

1-1-1986

Motivations for workplace democratization : a case study of airline mechanics.

Nanette C. Brey

University of Massachusetts Amherst

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarworks.umass.edu/dissertations_1

Recommended Citation

Brey, Nanette C., "Motivations for workplace democratization : a case study of airline mechanics." (1986). *Doctoral Dissertations 1896 - February 2014*. 2020.

https://scholarworks.umass.edu/dissertations_1/2020

This Open Access Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by ScholarWorks@UMass Amherst. It has been accepted for inclusion in Doctoral Dissertations 1896 - February 2014 by an authorized administrator of ScholarWorks@UMass Amherst. For more information, please contact scholarworks@library.umass.edu.



MOTIVATIONS FOR WORKPLACE DEMOCRATIZATION: A
CASE STUDY OF AIRLINE MECHANICS

A Dissertation Presented

By

Nanette Brey

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

May 1986

Education

c

Nanette Brey

All rights reserved

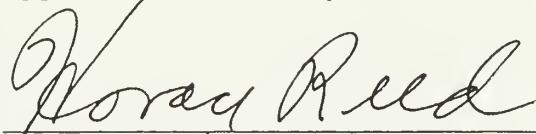
MOTIVATIONS FOR WORKPLACE DEMOCRATIZATION: A
CASE STUDY OF AIRLINE MECHANICS

A Dissertation Presented

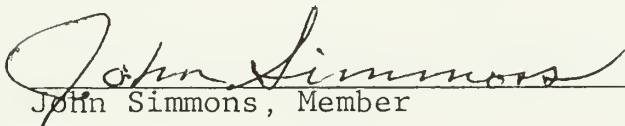
By

Nanette Brey

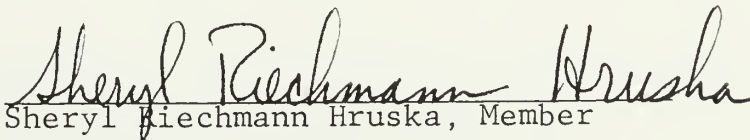
Approved as to style and content by:



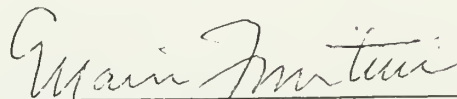
Horace Reed, Chairperson



John Simmons, Member



Sheryl Piechmann Hruska, Member



Mario Fantini, Dean
School of Education

DEDICATION

For David, without his seemingly endless capacity for dialogue and support, this dissertation would have been far more difficult. For Michael, who provided daily joys and a constant reminder of "it's the little things in life that count."

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

As a member of the Center for International Education, I follow a long list of admirable doctors and doctors to be. I thank them most for their friendship and encouragement during times of need and their companionship in times of celebration.

I thank my committee members, Horace, John and Sher, for seeing me through the transition from fog to clarity.

Juggling the "ups and downs" of moving, new house, marriage, campaigner, student, consultant, and new mother was not easy. I thank my parents in Allentown for their relentless encouragement and support over the years, and a special thanks to those in Ashland and Framingham who helped me with my parenting responsibilities.

ABSTRACT

Motivations for Workplace Democratization:

A Case Study of Airline Mechanics

May 1986

Nanette Brey, B.S., West Chester State College

M.Ed., University of Maryland

Ed.D., University of Massachusetts

Directed by: Professor Horace Reed

This study was designed to glean a greater understanding, from workers' perspective, of their motivations toward workplace democratization. The active participation by workers in democratizing programs is crucial to their long term success.

Study participants selected for this study were airline mechanics. Nine mechanics worked for Firm A which had no participative decision making program and which offered a minimal stock ownership plan. Ten mechanics were from Firm B which had introduced an employee participation program and which had a compulsory stock ownership plan.

The predominant method of data collection was in-depth interview. All mechanics from each firm were interviewed once for a thirty minute interview on their experiences with and/or views on two potential motivating factors: ownership relations and decision making structure. Six mechanics from each firm were selected and interviewed for a second, two hour interview on five theoretical motivating factors: family upbringing, education, religion, political economy and media. These factors were identified from a review of the Base-Superstructure Theory of Social Change. A sixth factor, military service, was identified as influential by the study participants and so was included.

The results of a comparison of Firm A and Firm B responses suggested that group ownership experience was a major factor in influencing workers favorably toward majority ownership in general. However, several other intervening factors such as personal economic gain, lack of control over stock, mandatory participation, and degree of firm's financial stability inhibited workers from supporting majority ownership of their own firms. Experience with an employee participation program was a factor in Firm B mechanics greater knowledge and skills in applying democratic principles, but not much of a factor in worker support for employee participation in firm level decisions.

The results of a comparison between Group A comprised of mechanics from both firms who tended to favor workplace democratization and Group B comprised of mechanics from both firms who tended not to favor workplace democratization did not substantiate theory. Differences between both groups were found on three motivation factors: family upbringing, media and military service.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	iv
Chapter	
I. INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY	1
II. THEORETICAL FACTORS AFFECTING EMPLOYEES MOTIVATIONS FOR WORKPLACE DEMOCRATIZATION	10
III. THE RESEARCH DESIGN	54
IV. PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF STUDY PARTICIPANTS' REPORTED EXPERIENCES WITH AND VIEWS ON EMPLOYEE OWNERSHIP	84
V. FACTORS MOTIVATING MECHANICS TO WANT OR NOT WANT INCREASED PARTICIPATION IN DECISIONS	131
VI. POTENTIAL MOTIVATING FACTORS IN THE SUPERSTRUCTURE	186
VII. SUMMARY, LIMITATIONS TO THE STUDY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH	279
.....	
FOOTNOTES	296
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY	302

APPENDIX	307
1	308
2	311
3	315
4	316
5	317
6	318
7	319
8	320
9	321
10	322
11	323
12	324
13	325
14	326
15	327
16	328
17	330
18	331
19	332
20	333
21	334
22	335
23	336
24	337
25	338

C H A P T E R I
INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

This chapter introduces the study. Background information is initially given about the research problem followed by a more focused statement of the problem which this research was designed to address. Major and implementing questions that guide the inquiry are then stated followed by reasons why it is important to examine workers' motivations toward workplace democratization. A listing of the basic assumptions and a glossary of terms completes the chapter.

Background Information

The lack of the practice of democracy was, to a great extent, the most common experience that tied Americans of all classes and ethnic backgrounds together to fight for their country's independence from the autocratic rule of King George. Winning independence gave Americans, through representatives, the opportunity to design a political system based on the principles of democracy, i.e., government by the people through elected representatives and the acceptance of and practice of "equality of rights, opportunity, and treatment."(1) But, the degree to which

these principles of political democracy were practiced was significantly impeded by the concentration of capital and, concomitantly, the concentration of power. This impediment occurs because the capacity to influence the outcome of the electoral process and the capacity of voters to influence those elected to office and while in office are dependent to a great extent on a person's and/or groups' capacity to access money. The capacity to access financial resources is disproportionately distributed among the population, and hence political influence.

In order to re-align the practice of political democracy in accordance with the widely accepted belief of democratic principles and values, democratic principles and values need to be extended to the economic system. Democratizing the economic system implies decentralizing or re-distributing the concentration of wealth and, therefore, the concentration of power to the greatest number of Americans. Strategies for economic democracy cover a broad range, but usually include two essential components: 1) shifting control of investment capital from corporations to the public (2), and 2) democratizing the decision making structures in the workplaces of the private and public sectors and democratizing ownership relations in firms (3). The second component, a focus of this study, is

referred to as workplace democratization in this research because the term suggests a dynamic process of systems moving toward greater democracy in the workplace, not a state of being.

Democratizing workplaces serves two basic functions: 1) While decentralizing control over production and investment decisions, workplace democratization dramatically increases the opportunities for citizens, in their working roles, to practice their democratic values through direct work experience and in a more extensive form than political voting; and 2) Providing the democratization effort includes democratic ownership, then, it also serves to re-distribute wealth.

For any undertaking to be successful, there needs to be managers who are "democratically-minded," workers who want it (4), and union representatives in unionized plants who support the change. This researcher chose to focus on why workers would want democratization and why they would not, primarily, because of Bernstein's general findings regarding the principles for the implementation of successful workplace democratization programs "...the consciousness of the employees was more critical in the long run, especially their motivation to participate." (5)

Statement of the Problem and Purpose of Study

Studies conducted with worker control and cooperative systems in Yugoslavia and Spain and with QWL programs in the United States have revealed that only a few workers choose to participate in joint management-labor decision making committees. Although there has been general enthusiasm and participation by workers in problem solving groups at the shop floor level such as quality circles significant numbers of workers choose not to get involved. Without a broad base of participation, there is little rotation in the problem solving groups at both levels and, thus, control, even though it is more decentralized than before, is still in the hands of a relatively few people. Thus, lack of worker motivation to actively support democratization programs could, over the long run, undermine them.

This study intends, then, to compare the predictions of social change theory with workers' self report regarding which factors motivate workers to 1) participate or not participate in workplace democratization programs and 2) support or not support concepts that would further extend democratization in their workplaces or in others. To guide this inquiry, the following major and implementing

questions were formulated.

Major Question: What factors affect workers' motivations for workplace democracy, in what way and to what degree?

Implementing Questions:

1. According to social change theory, what factors could motivate employees toward workplace democracy?
2. What effect does experience with an employee participation program have on workers' motivations toward workplace democracy?
3. What effect do other factors, suggested by theory, have on workers' motivations for workplace democracy?

Significance of Study

There have been some studies conducted in the United States on workers' attitudes (6) toward workplace participation; however, there is an absence of such literature that examines, comprehensively, the factors that interact to form their motivations. This research will add to a greater understanding of the Base-Superstructure Theory of Social Change and how it can be applied generally to the understanding of motivation formation and specifically to workers' motivations toward workplace

democratization. Furthermore, it is designed to provide advocates with information that will help them design strategies to increase workers' interests, understanding and actions for greater workplace democracy. Thirdly, the study participants' self-reports will add to a small, but growing body of qualitative data from workers' perspective. Lastly, it will delineate areas for further research.

Assumptions

The major theoretical assumptions underslying this study are:

1. Humans engage in self-conscious activities, are actors in shaping history and can make decisions for the detriment or benefit of the majority.
2. Greater control over one's work can result in a more responsive, less alienating, workforce.
3. Educators can play a significant role in guiding social change toward meaningful participation in the workplace by workers and, therefore, toward economic democracy, or they can serve to reinforce the status quo.

No attempt will be made to prove or disprove these assumptions. Rather they are listed here to provide

further perspective on the formulation of the particular approach and research questions formulated in this study.

Definition of Terms and Concepts

The following definitions include terms and concepts frequently used throughout the remaining chapters:

1. Majority ownership: In this type of ownership, employees consciously own 51% of the voting stock. Participation in decision making at work process and/or firm level is not a necessary condition.
2. Motivation: An interaction between pre-existing attitudes and beliefs and external events or conditions that results in action. (7)
3. Ownership participation program: Any type of program offered to employees that allows them to purchase stock, such as, employee stock ownership plans. This type of ownership encourages participation by employees, but not control through ownership which distinguishes it from majority ownership explained above. Typically control does not accompany such plans. However, in this study, Firm B's employee stock ownership plan did provide for union representation on the Board of Directors.
4. Worker: Any employee not employed in a management

position. This is not to imply that this group works and management does not; its intended meaning is to denote a historical class of employees who lost control of their work process through industrialization and the factory system. They are typically those who fall into the "labor" side of union contract, who are referred to as "rank and file" employees and do not have the supervision of others as a major responsibility.

5. Workplace democratization: "...any system which attempts to increase employee influence in the management process, especially in decision-making. This influence can range from a manager's solicitation of employee opinions to complete worker autonomy in running a wholly worker-owned firm." (8)

6. Workplace democracy: For the purposes of this research, this term implies that workers control their firm through majority ownership and extensive participation in decisions from shop floor to board room. At the shopfloor level participation is in the form of problem solving groups such as quality circles, at the department level through quality of work life committees, and at the Board level through elected representatives.

This chapter set the context of the study. Chapter II explains the theoretical framework upon which most of the

research design and analysis decisions were made. In the exploration of the Base-Superstructure Social Change Theory, factors that could play a significant role in forming employees' motivations toward workplace democratization are identified and discussed. Because of the length of data presentation, three chapters (IV, V, and VI) are used for presentation and analysis of results. The final chapter summarizes the study, its major findings, and offers possible implications for those findings for further research.

C H A P T E R I I
THEORETICAL FACTORS AFFECTING EMPLOYEES' MOTIVATIONS
FOR WORKPLACE DEMOCRATIZATION

Introduction

The primary purpose of this chapter is to provide a general theoretical framework for the study which most closely reflects those underlying value assumptions of the study which were stated in Chapter I. The theoretical framework chosen for this study is the base-superstructure theory of social change. Reasons for selecting this framework are discussed in Section 1, using five criteria established by the researcher as pertinent to the implementation of this study. Three alternative social change models common to the social science literature are critiqued, using these five criteria, to clarify reasons for choosing the Base-Superstructure Model. These models are the Political Action Model, the Concrete-Processual Model, and the Base-Superstructure Model.

In Section 2: Overview of Base-Superstructure Social Change Theory, each major component of the model is explained with examples that illustrate workplace interventions that are either supportive or not supportive of workplace democratization. In Section 3: The Position

of the Employee in the Base-Superstructure Theory, the role of the employee as subject or object of the change process is explained with examples. These examples illustrate how employees can self consciously act or unconsciously act to further or to inhibit workplace democratization efforts be it at the workplace or outside of the workplace setting.

A second purpose for this chapter is to identify the theoretical factors suggested by the base-superstructure theory that are most important to the formation of employees' motivations toward workplace democratization efforts. In Section 4: Implications of Base-Superstructure Theory For The Development of Employees' Motivations for Workplace Participation, these key factors are outlined. The theoretical implications of how these factors could effect employees' motivations toward workplace democracy are also discussed.

Section 1: Assessment of Social Change Models

The social change models that were considered as a theoretical framework for the study are those described by Twain - Political Action Model, Martin - Social Change Model, Warren - Concrete-Processual Model and Gurley - Base-Superstructure Model. These models were selected for

review because they were reflective of, to a greater or lesser extent, some of the value assumptions posited by the researcher in Chapter I regarding the goal and nature of social change efforts.

Other social change models, such as, the "service delivery model", the "disease model", the "institutional change model", and the "abstract-rational model" were considered but not selected, primarily, because they do not reflect major value assumptions about change held by the researcher. The researcher recognizes that many social change efforts are planned according to the models referred to above and, thus, a study of them would contribute to an overall understanding of how social change occurs. However, the intent of this study is to glean a greater understanding of the factors affecting employees' motivation for workplace participation through an in-depth understanding of one model, representative of a particular world view, not several.

This list of "change models" itself is not intended to be exhaustive and the researcher acknowledges the analytical, predictive and strategic power of others. These include, among others, those emerging from historical, spiritual, and/or cultural paradigms.

As a basis for assessment, the researcher established five criteria that a model should meet in order to serve the purposes of this study. These are as follows:

1. Comprehensive - To describe how social change occurs in very complex societies, a model and its theoretical basis needs to be capable of analyzing the major institutions responsible for social formation (eg. religion, education, government, family, economy, and the media) and explain their roles and functions in either system maintenance or system change, be that change evolutionary, revolutionary or some combination of the two.

2. Suggestive of Priorities - To suggest that all institutions are of equal importance doesn't give direction for strategy formulation nor for maximizing the use of resources toward the achievement of greater equity of opportunity. Instead, a social change model needs to enhance one's understanding of the institutions and mechanisms by which power shifts occur in society.

3. Based upon an assumption that a re-alignment of power is possible, a model needs to reflect a basic assumption that those who are in positions of little power can, through their own actions, increase their power.

4. Change is dialectical - A model needs to be built upon an understanding that social change occurs as a result of an interaction among a variety of social components. It is not the unfolding of a pre-determined plan and does not occur linearly or uni-directionally or in a strictly sequential causal manner.

5. Adaptive - A model needs to be adaptable in order to explain how change occurs at various broader and narrower levels - societal, institutional, and individual and for explaining how changes in one level affect changes in the other levels and vice versa.

Assessment of Social Change Models

The Political Action Model and the Social Change Model discussed by Twain and Martin respectively are very similar. They both represent the latest development in social service "change" models that evolved because of the limitations of the earlier models. These were described by Twain as the service delivery model and the institutional model or by Martin as the disease model and the welfare model. While there are not significant differences in these two models, Twain offers a more in-depth description when presenting the Political Action Model. Thus, his model was selected for more careful study in order to

compare it to the concrete-processual and base-superstructure models.

The Political Action Model was not selected as this study's theoretical framework because it only fully met one of the major criteria, i.e., the ability to explain and analyze the distribution of power. A major premise of this model is the need for the distribution of power away from centralized policy control toward greater community control. It also addresses the need for those who experience "the problem" to be more in control of the agency. One of the model's assumptions is that those not in power can, when acquiring power, act responsibly, effectively, and, depending on the circumstance, more efficiently in solving social, community-based problems.(1)

However, the model has limited applicability for this study according to the other criteria. It is not comprehensive enough in its analysis of the change process and only addresses one type of a societal institution i.e., "service" which implies a relationship with community "clients" as consumers. It does not address the role and function of other social, cultural, governmental, economic institutions and, hence, other types of relationships within those institutions that have a potential role in the change process. Because of this limited scope, it also

does not suggest which institutions might be more influential in creating change. Thus, it is not suggestive of priorities although, as explained above, it does suggest possible mechanisms by which some power shifts could occur such as establishing community boards and including the representation of those who are directly affected by a problem in policy level decision making.

With regard to the last two criteria, the model does not suggest how change occurs and thus, in addition to its other limitations, it is not adaptable for analyzing how change occurs in any of the three social levels of interest: societal, institutional, individual.

The Concrete-Processual Model has strengths different from the Political Action Model. However, it was not used as the theoretical foundation of study because it did not meet all the established criteria. It did, however, meet two major criteria: 1) the nature of change is viewed as dialectical. Warren (1971) describes a preferred social planning process as one that is "a continuous interaction process" (2) and one that allows for the on-going input of new data so that some actions, previously unplanned for, can be implemented; and 2) This model can also be adapted to a wide variety of settings and for planning at societal, institutional, community, and individual levels. However,

it is an applied model, not an analytical model and, therefore, it is not descriptive of how major societal institutions and value systems interact to create change. For this reason it does not meet the comprehensive criteria nor does it suggest which institutions are most important in creating power shifts in the society.

It does enhance one's understanding of the mechanisms by which power shifts in society. It suggests that those people who are affected by the problem under question should be represented in the planning process. However, because Warren is positing a planning model for those already in power, he does not address the general need for a re-alignment or shift of power.

The Base-Superstructure Model (3) was selected as the theoretical framework for this study because it best met the five criteria. This model and its theoretical explanation was created for the express purpose of analyzing how the various institutions and value systems of society interacted to maintain the system or to foster change. The theory suggests that economic institutions play a more determining role in influencing the social, government and legal institutions and society's value systems at the beginning of each epoch than vice versa. Hence, the study of economic institutions and the

mechanisms associated with those institutions are important to the overall understanding of how power shifts occur in society. Initially, the theory did not specify mechanisms by which power shifts in society might occur because it was an analytical theory, not a prescriptive one. Current interpreters of the theory such as Carnoy and Sherer, however, have used and expanded it to offer a rather detailed description of how interventions might be consciously applied to result in power shifts.

In addition to being comprehensive and being suggestive of institutions on which to focus for change, this theory explains the change process as a dialectical one that occurs in significant measure as a result of people's actions. The theory can support the assumption that the most important problem confronting society is the concentration of power and that greater democracy is vital to the improvement of people's lives.

Lastly, the theory is adaptive. It can be adapted for use in explaining how change occurs at various levels: societal, institutional, and individual. However, because of a primarily economic perspective on social change, it does not completely explain other causal factors responsible for social problems (eg. passion, mental diseases, gender, race and age discrimination) and certain

types of social experiences such as religious or spiritual ones.

Having indicated why the base-superstructure theory was selected, the next section provides an outline of the theory itself.

Section 2: Overview of the Base- Superstructure Theory

This section presents a brief descriptive review of the base-superstructure theory and how its major components interact to create social change. This is followed by a sub-section on how these elements interact to create workplace change. To illustrate how these interactions occur concretely, several examples are given to emphasize the interactive nature of the change process and the importance of people's actions in helping to direct the change effort toward greater workplace democratization rather than less. The intent of this theoretical review is to identify factors that could be susceptible to orchestration and potentially influential in the overall formation of employees' motivations toward workplace democratization.

The base-superstructure theory is founded upon two essential premises: 1) Material conditions shape people's thoughts, motivations, and feelings (4) and vice versa though material conditions are thought to be primary; and 2) Change occurs through this interactive process. The theory's conceptual scheme explained below is derived from these two premises.

There are three primary divisions within the base-superstructure conceptual scheme of societal formation: productive forces, social relations of production and the superstructure. The social relations of production, in combination with the productive forces, form the economic structure which forms the "material base" or the foundation of a given society. Major changes that occur within the base emerge from conflicts between the productive forces and the social relations of production.(5)

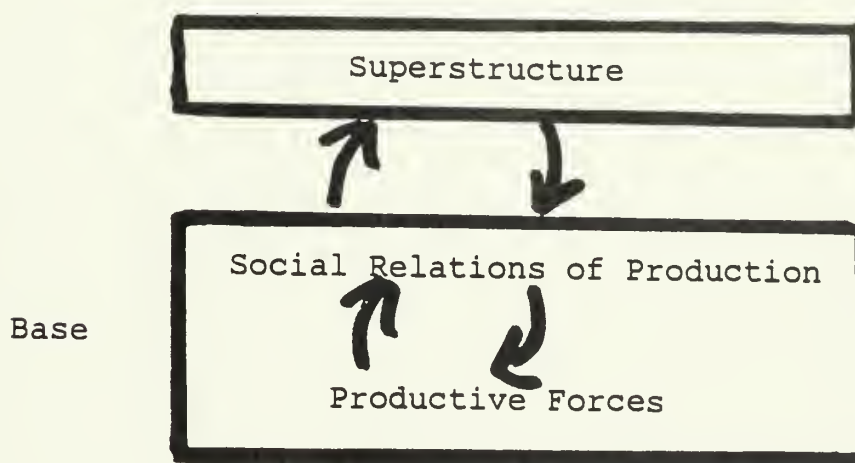
Particularly at the formative stage of each historical epoch, the base acts as the prime determinant of the superstructure, i.e., society's non-economic institutions and ideologies. However, the base is acted upon and, in some instances, changed by the superstructure, because the three divisions are relationally tied and mutually causative. Thus, what happens in one division affects a change in the others and vice versa.

Role of the base in creating workplace change

As mentioned above the base is comprised of the productive forces and the social relations of production. The productive forces include the raw materials of production, machines and instruments used in the process of production, innovative production technology and science, and employees' technical knowledge and skills. The social relations of production forces refer to the arrangement which reflects who owns and controls the productive forces; the purpose of production; and organizational technology. Organizational technology includes 1) the firm's organizational structure, i.e., the lines of authority which formalize the relationships between management and workers, among managers, and among workers, and 2) the processes by which decisions regarding production are made.(6)

Changes that are introduced in either of these two sub-divisions within the base can affect the degree to which the employee participates in workplace decisions and/or ownership. For example, with the introduction of an innovation, many changes occur coincidentally in both sub-divisions to ensure effective implementation of the innovation. The implementation of these changes often results in additional changes, some of which are intended, others are not.

Fig. 1. Diagram showing the relationship between the major divisions and components of the Base-Superstructure Social Change Theory



In the remaining sub-sections, the role of each of these divisions in workplace change are outlined with examples in terms of how changes in these divisions could either be supportive or not supportive of employees' participation in workplace decisions and ownership. First, the two main divisions within the base are explained and how, in this model, they are believed to interact with each other to create workplace change. This is followed by an explanation of the superstructure and how it interacts with the base to also create workplace change.

The examples given below illustrate the interactive effects of the productive forces and the social relations of production. The first example describes how a specific change in one of the productive forces, i.e., the introduction of an innovative production technology, not only increases employee participation but also affects changes in the other productive forces--people's knowledge and skills and actual machines used in the production process and, to a small degree, in the social relations of production, i.e., the process by which decisions are made. Example two describes how major changes in the social relations of production, specifically in ownership relations and in organizational technology, significantly increase employee participation. Example three describes how a change in the same type of productive force as in example one above, i.e., innovative production technology can decrease employee participation. Example four describes a situation in which changes in the ownership relations were intended to increase employee participation; however, other results occurred.

Example 1 - a change in the productive forces supportive of participation. The relatively recent innovation of autonomous work groups was introduced in the Volvo auto plants in Sweden to improve the quality of

Volvo's cars (7). To implement this new organizational concept--a change in the social relations of production, several changes took place in both the productive forces and the social relations of production. These changes supported an increase in employee participation in decisions.

Circular production lay-outs were introduced to replace assembly line production. To implement this change in the productive forces, changes in the social relations of production and in the other productive forces needed to occur. Circular production lay-outs required employees to relate to one another as a group for purposes of problem-solving and assembling automobile parts. In order to perform these new functions, the employees were trained in group problem solving methods which gave them a greater capacity to influence decisions--a change in the social relations of production. The employees, on a given circular production unit, learned to perform each job necessary to make a particular unit function. Therefore, the technical skill and knowledge levels of employees--a change in the productive forces, increased due to job rotation.

To ensure the effectiveness of these autonomous work groups, the supervisory relationship between the rank and file and their supervisors had to change from a one-to-one

relationship to one-to-group relationship. This was a change in the social relations of production and resulted in a reduction in the overall amount of individual supervision. This can be interpreted as greater autonomy on the job or a broader scope for the individual employee in making work process decisions.

Example 2 - a change in the social relations of production supportive of participation. A&P Supermarkets in Philadelphia were bought in 1982 by the employees. The specific contractual arrangements were negotiated by their union representatives.(8) The employee-owners owned their firm and perceived themselves as owners. They participated in decisions at the work process level and in firm level decisions. There was much enthusiasm on the part of the new owners who reported there was an increase in "employee" commitment.

Changes in the social relations of production have occurred. Ownership changed from outside owners to employees and organizational technology changed by giving rank and file workers increased say in all levels of decision making. In this case, there have been significant resultant changes in the productive forces. For example, relations among "employees" have, in some cases, changed from perceiving each other as competitors to perceiving each other as co-owners and working as team members.

Example 3 - a change in the productive forces not supportive of participation. Changes in the base can also negatively affect employee participation. For example, the introduction of mass production resulted from the development of technology that reduced the individual employee's capacity for decision making when compared to prior individual craft production or experimental production.

For example, in research and development companies, those who are responsible for producing a new product model for specific applications, such as, special radar systems, have considerable involvement in the decisions about that product. But, after that particular product or design has been perfected, mass production technologies are developed and production procedures are routinized by a mass production oriented firm. Thus, the involvement in decisions about the product by the employees responsible for its assembly are greatly reduced as compared to prototype production by the R and D firm.(9)

The nature of the social relations of production in the two firms are dependent, in part, upon the particular purpose for production. This difference in purpose - experimental vs mass production, affected the type of organizational technology established in each firm and the

kinds of machines used in production. These choices resulted in one group of employees in the R&D firm having a high degree of participation in decisions about the products assembly and design while employees in the mass production firm, who are in a similar relationship to the product, i.e, responsible for the product's assembly, having very little or no participation in decisions about the product.

Example 4 - a change in the social relations of production not supportive of participation. In the case of the Vermont Asbestos experience, the employee initiative had quite different results from the A and P supermarket case, primarily, because of the lack of foresight on the part of the miners and their union leadership to establish a structure (a change in the social relations of production) that gave them systematic participation in decisions regarding work process and firm level decisions. They were owners, but did not have the control that usually accompanies ownership. This lack of control led to a great deal of tension between the management and the miners and caused the miners to act in ways that, ultimately, reduced their ownership capacity and ability to control the firm. There were no real changes in the productive forces in terms of the introduction of safety equipment to protect

the miners from the cancerous effects of working with asbestos or the relations among the miners and in certain aspects of the social relations of production, particularly, in organizational technology.(10) The miners did not have control as did, for example owners in the supermarket case.

Role of the superstructure in creating workplace change

The Superstructure comprises the pervading social view or ethos of individuals and groups, the predominant ideology and legal, political, social, and religious institutions of a society (11). These forces in the superstructure exist in relation to each other and, thus, are mutually defining. For example, the media, itself an institution of social reproduction, transmits messages from the other institutions of social reproduction via news, various types of talk shows, advertisements, etc. Each of these mechanisms relays information about government, religion, family, education. Each of these institutions also serve as their own information sources or as conduits of information for other institutions. For example, the family functions in ways not only to ensure the stability of the unit, but also as a means to learn about government, art, religion, education, cultural and social values, etc.

It is in this respect that the institutions of social reproduction mutually reinforce attitudes and behaviors that may be democratic such as the respect for a just society for all or may be anti-democratic such as respect for authority for its own sake. Therefore, employees in their roles as family member, TV watcher, radio listener, newspaper reader, church/synagogue member, will be affected by the degree to which these institutions either validate or undermine the notion of and the experience of democracy and by the extent to which a person is critically conscious of their influence.

The forces or elements in the superstructure also exist in various relationships to the forces in the base and mutually influence one another. Nonetheless, as mentioned previously, the base, in particular the social relations of production, is purported to be a relatively stronger influence on the superstructure than the superstructure of the base. Because of this role the superstructure is often considered as institutions of social reproduction.

Since the pervading social ideas and systems of authority are shaped in large measure by the base, these ideas and systems of authority then serve to reinforce the base. As Gurley notes: "How people make their living

shapes their mental conceptions" but, then, these mental conceptions or ideas "affect the way they make their living (12)."

Examples given below explain the interactive nature of the base and superstructure and the primacy of the base on the institutional level and on the individual consciousness or motivational level. The first example illustrates an interaction that is supportive of employee participation and the second one illustrates an interaction that is not supportive of employee participation.

Supportive of employee participation

Institutional level: Governmental and educational institutions, as part of the superstructure, began introducing participative management programs such as quality circles and quality of work life programs on a limited scale following successful results reported by the Fortune 500 companies in their participative management and profit sharing efforts (13). The reason these companies implemented democratization interventions was primarily to increase profits.

Individual motivational level: Spalding Corporation located in Chicopee, Massachusetts introduced quality circles in their system of management in 1981. In order

for the rank and file employees to effectively participate in the problem solving and reporting activities of their quality circles, they received informal training by their circle facilitators in group problem solving methods - its analysis, documentation and reporting and group process methods such as, group discussion and decision making and techniques such as brainstorming.

During an interview with this researcher in 1982, one of the circle participants enthusiastically described how he and his wife and children used the circle concept for group problem solving at home to analyze the causes for their high water bills and to come to a resolution as to acceptable courses of action to take by all family members (14). This example illustrates the direct influence of one's occupation positively and significantly on familial relations, a part of the superstructure, toward greater participation.

Not supportive of employee participation

Institutional level: The organizational form that mass production took in factories divided production into two divisions of work: manual and intellectual. Manual work was primarily done by employees and intellectual work was done by managers. This organizational division of work

(located in the social relations of production) became law with the passage of the National Labor Relations Act, a change in the superstructure. This act legalized the collective bargaining process in such a way as to separate labor from management and gave rise to the accepted view that workers are to work with their hands and managers are to manage with their heads.

Individual motivational level: The prevailing societal view described above has inhibited some managers, employees, and leadership of organized labor from taking a more proactive stance in the implementation of employee involvement programs. Many employees do not perceive their role in the workplace as one of participating in "management decisions;" therefore, they are not actively supportive of employee involvement programs or are not interested in becoming participants in them.(15)

Similarly, many managers, because they view employees as working with their hands only, do not perceive them as intellectually capable of participating in decisions. And many union leaders are hesitant to take the lead role or be supportive of employee involvement programs because modifications in the traditional adversarial relationship with management is required and they fear the rank and file will perceive them as "getting in bed with management," thus, a threat to their own elected positions.(16)

In summary, the elements that comprise the productive forces (production innovations and people's technical knowledge and skills) and the social relations of production (ownership relations, the purpose of production and organizational technology) interact to create change that either fosters or inhibits democratic changes in the base. Additionally, there is an interactive relationship between the various elements of the base just mentioned and the various elements of the superstructure (social views, laws, people's motivations, and organizational structures of various institutions of social reproduction).

The examples chosen in this section are not exhaustive of the ways in which the different elements of the base and the superstructure might interact to create change. They serve as a framework from which to raise questions more specifically related to the purpose of the study. These are discussed in Section 4. The examples were also intended to show how changes at various levels - societal, institutional, and individual affect changes in the other levels and vice versa.

The next section focuses primarily on change from the perspective of employees and their own roles in creating workplace change both as elements of the productive forces and as elements of the superstructure.

Section 3: The Position of the Employee in the
Base-Superstructure Theory

In this theory employees, as part of the productive forces and as factors of production, have a dual and interactive role in change either as subjects or objects of that change. In their roles as subjects, they engage in self-conscious, productive activity which can either reinforce or conflict with the social relations of production. In their roles as objects, employees do not engage in self-conscious choices; however, their actions can also either reinforce or conflict with the social relations of production.(17) The following examples clarify the subtle distinctions between employees' conscious or unconscious actions and their varied roles as subjects and/or objects of change within the base-superstructure conceptual scheme.

Example 1 - employee as subject of change in the base. When employees, in response to the piece work system, speed up production, their actions reinforce the social relations of production. However, as this speed up becomes more oppressive, this conflicts with employees' basic need for choices and greater freedom and may result

in a demand for unionization and/or employee involvement programs - a conflict with the existing social relations of production.

Example 2 - employees as objects of change in the base. Employees respond to managerial demands over which they have no choice, such as, job transfers. This reinforces the social relations of production, i.e., employees are treated as objects of the process. However, as they become alienated from the work process in response to such transfers or, for example, machine technology that routinizes the work process, their actions - alcoholism, absenteeism, sabotage, etc., collectively result in reduced productivity levels and, thus, come into conflict with the purpose of production.

Thus, as the productive forces increasingly conflict with the existing social relations of production, this conflict intensifies until a new set of relations are established. This conflict can, therefore, arise as a result of employees' actions in either their roles as subjects (active and conscious) or objects (passive and subliminal) of change within the base.

Similarly, employees perform these dual roles as subjects and objects of change in their interactive relationship with the superstructure. Their actions as a result of the influence of work can either reinforce or

conflict with the existing institutions of social reproduction. Their actions resulting from the influence of the institutions of social reproduction (the superstructure) can also either reinforce or conflict with the existing productive forces or social relations of production.

Example 3 - employee as a subject in the base which then increases the democratic nature of the SS. In their roles as subjects of change, employees can introduce democratic behaviors, which they learn at work, into the family's decision making structure. This particular example (the water shortage control example) was explained previously. If an employee supports the authoritarian system of decision making by not participating in EI programs or by not supporting the legitimacy of unions, then, it is likely this employee consciously supports authoritarian styles of decision making in other institutions, such as, religious institutions, the government, family, etc; thus, reinforcing the social reproductive nature of the superstructure.

Example 4 - employee serving as an object in the base thereby reducing the democratic nature of the SS. In their roles as objects of change in the base, employees, who have few choices in the workplace and suffer the effects of

alienating work (18) - depression, boredom, etc., do not leave their mental despair at work but take it home with them; thereby, negatively affecting their relationships with other family members and with other community groups in which they may be involved. Potentially, this lack of choice in the workplace could result in the employee seeking out activities outside the workplace that give him/her greater meaning and freedom of choice (for example, scouting, part time carpentry or brick work religious teaching, political involvement with candidates supportive of democracy, etc.). Whether the employee's actions in the superstructure are supportive or not supportive of greater democracy may depend on the employee's motivations.

Becoming a scout leader allows the employee freedom of choice, but could reinforce the existing autocratic social system unless she leads in a more democratic manner than the system currently encourages; whereas, the support of a political candidate who actively endorses greater democracy may be directly challenging the existing system.

Example 5 - employee as subject in the superstructure affecting the base. In their roles as subjects of change in the superstructure, employees, as union organizers, can organize other employees to vote for unionization or vote in support of contracts that give employees greater

employee involvement. This would alter the social relations of production in the firm.

For the most part, employees learn traditional roles, prejudices, etc. as members of a particular cultural group. They may consciously bring such attitudes and behaviors to work, for example, informal networking groups segregated by gender and/or race which, then, operate to reinforce the existing social relations of production and weaken the union and its change efforts.

Example 6 - employees as objects of change in the superstructure thereby affecting the base. In their roles as objects of change in the superstructure, new parents have a difficult time managing work and family responsibilities. In a recent study by Googins and Burden "the most significant factor contributing to depression among employees, regardless of gender" was "the stress of balancing work and family responsibilities (19)." This phenomena on the one hand could reinforce existing social relations of production because parents do not have the time to engage in activities that would increase their responsibilities at work. On the other hand this effect could challenge the social relations of production, i.e., the purpose of production, by lowering production levels because depressed employees are not as productive as those with good mental health or by workers' demanding flex-time.

In summary, employees have a significant role in creating a more just society as members of the productive forces or the "base" be that role active or passive, system supporting or system changing. In these roles employees contribute to a more just society in several significant ways: a) even through their passive role in production they create society's wealth and, thus, enable changes in standards and styles of living; b) through their active participation in unionization as members and/or organizers, employees support a more equitable distribution of wealth, thereby, affecting changes in the social relations of production toward greater economic equality; c) through participation in employee involvement programs, they learn about democracy through direct experience - its mechanisms for economic democracy through participation in profit sharing, stock option plans, and group ownership and its mechanisms for democratic control through participation in programs that involve employees in work process and/or firm level decision making. They, thereby, affect a change in the productive forces by increasing their own understanding and applications of democracy through relating to other employees as group or team members rather than as potential competitors and affecting a change in the social relations of production.

By definition employees do not have a role "as employees" in the superstructure. People as employees are, by definition, confined to the workplace setting. But, it is important to understand the role those people who are employees play in affecting change in superstructural institutions for two reasons. First, class consciousness and experiences are carried from the workplace to other institutions and are reinforced or challenged there. Second, what employees, as members of society, learn in the superstructure affects their consciousness and experiences in the workplace. The contribution employees, as members of society, make toward creating a more just society in the superstructure depends on their ability to transfer knowledge about democracy and democratic attitudes and skills learned at work to superstructural institutions and vice versa.

The final section delineates the important points raised and factors identified in the previous sections that are pertinent to further study of employees' motivations for employee participation programs.

Section 4: Implications of Base-Superstructure
Theory On Employees' Motivations

In summary, the base-superstructure theory explains how social change occurs dialectically and as a result of the interaction between the various elements located in the major components of the base, i.e., the social relations of production and the productive forces, and between these "base" elements and the elements of the superstructure. This means that changes in one element affect, to a greater or lesser extent, changes in the other elements. These elements (for example, machines, employees' capabilities, the purpose of production, ownership relations, government, the media, family, organized religion, etc.) act as forces in shaping the directions of social change. However, within these interactions, the theory states that the base or the economic structure of society is more determining of the superstructure, at least at the beginning stages of each historical epoch, than the superstructure of the base. In the previous sections the interaction of several of these elements was illustrated with examples that showed how specific workplace changes resulted or could result in greater or lesser employee participation in workplace decisions and/or ownership.

The foregoing analysis of these dialectical

relationships supports the selection and the need for further study of the following factors as potentially supporting or inhibiting employees' motivations for workplace participation. Additionally, the theoretical premises of the base-superstructure theory when applied to the individual level, implies that one's personality is shaped by these elements and that those located in the base are more influential than the others (20).

In this respect, the base-superstructure theory has profound implications for understanding how employees' motivations develop and change. The major implications are that motivation develops and changes as a result of the interaction of all these factors, is more influenced by those elements that occur in the base than in the superstructure, and develops and changes as a direct result of employees' experiences with these elements. To try to understand this complex set of relationships, each factor and its major implication for motivation formation is listed and discussed separately below.

Potential motivating factors in the productive forces

1. Type of machines and instruments used in production. The theory suggests that machines and instruments used in the production process have a total effect, i.e., physical, psychological, intellectual and

social on the employees who operate or use them. The major implication of this statement for the development of employees' motivations toward workplace participation is: Machines and instruments, when possible, should be designed with the intent of trying to a) maximize employees interaction with each other, b) maximize the amount of control the employee has over them, and c) maximize the employees' interest and involvement in understanding their operations.

2. Science and technological changes at work. With the continual introduction of new technologies, a production system evolves which needs a workforce with a diverse range of technical knowledge and skills. The theory states that because of this diversity in innovation, employees' views toward their work and, in general, their world views develop differently depending on what particular level of production they work at. The implications of this factor for the development of employees' motivations toward workplace participation are: a) Employees may believe that other employees, depending on their technical knowledge and skill level, are to a more or less degree capable of handling the responsibility of participation in decision making and ownership, and b) Employees' motivations for workplace participation may differ.

3. Raw materials used in production. The theory suggests that raw materials, as an independent factor in influencing the formation of a democratic consciousness, play a relatively minor role compared to the other factors. In other respects, they do have a strong impact on decisions regarding one and two above.

4. Employees' knowledge, skills, abilities and attitudes. The theory suggests that the level of employees' technical knowledge, skills, and abilities and their attitudes toward their work do not develop in isolation of the other factors in the productive forces, but develop in relationship to them. As new technologies are introduced, employees may need additional training in order to operate more complex machines and how they view their work is dependent, to a great extent, to the amount of autonomy they have. The implications of this factor for the development of employees motivations toward workplace participation are: Employees' motivations for workplace participation develop, primarily, as a result of their work experience. The degree to which they understand basic principles and concepts related to democracy at work and develop democratic skills and abilities is dependent to a great extent on the degree to which democratic skills and knowledge are necessary in performing their job.

Employees' motivations for democratic experiences at work are, thus, related to the level at which their job requires them to function democratically and dependent upon the degree to which their experiences with it are positive.

Potential motivating factors in the social relations of production

1. Organizational technology (organizational structure and decision making process). The theory suggests that a person's specific position in the organization's structure of authority and his/her degree of involvement in the decision making process, at the work process level and/or at the firm level, affects the development of a person's consciousness and the degree to which he/she understands the organization's operation. Those who work at higher levels of the organization develop a different perspective and world view than those who work at lower levels in the organization.

The implications of this factor for the development of employees motivations toward workplace participation are:

a) Traditionally, the principles of democracy have not been applied to workplace settings; therefore, a major difficulty in the development of the rank and file's motivations to support participation programs is changing

their consciousness from one of "it's not my job to make decisions" to one of "it's my right to get involved."

In unionized firms there may be more evidence of a democratic consciousness in the rank and file than in non-unionized firms because of the rank and file's experience with their elected official bargaining with management on their behalf. Although having this representation may result in minimal or no motivation to extend democratic principles to other aspects of the workplace, especially since unions are not always democratically run. According to the base-superstructure theory, unions are part of the superstructure and, thus, are influenced by the base in similar ways as other institutions of the superstructure. and

b) In those firms that have established a basis for mutual trust between management and union and workers and have a well-run employee involvement programs, those employees who participate should be more motivated toward workplace participation than those employees who do not participate or than those employees in other firms who have no program. It is for this reason that research samples for the study were chosen from two firms--one with an employee involvement program and one without to test this factor.

2. Purpose of production. The theory suggests that the purpose of production significantly affects the nature of the organizational structure, decision making process, and management-labor or management-employee relations. Management makes decisions regarding organizational structure and process, and production technology consistent with the purpose of the organization. As mentioned previously in section two, the purpose of production, i.e., specialty production vs mass production greatly influences how the firm is organized and, therefore, the degree to which employees participate in decisions about the product. Thus, an implication for employee motivation toward workplace participation is that those employees working in specialty production firms are more likely to be motivated for workplace participation than those who work in mass production firms.

3. Ownership relations. The theory suggests that the locus of ownership and/or control of the means of production, i.e., the productive forces greatly influences the other two factors in the social relations of production. Thus, for example, in firms owned by outside stockholders, the primary purpose of production is to increase profits as much as possible and management makes decisions toward that end. Alternatively, an

employee-owned firm may choose to balance two purposes for production, i.e., to produce for profit and to have a satisfying work experience. An implication of this factor in the development of employees' motivations for workplace participation is: Ownership relations affect the degree to which a firm makes decisions solely on the basis of the economic interests of stockholders or, conversely, on the basis of the interests of workers as workers, such as supporting worker autonomy and technologies which make the workplace more satisfactory and which will increase workers' democratic experiences and those which will fulfill their human or developmental potential.

Potential motivating factors in the superstructure

For the purposes of this study, only the primary institutions of society, i.e., family, education, religion, media, and government and their respective structures and processes are discussed below. The theory suggests that all institutions within the superstructure exist in a similar relationship to and reflective of the base and in a similar relationship to and mutually reinforcing of each other.

A general implication of this relationship between the base and the potential motivating factors (i.e., the institutions named above) in the superstructure for the development of employees' motivations for workplace participation is: While these factors may influence, to some extent, the development of employees' motivations for workplace participation, they do not influence them as greatly as employees' actual on-the-job experiences with the factors mentioned previously under the productive forces and the social relations of production. However, how these factors affect employees, separately and in combination, has specific implications for the development of their motivation for workplace participation. These factors and their implications for employees' motivations are listed and discussed below.

The following analysis may seem overly deterministic in broad terms. However, it is consistent with the theoretical premises from which this study is derived. The analysis is intended to explain typical cases and not the exceptional.

1. Family. The theory suggests that family background and occupation (an indicator of social class) reinforce each other to reproduce a consciousness endemic of each social class, regardless of its position in the

economic status hierarchy. Thus, in one of its roles, the family acts as a mechanism for reinforcing the degree of desire and the degree of expectation for choice that parents learned, in their respective job(s), in the workplace. For example, some workers, particularly unskilled and semi-skilled, who work in occupations low in the hierarchy are typically rewarded for behaviors that are "rule-following" and conform to external authority. Whereas, other workers who are skilled, professional, and managerial and who work in occupations higher in the hierarchy are typically rewarded for "self-direction" and are given greater control over their work process, i.e., setting work schedules, choosing what techniques to employ, and taking more autonomy in decision making.(21)

Additionally, the amount of pay the primary "breadwinner(s)" receive sets conditions within which the family functions economically and, to a large degree, socially. This income greatly affects the range of choices available to families and their expectations of choice.(22)

The major implication of this factor for the development of employees' motivations for workplace participation is: For most people who are employees in non-managerial positions, their family upbringing is thought to reinforce a limited desire and expectation for workplace choice.

2. Education/Schooling. The theory suggests that one of the primary functions of schools is the preparation of students for their future roles in the economic production hierarchy. In this capacity, schools, depending on the economic class background of their students, may provide either a limited or an expanded range of choices and opportunities for students which develop or inhibit a concomitant sense of confidence, creativity, and "right to choose." (23)

A major implication of this factor for the development of employees' motivation for workplace participation is: For most employees in non-managerial positions, their schooling is thought to reinforce a limited desire and expectation for choice.

3. Religion. The theory suggests that religious institutions, as part of the superstructure, have authoritarian structures consistent with those at the workplace. Therefore, they reinforce limited choice. However, there is a greater range of choice for members of wealthier religious institutions than for members of poorer ones. For example, wealthier institutions have more money and benefits available for hiring religious leaders (interpreters of religious doctrine), expansion of physical structures, etc. In situations where the religious leaders

are appointed, the wealthier institutions have more leverage to influence the decision makers in favor of their choices.

The major implication of this factor on the development of employees' motivations for workplace participation is: Most employees in non-managerial positions live or lived in communities consistent with their families' income and, thus, went or go to places of worship that reinforce their respective positions in the economic hierarchy and reinforce their experiences of limited choice and respect for authority for its own sake.

4. Political economy. In a democracy, the government serves as a formal mechanism for providing choice and as a mechanism for social reinforcement. Citizens are able to exercise their choice by voting for candidates running for local, state and national offices. However, because of the nature of campaign financing, candidates who usually win, especially for positions at state and national levels, are those who are well financed. And when in office candidates tend to represent the interests of their financial supporters and not the interests of the population at large. As in other institutions, those in power tend to choose to stay in power and use their position of control to maintain control. As in previous explanations, a

group's or person's capacity to influence is positively correlated to its economic position. Those without access to economic power are less likely to have access to political power.(24)

A major implication of this factor for the development of employees' motivations for workplace participation is: Direct experience in a political democracy does not necessarily motivate employees to want democracy in the workplace.

5. Media. The media are, in themselves, business organizations and are organized to achieve their primary purpose, i.e., to make a profit. The theory suggests that the media would, organizationally, tend to reinforce the business norms of hierarchy and, similarly, those in power would want to maintain control. Thus, programmatically, the media would not give equivalent amounts of time to ideas that challenge or are contrary to the current social structure. For example, television writers and producers seldom show series on prime time television with themes promoting a democratically run family, a democratic workplace, democratic schools, etc.

A major implication of this factor for the development of employees' motivations for workplace participation is: Employees exposure to the media would tend to reinforce in

them the existing social ethos which includes notions such as principles of democracy can only be applied to the political sphere of life's experiences and that the "right to choice" is the prerogative of a few.

These potential motivating factors and their implications for the development of employees' motivations for workplace democratization served as a guide in the formulation and selection of questions for: 1) interviews with study participants explained in the next chapter, and 2) presentation and analysis of the study's findings in Chapters IV, V and VI. In addition to instrument design, Chapter III describes the overall research design and implementation phases of this study.

C H A P T E R I I I
THE RESEARCH DESIGN

Introduction

Chapter I provided background information, statement of the problem, and major questions for the study of employees' motivations for workplace participation. Chapter II presented a theoretical framework from which was generated a list of potential motivating factors critical to the conceptualization of the study's overall design, instrument development and presentation and analysis of results. This chapter explains the following specific aspects of the research design and implementation phases of the study: research questions, strategies and data collection methods, rationale for selection of research site and population, instrument development, and data collection procedure.

Section 1: Research Questions,
Strategies and Methods

Research questions

This section lists the study's major and implementing questions and explains the rationale for choosing specific research strategies and methods for answering these

questions. As stated in Chapter I, the major question of the study is: What factors affect workers' motivations for workplace democracy, in what way and to what degree?

Several implementing questions were formulated to answer the major question and to guide this investigation. These are:

Implementing Question 1: According to social change theory, what factors could motivate employees toward workplace democracy?

Implementing Question 2: What effect does experience with an employee participation program have on workers' motivations toward workplace democracy?

Implementing Question 3: What effect do non-work factors, suggested by theory, have on workers' motivations for workplace democracy? (eg. family upbringing, education, religion, political economy, media, and significant other)

Research strategies and methods for Implementing Question 1: According to social change theory, what factors could motivate employees toward workplace democratization?

Workplace democratization programs have been suggested by Lindenfeld, Rothschild-Whitt and others (1) as potential social change strategies. For this reason and to answer

implementing question one, the Base-Superstructure Theory was selected, from among several, according to five major criteria established by the researcher and explained in Chapter II. The theory's major components and their respective elements, discussed below, were reviewed and examples were given to illustrate the theory's capability in analyzing how change occurred at various levels, societal, workplace and individual. Additionally, this review showed that the theoretical components and elements of the base-superstructure theory were, in themselves, potential factors in influencing the formation of employees' motivations for workplace participation.

The theory suggested that those elements in the base that comprise the productive forces (machines and instruments used in the process of production, innovation and people's technical knowledge and skill level) and the social relations of production (organizational technology, ownership relations and purpose of production) were more influential in determining workers' material experience and, hence, their motivations toward workplace democracy than the institutions of social reproduction (family upbringing, education/schooling, religion, government and political economy, media) in the superstructure. Consequently, these factors were chosen as the basis for making further research design decisions regarding

population and site selection, choice of research methodology, development of data collection instrument, and presentation and analysis of results.

Research strategies and methods for Implementing Question 2: What effect does experience with an employee participation program have on workers' motivations toward workplace democratization?

In addition to the predominant role of the base in motivation formation, the theoretical review suggested that working peoples' consciousness was influenced, to a great extent, by their specific experiences with each of the factors located in the base. Hence, waged workers often have different work experiences and, hence, different world views and motivations from managers because of the differences in their jobs, income and positions in the authority structure. Similarly, some waged workers might experience the "base" factors differently from other waged workers depending on their specific occupation and the nature of the social relations of production of the firm for which they work and, therefore, have differing world views and motivations.

As explained in Chapter II, workers who occupied a certain place within the base (economic institutions) tended to occupy similar places within the superstructure.

Consequently, workers who worked in similar occupations and firms experience the institutions of social reproduction in similar ways and in ways different from managers, particularly upper level managers, and workers who worked in occupations much lower than their own in the organization's authority structure.

Because of the strong effect that one's experience of the "base" elements had on the formation of motivation and the "corresponding function" that the institutions of social reproduction served, the researcher chose study participants with similar occupations, the majority of whom were airline mechanics and who worked in two very similar firms located in the same city and same airport. The intent was to eliminate major differences in social class.

This selection also controlled, to the extent possible given that this study had a small sample size, for the influence of the productive forces since most of the study participants were mechanics and for the influence of the overall purpose for production since both firms were set up to meet similar goals. Theoretically, the only major difference between the study participants was the experience of one group of mechanics with an employee' participation program recently introduced in their firm compared to workers in the other firm which had no such

program. Thus, a comparison of the responses gathered from these two groups regarding their motivations for workplace democracy should show a difference attributable to the changes made in the one firm's social relations of production.

To answer Implementing Question 2, the in-depth interview method was chosen for collecting data, primarily for two reasons:

1. Participation in employee involvement programs, in most cases, tended to be voluntary; therefore, the act of participation was a self-conscious choice. In-depth interviews allowed study participants sufficient time to think seriously about their reasons for participating or not participating and to reflect on life experiences that might or might not have been instrumental in influencing their motivations toward participation.

2. The researcher viewed the interview process as interactive and mutually beneficial. The major benefit to the researcher was the collection of data for this study. This provided an opportunity for the researcher to learn more about the airline industry and the people, particularly mechanics, who work for it than was actually necessary for the study. The researcher believed that, by selecting this method, study participants were treated as

subjects of the research experience and could also benefit from the interview process by thinking about their experiences and ideas and, then, to verbalize them to a person not associated with their work. For those not familiar with employee involvement programs, the interview could also serve as an educational medium to become aware of them.

Research strategies and methods for Implementing Question 3: What effect do non-work factors, suggested by theory, have on workers' motivations for workplace democratization?

As mentioned previously, the base-superstructure theory suggests that the institutions of social reproduction, because of the dialectical nature of the change process, had an effect on the base. And, at times, the influence of these institutions could exert a greater influence on the economic institutions than vice versa. Hence, workers' motivations for workplace democracy could be influenced, to a greater or lesser degree, by their experiences with institutions of social reproduction and their inherent values and prevailing social ideologies.

For this reason, both groups of study participants were also interviewed about influential experiences regarding their family upbringing, education/ schooling, religion, political economy, and the media. The study

participants were also given the opportunity to describe at least one other significant experience in their lives. In addition to the reason just given, if the differences and/or similarities in the interview results for Implementing Question 2 could not be explained by the one group's experience with an employee participation program, then, a comparison of their experiences with institutions of social reproduction might provide an explanation.

An in-depth interview method to collect data to answer Implementing Question 3 was chosen for the following reason, in addition to those given for Implementing Question 2. Work and non-work related factors were identified in the theoretical survey as being potentially influential in employees' motivation formation. The comprehensive nature of these factors and their implications for motivation formation suggested a need for a comprehensive examination of each study participant's most influential life experiences, past and present. Thus, within the time constraints and resources available for this study, in-depth interviews would enable the researcher to gather this type of data.

Section 2: Selection of Research Site and Study Participants

Rationale

This study interviewed primarily highly skilled airline mechanics who worked for two large, national, commercial airline firms. Semi-skilled ramp servicemen were also included in the sample for reasons explained below under sample selection procedures. This sample was chosen for this study because for workplace democracy to be an effective transitional strategy to economic democracy, it has to be appealing and adaptable to employees in a variety of enterprises including service, manufacturing, and craft sectors and from small-scale feeder type industries and medium- and large-scale primary industries.

Full workplace democracy was the enterprise design for hundreds of small producer handicraft and service cooperatives (2). Most of the employees who formed these cooperatives were college educated, from upper middle class backgrounds, and were motivated for political reasons to form them (3). But, for workplace democracy to become less marginal, it has to reach into the medium- and large-scale industries and be accepted by workers who are not necessarily politically motivated or college educated. Thus, this study interviewed airline mechanics and ramp

servicemen, most of whom were from working class backgrounds, who worked in a large-scale, corporate firm, who were not college educated, and who worked in skilled and semi-skilled occupations. The major theoretical difference between the participants was that one group directly experienced an employee participation program; the other group had no direct experience.

Description of firm A and firm B

Both airlines had traditional corporate structures, operated primarily within the United States, and serviced planes during the day and night from the same airport in a large city. Both firms' mechanics and ramp servicemen were members of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers. As mentioned previously, the major difference between these two firms was in the social relations of production, i.e., in the organizational technology, specifically in the decision making process, and in the ownership relations.

Firm A's decision making process operated in a fairly traditional manner. The firm did have a suggestion system; however, it currently wasn't being used by any of the study participants because of the firm's ineffectiveness in handling suggestions and the study participants' "lack of trust" in it. (4) The mechanism most commonly used for

effecting the outcome of a work process decision was the informal interaction between the supervisor and the mechanic or ramp serviceman (5). Firm A, at the time of the study, did have a voluntary stock option plan. Periodically, the firm's stocks would be offered to the firm's employees at a rate lower than market value. For those employees who wanted to buy stock, they could have the amount deducted from their paycheck.

Firm B had a similar history as Firm A. There was a suggestion system at one time; however it was not in use at the time of this study. Before the introduction of the employee participation program, the study participants affected the outcome of a work process decision in the same way as those in Firm A, through informal interactions with their lead and/or supervisor. (6)

At the time of the study, Firm B had introduced an employee participation program and an employee stock ownership plan. These programs started in January, 1984. Firm B's employee participation program included two major aspects: 1) a QWL program that modified the organizational decision making structure to enable employees and union representatives to participate in decisions at various levels of the organization, from shopfloor to board room (7), and 2) a compulsory stock ownership plan in which the machinists (other employees had different arrangements)

took an 18% wage cut and received a proportional share of common and preferred stock based on their individual investments.(8) According to the original contract between the firm and the union, this stock was to be held in trust until 1986 during which time the machinists would take possession of it. The employee participation program was introduced at a time when the firm was having financial problems and was part of a strategy to increase the firm's productivity.(9)

Sample selection methods and procedures

Initial contacts were made informally with a manager from Firm B who explained the procedure for getting managerial approval to do the study. The procedure was lengthy and involved. In order to do the study, approval had to be given from top level managers at the national office, from middle level managers at the regional offices and then from managers at the local office. Because there were no guarantees that approval would be given, the researcher contacted labor representatives for assistance.

The labor representative from Firm A offered immediate assistance and approval was obtained within days of initial contact. However, it was union policy not to give out the names of union members and the labor representative felt that the researcher would get a higher rate of acceptance

if he contacted the members personally (10). Thus, the researcher and the labor representative agreed on the following selection procedure.

1. The researcher gave him these criteria for selecting study participants for interview 1: a) the person was willing to participate and was willing to give at least two and one-half hours for interviews; b) the total sample represented a range of mechanics who held positive and negative feelings toward the firm and/or their work; and c) the total sample represented mechanics with varying ages and who worked on different shifts.

2. The union representative gave a list of twelve prospective study participants to the researcher. These mechanics were contacted; however, several declined to participate. More names were added to the list. Ten workers agreed to participate in the study. Of these ten, eight were mechanics, one was a utility man in the wheel sharpener hangar, and one oversaw the order and repair of parts. Their ages ranged from early thirties to late fifties and they represented all three shifts--days, middle and nights.

Nine of the ten study participants were interviewed for the first interview. One of the mechanics did not arrive for his scheduled interview. When given a reminder

call, he said he decided not to participate because the interviewer had just interviewed "a trouble maker" prior to his scheduled appointment.

The taped interviews of the study participants' first round of interviews were analyzed according to these criteria: a) the study participant's willingness to participate in a second interview; b) the study participant's ability to verbalize his experiences, thoughts and feelings about various aspects of his job, employee participation in decision making and ownership; and c) the degree to which the study participant supported or did not support employees participation in decision making and ownership.

All participants were willing to participate in the next round of interviews. Therefore, each transcribed interview was assessed and rated according to criteria two and three above. For criteria two, each participant was ranked from one to five with one representing a low capability to verbalize responses to the questions and five representing a very high capability to verbalize responses. For criteria three, each study participant's responses were assessed for the degree (minimal, moderate, great) to which he supported employee participation in decisions and ownership. Three participants who held views

at the most extreme negative end and three who held views at the most positive end of the continuum and who were the most capable in verbalizing their responses were chosen for the next interview.

For the most part, the same selection procedure was followed and the same criteria were used in identifying and selecting study participants from Firm B for the first and second interviews with one exception. Firm B had an employee participation program. Study participants were asked their views about that particular program and, then, their transcribed responses were assessed using the same criteria mentioned previously for Firm A.

A list of twelve mechanics' names were given to the researcher from a labor representative of Firm B. The prospective study participants were contacted. Nine mechanics agreed to participate. These interviews occurred during the summer; many of the mechanics vacation schedules conflicted with the researcher's interview schedule. Another labor representative gave the researcher names of willing participants who worked in the rampart services division. The researcher contacted several names and selected one rampart serviceman to participate in the study. Thus, there was a total of ten study participants from Firm B representing an age range from early thirties

to late fifties and representing all shifts--days, middle and nights.

These study participants were interviewed. Their transcribed interviews were assessed according to the same criteria and method as used for Firm A's assessment. Six study participants were chosen to participate in the second interview. The same six study participants completed the second round of interviews.

The specific interview instrument developed for collecting data is explained below. The methods for analyzing these transcribed results which are explained in Section 5: Data Analysis. The transcribed results of these interviews are presented in subsequent chapters.

Section 3: Instrument Design and Data Collection

Introduction

As mentioned previously in-depth interview was the qualitative method selected for data collection to answer Implementing Questions 2 and 3. To answer these questions, an interview instrument was designed using most of the potential motivating factors identified in Chapter II as a basis for formulating questions for both interviews. The instrument, an interview guide, combined open-ended and

close-ended questions and standard and non-standard questions.

This approach was chosen for several reasons:

1) This approach was most appropriate for the type of data desired, i.e., workers' reflective thoughts and feelings on past and present work and non-work related experiences, the researcher wanted to collect relatively detailed data to answer the study's questions.

2) A combined approach would allow the researcher to be more responsive to the study participants' style, expression, and circumstances. Open-ended questions would provide an opportunity for those study participants who wanted to express themselves freely and at length the opportunity to do so without the researcher imposing a great deal of structure. Open-ended questions were also more conducive to a conversational style which the researcher thought was the most appropriate one for helping study participants to feel at ease with the researcher.

(11)

Close-ended questions enabled the researcher to gather data more quickly and more concisely within the time limitations of the interviews and provided ease in comparing the data. Standard questions, i.e., ones that all participants respond to, allowed for comparison of

study participants' responses to specific questions. (12) Non-standard questions allowed the researcher to ask follow-up questions that would help the study participant to elaborate upon his response.

3) It was consistent with an accepted qualitative approach to interview instrument design (13).

Instrument design

The first interview guide was designed for a thirty minute interview and to serve two purposes: 1) to gather information on the study participants' experiences and views specifically on two of the potential motivating factors in the social relations of production, i.e., decision making structure and ownership relations and 2) to assess this information for selecting participants for the follow-up interview. Consequently, questions were formulated that asked study participants to respond to these topic areas:

1. Decision making structure: mechanisms for suggesting change, their experience with making suggestions, their opinions about the suggestion system (Firm B study participants also gave their opinions about the employee involvement program.), their desire for increased "say" and management accountability.

2. Ownership relations: description and opinion of current employee stock ownership plan, relationship between ownership of stock and employees' "say" in decisions, opinions about employee ownership in general, and opinions about employee ownership at their firm.

Study participants were also asked initial questions about their jobs and how they felt about it. These questions were intended as an "ice breaker." (For the specific questions, see appendix 1.)

The second interview guide was designed for an interview of approximately two hours and would serve two purposes: 1) to give the study participants an opportunity to clarify and elaborate upon responses given in the first interview about the firm's decision making structure and ownership relations, and 2) to answer questions that specifically addressed potential motivating factors in the superstructure, i.e., family upbringing, education, religion, political economy, the media, and any significant other experience.

For each factor, study participants were asked to respond initially to the same general question: In what way do you think your family upbringing influenced your views on wanting (or not wanting) increased say in decisions at work? After the study participant responded

to each factor, the researcher posed the same question, but related it to employee ownership: In what way do you think your family upbringing influenced your views on wanting (or not wanting) majority ownership of your firm? Follow-up questions were asked depending upon the study respondent's ease or difficulty in responding. (See appendix 2 for specific questions.)

This interview instrument was revised after it was reviewed by experts in the field of workplace democratization (14) and pilot tested with a retired tool and die maker (15). The first draft of the instrument contained questions and phrases that the interviewee was not familiar with or had difficulty in answering. On the basis of an analysis of this interview's results, certain questions were revised.

Section 4: Data Collection

Subject contact and communications

The researcher had six contacts with those participants who participated in both interviews and four contacts with those who participated in only the first interview. The content of those contacts are described in sequential order below.

1. As mentioned previously, study participants for both firms were initially contacted by the labor representative who asked their permission to submit their names for the study. The Firm A labor representative was contacted first in February, 1984. The Firm B labor representative was contacted in June, 1984. The researcher contacted the potential study participants by phone during the same month the labor representatives were respectively contacted. During this phone contact with prospective study participants, the researcher gave some of her own background, explained the project, and participants' rights. If the person agreed to participate, the researcher and the study participant decided on a convenient time and meeting place. Study participants were given a reminder call one or two days before the interview.

2. The participants met the researcher for the first interview during which time the researcher reviewed again the purpose of the project and their rights as study participants. All participants reaffirmed their desire to participate in the study before the researcher implemented Interview Guide 1. The first interviews with Firm A participants were completed by April, 1984 and those for Firm B participants were completed by September, 1984.

3. The researcher, following an analysis of the study participants' transcribed interviews, contacted the workers selected for the second interview based on their ability to verbalize their opinions and on their degree of support or lack of support for employee participation in decisions and ownership and set up a meeting time. They were all given reminder calls just prior to the interview date.

4. The researcher met the study participants from Firm A and B for the second interview during the months of September and October, 1984. However, one participant had to be re-interviewed due to taping complications. This follow up interview occurred in early December, 1984.

Before the second interview started, study participants reviewed typed copies of their transcribed interviews to refresh their memories of the first interview and to make revisions on what they said. The first part of this interview asked the participants to clarify their positions on what they said they were in the first interview. The second part asked questions on the degree to which selected institutions of social reproduction influenced their views on and/or their motivations to participate or not to participate in employee involvement programs and participative ownership programs.

5. All study participants who participated in the first and second interviews received copies of their transcribed interviews in the mail and were asked to edit their own transcripts.

6. Each study participant, with the exception of four, were contacted by phone (during April and May, 1985) and asked for their suggested revisions, if any. Two study participants from Firm A were not personally contacted. One study participant left a message with his wife to say most of what was written was correct and to "go ahead and use it." The other Firm A participant was asked to mail his suggestions back to the researcher because he was transferred, after the second interview was completed, to a different state and the researcher had no home address or phone for him. Two study participants from Firm B could not be reached; one phone number was changed and the other was on leave.

The feedback mostly consisted of minor grammatical changes because the transcriptions were verbatim from the interview. However, some study participants offered additional opinions about their employee participation program. Comments were given mostly by Firm B participants because the nature of the employee participation contractual agreement between management and the union had begun to change since the end of the interviews. (16)

Subject rights

All study participants participated in the study voluntarily. All study participants were adults. They all were informed that the information collected would be strictly confidential and anonymous by using different names for their firms and for them. They also were given final right of refusal over the information used for the study. Only one participant expressed a desire to withhold certain portions of his responses. The researcher accomodated his request. His request did not include alterations of his viewpoints on employee participation programs.

Use of audio tapes and transcriptions

The researcher explained the necessity for and the uses of the tape recorded interviews at the onset of the first interview. Study participants were given the option to refuse being taped; however, none refused.

Each session was taped with a small tape recorder and microphone and, then, transcribed. These transcriptions were given to the study participants for their perusal. This process was critical in helping the participants to recollect what they said in prior interviews. Other researchers have documented the "forgetting" aspect in regard to the use of a repeated interview format. (17)

Interview site, setting and time.

Interview sites and times were decided based upon the convenience of the study participants. Most of the interviews took place at the airport in coffee shops. One interview was conducted in the first class passenger lounge, two at participants' homes, one in a car while eating lunch, and one in a lounge at a mall half way between a participant's home and the researcher's home.

The time of the interviews for Firm A participants occurred primarily just before the study participant's shift began or just after it ended. One Firm A participant chose to meet during an off day. Most of Firm B participants met at similar times as Firm B participants; however, one met during lunch break and two met during other work breaks.

The setting for the interviews was relaxed, comfortable and informal. At times, the noise in the coffee shop made it difficult for transcription. However, because it's convenience for both study participants and the researcher, the researcher decided to continue to use it as a meeting place.

Section 5: Presentation and Analysis of Results

The presentation and analysis of the results for answering Implementing Questions 2 and 3 follow similar formats and use similar approaches for presentation and analysis. This format and approach are consistent with those recommended for qualitative research (15). The primary source of data is the transcribed interviews.

For Implementing Question 2, ("What effect does experience with an employee participation program have on workers' motivations toward workplace democracy?") data are abstracted from the original transcripts and presented in Chapter IV and V according to the major topic areas under each of the potential motivating factors relevant to answering this question. In Chapter IV on ownership relations, these factors are 1) direct experiences with worksite stock ownership plan, 2) views toward owning the firms, 3) views toward other workers' owning their own firms, and 4) views on workers' job performances in majority owned firms. In Chapter V on decision making structure (one factor within organizational technology), these topic areas are: 1) experience with and views on participation decisions at work stations or at the work process level and 2) experience with and views on participation in firm level decisions.

For each of these topic areas, data from Firm A is presented followed by data from Firm B. Within each of the firm's responses, data is presented according to the particular view of the study participant, i.e., favorable, not favorable, or mixed toward each of the topic areas outlined above. For each of these respective positions, major themes, issues, strengths and/or weaknesses noted, and concerns of those interviewed are identified by sub-group (eg. favorable, unfavorable, mixed). Then, the sub-groups were compared and contrasted within Firm A. These results are, then, compared and contrasted to Firm B's results.

For Implementing Question 3, ("What effects do the other factors, suggested by theory, have on workers' motivations for workplace democracy?") data are abstracted from the original transcripts and presented in Chapter V according to the potential motivating factors in the superstructure, i.e., family upbringing, education, religion, political economy, media, and significant other experience to answer this question. The data for this question was grouped by the particular worker's attitude (i.e., favorable or unfavorable) toward workplace democratization and not by firm. The data for Group 1 (those who tended to be more favorable toward workplace democratization) are presented first followed by Group 2

(those who tended to be less favorable toward democratization). Major themes, issues, strengths and/or weaknesses noted, and concerns of those interviewed are analyzed by group and compared to theory and, then, compared and contrasted with each other. Charts that summarize participants' responses are listed in appendices 3 - 26.

Section 6: Summary and Concluding Remarks

This chapter has reviewed the research design and implementation phases of the study. This study was designed to address the major question, "What factors affect workers' motivations for workplace democracy, in what way and to what degree?" Implementing questions were formulated to guide the study toward the answering of this question. For each implementing question, respective strategies and data collection methods for answering the question were implemented.

Two distinct, but complimentary methods were used to collect data to answer the implementing questions, a theoretical review and in-depth interviews. To answer Implementing Question 1 ("According to social change theory, what factors could motivate workers toward

workplace democratization?"), the Base-Superstructure Social Change Theory was reviewed to identify potential factors that could motivate workers toward workplace democracy. These factors generated by the theory were used as a basis for further design decisions.

To answer Implementing Question 2, ("What effect does experience with an employee participation program have on workers' motivations toward workplace democracy?") and Implementing Question 3, ("What effect do other factors, suggested by theory, have on workers' motivations toward workplace democracy?") workers were asked to share their thoughts, experiences with, and views on various topic areas related to the following specific potential motivating factors: decision making structure, ownership relations, family upbringing, education, religion, political economy, media, and significant other experience.

These factors were selected among the list identified in Chapter II as being the most relevant for answering the implementing questions. By selecting participants from the same occupation who worked in very similar firms, with the only major exception that one firm had an extensive employee participation program and the other one did not, the remaining factors of the productive forces and social relations of production were, to the extent possible in a

qualitative study with a small sample size, controlled. Therefore, workers' views toward decision making structure and ownership relations could be compared for differences and/or similarities to determine what effect, if any, participation in an employee participation program had on workers' motivations toward workplace democracy.

Through this selection process, workers' experiences with the institutions of social reproduction were also "controlled," since the SES for both groups was relatively equal. Thus, the research design for Implementing Question 3 addressed the issue of how workers from the firm without an employee participation program might be favorably motivated toward workplace democracy in spite of a lack of direct experience with it. An explanation for this possibility might be found in the workers' experiences with the institutions of social reproduction.

In addition to the overall design of the study, this chapter explained how the data collection instruments (the interview guides) were developed and implemented, the general data collection procedures, and general approach to presenting and analyzing the data. The next three chapters present and analyze the data for answering Implementing Questions 2 and 3.

C H A P T E R I V
PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF STUDY PARTICIPANTS
REPORTED EXPERIENCES AND VIEWS ON EMPLOYEE OWNERSHIP

Introduction

The data collected to answer Implementing Question 2 ("What effect does experience with an employee participation program have on workers' motivations toward workplace democracy?") is presented and analyzed in two chapters because of the amount of interview data included in the presentation of results. This chapter presents and analyzes data collected on one of the selected motivating factors of the social relations of production: ownership relations. In Chapter V the second factor - decision making structure is presented and analyzed. In Chapter VI data for answering Implementing Question 3 is presented and analyzed according to the potential motivating factors of the superstructure.

To ascertain what might motivate mechanics to support or not support the notion of employee ownership, they were asked questions about 1) their direct experiences with worksite ownership, 2) their views on owning their own firms, 3) their views on employees in other firms owning their own firm, and 4) their views on what effect, if any, ownership of their firm would have on either their

individual job performance or the job performance of employees in general. The data is organized in four sections according to these general topic headings with Firm A (the "non participation firm") data presented and analyzed first and Firm B (the "participation firm") data second within each section.

The mechanics responses are initially compared to what theory suggests the effects of this factor might be regarding employees' motivation toward workplace democracy and then examined for common themes and concerns so that appropriate inferences about the effect of experience with employee participation programs could be determined. At the end of the chapter in Section 5, the results from Firm A and Firm B are compared using a similar approach. In Section 6 the results are summarized.

As described in Chapter III, an in-depth interview format was selected and developed to gather information on the above question areas. (See Appendices I and II for the interview guides.) This method was selected, primarily, to give the interviewees ample opportunity to explain their own reasons why they supported or did not support specific aspects of certain employee involvement programs and/or ideas. This approach allowed the researcher, in most instances, to ask follow-up questions that were responsive

to each situation. This helped interviewees elaborate their responses.

Of the two airlines used, nine mechanics participating in the short interviews were from Firm A and ten were from Firm B. Data are divided by firm, with an effort to separate responses according to positive, negative, and/or mixed perceptions or feelings toward ownership participation and majority ownership and participation in decisions at the work process level and firm level.

Background theory

Craft or skilled workers tended to control over their means of production with the introduction of the factory system. Thus, rose the notion of an increasingly alienated work force. The theory suggests that, if given back that control, (eg. through ownership) non-management employees would want to participate in various types of ownership plans offered by the firm and would want to increase that ownership to majority ownership for themselves and others providing their experience with such ownership was authentic and was perceived as democratic.

Furthermore, the theory suggested that workers' experiences in the workplace would have greater influence on their motivation for ownership and control than those experiences outside of work. For these reasons, the study

participants' overall responses to the questions regarding either their direct and/or indirect experiences with ownership (and including their views on others' ownership experience) were analyzed according to: 1) the degree to which their experience with ownership was perceived by them as authentic and 2) the degree to which their experience was described as a democratic or shared experience.

Section 1: Workers' Experiences With
Workplace Ownership

Firm A - presentation of data (See Appendix III for a summary of responses. Firm A does not have an extensive ownership and participation program.)

The majority (N=6 - AA, AB, AH, AC, AD, AE) of mechanics view the stock ownership plan positively. However, of these six, there were only four (AH, AC, AD, AD) who, at one time, participated in their firm's plan. Three of them (AH, AC, AE) viewed the plan positively and wanted to continue to participate in the purchase of stock as long as the price did not increase too high. For example, because of the price, only mechanic AE, who was married to a working spouse and had no children, felt he could take advantage of the plan the last time it was

offered. Mechanic AD did not give a reason for not currently participating in the plan, although he did at one time. Mechanics AA and AB did not purchase stock, but only because of family financial demands.

One mechanic (AG) held a neutral position toward the plan. He was not interested in it because he had a personal interest and investment in his own business. Whereas, mechanic AF, who also did not view the plan negatively, was not interested in stock investment in general.

Only Mechanic AI held a negative view toward the firm's stock ownership plan, primarily, because of his mistrust of management's integrity. He did not currently participate in the plan although he did at one time. He elaborated upon his reasons: "I have sold my stocks, but this stock option plan in the company to me really isn't worthwhile. My opinion is when it is right in the market you buy. You go with the broker fees; that's part of it. It comes with the territory. I still think the company can fluctuate the price in and around the time you receive it so you lose."

Analysis

These interviews reinforced that aspect of the theory which suggests that employees who experience "ownership"

would likely be motivated toward it. This relationship was demonstrated clearly by those mechanics who actually participated in the plan and who wanted to continue their participation and by mechanic AG who did not own stock in his firm, but owned his own business. However, mechanic AI had experience with the plan and viewed it negatively. His lack of motivation to participate in the firm's plan may result from his negative view of the firm's management; however, he viewed stock ownership, in general, positively. Thus, AI may have had other experiences or information that formed his positive view of stock ownership.

Conversely, according to theory, those who do not experience "ownership" would be unfavorably motivated toward "ownership." Mechanic AF's position is consistent with this aspect of the theory. He had no apparent experience with any type of ownership and did not want it. But AA and AB, who had no direct experience with purchasing the firm's stock, still viewed the plan positively. Again, they may have had positive information about the plan and/or positive experiences with some form of ownership in other settings.

The major factor inhibiting the majority of mechanics from either participating or further participating in their

firm's stock program was the increasing cost of stock. Thus, their motives for participation were primarily economic. There was no mention of reasons that suggested an interest in shared ownership. Other factors were mistrust of management, investment in personal business, and negative attitude toward stock investment in general. The major motivating factor seemed to be a trust in the strength of the firm's stock.

Firm B - presentation of data (See appendix 4 for summary of responses.)

The majority (N=6 - BA, BC, BG, BD, BE, BB) of mechanics in Firm B were not supportive of their firm's mandatory participation plan in which 18% of their pay was deducted each pay period. The reasons for their (BC, BE, BB, BD) negative view focused, primarily, on the "worthlessness" of the stock and thus the 18% deduction was viewed as a "paycut." Other reasons for their negative view included: the stock was not voting stock (BG), lack of interest in stock investments because "it's almost like gambling," (BC) and lack of control over "ownership" of the stock, "...if I can't do something with that \$4,000., it doesn't mean a thing, ... and they (management) tell me I own part of the company, but I don't have anything to say about it. I would be stupid if I thought I really owned

it. We are giving this money to help them out. I hope come January 1st when we go for a new contract that they don't turn their cheek again because if they do they've lost me." (BB)

The two most negative views were given by mechanic BG and BD:

BG: I have stock certificates but I don't own any part of that company...I'm not going to vote that stock. It's not geared to make money...it's a banking concern.

BD: I was very upset. Tell you the honest to God's truth, I'm still upset about it. ...cripe's there have been so many damn programs in this deal... cheap stock, that's what your buying.

One of the mechanics was somewhat supportive of the program. BJ responded:

Now we are getting more stock which doesn't really interest me one way or another. ...we are giving back 18% and they are giving us stock. I think it is a good idea really. I think People's does that. ...it gives you a feeling that you are part of it.

Three mechanics' (BH, BI, BF) held mixed views. They gave some support to the program because it's "better than nothing" (BH), "it's my job security for another year" (BI) and it's "positive we're trying different things." (BF)

Analysis

The theory suggested that for employees to be favorably motivated toward workplace democracy they should have a positive experience with employee stock ownership plans and should perceive that ownership process as leading toward group ownership and control. Although some of the workers gave reluctant support to their ownership plan, most of the workers' experiences with it was negative, in part because their ownership did not lead to greater personal control.

However, in this case several intervening factors that are not usually associated with the term "ownership" contributed to most of the mechanics' very negative view of their firm's plan. Firm B's plan was mandatory; the ownership of stock resulted in a reduction in pay and not income in addition to pay; there was no control associated with ownership that would allow "owners" to sell or to vote their stock; Firm B was in considerable financial trouble.

Other mechanics, who accepted the plan reluctantly, did so based on the firm's financial report and not on their experience of "ownership." The only mechanic, who supported the plan, did so because his knowledge of another airline that had substantial employee ownership was positive and that "experience" with ownership made him feel

more a part of his own firm.

Section 2: Mechanics' Views Toward Owning Their Firms

Firm A - presentation of data (See appendix 5 for summary of responses.)

The majority (N=6 - AE, AG, AF, AA, AB, AH) of mechanics did not want to own their firm for the following reasons:

AE, who owned stock and felt favorable toward the firm's plan, responded: I don't think it would be very good. The company should be run a little more to the benefit of the customer than to the benefit of the employee. Otherwise, you'll never make it. I think if you got the employee too involved in actually running the company, I just don't think a company could survive that. Sometimes, you have to make a decision that makes the passenger happy--not the employee. Say we were losing money for 5 years. Would the employees make the decision not to give themselves a raise for the next 2 years? This is a decision that would have to be made, but I don't know if the employees would do it if they owned the company. So there are some situations where somebody outside or somebody else has to make a decision against the employees

and I don't know if they would do that. It would be pretty tough for them to have all the say.

Airlines are a completely different business from those that produce products. You can't, no matter how hard you work, in certain situations, you cannot increase the company's productivity. Passengers just don't buy tickets, then, the company is not going to make money. Economy slows down, people stop traveling and it is just going to get hurt. The airline industry is a risk stock. I don't see a great advantage of employees owning it. Not as much as in other industries.

AH, who purchased stock at one time and would continue to do so if the price of stock went down, elaborated his response: I personally don't care for it...It seems to be the coming thing or a present thing in labor relations. I understand from reading some of the weeklies, like Business Week and Time, a lumber company that the employees bought in the Northwest had done well. That, plus a copper company somewhere and a steel place are the three instances that I can recall. Others, I don't think have done so well. The employees couldn't manage them as managers or owners when they were given the opportunity to take the business over. In the airlines it seems to be the coming thing.

I feel that the thing (employee ownership) is only to get rid of the unions. Because if you are in the union, you can negotiate for wages and benefits. If you become the owner, you can't negotiate with yourself. You'd be inclined to work for less because you'd be picking your own pocket otherwise. I'm a poor manager, so I don't know how to manage. In an employee owned firm, the guy with the biggest mouth probably runs the company, not necessarily the most capable. He's (i.e., 'the guy with the biggest mouth') probably the worst and he's going to dominate it. And you don't have any recourse, because you can't go on strike against yourself.

AF, who did not own any stock, responded: If the workers think they should (own the firm), let them go out and start their own company. This is America. If they're not happy and want to start their own airlines, let them go do it. If they think they're so great and can do a better job.

AG, who did not own stock, but owned his own business, responded: "I don't think we need it. This airlines is making money. There's decent relations for employees and management."

AA, who did not own stock, but who expressed an interest in purchasing stock, responded: "...the workers

are getting a complete pay; there isn't any need for the company to distribute any of the stocks."

AB, who did not own stock, but who expressed an interest in purchasing stock, responded: I don't know if that is totally or really good for the good of the airline as a whole because there are selfish interests. If we (maintenance) had controlling interest, we would be banging on the table saying, "Oh, no you're not going to do it (relocate)." We'd be interpreting it our way.

The minority (N=2 - AC, AI,) of mechanics who viewed ownership of their firm positively gave the following reasons:

AC, who had participated in the stock plan at one time and who wanted to continue buying stock, if it didn't go too high, responded: "I would say the majority of them (i.e., employees) would make fairly good decisions as good as upper management."

AI, who did not own stock, but who viewed stock ownership, in general, favorably, responded: "It is good morale for the employees." He further explained how ownership of the firm could occur: Stock ownership in a company for each department or each section having the same amount of say is a good way of doing it. ...your ideas are presented to the Board of Directors, but still that Board

of Directors still has control of the company. ...I would say instead of raises turn it around and put a percentage and let the company give you stock. ...these fantastic bonuses for upper management...split that money up and give each employee so many shares of stock. Let them do what they want with it.

Mechanic AD, who had participated in the stock plan at one time, held a mixed view: If it's in lieu of cash wage and it's the only alternative, I think it's alright. In fact if it's a good stock plan, then it might be a good idea. I think you have to make the employees realize it's the best alternative before they'll go for it. We're used to getting a good paycheck every week. You can't spend stocks in the supermarket. We're used to strictly cash flow, but it could be helpful for an airline that's tottering on the brink. If everybody has a piece of the rock, they don't want to see it sink.

Analysis

The theory suggested that those employees who have had a positive experience with owning stocks or had some ownership participation in their firms and who viewed this ownership as democratic would be more likely to want majority ownership of their firms. As stated in Chapter I, majority ownership is defined as employees owning

controlling shares or 51% of the voting stock in their firms. Whereas, ownership participation is defined as purchasing stock as part of a stock ownership plan, but not with the intent to control.

Most of the mechanics' responses tended to reinforce some some aspect of the theory. Those mechanics who did not directly experience their firm's ownership participation plan, even though some of them may have viewed the plan positively, did not desire greater ownership. Their general view, including AD, who supported majority ownership only as an alternative, was that ownership of their firm was not necessary because their firm was in good financial standing and they were making a good wage. Thus, their rationale implied an understanding of a democratic form of ownership as only necessary when the firm was not in good financial standing or when they were not making a good wage.

Mechanics AE's and AH's position were also consistent with theory even though they both owned stock and viewed it positively. They did not support majority ownership primarily because of their distrust of the democratic ownership process for various reasons: 1) lack of understanding of how a democratically owned firm was managed, 2) perceived tension in potential role conflicts

between workers working for wages and workers "taking" from themselves as owners and between workers as union members and workers as owners, 3) distrust in employees' capabilities in making "tough" management decisions that could conflict with their own interests, and 4) employees' inability to control the external effects of economic swings.

AC's favorable position with majority ownership was also consistent with theory. He had a direct, positive experience with Firm A's stock plan and viewed majority ownership in a somewhat democratic manner, i.e., employees would participate in decisions.

Mechanic AI was the only one whose response seemed to contradict theory. He had a direct, but negative experience with the firm's stock plan, yet, viewed the ownership process democratically. His responses, thus far, did not follow the theoretical pattern.

Firm B - presentation of data (Firm B had an extensive ownership and participation program. See appendix 6 for summary of responses.)

The mechanics were almost split on this issue. Five (BG, BE, BA, BF, BJ) definitely did not want ownership and four mechanics (BH, BB, BI, BD) definitely wanted to own their firm, and one (BC) held a mixed view.

BJ, who was the only mechanic supportive of the ownership participation program, responded: (I feel) positive toward the 18% plan, but not controlling interest. I don't know if employees are smart enough to run it the way it should be. The iron workers bought a company. It was either that or go out of business. If it comes to that, yes, it's a good idea. I am not happy especially with ZZ (the President). I think they (management) have made mistakes as much as we have made mistakes. One of the mistakes was letting the union become so powerful. The other mistakes--they didn't need all this new equipment.

The strongest favorable response by BH is given first; the others' responses follow.

BH, who reluctantly supported the ownership participation program, responded: I want ownership or more ownership (because) this is my livelihood... Now people are making an honest effort to see the company survive. That came about, I think, because everybody (is) a part owner in the company, however, small... Each guy has to make it work or it won't work.

BB, who held a very negative view of the ownership participation program, responded: If you did have a feeling of ownership of the company, I think the whole concept of our work would be much different. If we could

have a say in places that spend an awful lot of money on advertising and major modifications that don't seem to make any sense, (then) I would be all in favor of it.

BD, who also held a very negative view of the ownership participation program, responded: It's a good idea. It's going back to the loyalty bit... Well, an increase in pay is basically what it amounts to.

BI, who supported the ownership participation program only because it gave him job security for another year, responded: I think if the employees had controlling interest of 51% there would be a lot of changes. ...top management would really be cleaned out. ...these are the people that got us into the position that we are in right now and they are still there.

One mechanic held a mixed view and gave the following explanation:

BC, who felt negatively toward the ownership participation program, responded: There are an awful lot of successful companies without employees owning it. I think it would be more important for a smaller company than a larger one. I feel that way because our home base is in Miami... It is such a big company, 7000. If the company works fine with us owning all the stock, that's OK too. I just don't think owning stock in the company makes that much difference to me.

Analysis

The theory suggested that employees who had an ownership participation experience that was perceived as authentic "group" ownership would desire such ownership of their firm. All of Firm B participants had a significant and direct experience with ownership of their firm's stock because the plan was mandatory. For this reason, their stock could be and was held collectively in trust by the union for a designated period of time. This aspect of the ownership experience was in one way democratic because it was group ownership of stock. There were varying degrees of negativity and reluctant acceptance of this ownership plan, and no one in Firm B had a totally positive experience with the firm's stock plan. Thus, those mechanics who did not want majority ownership were consistent with theoretical predictions. Those who wanted majority ownership were not consistent with theoretical predictions, because while their participation program was not authentic, they still favored majority ownership.

The majority of mechanics did not want majority ownership. Some of their positions indicated a negative, hesitant or confused view of how democratic principles could be applied to the ownership process. Some responses indicated an objectified view of fellow workers' capability

of ownership. Yet, some responses also indicated some of the real difficulties in managing and conceptualizing employee-owned firms. There were no general patterns in their responses. However, they did suggest possible barriers to supporting majority ownership such as: 1) a desire for personal control over one's own investments (majority ownership could imply loss of personal control to invest wages outside the firm); 2) a fear of the loss of an adversarial relationship to management (majority ownership could imply a change in employees perspective so that they no longer raise issues of importance to them because they are owners); 3) confusion about how profits are shared (there is no standard or common understanding of what is meant by profit sharing); 4) employees' beliefs that they are not intellectually capable of managing their company (this could imply a lack of knowledge about how employee owned firms are managed and the role of non-management and management); 5) ownership implies extra responsibility and stress (this could imply confusion about role definitions in an employee-owned company); and 6) difficulty in conceptualizing how majority ownership concept could be applied to a large corporation with thousands of employees in different locations (ownership is not commonly thought about in this way).

There were four mechanics who were supportive of majority ownership. This appeared to contradict the general theory. These mechanics differed from the non-supporting mechanics in one significant way--they tended to describe their desire for majority ownership in group or democratic terms. There were two major themes in their responses: 1) Owners work harder and have greater loyalty to their company; and 2) With ownership comes increased control or greater participation in decisions at the firm level.

Reasons for these motivational differences among Firm B workers were not apparent at this stage in the study. Thus far, there were no indications that one group had significantly different work experiences than the other.

Section 3: Mechanics' Views Toward Other Workers Owning Their Firms

Firm A - presentation of data (Firm A had a low degree of ownership participation and employee involvement. See appendix 7 for summary of responses.)

Five mechanics (AI, AH, AB, AF, AG) were definitely against majority ownership for employees in other firms. Two mechanics, AE and AC, were positively motivated, under certain circumstances, toward workers in other firms owning

controlling shares in their own companies. Mechanics AD and AA gave a mixed response.

The mechanics not in support of other workers owning their own companies gave the following responses:

AI, who had sold his stock, viewed his firm's stock plan negatively, and expressed a desire for ownership participation but not majority ownership of his firm, responded: I'm interested in everybody having shares in the company but it wouldn't work as employee owned. You can never get that much control of the company back with that many stock holders, unless, in doing this, one group would have such an enormous percentage--not in business.

AH, who owned stock and wanted to buy more stock, did not support majority ownership of his firm. He responded: It's only to get rid of the unions. You can't negotiate with yourself; you can't strike against yourself. So, the guy with the biggest mouth is going to be running it. People (as owners) wouldn't be willing to extend beyond their eight hour day. Where do you draw the line with the employees (who is management, who are the employees)?

AF, who did not own stock, did not want majority ownership of his firm. He responded: I've seen a good example of that across the street. They're not too happy and they have a profit sharing program. They haven't seen any financial gain out of it. It's just costing them

money. I don't honestly feel they have any voice in making decisions. Employees aren't in a position to judge or make decisions. It don't mean nothing to me personally.

AG owned his own business. He did not own stock in his firm and did not support majority ownership. He responded: "I can see owning stock, but not controlling stock. Employees don't have enough management material to do it."

AB did not own stock, but viewed his firm's plan positively. He did not support majority ownership of his firm for essentially the same reasons he did not support it here. He responded: "I don't like to see one group get controlling interest because it becomes too selfish."

Mechanics AE and AC gave the following favorable responses:

AE had a positive experience owning his firm's stock, but did not support majority ownership. He responded: If (it was in) an industry that was producing a product, I would be all for that. If employees own a company, they are not likely to close the plant and move it to another country. So (there is) a little better job security...which is probably one thing that is good about it--probably the best thing about it... It might be a little better for the government so you can collect income taxes from all the people who are working rather than

paying them unemployment. (However,) the airlines is a completely different creature. That's a business that the customer really runs."

AC, who owned stock and wanted more stock, did support majority ownership of his firm. He responded: "I would say the majority of them would make fairly good decisions as good as upper management."

Two mechanics were mixed in their views. AD owned Firm A stock and gave conditional support to majority ownership of his firm. He gave the same response when asked his opinion about majority ownership for employees in other firms: "If it's the only alternative."

AA did not own stock although he viewed the plan positively. He did not feel there was a need for majority ownership of his firm. He responded: When the workers are asked to suffer because the company is not making a profit, then, they should have ... a share in the profits, if the company turns around and starts making a profit. It probably wouldn't be complete ownership unless the company folded and the workers decided to buy it or something like that.

Analysis

To be consistent with theory, those mechanics who owned stock in their firm, who felt the ownership was

authentic, and who understood the ownership process as greater than the individual, should have been more favorable toward majority ownership of their own firm and toward majority ownership in general. The majority of mechanics' responses tended not to reinforce theory. Although some of them owned stock and believed their "ownership" to be authentic, they did not perceive the ownership process as a means for group control. Only one mechanic tended to meet all the conditions and he did support a form of majority ownership.

Those who did not favor majority ownership seemed to share a common lack of understanding and/or mistrust of the democratic process or democratic control. Their responses suggested: 1) a distrust in workes' managerial capabilities to own and operate their firms, 2) a lack of financial gain with group ownership as witnessed through the experience of Firm B mechanics, 3) lack of control with ownership as witness through the experience of Firm B's plan, 4) the democratic ownership process could be a union busting technique and could lead to role conflicts between management and non-management, 5) a lack of vision of how ownership of sufficient amounts of stock externally owned and controlled by stockholders could be transferred or

bought by workers, and 6) democratic ownership was only preferable to closing the firm which implied a motive for job security, but not necessarily for group ownership or control itself.

Mechanic AE was the only mechanic who conditionally supported majority ownership for others. His response most closely followed theory, but not completely. He gave conditional support to majority ownership for others even though he did not support majority ownership of his own firm. His reasons for support were, primarily, of an economic nature or were based on the specific nature of the product produced. There was no mention of possible reasons why democratic control by workers might serve interests of workers other than economic ones.

Firm B - presentation of data (See appendix 8 for summary of responses.)

The majority (BI, BB, BC, BD) of mechanics, under certain circumstances, felt positive about workers in other firms owning their firms. The mechanic who was most supportive of the idea gave the following response:

BI, who gave reluctant support to his firm's stock plan, supported majority ownership of his firm. He responded: It seems to be working in alot of places. On public television I've seen a few small factories and

larger companies that the employees essentially own the whole company and they out produce all their competition." "They are all into some type of profit sharing system. The stocks they own are going up all the time. All the way around it's a better system.

The other favorable responses were:

BB, who felt negative toward the stock plan, also supported majority ownership of his firm. He responded: "If it is a small enough place, sure, and where they positively have a say."

BC viewed his stock plan negatively and was neither pro nor con toward majority ownership of his firm. He responded: It would probably work for a small company, like a small tool and die company that has 25 employees. I don't think ownership by employees in a large company would make much difference on how individuals operate on the job.

BD felt negatively toward the mandatory stock plan, but was in favor of majority ownership of his firm. He responded: If they had a product they could see, then they could do it quickly and more efficiently. BD supports the concept "You make money for me...I'm going to make money for you. But today, in this world, it just doesn't happen that way...at least it hasn't been.

The minority of mechanics (BG, BF, BH) gave mixed responses. Mechanic BG, who viewed his firm's stock plan very negatively and did not want majority ownership of his firm, questioned employees readiness to handle the responsibility of ownership: I have seen this plan that we are operating at Firm B with 18% of our wages or 25% of the stock now makes us owners of the company. I see a difference in it. I see a large smoke screen but I do see some good. ...but I am not ready to totally embrace ownership because ownership is a responsibility. I don't think people understand the responsibility. Workers can't control because they aren't in that world as the managers who control corporations.

Another mechanic, BF, who gave his support to the firm's stock plan reluctantly and who did not support majority ownership of his firm, was concerned about its potential impact on the union. He equated employee involvement with ownership. I would be skeptical. I wouldn't want to see this being the demise of the union. If it would go the other way, it would be all well and good, but somebody might say why do we need a union if employee involvement is so great.

Mechanic BH reluctantly supported his firm's stock plan. He did support majority ownership of his firm. He responded: It has its pros and cons. For me to say, "yes

I do like it" or "no I don't like it," I would have to see something solid.

The smallest number of mechanics (BA, BJ) were not supportive of the notion of worker ownership. The most negative response was from mechanic BA, who viewed his firm's plan negatively and did not support majority ownership: It sounds great but there is no way... we could own 51% in any company. ...you have to have leaders whether I agree with them or not. Look at Hitler. He had more than 51% and look what that man did.

BJ was the only mechanic who responded favorably toward his firm's ownership participation program. However, he did not support majority ownership of it for some of the same reasons given here. He responded: "If it comes to going out of business then, yes, I think it is a good idea. I don't know if they (the workers) are smart enough to run it the way it should be."

Mechanic BE did not respond. During the interview he was paged; we went on to another topic area and didn't have time to return to this issue.

Analysis

Theory suggested three conditions which encourage the formation of workers' favorable motivations toward workplace democracy: 1) Workers must have an experience with ownership. 2) That ownership must be majority ownership. 3) That ownership must be group/democratic ownership. Because the ownership participation plan at Firm B, which did not meet these criteria, was viewed, at least in part, negatively by all study participants, those who did not favor majority ownership for other workers were consistent with theory.

However, there seemed to be some general support for majority ownership regardless of previous viewpoints expressed regarding ownership of their own firms. The discrepancies between views about their own firm and views regarding other firms' ownership may be attributed to factors previously mentioned such as the involuntary nature of the program and the questionable financial stability of their firm.

Most of the mechanics were able to conceive of situations in which majority ownership could work most effectively. Examples mentioned were: small companies, those that produce visible products, and those where

employees do have a say and/or where they see some benefit to that kind of ownership (eg. outproducing competition). However, there were still some concern about effects on unions and whether employees were ready for "ownership" responsibility.

Mechanic BJ's position differed from theory; however, he responded differently from those mechanics above by not supporting majority ownership for others unless it was the only alternative to closing down. This reason implied that democratic ownership was only preferable to the loss of one's job.

BA's responses were most consistent with theory and the most consistently negative. He held negative views of the firm's participation plan, was negative toward majority ownership of his firm and was negative toward other workers owning their firms. He seemed to confuse majority ownership and control with dictatorial control.

Section 4: Mechanics' Views on Job Performance As
A Motivating Factor For Ownership

Firm A - presentation of data (See appendix 9 for summary of responses.)

The majority of mechanics (n=5 - AC, AI, AA, AE, AG) felt that workers would be positively motivated to improve their job performance if they owned their firm. One mechanic (AH) responded unfavorably; one mechanic (AD) gave a mixed response. Two mechanics (AF, AB) did not have recorded responses.

Mechanics AA, AE, AI, and AC responded most favorably.

AA: ...people understand profits more than they understand anything in this country and it would encourage people to have more motivation. "...in the company where that happens you would get more cooperation because they have something to gain by the company gaining. I think sometimes you wind up in a large company like we have with people being anti company and the ownership seems to be some abstract thing.

AE: It might be better job security. If you are working for a company that is producing a product, you work a little harder and do a little better job, the product is

going to be a little better and there is going to be more of the product. There is just no way in the airline business.

AI: " People with an interest in a company will work harder."

AC: "Naturally, you would want a most efficient airline to make the most money."

Other mechanics gave the following favorable responses:

AG: "Maybe give greater pride. But that's about all."

Mechanic AH responded unfavorably: There is alot of committment while we're there, but they wouldn't be willing to extend beyond the eight hour day. If you are going to be an owner, you have to...that's why people stay in lower positions.

One mechanic held a mixed view. Mechanic AD did not feel that he personally would work harder. I have a number of years invested in this company. I don't think I'd try to do it any better. I may try to save the company a little more here and there, like turning out the lights. ...if an airline's tottering on the brink. If everybody has a piece of the rock, they wouldn't want to see it sink.

There were no responses from AB and AF. AB's response made a connection between increased morale and increased participation in decisions, but not ownership. There was insufficient time in AF's interview for him to respond to this question.

Analysis

The theory suggests that, without ownership, employees put a greater personal investment in wages which contributes to an alienating work experience. However, with ownership, personal investment in the product increases; thereby, reducing an alienating work experience. Thus, one would expect mechanics to respond that, in general, workers, who were owners, would be more committed to producing a quality product and would work harder to make their company more productive and that they, personally, would work harder and be more committed if they owned more of the company.

The mechanics' responses tended to support theory. That is that workers, as owners, would work harder, feel better about their work, be more cooperative, and have greater financial gain.

The one response that most diverged from theory cites workers' lack of commitment beyond the eight hour day as the major inhibitor. The other response suggested that the real motivator to increase worker commitment and involvement was the threat of a company "going under."

Firm B - presentation of data (See appendix 10 for summary of responses.)

The majority of mechanics (n=7 - BA, BD, BI, BB, BJ, BC, BG) felt that ownership would have no effect on workers' job performance for these reasons:

BA: "I would be stupid to cut off the hand that feeds me. I'm going to give them a good day if I can. It wouldn't change me at all if I owned the company."

BD: "Not really. I enjoy what I'm doing anyway. So, I try to do the right thing everyday."

BI: "I give 100% when I come here all the time. I'm from the midwest originally and that kind of work ethic is pounded into to you since you were a little kid."

BB: "I don't think so. I am pretty well self motivated. If you did have ownership the whole concept of work would be much different."

BJ: "...if you are going to work, you work. Those who slack off will slack off regardless of ownership."

BC: "Just the satisfaction of being able to do my job is what would make me happy, not ownership. That doesn't matter to me."

BG: no difference.

Two mechanics (BH, BF) responded equally favorable and felt ownership did make a difference with employees' performance.

BH: "I would always do the best job I could. It is a motivating factor to give you a little more pride. You can say 'hey, I am part owner of this'."

BF: "I think it would want to make me more voiceful if I see something. I think it wouldn't be a job 7-4 like it is now. I would be watching the stock market."

Analysis

Generally, the mechanics' responses did not tend to support the theory. It may be that most of them did not perceive a change in themselves with a change in ownership relations at Firm B or that "ownership" in their case had brought with it an 18% pay cut. The most frequently occurring reason was attributed to self-motivation. This response could also be due to the highly skilled nature of an airline mechanic's job.

Only two mechanics' responses suggested a change in their personal attitudes and behaviors toward work with ownership.

Section 5: Comparison of Results

There were differences, to various degrees, between the mechanics responses from Firm A (minimal program) and Firm B (extensive program) on each topic area. Generally, Firm A mechanics were favorably inclined to participate in their firm's stock ownership plan even though most of them could not because of the price of the stock. Whereas, no one in Firm B was in favor of their stock ownership program. The mechanics' responses ranged from very negative to reluctant acceptance because the only perceived alternative was bankruptcy.

The most evident reason for these differences was the contrast in the nature of each firm's stock ownership program which significantly affected the mechanics' ownership experiences at each firm. Firm A's plan was voluntary; therefore, the decision to participate in it was a self-conscious choice. Firm A was in good financial standing and, thus, purchase of the stock was perceived as

ultimately increasing one's income and in addition to wages, not in lieu of them. Those who bought stock in Firm A controlled it; they could sell when they wanted to.

The major motivating factor to participate or to increase one's participation in the participation ownership plan at Firm A was economic and personal. There was no mention of a desire to purchase stock to vote it or to purchase stock as a means for employees, as a group, to gain greater control.

Whereas, Firm B's plan was a strategy to help a financially-troubled firm to increase its profits and was compulsory. Consequently, all mechanics had to accept the negotiated agreement between the union and management which meant they received a proportional share of their wages in preferred and common stock. Their stock was held in trust by the union for approximately two years. Then, control of individual shares of stock would be returned to the mechanics and, at that time, they could decide to sell, vote, convert, and/or keep their stock. However, many of the mechanics viewed their stock as "worthless," a "paycut," and "not voting stock."

The major factors which negatively affected Firm B mechanics' perception of their plan was the loss of income--an economic issue and the loss of personal control

to sell or to vote the stock. There was no mention of the potential benefits that employees or the machinists, as a group, might receive because of their union's control over a significant amount of stock. The mechanics' perception of the ownership participation program was in contrast to their union leadership's perception of the program which definitely had increased control, through stock ownership, as a critical component in the negotiations. Union leadership negotiated for greater rights to involvement in management decisions in return for the ownership participation program.

Thus, the factors motivating Firm B mechanics, although negative, were very similar to those motivating Firm A mechanics. Firm B mechanics seemed to generally want the personal control that Firm A mechanics had--the control to make an individual decision about buying stock and the control to sell that stock. Mechanics from neither firm appeared motivated toward greater group ownership which implied greater control.

Clearly Firm A mechanics did not want majority ownership of their firm. Only one mechanic said there was "nothing wrong with it." Most of Firm B mechanics also did not want majority ownership of their firm; however, several mechanics did want ownership. The differences between

these two sub-groups within Firm B are identified in the following discussion.

Based on the theory presented in this study, mechanics at Firm A lacked a critical component in their overall view of ownership, i.e., the concept of shared ownership. They viewed ownership as individual and solely for economic gain. Their firm generally was doing well financially as were they; therefore, according to their perceptions of the situation, there was no need for majority ownership. Thus, Firm A mechanics would mostly likely support majority ownership as the "only alternative" to closing the firm. Their lack of desire for majority ownership of their firm is better understood given their general view of ownership. A minor theme in their responses suggested a mistrust of the democratic process which they felt could result in some workers pursuing their "selfish" interests at the expense of others or which could result in the demise of the union.

The responses of workers (5 out of 10) in Firm B, who did not want majority ownership of their firm, were similar in some aspects to Firm A mechanics. They also lacked a democratic component to their overall views of ownership and tended to view ownership as individualistic and for individual economic gain. The mechanics unfavorable to

majority ownership of Firm B also mistrusted democratic ownership, but for different reasons than those given by Firm A mechanics. Firm B mechanics questioned workers' managerial capabilities and their capabilities to deal with potential role conflicts between themselves as workers and themselves as owners. These reasons, in part, reveal some lack of understanding of how employee owned firms are managed and the role of the union in employee owned firms. But they also identify potential areas of conflict that are evident in other ownership experiences such as the Vermont Asbestos case mentioned in Chapter II.

Of particular interest was the sub-group (4 out of 10) within Firm B who favored majority ownership. Due to the poor financial standing of Firm B, one would expect Firm B mechanics not to want to own their firm. However, four mechanics clearly wanted majority ownership, in part because increased control was implied in majority ownership and because of increased worker commitment and loyalty to the firm. With greater control, some workers felt necessary changes could be made in upper management. Thus, possibly changing a negative situation to a more positive or hopeful one was a motivating factor.

The striking difference between this group and those groups in both firms who did not favor majority ownership

was their inclusion of some notion of democratic group control, or development of a "loyalty to the group" component to their view of ownership. Reasons for this difference among Firm B mechanics were not apparent at this point in the study. There were no significant differences in their reported work experiences. This group's responses seemed to contradict that aspect of the theory that suggested the influence of workplace experiences in the formation of motivations toward workplace democracy were more influential than experiences outside the workplace.

The majority of Firm A mechanics did not support majority ownership in other firms. This was not surprising given their previous responses. The major theme in their responses was again a mistrust of the democratic process and, in particular, their mistrust of employees' capabilities and motives to own a controlling share in a company. Thus, Firm A mechanics were fairly consistent in their reasons against majority ownership of their own firm and against others owning a majority share. Their views were consistent with what theory predicted.

An unpredicted result of the analysis of Firm B mechanics' responses to this question was their general support (8 out of ten) for majority ownership for other workers. Although their responses suggested, at times,

conditional support, at other times, reluctant support, their responses did suggest they could conceive of situations in which majority ownership could work and/or could see some benefits to it such as increased employee motivation on the job and increased control.

However, their overall position was not consistent with what theory suggested and, as a group, their position differed from Firm A's. Although the mechanics' experience with extensive ownership participation that did have some group control with it was mostly negative, it may have had an overall positive educative effect. Participation in the program, even though it was mandatory, increased the mechanics knowledge of employee ownership and the issues that are associated with it. It seemed that most of the mechanics could, to some extent, separate their general negative feeling toward their situation and could generalize some of the benefits of worker ownership to other settings.

A comparison of both Firms' responses on the last topic area--ownership as a motivating factor for improving work performance revealed significant differences. Although Firm A's responses reinforced theory, their responses did not seem to be consistent with their previous views. They generally felt that majority ownership was a

motivating factor in improved work performance even though they did not support this type of ownership. Whereas, the majority of Firm B mechanics did not view ownership as a motivating factor which was not consistent with theory. Given their support for worker ownership in general, this result might suggest inconsistency in their responses.

In addition to the differences in the respondents' overall responses between the two firms, they also differed in how they answered the question. Firm A respondents answered it in terms of how other workers would behave and Firm B respondents answered it in terms of their personal behavior. Possibly, this difference in interpreting the question accounted for their difference in responses. People, generally, would probably want to perceive themselves as doing the best job they could regardless of ownership.

Section 6: Summary and Conclusions

This chapter focused on how changes in traditional ownership relations, as one of the potential motivating factors of the social relations of production, interacted with workers existing knowledge, skills, and attitudes, a productive force, to affect a change in their motivations

toward workplace democracy (also a productive force). In theory the degree to which workers are favorably inclined toward workplace democracy is dependent upon 1) the degree to which, and the level at which, they are required to function democratically, and 2) the degree to which their experience of democracy is positive or treats them as subjects of the change process.

As mentioned in the previous analysis, at times, the results were consistent with theory and, at times, were either inconsistent with theory or could not be explained by theory at a particular point in the study because of insufficient evidence. The theory was better able to predict and explain the positions and views offered by study participants from Firm A than from Firm B. The reasons for this could be attributed to the nature of the two different cases. Firm A's case followed, more closely than Firm B's case, traditional capitalist relations which the theory was developed to analyze and it was relatively more stable both financially and programmatically.

In Firm B's case, the theory was able to predict initial motivations and positions of mechanics toward their firm's ownership participation program. However, it was not as predictive in subsequent areas, such as, support for majority ownership of their own firm and support for

majority ownership in general. In addition to the reasons given above, the theory assumed a negative experience could not have, at least in some instances, a positive educative effect which apparently occurred in Firm B. Thus, a change in the ownership relations, although a negative experience, did affect a change in the productive forces which resulted in Firm B mechanics' not only having an increased knowledge and understanding of how firms could be owned democratically, but also, in some cases, supporting worker ownership. Some of the mechanics were able to apply this new knowledge to their own situation as a way to positively affect their firm's troubled financial situation and the majority of mechanics were able to apply their knowledge of democratic ownership to other situations.

The next chapter presents and analyzes mechanics' views on and experiences with participative decision making at the work process level and at the firm level. Participation in decision making was one aspect of organizational technology, a potential motivating factor in the social relations of production, that was considered a critical component in workplace democratization efforts.

C H A P T E R V

FACTORS MOTIVATING MECHANICS TO WANT OR NOT WANT INCREASED PARTICIPATION IN DECISIONS

This chapter presents and analyses data collected on workers' experiences with and/or desire for increased participation in work process level decisions and firm level decisions. As explained in Chapter III, Firm A did not have a participatory system of management; therefore, participants responded to questions regarding their desire to have more "say" in the work process and firm level decisions. Since Firm B did have a participation program, their mechanics were asked directly about their experiences with their new participatory decision making structure and their views on employee participation.

This data is organized in two major sections by firm: Section 1: Firm A and Section 2: Firm B. Within each section, the data is categorized according to two major topics: a) participation in work process ("shopfloor") decisions and b) participation in firm level decisions. The presentation and analysis of data, including a comparison of the analyzed results of Firm A and Firm B at

the end of the section, follows the same approach as that described for ownership in the previous chapter. Section 3 compares the results of the two firms and Section 4 summarizes the findings.

Background theory

As mentioned in Chapter II, a person's specific position within the organization's hierarchy affects the development of that person's view of his role in the decision making process and his overall understanding of the production process. However, given the opportunity and all other things being equal, the theory suggests that non-management employees would want to participate in decisions and have greater control over the product they are producing. And those employees who participate in "well-run" employee participation programs, should be more motivated toward greater workplace control than those who do not participate or than those employees in a firm that has no program.

Thus, in general, mechanics from Firm A, which did not have an employee participation program, should be less likely to want to participate in their firm's decision making process than mechanics from Firm B, which did have an employee participation program. Firm A mechanics, if they did want to participate in decisions, should be more likely to want to participate in decisions more related to their direct work experience, i.e., work process decisions, than those related to the overall firm. Firm B mechanics, who participated in an employee participation program, should be more likely to want to participate in the firm's overall decisions than those who did not participate in the program and than those mechanics from Firm A.

Section 1: Firm A

Work station or work process level decisions (See appendix 11 for summary of responses.)

The mechanics were evenly divided on this issue. Four mechanics (AI, AE, AA, AG) wanted to increase their participation in decisions regarding their immediate work station or work process. Two mechanics (AF, AH) were negatively inclined toward participation.

The following mechanics favored participation. The first two gave the most favorable responses.

AI: I think that more say over the immediate work tends to build more character in the individuals. If you get somebody dictating to you out of Pittsburgh that says "do this" and it takes you 15 minutes to do it and Pittsburgh thinks it takes 4 hours, that man says "well Pittsburgh says 4 hours so 15 minutes is all I put out." That's why I felt that allowing the immediate work force to have more control over their own work regarding how much they are going to accomplish (such as electrical problems and troubleshooting) helps the work force out because the guys are happy. If you are working, you are happy.

If you open up the man's mind literally, the next day he is opening it up to more and more. The more you open it up the more productive he becomes. The worse problem with unions is that a person becomes dormant. There is no challenge. The day he dies, he knows he has a paycheck coming in and the day he dies it is going to come in. After awhile if he gets a little less each day, before long he is not doing anything but sitting around just belly aching. It's a fact.

AE: It would make our job easier number one, which would be beneficial in the long run for the company too because we would be able to do more, get it done faster, and be on to something else. Some procedures double or triple the work.

It always feels a little better if you have some control over what you do. At times you feel with local management it is not too bad but at times you feel like a piece of machinery. If you have no input or say about it at all, you feel you are one of the trucks. You are here to do a job; you are going to do it and that's it. If you have a little more say about what you were doing it would be a little different.

I didn't care as much when I first started. Although when I first started it was a completely different atmosphere--a very small station. There was no foreman involved or lead mechanic. You were out on your own to do a job. You did your job and that was it. It was a very relaxed atmosphere. We had a good crew because everybody did their job. It has completely changed now. Maybe that has had an effect on wanting a little more say. It has become a big station and you are no longer 'John', you are a number. I come in in the morning. I see people beside the time clock and I don't even know their name.

A small station (was) a much better experience. Everybody knew each other and depended upon each other. I did my job and you did your job and that was it. Now somebody can get lost in the shuffle. They are given a job and they can go off and hide someplace. See, it is not the same atmosphere. Then, you were given a job to do and you decided how to do it. Now you are given a job and with each step of the job you are told what to do. It's rules and regulations. With our job you really can't do too much different. There are computers involved and it is step by step. When I first started, I started as a cleaner working midnights. You would come in at night...get the airplane that was in and get whatever we had to get, i.e., supplies and go up the line and do the work. That was it. I mean there were no foreman or leads. There was a completely free atmosphere. We got the work done and probably better than we do it today.

AA: If a person has more say so in his work, alot of people would try to make it easier for himself. They are thinking of their own immediate job and stuff like that. If I had more say so in my work, I don't think personally I would try to make my job easier. Maybe I could try to find a better way to do my job. For example, I have been trying to suggest that we buy a belt sander for 15 years; it is

something we can hardly operate without. They keep saying that they are going to get it. If I had the decision to go out and get a belt sander, I would take off and go get one. They agreed we needed it. Try to do a job with sheet metal. It is impossible to do some jobs.

So there is an example of a decision and there are probably some more. Some of them involve safety and things like that. But you suggest and most of the time nobody listens. However, sometimes the decision is made properly, but not executed properly by the workers. We wash airplanes in the hangar and the floor constantly has soap on it when we get done with the wash job. The decision has already been made, but the people who are supposed to do it don't do it.

I don't see that much interest in the workers themselves. I think the guys just want to roll up their hose, finish their work and go get a cup of coffee. I don't think that they care about whether that was the right move to make. I don't see that much enthusiasm by the workers. It's like a percentage in every area, sometimes you might have 10% of workers who are interested and the rest are not, maybe 20% whatever it is. They get interested in whatever job they do and the rest are just interested in finishing as soon as possible so they can rest.

It (having increased say) will make the job a little easier and more enjoyable rather than going on and having to fight with somebody else's decisions all the time. There is always alot of satisfaction with getting the work done and doing a better job. It would be nice to be able to make decisions. Sometimes too many make decisions. It would be nice if I could make decisions but if everybody who came in was making decisions, we would have a big royal battle. We have enough disagreement now.

AG: In the first interview AG did mention he thought employees should have a little say. When asked in what areas they should have a little say he responded: More in our working conditions. I don't necessarily say that we should have a say in how many airplanes they buy and all this because I don't think we are capable. I think we should really have some say in our working conditions. I think it makes for everybody to get along than to argue with each other.

The following two mechanics did not favor participation. The first two gave the most negative responses:

AF: I am only an employee paid to do a job and that is just the way I look at it. Maybe I should get more personally involved, but, to me, I just come here to do a job that I was hired to do and, basically, that's all I am

interested in doing. I am happy with the job and content and I don't see any problems and a reason to change anything. As far as having any say, if I have a problem or, if there is something that I want to say, I usually get my message across. I talk and get it out if something is bothering me. I don't think personally there is anything that I can change.

AH: I think in most cases we are given a free reign and as long as we get the airplane done and back in service. In general, I think it is alright the way it is. If you have something that is going 90% of the time, you can't really say that you're not satisfied. I am coming to get a paycheck. I get it for what I do and I think I do what I am asked to do and maybe a little more and I just don't see any reason to change that. If they didn't pay me, I might not want to come.

Analysis

The majority of mechanics' responses were consistent with theory. They wanted increased "say." A common theme in most of their responses was greater control meant increased challenge, increased job satisfaction, improved working relations with other workers, improved productivity through more efficient work, and increased personal and

human development. Two of the mechanics responses were inconsistent with theory. They wanted no greater "say" in decisions and felt they just wanted to do the "job they were hired to do."

Participation in firm level decisions (See appendix 12 for summary of responses.)

The majority of mechanics (N=4 - AH, AF, AG, AI) did not want increased say in firm level decisions. One mechanic (AA) felt favorable toward some employee participation and was able to describe how that participation process might occur. One mechanic was mixed in his views.

The most negative responses were given by mechanics AF and AG:

AF: I feel that everyone who works for this airline is a union employee and actually through the union you should have some kind of a voice in what goes on in certain areas. Like maintenance area... I don't see where we could have anything better done than the way it is now. They can't open a station saying that we have x amount of planes a day. They would have to staff it with IM employees from this company. This is negotiated through the union which I guess acts as far as our place. I just

think that we should do our own job and mind our own business and the person getting paid to do whatever job they're doing should do their job.

In response to the question, Do you think the workers have enough say in a company through the union?, AF responded:

Yes, more than enough. Because I don't think the workers are qualified. They don't have any idea about marketing and higher management positions. There are a few that would probably do all right in a better position or be able to make suggestions and stuff like that. No, I don't agree with anything different than what I said before.

AG: If I was going to stay with it, I might have bought stock in it and stuff like that. But still, I don't think my feelings would be any different. The management seems to do a good job and I don't think we should be able to tell the company what to do because I don't figure I own the company and I don't think anybody in my position should.

The other mechanics who disagreed with employee participation in firm level decisions gave the following responses:

AH: I am not interested in having any more say in how the company is run. I think that that is up to the people

who own the general airline. If I can do my particular job, I am not going to tell the next guy how to do his in another department. They have their own problems and it's up to them to iron them out. Possibly they should accept a suggestion from other people if he could see something wrong, but it usually winds up with a mind your own business type of thing and they don't even want to hear it. If they came out and told us how to repair an airplane we would tell them the same thing.

We are here because the Board of Directors needs us to help them run the company or we wouldn't be here. If the vice president of maintenance could run the maintenance department by himself, he wouldn't need a foreman, or the mechanic, or the cleaners. He should evaluate any suggestions that we make to him, but, as far as us being able to steer him, I don't believe that we should be able to. That does not mean necessarily that we need to make any suggestions or he even has to evaluate them, because from past practice and experience, the system is already established. There's a certain area that you can go and know what corridor you can walk and that's it. Other things have been tried on both sides of this corridor over the years and determined that this is the way that it is best. It is what is called a policy. I guess that is what they call it.

AI: I wouldn't want a veterernarian operating on me. The same way I would hate to have a person up in management trained to come to fix an airplane. It's not there. It is not mine to command and tell them to run their operation. I have to say that that's the way it is. There is no real answer to it. It was maybe the way I was brought up. Let every man do his own job and let him do it right.

At C Airways there is a group who wants to have a say on the Board. They want to take automatically one person and put him on the Board. I don't feel that is the way to do it. I don't feel that myself I can do it for the Board of Directors and say that this is how we are going to run the company. All I could ever say is here are some of my ideas. This is the way to look at it. I can't see how a pilot could turn around (and give advice) to a company because years ago the pilots didn't have an education.

One mechanic (AA) felt favorable to the notion of increased employee participation in firm level decisions and explained how participation might occur.

AA: There are some workers who should have alot of say and some workers who shouldn't. Maybe if a committee was formed with input to management. I think that would be a good way. I am just a little confused about the vehicle for doing it that's all. I visualize maybe 30 people all yelling. It couldn't work out that way. However, if you

had a committee, something similar to the safety committee that could meet and have more communications with the local management, or something like that, then it could work out very well. They (the workers) would probably listen more than if he (the manager) came in in the morning and said, 'Hey, Joe we're going to do something about that'. He is not apt to listen to them rather, but, if he had a committee to go to, he would probably listen more. Communication like that is very good. The safety committee works very well. It is a representative group with a lot of say so.

If we're talking about the area of how the work is accomplished so as to allow us to do a better job, you could get a little satisfaction on making improvements in the company. Satisfaction in knowing that something you helped accomplish worked out for the good...just the satisfaction. And the other thing is helping the company that you worked for. We are working for a company right now that is doing very well and it is hard to argue with them.

The only thing (that makes me hesitant) is most of the complaints I hear for changes are from people who are generally selfish. They are not thinking in terms of helping the company because they are selfish.

Mechanic AE was mixed in his response. He expressed concerns in some cases that employees could not handle the responsibility, but then contradicted himself in the next set of examples. He was able to see both perspectives which seemed to make him confused when trying to give a definitive answer.

AE: There are some areas where suggestions would not be helpful to the company. If we gave the employees too much say, there would be too many things let go. It would be just about impossible for a company to run. Being involved in the union you can see there has to be some profit. A lot of people in the union feel if you show a profit you should get a bigger raise. There has to be some profit or there is no reason to run the company. But what happens when times are a little tougher? Are they going to take the money back? I don't think anybody is going to give money back. You can't have too much say. Some, but not much.

In response to the question, In what areas?, AE responded: I think in those things that are job-related. Their own salaries. Probably the worst part of it is opening and closing a station. The company should give some consideration to the employees. Some situations I think can become impossible. If they are not making any

profit at all out of a station because they are getting their brains beaten out by another airline, then employees shouldn't be able to stop it completely (closing the station). They can't now anyway. That's what they are talking about doing. Likewise, companies that make 10% profit and want to just close down a station and cut out jobs to make 20% profit, isn't right either.

Analysis

The majority of mechanics responses (N=4) reinforced theory. They did not want participation in firm level decisions. Several themes were pronounced in their explanations: 1) "It's not what I was hired to do; it's what management was hired to do." 2) "Workers, because they are not owners, should not have a `say'." and 3) "Workers are not capable of the responsibility."

Mechanic AA's response digressed from theory. He was able to conceptualize how a current participative structure, used by the safety committee, might be appropriate for other kinds of issues. He gave no specific examples. He did suggest some workers may be more capable to serve on committees than others which addressed his concern that some workers were motivated by selfish interests. AA was the only one to make reference to an existing worker participation structure.

AE tried to see both perspectives. He described what and who could be potentially "right" and "wrong" in a situation; however, his response was somewhat confusing and contradictory. He probably had not resolved which side of the situation he most wanted to identify with.

Section 2: Firm B

Employee participation program at work process level (See appendix 13 for a summary of responses.)

All mechanics were, to a more or less degree, in support of their firm's employee participation program. Mechanics BJ and BB were most positive in their views of the program. The remaining mechanics gave mixed responses with BC and BH more positive in their views and BG and BE more negative.

Mechanic BJ had recently returned from lead training and responded most favorably and enthusiastically. He was not a member of the EP program because of family responsibilities. His response is given below, followed by BB's.

BJ: I think it's a good idea. I think it is the way our firm is going to turn things around. It is the people, the workers, that will make the changes and get it going. There were a lot of hard feelings toward management.

everybody has lost faith in them. Now our union is on the Board of Directors. That to me is minor. You are starting to see a change in the union. The union was anti-productivity. You always had two guys on the job. Now you do the job and it only takes one guy. Now you see the union instead of management trying to cut back. That is what is going to get us out of this thing--everybody pulling together. Most of the people who are on this employee involvement really take an interest in it.

For example, a lot of times when you talk to stewardesses early in the morning, they are a pain. Flight crews don't talk to mechanics; mechanics don't talk to stewardesses. That is what I think we are seeing a change in. But there was a lot of hard feelings because we have been giving for so long. It is management's decision--you know the higher ups, the top echelon of this place. U Airlines' mechanics and their people get paid more than us. D Airlines, a non-union airline, pays higher than us and they are doing okay. So it is not just wages. I think productivity is the big thing.

The feeling I get after coming back from training in Miami ...is that we all have to produce a product now that is comparable to E Airlines and P Airlines. We have productivity goals. I have always said that our firm would be happy if we produced six hours in total or even four.

Before it was never pushed by the union; supervision did the pushing. Now the unions realize that we have to straighten out our house and get it all going. They didn't want us to do cross utilization (i.e., a mechanic performing a ramp serviceman's duties). Now the union tells you that if ramp services is busy and an airplane is waiting to be parked, they want you to park it. Five years ago they would never have told you that. Then they filed grievances.

I am not part of the EI program. I can't really see my job changing that much except keeping on top of the guys and getting the productivity. What I like about the EP is you can give them any complaint and you get an answer. Also there is a feeling that everybody is trying to pull together--the pilots, people in reservations, mechanics, cleaners, people in ramp services. We have to start working together as a family and produce. I don't think ZZ with all his purchases is tremendous either. We have him for another five years and we have to straighten out our own house.

Mechanic BB, a participant in the program, responded: I am involved alot with the EP or employee participation program. The biggest problem is lack of communication. We have been so set in our ways for so many years that even for one department or another, we don't have the proper

communications. The one that we are doing with the EP committee is to break down some of the barriers that have always been there. It is awful easy to say that I have done my job right and it's somebody else's fault. Once the communication gets better between what we are trying to accomplish and what is actually being accomplished, once the committee gets there it flows. We start to work together rather than become separate companies within companies.

Last Thursday I got all the groups together and had them sit down at one table with one stipulation...no finger pointing and no rock throwing. As a result a very constructive thing happened. Communication was better between departments. If we have a problem now, we address the problem rather than say, "It's not my fault or it's somebody else's fault."

Although we think we are experts in our particular area, there are some things we don't know about. Once we find out the best way to do it, it is easier in the long run. It results in cost savings and a guy takes pride in what he does.

Mechanics BC and BH responded critically and in favor of the EP program. They are both participants in the program. BH's response is presented first because he is, somewhat, more favorable than BC..

BH: Morale was so bad here I hated to come to work. I am in the employee participation program because I believe in positive things. I think it can work but only if management becomes receptive to the idea and faces the fact that they have to change. Employees have changed; they gave money back. I am doing all this extra stuff on employee participation. But not only me, but also a lot of employees. When you don't get results, you get frustrated. Then you throw the towel in and go back to the same way you were before.

Our supervisors may see us as a threat at their power base. A shithead is telling me that I have to do this or I have to do that. Now, supposedly, EP can go around it, but my feeling right now is that we have not made any progress. It has only been in place six months, but this is July. You should see some kind of tangible results. When you don't get any kind of result then the employees in the work force are going to say, "Hey this is the same shit we had before only it's under a different label."

I see that and I know you interviewed a couple of guys that talked to me about it. They are older guys and have been through all the different programs. Well, I haven't so they are bitter. I am hoping--you know sometimes I over dramatize things--but some days, when everybody is working kind of like magnets against each other, you feel like you

have a ticket on the Titanic. It's a real bad situation. I am hoping it can improve. It's all we got to hang on to--this positive situation (EP).

EI has given us improved communication. You get a lot more bulletins on the board. You can see a difference. One thing about the London thing--when they make a decision, they should have canvassed the employee workforce. Besides our jobs, we all have a big stake in this place financially. I have over four grand in it right now. That is a lot of money when I am paying \$800 a month for my mortgage. I feel that is a big loss to me. But morale wise it is a boost. It takes a lot of your time. I go every Saturday morning. We have a meeting. We haven't gotten anything accomplished yet but we are working. We may be getting rags. Little things. My main thing is improvement in the workforce right here. We don't have any rags to wipe our hands on. Those kinds of things.

EP has also gotten me to know that there are other segments of the company that have problems. They may be different than mine but they are all related in some way. One thing affects everybody else's work. When I started here, you didn't talk to the pilots. They think you are dog shit anyway. They think they and the flight attendants are your leaders. They just think you are a waste of time and money. And that is not how I am as a person. As a

person and not as a mechanic I will talk to the guy over there. If they want to be decent, I will be decent to them. But I found out that the majority of people's animosity in this company was incredible. It really was. It came to a head last fall when a couple of pilots and mechanics went at it. Everybody was pointing fingers at who was sinking the company. They always say it was the IAM that was sinking Firm B.

The plane foremen get on TV and say "The union is doing this and the union is doing that." But, the mood has changed. People wanted it to, really. They were tired of pissing and moaning at each other and that is where this EP and working together comes into place. I believe it is a good program and it is something positive. You don't get too much of that at Firm B. The company has taken it a step further by having a family night. They showed slides and explained their corporate policies. In other words, they are trying. I believe honestly that ZZ and those guys are trying to communicate with the employees which is something that I didn't feel before. We got communicated to alright but it wasn't positive.

And, What are the important things in your life?--your job, your family. I mean that's it right there. That is your survival. These guys have one half of your survival in my book so I work for them. I think it breaks down if

there is or if you will, the class barriers. You know what I mean, the working class versus those that are the rulers. So we are kind of working together for the same point, not working against each other by always bucking what they said. If I have input to your decision and you listen to me, I may have influenced your decision one way or another. If it is good and it works out then we can all pat ourselves on the back. If it doesn't work out then I ain't sitting there and saying 'Why that stupid...', you know. I think it is a better way to run it.

If nothing else, and I hope the program stays in place and does work, it has given the people more. You feel like you have more control over what is happening. It is like I said before, if you just show up and go through the motions and you get your paycheck week in and week out, you lose respect for a place like that and you lose respect for yourself. And that will show up in the overall product. Before, if you stepped out of line and did a little extra, you were a company puke or something.

A lot of people want you to be part of the herd, so you are one of the horses even though inside you might say, "Gee I would like to do this. If we do this it might be better." They would be afraid of being put on the spot like people saying, "hey, what is he after; what's he want a manager's job or something." Now, there is an avenue

where they can improve the company and the people, the employees, have a direct influence on how the company is going to be running. You can improve your lot.

BC: It is a good idea but to me it is nothing more than what I came to work here for. I came to work for this company with a brain, ability, and training; I expected to use that. Now, after many many years of being pushed around and being told how to do my job, all of a sudden it is their bright idea now to tell me to act just the way I always knew I should have acted. So, it's the right way to go, but there again I still feel a little bit resentful because now it's as if they've just discovered it. I know how to do my job better than they do. You know how to do your job better than I know how. They know how to do their job supposedly better than anyone else does. I hope it works but all these things I've been trying to convey to you is this resentment that has been building up by us over the years. It is the biggest stumbling block for making it work. They've got to convince us. I'm not saying that some people aren't very optimistic about employee participation. I'm optimistic in a guarded optimistic way. I've been disappointed so many times in the past, like feedback and all their other programs and things that they have started.

I am on an action team for the hangar. We get

together and try to straighten out some of the problems. Some weeks we meet and we don't get much accomplished other than the fact that we have good communication now. People talking to each other who have never talked to each other before. It gives you another point of view. I think one of the biggest problems we had in aircraft maintenance over the years is that as a group they don't want to participate or listen to anybody else's problems. Maybe other groups are the same way. I'm in aircraft maintenance and that is how I always felt. There's not an awful lot of closeness. You see people at work, but that is it. There are Christmas parties once a year. A very isolated group. Employee participation gets you into meetings with other people and instead of looking at them and saying what a jerk he is, you find out that he has a brain and has feelings--not just another clown walking around here. He is a real person. Hopefully we can straighten out problems close to us and make life a little better for ourselves.

I have a few reservations, but overall I would say it is very good. In response to a question asking JA what his reservations were, he responded: For those who have been unable to move up in the company one way, they may use this as a stepping stone and become a big shot in employee participation and meet people they normally wouldn't meet. They might have too much influence on how things go and use

it for their own selfish reasons. So, instead of bringing everybody together, they divide them. Another reservation, for example, is you and me are working on a job and we get to a really lousy part of the job and I say, 'I'll see you, I have to go to an employee participation meeting.' Then, you get stuck with all the junk and I sit in a nice warm room for hours. Those kinds of things have a negative effect on the whole program. I think it is the responsibility of somebody who is on employee participation to say, "I think I have to skip that meeting today because I don't want to stick you with the lousy job." Even though you have a responsibility to be at the EP meeting, you have a responsibility to the person who is working next to you.

Another thing you have to be careful on how you go into some of these things. You can bully your way in. Some areas you are already impinging on the supervisors' domain. I think the team has to be sensitive to the supervisor's wishes. I am not saying you have to bow and scrape but you have to respect his position of authority and work with him. If you bully your way in, you are going to have another enemy. How can we have employee participation if we don't involve everybody?

Not all employees, yet, have a greater say in decisions. But the more people that do get into it and the

longer it is implemented people will begin to build confidence in the system. I think we had a suggestion program over the years. It was just to keep the natives quiet. It was different. They put up a suggestion box but I don't think anybody ever took it very serious. We would get letters back but it was always "Thanks very much, thanks for calling, but this is the reason why we can't do that." So you would get a few rejections and you would say the hek with it why bother. So you have to overcome that and it takes time. I think that if employee involvement stays with the company and the company becomes more successful, which may or may not have something to do with employee participation, a lot of people will see things that are suggested come to be. Then they will have confidence in the program. They will want to get more involved. I think eventually everybody in the company has to be involved.

To do that, these action teams and site committees will have to be rotated. You don't want to keep the same people in there all the time. You can get people trained in problem solving and expose them to how the system works and get them on these committees. Somebody who has been on there can dropoff. If you don't do that, it is the same few people who stay on all these committees. Then you build that elitism that I was talking about before where

there is them and us.

The following two mechanics (BG, BE) gave responses that explained reasons why some mechanics may feel negatively motivated toward the employee participation. However, none of the mechanics felt totally negative toward the program. Mechanics BT and BL felt equally negative toward the program.

BG: The whole thing really is a farce. Let me be involved in my job. I don't like sitting down with people who are not dues paying union members, who are negotiating the same language and who have a say over how I do my job. The company is going to listen to it. They have a different attitude about labor.

The worse thing that came out of that whole sick thing--now members are being harassed worst than ever--is the incentive part. Can you imagine language like this in a contract? If you have perfect attendance over an 18 month period, you'll be rewarded by putting your name in a hat with a hundred other employees and, possibly, be drawn for a prize. Some 18 year old girl, over in reservation's center, sat down and (in an action committee made that recommendation). It's not unionism. I'm an adult, a dues paying union member, I want to be represented. I don't want to kill this company, I want this company to succeed at the bargaining table under collective

Employee participation is a guy coming to work with a good attitude, performing his duties, doing the job that he is being paid for, and helping the company go forth. All that takes is basic relations between supervisors and workers where each exchanges. It is good to have communication to know what other people's jobs are but you can't solve problems like that in a committee with non-contract people and with people who work with their hands and those who don't. Those are things that are done between the worker and his immediate supervisor in the workplace. Even working within the group you don't necessarily get what is good for the group. You get what's scared in to those groups. If something comes up that is beneficial and can save money and it'll do something for the company, then, they will do it. But if you have something that has no reward to the company, those things don't get instituted because they take time with no return.

It is like a financial investment and that's what I see going with this. As I mentioned before, it gives people a false sense of security that they do in fact have a voice with the company and they do not need to be represented collectively by the union. It undermines the union. It undermines the shop steward's work. If ever there could be a legitimate program, I would have to

support it, but programs in general can not be legitimate. As a committee member with other committee members, we work with a chief steward. This is working together for this company.

BG also explained how the supervisors misinterpreted cross utilization. The union went out and told our people how it was going to be--they were going to have to perform a little extra. Then, immediately, supervision came out and told all the people that when you need a guy don't get a mechanic, use the radio man. Then he started to assign entire shifts. Now we have to go back and talk again because that isn't what we agreed to. So we have the union telling people one thing and the company telling the opposite thing. Now everyone is up in arms instead of working together. However, it seems to be going in the right direction. Like I say, in theory it is working together which we are. People say unions are opposed but they are always looking to make things better. We have to be careful of management. They tend to run over things.

The main problem (with the EP) is that they get the wrong people in those programs. They get people in who are opposed to the union. People who have an idea or belief that they can change things. That they now have an open channel to management. They are circumventing the union. They go forth with their thoughts and they don't have to

worry about what the contract says or what the history of a certain set of work rules is and what it means and how it may reflect on something. They just go blindly and say, "Hey, I got an idea." Now, they have someone to listen to it. When they come to me as a committee member or the chief steward or someone and say, "Hey, why don't we do this or that?," I will tell them that you can't do this or that because... When they sit in this group they don't hear why. They say that is a good idea, let's put it forth. Then they will find out that the union will have to say, whoa wait a minute, that's a violation. Now the union is a bad guy. What they are doing is building against their own membership.

One thing that this EP has brought about is a better working relationship with the station manager. In order to have this whole thing work or appear to work, you have to have access to the top. If the chief steward and the manager at each station have an open door policy, they converse on problems rather than go head to head. If they are honest and above table, it will work. If they go because the program says I have to sit down here and talk to you, it isn't going to work. I think alot of it started that way and good has resulted. We understand each other better and rather than go ahead and do things, the two parties tend to speak more.

BE: It would work alot better at Wang than it would at Firm B. I'll tell you why--no union. When you don't have a union it will work fantastically well, but they're addressing the same clientele that we address. When I say we I mean the union. Naturally, people that used to come to us go to them. You know people that used to come to us with a problem now go to EP for a problem because right now EP can get a problem solved faster than we can. All they have to do is ask. If I ask it's an official thing. We have to do the paper work, do this, do that. People will come to realize if they want a hassle, they will go through the union. If they want a smooth ride, they will go through employee participation. The situation is set up. Eventually, it's going to come down to you're either with us or against us. I've got (two) built in groups--one with the union and one with EP. So you've lost your one economic goal (leverage),..because you can't count on your people.

We're still a union shop. I'm a union employee and we still have a basic adversarial relationship with management. That's the way it more or less has to be. Alot of these things, like EI, confuse the issue. It's alot of these things we could do without--it would make it a better place to work.

In response to the question confuse what issue?, BE

responded: It confuses your roles as to, you know, your relationship to the product. On the one hand you have people in management telling you that this is yours now, you have to look out for it. When you come to work, you are actually working for yourself. But, nothing in the workplace reflects that. In other words, it's still "Why were you late?," or, if you are late, "Get over there, don't ask me why, I know better." All those things still remain. Management prerogatives are still in place. But, yet, they want concessions or attitude changes from people that their position does not warrant. And it confuses the issue, especially with a younger employee.

In response to a question regarding his interest in increased say about his work, BE responded: I have, from the technical point of view, all the latitude I need. From an administrative point of view I don't need it. The vast majority of time it's my decision how it's done and how it's carried out and what the outcome is. I would want about the same "say."

I just don't feel that it would serve any purpose for me. The entity is set up the way it is. Apparently it is not that unbearable because I stay here. Things that you can change we already have an input in. The other things are just physical things that you can't change, shift work, weekends, lunch breaks, or stuff like that. So why be

involved in them. When things get out of hand we have a method to address that problem.

I wouldn't use EP personally. I would use my union facilities, shop stewards, or go directly to management. There is really nothing that you can't address. We have safety committees, and health and welfare committees. This is what I told you earlier--a wait and see attitude about EP. EP is another group that will go after the same people with the same problems only different solutions.

Right now EP is being given alot. All the barriers are down. "Come on in, do what you want, do this, do that." But the time will come when they have to pay back as a group. It's either going to be in the form of more concessions, less money, or something else and that's when the piper will have to be paid. That's when you know you'll determine was EP worth it or wasn't it. Because all these things really don't mean a lot financially right now.

They're putting you in a position where you are going to owe them. You're in a position where you are beholden to them. For example, the time clock. If we didn't want the time clock, we would make it known to certain people that we want the time clock done away with. They would say absolutely not. We'd muster our forces, they'd muster theirs and we'd have a battle. Either the clock would be there or it wouldn't but it would be over with. If it

went that would be the end of it, if it stayed that would be the end of it.

But when you get in a position where you say, "Would you take it out?" They say, "Oh, maybe." Then it goes on, "As a matter of fact wouldn't you like it where you wouldn't have to punch in and out all the time." "Wouldn't it be better if you could be a couple of minutes late; it wouldn't matter much you could always make it up."

Sure that would be great. But then, "Hey, how about staying a half hour? The plane's going to be late." Well, that's normally an overtime situation. Am I going to get overtime? But then they could come back and say: "Oh come on, all those mornings you were late and now you want me to pay you overtime?" See now everything is now gray, fuzzy. Maybe that's what we don't like to see coming. I don't know. And I'm not saying they're right. I'm not saying that it isn't the way it's going to be, because you can see it in a lot of trends in the country.

Analysis

The theory suggested that, when given the opportunity, workers would want increased control over the product and, therefore, would be likely to participate in a program that would give them increased control or increased "say" in decisions about their product or service. Three Firm B

mechanics were consistent with theory and three were not, even though one mechanic who did not participate expressed very favorable support for the program.

Generally, those mechanics who participated in the employee participation program tended to be supportive of the program even though some reservations and concerns were expressed. The one mechanic who was most favorable did not participate in the program. His degree of favorability might be due to his recent return from a course on the employee participation program for lead mechanics. Two mechanics who did not participate in the program were the most negative and reserved about it.

Working together (to solve problems) and improved communication were two major themes evident in the mechanics responses and were the two most frequently recurring phrases. Embodied in these two inter-related themes were several "spin-off" themes, such as, improved morale, increased self-respect, improved relations between blue and white collar workers, addressing the problem versus pointing the finger at (or objectifying) co-workers, breaking down the class barriers ("working class versus the rulers"), increased understanding of other workers' perspectives and problems in their own department and other departments, increased productivity through cost savings, and improved working conditions.

The participating mechanics, to a greater or lesser extent, expressed the following concerns which have been or could become potential barriers to gaining general support of the program from other non-participating workers:

1. Mechanics who worked at Firm B for many years have had a history of programs introduced by management that were not authentic. Thus, for some mechanics, in particular older ones, the EP program was viewed as just another "gimmick."

2. The EP program required increased personal investment in the firm in terms of personal time and expectations which was in addition to the financial investment. Thus, hopes were high that "things would turn around." If the overall financial picture of Firm B doesn't improve, there could be increased personal antagonism and group support against management for their role in contributing to the current problems and against future programs that could be beneficial to both employees and management.

3. Management, particularly supervisors, did not change old attitudes and behaviors and, thus, were behaving in ways inconsistent with the new EP philosophy. Their lack of change could reduce the program's overall credibility; thereby, reducing new workers' motivation to participate.

4. There was perceived conflict between the EP group's recommendations and the role of the supervisor.

5. There was a future concern expressed regarding the use of EP structure for personal gain versus group gain and for establishing a group of "elites" due to no membership rotation.

The predominant theme expressed by the two non-participating mechanics who were negative toward the program in general was: EP undermined the union and the collective bargaining process. The reasons they gave in support of their positions were:

1. The EP program made union members confused regarding labor's traditional adversarial relationship with management because some EP committees resolved issues that should have been filed as grievances. In part, this process undermined the union's role, in the eyes of its members, because the EP committee resolved it quicker than if it went through the grievance procedure.

2. The EP program could give workers a false sense of control and, if they don't continue to support their union, they could actually end up losing control.

3. EP committees addressed problems and offered solutions that were normally part of the collective bargaining process. This conflict occurred, in part, because EP committee membership included union and

non-union members or contract and non-contract employees who were not aware of which problems they should or should not consider. This type of group membership, i.e., representative of union and non-union people and not aware of the union's position, resulted in the group making decisions more acceptable to management's perspective than the union's perspective.

Participation in firm level decisions (See appendix 14 for a summary of responses.)

The majority of mechanics (n=3 - BB, BE, BJ) held mixed views toward employee participation at the firm level. Mechanics BG and BC did not favor participation at this level. Mechanic BH gave an unequivocally affirmative response toward participation.

Those mechanics holding mixed views are presented first, followed by BG, BC, and BH.

DB: "I am looking at five years down the road. If it continues to build the way it is right now, I think we are

going to see a much more efficient operation--one where the fellows won't have the back injuries and knee injuries and so on, because they have been able to have some input on the types of equipment that is purchased. It will be up to the mechanics to make the repairs or changes that will be necessary to get it right. If there is a problem beyond tech services, then we would go to the engineering type people. Engineering would be the last resort. Rather than be generated from there down to here, it would be generated from here back up to there.

In response to the question regarding employees having a regular "say" in how the company is run, DB responded: If the employees are quote unquote blamed for the conditions of a particular company and it affects their way, then yes. The employees here were blamed. It is pretty hard for us to point the finger at bad corporate decisions. It is awful hard for us. We don't have use of the media, we don't have direct access to the hierarchy in the company. Even if we were able to, it would be shrugged off as that you don't know what you are talking about. The employees are easily blamed.

BE: That's not our job. We don't have the expertise to do that. We're not managers; we're not finance people or productivity experts. We're going to have too many chiefs and not enough Indians. Everybody's going to have a

hell of a great idea. The only thing is everybody's going to have an idea. How are you going to entertain all these ideas? They're all good, but you can't do them all. I think everything should be in its place. I think we've (the union) got more than enough. We've got a man on the Board of Directors and all that.

I think the real decisions will be made somewhere else. You know we have a purpose and a goal in our lives and that probably melts into an average purpose or goal of most employed people. Corporations have their own purposes and goals. They're not anywhere near compatible. By the time 35,000 employees vote to see if we're going to buy an airplane, it will probably be too late to buy it or anything else. That's why it works the way it works. They have people to make the decisions. They're not popular all the time, but they have to make them.

In response to a question regarding whether or not employees should have some say in the overall direction of the firm, BE responded: I guess you could say we have a say in it now with a man on the Board of Directors. He is voted by us. So apparently he is a consensus of our will. But how much control do we have? I don't know. I mean if Firm B decides tomorrow they want to be a cargo outfit, what can we do about it? We work then for a cargo outfit. Why should you be able to say they cannot be. The

employees should probably have a say in it, but they wouldn't. They never would realistically. I feel that anyone in that situation should have a say, but they won't.

They should have a say because they put a lot of their time and a lot of their life into that. But see the corporation never addresses that--the time or effort or the parts of your life that you've sacrificed in order in a small way to get them where they are. The corporation is geared for profit or someone else's write off like we are.

BJ: Because of this 18%, we have WW on the Board of Directors. I just hope that he is there and looking out for us and making the right decisions. It gives me a little more confidence that I am giving so much of my pay. Everybody is, but at least you have someone there that you feel is looking out for your side. It is not only bankers or whomever is on the Board of Directors saying that you have nothing to say. Now, at least we have one.

I don't think ZZ has made all the right decisions. Our person can come back and report to us. I don't want the union running the company that much either. I think the people are there and the people on the Board of Directors or whomever ZZ brings are the ones running the company. They have the knowledge, you hope. All I want is that one guy looking out for us and reporting to us with straight forward answers of certain things. I don't want

the union to run the whole company. I don't think that is right either. But as long as we are giving money into it, I just want this guy looking out for us and reporting back.

I don't want the union to ever get the majority and start running the whole thing. That I don't think is the right way either because they are union people. They are not into this. If it comes down to where you are going under and the union is going to purchase the company--that is something else. But right now, the airline is run by people that are elected and paid to run the company, and that is the way I think it should be.

Mechanics BG and BC were not in favor of employee participation in firm level decisions.

BG: The company should be happy we're doing a supervisor's job. But, we have no say in the running of the company. I want results from the top management. They should make the changes necessary to put the company on course, rather than work in concessions of just buying time. They should make major changes in the top management and in the strategies that could get us on a different course than the one we are on today.

You can give feedback at the working level on how to make your operation better. Things that you would see in the workplace because you are the hands-on person. If they are receptive to thoughts from the workers and about job

performance, then they could benefit highly in terms of productivity. But as far as (input into) the company decisions about financial circuits and marketing, those areas need expertise. You have to have control of a company. You have to have people who are experts in these fields and who read the trends to keep you on board. As a worker I can't generate that.

I want to see them shake the trees at the top. I really think they made a mistake. I like ZZ as a person, but he's gone overboard. I really think he's at a time where they really shouldn't have put him on. Everyone, including the pilots, were screaming they wanted ZZ out. Then he settled this 18% stock and everyone got a seat on the Board and they thought ZZ was great. ZZ was not great because he steered the ship to where it is.

BC: I am so much in the dark as far how the company is run that it just boggles me that I don't understand how we lose so much money. Maybe that just scares me off that I can't give you too much of an answer on that. I just don't see why the other airlines are making money and we are still struggling. And yet they will come and ask us for our opinions on all kinds of other things. I have been to meetings with ZZ and they ask us for suggestions, our opinions on buying airplanes and stock options and all this kind of stuff. That's not me. What do I know about it.

So why bother talking about airplanes, let me stay in my own areas. It seems like everything is backwards. They don't want you to have a say in your own area of expertise, but yet they ask your opinion about something you don't know anything about. I don't care if you read the Wall Street Journal everyday. You are still not a businessman. The business decisions are up to them. Let them do their job and let us do our job.

Mechanic BH gave the most favorable response.

BH: I feel that anytime you make a decision that is going to have a direct effect on me I should have an input into that decision. At a lower level you get into this situation where you say what difference does it make if I vote on the contract. My vote don't count, but it does count. Getting the vote out like a contract vote or a strike vote is important. The numbers that are shown to the company shows whether you are unified and have a big backing. They look at that. They have been through this a thousand times and they have their little Harvard Business School tricks that they are going to pull on you so you have to show these people that you are united. I am not saying that the President should go in through every locker room and say, "Hey, I am thinking of painting the executive wash room blue, what do you think about that?"

I am saying any decision that is going to cost like

buying new equipment or whether or not we should expand at this time. There should be a quorum on that. Maybe have an input if nothing else. Take a poll of the company. They did something a year ago that was a shock to everybody. I don't know what they were trying to do but a lot of people thought, at the time, why weren't we canvassed about this. But I think we are taking a step in the right direction by putting WW and one of the TWU&L on the Board because at least we will know what they are thinking about. At least now we have a guy who can come on and say okay, here is what they are proposing on doing.

Analysis

The theory suggested that those mechanics, who participated in Firm B's EP program, would be more likely to support employee participation in firm level decisions than those mechanics who have not participated. Mechanics BH's and BG's experiences and views reinforced that aspect of the theory. BH, a participant in the EP program, was unequivocal in his support of the union member on the Board of Directors and in support of employees having input into firm level managerial decisions, particularly, those involving major expenditures. BG, a non-participant in the program, was equally unequivocal in his negative view of employee participation in decisions at firm level. He

clearly felt management should be held accountable for their decisions. He perceived employee participation at the firm level as analagous to employees "running the company" and, thus, believed them to be incapable of the expertise needed to "run the company." BG's view was also shared by BC, a participant in the EP program who viewed it somewhat favorably. BC's position of employee participation at this level was not consistent with theory.

The remaining three mechanics were BB, an EP participant, and BE and BJ, both non-participants. They gave mixed opinions about employee participation at this level. Consequently, their positions, at times, were consistent with theory and, at times, inconsistent with theory. BJ's and BE's general support of union representation on the Board of Directors was inconsistent with theory because they were non-participants in EP program. Their reasons for not supporting this concept, however, was consistent with BJ's somewhat anti-union position and BE's pro-union position: "It's not our jobs; it's their job."

BB's position also differed from theoretical projections. As a participant favorable to the EP proram, his response was not expected. He felt that employee participation at this level should be conditional and depended on where blame for the firm's problems were

placed--if the employees were blamed, then they should have "say."

Section 3: Comparison of Results

The mechanics' responses to questions about employee participation in work process decisions from both Firm A and B were consistent with theory. Given the opportunity, most of Firm A respondents would participate. And based on their experiences, either directly or indirectly, with this level of participation, all of Firm B mechanics, to a more or less degree, were favorably inclined. Many of the reasons for supporting this level of participation were similar across firms. However, there were two major differences:

1. Mechanics from Firm B, because of their experience with their EP program, had a more in-depth understanding of the issues involved in establishing and running these programs. (This was reflected in their detailed assessment of the program's positive attributes and in their concerns.)

2. Their responses reflected the development of a positive view toward learning democratic skills and a democratic consciousness, i.e., working together as a group or team and understanding problems from a broader

perspective than from only an individual perspective.

There were some similarities and differences between the firm's responses on employee involvement in firm level decisions. The majority of Firm A respondents were against participation at this level, which was consistent with theory, but the majority of Firm B respondents held mixed views, which was somewhat inconsistent with theory predictions.

Although both these groups gave similar reasons and were similarly strong in stating their reasons for not supporting employee participation at this level, respondents from Firm B generally supported union representation on the Board of Directors. Again, because of their negative experience with ownership and not fully trusting management, they felt "better" that someone was "looking out for their interests." However, they did not want greater representation or input than what they currently had and they did not want the union to have a greater role. Furthermore, they did not feel it was "their job" to participate.

One important aspect of desire for workplace democracy mentioned in Chapter II was the notion of increasing workers' participation in decisions for the expressed purpose of increasing their control over a range of decisions that affect them as a group rather than

themselves as individuals. Even though several Firm B mechanics were in the process of developing democratic skills and a democratic consciousness, they apparently had not yet developed the view that participation in decisions at the firm level could serve their best interests as a group. There was some evidence that those mechanics who were not in favor of the program because of its impact on the union perceived their interests as workers as already being protected through the union. The EP program, therefore, was perceived to threaten the group's collective interest.

Although there were only two mechanics, one from each firm, who supported participation at this level, they did so for different reasons. The Firm A mechanic supported employee participation for the purpose of helping out the company and feeling good about one's personal contribution. The Firm B mechanic definitely wanted increased control to monitor management's decisions, particularly, on major expenditures. Their work experiences, at least to some degree, seemed to form the basis for this difference.

Firm A mechanic AA, throughout his responses, referred to the safety committee and setting up a structure that was like it because it was "orderly." He perceived this committee as being effective and he viewed management as

capable. Whereas, mechanic BH from Firm B perceived his firm's upper management as not making decisions in the best interest of the employees and the long term viability of the airline.

Section 4: Summary and Conclusions

This section focused on how involvement in the traditionally, top-down decision making process (i.e., organizational technology), one of the potential motivating factors in the social relations of production, affected the mechanics existing knowledge, skills and attitudes, a productive force, to create a change in their motivations toward workplace democracy (also a productive force). As mentioned previously, theory suggested that their motivations were, to a significant degree, formed by their experiences with participation in decision making. Theory suggested that direct experience with participative decision making was more influential than indirect experience with it such as reading about participation or informal discussion with peers, etc. Furthermore, the degree to which workers' experiences with decision making required them to function democratically (eg. developing their skills in group decision making and developing their understanding that group needs frequently take precedence

over individual needs) increased motivation for increased participation in decisions.

Much of the analysis revealed that the theory was a fairly good predictor of workers' motivations toward participation in work process level decisions. Mechanics from Firm A, generally, favored participation in work process level decisions, primarily, because they were not currently satisfied with their level of input although their reasons for desiring participation were more individual-focused than reasons given by Firm B mechanics. Because Firm B mechanics had a direct experience with an employee participation program, the difference in the two firms' responses were not surprising and were predicted by theory. A change in the social relations of production (i.e., decision making structure) did result in a change toward greater democracy. The mechanics from Firm B did have a more in-depth understanding of how democracy could be applied to the workplace.

Firm A mechanics' general lack of support for participation in firm level decisions was also predictable; however, Firm B mechanics' mostly gave mixed support for participation in firm level decisions which was not predicted. According to theory, at least those who participated in the EP program would want greater participation in firm level decisions. Several variables

could have affected Firm B mechanics' responses and therefore the predicatability of the theory for this motivating factor:

1. the short length of time participants had been participating in the EP program at the time of the interviews (participants had only been in the program for approximately six months);
2. a limited vision of how worker participation in a unionized firm could occur and why worker participation might be desirable;
3. the poor climate in which the EP program was introduced (there was a general distrust of management and some confusion about the program);
4. there was more of a perceived conflict at this level of decision making between the role of the union and the role of management and rank and file roles;
5. the influence of a pervading social ethos that workers work with their hands and they do not manage; and
6. confusion with the difference in questions about participation at work process level and firm level decisions.

Firm B mechanics' responses were based mostly on their experiences with the EP program. Depending on their experience, they may have had a mixed experience with work process and firm level decisions. Therefore, they may have

had difficulty separating their experiences into these categories when responding to questions.

C H A P T E R VI

POTENTIAL MOTIVATING FACTORS IN THE SUPERSTRUCTURE

Introduction

This chapter presents and analyses mechanics' self-reports on experiences outside of the workplace that may or may not have been influential in forming their motivations toward workplace democracy. The data are categorized by outside work factors or experiences identified in the theoretical chapter and include: family upbringing, education, religion, political economy, and media. One additional category of military service is included since military service was the most frequently mentioned significant other experience by the mechanics. For each potential motivating factor, responses from mechanics who avored greater employee control in the workplace through increased ownership and/or participation in decisions (Group 1) are reported initially. Group 1 includes all those mechanics from Firm A and Firm B who favored workplace democracy. These are followed by responses from mechanics who were generally unfavorable toward greater employee control (Group 2). Group 2 includes all those mechanics from Firm A and Firm B who did not favor workplace democracy.

Responses are analyzed by sub-group and, then,

compared to each other at the end of each section. Within each sub-group, the responses are examined for evidence that either supports or does not support what theory suggests and for major themes and patterns in experiences. The reports include the responses of only those mechanics who were interviewed for the second, longer interview. In some instances the mechanics did not directly answer the questions and/or did not provide the same level of quality of expression as in the previous section. This was probably due to the abstract nature of some of the questions.

In general, the theory suggested that mechanics' motivations toward workplace democracy were formed as a result of the interaction of the factors in the social relations of production mentioned previously in Chapters IV and V and the ones presented here in the superstructure; however, the factors of the social relations of production were supposedly more influential. The theory further suggested that the potential motivating factors or superstructural institutions existed in a similar relationship to and were reflective of the base and existed in a similar relationship to and were mutually reinforcing of each other. Thus, (even though there were some mechanics from each firm who favored and did not favor workplace democracy), there should be no significant

differences in the mechanics' experiences outside the workplace.

However, results from Chapters IV and V indicated there were some significant differences among mechanics' views toward workplace democracy within each firm and some differences across firms. Some of these differences could be explained by the differences in work place experiences, but others could not. For this reason, there could be significant differences in the mechanics outside workplace experiences. The results reported in this chapter seemed to indicate this.

The chapter is divided into seven sections. The first six present and analyze data by potential motivating factors listed in the beginning of this introduction. The last section summarizes the results of the data.

Section 1: Family Background

The theory supported the premise that workers who were in unskilled and semi-skilled occupations were rewarded for behaviors that conformed to authority, whereas, those workers in skilled, professional and managerial occupations were rewarded for behaviors that were self-directive. The theory further suggested that those behavioral traits rewarded at work were brought home and incorporated into

the parents' approach to raising their children. Thus, there were "built-in" mechanisms for the reinforcement and continuation of class-based behaviors.

Mechanics favorably inclined toward workplace democracy

(See appendix 15 for a summary of responses.)

a. Mechanic AA would like ownership of his company in part because of the economic hardship he and his family experienced while he was growing up. His father's shoe repair business failed. In regard to participation in decisions, he feels he has an "unquestioned respect for authority" and attributes this attitude, to a great extent, to the influence of his authoritarian Italian father. He will not go against management.

AA: My father was very strict. I learned to respect his authority when I was very young. I always did. That has been my tendency since I was young. He was Italian to start with. We just never crossed him. I don't know what he would have done if we ever did. We just didn't--that was the rule. We always stuck by that rule. That may have an affect on my feelings toward management.

Everybody went in the service without kicking. I was the youngest. None of us ever got arrested or jailed or anything like that. So if there are going to be some people who are going to kick against authority or yell

against management, I will probably be at the back of the line. Unless I get mad, then of course. Basically that was how I was brought up.

However, I would enjoy ownership in a company actually. We never had much ownership. We were low on the totem pole. I think that I personally would like to have ownership in a company and have a say so as far as working it out with other people having a lot of ownership. I don't think that there is anything that would have affected me one way or another as far as growing up except the discipline part of it. You see I've always had respect for authority or the people I've worked for. It never bugged me to have to do something that people tell me to do unless it's against my (beliefs) to do it their way.

b. Mechanic AI supported stock investment. He owned his first stock by the age of 10. His interest in the stock market was initiated by his father. Regarding participation AI learned to "go through the chain of command within the company" and was of the opinion that a stockholder should not be involved in "trying to run the company."

AI: My father was a lawyer. He wasn't a painter so he didn't paint his house. He practiced law to the fullest. He always said do the job you are going to do and do it right; do it 100%. He brought up seven of us and

every one of us has chosen a different field in life and has done the best they could.

I bought my first stock when I was probably 10 years old. I had a paper route and I bought stock through my father. I was well versed with the stock market and how it worked. I would save up so much money and buy the stock. I made a lot of money through the years on dividends and the whole system I worked with. During that period I never thought of a stockholder as trying to run the company. I have a couple hundred shares of my firm's stock. I never felt even at that time that I should come down to the meetings as a stockholder and I am an employee and this is the way I want it. I would say go through the chain of command within the company and see if we can correct our problems with the company.

My father would advise me to buy low and sell high. Be interested and know your company. Don't go out and invest in something that has no future. Buy Scot toilet tissue, you'll always need that.

c. Mechanic AE was not interested in majority ownership of his company, but was interested in ownership participation. He owned several hundred shares of stock in his firm. He attributed this lack of interest to his childhood experiences with his father owning his own shoe and grocery businesses and having to work long hours.

Regarding participation in decisions, JC would like to have some participation and attributed this desire to the authoritarian nature of his father.

AE: My father was a hard worker. He was a shoemaker and pretty much worked a twelve hour day. Then he owned a grocery store. It affected me. I would never go into businesses such as a restaurant or grocery store because it's a sixteen hour day.

I grew up in an old-fashioned Italian family. My father had all the say and that was that. When you think of it, I don't know, maybe a desire to make decisions, maybe there is a little rebellion. My father always worked for himself. He owned a grocery store and worked fourteen hours a day, six days a week and four hours on Sunday. There was no way I wanted to go into anything like that. I would rather work for a company, draw a week's pay, get the benefits. It's a lot easier.

d. Mechanic BH made a direct link between experiences during his upbringing and his motivations for ownership and for participation. He mentioned specific experiences of growing up in public housing and the need to become self-reliant due to his family situation.

BH: My family life was kind of tumultuous when I was younger. My father had a drinking problem and my mother was actually running the household. So you kind of got

lost in the shuffle. I wasn't told what to do most of the time. I had to do that on my own because she just did not have the time to make decisions for me. So you kind of grew up alot faster then you normally would. You had to. There was no other substitute. You either sink or swim or whatever the case might be. You learn to make decisions right now to do this or to do that or is that right or is it wrong. In my case my mother was the dominant figure. She called all the shots because my old man was not around or incapable of performing as a father. She was very strong-willed. I could watch her and see how she did things. I learned from that and it helped me. Now that I can reflect back at that time it didn't seem so cool, but now I feel that it made me stronger--the type of atmosphere I lived in and the whole neighborhood I lived in.

I lived in Mission Hill in Roxbury; it was "inner city." A lot of families had broken up because of problems with drinking and gambling, whatever. A lot of people would become more self-reliant to get things done because no one else had the time to do it or were incapable of doing it. I see alot of people being stronger in that sense or the other way throwing the towel in and going the same route. I can see it in people my age. I can see the difference. Some will perform well; others will follow in the same footsteps. A couple of friends died from heroin

overdoses and a couple went to jail. That's when I went into the military.

I lived in a three family tenement. We didn't own shit. By not owning something, you don't take pride in it. Did you ever see public housing and how run down they get? Those people don't have any pride in them because they don't own them. They feel they are exploited because they don't own that building. When you don't own something, you just don't have the pride that you normally would. If I was renting this place (his home), I wouldn't care if the lights broke or the ceiling fell down. Ownership is a job. It is something you have to take care of. It is your responsibility. No one else is going to fix this place unless I paid them and the same here at Firm B. Being part owner, sometimes I have seen attitudes change on people like getting the airplanes out. It stands for me that I want to make a profit on Firm B, so, if I leave a whole pile of people up there and they go over to Firm D, there's money lost. You have to be able to look at the whole picture and say if I do this here in Boston, and another guy does it in Atlanta, and some in San Francisco, how much money is that costing me if a ticket agent turns somebody off by being a smart ass or a flight attendant doesn't give somebody service, or a pilot keeps bouncing a plane or damages it. Everybody has an effect on the

company money wise. Ownership is a lot more than coming in and going through the motions.

e. Mechanic BB did not suggest an experience that would link his family upbringing to his motivations for ownership. However, he did stress his father's encouragement of independence as an influence on his motivation for participation.

BB: Solid family. I was in the service when I turned 17. Married when I was 18. So as far as my mother/father type and sister/brother, it was just 17 years. It was the time right after the second World War, in the 50's. Things were not easy. My father had to work for a lot of hours. I was close enough to him so that I could see him at his work anytime that I wanted to. He was a dispatcher for a trucking company. At one time or another all of my two brothers and sisters worked for him. It was good experience. Now he says that he wishes he had kept us closer to the nest longer. Hindsight on his part.

We were all married between 1958 and 1961. So in three years his whole family was up and out. I am experiencing some of that myself with my own family going. I can understand how he feels except that mine are a little older.

My father encouraged me to go in the service. It is awfully hard to analyze that period of time.

f. Mechanic BJ made a link between his "more or less independent" upbringing and his motivations for participation. He did not suggest specific experiences regarding ownership.

BJ: I grew up more or less independent. I did things more in my own way. I played sports. My father worked a shift where he could never come to see me. He worked for a brewery. It was a shift where he went in from 10:00 A.M. to 7:00 P.M. So, when I did sports, it was more or less on your own. When I got out of high school, I went right into the service at 17 from 1960-1964.

My parents didn't like it at first especially since it was a spur of the moment thing, but I wasn't doing anything. Just one of those things that worked out good.

Analysis

At least four of the six mechanics specifically mentioned being taught independence either through their parents' deliberate teaching of values associated with independence or through indirect means in which the individual learned to be more independent because the family situation required it. The remaining two mechanics mentioned the authoritarian nature of their Italian fathers; however, they both wanted increased say in decisions and favored ownership participation. This

desire, in part, may also be attributed to the learning of independent values and behaviors by modelling their fathers who both owned small businesses. Thus, these results seemed to be consistent with the aspect of the theory that suggested that those workers who work in occupations that required "self-direction" learned those values and behaviors during their upbringing. However, the role of parental occupation and the teaching of those values and behaviors seemed to have been a factor in some cases, but not in others.

For example, the mechanic who wanted the greatest amount of control contradicted that particular aspect of the theory. The mechanic who was most in favor of majority ownership and participation in work process and firm level decisions grew up in public housing with a troubled family upbringing. He said it was from this experience that he desired control.

However, several mechanics may have been specifically influenced toward workplace democracy in certain ways because of their father's occupation. Two mechanics had fathers who owned small shoe businesses that failed and who were Italian and authoritarian in nature. This aspect of their upbringing appeared to have affected AA and AE in similar and in different ways. They both supported ownership participation, but not majority ownership for

different reasons: AA experienced economic hardship and AE saw the effect of long working hours on his father. They both supported participation in decisions at the work process level; however, AE said it was probably in rebellion to his upbringing that he wanted participation and AA integrated his unquestioned respect for authority by supporting a systematic approach to participation. AA was one of the few mechanics to support participation at the firm level.

Mechanic AI's father was a lawyer. His family had the highest income of any of the mechanics' families. AI was the only one who learned about stock through his father's teaching and through direct ownership of stock as a child. According to AI, it was because of his understanding of how the stock market operated and his father's philosophy of do the best job you can that he favored ownership participation, but not majority ownership and favored participation in work process decisions, but not firm level decisions.

Mechanics unfavorably inclined toward workplace democracy

(See appendix 16 for a summary of responses.)

a. Mechanic AH said that while growing up "nobody ever thought about owning anything" and "just having a job was a big accomplishment." He grew up in a pro-union

family atmosphere due to his father's membership as a typesetter in the National Typographical Union.

AH: I remember my father was a big union man. He was in the newspaper business. He was in the National Typographical Union which was a big thing in his life. I guess now it has been destroyed by technology from what I read in the newspapers. There are no more typesetters. During the depression years, he only worked three days a week. In those days nobody ever thought about owning anything. Just having a job was a big accomplishment.

When I was in grammar school, we didn't have shoes. You had more stuff than people who were in private industry because there wasn't that much work. When I finished high school, there was only one thing--go into the Army. It was automatic at that time.

Our home was normal. There was always a meal there. Like any parents they would always bend their back for us. Nothing outstanding. Nobody got beat up or anything. They did the best they could with what they had. My father worked odd shifts. He had to belong to the Union. It was a closed shop. It is the same thing we have here. There was controversy at contract time and stuff like that. I remember more later because it became highly publicized. The newspaper would have a working scab force that travelled all over the country for the express purpose of

breaking strikes. I can't remember the details. My father has been gone since '57. I remember more after reading different publications, mostly newspapers. I think he was basically pro union. I didn't think there was any other way to go and maybe I still don't.

b. Mechanic AF attributed his conservative outlook to his upbringing by his grandparents. He did not suggest specific experiences from his family upbringing leading to his motivations against ownership and participation.

AF: I was raised by my grandparents. My parents got killed in the war. My grandfather was a heck of a guy. If he saw something wrong he would pay the price. You would get a spanking or whatever. I feel that way. When I look around at alot of kids today, if they had their asses kicked when they were younger, they wouldn't be the way they are. Of course kids probably aren't in agreement with that I'd be willing to bet. I'm not like a liberal type. I'm more a conservative type of person to begin with maybe that was from my grandparents, my upbringing.

c. Mechanic AG, contrary to what his parents taught him, i.e., "to be conservative" and "to pay cash for everything" borrowed money to start his own business. DL did not mention other specific experiences that would suggest a link between his upbringing and his motivations to own his own business.

AG: I don't think I was any different than any other kid all the time I was raised. I was made to do things but it wasn't always their way. You know as you got older if I didn't like the way something went you said something and there could be a compromise somewhere but everything wasn't absolutely the way they said it had to be. I made some mistakes of my own. I could always go back and say, "Yeah, you told me so." And then you could laugh about it really.

I got thrown in jail one night. They didn't come up and scream and holler or anything else about it. It was pretty much don't let it happen again and there will be no more said about it and it didn't. It was left at that and it wasn't you'll get a beating out of it or anything like that. You learn by your mistakes, I guess.

I was close to both my parents. He has always enjoyed the things that I have and we always got along good. I was never afraid of him. He always said right or wrong, we are always there to stand behind you no matter what it is. I guess I am the same way with my kids. If one of them was gone, it was the other one that did the reprimanding. It wasn't all my father or my mother. It was where it was needed.

They taught me to be conservative. Don't go over you head on things. That was in a way good and in a way bad. Sometimes to start out in business you can't, you just got

to jump in with both feet. That's how I ended up with a business such as that. I just jumped in with both feet over my head and caught up later on. With them, it was always if you didn't have the money you couldn't do it. You couldn't borrow the money. You always had to pay cash for everything. I borrowed the money and ended up with what I want. I think that is just the difference with their age and growing up.

d. Mechanic BG's parents were factory workers. His father fought for the union. This strongly influenced his view of the role of the worker and his own motivations against ownership and participation.

BG: My father was a factory worker who came with lousy jobs throughout his life of work. He has always fought for the unions when he had problems going on in the workplace. As I got older, I could physically see it for myself. My mother was a factory worker. I saw them left with nothing when the company folded. I saw the need of the unions' hands in those factories.

I have a strong sense of family. When I grew up everyone was working. I had to go from one house to another and it was just like you walk in for dinner. If you wanted to, you could stay over. It was an extended family. There was a sense of strength and well being with that and I always felt superior to a lot of people because

of my large family, not immediate family, but relatives and everyone. I found that sense of strength was like being part of a union or a movement working with a group of people.

I really don't know how my family upbringing influenced my thoughts on owning a company. I don't really believe in owning a company or owning the greatest proportion. You have to be a worker and have to admit that you are a worker. You have to be a good worker. I think that is my family influence. Do good at whatever you do. That's all I want to do is to do the job.

e. Mechanic BC suggested that his relative lack of interest in ownership and participation could have been because he did not "come from a business-oriented" family. He always respected authority and was willing to let those "who own the company run the company." BC also mentioned he grew up during a time when there was no controversy and events like World War II, as opposed to Vietnam, were viewed with a black and white perspective. This way of viewing events, according to BC, might have influenced how he viewed the role of management and workers.

BC: I have always respected authority I think. I am just willing to sit back and let the people who own the company run the company. Because I feel they want to make a profit and they are going to do what is necessary. I

know you need some safeguards so you don't get abused. I don't know. I guess I just don't come from a business, a family of people who are business-oriented. My father wasn't into business. He just worked the same as I have all his life.

He used to work for MDC Electric Water Division and drove truck most of the time and things like that. He was never a person who would buy stock. He was not very adventuresome at throwing money around and trying to make a profit or something like that. Maybe my station in life is just to work for somebody else. I am not too adventuresome with money. I am not a gambler or anything like that. I suppose that is how I was brought up. It just isn't there.

I was impressionable. In World War II my brothers were in the service. I was 12, 13 and 14 years old during the war. That had an impact. It was that time of your life when it was the biggest thing going on. One of my brothers was wounded. There was an awful lot of patriotism. There again, traditional. It wasn't like growing up in the Vietnam War where there was so much controversy. World War II was black and white--bad guys and good guys. During Vietnam we were starting to look at someone else's point of view and I was mixing things up. There was no question who was supposed to be at war with the Germans and Japanese. We didn't question it at all.

Naturally, when we grew up, it was an exciting time. Of course you are still a kid and you don't realize it. When my brother was wounded, I came home from school and my father had a telegram and that was the first time that I really had any feeling at all. Gee, my brother got hurt in this thing, but up until then it was all a big adventure. People would get killed, but it was like getting killed on television. You don't feel anything, but seeing my mother so upset I realized my brother was so bad off.

f. Mechanic BE felt his family upbringing had been very influential. However, he said he could not name anything specifically about his upbringing and his motivations regarding ownership and participation. He did mention his dad, a union machinist, as his role model and his belief that working people tried to be fair and corporations did not.

BE: Whenever I look subconsciously, my role model is my dad; I remember what he did. He was a machinist for General Electric. He worked all his life. He was on strikes. I grew up with that. He belonged to the AFL-CIO. Being at GE can be rough, just about every other year you were either out of work or on strike or something else at Christmas time. I remember that vividly. That's your make-up; those are things you can't change.

Both my parents worked. I never knew we didn't make too much money. Later I found out we didn't.

I think it is your home life. It is one of the biggest drawbacks of working people. You try to be fair. Corporations don't try to be fair. There is no fairness.

We're all French. That definitely had an effect on me, my personality. I can't think of anything specifically.

Analysis

The most common theme found among three mechanics was they grew up poor and came from families that were pro-union. Coping with strikes was a familiar occurrence.

Some of the mechanics' fathers had skilled and unskilled occupations which showed there were some, but not a complete correspondence between parents' occupation and offspring's occupation. For example, Mechanics AH and BE had father's who had skilled jobs; whereas BC's father was unskilled.

One mechanic mentioned he had the opportunity to make mistakes without parental rebuke and voice his opinion which, at times, affected the outcome of his parents' decisions. Thus, there was some evidence in AG's upbringing that supported self initiative and independence. AG owned his own business in addition to

working at Firm A.

Other factors, suggested by the mechanics, that reinforced their relatively unfavorable view of workplace democracy were: 1) The notion of ownership and participation in decisions was not part of their consciousness; 2) One was taught to see the world in strictly dichotomous terms which, in part, meant workers worked and managers managed; and 3) There was acceptance of an adversarial relationship between management and the union.

Comparative analysis between groups

There were two apparent differences in the family upbringing between the group who was more in favor of workplace democracy and the group who was less in favor of it: 1) The favorable group mentioned they learned to become independent at an early age; and 2) The unfavorable group had half its members grow up in pro-union families. There were no other apparent differences.

Section 2: Education

The theory suggested that the major function of schools was to prepare students for their future roles in the economic production hierarchy. Therefore, students

experienced the education process differently. Those students most likely to go to college and to compete for jobs in upper management were more likely to have had teachers that encouraged the development of those traits needed for managerial positions such as creativity, self-direction, and decision making than those students who were not likely to attend college and who would compete for jobs lower in the production hierarchy.

With this theoretical basis, it is notable that the airline mechanics in the study had schooling experiences in which 1) The teachers were more authoritarian in teaching approach and style; 2) The teachers designed learning activities that limited the students' range of choices and were teacher-controlled rather than student-directed; and 3) They were encouraged to pursue manual or skilled occupations.

Mechanics favorably inclined toward workplace democracy

(See appendix 17 for summary of responses.)

a. Mechanic AA remembered the authoritarian and disciplinarian nature of teachers. He did not view this in a negative way and said he "always liked my teachers."

AA: The same. We had strong disciplinarian teachers. We still talk about her and the old hickory stick in the desk. I had my hands belted a few times.

She banged my head against the radiator and she put me out. That's the way they ran things in those days and nobody ever even yelled at her or fired her. I'm just trying to say that there was always a big sense of authority growing up in my generation. We always towed the mark.

I always liked my teachers. They always knew you personally. You weren't just a student. They all knew about your problems and your families. They were always very friendly to us. I was the last in a line of the family that went to school so I was fairly well known to the teachers. My whole family behaved in school.

b. Mechanic AI discussed two major influences regarding his education. The formal education influence occurred when he went to boarding school and learned respect for the seniority system. The second nonformal education influence was his participation in Junior Achievement where he learned to understand how shares and control of a company worked.

AI: Junior achievement. General Motors had a big plant in New York. I was chosen from school to participate in the program in order to understand what management was and so forth. In Junior Achievement you could understand shares of stock, control of the company. I would say it was very worthwhile.

My education up to ninth grade was in a rural public school. From ninth to twelfth, I was in a Catholic boarding school in New York. The education system between the two was totally different. One was geared for rural life--farming, a society of everyday life and the other one was formulated around going to college. I was with students who were from well-known families around the country. I would say the boarding school was moderately controlled. In fact they allowed you to do what you wanted to as long as you abided by the rules of the school.

There was a seniority system. Seniors had all the say. You were number one; everybody worshipped you. I enjoyed that type of dictatorship. Once you accepted it, you could live with it. Everybody had a sense of respect for society, school, and for all the surroundings. It was a very thorough education. By the time you became a senior, you instilled that into everybody else, i.e., the same feeling that some day you will be important. There was always a sense of respect for the school and its name.

I think they gave too much responsibility to you so that you would not want to turn around and start back at the low end of the totem pole like going into the military. I know a lot of friends that went to college and when they joined fraternities, they resented the whole system. The fraternity expected you to start all over.

c. Mechanic AE liked school at the time he was there, but now had some reservations about the skill focus of his education since it did not have much to offer him later.

AE: I graduated from high school as a machinist. I went into it for one year and gave it up. I didn't like it at all. It was completely different than I thought it was. I liked school. I wasn't the best student in the world, but I had alot of fun. The only thing I'm sorry about with school was I didn't take a college course. Even if I didn't go to college it would be a lot better. Fifty percent of my high school was spent in the machine shop. That was a complete waste. I never went into it. I learned to handle some tools. It helped a little, but not very much really.

d. Mechanic BH felt he had to adapt to survive. He moved from parochial to public school and had to learn a different set of rules--from being made to do something to "getting out of it whatever (he) put into it."

BH: Those were discipline days. If you showed up at school without your homework, you couldn't say you dropped it into a puddle on the way to school. They just don't buy that. You knew they would run you across with the ruler. So you knew you were expected to do things--to perform. You had to do it whether you liked it or not. Some people rebelled against that. I went to the ninth grade and then

I left there to go to Brighton High School where I took auto mechanics. Like I told you, I wanted to go and was accepted at a technical high school, but we didn't have the money. So I went for auto mechanics but it was going from a Catholic school for 9 years to a public high school from 1966-1968. It was a whole different world and the times were becoming kind of turbulent.

I remember showing up the first day with suit coat and white shirt and tie and they were throwing erasers at me. I was thinking 'shit this isn't going to work out.' So you had to adapt to survive. The next day I went to school with a sweatshirt and sneakers on and that showed the guys I got the message and I was in. That made a deep impression on me--that was the way you survived.

I enjoyed the trade part of public school. At least when I went to it in the late 60's. I was in a shop course too so whatever I got out of it was whatever I put into it. I was of the opinion if you didn't work the job or you didn't perform it was no big deal if you were at least going through the motions. It wasn't like parochial school where you were made to perform or see you later.

e. Mechanic BB remembered having a sense of low self esteem when he was in school. He was not a very good student even though he tried. He returned to school at a later age and did very well.

BB: I went to public schools. I graduated a little too early. I just turned 17 and graduated in 1956. Shortly after that I went into the service.

I was not a very good student. I didn't get good marks let's put it that way. It disturbed me quite a bit because I think I tried hard, but the marks just weren't there. When I was 26 I decided to go back to school. I had this thing that maybe I was a dumb kid. I went to school for about 9 months and averaged about a 97 the whole time that I was in school. So, I knew. I thought if I had one more year or I had started one year later, I probably would have done much better in school.

There was no problem with my teachers. They were authoritarian.

f. Mechanic BJ was happiest when he was working with his hands during his educational experiences. He was pleased that his teachers and parents decided he should go to trade school.

BJ: It was all public schools. I think I was channeled more or less into working with my hands. My marks weren't bad, but I always had trouble with conduct. I was always happy when I was working with my hands. Consequently, they sent me to trade which was the harder way because they sent me to Roxbury and we lived in West Rockville. I am glad things worked out that way and that

the teachers and my parents knew that I worked with my hands better.

At Boston Trade it was just electrical--commercial electricity. I was there for 7 years.

Analysis

Only mechanic AI mentioned a schooling experience at a Catholic boarding school that encouraged self-initiative among students and encouraged them to handle responsibility within an overall hierarchical institution. In an informal conversation with AI following the formal taped interview, he discussed his original career plans to be a pilot, a profession that requires its members to handle considerable responsibility, to take initiative, and make decisions based on a wide range of choices. Unfortunately AI was in an accident that disqualified him from further pursuing that career. Because of his love of airplanes, he became an airline mechanic. Thus, his schooling experience was consistent with what theory suggests is a correspondence between schools and workplaces.

Even though the remaining mechanics had somewhat different reactions to their schooling, several mentioned they liked school, the authoritarian nature of their teachers was not a problem, and they liked participating in the trade aspect of school and working with their hands.

Their general remarks suggest their experiences reinforced a limited desire and expectation for choice and was, thus, consistent with theory.

Mechanics unfavorably inclined toward workplace democracy

(See appendix 18 for summary of responses.)

a. Mechanic AH rebelled against the authoritarian system of the school. He did not think there was a connection between his educational experience and his motivations against ownership and participation.

AH: I went to 12 years of nun school, parochial school. That was free in those days. I don't think we appreciated it. I think we tormented the nuns and fooled around too much. I got kicked out of there in high school and my father had to get me back in. I guess I was smart enough to know that one warning was enough and then kind of took it easy after that--just skipped school and generally raised hell.

I don't remember anything in school that would concern ownership or employment. One thing I do remember that I heard I think everyday no matter what grade you were in or what kind of teacher you had was you better learn this because when you get out into the work-a-day world you are going to need it.

b. Mechanic AF remembered a good educational experience in the shop course although he didn't like anything to do with reading and discussion.

AF: I liked school. I didn't mind it at all. I thought it was alright. I think back through life and look on it as a good experience more so than anything. I was into what they called the shop course. I found it interesting and I enjoyed it. I went to a sheet metal course and auto mechanics class. One was two years, one was one year. I just enjoyed the work and just looked forward to it. I actually probably took at that time the easiest way out. I always enjoyed working with my hands and never been too much for books and talking and stuff like that so.

c. Mechanic AG quit school because he was "there because he had to be." He had no regrets and felt his work now was enjoyable to him.

AG: I never really cared for school and I quit school. I don't regret it even today. I finished the ninth grade and that was all. When I went into the service, I took the GED test and that took me five hours to take it and I finished high school right there. When you look at most college graduates, I make probably almost twice as much as they do. And I enjoy what I do. I never did enjoy school. I was there because I had to be.

d. Mechanic BG felt that school did not prepare him for life even though he liked school. He wished he had taken the college course because the time he spent in the machine shop was a complete waste.

BG: I went to a public school. They really didn't prepare you for life. I imagined it was there, but it didn't reach me. Public school was just something I went through. I always got along with teachers. I never had a belligerent attitude. I don't like ...(BG didn't finish the sentence and then digressed from this specific topic and explained how he felt about the relationships between workers and supervisors.)

I have a problem with condescending and false people. That is probably why I am a union person. Because you find a lot of that in the lower working class...the injustices in the workplace is usually on the working floor. Any abuses there are in the work force fall on the worker - how he is treated, how he is addressed, how he is disciplined. There is a lot of authority in the front line supervisor and you get a lot of the wrong people in those jobs and I never wanted to see anyone abused or taken advantage of. I'd be in a fight for someone else before I would be in a fight for me.

Public schools could be and maybe today, for all I know, more influential than they were for me. I certainly hope they are. Kids today have TV going all day long. They know what is going on with the economy, on every news cast, but I don't know if they are aware of the right things. They haven't spent time in the proper areas. They (the unions) want to spend to organize but to get that membership, they have to educate. If we in fact had teachers, if we in fact sent people out to the public schools and lectured, if we in fact showed what part of America we are, then I don't think we would be listening to a Ronald Reagan for another four years.

e. Mechanic BC felt he respected authority figures, teachers and school principals, during his educational experience. He expressed a clear distinction between the teacher as "boss" and students as students in the classroom.

BC: When I grew up as a kid, you respected teachers. When you go into the classroom in the first grade, the teacher is the boss and you are the students. That is the relationship there. At home my father and mother were the boss. It has always been that sort of a feeling of respect for the person who is in authority, the principal of the school.

f. Mechanic BE remembered the difficulty in changing from a parochial school to public school but thought he learned to accept more responsibility by going to public school. He also felt that force did not result in permanent change because when "you are not forced you won't do it."

BE: Most of the schooling I've had on my own. I did graduate from high school. I went to parochial school until high school. In one school they stopped having boys and turned it into a girls school. So I went to the city school in Lowell and then from there I went to London High School. In public school you didn't have the structure that you did in parochial school. I didn't do too well the first year with all that freedom. They more or less let you do what you wanted to do. I paid for it in the next three years when I finally realized it was no joke. It was a different way of conducting yourself. You had to do a lot more on your own than in a parochial system. In a parochial system they never would let you get that far. I did graduate on time.

It was good going to a public school because I never would have accepted that responsibility until later. I would have delayed it four years. Forcing you to do something is one way of getting it done. But it doesn't do you a hell of alot of good because, as soon as you are not

forced, you won't do it.

Management reminds me of teachers. Because we have some terrific supervisors here, but I don't want them in my backyard for a lot of reasons.

Analysis

Three mechanics expressed their strong dislike for the authoritarian system of both parochial and public school education. One mechanic skipped school and one quit. One changed to public schools from parochial and felt it to be less coercive. The mechanic who acted independently and quit school was the same mechanic who started his own business. The two other mechanics were strongly pro-union.

Three mechanics said they liked school for different reasons: one liked the shop course and didn't like reading and discussion; one wished he had taken the college preparatory course; and one respected people in positions of authority, like the teachers and school principal.

The mechanics' respective experiences tended to reinforce theory. They were not educated in either the parochial or public school systems to have a desire for or high expectations for choice and their educational experiences seemed not to promote self-expression, creativity, and independence.

Comparison of results between Firm A and Firm B

There were no apparent differences in the schooling experiences between those mechanics who generally supported workplace democratization and those who did not generally support it.

Section 3: Religion

Introduction

As an institution of the superstructure, the theory suggested that religious institutions functioned in a similar capacity as the school system did in relationship to society's economic institutions. Thus, the mechanics reported experiences and views about religion should demonstrate a pattern of limited choice and description of the church and/or religious leaders as authoritarian.

Mechanics favorably inclined toward workplace democracy

(See appendix 19 for summary of responses.)

a. Mechanic AA remembered he learned a tremendous respect for authority. He was raised Catholic and recalled he did not have "a lot of religious training."

AA: I am Catholic. I didn't have a lot of religious training. The nuns used to hit you on the back of the

shoulder with some sort of clacker that they would carry around. Usually we trained for communion and confirmation. You don't see the religious training until you go to get married.

I learned just a tremendous respect for authority. My whole life is like that. I probably got away from it one or two years when I was in high school when I went off on a toot but for the most part nothing drastic.

b. Mechanic AI received religious education at a four year private school. The focus of his education was on the history of religion. He recalled it was "not forced on you" and "you could formulate your own opinions." The religious belief that meant the most to him was that one will eventually pay for his/her sins. He viewed the Catholic Church as a military dictatorship.

AI: Four years I lived with priests. That's all we had. The system of the Catholic Church is a military dictatorship. That's one way of saying it quick and getting it on the table. The school where I was at everybody was happy to be there. So we didn't have too much of a military or dictatorship system. I was impressed with what they had to say because they did not force religion on me. We had a history of the church and an understanding of how your religion was formed. I thought it was great to learn everything, to read everything you

could and to formulate your own opinions. I do believe there is a God and a hereafter. I had a priest write in my yearbook, "Whatever you do, do it hard." That's the way it is when the day comes you have a great score of rights. It's how you played the game. Whatever you do, sooner or later you are going to atone for it.

It wasn't Catholicism that he was trying to teach. He was trying to teach me the kind of religion that you are going to pay for your sins.

c. Mechanic AE felt that his religious background did not have much of an influence on him. He did not like other people, like the moral majority, pushing their views on others. His guiding belief was to treat other people the way you would want to be treated.

AE: I am not very religious. I have nothing against it but I am not a strong backer of it either. There are very few people who are religious that I respect. I don't like other people pushing their views. Like the moral majority and the guy who raised the money for the religious group. Here is a group that tries to push. They tell you what you can watch on TV and I don't consider that religious. My view of religion is to treat other people the way you want to be treated. There should be a lot more of that. So it hasn't had much influence on me.

d. Mechanic BH was raised Catholic and felt it had an influential effect during school. He believed in treating people the same way that they treated him.

BH: Religion to me is: I will treat you the way you treat me. I try to limit myself. I have a temper and I know this. My Catholic upbringing had influence on me because of the schooling mostly.

e. Mechanic DB was raised Baptist and attended Church regularly. He viewed himself as not "an organizational religious person." His greatest difficulty was with Church politics. He felt its greatest influence was in the way he treated others.

DB: Not especially. I was raised Baptist. It was a forgone conclusion that you went to church on Sunday. We had alot of religious education in school and that was part of the upbringing.

I have my own beliefs. I am not an organizational religious person. I find it very difficult to put up with the politics of the church. But I guess it does influence your life in ways that you don't really understand--the way you treat other people.

f. Mechanic BJ had been raised protestant but attended Catholic services now because his wife and children did. His father was a minister; however, he felt that religion has not been very influential in his life.

He was taught that Protestants were the only right ones, but now believed that everyone was right and "we will all end up in the same place." He disliked religious figures trying to convert someone to a particular religion.

BJ: Not really influential. We went to church every Sunday. My father's father was a minister. I was brought up Protestant and taught that Catholics were wrong and the Protestants were the only right ones. I used to hear that every Saturday and Sunday. All my friends were Catholic. I would go to confession with them and stand outside and all that. I married a Catholic. I now believe that everybody is right and we are all going to end up in the same place anyhow.

When I was going to get married, the Lutheran minister always tried to convert her. The priest was a really good natured guy and put no strain on you to do this or that. The other really turned me off completely. I was going to go to church by myself, but it was so much easier to go to church with the kids and my wife and go to the Catholic church.

Analysis

Generally, the mechanics did not like their church telling them what to believe and, thus, did not think religion was very influential in their lives except with

how one treated others. One mechanic mentioned he learned just a tremendous respect for authority, but didn't remember much else. The one mechanic, AI, who felt favorable toward his religious teaching, was educated at boarding school and described the Catholic Church as dictatorial.

These reported experiences tended to confirm the theoretical view of the role of the church, at least in these mechanics' experiences, as one of limiting the desire and expectation of formulating one's own opinions and choices.

Mechanics unfavorably inclined toward workplace democracy

(See appendix 20 for summary of results.)

a. Mechanic AA was Catholic and was raised Catholic. His most memorable experience was of a neighborhood parish priest who related well to the kids and was charismatic. He also restated the disciplinary nature of the nuns in school.

AA: I am Catholic. Like I told you I went to the nun's school for 12 years. I remember that you better have the right answers in the morning when she got you up against the wall. I remember our parish priest at the time. He is still in Worcester. He would come out in the school yard and play basketball and elbow his way around.

He joined the Army and was a chaplain. He has a reunion every year and is going back to France with a bunch of guys to relive the D-day thing. He was a guy all the kids knew; he always knew your name. I always admired that. He had great charisma, a helluva smile. He is just an outstanding individual.

b. Mechanic AF did believe in the Ten Commandments, but "that's about it." He went to church weekly when growing up. However, now he did not, except to attend funerals and weddings.

AF: Right now, nothing. I was born Catholic but raised Episcopalian. As a kid, I went to Church every Sunday. The only time I go to Church now is usually weddings or funerals or something like that. I do believe in the Ten Commandments type things. I guess that is about it.

c. Mechanic AG says there was nothing memorable about his religious upbringing. His children attended Church, but he did not make them go. His parents took the same approach with him.

AG: I went to Church (Methodist) when I was a kid and really I don't go now. My kids go. I seemed to enjoy it. As I got older, I learned other things. I stopped going. I wasn't told I had to go. I kind of went because I wanted to. I think my kids are the same way because I don't say

"you have to do this or you have to go to Church." I wasn't made to do things; I did things because I enjoyed them.

There was nothing about my religious upbringing that sticks out in my mind. I did it when I was a kid and that's where it was left.

d. Mechanic BG said he believed in an equitable life for people and believed in basic "right and wrong." He currently did not attend church. He had attended a Church that he thought was progressive, but did not attend now due to Church politics. He was familiar with recent Church philosophy and teachings. He disagreed with the Church on worker ownership because he thought that was socialism which was too radical for him. Religion had been influential and still was.

BG: Pretty much just basic right and wrong. I am a believer in right. I guess that religion hangs in there. If you listen to the latest from the Catholic Church, it brings things back to the people. They want control. I believe in the general principle of what they are saying. You don't write the people off to make things work. They are saying that you have to give them enough that they have a healthy and happy life, an equitable life. I believe in that. I want enough say in my company and I feel I have that through my union fortunately. I can make demands and

I can offer alternatives and see that they are justly treated.

I disagree with what the Church was saying on worker ownership. We are talking a philosophy again. The Church is talking socialism. Not that it is wrong. There is a lot of good. I am just not ready to talk radical change in the government or our world structure as we know it. (More of BG's views re worker ownership is presented under his views on ownership in Section 1.)

Right is in everyday life, how you deal with people. You don't belittle people. You don't abuse people. You treat everyone with respect. That is basically all that it comes down to. I am not a churchgoer. It's funny not to be a church goer and still have a sense of belief. I guess I am a person of change. I was a strong church going person for quite awhile after my service years. I started to venture into the city and found a church with forward looking ideas, different masses, services. People would interact. It was really great. Then through the politics and economics of that church, I stopped. I just never tried to search anything out again.

d. Mechanic BC had been raised Baptist and was an "infrequent church-goer." He discussed reasons for his respect of authority which were derived primarily from his own experience with serving on different community

committees. He felt those in positions of responsibility needed the authority to get things done. He did not view himself as one who would "question authority" unless the person proved himself to be unworthy of his respect.

BC: I was raised Baptist. I'm not too much of a church goer. I respect a person who is in authority and who has responsibility. So as long as they are responsible, I do not question their authority. Several different times in my life I have been the authority. I don't mean just in my own family, but outside my family. I was president of the golf league. I was part of a group that were chaperones of a high school band. When I am in charge of something like that, I feel a tremendous weight of responsibility. I try to check and double check to make sure that people are assigned jobs. I feel more responsibility than authority when I am in charge. I feel responsible to the group. I don't feel like I am the boss.

When you first went to school, the teacher was the boss. She was also responsible and did everything she was supposed to do. So when I have the authority, I have the responsibility with it. I have the authority to get the jobs done. I think I would serve on more committees and boards, but not as the chairman than the other way around.

I think it is a two way street, but I think that is the structure that I grew up with. It is inside me and I don't think it can change. Some people are always questioning authority. I don't usually question authority until the person proves to me that they are so screwed up that I can't respect them. That has happened quite a bit here at Firm B. As you get older probably I question authority more than you do when you are younger. I am not rebellious.

f. Mechanic BE felt that religion had been very influential in his life. He cited a religious passage that was memorable to him.

BE: I am of the Catholic persuasion. I always have been; I wouldn't be anything else. I guess that would be considered influential. A lot of my mental disciplines are a result of that particular persuasion. I don't want to get in the position of saying that's the way to go, but it's my way to go and it has been a constant in things.

Baseball coaches as figures stand out in your mind. You knew where you stood, what was expected, what was going to happen.

Deutoronomy is probably the most important thing a Catholic will read in their life. You know if your hand causes you to sin, cut it off. If your eye causes you to sin, gouge it out. If you divorce your wife and cause her

to sleep with another man, it's your sin. When they get through reading that, you want to cut your throat.

Analysis

Most of the mechanics felt that religion was not particularly influential, except in isolated circumstances such as the presence of a charismatic parish priest, the remembrance of the Ten Commandments, respect for those in authority and knowing the right answers. Of the two mechanics who felt religion was important to them, mechanic BG was the most informed about the Catholic Church's position on worker ownership and giving greater control to the people. However, this knowledge did not appear to affect his position on workplace democracy. He still supported representation through the union. Although BG believed in an equitable life, he did not support the Church's position on worker ownership because it was too much like socialism and too radical. His belief in an equitable life seemed to apply to how one treated another, i.e., with mutual respect but this did not extend to economic relations between people.

Some mechanics described their religious experiences, in particular those with the church, as authoritarian and mentioned that ideas were forced on them. For others, it was not a particularly influential experience in their

life. Those mechanics who had pro union family backgrounds were Catholic and those who did not were Protestant.

Comparison of results between favorable and unfavorable mechanics

For most of the mechanics from both groups, their religious experiences were not very influential. For some it reinforced their respect for authority and for others they rebelled against the authoritarian nature of the church. There were no major differences between the two groups. Catholics and protestants were of equal number in both groups. There were no other groups represented.

Section 4: Political Economy

There are many ways in which the structure and practice of the nation's political economy can either encourage or discourage workplace democratization and/or one's motivation for it. Political economy integrates both the base and superstructure. The theory suggested that workers' motivations to participate in employee participation programs were dependent on the degree to which laws and policies encouraged or rewarded that behavior. For example, as mentioned previously, legislation that provides tax breaks for ESOPs encourages

managers to give workers the opportunity to participate in those programs. Furthermore, the degree to which the members of the National Labor Relations Board, appointed by the President, were supportive of labor's position in the collective bargaining process could affect the broad policies and specific case decisions relative to workers' participation rights.

The political orientation of elected national leaders could affect the range of ownership and participation choices available to workers in addition to broad domestic and international economic policies. The theory suggested that those workers who were supportive of workplace democracy would be more likely to support candidates for political office that would support policies and laws that would foster workplace participation opportunities.

Mechanics favorably inclined toward workplace democracy

(See appendix 21 for summary of results.)

a. Mechanic AA described himself as a "right-winger" and one who favored "Republican attitudes toward the economy." He did not believe in welfare and thought we should balance the budget. He felt that times were right for stock and would like to own stocks in his firm. He believed that ownership of stocks would lead to greater interest in the firm and employees would work harder.

AA: Everybody says they grew up poor but we were poor, not really really poor. We always had a home. I've always done very well so it's tough for me to kick about the economy. The economy has always done a lot for me so that's the only way I know it. I've had a good job for the last thirty years or so. I didn't own a car until I was 26 years old so I don't know too much about ownership. You know sometimes I get confused by the term ownership. We're talking about stocks in a company and stocks rising and stuff like that. I think times have been good. I never owned any stocks, but I think times have been good for stocks. I think it would be nice to own stocks in a company and say the motivation leads to more interest in the company to work harder and all of that.

(In terms of the government), they should try to balance the budget to a certain degree. There are big deficits in spending. They should try to curb the deficits in the trade balance with the foreign countries. They should try to even that out a little more. Even if they have to legislate to do it. It's tough to say about the welfare rolls. I'm a right winger to start with. You can see it's part of my makeup. I don't go along with the right wing completely, but there's a lot of things in the welfare system and stuff like that that should be cleaned up and some of them could be improved. There should be

more help in certain areas. I think a lot of them are just give-away programs to get votes. I happen to be on a high pay scale as far as workers go, probably one of the highest, but I think that could be evened out.

Some of the things that Reagan tried to do originally were pretty good but I don't think he went far enough in balancing the budget and to stop government spending in certain areas. I'm more in favor of the Republican attitudes toward the economy as opposed to the Democratic. I think I will vote for Reagan if the choice is between Reagan and Mondale. I'm pretty sure. I don't even know what Mr. Hart stands for.

b. Mechanic AI said he never "felt the pinch for a dollar." He understood the economy to be cyclical in nature and believed that our society was spending far more than it has. He did not think the economy affected the way he thought. He felt favorable toward helping the poor because it made sense; otherwise, they would resort to revolt or robbery.

AI: I never felt the pinch for a dollar. If we ever really needed it, they had it for us. There was never too much excess. I feel the same way about the economy as I do about religion. Sooner or later we have to account for it. If the whole society we live in is devoured sooner or later, we will have to account for it. When we start

counting up or adding it all up we are going to find ourselves way short. It does bother me the way people go out and spend. Our wages have not multiplied in proportion. People are out spending it and I don't know where they are getting it. Somebody has to pay.

I agree with cutting the budget but not giving it to defense. You don't rob Peter to pay Paul when Paul doesn't really need it. And then add more to Paul from no place. Poor old Peter is done. Someday those people in that group will be so poor that no matter what you do it won't help. That is how we get revolts. When you can't affect them anymore, then what do they do. They go out and rob a store. What's the difference they say, I don't have a meal in my stomach and, if I go to jail, I will get three square meals.

If you are going to cut my taxes and cut the poor, then, pay off the bills. That's not what Reagan did. They turned around and spent everything. Therefore, I say the whole system is wrong. He is only fooling the people to believe that that is going to help the situation in this country.

Everything works in cycles. I don't feel as though the economy has had an impact on the way I think. I wouldn't change my way of thinking if I became a millionaire tomorrow.

c. Mechanic AE was married and had no children. He said he never " had it hard." If the price was low enough, he would invest some of his money in the company as he has done in the past. However, he did not feel he would invest large amounts of money.

AE: The economy never really affected me. It's just me and my wife. We never really had it hard. My father always worked for himself and always made a living. I guess I started at a pretty early age working or doing whatever I could when my father was a shoemaker. I bought my first bike, a large two wheeler. I was taught pretty well to work for what you wanted; it was a good experience.

One thing that influenced me to buy stock from the employee purchase plan was a 15% break in the price of the stock. That's just to pick up a few stock and have something as far as investment in the company. As far as buying big amounts, I wouldn't. I don't think I would ever go into anything big, like I said before, as far as owning a lot of it.

d. Mechanic BH favored a strong economic policy toward foreign countries. He felt that the economy and economic policies affected him greatly. For example, Reagan was anti-labor and against the working class. He did not want his company's policies to victimize the workers or the poor. He believed that ownership in his

with the Democratic issue. Jimmy Carter would be nice if he lived right next door to me and you could borrow his lawn mower, that type of thing, but not a leader. I didn't agree with the way he handled Iran. A lot of the working guys sit and see things. Like Reagan didn't think that Grenada was going our way so bam he goes in there. I don't want to see us get into another war in Central America, but Reagan portrayed himself as a real leader whether he had a grasp of the situation or not. Mondale on the other hand is--he could put you to sleep. It is like watching paint dry. He's probably a real nice guy but I think alot of people voted for Reagan for what he portrays. Obviously he has not done a whole bunch to help me as a worker especially in my industry with the bankruptcy laws. However, I can't vote for him this time around even though I am not too cool on Mondale. I'll vote for the woman.

e. Mechanic BB explained how economic hardship affected a person's attitude toward waste. He thought some of what his folks experienced during the depression had an effect on his way of thinking.

BB: My folks came out of the depression era. They knew what it took to survive. They had their victory gardens. I think some of it kind of carries over. I think you become more conscious about waste.

f. Mechanic BJ said his father never earned much money. He felt that when he grew up, kids appreciated things more than kids today. He was not supportive of the pay reduction plan at his firm because it hurt his family's income and affected how much they could save. He said if the time came when "we are all out of work," he would support the union in taking "charge of the company."

BJ: My father never earned a lot of money. We were more or less in the same boat with all the kids that we hung around with. That's the problem I see now. My oldest has no concept of money. I used to get a pair of sneakers for \$5.00 and now they are \$50.00 and there's no appreciation. And this 18% that I am giving back really hurts because I really don't want to alter (our lifestyle). I am not saving that great amount anyhow.

I think when we grew up we appreciated it when your father went out and bought you this. Now, I don't know whether it is our mistake or what it is. You don't want to hold back buying clothes because kids kid them in school--a lot different than when we were there.

If the company can't get straightened out and we are all out of work, then, if the union could get together, we could take charge of the company and do it and do it right.

Analysis

The questions were apparently too general. There were no patterns in responses and no apparent findings. However, mechanic BH did note relationships between government policies and laws and the economy such as the following: 1) The present administration's policies tended to be anti-labor and against the working class; 2) The United States foreign policies and laws did not support a balanced trade; and 3) Worker ownership of his firm was seen as a possible strategy to prevent his firm from filing bankruptcy. BH said he would vote democratic in the upcoming presidential elections.

However, mechanic AA said he was a "right-winger" and generally favored a Republican approach to the economy. AA was generally not supportive of unions and, so, was probably unconcerned with the President's anti-union position. Furthermore, AA felt financially secure and that the time may be right to buy stock. From his perspective a Republican approach to the economy may result in a stronger economy than a Democratic approach. For these reasons he could, then, participate in an ownership participation program.

Mechanics unfavorably inclined toward workplace democracy

(See appendix 22 for summary of responses.)

a. Mechanic AH 's experienced other people not pulling their fair share of the workload. His major concern about investing money in ownership was that he would work more than the other worker. He was very frugal with his money and did not buy anything "unless he knows what he's getting." Growing up in a poor, factory neighborhood was very influential in making him determined to have a different kind of work and life stlye.

AH: I don't spend a dime today that I don't have. I have it but I don't spend it unless I know what I am getting.

I always thought that I had to push myself to get something done. Where I grew up, people were friendly, nobody starved. There were no automobiles on the street. Now if I went back to the same neighborhood, I wouldn't get out of my car because it's the drug capital of Worcester. It was a factory neighborhood and I was determined that I would not work in those factories no matter what. I remember growing up, promising myself that I would not work in those factories. I don't even know if all those factories are still there.

At seven o'clock in the morning, you would walk down the street to the factory and come home at five o'clock in the afternoon and stop at the corner for two shots and a few beers. Go home and listen to the radio. I said that's

not for me. Even after I got into this business, the guys would say to me, 'How the hell can you work Sundays?' That don't bother me, working afternoons don't bother me, midnights do because of the hours. But it's not the drudgery of the factories. It made alot of noise. There were several foundries in the neighborhood.

So regarding ownership, I would probably have to give somebody money that I wouldn't want to give it to if I didn't think he was giving me a day's work. If I was an employee and I owned it, I would probably work more than the other guy, achieve it. He'd go home and I'd still be there. He would be getting some of mine, if you can understand that.

b. Mechanic AF was financially secure and believed he had not lost any buying power since he first started working. He thought Reagan had failed in some respects, but he was less pleased with the Democrats and their failings with the welfare system and Social Security. He gave somewhat of a mixed response on his position regarding military spending. He said it would be better to have more people working, like carpenters building more homes, but, at least with military spending, money gets "pumped back into the system."

AF: I was born in '42 which weren't probably great years economically. I think the 50's and 60's things started picking up again. If i recall right, there was alot of work around, everybody was working. I think I was born in pretty good economic times as far as that goes.

I've always been working and, if I was to lose my job right now with the way things are, I don't think I'd particularly like going out into the job market and looking for a job right now. I realize things aren't too great right now. When I was a young adult there were plenty of jobs. I had my pick actually. When I came to work for Mohawk in '64, I left a good job to go there. As a matter of fact I was working with one of the power companies.

I know a lot of people aren't happy, but as far as I'm concerned, I feel that, in my financial position, I am just as well off as I was the day I started. I don't feel I have lost anything as far as buying power.

I voted for Reagan. I had alot of hope for him, but I've got to admit he has kind of failed. But you look at the other party, what do they offer?--more and more money for the welfare people which is a complete farce. They will take more money out of Social Security. The Democrats have been taking a lot of money for Social Security. They've ruined it completely. I'm not particularly happy with Reagan but I think I am less happy with the Democrats.

Everybody right now is complaining about the military--the money being spent on the military. A lot of people don't realize how many jobs that generates. Most of the money that goes into military spending is channelled right back into the work force in this country. I grant you it would probably be better to have more carpenters, more masons out building homes for people to live in and making them cheaper than things like building planes and having them sit around and never be used. But, still the money is being pumped back into this economy. Maybe I'm selfish, but what hurts me the most is all the give away programs and a lot of things that Reagan has cut out like where they used to investigate the sex life of a fly. I can't see any value in anything like that but I will agree that there is no sense in building arms if they are never going to be used, but, then again, who knows they aren't going to have to be used some day.

c. Mechanic AG thought the economy was getting better and supported President Reagan's approach to leading the country.

AG: I think the economy is getting better. I think Reagan is probably the best thing that's happen to the country. At least he'll say something. And you'll know what it is right or wrong. He stands up to other countries and he doesn't seem to back down every time somebody says

some little thing to him. You know he's strong. He seems like he'll make a turn around if he has too. If he's wrong, he'll admit it.

d. Mechanic BG said the economy had a great effect on people--their moods and attitudes.

BG: I think the economy affects the attitude of every one. It affects moods. When the economy is down, people are down, spending is down, and all of that. As a child I really didn't realize too much about the economy. You always ate. You weren't involved in the actual struggle. I guess everything came about later when you realized how tough things were. You remember you did not have frosting on the cake. You always ate plain cake. The school lunch, the sandwiches... I remember bringing bean sandwiches and that was really great. Beans. You didn't realize that that was the bottom of the barrel. That was all we had for lunch. Then I started to realize how the economy affected life when I got a little older. As a child everything was rosy.

e. Mechanic BC said he was not feeling positive about the economy and recently had to sell some property to help with his daughters' marriage and college education. He had "mixed emotions" about the effects of the economy on his firm because he did not know what to attribute the cause to--the Reagan administration or de-regulation which was

supported by a Democrat (Kennedy). What confused the issue for him was that other firms in the same line of business were doing well.

BC: I don't know if I have a clear view of the Reagan administration. My own personal feelings, it has been down. It has mostly been because of the company. We had three cuts. I haven't felt anything good about the economy personally. In the last two months I sold some property, so I have some money now. I have a lot of financial burdens right now with two daughters marrying and one finishing college. In the meantime the company has not been doing so well. I have mixed emotions. I don't know if our problems are because of the Reagan administration or because of de-regulation. All the work was done before Reagan came in. I think Kennedy was one of the movers for de-regulation and he's a Democrat. Plus Firms C, D, and E are making money.

I will probably vote for Reagan. I think that any administration needs 8 years anyway. If they have long term goals, it takes at least 2 or 3 administrations. I'd say the same if someone else was in there. I am not a dye in the wool Democrat or Republican. I just registered as an Independent.

I have a basic resentment against the Congress because they don't put the same two year restriction on themselves. We are suppose to live in a democracy where the people have the say. Let more people (ie, Senators and Congressmen) in there. I think Reagan is not the greatest, but not the worse. He also does not run the country; Congress does.

f. Mechanic BE believed strongly that "nothing would make (him) want to own (his firm). He did not agree with Reagan's policies and believed that a person's vote should be influenced by party ideology and the candidate's positions.

BE: Nothing would make me want to own the airlines. From the union point of view, I feel as Mondale said the other night. Are you as well off as you were four years ago? Well, if you are well-to-do, you are better off. If you are middle class, you are about the same. If you are poor, you lose ground. And those kind of politics I just can't agree with. To me it is quite by accident that I happen to be bringing the paycheck home.

A lot of people voted for Reagan because they like the way he looks. They like the way he sounds. You shouldn't be able to see the man as far as I'm concerned. There are two things that should influence you--party ideology, why you are a democrat, and why you are a Republican and the

actual policies the man has supported over his whole life.

Analysis

Those mechanics without pro union upbringings and who were Protestants tended to be supportive of President Reagan's policies and were more likely to vote for him than the other mechanics. Those mechanics from Firm A felt they were financially well off. None of the mechanics were able to clearly state specific policies that the presidential candidates were supporting although BE definitely felt one's vote should be influenced by ideology and the candidate's positions over time.

Again, the questions may have been too general or abstract for the study participants to respond to. For example, BG, in an untaped part of the interview, discussed at great length his views on de-regulation and its effect on the airlines.

Comparison of results between favorable and unfavorable mechanics

There were no apparent differences between the two groups. In both groups there was an ideological mix although in Group B there seemed to be a correlation between ideology and religion. Protestants in Group B tended to support President Reagan.

Section 5: Media

The theory suggested that the function of the media collectively, i.e., newspapers, television, printed books and magazines, and radio, was to primarily reinforce the current economic structure, which included its own business organizations, to make a profit. Thus, it would not be likely that information about worker participation programs would be transmitted by media organizations to the extent to which it appeared to support the notion of worker ownership. Consequently, workers would probably not be influenced at least favorably by the media to any great extent.

Mechanics favorably inclined toward workplace democracy

(See appendix 23 for summary of responses.)

a. Mechanic AA initially said he was not much influenced by what he read or movies he has seen. He stated that our conversation was the first time anyone had mentioned ownership in companies "or anything like that." However, by the end of his response, he said that he had read some articles on profit sharing that were favorable. He had heard some information about Firm B's situation which he felt could be helped by (employees) "having shares in the company."

He reiterated that his father's experience with business had a great influence on him. He thought that possibly Eisenhower had some influence on him. He pointed out the fact that Eisenhower was a General and, thus, another authority figure that had influenced him.

AA: I don't read alot. I read mostly magazines and I watch the news on television and listen to WEEI. This is where I get all my information. I don't think anything has had that much effect on me as far as the movies go. This is the first awareness I've had of anyone talking about any kind of ownership in companies or anything like that. My father owned a business years ago and it failed. He had a shoe repair shop in Boston. Maybe as far as owning things or owning a business, maybe being a worker--my father did better just being a worker.

He worked in a post office as a janitor. He did better there working for somebody else. Maybe that attitude was brought into me that it is better to work for somebody else than to go into business. But to have ownership or speculate with your money in stock or have a share in a company. I did hear about the case with Firm B at work. Something like that would make me think that having shares in the company would help.

But in general what I've read about profit sharing and things like that usually works out good for the company and getting people more interested in the company. I just can't remember where I read it. Many companies have profit sharing plans that seem to work. And normally you would think that people who are in their own business or partners in business generally work harder than anyone in the shop. So, I think it would be true that people who own a smaller share would work that much of a percentage more than people that don't own a share of the company. Common sense.

Influential people. Not really. I would probably say Eisenhower maybe. He would be my favorite but I don't know if he had a big affect on me. He did try to balance the budget. I think he came closest to balancing the budget when he was in. But again he was a general so a lot of authority. I don't know.

b. Mechanic AI said that reading was very important to his life. He read the Wall Street Journal every day. Furthermore, he read the New York Times among other literature. He told his children to read everything they could. He felt that reading was important to being versatile and broadening one's perspective.

AI: I read the Wall Street Journal every day. I read the New York Times. I can't think of any one article or one idea. I read an article that I picked up in a plane

from Europe and realized they have a different opinion of the economy and how it is going. Believe it or not they have completely different opinions on what we have here in the US, the current market. All we know about the economy is what we are allowed to understand and what is put in the newspapers.

The only thing I would ever recommend to my children is to read everything that they can read. The more they read the more versatile they become. As long as you are open-minded you can adapt; you can see the other side of the coin, the other side of the ocean. If you can read about it, you have an idea what it is about.

c. Mechanic AE has read some articles on employee ownership and participation, but did not recall where. He felt he was influenced by what he read.

AE: Probably from reading, but don't ask me the names or where I got it from, just different articles. That would probably be the biggest opinion maker.

d. Mechanic BH said he read information from several different sources which gave him different perspectives before he made a judgment. BH discussed his opinion on the effects of how the media handled the financially difficult situation that his firm was in. He felt the firm was making an attempt to communicate its policies to the employees through its media department.

BH: Some things I have read or seen has had an influence on me. I read mainly what concerns my firm. I read business news to see what other unions or corporations are thinking. You have to take what you read and discard some of it especially about Firm B. I have read some positive things about it, but also some things that say our stock is not worth anything because it is diluted. In order to save the company from bankruptcy, they opened up this new stock. They can't do it any more legally because it is so spread out.

I really saw how the media works when we were going through our troubled times. You keep your eye on the heat because that is what people are interested in--big airlines going down the drain. That TV thing had a negative impact on us. We lost a lot of money. If you are taking flights to Disneyworld and you have tickets on Firm B and the President of the company is saying we are going under, you change tickets. We lost a lot of money in February (1984). Media and things that you read may not influence me, but it may influence customers.

They (ZZ) are trying to get us into a more positive light now. But I will give you one more example; it just happened to us. ZZ was in town October 3 (1984) for family night. They were presenting this slide show on the direction that the company is going to take. The next day

or two days later, a story appears in the Herald that we have already signed a contract for 22% of our pay! The guys at work went...

The company puts things out and I read it. The union puts things out and if you mix them together, you come with a final position on something. How that affects me on ownership, I think the company now would be a little more honest than it has been in the past with us. My opinion is they are making an honest effort to communicate to us through their media department what the different corporate policies are.

e. Mechanic BB: If I have a choice of a book, it would be something like a sea adventure.

f. Mechanic BJ mentioned he did not read frequently, but did read some information about the Japanese worker and productivity.

BJ: I don't do alot of reading. I'll pick up a Time magazine or Newsweek and read that. It is just that my philosophy now comes from reading different articles about the Japanese worker, the auto industry, productivity. When I talk to my neighbor, he is all into that--owning the company. But when you get a company the size of our firm, I don't feel there is much cheating or hiding money because you have the Security Exchange Commission and auditors. Maybe with Shaw's Meat Market you can do something like

that but I don't feel they are hiding money or stealing it from me.

Analysis

All mechanics mentioned that they were influenced to a more or less extent by what they read. Mechanics, who knew something about worker participation programs, said they read about it either in company or union newsletters, in newspapers or magazines. Most could not say specifically where they had read about it. One mechanic, AA, was motivated by participation in this study to talk with other workers at work and read some information about participation programs.

Mechanics unfavorably inclined toward workplace democracy

(See appendix 24 for a summary of responses.)

a. Mechanic AH said the media did not have an influence on him.

AH: Nothing that jumps out in my mind. I guess not.

b. Mechanic AF did not believe the media influenced him very much.

AF: I don't have an idol shall we say or anything like that. I'm not too politically oriented. I really don't pay too much attention. I kind of feel that this is not worth getting gray hairs over. It seems like no matter

which party is in it doesn't really have all that much of an effect on my life personally. As far as movies, I take them for what they are. I don't relate them to real life. I don't read the newspapers very much. I don't like getting depressed all the time.

c. Mechanic AG could not think of any way in which the media has influenced him. He mentioned the importance of his parents' influence on his life.

AG: I can't think of anything. No, my parents have probably been the most influential in my life. It has turned out to be a good thing because I use it now with my kids growing up. I was taught from them, like getting into scouting and stuff like that.

d. Mechanic BG said that reading and movies were "life informative." He enjoyed reading about labor issues, particularly as they related to the airlines, and enjoyed movies that addressed philosophical or moral struggles regarding justice.

BG: I think movies and literature are really life informative. You know education is good because it broadens your understanding of things, but the average person could just read and take in some good movies. The best movies that I have seen in recent years are the Australian things on basically military. What is great about those is the philosophy of about how people were

brought up and how they feel. There is government involvement and there was military involvement. You put them all together and see what really counts and what is really justice.

In another part of the interview, BG said he did alot of reading on labor and recommended a book about his firm.

e. Mechanic BC enjoyed reading adventure novels, particularly those with people working and struggling together to make things happen.

BC: I like spy and adventure stories. Good guys and bad guys. It goes with my tradition. I like books by Leon Urich, like Exodus. And I like World War II books. I like the American adventure of starting out. I like beginnings. As years go by everybody gets to be a fat cat but in the beginning there is all that excitement and anticipation--things to look forward to. In Exodus it was the struggle of people to have their own country. I like to see things going ahead. I like goals and people willing to do things. When things get settled you have lost the adventure.

f. Mechanic BE definitely felt that reading influenced him. For serious reading he liked books about labor and, to understand management's point of view, he read management books.

BE: The material I choose to read--that's where your influence is formed. If I'm going to read something serious, it's usually a labor book or similar. If I do read a management book, it's just to get their point of view on the thing. Toil and Strife is an excellent book. I'd recommend it to anyone. Things that people enjoy today are a direct result of the unions such as 40-hour weeks, paid vacations. But now that those big battles are won, maybe their usefulness is gone until those things start being lost. I have read others but I can't remember a lot of them but anything to do with the coal mines, steel workers, things like that--how they were formed, how the unions were formed, what they did.

I did a tremendous amount of reading. I think it broadened my outlook.

Analysis

Three of the mechanics said they felt that the media had not much or no influence on their views. The other three mechanics did read and were influenced by what they read, in particular, the pro union mechanics. They said they read a great deal about labor issues, labor history, and unions. No one in this group mentioned they read anything about participation programs.

Comparative analysis between favorable and unfavorable mechanics

There were three major differences between the two groups:

1. Those mechanics who tended to support participation programs were more influenced by print media than those not favoring participation;
2. Those mechanics who tended to favor participation programs also read something about participation programs, whereas those not favoring participation programs made no mention of reading anything about participation programs;
3. The pro union mechanics not favoring participation programs tended to be well informed by reading about about labor history, labor issues, and unionization.

Section 6: Significant Other Experience--

Military Service

With the exception of mechanics AI and AE from Firm A, all the mechanics reported that their military service was the most influential experience they had other than the ones we had already discussed, i.e., family, religion, etc. Because AI and AE did not mention a significant other experience, they were asked questions about military service.

Military service was not specifically mentioned as a potential motivating factor in the theoretical review. However, because it was considered as an institution of social reproduction in this study, it would serve a similar correspondence function as the other institutions in the superstructure and reinforce limited choice through its authoritative management structure.

Mechanics favorably inclined toward workplace democracy

(See appendix 25 for a summary of responses.)

a. Mechanic AA was very influenced by his experience in the Navy where he learned to be an aircraft mechanic. His father and all his brothers also served in either the Army or the Navy.

AA: I was afraid I would get drafted so I joined the Navy first in 1950-51. The food was better and I had a clean bunk. I had a brother in the Navy and two brothers in the Army. My father was in the Army so the Navy showed a lot more promise as far as getting a job and stuff. That's where I learned to be a mechanic. My first choice was electronics but that field was full. My second choice was aircraft mechanic. So the Navy you might say had a big effect on me. And, like I say, in four years of the Navy I never got into any trouble. Something my father told me when I left for the Navy. He says you get a dishonorable

discharge or a tatoos, don't come home. And he was serious. I have no tatoos. I was only bringing this point out to show you that my views on management may be different than a lot of people because some people seem very quick to go against authority. Not that I'm saying it's wrong, just that I'm apt to just listen to authority. Maybe try to correct it by talking rather than you know actions. As soon as I was discharged, I went to school nights.

b. Mechanic AI did not have a military experience and did not have much respect for those who did serve because they did not think for themselves.

AI: I was never impressed with anybody. I have not been too impressed with most of the people that I have met who have gotten out of the service. I always felt that they came out very one-sided and were used to having someone telling them what to do. It took them five years or more to be able to think and become adjusted to our society.

c. Mechanic AE was not influenced by his brief service experience.

AE: I was only in the service for six months. It didn't change anything about me. I really can't think of anything.

d. Mechanic BH felt his military experience in the Air Force was very positive and helped him in many ways. It removed him from a situation that influenced his peers to take drugs. Being away helped him to expand his world view. He also thought that the military could have benefitted from participative decision making in some situations although he recognized that not in all cases.

BH: Couple of friends died from heroin overdoses and a couple went to jail. This is when I went into the military. When I came back for a short visit, I was only 17; it was as if I was never out of Mission Hill. I could already see a difference in my outlook. There were a lot more things in life I decided then I was going to get. I could see then I would not fit back in again, like I was before. Most of the people that I knew were basically good people, they just never had a shot at anything or expected to have a shot at anything. So they kind of caved in at an early time.

I got out in 1972. The military wasn't the military you see in the movies. Everybody was wearing long hair, beads, and didn't believe the shit that was going on. At that time, I really believed that what we were doing in Vietnam was right. I have since changed my position on that. It was good for me; it worked out for me. When I came back a couple of guys were doing time in jail and a

couple overdosed on heroin. Drugs were really running rampid. I got to see places--Germany, Thailand, India that now I wouldn't get to see. With the guys back here, their biggest trip was over the Mystic Bridge or somewhere.

I think the service is good for a lot of different reasons, particularly, if you can differentiate from the bull shit they offer and take the good parts and if you are not going anywhere or are in a no win situation at home. Some people go in there with problems and they just never make it in there. Once I was gone there was no coming back for me. My friend ended up getting stationed in Massachusetts. He came back to the old neighborhood, stole a car to get back to the base and got arrested on the turnpike. They look at that and write you off. You are done. Probably if I was stationed here, the same thing would probably have happened to me. But when it was time to get out, I was ready to get out.

I was in for four years and got out when I was 21. It taught me that there was alot more of the world than what I was seeing back here. It gave me an education of the world, how other people live in other countries, and about our government. (I experienced secret police in Spain.) They terrorize their people. Maybe they (the college students in the bar) were Communists. They seemed OK to me. I wasn't saying anything just voicing my opinion.

That was something I will always remember. I saw different things like poverty--extreme poverty. No matter what you think about the USA it is still number one. You can't beat that fact. I am not afraid to speak my mind. So that made a very big impact on me as young as I was.

The Air Force showed me how organizations work. You have no say on how things are done. There is no employee involvement. You are just told what to do and are expected to do it. I often thought the military could benefit from decisions that the younger guys could make, but you have no control. The military has to run like that because if a guy says we are going to bomb that building over there and they have a ten minute meeting first, that just don't hack it. With ownership we are all going to sit down collectively and make a decision.

e. Mechanic BB felt his experience in the Navy helped him to learn how to become independent and to find things out for himself through direct experience which was a major reason why he got involved in the EI program at his firm--he wanted to learn about it firsthand.

BB: In the Navy I was on a destroyer. We had a hurricane watch. If you want to get the feeling of independence and self assuredness, that is the place to do it. If you didn't, you'd be hiding under the bunk all the time. So I guess when you actually experience it for

yourself it is a better teacher about who you are and who you are not than any other thing.

I guess that is why I am involved in employee involvement. I want to know. If I have to take it from second hand information then I am not going to have an idea what it all is about if I have to take somebody else's word for it. That is why I am involved. I want to know on a first hand basis. If a man lies to me, I want to know it from my experience not from someone else's.

We are not talking about an experience (ownership) that I can relate to right now. I really don't understand what it means. I understand ownership and I understand what it might mean but I can't project it far enough ahead to say it would make a difference.

f. Mechanic BJ had a favorable experience in the Air Force and liked the responsibility of being at work without having to punch cards.

BJ: I think the Air Force trained me well. You were expected to do a job. Do your eight hours work and be happy. The service doesn't have any time cards. You were expected to be there at 7:30. Where with the union and work now, everybody punches cards. In the Air Force you don't own, you are a participant and they get along.

Analysis

The majority of mechanics were in military service and the majority felt that experience was very influential in helping them become more independent, learning to handle responsibility, and broadening their understanding of the world. Most of the mechanics were technically trained in the service to be airline mechanics. Thus, military experience was most influential in determining their future occupations and level of income.

The mechanics' experiences tended not to be completely consistent with theory in that many of them learned behaviors contrary to what theory suggested. However, mechanic AA's experience tended to support theory and mechanic AI's observations of returned servicemen who worked as airline mechanics were consistent with theory.

Mechanics unfavorably motivated toward workplace democracy

(See appendix 26 for a summary of responses.)

a. Mechanic AH had a good experience in the army and learned his skill there.

AH: The army was pretty good. It got me into the airplane business. They sent me to mechanic's school, aircraft mechanic's school. When I was looking for something to do, I said, "What the hell, it is the only thing that I know. Why don't I enlarge on that?"

b. Mechanic AF was one of the few mechanics who did not learn his trade in the service. While in the service, JL was a pole lineman and felt that the authoritarian structure was the most suitable for the army.

AF: After I got out of the service, I worked with a couple of people who were licensed mechanics and I just worked on aircraft with them. We used to work at small airports on light aircraft and that's where I got most of my experience actually.

In the Army I worked as a pole lineman climbing telephone poles and stuff. Can you imagine what the Army would be like just if the enlisted men had a say in running the Army? I would think it would be a total disaster, if a guy or particular individual didn't want to do a particular job. I believe like I told you - if you are hired for a particular job, you just do the job.

c. Mechanic AG's experience in the service was enjoyable. The two aspects of it that he did not like were some of the "lazy" and "stupid" people he met and having to listen to people telling him what to do. He rejected a bonus and left the service so that he could be on his own.

AG: I enjoyed being in the service. I made the best of it while I was there. The only thing I did find while I was there was a lot of lazy people. They went into the service so they didn't have to go to work for a living and

Uncle Sam would give them a paycheck every month. The higher the ranks, with the exception of very high rank, the more stupid they got. They thought theirs was the perfect way and there was no other. I just kept my mouth shut when I was in the service and went through it and when it was over, I was gone. They offered me a big bonus to stay in the service and I said no. I just can't see doing what someone else tells you to do in life.

There were a lot of nice people in the service. I met alot of different people and did a lot of traveling, but you get tired of moving. I still have friends around the country that I go to see at different times.

d. Mechanic BG felt the service had a total impact on him and he thought it broadened his interests.

BG: When I got out of high school, I went into the service. I got a tremendous education there. The Air Force was an experience. There was a chain of command and you did what you were told and you did it quick. You had to. It's not like public companies. I certainly would never want to see the military run like a public company. But the military gives you a sense of worth, a sense of belonging, and a chance to see how things operate and what kind of part you play in it. It should help make you a better worker in the workplace.

I met people from all over the country, different walks of life, new experiences, traveling to different places. Different interests were sparked by these people or places that spurred more reading and a better understanding of life and myself.

e. Mechanic BC also was in military service and mentioned the authoritarian nature of the experience.

BC: I was in the Navy. It was very structured there as far as authority goes. There was no question who was in charge. They were answerable to nobody. In the service you do as you are told and you don't have a chance for feedback.

f. Mechanic BE also enjoyed his military experience and learned his technical training there.

BE: I enjoyed the Navy. That has probably shaped my technical background. I was 19 when I went in in 1959 and served for four years.

Analysis

All the mechanics in this group were in the service. Most of them said they enjoyed the experience and learned their technical skills there. Most of the mechanics remarked about the authoritarian nature of the system. However, only one felt strongly against it. No one mentioned they learned independence and self-confidence.

I met people from all over the country, different walks of life, new experiences, traveling to different places. Different interests were sparked by these people or places that spurred more reading and a better understanding of life and myself.

e. Mechanic BC also was in military service and mentioned the authoritarian nature of the experience.

BC: I was in the Navy. It was very structured there as far as authority goes. There was no question who was in charge. They were answerable to nobody. In the service you do as you are told and you don't have a chance for feedback.

f. Mechanic BE also enjoyed his military experience and learned his technical training there.

BE: I enjoyed the Navy. That has probably shaped by technical background. I was 19 when I went in in 1959 and served for four years.

Analysis

All the mechanics in this group were in the service. Most of them said they enjoyed the experience and learned their technical skills there. Most of the mechanics remarked about the authoritarian nature of the system. However, only one felt strongly against it. No one mentioned they learned independence and self-confidence.

For this group, it seemed that their experience in the service was consistent with theory.

Comparative analysis between favorable and unfavorable mechanics

Both groups were very similar in two major areas:

1. Most mechanics had enjoyable and very influential experiences in the military service;
2. Most of the mechanics were technically trained to be airline mechanics in the service.

One potential major difference between the two groups was: Those who tended to favor workplace democracy mentioned learning behaviors and attitudes that taught them to be more independent, self-confident, and responsible and that a serviceman's input in decisions might be valuable although maybe not practical, whereas, those who tended not to favor workplace democracy more frequently mentioned the authoritarian nature of the service and that being in the service could make one a better worker in the workplace.

Section 7: Summary and Conclusions

This chapter presented and analyzed the mechanics' reported experiences with and views on several potential motivating factors of the superstructure. According to

theory, these experiences, i.e., family upbringing, education or schooling, religion, the media, political economy, and military service were thought to be, generally less influential in the formation of the mechanics' motivations toward workplace democracy than their respective work experiences. Theory suggested that these institutions of the superstructure were consistent with the economic institutions of the base and, thus, one's experiences with the superstructural institutions would tend to reinforce the values, behaviors, and world views that were needed to function in a certain position within the economic hierarchy. Thus, experiences in the superstructure were not likely to be system transforming, but system reinforcing. However, due to the interactive nature of the base and the superstructure, the theory did credit the superstructure in certain circumstances with some capacity to influence the base such as through the unionization movement.

Because being an airline mechanic is a skilled occupation, theory would predict mechanics' experiences in the superstructure would reinforce their abilities and skills to make technical decisions and carry them out, but not create the expectation that they should have a "right" to collective ownership of their firms or a "right" to participate in management decisions.

In some cases, the reported experiences of the mechanics seemed to reinforce theory. In other cases, however, their reported experiences seemed to suggest that their experiences in the superstructure were very influential. The results of the analysis suggested there were no significant differences in the mechanics' self-reports on the degree to which their education or early schooling experiences and religion affected their views and/or attitudes toward ownership and participation in decisions. Their reports suggested that experiences with these institutions reinforced what theory generally predicted, i.e., they would tend to be authoritative and offer no real opportunities for self-expression, creativity, and the learning of democracy through experience. However, those mechanics who had experiences with both parochial and public schools felt that public schools were less forceful in their approach and left the responsibility for studying to the individual. This experience was reported by both groups.

Both groups, to a great extent, did not believe their religious experiences had influenced them to any great extent. Most of them did not attend religious services on a regular basis. There were equal number of Catholics and Protestants in both groups. Several study participants mentioned they specifically did not like the authoritarian

approach of the Church. Others mentioned they remembered the Church as being authoritative, but they did not say how they felt about the approach. From the perspective of the study participants, their institutional experience of religion tended to be consistent with theory--it offered limited opportunities for self-expression and choice and reinforced the authoritarian nature of organizations and one's position in respect to those in authority.

The results of the analysis of mechanics' self-reports on three of the potential motivating factors indicated that their experiences in some of the institutions of social reproduction (family upbringing, media, and military service) might have been significant enough to influence them to be more or less in favor of workplace democratization. Most of the mechanics felt their family upbringing significantly influenced their views in general and some were able to describe how their family experiences specifically affected their views toward ownership and participation in decisions. Most of the study participants came from working class families. Some were economically poorer than others because they were raised during the depression. With the exception of one mechanic, the mechanics' parent(s), or in one case, grandparent had wage labor jobs when they were growing up. There was one mechanic whose father was a lawyer.

Although there were many similarities between the two groups, there were two significant differences:

1. Group A mechanics tended to more frequently mention they learned independence at an early age, whereas, Group B mechanics mentioned ownership was not part of their consciousness and they were taught to see the world in dichotomous terms;

2. Three members or one-half of Group B consisted of mechanics who came from very pro union families, whereas, Group B had no members who came from pro union families. These two differences were also influential in certain aspects in the mechanics' experiences with military service and the media.

Most of the mechanics in Group A and all of the mechanics in Group B had military experience. Most felt their experience was very influential, in part because many of them were technically trained to become airline mechanics. However, the behavioral traits that Group A members tended to describe were different than those described by Group B members. Group A members said they learned to be more self-reliant, more responsible, self-confident, and to broaden their world view. Group B members tended to mention 1) that the service was authoritarian (only one mentioned he strongly disliked being "told what to do;" 2) that their experience reinforced

their respect for authority; and 3) that they learned where their position was in the hierarchy.

There were also differences between the two groups in how they perceived the influence of the media on their views toward employee participation programs. All mechanics in Group A said they were influenced, to a more or less extent, by what they read. And those who knew something about employee ownership and participation programs said they read something about it although they were not able to cite a specific book or article. Whereas, half of Group B felt media, in general had little or no influence on their views and half (two of which were from pro union families) said they were very influenced by what they read. No one in the group mentioned reading, seeing, and/or hearing anything about about workplace ownership and/or participation programs even though BG and BE, who were from pro union families, did extensive reading on labor history, labor issues, and unionization.

These results supported that aspect of the theory that suggested, in some cases, experiences in the superstructure could be more influential on the base than vice versa. The data analysis of mechanics' experiences in the superstructure seemed to suggest that their experiences with their family upbringing, the media, and military service affected to some degree their motivations toward

workplace democracy. Mechanics, who were more inclined to favor workplace democratization, seemed to have experiences through the superstructure that influenced 1) Firm B mechanics to participate or be in favor of their firm's EP program, and 2) Firm A mechanics to be favorable toward such programs. Mechanics, who were less inclined to support workplace democratization, also seemed to have experiences through the superstructure that, in some cases, reinforced their traditional roles as workers in the hierarchy. And for three mechanics in Group B, their pro union family upbringing seemed to have a significant effect on their present views of the role of the union and management.

C H A P T E R V I I

SUMMARY, LIMITATIONS TO THE STUDY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

In Section 1 of this chapter is a review of the general framework of the study, its major and implementing questions which guided the inquiry, methods and limitations. The major findings of the study are then summarized and presented. Section 2 lists the conclusions drawn from the results and according to each of the potential motivating factors. This section also gives recommendations for further research based on the discussion of the conclusions and the limitations of the research.

Section 1: Summary and Limitations To the Study

Most of the workplace democratization programs introduced in the private sector were initiated by management and, therefore, were usually assessed and documented from the perspective of managers. More recently, more attention has been given to understanding the benefits of worker participation from the perspective of union leadership because their support was found to be critical to the long term success of these programs in

unionized firms. However, rank and file participation in and/or support of these programs was also found to be crucial to the long term success of the program; yet, their perspective was frequently overlooked. Thus, this study was designed to glean a greater understanding from workers' perspective of one aspect of workers' participation: their motivation to participate or not to participate, in ownership and decision making programs. The following questions guided the inquiry:

Major Question: What factors affect workers' motivations for workplace democracy, in what way and to what degree?

Implementing Questions:

1. According to social change theory, what factors could motivate employees toward workplace democracy?
2. What effect does experience with an employee participation program have on workers' motivations toward workplace democracy?
3. What effect do non-work factors, suggested by theory, have on workers' motivations for workplace democracy?

To answer the first question, the Base-Superstructure Theory of Social Change was reviewed to determine what theoretical factors were potentially influential in employees motivations toward workplace changes. The

theoretical components and elements of both the base and the superstructure in the base-superstructure theory were found to be influential factors in the formation of employees' motivations for workplace participation. While qualitative methods were used predominantly, an attempt was made to control for several factors through firm and study participant selection. The factors examined for in-depth exploration were two components of the social relations of production (ownership relations and organizational decision making) and six institutions within the superstructure (family upbringing, education, religion, political economy, media, and military service). Military service was the factor most frequently chosen by the study participants as being their most significant other influential experience.

The in-depth interview method was used to collect data on each of the factors by interviewing airline mechanics who either a) worked for an airlines that had an extensitve employee involvement program that included an ownership participation component and participative decision making component, or b) worked for an airline that had a more traditional decision making structure and a minimal ownership participation program. This method was chosen to gain a greater and more in-depth understanding of workers' perspective on their reasons for: 1) participating or not participating in a workplace democratization program when

given the opportunity, and 2) wanting or not wanting to participate in them if given the opportunity.

Nine mechanics from Firm A and ten mechanics from Firm B were interviewed for a short interview which focused on their responses to questions regarding two potential motivating factors, i.e., ownership relations and decision making structure. Six mechanics from each firm were selected for a second and longer interview which focused on the potential motivating factors of the superstructure. Mechanics from both firms were divided into two groups so that possible reasons for their different perspective could be assessed: Group A tended to favor workplace democratization and Group B tended not to favor workplace democratization. The major findings for each of these motivating factors are presented in the sub-section following the one below.

Limitations to the study

The following limitations should be considered when reading the results of this research: the short time period within which the data was collected and a lack of longitudinal data, the nature of self-report data, and limitations on the degree to which the results can be generalized. Each of the limitations are discussed below.

1. the short time period within which the data was collected. Within each firm, all the interviews were conducted within a six month period of time. The study was not designed as a longitudinal one. Therefore, the design was not able to account for changes in workers' motivation over time. For example, due to the financial troubles and the highly volatile nature of the management-labor relations at Firm B, workers' motivations toward the employee involvement program could have changed as the financial profile of their stock changed, i.e., as the overall financial profile of the firm changed and as management and/or union leadership introduced new policies that affected the employee involvement initiative.

2. the nature of self-report data. An inherent limitation to self-report data is the lack of external verification of data. All the data collected for this research was through in-depth interviews with the study participants.

3. limitations on the degree to which the results can be generalized. The generalizeability of the results is limited due to the study participant selection process, the sample size, gender and occupational background of study participants. Due to the in-depth nature of the interview process, the number of study participants was necessarily reduced and there was a certain degree of self selection in

determining who would participate in the study. Because of the highly complex nature and number of factors that influence the change process, not all relevant factors could be controlled. Since occupational background of participants was one factor chosen to be controlled, the results may not be applicable to workers in dramatically different jobs or industries (eg. blue collar vs white collar occupations).

Summary of findings

The results of the analysis of the interview data are summarized and presented according to each of the general motivating factors that were thought to be influential in forming workers' motivations toward workplace democracy and that were selected for further exploration. The major findings for each of the motivating factors of the social relations of production and how it affected changes in the productive forces or mechanics' motivations are presented first, followed by those of the superstructure.

Motivating factors in the base

1. Ownership relations. The overall results of the mechanics' experiences with their firm's ownership participation program and their views of majority ownership seemed to substantiate at least part of theory's

predictions, i.e., the degree to which workers are favorably inclined toward workplace democracy is dependent upon the degree to which and the level at which they are required to function democratically. Firm B mechanics had a greater degree of democratic ownership experience than Firm A mechanics. Firm B mechanics were more favorably inclined to support majority ownership, in general, than Firm A mechanics. Furthermore, there was a sub-group within Firm B that did support majority ownership of their own firm because of perceived increased worker control, commitment and loyalty. Because of the dismal financial situation of Firm B, it was not clear if workers favored majority ownership as an end in itself or as a means to possibly changing a negative situation to a more positive one. There were no active supporters of majority ownership in Firm A of their firm.

However, the results did not seem to substantiate, in all cases, the second part of the theory or the degree to which workers were favorably inclined toward workplace democracy was dependent upon the degree to which their experience of democracy was positive. As mentioned above, it seemed that degree and level at which a particular program required workers to function democratically was more of a key factor than the degree of positive experience given that Firm A mechanics felt favorable toward their

firm's stock option plan and Firm B mechanics felt fairly negative. Positive or negative feelings toward one's own program seemed to make a difference in the degree to which each group wanted to participate in their respective firm's specific program and not a factor in whether they supported majority ownership. The degree to which a mechanic felt positive or negative toward his firm's plan in either firm, generally, was related to three factors: 1) the strength of his firm's financial profile, 2) personal control over his stock investment, and 3) personal economic gain in addition to wages.

2. Decision making structure. The results from both groups of mechanics were generally consistent with theory's predictions, i.e., if given the opportunity to participate in decisions which would give them greater control over their means of production, they would do so. The majority of Firm A mechanics, to a greater or lesser degree, were dissatisfied with their current minimal level of input into the decision making process and would, if given the opportunity, want to have greater "say" in work process decisions. Firm B mechanics had experiences either directly through participation in problem solving groups or indirectly by attending lead training, reading and/or hearing about it informally through others. The majority of Firm B mechanics viewed their program favorably and

desired participation in work process decisions. However, a small few mechanics desired less or no direct in-put via an organized system of participation. This sub-group within Firm B favored representation through the union and feared that employee participation programs would undermine the authority of the union.

The experience of democratic decision making did have an effect on Firm B mechanics. When compared to Firm A mechanics, Firm B mechanics reported a greater understanding of the strengths and limitations of participation, reported developing more skills in democratic decision making, had conveyed more of an awareness and appreciation of a group perspective versus an individual one, and tended to be more favorable toward employee participation and/or representation in firm level decisions.

Motivating factors in the superstructure

Theory suggested that mechanics' experiences in the superstructure would tend to reinforce their position in the economic hierarchy as highly skilled labor, but not management. In both firms, however, there were some mechanics who were more favorable toward workplace democratization than others. When the superstructural experiences of those who were more favorable were compared

to those who were generally unfavorable, differences were found for three of the potential motivating factors: family upbringing, military service, and the media. No substantial differences were found for three of the potential motivating factors: education, religion, and political economy. The findings where only differences were found are presented.

1. Family upbringing. In comparison to the unfavorable group, the favorable group reported more frequently, when describing their family upbringing, the learning of independence at an early age.

2. Military service. In comparison to the unfavorable group, the favorable group said they learned from their military experience to become more self-reliant, more responsible, more self-confident, and to broaden their world view.

3. Media. Those who favored workplace democratization reported that reading, the most common form of media mentioned, did influence them to favor workplace democratization. Whereas, only one-half of the group who were unfavorable reported reading as being influential.

Section 2: Conclusions and Recommendations
for Further Research

This section draws conclusions from the results of the study's findings. Recommendations for further research based on these conclusions and the limitations of the study. Conclusions of the findings are presented according to the same categories as those used throughout the study.

Social relations of production

1. Ownership relations. There are several conclusions that can be drawn from the results:

a. To increase workers' motivations toward workplace democracy, in general, and not merely to reinforce the status quo, experience with group ownership seems beneficial. Thus, it appears that it is important for those who are involved in deciding the type of ownership participation program to include a condition that a certain percentage of stock purchased for and/or by employees be subject to some form of group control.

b. The results of interviews with several mechanics suggest that workers would be more favorable toward group ownership programs providing they had control with the ownership. Thus, when designing ownership participation programs, it seems that including participation in decision

making in some form(s) would increase workers' support.

c. For workers to feel favorable toward extensive ownership participation or majority ownership of their own company in situations other than facing bankruptcy and/or closure, it appears that this would be facilitated if workers were 1) treated as subjects of the process and allowed to make self-conscious choices and 2) assured that their investments would not be in lieu of wages, that they had some personal control over the investments, and that their firm was a sound investment.

2. Decision making structure. There are several conclusions that can be drawn from the results:

a. Some workers do want greater control over their work, especially at the work process level. Thus, it appears that some workers would be receptive to programs that would elicit their participation in decisions about their work station.

b. A minority of workers do not want participation in employee participation programs because they believe participation programs conflict with the role of the union. It seems that they may not support the programs even if their leadership does.

c. A small few do not support participation in work process decisions because they feel they already have "enough say." Thus, it is likely that in most situations

there will be a group of workers who choose not to get involved in employee participation programs.

d. A relatively few workers supported the notion of worker participation in firm level decisions. Thus, because there may be a lack of general interest for this level of participation by workers, those introducing participatory programs at this level such as labor-management committees may need to plan strategies that inform workers about the nature of this type of participation prior to soliciting their participation.

Motivating factors in the superstructure

In general, the findings regarding the influence of at least some of the institutions of social reproduction on workers' motivations toward workplace democracy were surprising since, according to theory, all the institutions were expected to have a similar effect on the study participants, i.e., to reinforce the tendency to support existing ownership and authority relations. In other words, the findings brought into question the rather common assumption that all experiences with institutions that are traditionally viewed as authoritarian, for example, military service, may not necessarily reduce the predisposition for worker control.

Conclusions are listed below for those motivating

factors where differences were found between groups favoring and not favoring workplace democracy.

1. Family upbringing. It seems that the mechanics in this study were very influenced by their parents in general and, specifically, in their approach to parenting. The family seems to play an instrumental role in reinforcing childrens' behaviors that could at a later time influence them to favor or not favor worker participation programs. Thus, effecting parental child rearing practices and home management toward a more democratic style may result in future workers more favorable toward workplace democracy.

2. Military service. The results of the study might suggest that advocates should not assume that the military is an inappropriate institution within which to struggle for workplace democracy. It is clear from the respondents that some experiences within the military can support a favorable predisposition for workplace democratization. For some, military service provided the first non-school opportunity to experience risk taking, to develop operational skills and the confidence which accompanies the development of such skills, and to experience a team operation.

3. Media. Print media was frequently mentioned as the most influential form of media. The distribution of workplace democracy literature, through various mechanisms

that would give access to workers, would favorably influence some workers.

Recommendations for Further Research

Based on the above implications of the findings for increasing workers motivations for workplace democracy and the limitations to the study in Section 1, the following recommendations for further research are made:

1. Due to the limited extent to which this study's results can be generalized, another research endeavor could be conducted with an increased sample size and with several firms that have different types of ownership plans to determine if there is a threshold of experience below which workers do not become motivated toward greater democracy and above which they do.

2. A longitudinal study would add to the overall understanding of how workers' motivations change over time as a result of length of time participating in a program, changes made in company and/or union policy, and changes outside the workplace.

3. Many employees have become more motivated in their work as a result of participating in problem solving groups such as quality circles. Research is needed on the effects of introducing a participatory decision making structure into the traditional union structure on union members and

its leaders. This would help unions determine whether changes are needed in their decision making structures.

4. More in-depth and extensive research using several methodologies to document the interactive effects of the base and superstructure from workers and managers experiences in a variety of workplace settings could a) add to an overall understanding of the change process toward and/or away from workplace democracy, and could b) potentially verify, with a greater degree of confidence, which experiences in the superstructure tend to be most influential for the general population and/or specific groups.

5. Research on what educational interventions such as print media, workshops, videotapes might be the most effective and practical in helping workers and/or managers in applying democratic knowledge and skills learned at work to their family life.

6. There is a need to see if women view participation and ownership differently from men in similar positions or are affected by different variables.

Usefulness of study

Many examples throughout the world can be cited which would indicate the potential both economic and human for increasing the whole spectrum of employee involvement

programs. While there have been many problems with these programs and they can not be considered to be universally successful, they do provide potential for not only improving one's day-to-day experiences at work, but also for a more basic change in the structure in the economy and the accompanying social institutions which are central to determining the quality of life for most people.

One key to the success of these programs has been the motivation of employees to participate in or be supportive of them. Also a serious impediment to increasing the number of programs and expanding them within a firm has been the resistance of organized and non-organized labor to participate. This study has added to an understanding of reasons why workers choose or do not choose to get involved. The research was designed to help advocates in their workplace democratization efforts.

FOOTNOTES

Chapter 1

(1) Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language. (New York: The World Publishing Company, 1953), p. 390.

(2) Martin Carnoy and Derek Shearer. Economic Democracy -The Challenge of the 1980's. (New York: M.E. Sharpe, Inc., 1980), p. 4.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Paul Bernstein. Workplace Democratization - Its Internal Dynamics. (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, 1980), p. 117.

(5) Ibid.

(6) Workers' opinions regarding how much say they think workers should have about work-related decisions was part of a survey conducted by Robert P. Quinn and Graham L. Staines. The 1977 Quality of Employment Survey: Descriptive Statistics, with Comparison Data from the 1969-70 and the 1972-1973 Surveys. (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan, 1979), p. 178. This survey was part of a larger "quality of employment" survey which also included questions to assess the impact of employment on the family. It was not designed to address specific issues regarding the formation of workers' motivations toward applications of democratic principles to the workplace and how workers' motivations were influenced by various work and non-work-related factors. Further, the definition of "workers" for this survey extended to any person who worked for pay or economic benefit. Consequently, the sample included workers from all positions within a traditional organization hierarchy and self-employed persons.

John F. Witte. Democracy, Authority, and Alienation in Work. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1980), p. 38. Witte did identify a list of factors that he felt inhibited workers from supporting more "radical democratic changes" as a result of his participant observation study of firm that produced high fidelity equipment. The study was for 18 months during a period in

which the company introduced an employee involvement program. His list of factors included: acceptance of hierarchical system of authority as natural, lack of direct experience with democratic forms of decision making, schools and family maintain a hierarchical form of division, and military experience prevents some from experiences "which might foster a commitment to democratic norms in private institutions." These factors were discussed to explain why workers did not want greater democracy.

Tove Helland Hammer, Robert N. Stern and Michael A. Gurdon. "Workers' Ownership and Attitudes Towards Participation," Chapter 3, Workplace Democracy and Social Change, ed. by Frank Lindenfeld and Joyce Rothschild-Whitt (Boston: Porter Sargent, 1982), pp. 87-108.

(7) This definition of motivation was a result of a discussion with David P. Magnani, the Director of the Citizens Involvement Training Program, in Amherst, Massachusetts, on November 10, 1983.

(8) Bernstein. Workplace Democratization. pp. 3-4.

Chapter II

(1) David Twain. "Social Change Models." In Creating Change in Social Settings.

(2) Roland Warren. Truth, Love and Social Change. (Chicago: Rand Mc Nally and Co., 1973).

(3) J.G. Gurley. "The Materialist Conception of History," The Capitalist System. 2nd edition. edited by R. Edwards, M. Reich and T. Weisskopf (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1978).

(4) Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language. (New York: The World Publishing Company, 1973),

p. 906.

- (5) Gurley. The Capitalist System.
- (6) Ibid.
- (7) autonomous work groups in volvo plants in Sweden.
- (8) Stephen Sachs. "Union Negotiates for Worker Ownership." 9(Summer 1982):8.
- (9) Interview with Rep. David P. Magnani, House of Representatives, Boston, Massachusetts, 3 December 1985.
- (10) Daniel Zwerdling. Democracy At Work. (Washington, D.C.: Association for Self-Management, 1978), pp. 53-62.
- (11) Gurley. The Capitalist System.
- (12) Ibid. p. 45.
- (13) This phenomena is illustrated by the Mondragon system of cooperatives in Spain which began with individual organizational democracies and later formed into a democratic federation. This federation then created institutions such as schools and day care centers that were also democratically run. Robert Oakeshott. The Case for Workers' Co-ops. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978)..
- (14) Nanette Brey. "Workplace Democratization - Perspectives and Issues" (Comprehensive paper, University of Massachusetts, 1983), p. 26.
- (15) John Witte. Democracy, Authority, and Alienation in Work. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1980), p. 38.
- (16) Andrew Nickelhoff (Ed.). Extending Workplace Democracy - An Overview of Participatoy Decision Making Plans for Unionists. (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan, 1980).
- (17) The terms used to denote whether or not workers were objects or subjects of their experiences was taken from Paulo Freire's work.
- (18) Robert Blauner. Alienation and Freedom - The Factory Worker and His Industry. (Chicago: The University

of Chicago Press, 1964).

- (19) Googins and Burden in Boston Globe.
- (20) Melvin Kohn. Class and Conformity - A Study in Values. (Homewood, IL: The Dorsey Press, 1969), pp. 199.
- (21) Ibid. p. 200.
- (22) Marvin Harris. Cultural Materialism - The Struggle for a Science of Culture. (New York: Vintage Books, 1980), pp. 59-60.
- (23) Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis. Schooling in Capitalist America. (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1976), pp. 125-48.
- (24) Interview with Rep. David P. Magnani. State House, Boston, Massachusetts, 3 December 1985.

Chapter III

- (1) Martin Carnoy and Derek Shearer. Economic Democracy - The Challenge of the 1980's. (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1980), p. 4.
 Frank Lindenfeld and Joyce Rothschild-Whitt. "Reshaping Work: Prospects and Problems of Workplace Democracy," Introduction in F. Lindenfeld and Joyce Rothschild-Whitt. Workplace Democracy and Social Change. (Boston: Porter Sargent Publishers, Inc., 1982), pp. 6-8.
 John Simmons. "From Our Publisher," Workplace Democracy 10(Winter 1983):i.
- (2) John Curl. History of Work Cooperation in America. (Berkeley, CA: Homeward Press, 1980).
- (3) quote by Edward Greenberg in Carnoy and Shearer. Economic Democracy. p. 185.
- (4) This conclusion was reached following the initial interviews with the study participants from Firm A.

(5) Ibid.

(6) This conclusion about the suggestion system and the means by which employees influenced the outcome of decisions was reached following the initial interviews with study participants from Firm B.

(7) As part of subjects' rights, the researcher explained to study participants that their individual identities and the specific identities of their firms would not be revealed. Information about the changes in Firm B's organizational structure was found in the union's literature describing the new organizational structure.

(8) Ibid. Information about the changes in Firm B's stock ownership plan was also derived from the union's literature in which the plan was described for union members.

(9) The fact that Firm B was in considerable financial trouble was common knowledge to all employees of the firm and to the public. One of the reasons for introducing the employee participation plan was to improve productivity which was one of the listed reasons in literature that described the rationale of the program and that was given to employees by management.

(10) Interview with a labor representative, Department of Labor, Boston, Massachusetts, 5 February 1984.

(11) Robert K. Merton, Majorie Fiske and Patrick A. Kendall. The Focused Interview - A Manual of Problems and Procedures. (Glencoe, IL: The Free Press, 1956), p. 43-47.

(12) Merton. The Focused Interview. pp. 16-17.

(13) Ibid.

Robert Bogdan and Steven Taylor. Introduction To Qualitative Research Methods. (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1975), p. 2.

Paul E. Lazarsfeld. Qualitative Analysis: Historical and Critical Essays. (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1972).

Michael Q. Patton. Qualitative Evaluation Methods. (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1980), pp. 201-202.

(14) Several experts in the field of workplace democracy

and organizational development reviewed and made recommendations for revising the interview guides. Two experts were on the researcher's dissertation committee: Dr. John Simmons and Dr. Sher Reichmann-Hruska. Two others are recognized in the field of workplace democracy: Dr. Paul Bernstein and Dr. David P. Magnani.

(15) The interview guide was pre-tested with a retired tool and die maker because tool and die is a skilled occupation and tool and die workers work in a position in the organizational hierarchy similar to this study's participants. The interview guides were revised as a result of this interview.

(16) Due to the financial problems of Firm B, the CEO decided to extend the pay reduction program without the consultation of the unions. Because this decision violated an agreed upon contract with the union and its members, many of the study participants were outraged. The union withdrew its support of the employee participation program. During the researcher's follow-up phone calls, many of the participants reversed their previous favorable positions to one of disfavor. Their reversal could be attributed to their perceptions of being betrayed by management.

(17) Interview with Dr. Isabel Halsted, Center for International Education, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Massachusetts, 8 December 1983.

(18) Bogdan. Qualitative Research Methods. p. 15.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Bogdan, R. and Taylor, S. Introduction To Qualitative Research Methods. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1975, pp 1-23, 95-125.
- Bowles, Samuel and Gintis, Herbert. Schooling In Capitalist America. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1976.
- Brey, Nanette C. "Quality Circles and Workplace Democratization - Perspectives and Issues." Comprehensive paper, University of Massachusetts, 1983.
- Bernstein, Paul. Workplace Democratization - Its Internal Dynamics. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Books, 1980.
- Blauner, Robert. Alienation and Freedom - The Factory Worker and His Industry. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1964.
- Blumberg, Paul. Industrial Democracy - The Sociology of Participation. New York, N.Y.: Schocken Books, 1968.
- Bogdan, Robert and Taylor, Steven J. Introduction To Qualitative Research Methods. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1975.
- Carnoy, Martin and Shearer, Derek. Economic Democracy - The Challenge of the 1980's. New York: M.E. Sharpe, Inc., 1980.
- Curl, John. History of Work Cooperation in America. Berkeley, CA: Homeward, Press, 1980.
- Burck, Charles G. "What's In It for the Unions?" Fortune. August 24, 1981.
- Dahl, Robert A. A Preface To Economic Democracy. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1985.
- Dewey, John. Democracy and Education. New York: The Free Press, 1916, pp. 306-345.

- _____. Experience and Education. London: Collier Macmillan Pub., 1938.
- Donahue, Thomas R. "Labor Looks At Quality of Worklife Programs," Keynote address delivered at conference - "Labor Looks at Quality of Work Life," January 7, 1982, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA.
- Edwards, R.C., Recih, M. and Weisskopf, T. (Eds.). The Capitalist System. (2nd ed.). Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1978.
- Estey, Martin. The Unions - Sturcture, Development and Management. New York, N.Y.: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1976.
- Freire, Paulo. Education for Critical Consciousness. New York, N.Y.: The Seabury Press, 1976.
- _____. Pedagogy of the Oppressed. New York: The Seabury Press, 1973.
- Glaser, B. and Strauss, A. The Discovery of Grounded Theory - Strategies for Qualitative Research. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1967.
- Gomberg, William and Shostak, Arthur B. Blue-Collar World - Studies of the American Worker. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1964.
- Gurley, J.G. "The Materialist Conception of History." In R. Edwards, M. Reich and T. Weisskopf (Eds.). The Capitalist System (2nd ed.). Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1978.
- Halsted, Isabell. Center for International Education, Amherst, Massachusetts. Interview, 8 December 1983.
- Hammer, Tove H.; Stern, Robert N.; and Gurdon, Michael A. "Workers' Ownership and Attitudes Towards

- Participation." In F. Lindenfeld and J. Rothschild-Whitt (Eds.). Workplace Democracy and Social Change. Boston: Porter Sargent Publishers, Inc., 1982.
- Harris, Marvin. Cultural Materialism: The Struggles for a Science of Culture. New York: Vintage Books, 1980.
- Hayden, T. The American Future. (rev.) New York: Washington Square Press, 1982.
- Hecksher, Charles. "Unions Play Key Role in Quality of Work Life," Workplace Democracy. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts, Vol. IX, No. 2, Winter, 1982.
- Herrick, Neal Q. "OWL: An Alternative To Traditional Public-Sector Management Systems." National Productivity Review. Winter, 1983-4. pp.54-67.
- House of Representatives, U.S. Congress. "Task Force On Employee Participation - Final Recommendations." Letter to Hon. Richard L. Ottinger. Feb. 19, 1982.
- Hunnius, G., Garson, G. and Case, J. (Eds.). Workers' Control - A Reader in Labor and Social Change. New York, N.Y.: Vintage Books, 1973.
- Kochan, Thoma A.; Katz, Harry C.; and Mower, Nancy R. Worker Participation and American Unions - Threat or Opportunity? Kalamazoo, MI: W.E. Upjohn Institute For Employment Research, 1984.
- Kohn, Melvin. Class and Conformity - A Study in Values. Homewood, IL: The Dorsey Press, 1969.
- Lazarsfeld, Paul. Qualitative Analysis: Historical and Critical Essays. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1972, pp.203-224.
- Kornblum, William. Blue Collar Community. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974.
- Landen, Delmar L. "The Real Issue: Human Dignity." Survey of Business, May/June 1977, Vol. 12, No. 5, pp. 15-17.
- Levin, Henry M. "Workplace Democracy and Educational

Planning." Paris, France: International Institute for Educational Planning, UNESCO. IIEP/544/3 (Prov.), February 9, 1978.

Lindenfeld, Frank and Rothschild-Whitt, Joyce. (Eds.). Workplace Democracy and Social Change. Boston: Porter Sargent Publishers, Inc., 1982.

Magnani, David P. Citizen Involvement Training Project, Amherst, Massachusetts. Interview, 10 November 1983.

_____. State House, Boston, Massachusetts. Interview, 3 December 1985.

Martin, Jeanne. "Human Services as Education." In H.B. Reed and E.L. Loughran (Eds.). Beyond Schools - Education for Economic, Social and Personal Development. Amherst, MA: Citizen Involvement Training Program and Community Education Resource Center, 1984.

Merton, R.; Fiske, M.; and Kendall, P. The Focused Interview - A Manual of Problems and Procedures. Glencoe, IL: The Free Press, 1956.

The New York Stock Exchange Office of Economic Research. "People and Productivity - A Challenge To Corporate America.: New York: New York Stock Exchange, Inc., 1982.

Nickelhoff, Andrew (Ed.). Extending Workplace Democracy - An Overview of Participatory Decision Making Plans for Unionists. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan, August, 1980.

Oakeshott, Robert. The Case for Workers' Co-ops. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978.

Pateman, Carole. Participation and Democratic Theory. London: Cambridge University Press, 1970.

Patton, Michael Q. Qualitative Evaluation Methods. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, Inc., 1980.

Quinn, Robert P. and Staines, Graham L. The 1977 Quality of Employment Survey. Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan, 1979.

- Rosen, Corey, M.; Klein, Katherine, J.; and Young, Karen, M. Employee Ownership in America - The Equity Solution. Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath and Company, 1986.
- Sachs, Stephen. "Union Negotiates Worker Ownership and Participation." Workplace Democracy. Amherst, MA: Common Wealth Printing Co., Inc., Vol. IX, Summer, 1982.
- Simmons, John. "From Our Publisher," Workplace Democracy. Amherst, MA: Common Wealth Printing Co., Inc., Vol. X, Winter 1983, p. i.
- Simmons, John and Mares, William. Working Together. A.A. Knopf Co., 1982.
- Tabb, J. Yanai and Goldfarb, Amira. Workers' Participation in Management - Expectations and Experience. New York: Pergamon Press, 1970.
- Twain, David. "Social Change Models." In Creating Change in Social Settings. 1983.
- Warren, Roland. Truth, Love and Social Change. Chicago: Rand Mc Nally and Co., 1973.
- Watts, G. "Management Incentives: Trick or Treat?" Workplace Democracy. Vol. IX, No. 3, Summer, 1982.
- Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language. New York: The World Publishing Company, 1953.
- Weiss, Julie. "Eastern Airlines Wakes Up To Its People." Workplace Democracy. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts, Vol. IX, No. 3, Summer 1982, pp. 2-4, 24.
- Witte, John H. Democracy, Authority and Alienation in Work - Worker's Participation in an American Corporation. Chicago: The University Press, 1980.
- Zwerdling, Daniel. Democracy at Work. Washington, D.C.: Association for Self-Management, 1978.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX 1

Session I: Interviews With Study Participants

Topics: Job Description, Participation in Decision Making, Ownership Participation and Majority Ownership

Respondents: Mechanics, ramp servicemen, and wheel shop from both firms.

Length of Time: 30 minutes

Introduction: 5 minutes - Brief review of phone conversation

Background Information and Icebreaker Questions:

1. Describe your major responsibilities.
2. In each of your tasks, what must be done in a fixed or routine way?
3. What can you do anyway and/or anytime you want to?
4. How do you feel about the present way things are done?
5. Have you thought about suggesting a change?
6. What mechanism do you have to suggest a change?
7. How does it work?
8. How often did or do you use it?
9. Are you satisfied with it? Why? or Why not?
How would you improve it?
10. Would you like to have more say at work? Why or Why not?

11. Do you own any part of your firm? If so, how much?
If not, why not?
12. Please describe the plan.
13. Do you think this gives or would give you more say over your work? Why or why not? ...over the company? Why or why not?
14. What do you think about employees at your company owning a controlling share of the company?
5. How do you feel about employees in other companies owning a controlling share in their companies?
16. Would ownership of your company make you feel differently about your work? If so, how? If not, why not?
17. How do you think ownership would affect other employees work? Why do you think so?

Future steps:

Thank you for answering my questions. Do you have any questions? This interview will be transcribed. I will send you a typed copy of our interview. Please read it. I will call and ask you if you want to make changes. You can correct information that you think is incorrect, add

additional information to explain your thoughts and/or delete information that you do not want included.

Explain selection procedure. Ask if they are selected, if they could meet again for approximately two hours.

Thank you for your help.

Appendix 2

Session II: Interviews With Study Participants

Topics: Clarification and/or verification of earlier positions; Potential Motivating Factors in the Superstructure

Respondents: six study participants selected from each firm

Length of Time: approximately two hours

Introduction: (5 minutes)

We have about two hours to talk today. After we have completed the interview, you can ask me any questions you may have about my project. Last time you described your responsibilities at work as a mechanic (or in the stockroom) and answered questions about making suggestions, participating in decisions, and employee ownership.

I am interested in why some people are interested or not interested in more say about their work or how the company is run and why some people are interested or not interested in employee having more say over how your work is done. To what extent do these statements accurately describe your opinion about increased say in decisions about your work.

If they do not describe position, then, ask him to describe his opinion.

2. Please explain your reasons for being (or not being) interested in increased say.

- a. Could you be more specific?
- b. Are there any other reasons?

Increased participation in firm level decisions

1. The last time we talked you said:

which indicated to me you are (or are not) interested in having more say in how the company is run. Do these statements accurately describe your opinion about increased say in how the company is run?

If no, will you describe your opinion?

2. Will you explain your reasons for (or for not) being interested in increased say in how the company is run?

- a. Could you be more specific?
2. Are there any other reasons?

Influential experience outside the workplace

Introduction: Our opinions, to some extent, are based upon our life experiences. Some people know which experiences have influenced them the most to think a certain way. Other people are not sure. You just mentioned several reasons why you are (or are not) interested in increased say at work. I would like you to think about what experiences in your life may have influenced your view.

I will read different categories of experiences. Some people have had significant experiences which have influenced their views and others have not had or don't remember significant experiences. You may recall some experiences or you may not. There are no right or wrong answers.

1. In what way do you think your family upbringing influenced your views on wanting (or not wanting) increased say in decisions at work?
2. repeat same question but substitute schooling for family upbringing.
3. ...religion
4. ...political economy (explain this means governmental laws and policies regarding the economy - give an example.)
5. ...media
6. ...significant other experience

Majority Ownership

*Check the respondents responses in the first interview and adjust the questions accordingly.

1. The last time we talked you said:

which indicated to me that you think (or do not think) employees or workers should own a controlling share of stock in their company.

Do these statements accurately describe your opinion about

employee ownership? If no, will you describe your opinion?

2. Will you explain your reasons for your opinion on employee ownership?

a. Could you be more specific?

b. Are there any other reasons?

Influential experiences outside the workplace

1. In what way do you think your family upbringing influenced your views on ownership?

2. ...schooling

3. ...religion

4. ...political economy

5. ...media

6. ...significant other experience

Closing

Thank you again for your time and help. This interview will also be transcribed. I will send you a typed copy. Please read it so that when I call you, you can tell me if you want to make any changes.

Appendix 3

Summary of Firm A Study Participants' Experiences
With Ownership Participation

AA	Did not own stock, but viewed the plan positively
AB	Did not own stock, but viewed the plan positively
AC	Owned stock and would like more stock
AD	Owned stock, but did not necessarily want more stock
AE	Owned stock and would like more stock
AF	Did not own stock and was not interested in stock investment
AG	Did not own stock because he owned his own business
AH	Owned stock and would like to own more
AI	Owned stock at one time, but was not favorable toward plan

Appendix 4

Summary of Firm B Study Participants' Experiences
With Ownership Participation

BA	Negative
BB	Negative - worthless, no control to sell
BC	Negative - stock worthless, pay cut, stock investment is like gambling
BD	Negative - cheap stock
BE	Negative - worthless, pay cut
BG	Negative - it's not voting stock; it's a banking concern and not geared to make money
BF	Reluctant support - positive we're trying different things (to save the company)
BH	Reluctant support - better than nothing or filing Chapter 11 - bankruptcy)
BJ	Somewhat supportive - not interested in more stock, but says getting more stock gives you a feeling that you are part of the company.

Appendix 5

Summary of Firm A Study Participants' Desire
for Majority Ownership of Their Firm

AA	No - no need to own it because the firm was doing well financially
AB	No - there would be too many workers with selfish self-interests
AC	Yes - doesn't see anything wrong with it
AD	If only alternative to closing
AE	No - not interested in investment
AG	No - no need for it. The company is doing well.
AH	No - it's only to get rid of the unions not necessarily the most capable would run the company.
AI	No - but supportive of extensive majority ownership

Appendix 6

Summary of Firm B Study Participants' Desire
For Majority Ownership of Their Firm

-
- | | |
|----|---|
| BA | No - Workers would give up too much; doesn't want the stress and responsibility. |
| BB | Yes, if we could have a say in the areas that spend the most money. |
| BC | Mixed - owning stock doesn't make that much difference to him. |
| BD | Yes - a good idea. It creates more loyalty, but it only amounts to an increase in pay. |
| BE | No, unless I'm the actual owner, it's not a great deal. |
| BF | No, but open to hearing more about it. He wouldn't want to share profits if it was his company. |
| BG | No - wants control over his investments to personally invest where he wants. Employees, as owners, wouldn't stand up to fight for their interests as workers. |
| BH | Yes - It would give job security and pull everyone together. |
| BI | Yes - There would be alot of changes in top management. |
| BJ | Not controlling interest; the employees aren't smart enough. |
-

Appendix 7

Summary of Firm A Study Participants' Opinions
Regarding General Support for
Majority Ownership

AA	Conditional support and only when workers are asked to suffer
AB	No, there are too many selfish interests.
AC	Yes, employees should make as good decisions as management.
AD	Conditional - if it's the only alternative.
AE	Conditional - not for the airlines. Under circumstances it would give better job security and better for the government.
AF	No. Employees aren't in the position to judge.
AG	No. Employees don't have enough management material to do it.
AH	No. Employees as owners can't strike against themselves and people wouldn't be willing to commit to longer hours.
AI	No - too many outside stock holders to get control, but everyone should own stock in their company.

Appendix 8

Summary of Firm B Study Participants' Opinions
Regarding General Support for
Majority Ownership

- BA No - viewed majority ownership as undemo-
 cratic.
- BB Conditional - if it was small enough and the
 workers positively had a say.
- BC Conditional - probably it would work in a
 small company like a tool and die company.
- BD Conditional. If the workers could see the
 product.
- BE No response.
- BF Reluctant - afraid it would be the demise
 of the union.
- BG Reluctant. There is some good, but
 employees aren't ready to handle the
 responsibility.
- BH Mixed - it has its pros and cons. Needs
 something solid before supporting it.
- BI Yes. It would be a better system.
 Employee owned companies outproduce their
 competitors.
- BJ No - if only alternative to going out of
 business.
-

Appendix 9

Summary of Firm A Study Participants' Opinions
Regarding Workers' Performance in
Majority Owned Firms

- AA It would motivate workers to work harder, because they would get more money. There would be greater cooperation.
- AB There would be better morale if the workers could participate in decisions.
- AC They would work more efficiently to make more money.
- AD I wouldn't work any differently. Others may particularly if the company was going to close down.
- AE Workers would work harder if they could see the product and it would give them better job security.
- AF No response.
- AG Maybe give the workers greater pride, but that's it.
- AH No. Workers wouldn't be willing to extend beyond the 8-hour day.
- AI People with an interest in the company will work harder.
-

Appendix 10

Summary of Firm B Study Participants' Opinions
Regarding Workers' Performance in
Majority-Owned Firms

- | | |
|----|--|
| BA | No, it wouldn't change me. I'd still give a good day. |
| BB | No. I'm already self-motivated. |
| BC | No, it's job satisfaction that matters and not ownership. |
| BD | No, I enjoy the job. |
| BE | No response. |
| BF | Yes, it would make me more voiceful and it wouldn't just seem like a 7-4 job. |
| BG | No difference. |
| BH | Yes. It does give one a little more pride, but I always did the best job anyhow. |
| BI | No. I was brought up with the Protestant work ethic. |
| BJ | No. Those who work will work anyway and those who slack off will slack off. |
-

Appendix 11

Summary of Firm A Study Participants' Opinions
Toward Participation in Work
Process Decisions

- AA Yes. It would make the job more enjoyable and satisfying. It would allow him to find better ways to do his job.
- AE Yes. It would make the job easier to do and more efficient. There's too much external control and supervision.
- AF No. I only want to do the job I was hired to do.
- AG Some say in working conditions makes for better working relations.
- AH I'm fairly satisfied; I have enough say. I get my paycheck for what I do; there's no reason to change.
- AI It would build more character. Now, there's no challenge because of the nature of the union's positions.
-

Appendix 12

Summary of Firm A Study Participants' Opinions
Regarding Participation in Firm
Level Decisions

- AA Yes, if the system for participation was set up similar to the safety committee; otherwise, it might be disorderly.
- AE Mixed response. Company should give some consideration to employees, such as their salaries. Employees couldn't handle the responsibility.
- AF No. We have a voice through the union. Workers should do their jobs and management should do theirs. Employees aren't capable and we couldn't do better than we already are.
- AG No. Management does a good job. Nobody in my position should own the company; therefore, they shouldn't have a say.
- AH No, it's up to the people who own the airline. Employees are hired to help management who knows through experience.
- AI No, it's not the job of workers. I'm concerned about the representative on the Board and his background.
-

Appendix 13

Summary of Firm B Study Participants' Opinions
Toward and Experiences With Participation
in Work Process Decisions

- BB Yes. There are real benefits to participation, like improved communication, working together, problem solving, greater pride, and cost savings to the company.
- BC Had hesitations such as the resentment that had built up over the years, workers pursuing personal interests at the expense of the group, conflict between workers' responsibility to the EP program or to fellow workers, lack of rotation among group.
- BE Not a participant. It undermines the union because it solves problems more efficiently and it confuses the basic adversarial relationship. I have enough say.
- BG Not a participant. It undermines the union and gives workers a false sense of voice. It conflicts with the collective bargaining agreement. However, workers could give feedback at work process level.
- BH It takes time to participate and management has to change to become more receptive. It has improved morale, work force conditions, and communication and increased understanding of other departments problems.
- BJ Not a program participant. But felt everyone was pulling together and the union was changing its attitude on work rules which was positive.
-

Appendix 14

Summary of Firm B Study Participants' Opinions
Toward and Experiences With Firm
Level Participation

- BB Conditional support. It depends on whether or not the employees are blamed for the firm's financial standing. If they are, then they should participate.
- BC No. I'm confused about the situation. Management should do their job.
- BE Mixed. It's not our job. I'm satisfied with our union representative on the Board. The real decisions will be made elsewhere. They should have a say because they put alot of their time and life into the company. How can 35,000 people have a say.
- BG Wants results from top management. We need expert people to run the company and a worker can't generate that.
- BH Definitely. They should have input especially in decisions that have a direct effect on them.
-

Appendix 15

Summary of Study Respondents' Reported Experiences
On Their Family Upbringing - Group A

-
- AA -unquestionable respect for authority;
 his father's shoe business failed.
 -wants ownership participation because of
 the economic hardship growing up
- AI -father was a lawyer, taught his child-
 ren about the stock market; learned
 self-initiative and self-direction from
 father.
 -supports ownership participation; has a
 clear understanding of the role of
 stock holders.
- AE -father owned a shoe store and a grocery
 store; father very authoritarian.
 -attributed his support for participa-
 tion in decisions to rebelling against
 authoritative upbringing; did not want
 majority ownership because of the long
 hours his father worked.
- BH -rewarded for self-initiative because of
 difficult family life - "sink or swim;"
 -wanted ownership because families in
 public housing did not take care of
 their homes.
- BB -father encouraged independence.
 -for this reason went in the service.
- BJ -father worked long hours for a brewery;
 grew up more or less independent; went
 in the service after trade school.
 -said independent upbringing was
 probably a factor in wanting more
 participation in decisions.
-

Chart 13: Summary of Study Respondents' Reported Experiences
On Their Family Upbringing - Group A

<u>Participant</u>	<u>Experiences With Family Upbringing</u>
AA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -unquestionable respect for authority; Italian father; his father's shoe business failed. -wants ownership participation because of the economic hardship growing up
AI	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -father was a lawyer who taught his children about the stock market through ownership of their own stock; learned self-initiative and self-direction from father. -supports ownership participation because of this experience; has a clear understanding of the role of stock holders, i.e., to go through the chain of command
AE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -father owned a shoe store and then a grocery store; Italian father and very authoritarian. -attributed his support for participation in decisions to rebelling against his authoritative upbringing; said he didn't want majority ownership because of the long hours his father worked.
BH	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -rewarded for self-initiative and independence because of his difficult family life - it was either "sink or swim;" -wanted ownership because families in public housing did not take care of their homes because they did not own them.
BB	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -father encouraged independence; worked with his father who was a dispatcher for a trucking firm. -for this reason went in the service at 17.
BJ	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -father worked long hours for a brewery; grew up more or less independent; decided on his own to go in the service after trade school. -said independent upbringing was probably a in wanting more participation in decisions.

Appendix 16

Summary of Study Participants' Reported Experiences
On Their Family Uprbringing - Group B

-
- AH -father was a typesetter; grew up in a pro union atmosphere and poor; "a job was a big accomplishment" and "nobody thought about owning anything."
- AF -his grandparents raised him; had a very conservative upbringing.
-said the conservative nature of his upbringing most likely influenced his views
- AG -parents taught him to be conservative and "pay cash for everything;" had a close relationship with his parents.
-attributed his upbringing as his most influential experience; owned own business.
- BG -parents were factory workers; family was left with nothing when the factory folded; his father fought for the union; felt strength from his extended family and felt similar strength as part of the union movement.
-attributed his mostly negative views on ownership and participation in decisions to the fact that "you have to admit that you are a worker and do that job well."
- BC -his family wasn't business-oriented; his father was a truck driver who never bought stock or tried to make a profit at something; grew up around WWII and had two brothers in the army.
-felt that he's willing to let others manage.
- BE -father was a union machinist for GE; grew up poor and attributed his upbringing as very influential.
-

Appendix 17

Summary of Study Participants' Reported Experiences
With Education or Schooling - Group A

-
- AA -went to parochial school; remembered the authoritarian style of teachers.
-suggested his schooling influenced him "not to against management."
- AI -went to rural public school and to Catholic boarding school; learned to handle responsibility, to take initiative, and to respect the seniority system; also learned he did not want to start over at the bottom.
- AE -liked courses in machine shop in public school; in retrospect he thought that experience to be a waste of time and wished he had taken a college course.
- BH -went from parochial school to a public high school; most important thing he learned was how to adapt or learn a different set of rules to survive; liked his trade courses.
-he believed that learning to adapt was needed at his firm; he would do whatever he could to prevent Firm B from filing for bankruptcy such as participate in EP program and take a paycut.
- BB -did not do well in school and had low self-esteem; no problem with authoritarian nature of teachers in public school.
- BJ -teachers recommended BJ to go to trade school; happiest when working with his hands.
-schooling was influential in choice of occupation.
-

Appendix 18

Summary of Study Participants' Reported Experiences
With Education or Schooling - Group B

- AH -went to parochial school and rebelled against the authoritarian nature.
- AF -liked the shop course; did not like "anything to do with reading and discussion".
- AG -quit school; he did not enjoy school and did believe he should just go because one had to; received high school equivalent in the service.
- BG -liked school even though he did not think it prepared him for life; wished he had taken a college course.
- BC -respected his teachers and principals.
-believed his schooling experience was another example where he respected people in positions of authority.
- BE -went from parochial to public schools; felt he learned to accept more responsibility in public schools because students aren't forced to do their homework
-

Appendix 19

Summary of Study Participants' Reported Experiences
With Religion - Group A

-
- AA -remembered learning a tremendous respect for authority.
-believed religious experience with Catholic Church reinforced his predisposition to respect authority.
- AI -viewed Catholic Church as dictatorial; however, enjoyed religious education at boarding school because he was allowed to study history of religions and to form his own views.
- AE -not very religious and did not like views pushed on him; raised Protestant.
-did not think religious experiences were influential in forming his views.
- BH -raised Catholic; religious influence occurred mostly through the schooling process.
-believed experience influenced him primarily in the way he treated people.
- BB -believed its greatest influence was on how he treated others; doesn't like organized religion and its politics; raised Protestant.
-influenced how he treated others, not necessarily his views on ownership and decision making.
- BJ -raised Protestant; turned off by his minister's evangelism.
-did not think religion was very influential in forming his views.
-

Appendix 20

Summary of Study Participants' Reported Experiences
With Religion - Group B

-
- AH -raised Catholic; remembered the disciplinary nature of nuns at school; liked a charismatic parish priest.
-an experience that reinforced his dislike of authoritative approaches.
- AF -raised Protestant, but did not attend as an adult; believed in the Ten Commandments.
-did not think the experience was particularly influential in his life.
- AG -raised Protestant; attended when he wanted to; did not currently attend.
-reclected nothing memorable about the experience.
- BG -did not currently attend because of Church politics; informed about Church's position on worker control; believed religion was very influential.
- BC -raised Baptist; infrequent "church-goer;" respected those in authority positions in the church; believed experience reinforced his predisposition to respect authority.
- BE -raised Catholic; believed religion was generally influential.
-

Appendix 21

Summary of Study Participants' Reported Views
On Political Economy - Group A

-
- AA -favored the Republican approach to the economy; described himself as a "right-winger"; supported a balanced budget; did not support welfare programs;
- AI -supported cutting the deficit; disagreed with President Reagan's policy on cutting programs to poor people; described the economy as cyclical; felt he has always had money.
- AE -felt that the economy did not affect him; he has bought a few stock although not alot; and has never had it hard.
- BH -said the political economy did affect him because President Reagan was against labor and the working class.
-believed that ownership of Firm B might prevent it from filing for bankruptcy.
- BB -felt the economy had an effect on how his parents raised their children to be frugal and not waste.
- BJ -believed the economy affected him personally, but mostly he was affected by the cutbacks in his weekly pay.
-

Appendix 22

Summary of Study Participants' Reported Views On and Experiences With the Political Economy - Group B

- AH -has done alright financially
-re-stated an earlier position (lack of trust in his fellow workers to "pull their fair share of the workload").
- AF -believed he had not lost any economic power; supported President Reagan; did not support welfare and "giveaway" programs; had mixed views on military spending.
- BG -mentioned that economy affects people's attitudes and moods.
- BC -concerned about de-regulation and its effect on airline industry; mentioned that it was Kennedy, a Democrat, who supported de-regulation; did not know how President Reagan's policies affected the airlines; probably vote for Regan because "any administration needed at least 8 years to prove themselves;" registered Independent.
- BE -strongly believed that one's vote should be influenced by party ideology and the candidate's position on the issues over a period of time; supported Mondale.
-

Appendix 23

Summary of Study Participants' Reported Experiences
With and Views On the Media - Group A

- AA -said there was no real effect; watched the news; listened to the radio; did not read much.
-did read some information and talked with people at work regarding ownership and participative decision making; but as a result of participating in study, not because he was influenced in general by print media.
- AI -read a great deal, such as, The Wall Street Journal and the New York Times.
-said that reading was the most influential media form and influenced a great deal although nothing specifically about workplace democracy.
- AE -said he was most influenced by print media.
-did read something about employee ownership and participative decision making, but could not name anything specific.
- BH -believed that print media was the most influential media form.
-mostly read information published by firm or union.
- BB -favorite reading material were sea adventure novels.
-did not mention anything about employee participation programs.
- BJ -said he read occasionally.
-recently tried to read more about Japanese worker, auto industry and productivity.
-

Appendix 24

Summary of Study Participants' Reported Experiences
With and Views on the Media - Group B

-
- AH -said media had no influence on him.
- AF -said the media did not have much of an
 influence on him.
- AG -reiterated that his parents were the most
 influential; the media did not influence
 him.
- BG -read a great deal about labor issues and
 the airlines; liked movies that had
 themes related to justice.
 -made no mention of any readings directly
 related to workplace democracy and unions.
- BC -read mostly spy and adventure novels;
 particuly liked those that involved a
 group of people struggling together to
 accomplish goals.
 -did not read anything specifically
 related to workplace democracy.
- BE -read extensively about labor issues and,
 at times, about management to understand
 "the other perspective."
 -did not mention reading anything
 specifically about workplace democracy.
-

Appendix 25

Summary of Study Participants' Reported Experiences
With and Views On Military Service - Group A

- AA -said it was very influential and authoritative; served in the Navy.
-learned his occupation in the service;
reinforced his respect for authority.
- AI -did not serve in the military.
-had experience with returned servicemen who worked for the airlines; felt they lacked self-initiative because they were used to someone telling them what to do.
- AE -not influenced by his 6 month service.
- BH -was a member of the Air Force; said it was very influential and positive; learned about how organizations worked and the world; felt that non-officers should have input into decisions although wasn't sure if that would be practical.
-learned his occupation in the service and possibly first experience with a desire for participation in decisions.
- BB -was a member of the Navy; felt that the most influential experiences were those that challenged him to be independent and to develop self-confidence.
-said the service taught him the importance of direct experience which was the main reason he wanted to participate in the EP program.
- BJ -was most influenced in the Air Force by being expected to be responsible and "to do your job."
-contrasted service experience with unionized jobs in which there are lower expectations of workers.
-

