation of the ONQ's liability insurance programme and the ONQ journal exerted significant increases in support of a full strike among nurses interested in union activities (Tables 4.12, 4.13, 4.14; q-166, q-167). Further, a positive evaluation of the liability insurance produced opposition to our hypothesis (Tables 4.16, 4.17; q-166). More specifically, nurses with a positive evaluation of the liability insurance were more likely than those with a negative evaluation to support the strategy of their union activity group.

3) strike ban

Opposition to a strike ban by either the CNA or the ONQ did little to increase support of a full strike among nurses who were interested in union activities (Table 4.19-4.25). However, opposition to a strike ban significantly increased support of a full strike among nurses who were low on union activities (Tables 4.19-4.25). Thus, nurses opposed to a strike ban were more likely to support a full strike regardless of their disposition to the union activities.

4) union activities

Nurses evaluations of their work environment exerted no substantial increases in support of a full strike among nurses interested in union activities (Tables 4.26-4.32). The major exceptions occurred among nurses who confirmed that promotions were handled fairly (q-129). Here nurses interested in union activities exhibited moderate to substantial increases in support of a full strike, in opposition to the conditional hypothesis (Tables 4.26, 4.28-4.32). A reversal of the conditional hypothesis also occurred among nurses interested in union activities when they confirmed that they could do their job without being bothered (Tables 4.29, 4.30, 4.31, 4.32; q-131). Opposition to the conditional hypothesis was dominant among nurses high in union participation (Table 4.31). While in general nurses favorably disposed to union activities were more likely to support a full strike, exceptions to this trend did occur (Tables 4.26, 4.27). Nurses unfavorably disposed to union activities were more likely to support a full strike than those who were favorably disposed when on the one hand they were low on council representative meetings and considered that promotion chances were good, and on the other hand when they were low on general meetings and considered that promotions were handled fairly (q-130, q-129 respectively)

Without exception, interest in negotiation items among nurses high on union activities produced minimal increases in support of a full strike with percentage increases ranging from zero to nine percent (Tables 4.33-4.39). The hypothesis that nurses high on union activities would be more likely to support a full strike than those who were low was supported in all but four situations (Tables 4.34, 4.36, 4.37, 4.39). In particular, those nurses who were low on union influence were the most likely to support a full strike when they valued vacation privileges (Table 4.36; q-214) Further, support for a full strike was most likely among nurses who were low on general meetings and union participation in general when they all ranked job security as low than among those who were high on these two activities (Tables 4.34, 4.38; q-215). Likewise, support was greatest among nurses who were low on collective agreement voting when they had a low evaluation of increasing the number of permanent full time nurses (Table 4.37; q-216). In addition, nurses high on union activities also exhibited tendencies of opposition to the conditional hypothesis that nurses high on negotiation items would be even more likely to support a full strike. This occurred, for example, among nurses who were high on general meetings, special assemblies, voting experience, union participation and discussing the union when they were low on seniority for transfers (Tables 4.34, 4.35, 4.37, 4.38, 4.39; q-211). This also took place among nurses who were high on general meetings, union influence and union participation when they

had a low evaluation of vacation privileges (Tables 4.34, 4.35, 4.37, 4.39; q-214). The process was repeated uniquely in two contexts when nurses were high on special assemblies and high on union participation. In the former, nurses low on increasing the number of permanent full time nurses were the most likely to support a full strike (Table 4.35;q-216). In the latter, nurses low on absentee replacement were the most likely to support a full strike (Table 4.38;q-213). Nurses low on income security were the most likely to support a full strike both when they were high on union influence and when they were high on union participation (Tables 4.36, 4.38;q-212). Otherwise, this tendency for opposition to the conditional hypothesis is most predominant among nurses high on union participation. These nurses were the most likely to support a full strike when they ranked seniority for transfers, income security, absentee replacement and vacation privileges as low (Table 4.38;q-211, q-212, q-213, q-214).

Nurses who were low on union activities were more likely to support a full strike when they were high on negotiation items except in three instances (Tables 4.33, 4.36, 4.37). Nurses low on council representative meetings were more likely to support a full strike when they were low on increasing the number of permanent full time nurses (Table 4.33;q-216). By the same token, this occurred among nurses who were low on union influence (Table 4.36) and low

on voting experience (Table 4.37).

Though union representatives were more likely to support a full strike than members (Table 4.2), the conditional hypothesis that their support would increase when they participated in other associations and clubs is not supported (Table 4.40). Without exception, nurses who were not participants in voluntary associations were more likely to support a full strike regardless if they were representatives or members. In addition, moderate to significant increases in support of a full strike took place when the nurses were not participants in associations or clubs. Furthermore, union representatives participating in associations were either only somewhat more likely or just as likely to support a full strike as members who were not participants in voluntary associations.

The hypothesis that support of a full strike would increase among union representatives when they interacted with peers who were oriented to unionism rather than professionalism was supported (Tables 4.41-4.45). Nonetheless, unit representatives were just as likely to support a full strike whether peers were oriented to the union and oriented neither to the union nor to the ONQ (Table 4.42).

The hypothesis that union representatives would be even more likely to support a full strike when they had a high

gross family income was supported only in the instance of unit representatives (Table 4.46). They show a twenty-six percent increase in support of a full strike, while other categories of union representatives show nil to moderate increases in support of a full strike. Further, low income unit representatives were less likely to support a full strike than those who were not unit representatives and had a low gross family income. Opposition to the conditional hypothesis occurred among low income members of the board of directors who exhibit a substantial increase (75% versus 62%) in support of a full strike. Likewise, low income nurses not occupying specific union positions were always more likely to support a full strike than high income nurses, with nurses not being unit representatives showing the most substantial increase of all (62% versus 49%).

Conclusions

In this chapter we tried to see if there was a link between support of a full strike and the benefits that nurses receive from direct participation as well as the positive evaluations that they have of the union's organisational activities. Rewards were based on positive evaluations that nurses had of particular union activities. As well, rewards were based on whether nurses held formal positions obtained through an election process within the union. In addition, rewards accompanied by shared preferences would tend to strengthen the tendency to support a full strike. In this section, conclusions on the findings on rewards and their association with support of strike activity are discussed.

While in general rewards were positively associated with support of strike activity, shared preferences did not have the expected results. More particularly, the data suggest that nurses capable of having positive evaluations of union activities and those having formal union positions are just as likely to support a full strike even when they have shared preferences along the lines hypothesised. Further, the data reveal that nurses with low evaluations are even more likely to support a full strike when they had shared preferences along the lines hypothesised for nurses with high evaluations. Participation in other organisations exerted a downward effect on the proportion of nurses who

tended to support a full strike contrary to our hypothesis. This lends support to previous findings which suggest that participation in other organisations tends to be conducive to crosspressures resulting from conflicting affiliations.

TABLE 4.1
Support Of A Full Strike By Union Activities*

	% full strike	
	high	low
q-159 council rep meetings*	60(95)	38(50)
q-160 general meetings*	62(71)	43(73)
q-161 special assemblies*	64(96)	29(48)
q-162 union bulletins	48(103)	63(38)
q-163 union newspaper	50(105)	60(37)
q-226 influence on union	57(101)	43(44)
q-227 collective agreement voting	59(88)	43(53)
q-228 union participation	71(62)	39(84)
q-234 discuss union*	61(110)	27(37)

* A single asterisk signifies that the relationship is significant when chi squared has a $P < .05$. A double asterisk signifies that the relationship is significant when utilising the chi squared, with $P < .05$.

TABLE 4.2
Support Of A Full Strike By Union Positions

	% full strike	
	member	representative
q-115 union status*	45(91)	64(56)
q-116 unit representative	49(120)	67(27)
q-117 chief representative	50(131)	75(16)
q-118 council representative**	49(115)	69(32)
q-119 board of directors	52(134)	62(13)
q-122 union committee	50(96)	58(45)

TABLE 4.3
Support Of A Full Strike By Council Representative Meetings
Controlling For Orientation To The ONQ

	% full strike	
	council	rep meetings
q-111 Value Of ONQ	high	low
high	48 (27)	25 (16)
low*	65 (68)	42 (33)
q-111 ONQ and public interest		
high	54 (54)	42 (33)
low*	68 (40)	29 (17)
q-112 ONQ and member interests		
high	47 (17)	31 (13)
low*	62 (77)	41 (37)
q-127 leave ONQ		
no*	57 (42)	21 (19)
yes	63 (51)	52 (27)
q-132 attitude to PRN		
favourable**	63 (24)	32 (19)
unfavourable	59 (71)	42 (31)

TABLE 4.4
Support Of A Full Strike By General Meetings
Controlling For Orientation To The ONQ

	% full strike general meetings	
	high	low
q-110 Value Of ONQ		
high	50 (20)	30 (23)
low	66 (50)	48 (50)
q-111 ONQ and public interest		
high	56 (39)	44 (48)
low*	69 (32)	38 (24)
q-112 ONQ and member interest		
high**	75 (8)	27 (22)
low	60 (63)	48 (50)
q-127 leave ONQ		
no	52 (23)	41 (37)
yes	65 (46)	50 (32)
q-132 attitude to PRN		
favourable	61 (18)	38 (24)
unfavourable	62 (53)	45 (49)

TABLE 4.5
Support Of A Full Strike By Special Assemblies
Controlling For Orientation To The ONQ

	% full strike special assemblies	
	high	low
q-110 Value Of ONQ		
high	48 (27)	25 (16)
low*	69 (68)	31 (32)
q-111 ONQ and public interest		
high*	64 (56)	23 (31)
low	62 (39)	41 (17)
q-112 ONQ and member interests		
high*	59 (17)	15 (13)
low*	64 (78)	34 (35)
q-127 leave ONQ		
no*	61 (38)	18 (22)
yes**	67 (54)	42 (24)
q-132 attitude to PRN		
favourable	58 (26)	31 (16)
unfavourable*	66 (70)	28 (32)

TABLE 4.6
Support Of A Full Strike By Union Bulletins
Controlling For Orientation To The ONQ

	% Full strike union bulletins	
	high	low
q-110 Value Of ONQ		
high	33 (33)	60 (10)
low	54 (70)	63 (27)
q-111 ONQ and public interest		
high**	42 (66)	70 (20)
low	57 (37)	53 (17)
q-112 ONQ and member interests		
high	38 (24)	50 (6)
low	51 (79)	65 (31)
q-127 leave ONQ		
no	40 (47)	62 (13)
yes	56 (52)	65 (23)
q-132 attitude to PRN		
favourable	44 (32)	56 (9)
unfavourable	49 (71)	66 (29)

TABLE 4.7
Support Of A Full Strike By Union Newspaper
Controlling For Orientation To The ONQ

	% full strike union newspaper	
	high	low
q-110 Value of ONQ		
high	38(32)	46(11)
low	55(73)	64(25)
q-111 ONQ and public interest		
high**	43(67)	70(20)
low	61(38)	44(16)
q-112 ONQ and member interests		
high	39(23)	43(7)
low	52(82)	62(29)
q-127 leave ONQ		
no	43(46)	50(14)
yes	56(55)	67(21)
q-132 attitude to PRN		
favourable	43(28)	54(13)
unfavourable	52(77)	63(24)

TABLE 4.8
Support Of A Full Strike By Influence On Union
Controlling For Orientation To The ONQ

	% full strike influence on union	
	high	low
q-110 Value Of ONQ		
high	41 (29)	36 (14)
low	64 (70)	47 (30)
q-111 ONQ and public interest		
high	53 (64)	41 (22)
low	66 (35)	46 (22)
q-112 ONQ and member interests		
high	50 (22)	13 (8)
low	60 (77)	50 (36)
q-127 leave ONQ		
no	54 (43)	29 (17)
yes	62 (53)	56 (25)
q-132 attitude to PRN		
favourable	62 (21)	40 (20)
unfavourable	57 (79)	46 (24)

TABLE 4.9
Support Of A Full Strike By Collective Agreement Voting
Controlling For Orientation To The ONQ

	% full strike voting	
	yes	no
q-110 Value Of ONQ		
high	45 (22)	35 (20)
low	64 (66)	48 (31)
q-111 ONQ and public interest		
high	57 (54)	39 (31)
low	61 (33)	52 (21)
q-112 ONQ and member interests		
high	43 (14)	40 (15)
low	62 (73)	46 (37)
q-127 leave ONQ		
no	53 (32)	35 (26)
yes	64 (53)	54 (24)
q-132 attitude to PRN		
favourable	63 (16)	41 (22)
unfavourable	58 (72)	47 (30)

TABLE 4.10

Support Of A Full Strike By Union Participation
 Controlling For Orientation To The ONQ

	% full strike union participation	
	high	low
q-110 Value Of ONQ		
high	62 (13)	30 (30)
low*	74 (49)	44 (52)
q-111 ONQ and public interest		
high*	73 (33)	35 (54)
low	68 (28)	48 (29)
q-112 ONQ and member interests		
high	86 (7)	26 (23)
low*	69 (54)	45 (60)
q-127 leave ONQ		
no*	72 (25)	28 (36)
yes	71 (35)	51 (43)
q-132 attitude to PRN		
favourable*	85 (13)	35 (29)
unfavourable*	67 (49)	43 (54)

TABLE 4.11
Support Of A Full Strike By Discuss Union
Controlling For Orientation To The ONQ

	% full strike	
	discuss often	union seldom
q-110 Value Of ONQ		
high	41(27)	38(16)
low*	67(82)	20(20)
q-111 ONQ and public interest		
high*	58(62)	28(25)
low**	64(47)	27(11)
q-112 ONQ and member interests		
high	50(16)	29(14)
low*	62(93)	27(22)
q-127 leave ONQ		
no	54(41)	30(20)
yes*	66(65)	29(14)
q-132 attitude to PRN		
favourable*	64(28)	20(15)
unfavourable**	60(82)	33(21)

TABLE 4.12
Support Of A Full Strike By Council Representative Meetings
Controlling For ONQ Activities

	% full strike council rep meetings	
	high	low
q-164 ONQ annual convention		
high*	65(31)	25(12)
low	57(63)	42(38)
q-165 ONQ district meetings		
high**	60(25)	20(10)
low	59(69)	43(40)
q-166 liability insurance		
high	53(59)	35(26)
low**	71(34)	42(24)
q-167 ONQ journal		
high	51(49)	40(20)
low*	73(45)	37(30)

TABLE 4.13
Support Of A Full Strike By General Meetings
Controlling For ONQ Activities

	% full strike general meetings	
	high	low
q-164 ONQ annual convention		
high*	57(23)	50(20)
low*	65(48)	40(53)
q-165 ONQ district meetings		
high	53(19)	44(16)
low*	65(52)	42(57)
q-166 liability insurance		
high	54(39)	41(46)
low**	71(31)	44(27)
q-167 ONQ journal		
high	49(35)	46(33)
low*	75(36)	42(38)

TABLE 4.14
Support Of A Full Strike By Special Assemblies
Controlling For ONQ Activities

	% full strike special assemblies	
	high	low
q-164 ONQ annual convention		
high*	64(33)	20(10)
low*	64(63)	32(38)
q-165 ONQ district meetings		
high	58(26)	22(9)
low*	66(70)	31(39)
q-166 liability insurance		
high*	59(53)	28(32)
low*	69(42)	31(16)
q-167 ONQ journal		
high	53(47)	33(21)
low*	74(50)	28(25)

TABLE 4.15
Support Of A Full Strike By Influence On Union
Controlling For ONQ Activities

	% full strike influence on union	
	high	low
q-164 ONQ annual convention		
high**	67(27)	31(16)
low	54(72)	50(28)
q-165 ONQ district meetings		
high	58(24)	27(11)
low	57(75)	49(33)
q-166 liability insurance		
high	53(58)	39(26)
low	63(41)	47(17)
q-167 ONQ journal		
high	53(49)	35(20)
low	65(49)	50(24)

TABLE 4.16
Support Of A Full Strike By Collective Agreement Voting
Controlling For ONQ Activities

	% full strike voting	
	yes	no
q-164 ONQ annual convention		
high	65 (23)	40 (20)
low	57 (65)	47 (32)
q-165 ONQ district meetings		
high	62 (21)	29 (14)
low	58 (67)	50 (38)
q-166 liability insurance		
high*	60 (48)	34 (35)
low	56 (39)	64 (17)
q-167 ONQ journal		
high	54 (37)	39 (31)
low	66 (50)	52 (21)

TABLE 4.17
Support Of A Full Strike By Union Participation
Controlling For ONQ Activities

	% full strike union participation	
	q-164 ONQ annual convention	
high	71 (17)	42 (26)
low*	71 (44)	39 (57)
q-165 ONQ district meetings		
high*	73 (15)	30 (20)
low*	70 (46)	43 (63)
q-166 liability insurance		
high*	74 (31)	33 (54)
low	66 (29)	52 (29)
q-167 ONQ journal		
high*	71 (31)	29 (38)
low	71 (31)	51 (43)

TABLE 4.18
Support Of A Full Strike By Discuss Union
Controlling For ONQ Activities

	% full strike discuss union	
	often	seldom
q-164 ONQ annual convention		
high	63(30)	31(13)
low*	60(79)	26(23)
q-165 ONQ district meetings		
high**	61(23)	25(12)
low*	61(86)	29(24)
q-166 liability insurance		
high*	61(61)	16(25)
low	60(47)	55(11)
q-167 ONQ journal		
high*	59(49)	20(20)
low	65(50)	40(15)

TABLE 4.19
Support Of A Full Strike By Council Representative Meetings
Controlling For Strike Ban

	% full strike council rep meetings	
	high	low
q-220 CNA* strike ban		
agree**	40(25)	15(27)
disagree	67(70)	65(23)
q-221 ONQ* strike ban		
agree*	39(23)	8(24)
disagree	67(72)	65(26)

TABLE 4.20
Support Of A Full Strike By General Meetings
Controlling For Strike Ban

	% full strike general meetings	
	high	low
q-220 CNA strike ban / high*	43 (21)	16 (31)
low	70 (50)	62 (42)
q-221 ONQ strike ban agree	31 (16)	19 (31)
disagree	71 (55)	60 (42)

TABLE 4.21
Support Of A Full Strike By Special Assemblies
Controlling For Strike Ban

	% full strike special assemblies	
	high	low
q-220 CNA strike ban agree*	42 (31)	5 (21)
disagree*	74 (65)	48 (27)
q-221 ONQ strike ban agree**	36 (25)	9 (22)
disagree*	73 (71)	46 (26)

TABLE 4.22
Support Of A Full Strike By Influence On Union
Controlling For Strike Ban

	% full strike influence on union	
	high	low
q-220 CNA strike ban agree**	38 (32)	10 (20)
disagree	67 (69)	71 (24)
q-221 ONQ strike ban agree	32 (25)	14 (21)
disagree	66 (76)	70 (23)

TABLE 4.23
Support Of A Full Strike By Collective Agreement Voting
Controlling For Strike Ban

	% full strike voting	
	high	low
q-220 CNA strike ban		
agree	31(29)	24(21)
disagree	73(59)	56(32)
q-221 ONQ strike ban		
agree	27(22)	23(22)
disagree	70(66)	58(31)

TABLE 4.24
Support Of A Full Strike By Union Participation
Controlling For Strike Ban

	% full strike union participation	
	high	low
q-220 CNA strike ban		
agree*	57(14)	15(39)
disagree	75(48)	60(45)
q-221 ONQ strike ban		
agree*	55(11)	14(36)
disagree	75(51)	58(48)

TABLE 4.25
Support Of A Full Strike By Discuss Union
Controlling For Strike Ban

	% full strike discuss union	
	often	seldom
q-220 CNA strike ban		
agree	30(33)	20(20)
disagree*	74(77)	35(17)
q-221 ONQ strike ban		
agree	28(29)	16(19)
disagree*	73(81)	39(18)

TABLE 4.26
Support Of A Full Strike By Council Representative Meetings
Controlling For

	% full strike council rep meetings	
	high	low
q-128 freedom how to work		
true	58(50)	37(27)
false	62(45)	39(23)
q-129 promotions handled fairly		
true	65(31)	50(16)
false*	58(64)	33(33)
q-130 promotion chances good		
true	27(15)	67(6)
false*	66(79)	36(42)
q-131 job without bother		
true	60(40)	43(21)
false**	60(54)	35(29)

TABLE 4.27
Support Of A Full Strike By General Meetings
Controlling For Attitude To Employer

	% full strike general meetings	
	high	low
q-128 freedom how to work		
true	61(41)	39(36)
false	63(30)	46(37)
q-129 promotions handled fairly		
true	59(22)	60(25)
false*	65(48)	33(48)
q-130 promotion chances good		
true	39(13)	38(8)
false*	68(56)	44(64)
q-131 job without bother		
true	61(31)	45(29)
false	62(39)	41(44)

TABLE 4.28
Support Of A Full Strike By Special Assemblies
Controlling For Attitude To Employer

	% full strike special assemblies	
	high	low
q-128 freedom how to work		
true*	64(52)	24(25)
false*	64(44)	35(23)
q-129 promotions handled fairly		
true*	74(34)	23(13)
false*	58(62)	33(34)
q-130 promotion chances good		
true	47(15)	17(6)
false*	66(80)	33(40)
q-131 job without bother		
true	60(42)	39(18)
false*	66(53)	23(30)

TABLE 4.29
Support Of A Full Strike By Influence On Union
Controlling For Attitude To Employer

	% full strike influence on union	
	high	low
q-128 freedom how to work		
true	57(56)	35(20)
false	58(45)	50(24)
q-129 promotions handled fairly		
true	70(33)	39(13)
false	52(68)	47(30)
q-130 promotion chances good		
true	42(12)	38(8)
false	59(88)	47(34)
q-131 job without bother		
true	61(43)	41(17)
false	55(56)	44(27)

TABLE 4.30
Support Of A Full Strike By Collective Agreement Voting
Controlling For Attitude To Employer

	% full strike voting	
	yes	no
q-128 freedom how to work		
true	52 (48)	52 (27)
false	68 (40)	35 (26)
q-129 promotions handled fairly		
true	70 (27)	50 (18)
false	54 (61)	41 (34)
q-130 promotion chances good		
true	50 (12)	25 (8)
false	60 (75)	49 (43)
q-131 job without bother		
true	61 (36)	44 (23)
false	57 (51)	45 (29)

TABLE 4.31
Support Of A Full Strike By Union Participation
Controlling For Attitude To Employer

	% full strike union participation	
	high	low
q-128 freedom how to work		
true*	73 (33)	35 (43)
false**	69 (29)	44 (41)
q-129 promotions handled fairly		
true*	90 (19)	41 (27)
false*	63 (43)	39 (56)
q-130 promotion chances good		
true*	75 (8)	17 (12)
false*	70 (54)	44 (69)
q-131 job without bother		
true*	76 (29)	36 (31)
false*	67 (33)	41 (51)

TABLE 4.32
 Support Of A Full Strike By Discuss Union
 Controlling For Attitude To Employer

	% full strike discuss union	
	often	seldom
q-128 freedom how to work		
true*	59(58)	26(19)
false*	64(52)	29(18)
q-129 promotions handled fairly		
true**	70(33)	36(14)
false*	57(77)	23(22)
q-130 promotion chances good		
true	46(13)	25(8)
false*	63(96)	30(27)
q-131 job without bother		
true*	65(48)	15(13)
false	57(61)	35(23)

TABLE 4.33

Support Of A Full Strike By Council Representative Meetings
Controlling For Negotiation Items

	% full strike council rep meetings	
	high	low
q-209 reduced work week		
low**	53(30)	26(19)
high	63(64)	45(31)
q-210 improved grievance procedure		
low*	54(35)	23(30)
high	63(59)	60(20)
q-211 seniority for transfers		
low	58(36)	43(30)
high*	61(59)	30(20)
q-212 income security		
low	43(14)	25(12)
high**	63(80)	42(38)
q-213 replacement of absentees		
low**	60(10)	20(15)
high	59(83)	46(35)
q-214 vacation privileges		
low	56(43)	35(20)
high	62(50)	40(30)
q-215 job security		
low	0(6)	22(9)
high*	62(84)	40(40)
q-216 temporary versus permanent		
low	50(28)	43(30)
high	64(64)	30(20)

TABLE 4.34
Support Of A Full Strike By General Meetings
Controlling For Negotiation Items

	% full strike general meetings	
	high	low
q-209 reduced work week		
low	53 (19)	37 (30)
high	65 (52)	47 (43)
q-210 improved grievance procedure		
low*	61 (28)	24 (37)
high	63 (43)	61 (36)
q-211 seniority for transfers		
low**	64 (33)	39 (33)
high	61 (38)	45 (40)
q-212 income security		
low	38 (8)	33 (18)
high**	65 (63)	46 (55)
q-213 absentee replacement		
low	38 (8)	30 (20)
high*	65 (62)	45 (56)
q-214 vacation privileges		
low*	64 (33)	33 (30)
high	60 (37)	49 (43)
q-215 job security		
low	0 (6)	22 (9)
high*	65 (60)	45 (64)
q-216 temporary versus permanent		
low*	82 (17)	32 (41)
high	56 (52)	56 (32)

TABLE 4.35
Support Of A Full Strike By Special Assemblies
Controlling For Negotiation Items

		% full strike special assemblies	
		high	low
q-209	reduced work week		
	low*	62 (29)	15 (20)
	high*	64 (67)	38 (28)
q-210	improved grievance procedure		
	low*	64 (36)	10 (29)
	high	63 (60)	58 (19)
q-211	seniority for transfers		
	low*	68 (41)	24 (25)
	high**	60 (55)	35 (23)
q-212	income security		
	low*	62 (13)	8 (13)
	high*	64 (83)	37 (35)
q-213	absentee replacement		
	low*	62 (13)	8 (13)
	high*	63 (82)	36 (36)
q-214	vacation privileges		
	low*	61 (44)	21 (19)
	high*	64 (51)	35 (29)
q-215	job security		
	low	33 (6)	0 (9)
	high*	64 (85)	36 (39)
q-216	temporary versus permanent		
	low*	75 (28)	20 (30)
	high	58 (67)	47 (17)

TABLE 4.36
Support Of A Full Strike By Influence On Union
Controlling For Negotiation Items

	% full strike influence on union	
	high	low
q-209 reduced work week		
low**	56(32)	24(17)
high	57(68)	56(27)
q-210 improved grievance procedure		
low	48(40)	29(24)
high	64(59)	60(20)
q-211 seniority for transfers		
low	56(41)	46(26)
high	58(60)	39(18)
q-212 income security		
low*	63(16)	0(9)
high	56(84)	54(35)
q-213 absentee replacement		
low	46(13)	25(12)
high	58(86)	50(32)
q-214 vacation privileges		
low*	60(42)	30(23)
high	54(57)	57(21)
q-215 job security		
low	40(5)	0(9)
high	56(90)	54(35)
q-216 temporary versus permanent		
low	50(34)	44(25)
high	61(64)	42(19)

TABLE 4.37
Support Of A Full Strike By Collective Agreement Voting
Controlling For Negotiation Items

	% full strike voting	
	high	low
q-209 reduced work week		
low	50(30)	39(18)
high	64(58)	46(35)
q-210 improved grievance procedure		
low	46(33)	38(29)
high	67(55)	52(23)
q-211 seniority for transfers		
low	63(35)	40(30)
high	57(53)	48(23)
q-212 income security		
low	44(16)	33(9)
high	63(72)	46(44)
q-213 absentee replacement		
low	43(14)	27(11)
high	62(73)	48(42)
q-214 vacation privileges		
low	56(41)	38(24)
high	62(47)	46(28)
q-215 job security		
low	0(5)	22(9)
high	61(80)	45(42)
q-216 temporary versus permanent		
low	47(32)	52(25)
high	67(54)	36(28)

TABLE 4.38
Support Of A Full Strike By Union Participation
Controlling For Negotiation Items

	% full strike union participation	
	high	low
q-209 reduced work week		
low*	69(16)	32(34)
high*	71(45)	44(50)
q-210 improved grievance procedure		
low*	65(20)	29(45)
high	73(41)	53(38)
q-211 seniority for transfers		
low*	90(20)	35(48)
high	62(42)	44(36)
q-212 income security		
low*	78(9)	18(17)
high*	69(52)	45(67)
q-213 absentee replacement		
low*	86(7)	16(19)
high*	68(53)	46(65)
q-214 vacation privileges		
low*	79(28)	27(37)
high	63(32)	49(47)
q-215 job security		
low	0(1)	15(13)
high*	70(56)	43(70)
q-216 temporary versus permanent		
low	67(15)	40(45)
high*	73(44)	39(39)

TABLE 4.39
Support Of A Full Strike By Discuss Union
Controlling For Negotiation Items

	% full strike discuss union	
	often	seldom
q-209 reduced work week		
low*	56 (34)	18 (17)
high*	63 (75)	35 (20)
q-210 improved grievance procedure		
low*	51 (45)	15 (20)
high*	67 (64)	44 (16)
q-211 seniority for transfers		
low*	63 (46)	27 (22)
high*	59 (64)	27 (15)
q-212 income security		
low	44 (16)	27 (11)
high*	63 (93)	27 (26)
q-213 absentee replacement		
low	50 (14)	17 (12)
high*	62 (94)	32 (25)
q-214 vacation privileges		
low*	59 (46)	26 (19)
high*	61 (62)	28 (18)
q-215 job security		
low	0 (5)	20 (10)
high*	62 (99)	30 (27)
q-216 temporary versus permanent		
low*	58 (38)	27 (22)
high*	62 (69)	27 (15)

TABLE 4.40
Support Of A Full Strike By Union Status
Controlling For

	% full strike representative
q-123 clubs and associations	yes no
no**	76 (29) 51 (41)
yes	54 (26) 38 (47)
q-123 clubs and associations	unit rep
	yes no
no	80 (15) 56 (55)
yes	50 (12) 43 (61)
q-123 clubs and associations	chief rep
	yes no
no	78 (9) 59 (61)
yes	71 (7) 41 (66)
q-123 clubs and associations	council rep
	yes no
no	79 (19) 55 (51)
yes	54 (13) 42 (60)
q-123 clubs and associations	board of directors
	yes no
no	67 (6) 61 (64)
yes	57 (7) 42 (66)
q-123 clubs and associations	union committee
	yes no
no	65 (20) 60 (50)
yes	52 (25) 39 (46)

TABLE 4.41
Support Of A Full Strike By Union Status
Controlling For Crosspressures

	% full strike	
	representatives	member
not oriented to the union	43(14)	40(20)
oriented to neither the ONQ nor the union	50(2)	100(4)
oriented to both the ONQ and the union	0(3)	25(16)
oriented only to the union*	80(35)	49(49)

TABLE 4.42
Support Of A Full Strike By Unit Representative Controlling
For Crosspressures

	% full strike	
	unit representative	
	yes	no
not oriented to the union	63(8)	35(36)
oriented to neither the ONQ nor the union	100(1)	80(5)
oriented to both the ONQ and the union	0(0)	21(19)
oriented only to the union	65(17)	61(67)

TABLE 4.43

Support Of A Full Strike By Chief Representative Controlling For Crosspressures

	% full strike chief representative	
	yes	no
not oriented to the union	75(4)	37(30)
oriented to neither the ONQ nor the union	0(0)	83(6)
oriented to both the ONQ and the union	0(0)	21(19)
oriented only to the union	82(11)	59(73)

TABLE 4.44

Support Of A Full Strike By Council Representative Controlling For Crosspressures

	% full strike council representative	
	yes	no
not oriented to the union	38(8)	42(26)
oriented to neither the ONQ nor the union	0(1)	100(5)
oriented to both the ONQ and the union	0(2)	24(17)
oriented only to the union*	91(21)	52(63)

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TABLE 4.45

Support Of A Full Strike By Board Of Directors Controlling For Crosspressures

	% full strike board of directors.	
	yes	no
not oriented to the union	40 (5)	41 (29)
oriented to neither the ONQ nor the union	0 (0)	83 (6)
oriented to both the ONQ and the union	0 (1)	22 (18)
oriented only to the union**	100 (6)	59 (78)

TABLE 4.46

Support Of A Full Strike By Union Status
Controlling For Gross Family Income

		% full strike union status	
q-268 gross family income	low	representative member	
	high	56(27)	58(36)
q-268 gross family income	low	72(29)	36(55)
	high*	unit rep member	
q-268 gross family income	low	39(13)	62(50)
	high*	93(14)	40(70)
q-268 gross family income	low	chief rep member	
	high*	60(5)	57(58)
q-268 gross family income	low	82(11)	44(73)
	high*	council rep member	
q-268 gross family income	low	63(16)	55(47)
	high*	75(16)	43(68)
q-268 gross family income	low	board of directors member	
	high	75(4)	56(59)
q-268 gross family income	low	56(9)	48(75)
	high	union committee	
q-268 gross family income	low	yes	no
	high	63(16)	55(42)
		55(29)	46(54)

CHAPTER V

CONCLUDING REMARKS

In this section we summarise the findings on strains, costs and rewards as well as discuss some of the limitations of the data. Avenues for further research are also proposed. In this concluding chapter, the summary of the findings will be reduced to the essential because each chapter was ended with an elaborate conclusion summarising and discussing the results.

In Chapter II it was revealed that though strain contributed to support of a full strike, it was not possible to untangle the effects of economic 'boom' or 'bust'. The data also revealed that the situational contexts of nurses contributed little to increased support of a full strike except in the cases of nurses who were not undergoing strain. Similar tendencies were revealed in respect of political strains, that is, though political strain did contribute to support of a full strike, increased support of a full strike occurred among nurses not experiencing strain when the political contexts of these nurses were controlled for.

Thus relative deprivation, economic strain and political strain are sufficient in themselves to generate collective behavior, with the exception, supportive of Pinard's thesis, that a lack of anxiety rather than anxiety about one's financial situation will tend to be associated with collective behavior. Further, the tendency for strain to be associated with collective behavior lends support to those proponents of the resource mobilisation perspective who recognise strain as relevant to mobilisation.

An examination of costs in Chapter III revealed that in general nurses who were indisposed to the union or favourable to the employer or the ONQ were less likely to support a full strike. In addition, the data revealed that restraint in support of a full strike increased when nurses unfavourable to the union were either inactive in union activities or unsupportive of the collective interests espoused by the union.

Restraint is thus exerted against collective action whenever organisational preferences are for the ONQ or the employer. These preferences mitigated the extent to which collective interests as espoused by the union could be pursued, reducing both the extent to which these interests could become shared preferences and the limits of the legitimacy of these interests. An orientation of

professionalism combined with an interest for the ONQ were a stronger disincentive for some nurses to neither seek the goals nor to apply the tactics approved by the union. In addition, crosspressures in the work environment acted to restrain collective behavior. However, valuing the opinions of peers exerted an increase in the level of support when nurses worked with nurses who were favorable to both the ONQ and the union.

The resource mobilisation perspective asserts that in any cost-benefit analysis of contemplated action, some consideration is given to external support mechanisms. To the extent that external support is perceived as not being forthcoming, then the costs of contemplated action rise as a consequence. The data on external support suggests that a lack of support is generally associated with support of a full strike among nurses favorable to the union. The lack of external support is also associated with support of a full strike among nurses who are not loyal to the RIIQ, suggesting the existence of a level of vindication. However, nurses not loyal to the UN Inc exhibited increased support of a full strike only in the light of external support.

The foregoing indicates that a modification of the resource mobilisation perspective may be needed. More

particularly, given the context outlined in the Preface, whereby powerful outsiders have more or less legitimated opposition to a particular group of individuals, what can account for the persistence of support for collective action among individuals exposed to 'generalised' opposition? We propose that when 'generalised' opposition is taken into account by individuals in their assessment of costs and benefits and that when these individuals exhibit stable or increased support for contemplated action then vindication and not external support accounts for action. Conversely, when external support is perceived as available, and not generalised opposition, then support of collective action will increase or remain stable among individuals who are not loyal to the organisation.

In terms of rewards, the data in Chapter IV revealed that nurses favourable to the union were more likely to support a full strike. Their support of a full strike remained more or less the same regardless of the context that was controlled for. Increased support of a full strike occurred among those nurses who were unfavourable to the union or were inactive in the union when they had a high assessment of union activities or were favorably disposed to the collective interests espoused by the union.

Rewards derived from group membership were generally

associated with support of a collective strategy. However, the combination of shared preferences and loyalty did nothing to increase support of a full strike when nurses who valued the union were also active participants. Similarly, shared preferences combined with formal positions within the union, did not increase support of a full strike. Participation and interest as manifest through formal positions were not linked to greater support, but rather lower support, when they were a continuation of interest and participation in other organisations. This suggests that multiple membership in other organisations presents crosspressures. The crosspressures may emanate from interaction with individuals outside the union context which exerts a double standard of conformity. The double standard of conformity arises from conflicting views of appropriate attitudes and responses to the issue of strikes in the public sector between union members and outsiders. The crosspressures resulting from the double standard of conformity are observable as a choice of diminished costs to reduce the conflict of indecision about the double standard. Surplus resources as these were measured by gross family income did not contribute any significant increase to support of a full strike among nurses favorable to the union. Moreover, of those nurses who were not union representatives, low income nurses were consistently more likely to support a full strike than high income nurses.

The foregoing indicates that participation is a sufficient condition for support of a collective tactic. In addition, this participation does not require a resource base to maintain support. It does require however, a social environment which is more or less unfettered by crosspressures from multiple memberships if participation is to result in increased support of collective action.

Whereas loyalty and tactic preference were generally associated with support of collective action, nurses who were not loyal (not active participants and who did not value the union) were even more likely to support a strike they valued the goods offered by the union. This reaffirms participation as being sufficient for collective action but highlights the necessity for benefits in order to involve those nurses who are not active.

In terms of rewards therefore, the resource mobilisation perspective is supported to the extent that participation is a sufficient condition for collective behavior. On the other hand, rewards expressed as collective goods does nothing to increase support of collective action except in the case of non participants. Hence, the assertion that selective goods must be available to maintain the support of constituent members is applicable to non-participants and not necessarily to active

participants, indicating a deviation from the mobilisation perspective. This suggests that a greater measure of support can be achieved among non-participants through the application of a set of selective goods.

Limitations of the Data

The findings on strains, costs and rewards, though generally supportive of the hypotheses proposed in the introduction, are limited by several factors. For example, we were unable to conduct multi-variate analyses on the variables for each of these concepts due to the sample size. This restriction imposed by the sample size prevented us from introducing additional controls or combining the contextual variables in the same equation to ascertain the relative impact of the respective contexts. The fact that union representatives were over-represented in the sample detracted from the tendencies that might have been revealed among nurses who were not representatives had there been a more representative sample of these nurses. The nature of the questionnaire was such that some dimensions of nurses day-to-day lives could not be examined. One example of this would involve nurses' life style, that is, whether nurses were renters or home owners. Another dimension would involve an examination of citizens movements who lobby

against the strike weapon utilised by unions in the public sector. Unions presently are engaged in providing what could be termed ancillary services such as retirement homes for retired members, legal advice for matters not immediately related to the union, and investment of dues in the private and public sector. These are areas that could have been addressed in the questionnaire to ascertain their impact on nurses and their support of union tactics. In particular, further research could be directed at determining the extent to which unions are viewed as part and parcel of consumer movements.

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APPENDIX A

RELEVANT PARTS OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

QUESTIONS PERTINENT TO CHAPTER II

The following are the questions that were used as indicators in the chapter on strains. Each question is accompanied by the range of answers as well as the value attributed to the answers in the recoding.

q-218 Suppose that the government proposed to maintain the imposed salary cuts in the health sector for a longer period, and to reduce benefits already acquired. Would you be willing to go:

on a full strike	1
on a twenty-four hour strike	0
on a part day strike	0
on a work to rule	0
other (specify)	0
none	0

q-136 Recently the provincial government imposed a rollback on your salary for January to April 1983. Do you feel that the government was:

very justified	0
justified	0
unjustified	1
very unjustified	1

q-140 Compared to two or three years ago, would you say:

That the economic situation in Quebec is

better	0
same	0
worse	1
don't know	0

q-142 Thinking of your economic situation and that of your family for the next year, would you say that you are:

very worried	1
worried	1
a little worried	0
not worried at all	0

q-141 That the present situation in the health sector in Quebec is

better	0
same	0
worse	1
don't know	0

q-143 What is the most important to you?

having a good job	0
having a good salary	1
having good companions at work	0

q-115 Are you or/were you a union representative?

yes	1
no	0

q-251 What is your status as a nurse?

permanent full time	1
permanent part time	0
temporary full time	0
temporary part time	0

q-268 Which of the following comes closest to your total family income before taxes?

10,000-14,990	0
15,000-19,990	0
20,000-24,990	0
25,000-29,990	1
30,000-34,990	1
35,000-39,990	1
40,000-44,990	1
45,000-49,990	1
50,000 or more	1

q-137 Do you believe that the government policy of budget cuts is:

very justified	0
justified	0
unjustified	1
very unjustified	1

q-138 I feel vis-a-vis the provincial government

strongly in agreement	0
in agreement	0
somewhat in agreement	0
somewhat opposed	1
opposed	1
very opposed	1

q-139 Which of the following comes closest to your opinion of Bill 101?

it is basically a good law	0
a good law with bad features	0
a bad law with good features	1
it is basically a bad law	1

q-269 If there would be a provincial election in the near future, for which party would you vote?

Parti Quebecois	0
Liberal Party	1
other	1

QUESTIONS PERTINENT TO CHAPTER III

q-128 How true is each of the next 4 statements about the job you now hold?

I am given a lot of freedom to decide how I do my own work.

very true	0
true	0
somewhat true	1
not true at all	1

q-129 Promotions are handled fairly

very true	0
true	0
somewhat true	1
not true at all	1

q-130 The chances for promotion are good.

very true	0
true	0
somewhat true	1
not true at all	1

q-131 I can do my job without being bothered by anyone.

very true	0
true	0
somewhat true	1
not true at all	1

q-132 Certain hospital administrations have attempted to implement a plan called "Program of Research in Nursing", (PRN). How do you feel about this program? Are you

very favourable	0
favourable	0
unfavourable	1
very unfavourable	1

q-110 In your opinion, the role of the Order of Nurses of Quebec for your needs is:

essential	0
useful but not essential	1
somewhat useful	1
rarely useful	1
useless	1

How do you rate each of the following two functions of the ONQ?

q-111 Protecting the public interest

very good	0
good	0
could be better	1
poor	1

q-112 Protecting its members professional interests

very good	0
good	0
could be better	1
poor	1

q-127 If you had the opportunity, would you give up your membership in the ONQ?

yes	1
no	0

q-223 Nurses should have more responsibility over patient care.

agree	1
agree somewhat	0
disagree somewhat	0
disagree	0

q-224 A nurse is qualified to perform all basic tasks without interference

agree	1
agree somewhat	0
disagree somewhat	0
disagree	0

q-231 Would you agree that only nurses and not auxiliaries should perform 'delegated medical acts'?

yes	1
no	0

q-232 Only nurses with a bachelor of science in nursing or higher degree should perform 'delegated medical acts'?

yes	1
no	0

q-113 As a member of the ONQ, do you consider yourself

very active	0
active	0
somewhat active	0
not active at all	1
don't know	

Indicate your interest in each item below.

	low	high
q-164 participation in the ONQ annual convention	1	0
q-165 participation in the ONQ district level meetings	1	0
q-166 participation in the liability insurance program	1	0
q-167 a subscription to the journal-Nursing Quebec	1	0

q-220 Recently the Canadian Nursing Association proposed a ban on the right to strike by nurses. Do you agree or disagree with this ban?

agree strongly	0
agree	0
agree somewhat	0
disagree somewhat	1
disagree	1
disagree strongly	1

q-221 Let's say that it was the ONQ that proposes the ban on the right to strike by nurses. Would you agree or disagree with the ban?

agree strongly	0
agree	0
agree somewhat	0
disagree somewhat	1
disagree	1
disagree strongly	1

q-109 In your opinion, the role of your union for your needs is

essential	1
useful but not essential	0
somewhat useful	0
rarely useful	0
useless	0

q-124 In 1981 your union formed a Regroupement of nurses with two other federations. Are you yourself favourable or unfavourable to this action by your union?

very favourable	1
favourable	1
unfavourable	0
very unfavourable	0
not sure	0
unaware of Regroupement	0

If you had the opportunity, would you give up your membership in
q-125 United Nurses

yes	0
no	1

q-126 the Regroupement of Nurses

yes	0
no	1

q-133 Recently a dues increase was approved at a general meeting held by your union. Would you yourself have agreed with an increase in union dues?

very strongly	1
strongly	1
somewhat	0
not at all	0

q-115 Are you or/were you a union representative

yes	1
no	0

q-116 What positions do you/did you hold?

q-116 unit representative

yes	1
no	0

q-117 chief representative

yes	1
no	0

q-118 council representative

yes	1
no	0

q-119 board member

yes	1
no	0

q-122 have you ever served on a union committee?

yes	1
no	0

Indicate the level of interest in each union item below.

	low	high
q-159 council rep meetings	0	1
q-160 general assemblies	0	1
q-161 special assemblies	0	1
q-162 union bulletins	0	1
q-163 union newspaper	0	1

q-226 How much influence do you feel you have on how the union runs things?

a lot of influence	1
some influence	1
no influence	0
don't know	0

q-227 As a union member, did you vote in any collective agreements?

yes	1
no	0

q-228 As a union member, do you feel that you are:

very active	1
active	1
smewhat active	0
not active at all	0

q-225 Some people say that licensing and discipline should be the responsibility of two separate organisations and not just the ONQ. Do you agree that licensing and discipline should be the the responsibility of two separate organisations?

agree	1
agree somewhat	1
disagree somewhat	0
disagree	0

q-259 How well do you feel that your education prepared you for your functions as a nurse?

very well	0
well	0
somewhat well	1
not well at all	1

To what degree is each of the following groups favourable to your interests as an employee?

	low	high
q-148 newspapers, radio, TV	0	1
q-149 the public in general	0	1
q-150 members of other unions in the public sector	0	1
q-151 members of other unions in the private sector	0	1
q-152 the provincial government	0	1
q-153 the business community	0	1

Indicate what level of emphasis you feel your union should place on each of the following items for negotiation purposes.

	low	high
q-209 reduced work week	0	1
q-210 improved grievance procedure	0	1
q-211 greater importance for seniority as it applies to transfers	0	1
q-212 income security	0	1
q-213 obligatory replacement of absentees	0	1
q-214 vacation privileges	0	1
q-215 job security	0	1
q-216 decrease the number of temporary and increase the number of permanent	0	1

q-108 At the present time, which of the following is most important to you? That your rights be represented by

your professional corporation	0
your union	1
your employer administration	0

QUESTIONS PERTINENT TO CHAPTER IV

q-128 How true is each of the next 4 statements about the job you now hold?

I am given a lot of freedom to decide how I do my own work.

very true	0
true	0
somewhat true	1
not true at all	1

q-129 Promotions are handled fairly

very true	0
true	0
somewhat true	1
not true at all	1

q-130 The chances for promotion are good.

very true	0
true	0
somewhat true	1
not true at all	1

q-131 I can do my job without being bothered by anyone.

very true	0
true	0
somewhat true	1
not true at all	1

q-132 Certain hospital administrations have attempted to implement a plan called "Program of Research in Nursing", (PRN). How do you feel about this program? Are you

very favourable	0
favourable	0
unfavourable	1
very unfavourable	1

q-110 In your opinion, the role of the Order of Nurses of Quebec for your needs is:

essential	0
useful but not essential	1
somewhat useful	1
rarely useful	1
useless	1

How do you rate each of the following two functions of the ONQ?

q-111 Protecting the public interest

very good	0
good	0
could be better	1
poor	1

q-112 Protecting its members' professional interests

very good	0
good	0
could be better	1
poor	1

q-127 If you had the opportunity, would you give up your membership in the ONQ?

yes	1
no	0

q-223 Nurses should have more responsibility over patient care.

agree	1
agree somewhat	0
disagree somewhat	0
disagree	0

q-224 A nurse is qualified to perform all basic tasks without interference

agree	1
agree somewhat	0
disagree somewhat	0
disagree	0

q-231 Would you agree that only nurses and not auxiliaries should perform 'delegated medical acts'?

yes	1
no	0

q-232 Only nurses with a bachelor of science in nursing or higher degree should perform 'delegated medical acts'?

yes	1
no	0

q-113 As a member of the ONQ, do you consider yourself

very active	0
active	0
somewhat active	0
not active at all	1
don't know	

Indicate your interest in each item below.

	low	high
q-164 participation in the ONQ annual convention	1	0
q-165 participation in the ONQ district level meetings	1	0
q-166 participation in the liability insurance program	1	0
q-167 a subscription to the journal-Nursing Quebec	1	0

q-220 Recently the Canadian Nursing Association proposed a ban on the right to strike by nurses. Do you agree or disagree with this ban?

agree strongly	0
agree	0
agree somewhat	0
disagree somewhat	1
disagree	1
disagree strongly	1

q-221 Let's say that it was the ONQ that proposes the ban on the right to strike by nurses. Would you agree or disagree with the ban?

agree strongly	0
agree	0
agree somewhat	0
disagree somewhat	1
disagree	1
disagree strongly	1

q-109 In your opinion, the role of your union for your needs is

essential	1
useful but not essential	0
somewhat useful	0
rarely useful	0
useless	0

q-124 In 1981 your union formed a Regroupement of nurses with two other federations. Are you yourself favourable or unfavourable to this action by your union?

very favourable	1
favourable	1
unfavourable	0
very unfavourable	0
not sure	0
unaware of Regroupement	0

If you had the opportunity, would you give up your membership in
q-125 United Nurses

yes	0
no	1

q-126 the Regroupement of Nurses

yes	0
no	1

q-133 Recently a dues increase was approved at a general meeting held by your union. Would you yourself have agreed with an increase in union dues?

very strongly	1
strongly	1
somewhat	0
not at all	0

q-115 Are you or/were you a union representative

yes	1
no	0

What positions do you/did you hold?

q-116 unit representative

yes	1
no	0

q-117 chief representative

yes	1
no	0

q-118 council representative

yes	1
no	0

q-119 board member

yes	1
no	0

q-122 have you ever served on a union committee?

yes	1
no	0

Indicate the level of interest in each union item below.

	low	high
q-159 council rep meetings	0	1
q-160 general assemblies	0	1
q-161 special assemblies	0	1
q-162 union bulletins	0	1
q-163 union newspaper	0	1

q-226 How much influence do you feel you have on how the union runs things?

a lot of influence	1
some influence	1
no influence	0
don't know	0

q-227 As a union member, did you vote in any collective agreements?

yes	1
no	0

q-228 As a union member, do you feel that you are:

very active	1
active	1
somewhat active	0
not active at all	0

q-225 Some people say that licensing and discipline should be the responsibility of two separate organisations and not just the ONQ. Do you agree that licensing and discipline should be the responsibility of two separate organisations?

agree	1
agree somewhat	1
disagree somewhat	0
disagree	0

q-259 How well do you feel that your education prepared you for your functions as a nurse?

very well	0
well	0
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not well at all	1

To what degree is each of the following groups favourable to your interests as an employee?

	low	high
q-148 newspapers, radio, TV	0	1
q-149 the public in general	0	1
q-150 members of other unions in the public sector	0	1
q-151 members of other unions in the private sector	0	1
q-152 the provincial government	0	1
q-153 the business community	0	1

Indicate what level of emphasis you feel your union should place on each of the following items for negotiation purposes.

	low	high
q-209 reduced work week	0	1
q-210 improved grievance procedure	0	1
q-211 greater importance for seniority as it applies to transfers	0	1
q-212 income security	0	1
q-213 obligatory replacement of absentees	0	1
q-214 vacation privileges	0	1
q-215 job security	0	1
q-216 decrease the number of temporary and increase the number of permanent	0	1
q-108 At the present time, which of the following is most important to you? That your rights be represented by		
your professional corporation	0	
your union	1	
your employer administration	0	

INDEX OF CROSSPRESSURES
APPENDIX B

The index for crosspressures was based on questions 236 and 237.

not oriented to the union	1
oriented to neither the ONQ nor the union	2
oriented to both the ONQ and the union	3
oriented only to the union	4