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Deviance in Large Organizations: Case Studies of the Use of Drug Testing in Corporations

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DEVIANCE IN LARGE ORGANIZATIONS: CASE STUDIES
OF THE USE OF DRUG TESTING IN CORPORATIONS

by

Darrell D. Irwin

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School of Loyola University of Chicago in
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VITA

The author, Darrell D. Irwin, Jr., is the son of Mr. and Mrs. Darrell D. Irwin. He was born November 5, 1955 in Cherry Point, North Carolina.

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

This study investigates to what extent the corporate policy of drug testing is being used for reinforcing social control in the American workplace. Controlling substance abuse has become a major goal for private and public policy makers in the 1980s. Presented in this paper are various theories of deviancy and social control which form a basis for investigating workplace drug and alcohol problems. These include 1) the alcohol treatment literature, 2) the deviancy theories of Robert Merton, Edwin Sutherland, and Thorstein Sellin, and the labelling theory of Howard Becker, and 3) the workplace control literature of Richard Edwards and other conflict theorists.

Using sociological theories, I examine how the serious social problem of substance abuse is evaluated by the corporate employers and large labor unions. Attempting to analyze substance abuse in the workplace, I describe six case studies where interviews were conducted with union and company officials and Employee Assistance coordinators. This examination led to determining whether or not corporations emphasize drug abuse as a corporate problem in order to justify workplace control measures. The following areas are studied in order to determine their relation to this assumption: 1) medicalization or criminalization of

social problems, i.e., where drug use is viewed not as criminal or deviant but rather as an individual illness or medical problem, 2) the development of the Employee Assistance Program (EAP) and its function in the company and, 3) whether or not drug testing is actually another form social control in the workplace.

The mass media appeared to have picked employee drug testing as a major issue in 1986. All epidemiological evidence points to a decrease, except for the use of cocaine, in drug use since the early 1980s (Jensen et al., 1987). Epidemiological evidence cannot explain the increase in workplace drug testing and the excessive media attention to drug testing. As in past scares, for example twenty years ago it was widely publicized that the drug LSD altered chromosomes, there is a political and social context to the current interest and response to workplace drug testing. I have found, in an informal search of newspapers available to me, nearly a hundred different articles on drug testing during the period from September 1986 to September 1987. In this informal search each of the following newspapers contained one or more articles on drug testing; The Arizona Sun, The Chicago Tribune, The Chicago Sun-Times, Chicago Illini, The Christian Science Monitor, The Daily Northwestern, The Chronicle of Higher Education, The New York Times, and USA Today. These articles often contained stern warnings from companies and the local, state and

federal governments that drug testing was being used or being considered for use among their employees.

The rational nature of corporate decision-making appeared flawed when corporations began to respond to this intense media coverage and began to launch drug testing in the workplace. Although corporate workforces are not immune to substance abuse problems, management often provides unwarranted solutions to the problem of substance abuse. When faced with decisions on how to handle substance abusers, managers are often swayed by 1) publicity about these solutions, 2) the fact that other leading organizations or the government has initiated this solution, and 3) that no demographic group is immune to substance abuse problems.

It is also plausible that corporations may be launching control measures to police their workforce rather than looking for the structural cause of substance abuse in the workplace. The corporate EAP may be best illustrated by using a typology which includes the two contradictory functions of the EAP; the controller and helper functions. Theorists conceive of substance abuse solutions and health practitioners conceive of treatment programs, but systematic intervention in the workplace has to be examined as to whether or not and to what degree the contradictory levels of treatment or control are actually implemented. Using data I have collected from corporations I have been able to

differentiate between programs which "control", by establishing measures to provide the deviant individual with an internal control structure, and those which "help", by specifically addressing structural changes.

One new proposal to control substance abuse problems which has been receiving a tremendous amount of publicity, albeit much of it negative, is drug testing of employees. Most corporate drug testing, where employees submit to testing of their urine, is done by the corporate EAP, whose function becomes clearer as I examine the different types of EAPs. Sociologically the need to critically investigate drug testing in the workplace convinces me to look both at establishing EAPs within a corporation and the union receptivity to EAPs.

In order that I scientifically examine the surge of interest in the phenomenon of drug tests, sometimes referred to as immunoassays or by their trade names such as EMIT or RIA, I used several criteria, including; 1) has medicalization of the social problem occurred, 2) what type of EAP a corporation develops, and 3) is the corporation using drug testing to control workers. In an attempt to get a better idea whether or not drug testing is really a solution to workplace substance abuse or merely another form of workplace control, I interviewed Employee Assistance Coordinators, union officials and company officials regarding their own workplace drug testing programs. These

officials are identified with either a "controller" or "helper" pattern when working with employees and their substance abuse problems. Officials having strong concerns with employee behaviors are labeled, for the purposes of this study, as "controllers" or as "helpers".

Today work-based intervention programs are the corporate solution to monitoring inappropriate workplace behaviors. EAPs are the intervention programs which attempt to identify and "control" or "help" alcoholic, drug abusers and other troubled employees. "Controllers" are defined as generally agreeing with the belief that drug testing helps the drug addicts "provide structure that they don't have internally".¹ Controllers contend that substance abuse is an individual moral problem which has to be controlled. Their main concern is not with employee drug use, but using drug tests as another control measure over the workers. The corporate EAP can use control measures either in response to serious and disruptive behaviors or deteriorating job performance. A company EAP will use discipline or dismissal when corporate policy encourages it, especially when corporation dictates its divisions fire employees on the spot because of a positive test.

The need to identify and make an example of a worker so that the other workers will not abuse drugs or engage in

¹ Interview with Dr. Edward C. Senay, University of Chicago, Dept. of Psychiatry, who spoke about the absence of internal control among substance abusers.

other inappropriate conduct effectively controls the workforce in a wide spectrum of concerns, i.e. strikes, slowdowns, militant unionism. These control mechanisms may include mailing substance abuse literature to each worker's household in an attempt to have families alert the company EAP if a problem exists at home or supervisors surveying local bars to keep tabs on workers on their leisure time. Problems do exist and company must consider that nationwide drug related problems in the workplace have cost companies 30 billion yearly (Chicago Tribune, Dec. 29, 1987). In the control model, management fails to recognize workplace structural problems. Workers, on the other hand, have few options with regards to the testing process because dismissal is often the direct result of refusal. Labor unions have contested drug testing in court because firings are prohibited by the 1973 Employee Rehabilitation Act (Dennenberg and Dennenberg, 1983).

"Helpers" believe that the problem is not an individual one but an external one, in which abuser's problems are centered in the social structure which includes the economy, the family, the workplace, and inequality. For example, two sociologists, Richard Sennet and Jonathan Cobb write about the hidden injuries of the working class. They argue;

The theme of giving oneself, and receiving ingratitude in return, stretches beyond the home to the more general awareness working men have of their class position in America. There is a feeling that the anxieties they have taken upon themselves, the tensions they have to bear, ought to give them the right to

demand that society give them something in return, that government and large institutions should not make class tensions any worse (Sennett and Cobb, 1972).

Substance abuse is one device by which the person reacts to the social forces which shape and channel individual life choices. Some sociologists have argued that these anxieties can contribute to drug use (Schneider, 1978). Helpers are service providers who seek consistent and concrete definitions which will alleviate the estimated 120 billion dollar cost to society because of substance abuse (Chicago Tribune, Dec. 29, 1987). Helpers want to try to lessen the anxieties that the working classes exhibits towards the structure found in the workplace.

Conceiving of alcohol and drug abuse service providers as either "controllers" or "helpers" establishes a typology with which to explore the company Employee Assistance Program. The exploration of how corporate EAPs have been designed to deal with the problem of substance abuse is the focus of the research described in this paper. This differentiation among corporate helper and controller EAPs is the subject of Chapter IV. Chapter II examines the sociological literature on substance abuse, deviancy, and workplace control. Chapter III presents the methodology I used to examine drug testing in the workplace. Chapter V discusses the nature of workplace intervention programs, what variables change with a union workforce and what potential changes EAPs may undergo in the future.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Practitioner's Literature

Practitioners are by definition "helpers" because they have tried to understand what social structures maintain the phenomenon of substance abuse in society. Health practitioners, who accept the prevailing ideology of alcoholism as a disease, are by virtue of their special training of dealing with illnesses connected to the "helping" professions. Many of the corporate EAP coordinators have received training in institutions which accept the prevailing ideology of the "helping professions".

Modern literature on the subject of alcoholism begins with the definition of alcoholism as a disease. Arguments about the treatment of alcoholism begin as arguments about the treatment of a disease. This disease definition is culturally accepted in part due to the "alcoholism industry" (Trice and Roman, 1978: 11-12) pushing for the medicalization of alcoholism.

Medicalization of alcoholism has provided the moral and political rise to prominence of several major organizations dealing with alcoholism. These include Alcoholics Anonymous, the National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism, the Association of Labor, Management, Administrators and Consultants on Alcoholism (A.L.M.A.C.A.) and an "alcoholism industry" (Trice and Roman, 1978: 11-12).

Studies on the social history of the disease concept of alcoholism include work done by sociologists Joseph Schneider and Peter Conrad. According to Joseph Schneider, all the major organizations in the debate have maintained that non-disease forms of drinking are "defined as moral problems to be met on moral terms; disease forms are, by contrast, medical problems and deserve the attention and treatment of the medical profession" (Schneider, 1978: 367).

The concept of medicalization of deviancy has been expanded to include more and more human behavior problems among them alcoholism, drug addiction, violence, irrational behaviors and obesity. Schneider argued that deviant drinking behavior is an example of "medicalization of deviance and social control wherein a form of non-normative behavior is labelled first a 'sin', then a 'crime', and finally a 'sickness'" (1978: 361). It is in this latter stage of labelling, "sickness", that the "helping professions" emerge from a formative period. These "helping professions" have replaced an older form of justice designed to protect private rights. Educators, penologists, social workers, and Employee Assistance Coordinators began to see themselves as doctors to a "sick society".

Sociological studies of alcoholism have usually been conducted as field work and have generally agreed with laboratory studies in finding alcoholism to be malleable and situationally determined (Cahalan, 1970). Alfred Lindesmith

argued, as did Howard Becker, that deviance is a created situation and explains, "actions are not in themselves moral or immoral, deviant or nondeviant. It is the judgement that is passed on the behavior by others, and not the behavior itself that, determines and defines deviance". Lindesmith found in his work with drug addicts that "one can only be addicted when he experiences physiological withdrawal symptoms, recognizes them as due to a need for drugs and relieves them by taking another dose" (Lindesmith and Strauss, 1969: 390) Lindesmith states the operational definition of addiction. However, the implication a drug test makes is only the person has used drugs, not that a person has a drug problem, is "high" at work, or is a drug addict.

In theory, the assumption is intervention programs in the workplace benefit the employees by treating their addictions. Past research indicates that most programs, irrespective of their therapeutic interests, facilities or enthusiasm, report a success rate of twenty five to thirty percent (Bowman and Jellinek, 1941). This points out that simply a medical understanding of industrial alcoholism and drug abuse ignores problems inherent in the social structure of a corporation. Chapter IV discusses EAPs', which are higher than the above percentages, success rates with their alcoholic employees in more detail.

Definitions of alcoholism and treatment became subjects

for a widespread debate in which, despite the elegance of various theories, no theory has been scientifically proven. Albert Cohen, a theorist who is remembered for his work on juvenile delinquents, remarked, "The most pressing problem in the field of social disorganization and deviant behavior is to define these terms" (Merton, 1959: 461). This lack of definitions of deviancy has generated conflicting opinions in the many articles on the subject of treating alcoholism and drug abuse. D. L. Davies' 1962 research findings started a major controversy in the alcoholism field about the ability of alcoholics to control drinking session versus the widely accepted belief that alcoholics must abstain. Another whole series of journal articles have engaged in a controversy of whether self-reports given by alcoholics are valid with some researchers calling for a moratorium on self-reporting by alcoholics ².

The contemporary conception of alcoholism is generally associated with the work of E. M. Jellinek beginning in the 1930s. Defining alcoholism as "any use of alcoholic beverages that causes any damage to the individual or society or both" Jellinek's theory established alcoholism as a disease whose symptoms include addiction and the suffering of a host of alcohol related symptoms (Jellinek, 1960: 35).

² Particular article cited in debate was by Charles Watson et al. entitled "Do Alcoholics Give Valid Self-Reports" Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol Vol. 45, No.4, 1984, pp. 344-348.

Substance abuse in the workplace can be treated by a "helper" or managed by a controller. Joseph Gusfield, whose research includes work on the Temperance movement and drug users, describes the ideology of control, saying "Toward such deviants (drug users) it is possible to take a social control orientation in order to prevent such deviance from impinging on the total society" (1982: 20). Jellinek, Gusfield, and Schneider all conclude that the use of formal agents of social control may have the desired effect to get deviant drinkers to conform to norms. According to these theorists, alcoholics suffering from a disease, would "deserve attention and treatment of the medical profession". This differentiation of alcoholism is constructed from a larger cultural ethos which agrees that disease of alcoholism deserves attention and treatment by the medical profession, while non-disease forms of drinking and drug use must be controlled.

In researching the EAPs and their reasons for initiating and continuing drug testing I am able to concentrate on workplace control measures which develop in that social environment of the corporation. By means of "scientific management", reliance on advanced technology, or the advise of outside experts, corporations introduce structures which undermines the worker's solidarity, thereby justifying the continuing expansion of the bureaucratic control. Controllers mask collective grievances as

individual ones and use the pretense of substance abuse as an excuse to control. Helpers recognize the structural inadequacy of a system of work which, at times, thwarts any democratic participation of the workers in the production process. Helpers will design EAPs which feature enlightened solutions to the problems of morale at work. How these two types may be analyzed from a sociological viewpoint will be the next topic.

Sociological Theory

The functionalist approach has been explained by sociologists Malcolm Spector and John Kitsuse as arguing that social problems, such as drugs in the workplace, contribute to "conditions or behaviors that impede the fulfillment of society's goals, that interfere with the smooth functioning of society, or that throw society into disequilibrium" (1977: 23). Inherent in this approach are questions of: why drugs are problems with the "smooth functioning of society"; who define's society's goals; who has the power to say so? These questions must be answered by an informed and rational perspective.

In the sociological literature one of the main aspects of the functionalist perspective of deviancy has been the effect of anomie on deviant behavior (Durkheim; Merton; Pfohl). Anomie refers to the disorganization which exists in individuals or society when norms are absent, unclear, or

confusing. According to Harrison Trice, "The absence of consistent and concrete definitions of the appropriate uses of alcohol may describe a situation of relative normlessness or anomie" (Trice and Roman, 1978: 27). In reviewing anomie I will investigate its claims and focus on whether the theory is a sufficient explanation for introducing social control mechanisms in the workplace.

Robert Merton had reformulated the anomie theory of Emile Durkheim, which is found in his statistical analysis of suicide (Durkheim, 1897). Merton's work focused on a structured disparity existed between promises of achievable prosperity and real-life opportunities by examining the relationship between two aspects of social life: cultural goals and socially available means of goal attainment. Merton's theory of anomie is used to illuminate social behavior and considers the social structure as consisting of universal values. Conformity, Merton argued, was a universal value of society. How much conformity does an advanced society require? Merton proposed a typology which contained several adaptive mechanisms including; conformity, innovation, ritualism, retreatism, and rebellion. Merton's concepts, of addicts as "retreatists", are suspect because, as Lindesmith and Gagnon maintain, "The paradox anomie theory faces is that while opiates can be used for retreatist motives, they are used in this way primarily by those who are not addicted to them" (Clinard, 1964: 185).

Merton's functional perspective contends that social problems are caused by the failure of individuals to internalize the normative consensus of the society, in which case deviant behavior results. As Lindesmith maintains, quite appropriately, the retreatist motive of drug users is adhered to because of structural conditions which have presented themselves to drug users in the economy, the family or society.

American society teaches people the aspiration of success and in the 1938 essay "Social Structure and Anomie" Merton discussed differences between goal attainment and the opportunities for success. Merton's description of American cultural values were found in "Social Structure and Anomie" where he argued;

Americans are admonished "not to be a quitter" for in the dictionary of American culture, as in the lexicon of youth, "there is no such word as 'fail'". The cultural manifesto is clear; one must not quit, must not cease striving, must not lessen his goals, for "not failure, but low aim, is crime" (Merton, 1968: 192-3).

The inequality of success in American life was said to produce structural pressures which led individuals to other paths than conformity. Merton argued this inequality would produce deviancy among those people failing at the goal of success.

Merton designated three cultural axioms existing in American society. These are 1) all should strive for the same lofty goals, 2) present seeming failure is but a way station to ultimate success, and 3) genuine failure consists

in the lessening or withdrawing of ambition. Merton then translated each cultural axiom into its sociological counterpart. They are; 1) the deflection of criticism of the social structure onto one's self among those so situated in society that they do not have full access to opportunity, 2) the preservation of a structure of social power by having individuals in the lower social strata identify themselves, not with their peers, but with those on top, and 3) providing pressures for conformity with the cultural dictates of unslackened ambition by the threat of less than full membership in the society for those who fail to conform (1938).

Each of these sociological processes, which represent the functionalist's approach, allows for those who do not have the socially available means of goal attainment to be controlled as disadvantaged "deviants". Indeed, later students of Merton state American culture is characterized by a lower-class subcultures by which disadvantaged groups might adjust to the realities of a class society (Cloward and Ohlin, 1960). Stephan Pfohl criticizes the functional theory of Merton and his students for its failure "to systematically consider anomic deviation by the more privileged social classes" and considers the theory's "responsiveness to the prepackaged problem-solving demands of the American welfare state" as failing in its theoretical orientation (195: 231-32).

I determined, from my interviews and research, that Merton's typology cannot be fully utilized because Merton finds the cultural dictates of working people are controlled by the "more privileged social classes", i.e. the corporate class, who the lower classes try unsuccessfully to emulate. The corporate superstructure triggers a social control mechanism for intervening in substance abuse problems of workers but disavows the "anomic deviation of the more privileged social classes" (Pfohl, 1979: 231-32). Thus the anomie theory is not helpful in understanding the structural problems in the workplace, where the "more privileged social classes" are, for the most part, not confronted by social agents of control who place more importance on sanctions than rewards. I now turn to the adequacy of the social learning theories of Edwin Sutherland and Howard Becker and their concepts of changes in the structure of society and of the workplace.

Edwin Sutherland states the scientific explanations of criminal or deviant behavior is found in the principle of "differential association". The assumption is that a criminal or deviant act occurs when a situation appropriate for it, as defined by a person, is present (Cohen; Lindesmith and Schuessler, 1956). A person becomes delinquent because of an "excess of definitions favorable to deviance over definitions unfavorable to deviance" (Cohen; Lindesmith and Schuessler, 1956: 78). Differential

association as a theory tends to be widely used because it allows for psychological, economic, criminological, environmental and certainly sociological data to be examined together.

Edwin Sutherland states that most criminals who resort to crime for psychological reasons constitute a minority of criminals. He found most criminals are as "normal" as non-criminals. Sutherland's use of the phrase "criminal behavior" may be substituted for "deviant behavior" (Pfohl, 1985: 246). Sutherland's central thesis is that deviance is a form of learned behavior. He contends not all people who associate with thieves become thieves. Instead Sutherland finds that the frequency, priority (the sense that behavior learned in early childhood may persist throughout life) and intensity of the collective activity of the members of a certain special group contributed to the learning of deviancy (Cohen; Lindesmith; Schuessler, 1956: 10).

Sutherland also proposes that while "systematic criminal behavior is determined in a process of association with those who commit crimes, cultural conflict is the underlying cause of this differential association" (Cohen; Lindesmith and Schuessler: 7). Thus the idea of differential group organization contained what was called the cultural concept, formulated by a colleague of Sutherland's Thorsten Sellin (Pfohl, 1985: 244).

Sellin argues a very important theoretical point,

stating "Conduct norms are, therefore, found wherever social groups are found, i.e. universally. They are not the creation of any ONE normative group; they are not confined within political boundaries; they are not necessarily embodied in law" (Taub and Little, 1975: 51). Thus, obedience to the norms of one group, such as co-workers, may violate the norms of another, such as society. Sellin acknowledges a social force such as technology would create both a confusion of norms and a vast extension of impersonal control agencies designed to enforce rules, as I have found in the corporate adoption of the Employee Assistance Program, or EAP. Obviously, the "drug free workplace" norms of a corporation or President Reagan's moralistic campaign may violate the norms of another group of highly skilled manual workers who may be intent on unrestricted "consumption" of alcohol or drugs.

Sutherland contends that laws against criminal behavior operated as a "device of one party in conflict with another" (Cohen; Lindesmith; Schuessler; 1956: 103). In summing up his theory, Sutherland argues, "Systematic criminal behavior is due immediately to differential association in a situation in which cultural conflicts exist, and ultimately to the social disorganization in the situation" (Vold, 1986: 212). I argue, based on this research with corporations and unions, that group, not individual, pressure leads to employee/employer conflicts. Conflicts, drug testing being the

one, over values in the workplace leads to the establishment of group norms. Thus the conflict in a workplace usually becomes routinized and bureaucratized.

Sutherland had used the concept of social disorganization, which he borrowed from criminologists Shaw and McKay, in his essay Development of the Theory. He maintains;

At the suggestion of Albert K. Cohen, this concept (social disorganization) has been changed to differential group organization, with organizations for criminal activities on one side and organizations against criminal activities on the other. Differential group organization, therefore, should explain the crime rate, while differential association should explain the criminal behavior of a person. The two explanations must be consistent with each other. (Cohen; Lindesmith and Schuessler, 1956)

On the one hand, Sutherland's perspective explains incidents of individual deviance with differential association and, on the other hand, explains crime rates by using the differential group organization, which is useful to the degree that sociologists may examine how learning experiences cause individual deviancy. I find Sutherland's proposition: of an excess of definitions favorable to violation of law over definitions unfavorable to violations of the law; a framework which cannot be used in transforming the structure of corporations in order to inhibit deviancy in the workplace because it leaves out structural concerns.

Deviancy theory presumes that though inappropriate socialization we can discover whether or not it is probable

a specific individual will become deviant. Theory further specifies what elements of socialization or what indices of socialization are present in the conformist; therefore, if the element or indices are weakened, the individual may become deviant. Later learning theorists, Graham Sykes and David Matza, argued that techniques of neutralization are used by deviant individuals in dealing with the conventional world (Pelfrey, 1984). The fact that deviant individuals do not conform has no real direct effect on the corporate structure and workplace strategies for adapting to it. Social learning theory argues individuals obtain knowledge in intimate personal groups, thereby allowing corporate managers to explain their deviant behavior as an individual characteristics and not rooted in the social structure as a whole. I reject Sutherland, Sykes and Matza's theories because they view society as being ordered only to the extent that its individuals are developed or socialized through learning experiences.

An early theorist of symbolic interaction, Herbert Blumer, argued that people do not act toward culture, social structure, or the like, they act toward situations. He stated, "structural features, such as culture, social systems, social stratification, or social roles set the conditions for action but do not determine action" (Blumer, 1969: 87). Individuals in the workplace, in treatment, or being tested are simply the wrong level of analysis for a

theory orientated towards transforming substance abusers into productive ^{employed} workers. Sutherland and other theorists influenced by symbolic interaction have developed theories which can be adapted in order to "control" an individual's personality through a socialization process.

Howard Becker, a sociologist who has written extensively on drug use, claims that in order to understand deviant social problems one should study not only deviants but also the people who create and enforce the rules: the moral entrepreneurs. To explain the contemporary substance abuse treatment and what relationship "moral entrepreneurs" have to this social problem is one intended outcome of this study. When labelling theorists, such as Howard Becker, theorize about deviancy they also conceive of deviancy as a learned behavior. Becker addresses the disease concept by arguing "the medical model limits what we can see" (1973). He reviews these models of deviance based on "medical notions of health and disease" and explains that these sociologists;

look at society, or some part of a society, and ask whether there are any processes going on in it that tend to reduce its stability, thus lessening its chance of survival. They label such processes as deviant or identify them as symptoms of social disorganization (1973: 7).

Becker's interactionist theories framework takes the commonplace, for example marihuana users, seriously and demystifies deviance by not settling for mysterious invisible forces, i.e. social disorganization, as

explanatory mechanisms. Instead, he observes the final step in a deviant's career is movement into an organizational deviant group. The deviant's conception of self becomes overwhelming and finally labelling helps to maintain deviance (Becker, 1973).

Becker's theory, the labelling approach, contributes to the idea of social control. This approach shifts the emphasis from the individual to the social control apparatus and to the legal system that specifies the sanctions that are applied by the rule-enforcers, or moral entrepreneurs, to the rule breakers. Once an official control agent, e.g. police, doctors or EAP coordinators, labels the worker deviant then the structure of an EAP will separate the rule-breakers thus maintaining the industrial status quo and ultimately, as I explore in the next section, increasing corporate authority over the workers.

Social Control in the Workplace

Deviancy is now being used by corporations as an excuse to bureaucratically control workers as corporations in the past have used the technical control of Taylor's scientific management. I contend that drug testing is a new form of bureaucratic control. Management overwhelmingly initiated the current use of drug testing and in doing so they nested their "drug free workplace" campaign within the company/union EAP. This tactic gives management a potential

way to control the workplace activities of their enterprises; every plant, every office, every factory, and every person working for the corporation. While my analysis of union and management policies towards substance abuse at the workplace is found primarily in Chapter IV, I find it useful to now outline a brief theoretical framework of workplace control.

In short, the social organization of the workplace is routinized in a control process which is implemented by use of the power of a corporate class. Corporations, unions, and other institutions such as the mass media and schools are powerful mediators of workplace culture. In these institutions a relative consensus emerges of what "control" measures should be used to lessen conflict with those without any real structural power-- the lower social classes. The questions of social control: how is this process achieved; who guides it?; who benefits and who loses from the social production of particular images of deviance and social control?; whether or not particular solutions, like drug testing, are satisfactory solutions to the problem?; are questions which conflict theorists will raise while discussing the role of the dominant class and working class. To introduce the subject of workplace control, while still examining theories, I review Richard Edwards' and other conflict theorist's work in the area of industrial sociology.

Since the 1930s corporations have increasingly used technology to control its workforce (Edwards, 1979). Social control is a term sociologists use to refer to social processes by which people are taught, persuaded or forced to conform to norms. Stephan Pfohl, a conflict theorist, writes in Images of Deviance and Social Control that "Deviance is explained by the manner in which society strains people, rather than by the way people strain society" (Pfohl, 1985: 214). Personnel managers or EAP controllers refuse to acknowledge the worker's sense of injustice, instead transforming it into "personal" or family problems, thereby avoiding social antagonisms between the workers and the corporation. With the development of larger corporations and more sophisticated management techniques some sociologists argue their "controls" are increasing (Braverman, 1974; Nyden, 1984)

Richard Edwards, in the Contested Terrain, has focused on simple, technical (with union participation) and bureaucratic control. According to Edwards, the scientific method in the modern assembly line increased the degradation of today's work life. Edwards argues that Taylorism came to be seen as ancillary rather than central to control. Bureaucratic control replaced it and a new scientific management consciously subjugates all new occupations by bureaucratic control (1978: 130). This corporate practice of new scientific management is an extension of Taylorism

and justifies a tighter control over workers.

According to Philip Nyden, a sociologist who has explored a democratic insurgency movement in the steelworker's union, this domination is accomplished by the employer's effort to gain control over both 1) the knowledge of how the production process is completed and 2) the decision making process on the shopfloor (Nyden, 1984: 19). Clearly both forms dominate and delimit the workers. Yet, as Edwards points out, "some control over workplace decisions raises the demand for industrial democracy" (1979: 156). If demands for union democracy expand, management then controls workers by getting the workers to rely on outside technology, as in the case of drug testing, and the advise of outside experts, or EAP coordinators, which undermines the worker's solidarity and thereby justifies the continuing expansion of bureaucratic control. Workers are controlled by their location at the bottom of the authority scale and are confronted with drudgery and the degradation of alienating work.

Edward's analysis suggests that "The working class has been unable to challenge capitalist hegemony because it has been split into various fractions" (1979: 203). Edwards reports that with this split has come the rise of "fraction" issues and the demise of "class" issues. Settlement of labor issues result in the core industries receiving the best benefit packages and highest increases in wages, while

the periphery industries fail to reach those goals when negotiating with their adversaries the "capitalist class".

In Contested Terrain, Edwards focused on control in the workplace, asking the questions: How is control obtained; How does control lead to or inhibit resistance on a wider scale; and To what degree are workers controlled? He states;

control is here defined as the ability of capitalists and/or managers to obtain desired work behavior from workers. Such ability exists in greater or lesser degrees, depending upon the relative strength of workers and their bosses. ... At one extreme, capitalists try to avoid strikes, sit-downs, and other militant actions that stop production; but equally important to their success, they attempt to extract, day by day, greater amounts of labor for a given amount of labor power (1979: 17-18).

I contend that drug testing of the highly skilled workforce expands control over that core element of the labor power. As Taylorism and technical control before, the expansion of bureaucratic control seeks to maintain the desired work behavior from workers. Next I will present my methodology in brief and then attempt to show the dual use of drug testing and EAPs to control the specific workplace conditions.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

The Sample

I considered several research methods which might be useful in doing this investigation of drug testing and chose the "case study" type of method. Initially I interviewed professionals who might be involved in the drug testing of workers. Later deciding that this study should have two groups for a more balanced approach, I chose union officials and management officials. Union and management perspectives have a greater organizational weight than worker's perspectives primarily due to the location of workers at the bottom of the authority hierarchy. This investigation considers the perspectives of management, unions, and government officials on the drug testing issue in order to identify the variables which are involved in constructing workplace substance abuse policies.

In researching the topic of drug testing in the workplace I have taken a sample of six people belonging to the following organizations: the POWER company and the ELECTRIC union, RATE broadcasting and the NETWORK union, and PHONE telecommunications and the PHONE union. Each person interviewed was responsible for drug and alcohol issues within that organization. In interviewing the management of a certain television station, I encountered considerable reluctance because, at the time of this writing, they are

negotiating a settlement after a long strike with the NETWORK union. I ended up interviewing, via telephone, a woman in RATE-TV's New York headquarters who was in public relations. The other five individuals were men who worked in an Employee Assistance Program or were labor union officials. The interviews took approximately one and a half hours and were recorded so that I could transcribe the entire text of the interview. The interviewees all contributed their time and elaborated on their respective views on drug testing in the workplace.

Collection of Data

I conducted the interviews during a six month period from February 1987 to July 1987. The instrument used to collect the data for this project was a four page interview schedule (see Appendix). The sampling goal was to select companies and their respective unions which allowed me to ask the same things of them and then to compare the results. The topics of drug testing and Employee Assistance Programs could, I theorized, mean different things to unions or to companies. One assumption to be tested was does the company's drug testing program benefit company employees? "Troubled employees" who are now being "helped" by company "advisors", not by legal remedies outlined by the state, will be discussed using the data from the open ended in-depth interviews with company and union EAP officials.

Initially a pretest done with Bob Springer revealed the interview schedule was incomplete and the addendum for union issues was added on (see Appendix A). I then asked all the others I interviewed the same questions. Bob Springer is involved in the Association of Labor, Management, Administrators and Consultants on Alcoholism (Roger Grabowski and Harry Nisbit are also members of A.L.M.A.C.A.)³ and was my key informant who identified others who qualified for inclusion in the sample.⁴ These were open-ended and in-depth interviews, which is an established sociological method of data collection. The individuals I interviewed tended to determine the content of the interview by telling me what they felt to be important. The RATE company official who was interviewed via telephone meant I had to supplement the interview with materials taken from a New York Times article written about RATE broadcasting's drug testing policy.

Page one of the interview schedule became somewhat problematic when interviewing the PHONE company official and union representative because that company had suspended

³ Initially, I attended, with my thesis chair Doctor Richard Block, a meeting of a national group called the A.L.M.A.C.A. to locate appropriate experts on substance abuse. There I solicited a couple of experts to participate in the study. Their professional backgrounds were Employee Assistance Program (EAP) coordinators and their participation allowed me to analyze corporate EAPs.

⁴ The sampling method used is a snowball sample which is a nonprobability sampling method often used in field research (Babbie, 1979: 584).

their drug testing program, except in some Western manufacturing plants, after four months. Drug testing in their company was now conducted only in treatment programs which the company contracted out to another firm. In order to elicit some valid answers, I asked the people from the PHONE company their opinions on reasons for random testing, systematic testing, and suspect testing in general. From the company official I got answers from their four month experiment with pre-employment drug testing which he stated was found "to be too expensive and all we were catching was recreational marihuana user" which he said were about one out of a thousand tested (Bob Springer interview, 2/12/87).

To discover what treatment was being offered to abusive employees I asked a series of questions on treatment programs, sources of funding, and when or if termination became an option. Substance abuse related terminations, although arbitrary in some companies, usually come after employee enrollment in a treatment program. The treatment process is sometimes ordered and sometimes voluntary. Terminations usually occur after the treatment package (usually offered twice in a lifetime) offered by a company is used up, although this varies widely from company to company. The remainder of the interview asks questions which are concerned with the workplace setting of substance abuse, historically, socially, and environmentally.

CHAPTER IV
CHANGES IN WORKPLACE STRUCTURE

A Sociological Analysis of EAPs

One task of employers has been sifting out employees unfit to work because of serious substance abuse problems. Until recently this task has been determined on an individual basis. The new company trend is to rely in-house experts known as Employee Assistance Coordinators to screen out problem job applicants by drug testing job candidates. EAP coordinators devise programs to improve productivity and morale. EAP coordinators also try to balance the company's belief that it has right to know about its employees' private lives with the employee's right to privacy. The EAP coordinator, by virtue of training, testing, and treating, has first hand knowledge of the employee's private life and the progress that employee makes in treatment of a workplace problem. The EAP helper will attempt to constructively confront the substance abuser. The controller EAP will go further by creating antagonisms within the working class by allowing anonymous tips to be consider as proper material for a full investigation, will make sure of union agreement to drug testing, will initiate locker searches or random drug testing because of one individual plant incident. The three controller measures I have listed are documented to have occurred in one or more of the companies which I have written about in this paper.

In hearings on union grievances the EAP coordinator will testify but generally limit his remarks to statements about whether an employee has participated in a company program. If a grievance hearing is to take place then an accepted practice is for the employer and the union to agree about the proper scope of the EAPs' participation in the grievance hearing (Denenberg and Denenberg, 1983: 50). The "helping" and "controlling" EAPs differ in their approaches to these workplace issues.

In grievance hearings or in contact with the workers, EAP coordinators may find themselves being pulled in two directions, in the same way that a police officer is both a "law officer" and a "peace officer" (Quinney, 1970: 114). The controlling and helping function of an EAP coordinator cannot be separated. Yet, many studies with police, mental hospital personnel and experiments with students have shown that in these types of professions "power corrupts" (Alex, 1976; Goffmann, 1961; Zimbardo et al., 1977). The danger is that the actual conduct of EAP work is laid out by a set of corporate rules. Those rules being that personal promotion is desired, cost-effective programs survive, and programs that "run smoothly" best represent the corporation ideal. EAP coordinators ultimately develop close ties with the bureaucratic staff which, in turn, inhibits its ties with the workers.

The History of EAPs

The company-based employee assistance program was first introduced in 1942 by the E.I. duPont Company, followed by Eastman Kodak two years later. EAPs are increasingly favored by employers. Anywhere from 5,000 to 20,000 employers, ranging in size from a dozen to thousands of workers, are now spending an average of \$15 dollars to \$30 dollars per employee per year on EAPs. An estimated 65 per cent of Fortune 500 companies and 57 per cent of Fortune 1000 employees now have EAPs, although only 7 to 12 per cent of all corporations have them (American Medical News, Jan. 23/30, 1987).

To maintain institutional longevity in a corporation a program must support its claims. One of the first claims of the employee assistance programs were their high rate of success in dealing with the alcoholic employee. Certain EAPs have declared the following success rates in the past: the New York Police Department reports 75% recovery rate; duPont 66%; Consolidated Edison 60%; Illinois Bell 57%; Eastman Kodak 75%; General Motors 80%; Inland Steel 82% (Pati and Adkins, 1983). Recovery rate is an important measure of the success of a company program. Cost-effectiveness is the other important measure which gets the most scrutiny by personnel managers and supervisors who wish to market an assistance program to top management.

Cost-effectiveness is the most important factor why

more and more EAPs are being set up. According to one source absenteeism from work and reduced productivity due to living problems cost \$61.2 billion dollars a year. Problems related to marriage, family and chemical dependency, along with other factors, are direct contributors to 60 percent of job absenteeism, 80 to 90 percent of industrial accidents, and 65 percent of all terminations. Workers with drug problems are 16 times more likely to be absent from work, their accident rate is four times greater and they have five times more compensation claims. Companies find that the costs of absenteeism and loss of productivity are so high that they can no longer ignore the situation (Supervisory Management, Dec. 1986: 16).

A study was undertaken at the Oldsmobile Division of General Motors, a company which specifies treatment rather than termination for substance abusers, compared two groups of workers; a group who voluntarily entered the company's treatment program and a control group of 24 known substance abusers who chose not to take part. These groups were compared on a number of job related variables. One factor examined in the study was the amount of aggregate lost wages for the treated individuals as opposed to a wage loss for untreated individuals. Other factors such as disciplinary actions, absences, sickness and accident benefits paid out decreased in the treated group, while increasing in the untreated group in one year's time. It was observed that

although this program served 117 employees over a two-year period; no new EAP personnel had to be hired to administer the program. General Motors concluded based on cost-effectiveness that this was a successful company program. General Motors now spends over five million dollars each month on worker's treatment and rehabilitation. It can and does screen any of its 400,000 hourly workers for suspected substance abuse. Upon testing positive, a worker will not be terminated by General Motors if that worker then enrolls in the EAP.

The Workplace Structure: EAPs at Work

The parallels between the modern welfare State and corporations allows for hypotheses to be made about the motives of company EAPs. The question is whether or not EAPs help or control the behavior of "troubled employees". A corporation, such as General Motors, which claims success in dealing with the deviant behaviors of substance abusers must reflect a similar operation in the larger "cultural system" (Parsons; Shils; Naegele and Pitts, 1965). The corporate attempt to intervene in ending substance abuse among its employees correlates with a societal effort to intervene in serious social problems. Indeed, efforts of the "helping professions" like the legal system, human services, and medicine are being successfully duplicated by the corporations.

There are several examples of the state as a controller or as a helper which may be duplicated by the corporate EAP. One example of a "controlling" efforts of the modern state involves practices in the treatment of mental illness. These practices, discussed by Erving Goffman in his book Asylums, involve the use of social factors, known as career contingencies, that determine who will actually become a mental patient (Goffman, 1961). People are placed in mental hospitals because of their behavior, which is usually not illegal but disturbs other more powerful members of society who will not tolerate it. This function, initiated by formal agents of control or gatekeepers, defines someone, often poor and disadvantaged, as a mental patient. The controller EAP may be likened to the formal agents of control in society, e. g. the police, social agencies, behavioral scientists, or physicians, who use social factors to determine which events must be controlled at work.

Likewise, a helper EAP seeking real change in employee's substance abuse may make use of the cultural system of the state. For example, the Illinois Department of Alcoholism and Substance Abuse, in some cases, acts to "decriminalize" the offenses of drug abusers. I.D.A.S.A. can refer drug abuser "clients" to halfway houses rather than adjudicate them as criminals to be housed in prisons. Another example taken by the I.D.A.S.A. has occurred when the laws were changed concerning public drunkenness. An

I.D.A.S.A. memorandum stated their new treatment for "inebriated individuals";

Background and Status of the Issue: When public drunkenness was decriminalized in Illinois, it was obvious that hospitals would and could not (and need not) serve the substantial numbers of inebriated individuals that would be brought for detoxication services. The present system of non-hospital based medical and social setting detoxification programs was brought into existence to meet the need for non-jail settings created by the new law (Illinois Department of Alcoholism and Substance Abuse, 1987 manual).

Illinois has responded to alcoholism by introducing new laws to deal with the structural problems involving society and the alcoholic.

What the I.D.A.S.A. and other social agencies are doing can be modified by corporations which would then be better able to deal with their worker's substance abuse if they recognized that deviance is produced and perpetuated by a social structure. It is my viewpoint that corporations should establish changes within their structures regarding working conditions, supervision, salary, and responsibility. In short, the workers will not feel any more "satisfied" at work unless corporations change their jobs to make them more fulfilling. The present inadequate "corporate stock" on substance abuse management is the focus of the next section.

Criticisms of the Corporate Structure

Dale Masi, a foremost authority on EAPs, wrote the book Designing Employee Assistance Programs, which reports on corporation involvement in drug abuse counseling. Masi

determines that a company has a responsibility "to itself, to its employees, to the public" to provide drug abuse counseling in industry. Masi's expresses concern for the "complex problem (drug abuse) facing many companies in the United States" but ends up concluding that "no clear-cut answer is available for all the difficulties related to the applicability of the EAP to the drug-using employee population" (Masi, 1984: 112). If Masi remains mystified about "the applicability of the EAP" to provide drug abuse counseling at the workplace, what does it do?

Most EAPs' services include confidential psychiatric and medical counseling, and the opportunity to return to work. They claim they are neutral territory, but their function as the company agent of socialization is undeniable. EAPs may attempt to legitimately support a substance abuser's right to receive treatment from a corporation. EAPs which have the desire to help should base their programs on the employee's welfare. The EAP must be restructured from being a creation of the boardroom to providing drug education to "troubled employees".

Configured, the controller EAP is conceived in diagram 1 which shows the structural components of substance abuse support within the corporation. The corporation represents the superstructure:

DIAGRAM 1

The Hierarchical Corporate Structure and its affiliation with the Helping Professions

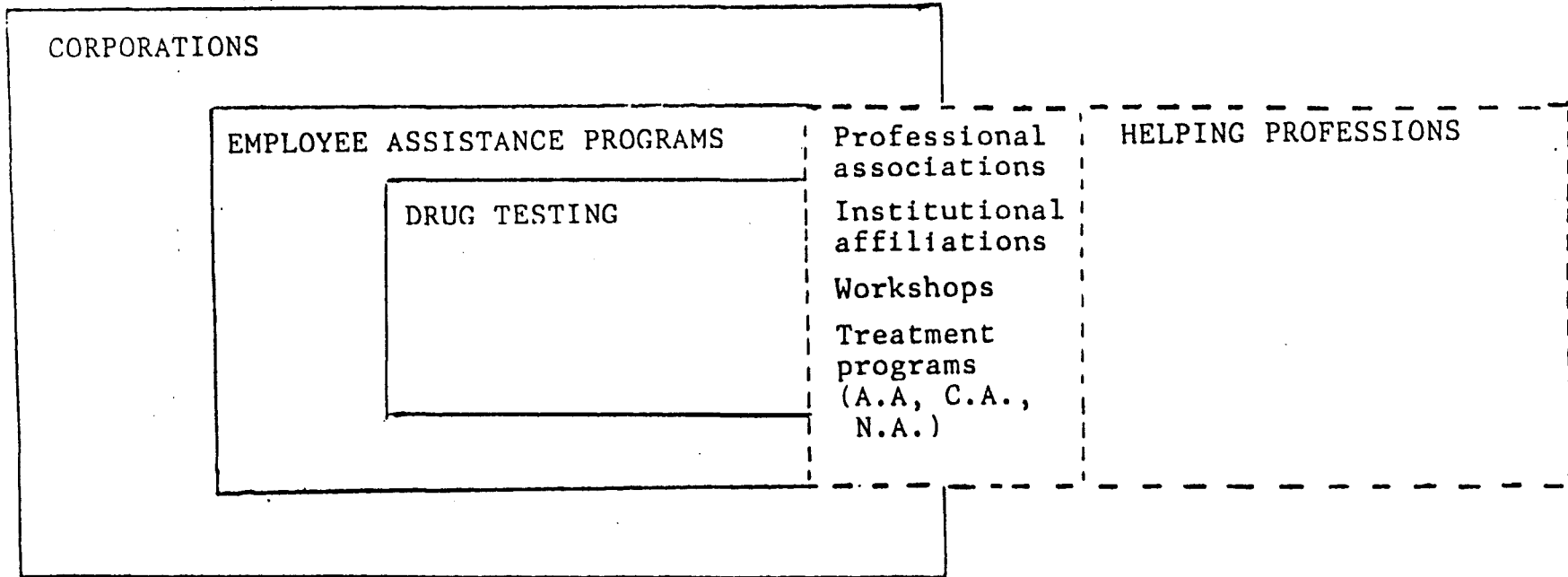


DIAGRAM 2: Implementation of Drug Testing

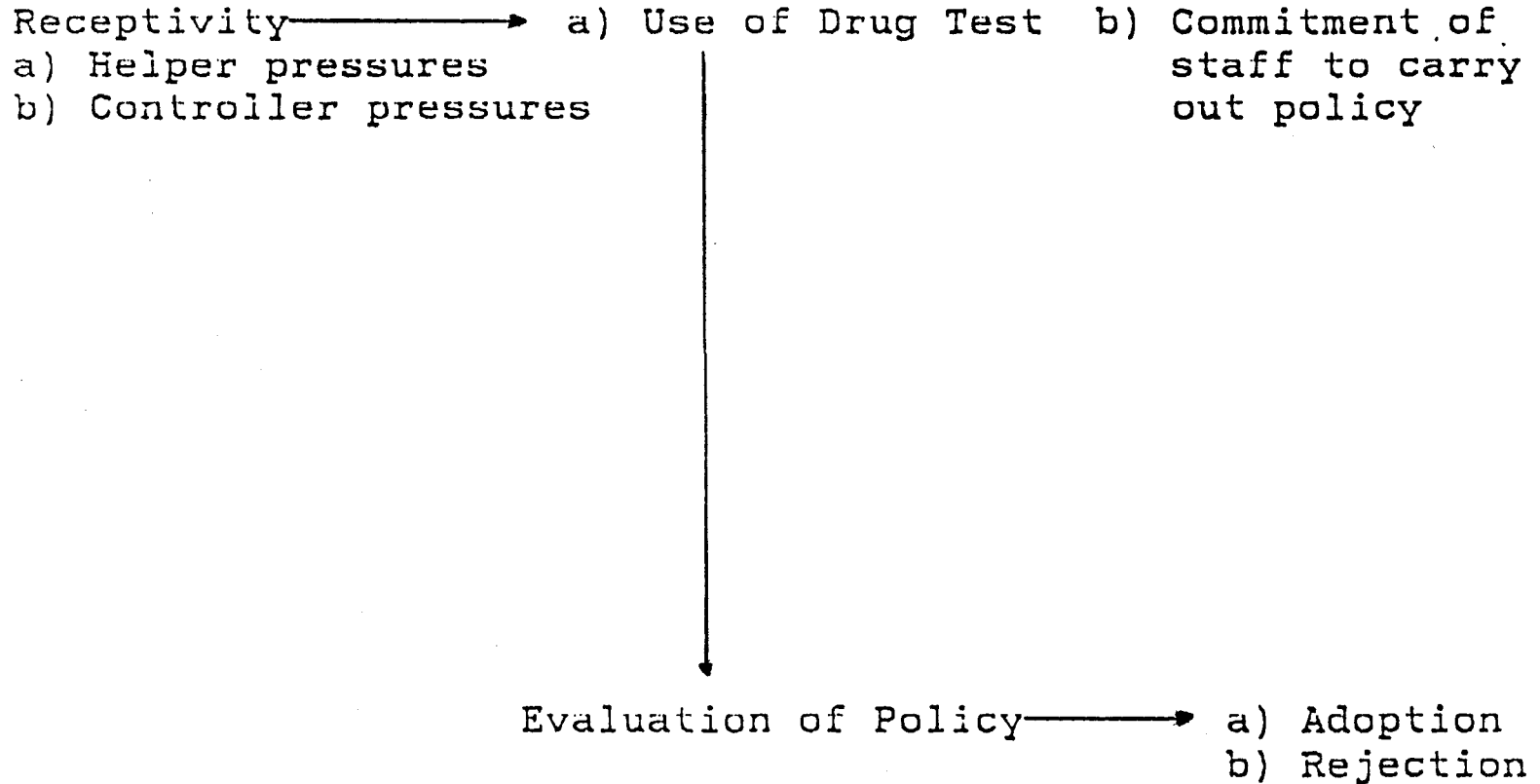


Diagram 1 illustrates the hierarchical corporate structure which implements a drug testing program. Yet another diagram, diagram 2, can illustrate a hypothetical corporate utilization process of an EAP.

The First phase of diagram 2 begins implementation of the policy which does not ensure its survival. The Second phase, Evaluation of Policy, is the Adoption/Rejection phase which obligates the continuation of the policy. Receptivity involves the corporate elite and commitment involves the middle-level staff to carry it out. The flow starting at receptivity and ending at commitment means that the idea of drug tests has ensured the policy reaches the Second phase.

The Second phase begins with Evaluation of the policy, which come before the policy is actually put into practice. Once in practice employee utilization begins and a rate at which workers utilize the program, on a voluntary or supervisory referral basis, may be calculated. The company then looks at a broad spectrum of potential outcome variables e.g.: job status; job performance; rates of disciplinary actions; workers compensation claims; use of sick leave benefits; use of grievance procedures; and rate of unauthorized absences; to gauge the success of the EAP (Shain; Suurvali and Boutilier, 1986: 184).

The questions a sociologist will ask are questions of the structural process which constructs these hierarchical models. What are the structures of this particular social

construct? What are its essential components and how are they related to one another? How does it differ from other varieties of social order? Within the structure what particular patterns exist for its continuance and change? What cause-effect relationships are attached to a helper function within a corporation? What are the characteristics of those who come to the program as opposed to the characteristics of those who do not even though they may be "troubled employees"? Next, I focus on discussion of these questions and the implications of the present workplace structures in dealing with substance abuse using the data from my case studies.

Use of the Interview Data

I conclude that drug testing is nested in the superstructure of the corporation. Drug testing is proposed by the boardroom, but socially constructed in the EAP. This is why EAPs are really controlled by the corporate class. The interviews which I have conducted with EAP coordinators and union officials are useful in showing the structural dilemma of matching the "helping" function of drug counseling with the EAP's control measures.

In a Toronto study of management and union perspectives on EAPs it was found that management was twelve times more likely the initiator of an EAP than a union (MacDonald and Albert; 1985). One characteristic of the Toronto

organizations were that over eighty percent of them were at least partially unionized. The researchers noted that "heavy industry companies with large unionized workforces seem to have more EAP programs". I find that large Chicago corporations have both unions and EAPs. My sample of three large corporations and their respective unions was selected with this in mind. One line of analysis is the structure of the large corporation leads EAP helpers to act as workplace controllers.

The following table contains the characteristics of the corporations and unions which are involved in my study.

TABLE 1: Characteristics of the Sample

COMPANY/ UNION	AREAS OF COVERAGE	EMPLOYEES/ MEMBERS
PHONE COMPANY	10 STATE	66,000
PHONE UNION *	CHICAGO	2,000
RATE TELEVISION	NATIONAL	30,000
NETWORK UNION	MIDWEST	1,500
POWER COMPANY	ILLINOIS	18,000
ELECTRIC UNION **	CHICAGO	4,376

* PHONE UNION is the bargaining unit for telecommunications workers working for several telecommunication firms.

** ELECTRIC UNION bargains for its 4,376 workers in Chicago but there are 11,000 union employees in POWER Co.

A typology which can apply to the above structure (Diagram 1) of corporation EAPs would include one group of controllers and one group of helpers. A model such as controller presumes close linkages between the CEO and EAP of a corporation. Bob Springer, regional EAP director for the PHONE company, told me the "concerns of the company are a profit motive, a production motive and they hire employees and they have the right to have a healthy workforce" (Springer interview, 2/12/87). Linkage of a concept such as company's profit to a healthy workforce is the basic construct where the controller model is established.

Controller/Helper Model

The controller/helper model is put in place using a larger share of the workplace ideology than the marketing model. An example of the controller/helper model was given by Harry Nisbit, a union representative who works for his company's EAP, known as a Membership Assistance Program. Harry initiated the MAP at RATE Broadcasting Company and said his company liked to be thought of as a "good citizen".

He said;

Companies don't have the right to unilaterally initiate drug testing programs without involving the unions. The companies that have started programs, that have unions have generally lost when they've been contested. When they try, as the Federal government has, to mandate random tests, they lose the case in courts. About 75 cases have been judged in favor of the unions (Nisbit interview, 3/15/87).

Harry's company/union program is a helper model EAP. Because of the close relations between Harry and the workers the EAP can provide valid drug education, support the supervisor in confronting the worker, and encourage the worker to seek the necessary treatment. He explains the helper EAP's success as;

There's something they're getting back from the counselor to justify these programs. In other words, are we getting good sober people, have we been able to document a person's ability at the job? That's one of the selling tickets for EAP programs, that companies have been able to deal more effectively with troubled employees (Nisbit interview, 3/15/87).

RATE TV has been able to establish an effective MAP. Its competitor CBA-TV, took the opposite approach earlier this year when it initiated random drug tests and used dogs to search employee lockers at one of its subsidiaries in Kansas City. The company's "control" operation was put in a national spotlight because of national media, probably a feature on RATE-TV. CBA-TV has since gone ahead and implemented an industry wide drug free workplace policy with these same control measures.

In reality, Harry contended that helper EAPs are evolving into "wellness" programs declaring;

It's a total health program now, it's a wellness program and they're (EAPs) just one branch of this wellness program. A wellness program simply means that a company right up front will tell you that they're concerned about your life and about the life of your family, it may be called mom and popism and be the same thing. But they'll tell you right up front that they're concerned about your health and your happiness and the health and happiness of your family (Nisbit interview, 3/15/87).

Bob Springer described his role as a helper for the employee abuser and his role as service provider for the company;

When his drug usage is affecting his job then it becomes the company's concern. So it doesn't matter that Joe is shooting heroin on Sunday night and Joe gets to work on Monday a.m. and puts in a good days work, fine more power to him. I doubt if he can do that, but if he can that's his own problem, but if he's shooting heroin Sunday night and he can't make it to work Monday a.m. then that's the company's concern and that individual is referred in to see me at EAP, or the medical department might say this individual should go into see the counselor because of disorientation, then that individual referred to see me or a supervisor may say, this guy's performance is such that he should see a counselor, or he might come to see me on his own, it is only when it affects his job and job performance that it becomes a concern of the company. Which is also pretty safe territory to stand on, this company is not about to get into a situation of being moralistic or judgmental about what an employee does on his own time. The help is offered immediately if, however on the other hand, I'm asked to help. I don't involve their supervisor, I just refer them to appropriate help, that's a voluntary referral and doesn't have anything to do with the company. That's not a management referral and they don't know (Springer interview, 2/12/87).

It is important to note that in Harry's MAP the "helping" is done on the company premises or in treatment. Bob's example of Joe "shooting heroin on Sunday night" and coming into work on Monday also reveals the "controlling" entity of the EAP. A drug test will reveal that "Joe" has drugs in his system and will tag "Joe" as a "troubled employee" regardless of Joe's ability at work. The drug test does not disclose whether an employee is under the influence of drugs while at work. The test, if accurate, instead reveals the chemical residue of drug use during the

days or perhaps weeks preceding the test, even of the person tested has discontinued using drugs (Sachs; 1986).

According to Harry Nisbit, when on-the-job workers come to an EAP they do so for three basic reasons; 1) self or peer referrals, 2) family referrals, and 3) supervisor referrals. Two of three company spokespersons involved in this study are EAP "professionals". They both maintained an open-door policy allowing employees' self-reporting of their particular problem before it became a company problem.

I asked all the informants whether employee agreement to drug testing was a condition for continued employment. The firing for a refusal to submit to a drug test is one control measure that a corporate EAP will use. Harry Nisbet, of the NETWORK union, recollected how long that conflict took to be resolved saying, "I don't think so. I think that's a big debate. In the last six months it's not as big a debate as it was a year ago". Measuring the time frame of conflicts as Harry has done, with the benefit of hindsight, would be a lofty goal of any sociologist in the substance abuse field. The "controller" initiative of RATE's management was resisted by labor and was resolved within the period of a year. Ned Friend of the PHONE union was asked the same thing on employee agreement to being tested and the answer was "I don't see that in our industry" (Friend interview, 7/1/87).

Apparently that issue has not been resolved in many of

the leading corporations. Roger Kolowski, an EAP coordinator who had been a lineman at POWER utilities for twenty years, found conflicts still existed at POWER company over employee's rights of refusal. He said;

An employee is off of work if they're asked to give a test for probable cause and they refuse. They are immediately put on 4X time, which is off without pay. Until they do come in and submit to a test. They have ten days then the company has the right to terminate them (Kolowski interview, 6/26/87).

Roger said he was aware of "these types of terminations" taking place at POWER company. Worker terminations are the strongest measure which controller EAPs use. Roger then answered the question of how effective a drug testing policy can be without union support by saying;

It can be a real hassle, a lot of problems, lots of grievances. You can pile up grievances, it just means its going to take a long time to them settled. In the mean time you may have an employee off of work for a year. See our company looks at, and they really believe this, that termination isn't the answer, rehabilitation is (Kolowski interview, 6/26/87).

The POWER company had the strictest controller policy of those I interviewed. CBA-TV network's new policy, just being implemented, might prove stricter in time. Now, Roger is having some problems with POWER's workforce. Roger remembered that in 1979 the union was "very, very involved" in the company's drug policy. But today, according to Roger, "there may be several locals opposing us, let's just say they don't use us until they have to" (Kolowski interview, 6/26/87).

It is unclear whether or not the POWER locals, which

are located in downstate Illinois, would react to pressure from an International or Chicago district union office and begin once again to cooperate with Roger's EAP. Roger said the locals "urge members not to use the EAPs". Conflict theorist Philip Nyden has written that the International unions serve in a capacity as controllers with regards to the more autonomous locals. Nyden writes that "the role of unions as partners in the rationalization and social control of the industrial workforce developed over a number of decades and took different forms at different times" (Nyden, 1984: 26). Nyden also concludes that both corporations and international union officials like to "bargain at national, industry-wide levels so that labor relations could be standardized" because in industries "where companies have national markets, such standardization facilitates planning and regulation of the labor force" (Nyden, 1984: 26-7). This study indicates EAP issues, along the same line of social control of the workforce that Nyden refers to, remain unregulated and before any agreement can be reached between labor and management a consensus on substance abuse must emerge.

One of the areas of potential conflict is the issue mechanics of drug testing; or the observation of people giving the urine sample, the chain of custody, and the accuracy of the tests. Bob Springer gave his account of the mechanics of the drug test, saying,

My own particular reaction to the mechanics of drug testing is there's really lots of problems with it. You have to observe the possession of the sample, and to be honest that creates a lot of embarrassment. You know what it means is do I have to go in and watch some guy pee in a bottle, and yes, if I want to maintain the accuracy of possession of the sample, yes I would have to do that and one of our nurses would have to do it for every woman who is a new hire. Sure if the company is going to pay me for that I'll go in and do it (Springer interview 2/12/87).

Evidently some of the "controller's" initiatives set out by management will always, unless new technological shortcuts are used to remedy them, be problematic.

Marketing Model

The second model is the marketing model in which corporate values are conveyed to the workforce in the guise of employee benefits but instead attempt to lessen social class antagonisms between workers and management. In any type of program which affects people a marketing scheme must be devised. EAPs are no exception to the rules of successful marketing. Bob Springer explained the main steps in marketing model of an EAP program;

One: developing policy. Two: developing procedures to implement policies. Three: hiring in house or bringing in consultants. Four: starting training and P.R. work on how the program will be launched. Five: setting up actual mechanics of how it will be implemented. Six: following through with the employee population. What I'm describing here is a very simple marketing plan of how you'd market a new product or new service.

This is only one way of initiating a program. Bob's way is a management style initiated scheme. Implementing EAPs with a marketing plan like the one Bob describes allows for

separate control components to be implemented in concordance with the plan. The CBA-TV plan has used both drug testing and drug sniffing dogs. Harry Nisbit explains that some occupational groups resist starting an EAP program and that the NETWORK union had to approach management in an unorthodox fashion to start an EAP at RATE;

Alcohol and drug programs are very political, very political. For instance, you cannot get anyone on a supervisory level to be interested in a drug or alcohol program. A person at a supervisory level is only interested in what can impress his supervisor so he can get promoted. So you can't go to supervisory level, you seldom can go to department heads, they don't want to have anything to do with it. So the easiest thing in the world is to find a chief executive officer that's had some kind of problem in the family. In the case of NETWORK in Chicago, the secretary of the vice president, her family had drug problems and just by working with her got us in the door to the vice president (Nisbit interview, 3/15/87).

Harry marketed his union's program to the company but obviously in a much different way than Bob Springer would. In setting out to construct a drug program within an industry or corporation management should be aware that a comprehensive policy means more than drug screening. Two other components of a comprehensive drug program should be drug awareness and employee assistance. Without this type of symmetry a program will not be widely accepted by those required or invited to participate in it.

Legal and Social Control in the Workplace

Conflict between the employer and employee, "personal

troubles", can spill out into the larger society, "public issues". Drug possession is illegal and the employer must contact law enforcement authorities to control illegal drugs seized at the workplace. EAPs' role is analogous to C. Wright Mills' concept of "personal troubles" and "public issues", which Mills used to describe issues which effect individuals and also, in sum, effect society as a whole (Mills, 1959: 8). Bob Springer gave this account of the private/public linkages, saying,

If an employee's behavior on company property negatively affects the corporation, yes then it does become our concern. An example is if an employee should happen to get arrested for DWI, no then that's his problem. My particular program might be there to help that particular individual. Even if he's caught with possession of a controlled substance, let's say possession of heroin that's his own problem in the community. However, if he's caught with possession of heroin in a PHONE company truck and Channel 7 mini-cam is right there and they see a PHONE employee on the nightly news being carted away from his truck with a bag of heroin that particular incident has negatively affected our corporation and he could be terminated because of it. That's a black and white company policy (Springer interview, 2/12/87).

Yet there is a grey area which exists between the black and white company policy; when drug possession has been detected it then becomes a law enforcement matter.

Law enforcement reacts to prevent the collapse of social order, while corporations, instead, construct the more "controllable" corporate order. In the modern state the ultimate agent of social control is the law enforcement of the state and the courts. As sociologist Max Weber argued, the state can delegate its power but ultimately that

coercive power rests in the state. Weber stated that the social order is upheld by sanctions backed by a specific body of men (Gerth and Mills, 1958: 180).

Bob Springer believes society considers alcohol and drug offenses as entirely different matters, saying "The only difference between the two is if he shows up with a bottle of gin at work someone will frown on him for using poor judgement where as if he shows up with a packet of heroin in his possession and is caught with it he will be turned over to the police department and arrested which has to do with the view of drugs in our society or the illegality of the substance". Drug possession is illegal and employers must allow law enforcement to control illegal drugs seized at the workplace.

The PHONE Union has had little experience with drug arrests and their company drug testing policy began after drug trafficking was detected at one out of state manufacturing plant. The NETWORK union recently had a union member arrested for trafficking drugs and the incident received publicity in a major Chicago newspaper. I asked about the drug problems associated with the broadcasting field in my interview with Harry and this particular incident came up. Harry told me what he knew about this arrest;

We got a guy that was convicted. In his particular case, the company effected a settlement with him and he no longer works for the company. From the time he was arrested he has no longer worked for the company. That

doesn't mean that the company didn't pay him any money, but he no longer worked for the company. Rather than go through that, some have resigned (Nisbit interview, 3/15/87).

At POWER Utility Company when the substance abuser breaks the law, and mere possession is a criminal offense, it means the loss of employment. Stated in their drug and alcohol policy is:

The illegal use, sale, or possession of narcotics, drugs, or controlled substances while on the job or on Company property is a dischargeable offense. Any illegal substances will be turned over to the appropriate law enforcement agency and may result in criminal prosecution (POWER Company Employee's Handbook).

A common theme of EAPs is that a drug policy should be stated and some effort should be made to make it known to the employees. Roger told me;

Every company would have to implement a policy that is tailored to their company. Like a drug policy should state the ramifications and consequences of on the job use; on the job possession; off the job use; off the job possession, trafficking, dealing, things like that. It's got to have proscribed consequences in it (Kolowski interview 6/26/87).

Whether a rule has force of law or is enforced by control in a corporation, it may be the task of some specialized body, for example the Employee Assistance Program, to enforce it. Enforcement on the other hand may be discriminately enforced on moral or personal grounds. Unions leaders have expressed reluctance to allow these particular control measures to develop with regards to drug testing. Don Edwards, director of the health and safety

department of the Oil, Atomic and Chemical Workers International, AFL-CIO stated;

Job performance, and other objective evidence that gives the employer probable cause, should be the only basis for testing current employees for drugs or alcohol. Random testing creates an atmosphere where discrimination is inevitable--the temptation for supervisors to single out employees with whom they have had differences or "trouble" is simply too great. No amount of supervisor training to avoid witch hunts is going to change basic human nature (Hoffman, 1987).

Union receptivity to drug testing and EAPs is the topic which is investigated in the next section.

Labor Unions and Drug Testing Receptivity

Unions are a key factor in judicial legislation of drug testing. Union members, who are concentrated in the blue-collar industries, often lead the fight against drug testing programs (Dennenberg and Dennenberg, 1983, cites many of the arbitration outcomes on cases involving alcohol and drugs).

Harry Nisbit, who initiated a union-company EAP, says;

I might add that people who don't belong to unions generally don't get to courts or an arbitrator on a drug testing issue because if you're non-union the employment is usually employment at will unless there are laws that are specifically regulating that industry. For instance if you're a minority hire they may be violating your civil rights. Unless you can fit into some category where you can get it into courts, non-union people don't generally get to courts because they're considered employment at will.

The drug testing issue in the workplace has generally has only two sides; the company and the union's side. In some instances the company and the unions have agreed in

regards to workplace drug testing programs. These instances occur when a powerful incentive to unite with the company assures unions that their cooperation will increase their power and control of their membership. As conflict theorist Philip Nyden, quite appropriately, states unions desire a national standardization or "pattern bargaining" which facilitates the planning and regulation of company policies (Nyden, 1984: 26-27, 35). Nyden finds these measures occur when there is "a general atmosphere of cooperation" between unions and companies (1984: 35).

While Nyden points to increasing union cooperation in "pattern bargaining", Harrison Trice notes that since 1972 the role of labor unions in occupational programs has expanded substantially. Trice reports "the role of the unions was largely neglected in the literature of the 1950s and 1960s, during the mid-1970s there was a rising tide of awareness, interest and concern. More and more people who worked in occupational programming came to realize that the union's participation in the program could make a substantial contribution and its absence could be a great obstacle" (1978: x). I contend that union presence is not a great hinderance to management's introduction of drug testing. Unions are able to facilitate the process rather than have legal challenges over the issue of drug testing.

Moreover, unions have acted on agreements for drug testing implementation at the worksite. The Teamsters Union

has initiated a program, Operation Red Ball, for its Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers which encourages members to identify co-workers who they suspect to be impaired or unsafe for duty. It is important to note that unions also intervene on behalf of their members in grievances concerning drug testing or charges of being under the influence which result in discipline or dismissal. Thus, it is possible for the unions to negotiate with the company on bargaining matters while, at the same time, controlling the union membership by offering legal help on grievances. These compromises have worked well for the NETWORK union and have produced a loyalty to the company in POWER's district union headquarters.

The Cultural System's Example of Control: Federal Workers

The moral entrepreneurship of the Reagan administration in addition to his union-busting record from the 1981 PATCO air controller's union makes this a "general atmosphere of cooperation" between unions and companies an ever present reality. When the President's "cultural system" began to become preoccupied with a "drug free workplace" the corporations soon followed suite. President Reagan introduced his policy known as "Drug Free America" in the mid 1980s which culminated in the present widespread use of drug testing.

Recent historical events such as the unveiling of the

"Drug Free Federal Workplace", established by the Reagan executive order on September 15, 1986, shows that business interests are again asserting control over the interests of the working class. The order called for drug testing approximately 1.2 million federal employees. Union apprehension of the federal government drug testing measures comes in part because unions are declining in numbers, primarily among the young workforce, which is the population most involved with workplace drug use. The liberal focus of the PHONE union is in conflict with the federal government's political agenda as Ned Friend, of the PHONE union, states,

There might be a drug that I can take would make me feel good or put me in a better frame of mind, but if you took it you would climb the walls. So whether people use drugs or not, it's simply their business. On the other hand, we want people to know what they're doing to themselves. Our whole program in the union is to make people aware of what alcohol is doing to them, what other drugs are doing to them, what tobacco is doing to them (Friend interview, 7/1/87).

Ned Friend approves of a liberal union program which educates and innovates in controlling substance abuse at work. In my study the PHONE union was the only union in direct opposition and its official fact sheet contains the logic of the PHONE union in calling for a legislative ban on drug testing. The leaflet represents the animosity of the leaders of this union towards this "most shameful and insidious invasion of personal privacy". Some of their leaflet reads:

The Reagan administration, in admitting defeat in its

much ballyhooed "War on Drugs", has found it cheaper and easier to attack the personal rights of workers instead of apprehending drug pushers. ... Business leaders, and some state and local governments, always quick to follow the lead of "their" President, have instituted drug tests among their workforces. Make no mistake about it. PHONE members deserve a safe, drug-free work environment. However, PHONE believes that there is no legitimate use for employer drug testing programs. Drug tests are inconclusive and inaccurate. They cannot determine when the drug was taken or whether the individual was impaired or intoxicated. However there is no absolute legal prohibition against drug testing by private sector employers, and while public workers have some constitutional protections, they are currently being challenged in court. Wherever possible, PHONE unions should push for a legislative ban on drug testing for all workers (PHONE Union Fact Sheet, 1987).

The corporations contend, and the NETWORK and other unions agree, that by introducing drug testing they may achieve a drug-free work environment. When did drug use in the workplace become an overwhelming company's concern? Introducing the concept of a President in league with business and pitted against the "workers" the PHONE company literature challenges workers to "insure their rights not be trampled on". The idea of whether or not President Reagan's "drug free workplace" campaign is politically motivated against the working class is an issue which the focuses on the "controlling" aspect of drug testing.

Sociologists Harry Levine and Craig Reinerman have written on the Presidential proclamation and predicted its likely consequences;

In September 1986, President Reagan ordered drug testing for more than 1 million Federal employees. Even according to the most optimistic and self-serving

estimates of the testing industry, there is "only" a 2 percent rate of "false positives". That means that more than 20,000 Federal employees who do not use illicit drugs will be falsely accused, their reputations and livelihoods threatened. All those forced to go through the supervised urine tests will have lost their constitutional rights to privacy and the presumption of innocence, and protection against self-incrimination and unreasonable searches. The drug tests should have been instantly discredited as unconstitutional, insanely expensive and grossly inaccurate. Instead, they are going forward (The Nation, March 28, 1987).

On July 8, 1987 by Secretary of Transportation Elizabeth Dole, the Reagan administration's top spokesperson for drug testing, announced the Department would implement random drug testing. The policy allows for the random testing of air traffic controllers, aviation and railway safety inspectors, electronic technicians and employees with top-secret clearances and calls for "surprise testing of other agency employees if there is reasonable suspicion of drug abuse". Union president Kenneth T. Blaylock responded "There is not the slightest evidence that an abuse problem exists in the Department of Transportation. The agency's determination to begin its random testing program on Sept. 8, before the constitutionality is tested in the courts is nothing more than grandstanding" (Chicago Tribune, Sept. 5, 1987). Blaylock is right, with unions and civil libertarians winning 13 out of 17 cases involving the federal workforce (Levine and Reinerman, 1987). Yet a recent court ruling has allowed random drug testing to proceed in the Department of Transportation (Chicago

Tribune, Sept. 5, 1987).

National and local union officials believe that job performance is what should be considered as the standard for employment. John Zalusky, an economist for the AFL-CIO contends the press and the White House has overreacted and predicted their downfall on this issue, "The tests presume guilt and abuses lots of innocent people. Eventually it's going to catch up with them." And he added that, "I personally feel drug use is wrong, in or out of work, even if there's no impairment. After all, it's illegal. But the employer is not a moral judge. He should be concerned only with performance. The employer is not a law enforcer, and he shouldn't be" (Hoffman, 1987: 164).

Ned Friend, of the PHONE union, agrees and said that the only linkage between the company's values and an employee's personal life is "when he can't perform his job". Friend contends that "We're opposed to drug testing simply because of the civil liberties factor. In other words, unless someone accuses you and you are found guilty, you ought not to have to give testimony against yourself".

If society is determined to do something about drug abusers Friend suggests that "The best way to deal with any problem is to define it properly, make it known to people, and if that doesn't work shoot the ones who use drugs" (Friend interview, 6/1/87). Ned Friend's sarcastic conclusion is unsatisfactory. The controller EAP's conclusions are

unsatisfactory because of their failure to recognize the structural problems in the workplace. I will advance the conclusions which come out of the integration of sociological research and the needed changes in workplace structure.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study presents the current state of corporate treatment programs for workplace substance abusers. Research has provided the data that no demographic group is immune from substance abuse (Chambers and Heckman, 1972). Corporate workplaces are also not immune from substance abuse. Corporations established EAPs, now found in about twelve percent of our nation's companies, to control workplace substance abuse. The data found in this research has shown the corporate EAPs' function within the workplace. In researching the relationship that exists between the EAP and its corporate function I have examined the following three aspects of EAPs; 1) the medicalization of social problems; 2) the rapid development of the EAP and its function in the corporation; and 3) whether or not drug testing is a form of social control. After examining these aspects, I have determined there is a pattern of EAPs which fits into two opposing categories. These categories of EAP types are best described as controller and helper EAPs.

Using the data, presented in Chapter IV, obtained from interviews with company and union officials, I have discovered several observable trends in the nature of corporate EAPs. These trends will be presented in the form of final recommendations on EAPs which will be listed below and are not ranked as to the order of their importance.

This author recognizes that policy recommendations have to be independently tested but hopes that the idea of helping people, who either cannot perform because of workplace structural constraints or disobey the rules concerning substance abuse, will be more closely examined in today's workplace.

Recommendations

Drug testing programs should be evaluated as to their political and social context inside the workplace. This cannot objectively be done because management is swayed by the mass media sensationalizing events concerning substance abuse. The result is that management responds with the implementation of often unwarranted and uninformed policies.

One effect of the current procedures of management is a control policy where the EAPs' controller role supercedes its helper role. Controller EAPs mask collective grievances as individual ones and use the pretense of substance abuse as an excuse to control. Management, in the private sector, control workers, often with the union's approval, by bureaucratic means which includes drug testing. Management often, as this study has shown, influences the union to agree to a "drug-free workplace" but end up testing all employees which potentially conflicts with union's adherence to job performance as the only valid measure of the performance of the workforce.

Management considers all workers guilty and uses the drug testing program to assess whether or not they were correct in their judgement. Dale Masi, a corporate consultant on EAPs, wrote about drug tests, saying, "test results may be used to refer employees to rehabilitation programs before disciplinary actions or terminations proceedings become necessary" (1984: 109). Furthermore, drug test results may be used by controller EAPs in reverse order to ignore rehabilitation and impose disciplinary action and even termination.

Next, based on the results of this study, I have determined that workplace control is valued over social responsibility for changing inequity in the workplace. The social forces that have an effect in causing social antagonisms between workers and management are 1) social class inequality; 2) modes of recruitment to authority positions; and 3) union authority which undervalues worker apprehension of drug testing and the potential threat which it represents to their blue-collar positions. Research has shown that most supervisory personnel will deal with substance abusers through discipline procedures and that unions generally indicate that they do not want to have to assume the burden of rehabilitation of substance abusers (Trice and Roman, 1978: 205). Thus when the EAP has detected abusers among the workforce they implement control measures, which meet with both corporate and union approval.

The conclusion I have reached, based upon the results of this workplace research, is that social forces, not individual motives, produce deviant behavior. In the factory the worker's performance does not entirely depend on his or her individual talents but on their working conditions, the type of encouragement the worker's supervisor gives, the worker's responsibility and how rewarding the job happens to be. Moreover, the corporate class controls and labels the working class while excusing the same deviant behavior of those affiliated with the corporate class, thus reinforcing structural inequalities. A social control mechanism which controls the industrial workforce is drug testing. But is drug testing anything more than a technical extension of the impersonal bureaucratic forces which already control the workforce?

Sociologists describe the diseases of alcoholism and drug abuse as situationally determined so we must also consider the relationship the structure and ideology of the work world in determining what to do about substance abuse. Anomie, found in today's period of rapid social change, does not lead to an awareness of why a "smoothly running" system contains errant substance abusers. Merton's functional perspective argues that social problems are caused by the failure of the individual to internalize the normative "success" of the society. The results of this investigation show that successful occupations such as broadcast

technicians, electricians, and telephone installers are not immune from substance abuse. What drives privileged technical workers into situations where they abuse substances at work? What counter-measures are formulated by corporations and unions in response to substance abuse?

Edwin Sutherland found that the relationship between social learning and group activities is highly correlated. However, Howard Becker has examined social forces which influence societal structures. His approach shifts the emphasis from the individual to the social control apparatus. That control apparatus, for instance the drug test, specifies the sanctions that are applied by the rule enforcers to the rule breakers. EAP coordinators as rule enforcers become moral entrepreneurs who label the workers as deviant and separate out these rule breakers, thus maintaining the workplace status quo and ultimately the corporation's authority over the workers.

I investigated the theories of workplace control and concluded that control theory constitutes a valid explanation of the structures which inhibit workplace changes. What I found using this case study data is EAP coordinators or their immediate supervisors, the personnel manager or vice-president, refuse to acknowledge the worker's sense of injustice with regard to working conditions, supervision, salaries, and responsibilities. They instead define these structural problems as "personal"

or family problems thereby avoiding social antagonisms between the workers and the corporation.

Corporations "control" these workplace antagonisms in the following ways; 1) their use of pre-employment screening allows for a more careful sorting process, 2) they use EAPs as another way to coerce unions into cooperating with corporations, which allows for a greater workplace standardization in collective bargaining, 3) the controller EAP adversely affects working class solidarity (allowing for selective drug testing, anonymous tips and home mailings), and 4) the routinization and rationalization of drug testing allows moral entrepreneurs to enforce conduct norms.

The typology of controller and helper provides the most appropriate device for understanding the data on EAP professionals. The structure of the EAP has been diagrammed in this study by displaying the corporation and its EAP as a structural entity which promotes bureaucratic control of the workforce and formulates the "established" treatments for the substance abuser.

One question which demands further analysis is the question of whether corporations are basing social control in the factory on the individual and therefore establishing EAPs to control the workers or whether corporation may indeed be reexamining the structural problems confronting their industrial workforces? The rearrangement necessary to change the workplace structure would act on changing

working conditions, elements of supervision, responsibility, and job satisfaction. No evidence was found, in this research, that these changes are presently occurring.

Given that the larger "cultural system" includes both a conservative administration and business interests which are asserting control over the working class, the choices of "helpers" are limited. This author concludes that attempts to formulate intervention programs with "helping" function, which would bring about some of the above mentioned desired changes in the workplace, are presently beyond the stage needed for agreement among the parties, i. e. the corporate class, the unions and the workers.

One recommendation which the data in this research indicated is a long term therapeutic basis for substance abuse treatment is needed. What is not needed is the continuation of drug testing employed by rule enforcers to control the working classes. Instead, the need is for a humane, honest and effective corporate policy to deal with the structural design of the workplace, which will ultimately determine whether a workforce is satisfied with their work lives or not. I contend, based upon my research on workplace policies on substance abuse, that changes are needed in today's workplace structures and that substance abuse problems may best be addressed by formulating a corporate policy which features a helper EAP.

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August 22, 1987.
- PHONE Union Fact Sheet "Drug Testing", 1987.
- POWER Company Pamphlet "Your Guide to Drug and Alcohol Awareness", 1986.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX: Survey Instrument used for all Corporate/Union Respondents

I would like to know whether you have a drug testing program or not?

In your opinion, what would be the reason for:

1) Random testing?

2) Systematic testing?

3) Suspect testing?

Who are the employees that would be tested?

1) Recruits upon submitting applications?

2) Random testing of current employees?

3) Systematic testing of all employees?

4) Testing of suspect employees?

5) Are some groups not tested?

Is management tested?

Is employee agreement to being tested a condition for continued employment?

Is testing a valid issue when an employee's use of drugs poses a threat (loss of life, injury, food manufacturing) to the public?

What happens when a person is defined as having a drug problem?

What impact do drug tests have?

What treatments are offered to employees who test positive?

Treated internally/externally?

What is the source to fund the treatment?

How do you deal with the issue of confidentiality in testing? in treatment?

Could you compare the drug treatment issue to the longer term programs that have dealt with alcoholic employees?

Did drug treatment come out of the prior awareness of alcoholism at work or a reaction to social/community problems at large?

What's the steps towards building a program?

Whose tested?

Whose treated?

Whose terminated?

Where is the limitation between an employee's personal life and when that conflicts with the values of the corporation?

How can employee's drug use come into conflict with corporate values?

Drug testing interview addendum for union respondents.

What are the pros and cons for unions regarding drug testing in the work place?

Have unions (employees) the right to be against pre-employment; fitness of duty; just cause; random testing?

Where is the balance of employee's rights with the rights of employers in regards to drug testing?

How can unions and management cooperate to establish effective drug testing policies?

Communication of the drug free work place ethic seems to be a management policy. Do unions have their own perspective? What differences exist?

Ideally, is management also subject to the same corporate drug testing policy as the average employee? If not, why?

Explain your company's policy, and what procedures you would implement for the desired results if you were to construct a drug testing policy?

What personal insights can you offer to the drug testing issue?

APPROVAL SHEET

The thesis submitted by Darrell D. Irwin has been read and approved by the following committee:

Dr. Richard L. Block, Director
Professor of Sociology, Loyola

Dr. Philip W. Nyden
Associate Professor of Sociology, Loyola

The final copies have been examined by the director of the thesis and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the thesis is now given final approval by the Committee with reference to content and form.

The thesis is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Arts.

4/14/88

Date



Director's Signature