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Survey of the Concept of Workers' Education in Unions.

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SURVEY OF THE CONCEPT OF WORKERS'
EDUCATION IN UNIONS

by

Liguori Alphonsus O'Donnell, Junior

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the Institute of Social and Industrial
Relations of Loyola University in Partial Fulfillment of
the Requirements for the Degree of Master of
Social and Industrial Relations

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I. INTRODUCTION.....	1
Status of unions today—The challenge to the labor movement— Why education becomes increasingly important—Defining workers' education—Historical summary, labor, and education—Purpose of this study.	
II. COMPOSING THE QUESTIONNAIRE.....	14
What the survey covers—Form of the questionnaire—Discussion of each element of the questionnaire, why it was chosen and what is it intended to reveal.	
III. ANALYSIS OF RESULTS.....	34
Extent of unions having education directors—Percentage of them answering questionnaires—Results of part I of questionnaire— Differences between affiliated groups.	
IV. ANALYSIS OF RESULTS.....	49
Results of part II of questionnaire—Differences between affiliated groups.	
V. ANALYSIS OF RESULTS.....	59
Results of part III of the questionnaire	
VI. CONCLUSIONS OF STUDY.....	70
Limited coverage of workers' education—Not part of a long range program—No social embodied in it—Need for expansion—Phases emphasized—Problem of finding teachers—Term workers' education and appropriate to American unions.	
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	80
APPENDICES	
I. List of unions cooperating with survey.....	82
II. A copy of questionnaire.....	84

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
I. NUMBER OF UNIONS HAVING AN EDUCATION DIRECTOR AND TOTAL MEMBERSHIP BY AFFILIATION.....	35
II. PERCENTAGE OF UNIONS HAVING AN EDUCATION DIRECTOR BY AFFILIATION.....	36
III. NUMBER, PERCENTAGE, AND TOTAL MEMBERSHIP OF UNIONS ANSWERING QUESTIONNAIRE BY AFFILIATION.....	38

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. REACTION TO OBJECTIVES ON QUESTIONNAIRE.....	40
2. REACTION TO OBJECTIVES ON QUESTIONNAIRE BY AFFILIATION.....	44
3. REACTION TO SUBJECT MATTER ON QUESTIONNAIRE.....	51
4. REACTION TO SUBJECT MATTER ON QUESTIONNAIRE BY AFFILIATION.....	55
5. REACTIONS OF QUESTIONS IN PART III.....	61

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

At this stage in the development of the American labor movement the dangers to its survival are no longer imminent. The long fight to organize the basic elements of American industry ended some years ago. Recognition by the law as justified social institutions has enabled unions to gain respectability and protection in the United States. The fact that unions have been the subject of rather strict regulation and that elements of our society still regard them with suspicion, does not alter the fact that their struggle is no longer one of existence.

But no institution, especially in our times, can remain static and endure. The labor movement, if it is to be a vital force, must have direction. It must lay down future goals toward which it will strive. It cannot entirely disassociate present action and ultimate aims. Most students of the labor movement in America agree that it has not established these aims. One of them, George Donahue,¹ former National Director of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, accuses it of outright complacency and neglect in its failure to organize the large numbers of non-union workers. He sees organized labor on the defensive only maintaining its gains against vigorous efforts of industry to

1 Statement of George Donahue, Personal interview.

weaken it.

The work of stimulating the labor movement, of establishing aims and promulgating them is primarily educational. Instilling a dream of progress in the minds of union officers and union members is only possible through education. Without this inspiration the labor movement cannot but become stagnant.

Furthermore, a vigorous movement must have energetic and foresighted leaders. Labor needs men of perspective and vision who will not be satisfied to allow the momentum of their movement to slacken. Concern about replacing the aging leadership of today had been expressed by people such as David Dubinsky. He feels that future leaders must be carefully developed and prepared for the many technical tasks which are demanded of a modern union officer.²

The time when a physical conflict between companies and unions produced leaders by a process of natural selection is passed. Men who will be tomorrow's labor leaders must be educated for the job. There are many tasks which they will be required to perform which can be handled adequately only by a person with a background in the subject. Take for instance incentive rates. A man with only slight knowledge of time and motion study would be at a serious disadvantage in negotiating incentive rates. This is true of many other functions which are necessarily part of a union officer's job.

But education must not only prepare new leaders in a technical sense;

² M. Mead Smith, "ILGWU Approach to Leadership Training," Monthly Labor Review, Washington, LXXIII, November, 1951, 529.

it must develop in them a zeal which comes from a mature understanding of the social issues of our time. It must cultivate in them an enthusiasm for action and a courage to approach their problems with social imagination. It is not enough to turn out men who can imitate the methods of their predecessors.

What are needed are men who will leave their own inimitable mark on the progress of unionism. Admittedly, no kind of education can produce original thinking in a man who has no such capacity, but it can and must, in this case, exploit the potentiality where it exists.

This realization of the social role of the labor movement should not be confined to the leadership of labor. It is of primary importance that the membership of unions acquire an understanding of the principles and aims of unionism. The movement is hollow and ineffective, without the support of the rank and file. Unionism in America is a democratically organized institution functioning within a political democracy, and without the interest and contribution of its individual members it can hardly survive, much less be an effective influence.

The union member who is a union member merely because it assures him a larger pay check cannot be expected to contribute much. In order to participate fruitfully, a member must be informed of and sold on the principles underlying unionism. This too involves disseminating knowledge. It requires education.

From another aspect also, education is a necessity to the labor movement. This involves the social obligation of organized labor. Since about

fifteen million people are now union members, the decisions which are made by their leaders have a marked effect on the community and the nation. The power of labor, both political and industrial, is great. But this power and the privilege to exert it imply great responsibility to the community and to the nation. This responsibility cannot be assumed by men unaware of or unprepared for it. Education must serve as a means of directing this power for the greater good of the working man and of the nation.

There is also the problem of democracy within unions, and just as democracy in a nation depends upon a literate and informed citizenry, so in a union it depends upon an enlightened membership. Actually, the officers of some unions play down the importance of educational activity because they feel it might endanger their positions. It goes without saying that these unions are not overburdened with democracy. It is not unusual to hear a sweeping accusation of unions by persons who are prejudiced against them to the effect that there is a great gap between union membership and leadership. This accusation, although not true of most unions, would hardly sound credible if there was an extensive program of education among unions, if union officers were using such a program to inform their members of the issues that confront them and how they propose to deal with them. This is not to say that a certain amount of this activity is not now undertaken by unions, but neither is it correct to say that the majority of them engage in it to any large extent.

Workers' education, as it is called, therefore, looms more important than ever before. Workers' education is a necessary tool which labor must use

to achieve its ends. Of course, workers' education is not new, but we in the United States have never known it on a large scale. Nor is the form or even the definition of workers' education a settled matter. Even among those engaged in workers' education or labor education, as it is sometimes called, there is disagreement as to the specific nature of their field. Consider, for example, the definitions of workers' education given by the education directors of two unions. George Brooks of the Paper Mill Workers' Union speaks of his union's program thus:

The program described is not one of education but training. Union officials do not take responsibility for making up the deficiencies in the general education of the membership. Trade unions are instruments with very well defined purposes and methods, and "education" like "organization" and "agitation" must be related to these purposes and methods.³

This statement, of course, raises the question of how limited or how broad the functions of unions should be. But to remain on the subject of defining workers' education contrast a statement by Francis Henson of the United Auto Workers (A.F. of L.) with the one above:

The labor great books program deserves special comment because it makes clear that the U.A.W., A.F. of L. does not limit itself to educating the membership on technical trade union subjects: its ideal education is one of the whole man.⁴

It can safely be assumed that these are not the sentiments of inexperienced amateurs in the field and the conflict of their definitions makes it

³ George W. Brooks and Russel Allen, "Union Training Program of the A.F.L. Paper Unions," Monthly Labor Review, Washington, LXXIV, April, 1952, 399.

⁴ Francis A. Henson, "One Union's Education Program," American Federationist, Washington, LVII, January, 1950, 37.

apparent that the nature of workers' education has not been concretely determined in a widely acceptable manner.

There are characteristics, however, which are common to all or nearly all workers' education. One is that it is a form of adult education. It is directed toward people who are mature, people who have been "in the world." For this reason the techniques involved must be chosen from those already developed in the field of adult education. Second, workers' education involves group action whereas other levels of education concentrate on the cultivation of the individual for his own advancement.⁵

The broad aim of workers' education is to promote the welfare of the workingman and of society in general. When it neglects to consider the welfare of all society it becomes class education and works against society. Left-wing elements have seized upon this field for just that reason and have spread the doctrines of class conflict. This is one of the reasons why Catholic colleges have gone into the field of workers' education. They hoped to, among other things, to counteract the influence of the Marxists.⁶

About the best definition of workers' education the author has discovered is this one by Mark Starr to whom frequent reference has been made in this introduction. It is primarily through his ability as educational director

⁵ Mark Starr, "Operation: Trade Union Education," Teacher's College Record, New York, LII, November, 1950, 114.

⁶ Brother Justin F.S.C., "The Study of Industrial and Labor Relations in Catholic Colleges," Industrial and Labor Relations Review, Ithaca, N.Y., III, October, 1949, 71.

that the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union has what is probably the most advanced education program of any American union. Here is what he says:

It is difficult to produce an adequate and agreed definition of workers' education. With general education it shares the purpose of preparing people for life in addition to preparing them to earn a livelihood. It shares too the current dilemma of either concentrating upon imparting skills for immediate use or training the powers of judgment by giving courses in the general philosophy and history of the labor movement. It must guard against "compartmentalism," which would try to separate short and long term aims. In the hands of good teachers, however, workers' education serves as a discipline in scientific methods of thought; as a directive for immediate action in the light of an ultimate goal; and also as a dynamic impelling the students into action.⁷

Higher education and educators have not come to be accepted very easily by American labor. This is due partly to labor's unfortunate early experiences with them and partly due to the type of bread and butter unionism which developed in the United States. About the middle of the nineteenth century the labor movement, reeling from the effects of a depression, turned to the schemes of certain idealistic intellectuals for the solution of their problems. The theories of Fourier, Owen and other Utopian social reformers became very popular with labor groups. They were widely discussed and undoubtedly some plans were made to implement them, but on the whole they were rejected by the workers themselves.

To the worker they represented distant and unreliable promises of future benefit. They demanded sacrifice and offered no immediate improvement

⁷ Mark Starr, "The Task and Problems of Workers' Education," The House of Labor, eds. J.B.S. Hardman and Maurice F. Neufeld, New York, 1951, 424.

for the present. This disappointment undoubtedly influenced the trend toward business unionism whose policies excluded almost all political activity, but it was not the only disappointment. At that time the study of economics in our institutions of higher education took the form of developing refinements of and an apology for the classical theory. These scholars generally took a dim view of workers organizing and warned that in trying to get higher wages except through the free play of the market unions were tampering with iron laws. Joseph Dorfman in his history of American economic thought records an occasion when these learned gentlemen were consulted for suggestions on how to solve labor's problems. Their answers were, to say the least, "uncooperative."⁸

Where the labor movement has been doubtful of higher education it has historically been very hopeful about elementary education. From the formation of the Workings Men's Party in 1828, labor has promoted and fostered free public education. Down to the present it has been very solicitous of the welfare of schools and school teachers. However, Horace Kallen⁹ feels that labor expected too much of public schools and has once again been disappointed causing it to turn to the medium of workers' education. According to Kallen labor expected free public education to remove any and all inequalities of opportunity which existed and would therefore effect a much fairer distribution of the wealth.

⁸ Joseph Dorfman, "The Economic Mind in American Civilization", III, New York, The Viking Press, 1949, 137-139.

⁹ Horace M. Kallen, Education the Machine and The Worker, New York New Republic, Inc., 1925, 7-11.

Many labor spokesmen in this country, including Mark Starr, criticize public schools for their biased treatment of the social sciences. They feel that the role of the labor movement in the development of our nation is practically ignored in history and economics classes. Most students get their information about unions (if they get any) from literature and films supplied gratuitously by the National Association of Manufacturers. Furthermore, school boards are usually without representation by the workingman and teachers seem to be a great extent ignorant of organized labor and its contribution.¹⁰

The federal government itself has had considerable experience in the field of workers' education. It became involved during the depression of the thirties for the purpose of providing jobs for some of the many unemployed teachers. This was accomplished through the Federal Emergency Relief Administration in the beginning and later by the Works Progress Administration. The program, of course, was one of general adult education but it included classes tailored to the specific needs of workers.

This activity of the government, although only carried on on a small scale, caused a controversy as to whether or not the government should use public funds for education of a sectarian nature. Some of the defenders of the plan cite the extension program of the Department of Agriculture. However, the similarity is not too strong since the farmers are taught purely vocational

¹⁰ Mark Starr, "Workers' Education," Harvard Educational Review, Cambridge, Mass., XXI, Fall, 1951, 245-246

material which is exclusive of doctrines. Workers' education by its very nature involves social doctrines.¹¹

Nevertheless, the controversy is still alive. The introduction of bills into both houses of congress which provide for a government financed program of workers' education through college extensions has kept the issue before the public. Nearly all of the bills provided for states to set up extension boards composed of labor members and representatives of cooperating institutions; that is those institutions, colleges, and schools which offer labor extension services. Handling this program through the facilities of states is quite in keeping with the tradition of administering education in the United States. However, in 1949 the A.F. of L. became alarmed when it seemed that General Motors was able to bring an end to a promising workers' education program at the University of Michigan. As a result it has demanded that the program be administered by the Department of Labor using field offices of its own in each state. This split in the ranks of labor over the issue (the C.I.O. had not changed its attitude) seems to be the main reason why no final action has been taken in congress.¹²

Other than unions and the government there are principally three agencies which carry on workers' education. These are colleges, independent organizations and religious bodies. About a dozen colleges in the United States

11 T.R. Adam, The Worker's Road To Learning, New York, American Association for Adult Education, 1940, 62-63.

12 Irvine L.H. Kerrison, Worker's Education at The University Level, New Brunswick, N.J., Rutgers University Press, 1951, 20-22.

carry on fairly extensive programs of workers' education and others indulge in the field to a less significant degree. Among the pioneers are the Wisconsin University School for Workers and Bryn Mawr which attempted to aid American working women. The efforts of American Colleges are not too impressive when one realizes how many there are in this country.

The work of religious bodies, especially the Catholic Church, has at times been quite important. The Jewish Labor Committee and the American Friends Service Committee are at present active in the field. The Catholic Church has carried on workers' education through the schools of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists principally in the east and through such others as the Sheil School of Social Studies in Chicago. There are quite a few other labor education facilities sponsored by the church, but they are too numerous to mention here. Let it suffice to say that the Church feels its obligation in this field by virtue of its social teachings, which were spelled in a forthright manner in the encyclicals of recent popes.

There have been many independent organizations which have carried on the function of workers' education. However, not too many of them have survived. Among those which have are the American Labor Education Service, which undertook the work of coordinating workers' education bodies throughout the country. A similar agency, the Workers' Education Bureau, was first subsidised by the A.F. of L. and subsequently taken over by it as its education and research department. The Highlander Folk School in Monteagle, Tennessee, dates back to the early thirties. It has attempted to bring the workingman and the

farmer of the South together to stimulate understanding and cooperation between them. There are several other schools including the Rand School of Social Science in New York, and the Hudson Shore Labor School which is an outgrowth of the pioneering work at Bryn Mawr.

Having illustrated the need for workers' education and given some ✓ background for it, it remains to point out the particular concern of this study. It becomes apparent, as one becomes familiar with workers' education, that it is a broad field. It is necessary, therefore, to choose but one phase of it to concentrate upon. This phase should be an essential part of the overall scene so that studying it will be productive of the greatest insight into the field as a whole. Since the impetus for workers' education comes from the worker and is articulated through the agency which expresses his wishes, the writer has decided to make a study of union educational activity.

As has been stated above, a progress of workers' education adequate to its size has not been undertaken by the American labor movement. Nevertheless, the demand for education has originated with unions and they will always be the dominant influence in determining the form that workers' education will take. By form, of course, it is not intended to refer to such things as techniques and methods. Form, in this case, denotes the purposes which are emphasized, the job which workers' education is purposely expected to do. This can, of course, be chosen wisely or unwisely but what is meant is that unions are the deciding factor in this choice.

The persons in unions now charged with the promotion of educational

activity are the people who should know the things which the writer wants to discover. They represent a key segment of the worker's education. Furthermore, it is with them that all other agencies cooperate to set up their education programs. Their conception of workers' education represents the subject of this thesis.

The method for learning what they conceive as workers' education is direct. A survey of union education directors was made by the author. This was done by sending a questionnaire to all of the directors of education or education and research listed in a directory of labor unions in the United States. The next chapter describes that questionnaire.

CHAPTER II

COMPOSING THE QUESTIONNAIRE

This survey covers all unions having education directors (or education and research directors) and the two national federations. It does not include the state federations of labor or the state industrial union councils. The basis for the survey is a directory of American unions published by the U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics as amended March, 1951.¹ This directory lists all unions all unions in the United States, and it indicates the name and title of the education director for every union which has one. In referring to this directory below the title BLS directory will be used for the sake of brevity.

Before beginning a discussion of how the questionnaire was composed, it is necessary to clarify the denotation of the term education director. The BLS directory states that in twenty-seven cases the position of research director and education director was held by the same individual.² Therefore, when the term education director is used below it refers to education and research directors as well as education directors. In some cases, it has been found

¹ U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Directory of Labor Unions in the United States: 1950, Bulletin No. 980, Washington, 1950.

² Ibid., 5.

from the survey, a union may have an education and information director. This position, also, and any other position of this nature is referred to when the term education director is used in this thesis.

The questionnaire sent out was designed to bring out the opinions of union educators regarding the goals, scope, and future of workers' education. The problem in composing the questionnaire was to reconcile two contrary aims. One, to make this questionnaire long enough so that it would actually afford an insight into the opinions of those canvassed, the other to make it short and simple enough to answer so that there would be a reasonable hope of substantial response.

Keeping in mind the first aim it was decided to make the questions, as much as possible, answerable by a check mark. It was planned so as to provide a wide possible field for the person to choose from and thereby indicate his opinion. The questionnaire is divided into three parts. The first part is composed of a list of possible objectives of workers' education from which the individual chooses the ones he thinks are important. This list is an attempt to break down the field into twelve categories. If one tried to list each specific short range aim, the list would be endless. If the objectives were laid down too broadly, it would be meaningless. Therefore, an effort has been made to reach the workable middle ground between these poles.

The second part of the questionnaire is an elaboration or clarification of the first. It presents a list of subject matter for labor education. Since the subject matter of workers' education is dictated by its aims, the

second section should further illustrate and define the first. After each of these parts there is space where the individual is asked to specify the elements not included which, in his opinion, should have been included. It was hoped that this device would glean the ideas of those who do not find the alternatives listed to be satisfactory.

The final section of the questionnaire is the least logically divided. It contains nine provocative questions on the future of labor education. They are of a general nature and are designed to throw some light on the direction in which workers' education is developing.

It is well to state again, before going on, just what the aim of this study is. To make it clear, here are mentioned a few things which it is not. It is not an analysis of actual union programs now functioning. It is not a survey of colleges participating in workers' education. Its aim is to uncover the conception of workers' education held by union educators. Further, it is to look for similarities in their individual views which will indicate trends in the development of workers' education. Their views, of course, are not unrelated to present facilities for workers' education, but neither are they necessarily bound to them. Some of those answering undoubtedly identify their own union's program and workers' education as a whole, its aims, its potentialities and its techniques. Others probably see far-reaching social purposes and take a much less narrow view. The problem is to perceive the more dominant views.

To begin a discussion of the objectives which were decided upon, here

is a list of them as they appear on the questionnaire:

1. Improvement of the leadership of union officers.
2. Development of greater participation in union activities by the membership.
3. Promotion of better understanding of union problems on the part of the membership.
4. Development of unity in the labor movement.
5. Improvement of loyalty and discipline within the union.
6. Clarifying political issues in the minds of:
 - A. Union officers
 - B. Union members
7. Training for political action by union.
8. Developing interest and action in community affairs.
9. To provide an understanding of the economics of each industry for the workers in it.
10. To develop an interest and understanding of basic economic principles and the functioning of the American economy.
11. To foster better understanding between labor and management.
12. To raise the cultural level of the worker.
13. Do you feel this list does include the most important objectives?

The list of objectives begins with the most obvious ones and proceeds to more controversial ones. The first one which presented itself and which is most essential is leadership training. To carry on normal union functions, even if not aggressively or on a large scale, requires leaders who are articulate in the expression of the union's demands. In the natural course of time it becomes necessary to replace and make additions to the officers of a union. This is the minimum requirement for the continued existence of a union. It can undoubtedly be accomplished by the most informal means. However, if it is left up to individual officers to pass on the knowledge they have gained by experience without the benefit of an institutionalized program, the quality of this preparation for leadership is much more likely to be uneven.

For a union whose aims are progressive and less limited, an education

program for training leaders is imperative. In reference to leadership training, it should be mentioned that as an objective it implies some of the objectives mentioned below it. The content of leadership training should include some study of all of the functions of a union.

The second objective chosen also represents a necessity for the welfare of a union. The problem of membership participation is an old and chronic one with American unions. It is, of course, not peculiar to unions. Most democratic organizations experience it. Many and various devices have been employed to produce better attendance at union functions, from having a door prize to hiring a professional entertainment. Usually, the majority of members will display great interest when they feel that their immediate welfare is concerned as in the case of a strike vote. Although, in fact, the day to day affairs of the union very much affect them.

In some instances the situation is aggravated by officers who, in their insincerity, discourage interest in their activities by the rank and file.³ Another factor in the case of some unions is the physical size of locals. Local unions composed of several thousands of members may have the problem of finding space in which to hold regular meetings. Furthermore, in a group so large an individual may tend to feel unimportant and ineffectual leaving the direction of the union to those few militants who are assertive enough to make

3 Business Week, Albany, N.Y., June 2, 1951, 31.

themselves heard.⁴

This brings us to the third of the more obvious objectives, that of better understanding of union problems on the part of the membership. This one bears a strong relationship to the second one though it is not identical to it.

It is nearly impossible for a union member to understand the problems faced by a union unless he participates in its functions. However, the original impetus for becoming an active union member must stem from an interest in him by the union. Sustaining such an interest could best be done by a constant program of information to all members. That is why it is felt that this aim should be included in such a list as this one.

This concept applies not only in the specific sense of disseminating information concerning the aim and activities of one local or national union, but also in a larger sense to unionism generally. That is, it can inform of the principles of unionism, and it may break down the attitude of many union members that they are members only for the sake of the better wages. This operation is sometimes called "unionizing the organized."

It might be answered that the need for spreading this information has been supplied by the union newspapers. Actually, except for those published by the national federations, many of the labor newspapers are dull and of a generally poor quality. In any case, by themselves they are not the solution to the problem.

⁴ Ibid.

The fourth objective listed is somewhat more controversial. Unity in the ranks of labor is feared by many because it is an omen of class-consciousness among workingmen, and perhaps hints at socialism in the political air. The proponents of unification between C.I.O. and A.F. of L. feel that this split in the ranks of labor weakens every program that it undertakes. But it can be said that without this break the masses of industrial workers might never have been organized, and therefore in the long run it greatly strengthened the labor movement. In any case, since workers in both the trades and mass production industries have a common interest, there is good reason to have a certain unity of organization.

This objective was included in the hope of finding out the prevailing attitude toward unity. Is it considered basic to the health of labor or of secondary importance? What is the feeling of A.F. of L. education directors in comparison with those of C.I.O. men? What is the attitude of independents?

The next objective, that improving loyalty and discipline is as necessary to a union as anything mentioned thus far. Officers negotiating with a company or an industry need to feel that they have the support of their membership in order to bargain effectively. Those across the bargaining table are much more likely to be in a mood of compromise if they know that they are facing leaders who can call upon the whole of the membership to back them up. The staging of a strike demands a great deal indeed of discipline within a union and the knowledge that it exists by both union and management makes for more solid and peaceful relations between them.

Wildcat strikes and other branches of union discipline make it difficult for a union to operate efficiently. Leaders are not only responsible to their members in a really democratic union, but members are also responsible to or bound by the decisions and laws made by the union. The situation where this discipline is brought about by fear is not without example in American unions, witness the New York waterfront,⁵ nor is the situation where little discipline exists. Real discipline or loyalty in a union arises from an understanding of the fundamentals of unionism and a confidence in the men who are its officers. It is therefore a fitting objective for the progress of workers' education. In a sense, it is a corollary to the objective mentioned above concerning better understanding of union problems, but it should be consciously cultivated for itself though in an indirect and subtle way.

The matter of unions and politics which was chosen for the sixth and seventh objectives is also a rather controversial topic. It has been divided into two objectives, one concerning merely clarification of political issues and the other concerning political action. The former is subdivided to specify union members and union officers. Samuel Gompers's principle that unions should restrict their political activity was discarded with the beginning of the New Deal era, but the political role of unions and the relationship of unions with its members in regard to political issues is still in the process of development. The inclusion of this topic should indicate whether or not education

⁵ Budd Schulberg, "Waterfront Priest," Commonweal, New York, LVII, April 3, 1953, 643.

directors consider it an essential part of workers' education or a less important one.

Another field, of which unions have lately been becoming aware, is relationship with the community. To a large extent unions in the earlier stages of their development despaired of ever winning favor with the local community, since the most influential groups of the community were usually their arch-enemies. Reference is made to the Chambers of Commerce and the various business associations and their domination of civic affairs. As the unions gave evidence of being permanent and the political potential of their members became an important factor, labor leaders in some localities became more acceptable. But by and large labor has done a poor job of public relations, both locally and nationally. It has, of course, been hampered by not a few seriously unfavorable circumstances. Some foresighted unions have by now begun to woo the community by seeking posts on school boards and by taking an active part in community housing programs, charity agencies and other services. The objective is listed to see if union education includes this important work according to the education directors.

An integral part of workers' education is the study of economics. When a nation's labor movement becomes strong enough to eliminate the serious exploitation of the worker, it must become involved in the theory of economics. It cannot merely continue to ask for more while ignoring how the economic system now it operates in functions. Economics seems to be one of the fields in which there is the most disagreement between authorities. Nevertheless, labor, being

a powerful force in the economic system, must be responsible to the public for the way it exerts this force. Being at the same time a democratically controlled movement, in theory at least, it required some economic convictions on the part of its members. Economic convictions of the simplest nature require an understanding of the rudiments of economics.

The labor movement in general and unions in particular need a program of study in the field of economics. Thus the writer included developing an interest in and an understanding of economic principles and the functioning of the American economy. One might think this would be considered a necessary part of any such curriculum. The questionnaire should indicate whether or not this is so.

It behooves a union not only to encourage the study of economic rudiments, but also the economics of the industry with which it deals. Increasingly, collective bargaining is becoming a struggle of research and presentation of statistics supporting the position of each side. The necessity for knowing how well or how poor an industry or a corporation is doing and what its prospects for the future are, has been recognized by unions in the clothing industry. It is an essential preparation if the time comes when unions will participate in a more direct manner in the management of an industry. In short, unions will have to burden themselves with the knowledge of here and now economic problems of the industries and companies they have organized in order to bargain successfully and responsibly. They should do this with an eye to the more than short term health of both parties involved.

Another objective included was that of fostering better understanding between labor and management. A general statement like this might give some insight as to whether or not unions generally want their workers at this time to think sympathetically of their companies. If so, this might suggest that the era of grudging toleration by companies is on the decline.

The last objective in this group is one which is certain not to meet with complete agreement by those answering. It is, nevertheless, an important idea in the field of workers' education. If one conceives of workers' education as having a broad and integrating purpose, it could very reasonably include the study of cultural subjects. These pursuits are necessary for the satisfaction of certain human appetites. This is particularly applicable in the case of workers in the mass production industries where the mode of manufacturing frustrates the human need for individual expression through creative activity.

A great deal of the literature of social science has pointed out the cultural immaturity of the industrial society, especially the American industrial society. It is only repetitious to mention that most of our mass media present material designed to appeal to an audience whose cultural tastes are roughly those of a person in his early teens. Since this is a commonly recognized defect in our society, and since unions are in principle a force for social reform, it is not unreasonable to conceive of their entering this field. A few unions have already launched cultural programs doing things such as sponsoring great books study groups, promoting musical concerts and similar

enterprises. These, however, are the rare exceptions. The questionnaire could indicate how many education-minded unions consider this a justifiable aim.

The second section of the questionnaire is one which was constructed after consideration of the curriculum of many workers' education programs, including those sponsored by churches, unions, colleges and government. Each subject was chosen because of a relationship to one or other of the objectives already enumerated. For instance, each of those topics listed under the heading of "Leadership Training" is considered important to the training of officers by some authority. The writer does not presume to exhaust all of the possibilities in this or the other categories. Some pertinent topics are under different headings, such as economics. Also others were excluded due to the consideration of brevity. The breakdown of the field is an effort to make a logical subdivision of the divisions laid down in part I of the questionnaire.

Here is a list of the topics included in "Leadership Training", the first heading of this section:

- Public Speaking
- Effective writing
- Parliamentary procedure
- Labor legislation
- Collective bargaining
- Time and motion study
- Statistics
- Psychology
- Handling grievances

Under this heading are nine topics which represent basic skills which are important to a union officer. Among them are qualities which are common to leadership in all fields. The art of expression as represented by public

speaking and effective writing is one of those as is psychology.

As was the case with the objective of leadership training, these are not especially controversial topics in the field of workers' education. They are included in order to find out if unions consider such things as statistics and time and motion study essential in each case.

Another heading in the second section of the questionnaire deals with economics. It includes three topics which break down the study into: basic principles, the American economy, and the economics of the industry. These alternatives are laid down in connection with the objectives listed in the first part of the questionnaire which have been discussed already.

The next heading is "The Institution of Unionism," and it contains these topics:

1. Labor history
2. Organization of unions
3. Operation of unions
4. Objectives of organized labor
5. Political role of organized labor

This group of topics concerns the union as an institution. It is a necessary part of the subject matter directly relating to several of the objectives.

Studying the history of labor is important for creating interest in present day union activities and understanding the problems faced by unions. For leaders it may also be a source of wisdom and inspiration with which to meet the future. Knowing something of the technique of organizing a union and of its operation is essential for a union leader. It serves also to engender better participation and understanding on the part of members. The last two topics under the heading overlap somewhat. That the objectives of organized labor are not clear

was pointed out above, but studying what they appear to be, and developing some ideas on what they should be is, in the writer's opinion, appropriate here.

The first two topics, political action techniques, and participation in community affairs, enumerated under the heading, "The Union and the Community," follow closely the discussion of that objective in the first section of the questionnaire. The last one, the responsibilities and privileges of citizenship, represents an endeavor which has been undertaken by some unions to make its members conscious of their own potential as a citizen in a democracy, work and also, undoubtedly, with the hope that the unionist will reflect at least some solicitude form the interest of unionism and its basic social premises in the discharge of his political prerogatives.

Last among the headings is the one on cultural subjects. The topics are as follows:

- Language
- Art
- Literature
- Music
- Drama
- Philosophy
- Crafts
- American history
- World affairs
- World history

This list mentions for the most part speculative or liberal topics which are not of as immediate practical value as those in previous headings. These are suggested as worthy of being studies as an end in themselves, but also they have a potential utility aside from developing the esthetic faculties. To

illustrate this potential it can be pointed out that the cause of unionism has seldom been deliberated in literature, music, drama or art. If studies of this nature were to result in expression in those areas of our culture, unionism would benefit in a real sense.

The study of world affairs becomes more important as the United States bends its efforts to the task of world leadership. Elements of the labor movement have become conscious of the idea that labor should have a voice in representing the United States abroad. The A.F. of L. and the C.I.O. both have standing committees on inter-national affairs and each has a full-time international representative in Washington. The Secretary of Labor has an advisory committee on international labor affairs, which is composed of leaders of the C.I.O., A.F. of L. and Railroad Brotherhoods. Also, labor has been active in the formulation and administration of the Marshall Plan through its representation on the President's Committee on Foreign Aid. The A.F. of L. and the C.I.O. have carried the fight against communism in the trade unions of Europe and the world. They each have several representatives working in Europe and Asia, and have allotted considerable funds to the projects. Leaders of the new International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in 1949 after an attempt by the C.I.O. to cooperate with communist unions in the World Federation of Trade Unions failed.

Studying history, both of the world and of the American society, is valuable in order to see the society of today in its proper perspective. It is unnecessary and presumptuous to try to explain why it is important to understand

man's history. It is sufficient to say that it has a special importance for union people since theirs is the task of improving society, which task demands some knowledge of the make-up and heritage of society.

It should be mentioned that the last three topics under this heading are not cultural in exactly the same sense as the other topic in the group. Studies of this nature are not only good as part of a broad background, but they are also necessary because of the American labor movement involving itself in foreign affairs as outlined.

The third section of the questionnaire is devoted to some questions designed to reveal trends in the future development of labor education. Some of the questions require only one word answers, and others need a brief explanation. This group of questions is placed in no particular order. They are of a rather broad nature and some of them may seem obvious. First in the group is a question concerning the adequacy of present facilities to meet the need of labor education. This question is asked in order to verify the hypothesis that workers' education is young and in need of much expression and development. The entire theme of this thesis is that worker's education is just becoming important, and that its cultivation is essential to a healthy labor movement. The question, then, endeavors to discover if the directors are smug and satisfied with the present extent of the field or if they feel that it is in need of enlargement and improvement.

State institutions of learning are traditionally the servant of the educational needs of the entire community. It is through them, though not solely through them, that men are trained for responsible positions in business, in

technical fields, and the professions. What then do they offer to prepare men for positions of responsibility in the trade union field? The situation in regard to labor is not very similar with those of the other occupations mentioned since unions choose their leaders from among workmen whose vocations do not require higher education. Their situation is akin but not identical to that of farmers. Some state colleges have undertaken projects in the labor field often combining them in an industrial relations institute, but generally their contribution has not compared either in quality or in quantity with the service which they perform for the farmer for instance. This fact can be explained but not entirely justified.

Relative to this situation are three questions included in this part of the questionnaire. The first one is question number two which asks what developments the director feels should be made in the programs of state colleges and universities. It is hoped that this would reveal the reaction of unionists to the service thus far rendered by state institutions. This is designed to find out if the nearly unavoidable issues of social doctrine have been handled to the satisfaction of the unions; to discover whether or not being part of a study of industrial relations with management people is acceptable to unions and to find out other information of this nature. The results will not necessarily indicate the direction in which such college programs will proceed since that also depends on the reaction of those in charge of state institutions, but it should show how unions would like to modify the character of them.

Another question dealing with the same general subject, number five

solicits opinion on a plan for federal financial aid to state colleges for extension schools in labor education. Such a proposal was embodied in a bill introduced in congress not long ago. The answers to this question should reveal whether the federal government is considered welcome in the field and whether this method of aid is the favored one. Education in the United States, is traditionally the province of the states, and they usually are suspicious of any federal activity in this field. However, the federal government has taken the initiative in labor legislation by virtue of its power to regulate interstate commerce, and therefore might be expected to encourage more widespread labor education. It is simpler to instigate such things through congress than attempting to gain the acceptance of forty-eight legislatures.

Another question concerning colleges is number three, which asks whether or not it is thought that union officers should have some college training. The matter of being a college man in the ranks of labor has been a controversial thing. Historically suspicion was cast upon those who, having had the advantage of college training, would forsake the opportunities it implies and take up the cause of the workingman. One explanation might be that the worker sharing in the prevalent American "rags to riches" dream felt that there is no course in the world but to get ahead materially. Furthermore, the labor movements, as outlined above, has not placed a premium on idealists since its early experiences with them. In many cases, then, a college education was a detriment rather than an attribute. The question endeavors to find out if this is still true or if not, whether it is considered important for a union officer

to have a college education.

The fourth question deals with public schools. It asks whether or not they should provide some form of labor education. It is a broad question and it is intended to draw forth comments on whether they should have some formal programs for workers, or just give their regular students a clearer conception of unions.

Labor and management have cooperated to a large extent in some industries, notably the clothing industry. But generally the industrial science does not evidence much close cooperation between unions and management. The sixth question seeks to find out if there will be much of this cooperation in workers' education. It seems that a clear picture of conditions, problems, and the general functioning of a corporation or of an entire industry could not be presented by the worker without the collaboration of management.

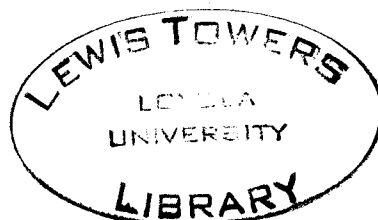
It has been suggested that one answer to the impersonal nature of work in many modern mass production processes is to explain to the individual his contribution to it. That is to develop a feeling of importance or of being necessary by describing how the individual contribution is essential to the overall operation. This is the idea behind question six. It is laid down in order to learn whether the atmosphere is ripe for such cooperation, or if it is considered plausible for the future. This should indicate if those solicited see any contribution from management in the field of workers' education.

Question seven is a leading question which presupposes that workers' education is now mainly leadership training, and asks if it will ever become

mass education. The question was phrased in this way to find out if it would elicit protests from education directors that it is now to some extent mass education. One of the hypotheses of this thesis is that labor education now consists, with few exceptions, of leadership training. If those answering appear to agree, then it is expected that they will explain how far off mass education is or if it will ever be possible.

The answers to question eight are expected to be diverse because it also is very general in nature. It asks in a direct manner what the primary problem in labor education is from the union point of view. Little can be said in discussion of such a question. It is assumed that the main problem is promotion and enlargement since workers' education is so young. This question should shed light on what obstacles are considered most serious to improving this enterprise, by unions. A union is usually solicitous of any drain on its treasury.

The final question in this section concerns education for political action. This subject has been discussed at some length in other parts of this treatise. The question is designed merely to ascertain if the present extent of political activity should be increased at this time. It is expected that it will be answered in the affirmative.



CHAPTER III

ANALYSIS OF RESULTS

It would be well to begin a presentation of the results of the survey by reviewing some figures on the total membership of unions and comparing them with those having education directors. The BLS directory estimates the total membership of American unions at between fourteen and sixteen million represented by 207 unions.¹ The House of Labor, a book which dissects the American union movement, places the figure at 15,600,000.² Of this number it lists eight million in the A.F. of L. and six million in the C.I.O. before expulsion of left wing dominated unions. The rest are not affiliated with any federation. The BLS directory does not estimate the total membership of each federation, but it states that there are 108 unions in the A.F. of L., thirty-one in the C.I.O. and sixty-eight independent unions.

The membership figures which follow should be considered only rough approximations compiled merely for the sake of giving some insight into the question at hand. They were arrived at by adding the membership figures of unions listed in the BLS directory as having education or education and research directors. The list was further corrected by the results of this survey

1 Bureau of Labor Statistics, Directory of Labor Unions in the United States, 3.

2 Maurice F. Neufeld, "State of the Nations," The House of Labor, 6-9.

which showed that two unions so listed actually did not have such a position within the union. The BLS directory states that membership figures found in it are not exact, due to the fact that different unions use different bases for determining total membership, and it adds that this data is not to be construed as verified government statistics.³ The totals have been rounded off for the sake of simplicity. They are presented in Table I.

TABLE I

NUMBER OF UNIONS HAVING AN EDUCATION DIRECTOR AND
TOTAL MEMBERSHIP BY AFFILIATION

Affiliation	Number of unions	Total Membership
AF of L	23	3,400,000
CIO	15	3,500,000
Independent	10	580,000
Totals	48	7,480,000

This table shows that in the vicinity of one-half of the nation's union members are represented by unions which have an officer charged with an education program. It suggests that about the same number of unionists in the

³ Bureau of Labor Statistics, Directory of Labor Unions in the United States, 2.

A.F. of L. and the C.I.O. have this advantage. Apparently the A.F. of L. unions involved are smaller generally than those of the C.I.O., but there are many more of them. If one can accept The House of Labor's figure, less than half of all union members in the A.F. of L. have the advantage of an education director in their union.

Looking at the subject purely from the aspect of numbers of unions irrespective of size, the picture in this table in Table II.

TABLE II

PERCENTAGE OF UNIONS HAVING AN EDUCATION DIRECTOR
BY AFFILIATION

Affiliation	Total Affiliates	Having an ed. director	Per.cent
AF of L	108	23	21.3
CIO	31	15	48.4
Independent	68	10	14.7
Totals	207	48	23.2

From this it can be seen that a larger percentage of the C.I.O. unions have education directors than either A.F. of L. or independent unions. Independent unions appear to be the least convinced of the importance of education. This may reflect the effectiveness of the co-ordinating activities of the federations, both of which have departments devoted to the promotion of education programs,

With the area of the survey thus introduced, it is in order to begin an analysis of the response to it. As expected the response was not immediate, and the first request elicited sixteen complete questionnaires returned. The first follow-up request produced six more completed questionnaires, and the final follow-up request was answered with remainder of the thirty questionnaires. This number includes the questionnaires completed by the Workers' Education, Bureau of the A.F. of L. and the Department of Research and Education of the C.I.O. More than a few extra letters were also written to unions in whose replies the writer was especially interested. A letter was sent also to John L. Lewis's Mine Workers Union which was not listed as having an education director. This was done to make sure that it actually did not have one and also to learn why this was the case. No reply was received.

The fact that it was difficult to get a wide response verifies to some extent, the idea that unions are not public relations conscious, which was suggested above. The main objection mentioned by the nine directors, who acknowledged the request but declined to complete the questionnaire, was that they had little time and that similar demands were made too frequently of them by college students. Some gave indications that they were hesitant about committing themselves. Others felt the questionnaire was too confining in the way it was designed to be answered.

In order to analyze the response, Table III is presented below which compares the number of unions which answered questionnaires with the number having education directors. The total membership, in round numbers, of the unions

answering the questionnaire is also shown according to affiliation. Table III does not include the questionnaire completed by the education branches of the two federations.

TABLE III

NUMBER, PERCENTAGE, AND TOTAL MEMBERSHIP OF UNIONS ANSWERING QUESTIONNAIRE BY AFFILIATION

Affiliation	Number solicited	Number answering	per cent answering	Total membership those answering
AF of L	23	13	56.5	2,269,000
CIO	15	10	66.6	2,099,000
Independent	10	5	50.0	283,000
Totals	48	28	58.3	4,651,000

In summary the C.I.O. unions were the most cooperative, and independent unions were the least cooperative. Better than one-half of all the unions returned questionnaires. If the education departments of the two national federations are included in this number the percentage figure is 60, since thirty out of a possible fifty were received. In all data given below the questionnaires returned by those two bodies are included and they are not differentiated from the other unions.

Proceeding directly to the results of the first section of the questionnaire, it was found that all but one of those answering checked one or more of the objectives listed. The one exception was a director from the Order of

Railroad Telegraphers. He explained that his union's program is one of improving the member's job proficiency and public speaking. However, the second part of his questionnaire was not consistent with the first, and he checked several topics which suggest a broader outlook than originally indicated. One other union, The United Steel Workers, marked only one of the objectives. That was the one on the improvement of leadership.

Figure I on the following page gives a picture of how the overall results looked for the first section of the questionnaire. The fact that both national federations are included in this and all following data bears repeating.

At a glance it can be seen that nearly all of those answering agreed that the improvement of leadership was an important objective. Twenty-nine or 96.7 per cent of all those answering were of this opinion. Almost as many felt that greater membership participation and better understanding of union problems by the membership were important. Twenty-eight or 93.3 percent of those answering checked the second and third objectives. These first three were the ones most generally held to be essential by those completing the questionnaire. The fifth objective, that of improving loyalty and discipline, which the writer felt was of equal important was not considered thus by those replying. Twenty-two or 73.3 percent of the response had this objective checked. One explanation for this attitude might be the fact that unions are frequently accused by their critics of being dictatorships run out and, therefore, to emphasise loyalty and discipline might appear to give support to this accusation. In any case, the supposition that the first three objectives were fundamental, mention-

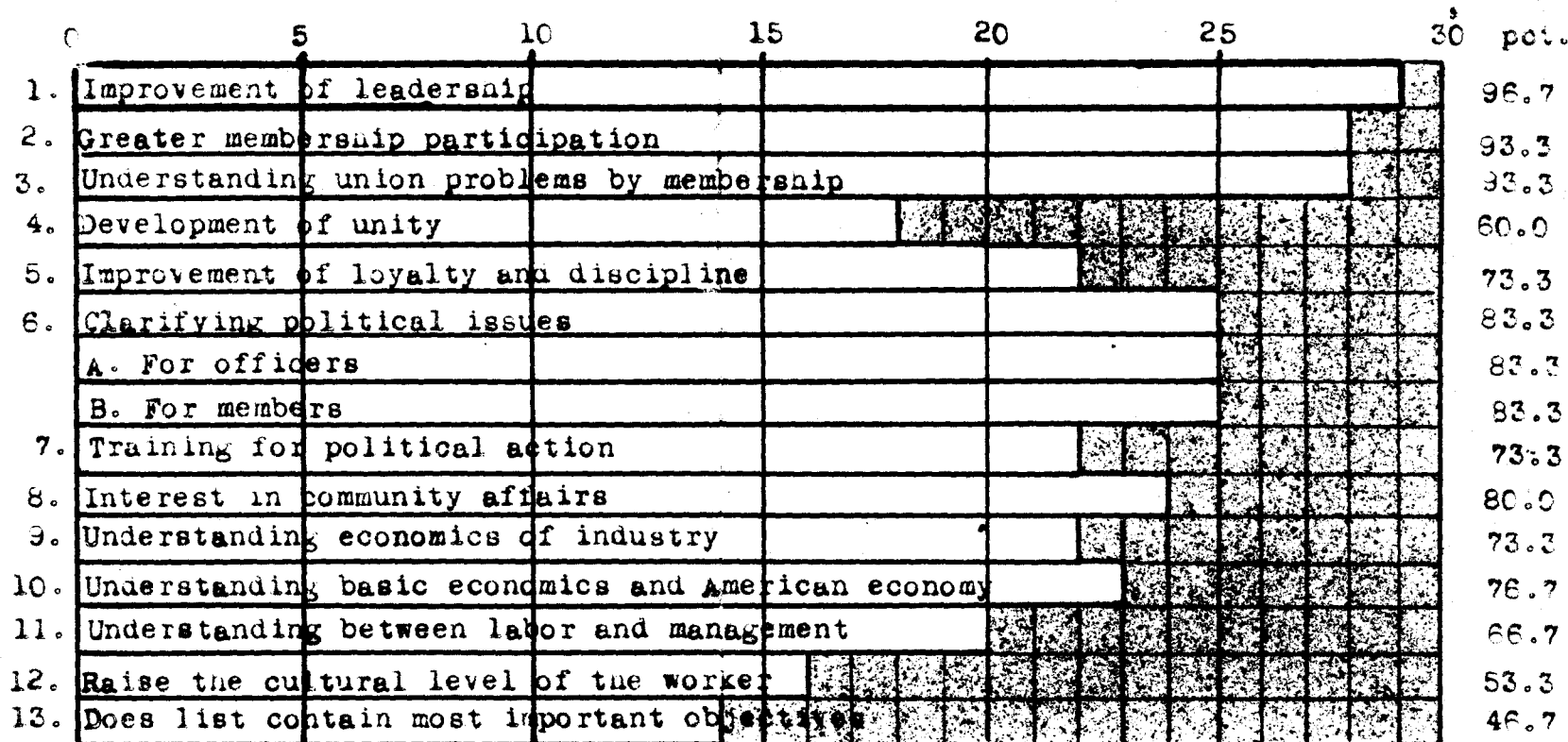


FIGURE 1

ed previously, seems to be borne out by these results.

The question of developing unity in the labor movement was much less popular. Only eighteen or 60 per cent of those answering indicated that it was important. As expected, it was least popular among the independent unions. It was most popular among the A.F. of L. unions. The trend seems to be toward unity, but not strongly. This is the case with unions affiliated with one or other of the two federations. Incidentally, the director of the A.F. of L. Worker's Education Bureau checked this objective, but the director of education of the C.I.O. Department of Education and Research left it blank.

Concerning the field of politics, there was a fair amount of agreement. Twenty-five indicated that clarifying political issues is an important objective. This amounted to 83.3 per cent of all those answering. The attempt to differentiate between officers and members on this issue proved fruitless, as all who checked one also checked both. All others left both blank. On the matter of training for political action, there were fewer in favor of it. Twenty of those answering felt that it was an objective of workers' education. This was quite equal to 73.3 per cent of them. These figures reveal that a high percentage of education minded unions feel that they should disseminate political information and approximately three-quarters of them are in favor of actual political action. Politics would seem to be considered an essential part of workers' education. According to these results it is second in importance only to the first three objectives enumerated here.

Another objective which found favor among those answering was the one answering was the one concerning interest and action in community affairs.

Twenty-four or 80 per cent of those answering indicated this aim. This was more than had been expected. This objective was only slightly less popular than the one concerning political issues. It bespeaks a greater solicitude for acquiring the esteem of the community.

Objectives nine and ten regarding economics were found acceptable to approximately three-fourths of those answering. 73.3 per cent of them indicated that understanding the economics of the industry in which this union functions is important, and twenty-three or 76.7 per cent attested the importance of studying basic economics and the functioning of the American economy. These two objectives, although not finding as much favor as most of the others, appear nevertheless to be considered as quite important to workers' education.

Only three of the objectives were indicated by less than 70 per cent of those answering. These were: labor unity, which has already been discussed, fostering understanding between labor and management and raising the cultural level of the worker. The latter objective was the least popular being shaken by only sixteen or 53.3 per cent. It appears that this is not yet considered important to workers' education, although it is not completely without support. Fostering better understanding between labor and management was checked by 66.7 per cent or twenty of the education directors.

The differences between the answers of A.F. of L. unions, C.I.O. unions, and independent unions can be seen from figure 2 on the next page.

All three groups, of course, agree on the importance of the first three objectives. On the subject of unity only one independent union felt that it was a goal of workers' education. Seven of the eleven C.I.O. unions favored

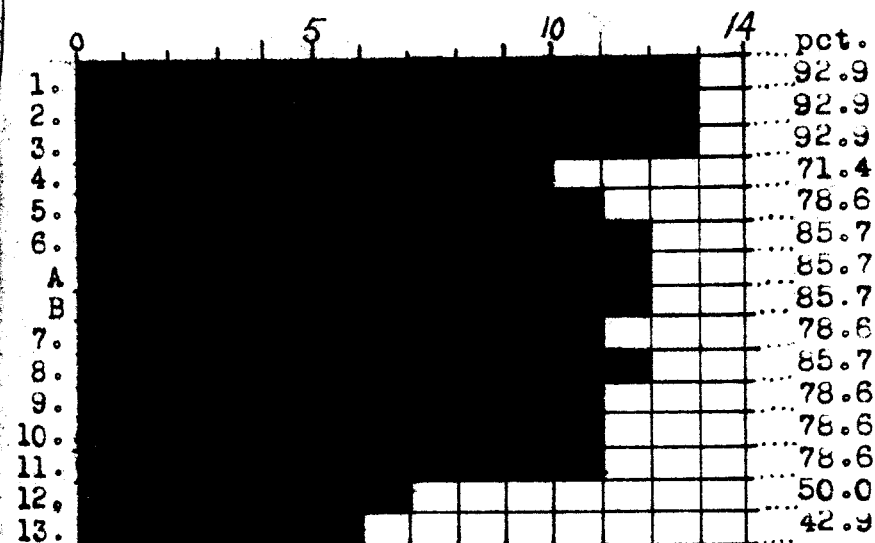
it while ten of the fourteen A.F. of L. unions advocated it. The independent unions chose fewer of the objectives as being important than either of the other groups. Three of the five of them felt that clarifying political issues was important, but only one considered political action an important goal. The only other objective that more than half of them indicated was the study of basic economics and the American economy. It seems safe to generalize, without being able to tell why, that independent unions lag behind in the field of labor education, both in the sense that very few of them have programs of this type and that the existing programs are narrower in concept.

The A.F. of L. and the C.I.O. unions were largely similar in their reception of these objectives. The main difference being in their attitude toward fostering understanding between labor and management. The A.F. of L. unions, often considered more conservative, were 78.6 per cent in favor of this objective, while only 63.6 per cent of the C.I.O. unions supported the idea. There was some discrepancy on the matter of politics, but not a great deal. A larger percentage of C.I.O. unions favored the clarification of political issues but curiously a smaller percentage of them favored the training of political action by unions. The objective of raising the cultural level of the worker was more popular with the C.I.O. unions 63.6 per cent of whom were in favor of the idea. Only 50 per cent of the A.F. of L. unions answered though that it was an important objective.

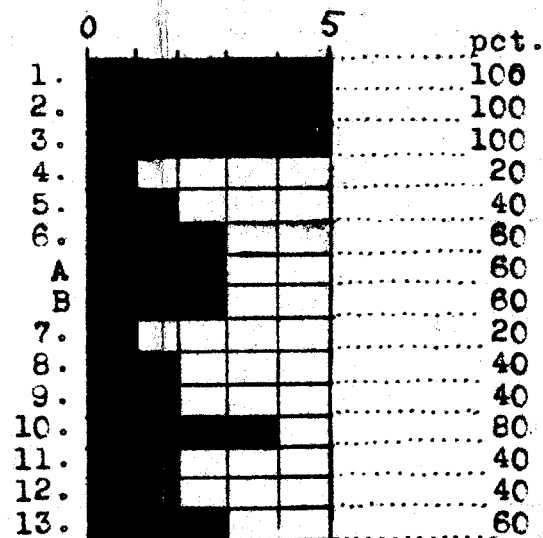
Remaining is the question of how comprehensive this list was considered by the respondents. Out of the thirty, fourteen indicated that the list contained the most important objectives. This number included three or 60 per

1. Improvement of leadership.
2. Greater membership participation.
3. Understanding union problems by membership.
4. Development of unity.
5. Improvement of loyalty and discipline.
6. Clarifying political issues.
 - A. For officers.
 - B. For members.
7. Training for political action.
8. Interest in community affairs.
9. Understanding economics of industry.
10. Understanding basic economics and Amer. economy.
11. Understanding between labor and management.
12. Raise cultural level of worker.
13. Does list contain most important objectives?

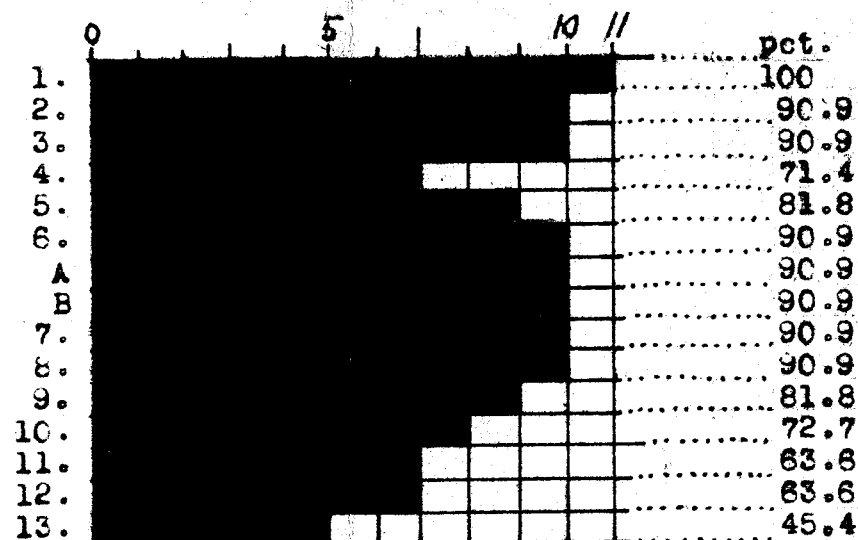
OBJECTIVES



A.F. of L.
14 or 46.7% of total answers



INDEPENDENT
5 or 16.7% of total answers



C.I.O.
11 or 36.7% of total answers

FIGURE 2

REACTION TO OBJECTIVES ON QUESTIONNAIRE
BY AFFILIATION

cent of the independent unions, five or 45.4 per cent of the C.I.O. unions, and six or 42.9 per cent of the A.F. of L. unions. Nine of those replying took the opportunity to comment on the list.

The director of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen felt that the aim of enabling workers to make constructive use of leisure time should be added to the list. This idea was implied by the twelfth objective, raising the cultural level of the worker, in the author's opinion. In any case, the whole of workers' education takes place during leisure hours, since it is not an on-the-job enterprise. It should be brought out that one of the basic changes in the nature of work which has come about over the last couple of generations has been the shorter workday. This allows for considerable leisure time which makes a program of workers' education all the more feasible.

Another addition suggested was cultivating self-expression and personality for the individual. This is relative to the discussion above about the need for creative activity, and it is surprising to find that this suggestion comes from a union of comparatively skilled workers, the Amalgamated Meatcutters and Butcher Workmen.

Two of those commenting mentioned that understanding international affairs should have been included. Both of these were from unions in the closely related industries, the International Ladies Garment Workers and the Textile Workers of America. The latter also mentioned development of more intelligent citizenship. Citizenship was also suggested by the director of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers. His comment is of course worth quoting:

To develop in the membership an understanding of the problems facing him as a worker and as a citizen. To prepare him so that he is able to exercise his own judgment in working toward solutions to his problems so that as an intelligent individual in a democracy (union and Country) he can make that democracy work.⁴

This statement seems to contain the essential idea involved in workers' education. It emphasizes the point that this education is an instrument to stimulate democratic processes to operate more effectively.

One director indicated that training union representatives in negotiating, settling grievances and local union administration should have been added, but it is felt that these were implicit in the objectives laid down, and they were explicit in the second part of the questionnaire. This contribution came from the International Chemical Workers Union. Another observation concerned the objective of fostering understanding between management and labor. Coming from the Communications Workers of America it pointed out that this objective can only come about when collective bargaining is accepted as the solution to the entire problem of labor and management. This stresses the point that where the principle of unionism is not accepted by management there can be no thought of improving relations. They must first be established. The fact that the director of this union is acutely aware of this suggests that collective bargaining does not have a long history in the telephone industry.

⁴ Questionnaire of Andrew J. Bennett, Research and Education Director, American Federation of Hosiery Workers, May 14, 1952.

Other comments on the objectives were to the effect that some of them are beyond the resources of a union whose main problem is one of organizing. It is recognized that some of these objectives can only apply to a relatively well-established union, but one comment goes to far as to say that until a local union has virtually 100 per cent organization in its territorial jurisdiction, it cannot undertake a project such as clarifying political issues, this seems an unduly high standard to meet.

The remaining observations gave assurance that the objectives not checked were only of secondary importance, but all objectives listed were of relative importance.

The significant points indicated by the results of the first section of the questionnaire seem to be these: First, the most important aim of the workers' education is training leaders. About equal in important are the cultivation of membership interest and support of union activities.

Politics is another focus which is considered necessary to workers' education. It is less important than the first two aims here enumerated, but it is high on the list of priority. Bringing about unity in the labor movement is only a secondary consideration, and it is least important to independent unions.

In regard to economics, a more specific knowledge of it, that of the industry in which a union operates, is considered more important than basic economic principles, and the study of the whole economy.

Generally, though the sample of these unions is limited, independent unions are narrower in their conception of what the objectives of workers'

education are. It appears that in the overall picture union education directors have a rather broad conception of the function of workers' education with the aims mentioned above being most important. Though broad, they do not include the cultural function in workers' education.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS OF RESULTS

The treatment of the second section of the questionnaire, which contained topics for study, generally followed the pattern of the first section. The topics in the cultural group were the most neglected. The rest of the groups were fairly equal in popularity. Leadership training here also was considered most essential, but the topics listed in that group varied in their acceptance to a large degree. Figure 3 on the next page shows that labor legislation and collective bargaining were the two topics most frequently indicated, with twenty-nine of the thirty questionnaires having them checked.

The three subjects which were least popular in this part of the questionnaire were language, art and literature. The last two topics each received the approval of one more director than language. Incidentally, in regard to language, Mr. Mark Starr, who was referred to above, is an advocate of Esperanto, the universal language,¹ and he noted that cultural subjects are second in priority excepting world affairs and world history which, he asserts, are not purely cultural.

Five topics of those listed under "Leadership Training" were almost unanimously chosen as can be seen from figure 3. Public speaking and parliamentary procedure were the choice of 90 per cent. Nearly 97 per cent selected

1 Beulah Amidon, "Union Teacher," The Survey, New York, LXXXVI, December 1950, 550.

labor legislation and collective bargaining, and 93.3 per cent indicated handling grievances. There is a little to question in the choice of these topics, as all are quite essential. But the significant thing is that several of the others listed were approved by little more than 50 per cent.

Effective writing, for instance, was indicated by only seventeen of those answering. This amounts to 56.6 per cent, and it suggests that perhaps it is not generally expected that a union officer must be able to express himself well in writing. The topic in this group receiving the least support was statistics. Only 40 per cent of the answers had it checked. This result was not expected, since statistics is so closely related to collective bargaining. Another topic which was expected to be more important than the results indicated was time and motion study. Only seventeen or 56.6 per cent left felt that it was important. Time and motion study is not equally important in all industries, and this may explain its lack of popularity. However, it is associated more closely with mass production industries than others. In this regard, 72.7 per cent of the C.I.O. unions answering chose it. Eighteen out of thirty indicated that psychology was an important element of leadership training. This amounts to 60 per cent of those answering, and it appears that this subject is still considered too complicated to utilize in developing leaders in many unions.

In the group on economics, the study of the economics of each industry was considered most essential. Twenty-seven or 90 per cent of those answering checked it. This was 10 per cent more than the number which chose basic economic principles and the American economy. The last two were indicated by

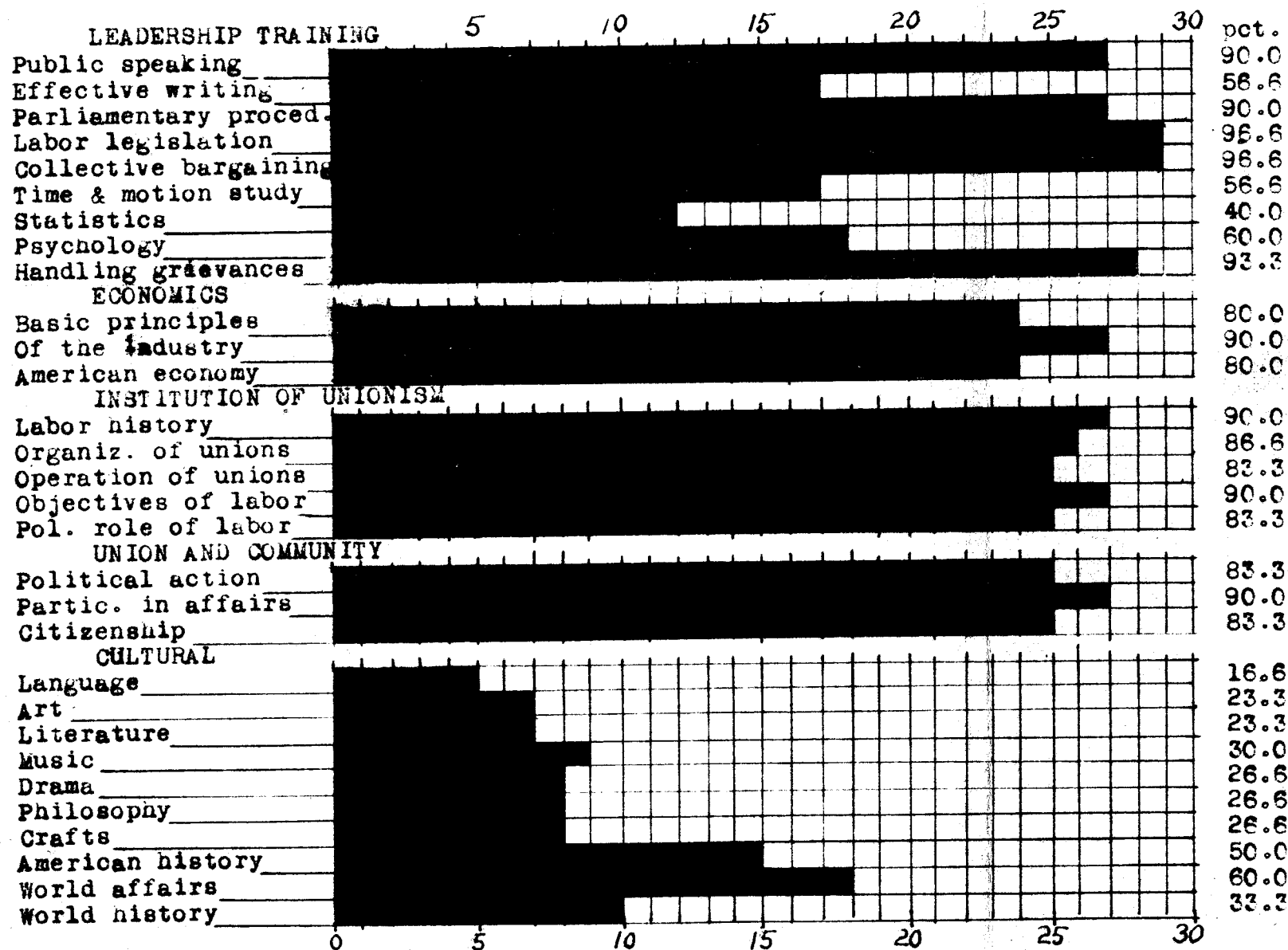


FIGURE 3

REACTION TO SUBJECT MATTER ON QUESTIONNAIRE

twenty-four of those answering. Although the whole field of economics is considered important, it appears that the phase of it which is most immediate to the union, that of its own industry, is considered somewhat more necessary. This conforms with the results of the first part of the questionnaire.

Of all the groups in this section of the questionnaire, "The Institution of Unionism" is the one whose topics are all nearly equal in popularity. All of the topics were advocated by between 80 and 90 per cent of the directors. Two topics regarded by 90 per cent of the total as important were labor history and the objectives of organized labor. The other three subjects were about equal in their popularity, it was expected that these topics would find a nearly unanimous acceptance, and there is little significance to be found in the results.

The subjects enumerated under the heading, "The Union and the Community," also were received favorably. Participation in community affairs was the most popular, with 90 per cent of the answers having it indicated. This suggests a trend toward exerting more influence on the community by unions. It corroborates the findings of the first section. Political action techniques as indicated also by the results of other parts of the questionnaire are quite important. The fact that 83.3 per cent of them checked the topic here is only consistent with the other data uncovered. The topic concerning privileges and responsibilities of citizenship was equally popular in the group.

It was found in the results of the first section of the questionnaire that only 53 per cent were in favor of raising the cultural level of the worker as an objective of workers' education. This situation is further supported by the results of part II of the questionnaire. Only one of the cultural

subjects was checked by more than 50 per cent of those answering. This was world affairs which, along with world history and American history, is not cultural in the same sense as the other topics under this heading. These three were by far the most frequently indicated topics and perhaps would have received more attention had they been listed in a separate group. Sixty per cent of the answers indicated world affairs, 50 per cent marked American history and 33.3 per cent indicated world history.

Of the "purely" cultural subjects music was the least unpopular with 30 per cent or nine education directors favoring it. Drama, philosophy, and crafts were the choice of only 26.6 per cent. Only five selected language as being important, and this amounted to 16.6 per cent of the group. Art and literature were nearly as unpopular, as only 23.3 per cent chose them.

A comparison of the results from unions of the two federations and independents is shown in figure 4 on page fifty three. In the case of leadership training, these three groups corresponded very closely in their choices, except for a few exceptions. A.F. of L. unions placed a greater emphasis on public speaking, 100 per cent of them checking it. C.I.O. unions chose time and motion study in 72.7 per cent of the cases, while in the other two groups it was favored by 40 and 50 per cent of those answering, the smallest percentage being listed among the independent unions. The importance of psychology and statistics was least appreciated by the independent unions. Only 20 per cent of them checked these two topics.

Again in the matter of economics, there was rather close agreement between the three groups. The only exception in this heading was the function

of the American economy, which was indicated by a smaller percentage of the independent unions than the others. Sixty per cent of them chose it, while a little more than 80 per cent of the unions in the two federations checked this topic.

Independent unions placed less emphasis on the topics listed under the headings, "The Institution of Unionism," and "The Union and the Community." While the other groups were very similar percentage-wise in the way they treated these topics. The independent unions differed with them in nearly all cases and by a considerable margin in some cases. The two topics concerning politics were the ones least popular with the independent unions, only 40 per cent of them approving them. The C.I.O. unions at the same time were 100 per cent in favor of both of these topics. They were affirmed by about 85 per cent of the A.F. of L. unions. Citizenship and participation in community affairs were also indicated by only 60 per cent of the independent unions, while they were most popular with the A.F. of L. unions. All of the A.F. of L. unions indicated that participation in community affairs is an important subject for study.

Considering all but the last three topics in the cultural group, it is found that A.F. of L. unions gave the most support. For some reason independent unions placed more emphasis on crafts and philosophy than any of the other topics, excepting the last three. Their percentage was higher than either of the two other groups in this regard. The first seven topics under this heading were least popular with the C.I.O. unions.

The topic, American history, was most acceptable among A.F. of L.

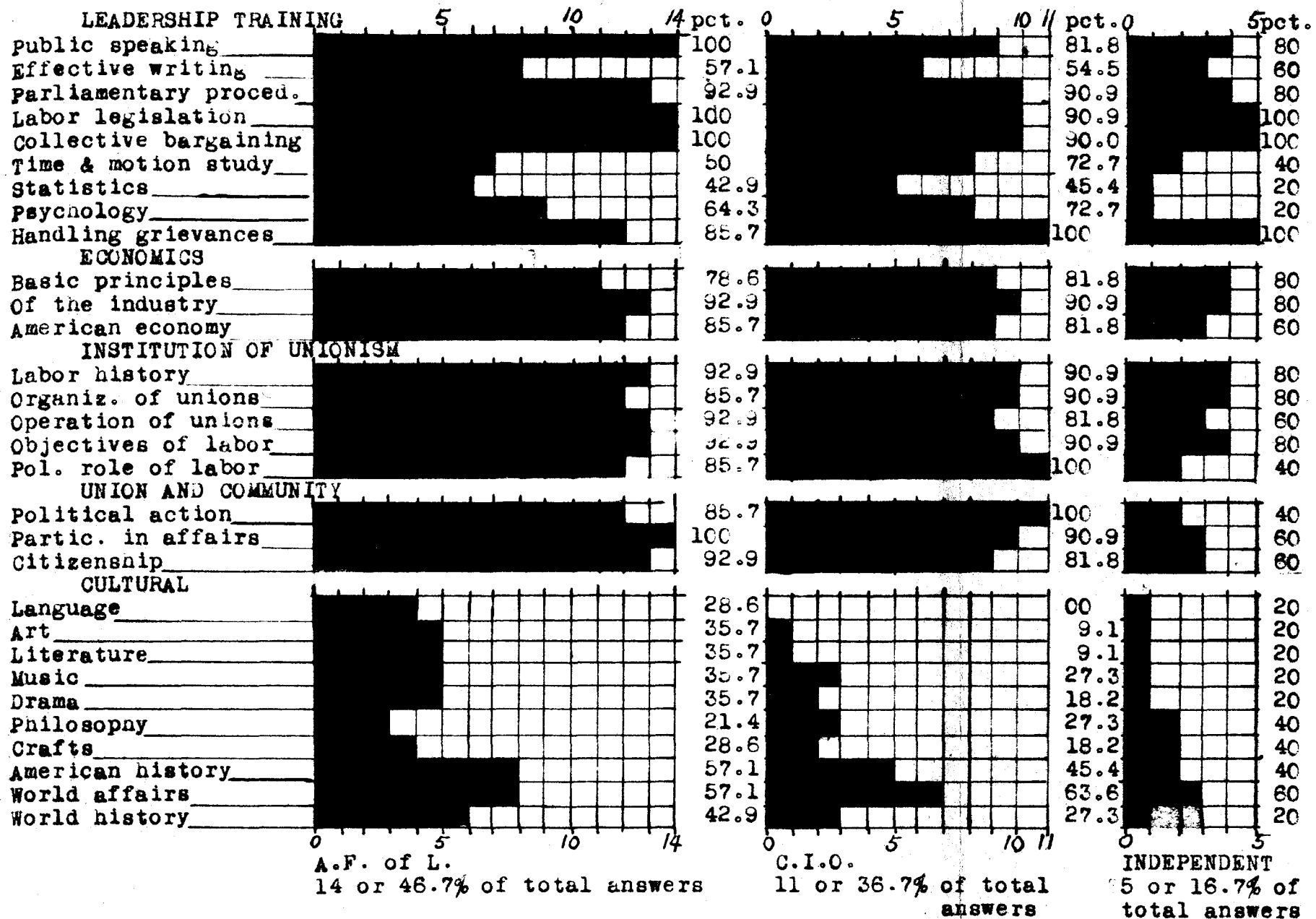


FIGURE 4

REACTION TO SUBJECT MATTER ON QUESTIONNAIRE
BY AFFILIATION

unions, with nearly 60 per cent in all three cases. World history was considered the least important of these last three topics, but nearly 43 per cent of the A.F. of L. unions approved it. About one-quarter of the remaining directors showed interest.

Four unions suggested topics which should have been included. The director of the United Auto Workers, A.F. of L., mentioned job evaluation which would probably be considered as part of leadership training, since it is a fairly specialized skill. A director from one of the railroad brotherhoods suggested a Dale Carnegie-like topic—"How to win friends and get along with people." Another from a union in the paper industry felt that safety education and the functions of government agencies related to labor should also be studied. The one other topic, contributed by the C.I.O. textile workers union, was sociology. No doubt, a great deal more could have been suggested, as this list was not to be considered complete in any sense. Several directors besides Mark Starr felt that the last three topics were of more value than merely cultural, and one suggested that they should be included in leadership training. A number of comments on the group of cultural subjects were to the effect that while they were desirable, they were not at this time within the scope of workers' education.

The picture as perceived from the results of the second part of the questionnaire is quite similar to that of the first part. Leadership training was also given the most emphasis with the qualification that very certain subjects such as psychology, statistics, and time study are not considered essential parts of it.

Cultural subjects were generally avoided, but there was a considerable interest indicated in the other subject of world affairs and American history. Most of the other subjects were considered of approximately equal importance, and it appears that they are nearly all important to worker's education.

After the list of topics in this part of the questionnaire, there was a question devoted to the agencies which carry on workers' education. The purpose of it was to discover which agencies were considered best able to do this work. The person answering was given four choices, unions, colleges, churches, and independent labor schools: such as the Highlander Folk School. Of these he was asked to indicate which is the most effective by numbering from the most effective downward. He was asked to omit a number before any agency whose contribution is usually negligible.

Twenty-seven directors answered this question. In their view unions are most effective, colleges second, churches third and independent schools fourth. Only eleven of them felt that independent labor schools made a substantial contribution, and thirteen considered the contribution of churches significant. Two of the twenty-seven considered unions of negligible importance, and seven of them indicated the same attitude toward colleges.

Nearly all of the numbers received by churches were threes and fours suggesting that few consider them the best suited of the agencies included here. Five directors indicated that independent labor schools were second most able to perform this function. The conclusion, which seems evident here, is that directors place their confidence in unions and colleges to carry on workers'

education. The work of churches and independent labor schools is far less effective in the eyes of union educators.

CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS OF RESULTS

The results of the final section of the questionnaire reflected the attitude that there is great need for expansion in the field of workers' education. None of the education directors indicated that the present extent of this work was adequate. They expressed the conviction that workers' education had not yet caught on with most union members and was often not appreciated by officers of national unions. Present agencies connected with the field are also considered in need of expansion and modification in the view of the directors. Furthermore, there is to be found a great emphasis on the role of political education in the field. Joint programs of education with management are still looked upon with suspicion and apparently smack of company unions to the men contacted here. Another significant point is that workers' education is expected by them to remain primarily leadership training for the present at least.

This part of the questionnaire was not answered in a manner that was consistent with the first two sections. On many of those returned several of the questions were unanswered and some were not answered in such a way as to be of much value. However, others of those answering were very cooperative and encouraging, taking pains to others illustrate their points. The hint of impatience encountered here is probably due to the fact that this was the last page

of the questionnaire. Several of those answering commented that it was too long.

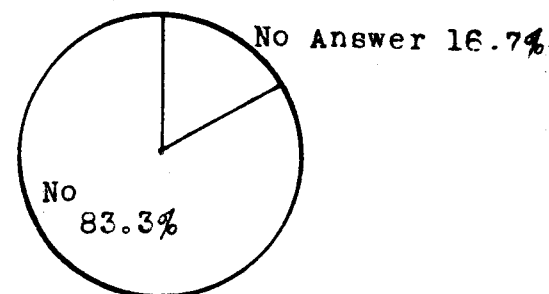
Figure Five on the following page gives a graphic idea of how some of the questions on the last page of the questionnaire were answered.

The first question, which asked if the facilities for workers' education were adequate to the need, was answered by all but five of the education directors. All of these answers were in the negative. This is an indication that a great deal of progress needs to be made, if education is to accomplish the things which are hoped of it. In actuality, the field seems to be only a little beyond its infancy. In any case, the answers to the first question strongly indicate that the education directors are not satisfied with its present extent.

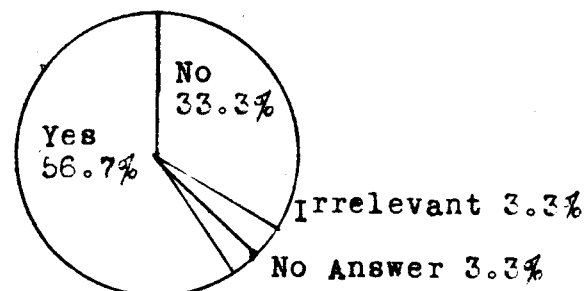
The second question, concerning state college programs, was also answered by twenty-five of the thirty. The prevailing opinion on it was that education program which a state institution undertakes. They especially refer to the personnel chosen for teaching the material, the type of material presented and the coverage. Several expressed the view that such a project should be separate, and some specifically indicated that it should be divorced from a labor management program. It was indicated that those chosen to instruct such a program should have first-hand knowledge of the labor movement and its problems, and dominant view, and it seems to come from men who have had actual experience with a college program.

Others emphasized that these programs should be greatly expanded. They

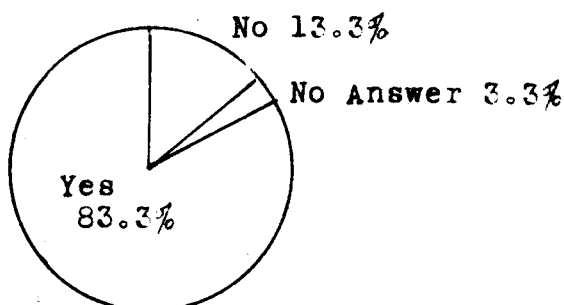
1. Do you feel that existing facilities for labor education are adequate to meet the need?



3. Do you think union officers should have some general college training?



4. Do you feel that public schools could provide some form of labor education?



5. Are you in favor of some form of government assistance to colleges for extension schools in the field of labor education such as House Bill HR 7108?

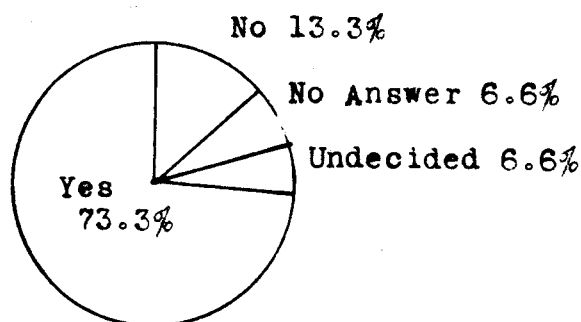


FIGURE 5

RESULTS OF QUESTIONS IN PART III REQUIRING
ONLY ONE WORD ANSWERS

specified that through extensions these facilities should be made available locally to all elements of union organization; that is local unions, city central bodies, district councils and similar divisions of organization. Some called for the minimum development by the state colleges, indicating that as yet they did not have access to such a program. Roosevelt College, The University of Wisconsin, and Illinois University were cited as examples of what is hoped for.

One answer to this question advocated the training of permanent local union education personnel. Apparently, this suggestion means that state institutions should train men who would then undertake the job of running an education program for a local union on a long term basis. Another director proposed that those agencies involved which are not unions, presumably business associations, should clarify their aims in participating. There should then be agreement by all concerned about the purpose of the program, and they should coordinate the sources of the material to be used. Several proposed that colleges include in their general curricula a compulsory course which fairly explains the labor movement in its historical perspective and covers the general problems of labor management relations today.

On the question of whether or not union officers should have some college training, there was much disagreement. Out of the twenty-eight answers to this question seventeen were affirmative. One of the directors answered that this matter is irrelevant. Of the affirmative answers, only seven were unqualified. The other answers stated that it was good but not essential, or "it wouldn't hurt," or it is helpful, but not essential and similar comments. The logical conclusion that can be drawn from the answers is that college training

is not considered essential for union officers, but it is an asset for anyone who has had it.

In the opinion of a preponderance of those answering, public schools should undertake labor education to this extent; they should instruct their students in the real position of labor in today's society and give the trade union movement of attention it deserves in the history of our country and its economy. Their attitudes closely parallel the sentiments expressed by Mark Starr's ¹ articles, which was paraphrased in the introduction. Twenty-five directors indicated this. Several added that public schools have often treated labor as a nuisance in our society. All of these expressed dissatisfaction with the way the labor movement was treated, stating either that it was ignored, misunderstood or actually portrayed as an unhealthy influence.

Only five of those answering this question indicated that public schools should indulge in labor education in the sense that they should teach workers. Those who did felt that education concerning labor should be included in adult education programs offered by the schools. The results of this question signify that the only important contribution asked of the public schools is that they prepare their students to go into the world with an honest picture of unionism and its traditional influence on society.

The next question, dealing with federal government assistance to colleges for the purpose of labor extension services, was met with mainly "yes"

1 "Workers" Education," Harvard Educational Review, XXI, 243-248.

replies. Of those answering it (twenty-eight) the great majority were in favor of such a plan. Only four directors answered that they did not support this idea. Two others were undecided. All of the twenty-two remaining answered yes to the question. There was no discernable relationship between their affiliation and their answers. More of the C.I.O. unions affirmed it, but a comparable percentage of the A.F. of L. unions were also for it.

The sixth question, concerning the feasibility of a cooperative program between union and management to study the functioning of a corporation or an industry, generally received negative answers. The main reason supplied by those who felt that it wasn't felt that it while was the danger of such a project taking on a management bias. One director illustrated his objection to the idea with this analogy: "For the same reason that even on profession ball teams players are now forbidden to fraternize with the opposite team's personnel."²

Several felt that such a scheme would never work. Some were strong in their denunciation. One director asserted that usually management takes advantage of these programs to undermine the union. Another declared that such an idea represents a false approach to collective bargaining, and that it is not realistic. Several dissociated the union from any interest or responsibility in such matters, because they are management problems and not yet the concern of the union.

² Questionnaire of Edward W. Kenney, Director of Research and Education, International Woodworkers of America, November 25, 1952.

Another group consisting of six directors were more conciliatory in their attitude. Their replies indicated that this kind of undertaking was not practical now, but implied that it might be in the future. Some of them suggested that certain developments must take place before these things are possible. One indicated that workers must take understand their own case and their own organization. Another said that it could perhaps be accomplished after a greater percentage of the workers are organized.

Nine more of the directors gave positive answers to this question. Most of them qualified their answers by saying that it could only be done in cases where there were harmonious relations between unions and management, and they stipulated that unions should have a fully equal voice in the matter. They felt that such a plan could afford insight into each others' problems, which would be beneficial. Some even suggested that such a plan would improve labor management understanding. This was the opinion of about one-third on the question/ Three others did not submit an opinion on the subject.

The results of the next question point to a serious defect in workers education today. Seventeen of those answering stated that they felt that workers' education would remain leadership training primarily for some time at least. In other words, workers' education at the present is essentially a program devoted to training leaders. Up this point the discussion has mainly covered what workers' education should be. This question provides evidence that at present workers' education is quite limited in its function. It is further effective that workers' education is in need of much development and expansion.

Among the explanations of why it will remain leadership training was

that few useful tools for membership training have yet been devised. Another explanation offered was the necessity for first training will be developed. The director of a union in the meat industry explains that leadership training should provide a means of reaching the membership. Several of the directors who were of this opinion indicated that in the future was the hope of mass education. A large number, however, answered without qualifying their meaning.

Though the majority felt pessimistic about an early development of mass education in the union movement, eleven others were much more hopeful. They stressed that it will have to become mass education under the impact of events. They expressed the feelings that mass education was very necessary since leadership training alone was incomplete to meet the problems unions face. Several of the group felt that the primary problem in developing a program for mass education was to create an interest for such a project. Nearly all in this group implied at least that workers' education was still essentially a leadership training enterprise.

Other education directors replied that it depends upon the role labor will play in the nation's economic scene. He predicts that if this role grows, labor education will become mass education. Still another director takes the view of the situation:

As I see it there's a little of both right at the present. The main problem, though, is how to stimulate rank and file interest in labor education. Up to now it has been consistant with the old saying "too much rank and damm little file."³

3 Questionnaire of Jake H. Bennison, Department of Education Research and Statistics, Retail Clerks International Association, June 23, 1952.

A summary of the attitudes on this question indicates that almost all agree that contemporary labor education is primarily geared to leadership training. There are, however, two groups divided according to their feelings as to how soon mass education will develop. The majority feels that it will take a rather long time. About one-third of the group feels that it will evolve into mass education in the relatively near future. Most also agree that it would be a good thing. These results are consistent with the emphasis on leadership training, which was observed in the results of the other two sections of the questionnaire.

A wide variety of views were expressed in answer to the eighth question; what is the primary problem of labor education? It appears to be different to most of those replying. The most often repeated one, though, was creating interest and support for such work. Most of the answers mentioned more than one problem, but this one was most common. It seems that the idea of labor education and its value to the labor movement has still to be sold, especially to the rank and file. Directors mentioned, too, that it was in some cases still necessary to convince national officers that sufficient funds and staff should be made available for this purpose. In general, setting up the machinery for workers' education and getting the money for it were about second in order of urgency.

Another basic problem is to get teachers who are properly prepared to take on this sort of work. They seem to be hard to find. This problem was also touched on in the discussion on college labor education programs. Colleges also do not seem to have men who are suited to this special kind of teaching situ-

ation. It can safely be concluded that developing sufficient instructors for this particular kind of work is one of the immediate problems in need of solution in the field.

Other problems suggested by individual directors had more to do with the aims of education than the difficulties involved in instituting such programs. This was not the type of answer the question was designed to discover. There is little purpose in discussing them here, inasmuch as they were covered in other parts of the thesis.

The final question was one which received a rather strong affirmative response. Twenty-five of the education directors answered in favor of more education for political action. Most of these were vehement. Two questionnaires were received with this question unanswered, and the remaining three felt that we should have less at this time saying that the paramount problem now is organizing the many non-union workers, and to still in the newly organized workers the fundamentals of unionism.

From the positive replies to this question, it is evident that most directors are acutely aware that the actions of the government, especially congress, vitally effect the welfare of the entire union movement. Many of their answers contain comment such as: obviously more, or: more, look at congress or: more, what is won in collective bargaining is frequently threatened in congress. Such opinions clearly indicate that organized labor is dedicated to political methods of protecting and improving its lot. Nevertheless, there is no indication of forming a political party or nominating its own candidates.

Those replying suggest by their answers that labor will generally use ~~these methods of political activity: first of all, to familiarize him with~~

the issues involved and the voting records of the candidates. They also seek to encourage and whenever possible facilitate his voting in actual elections by such means as offering transportation. Aside from this, the directors mention lobbying activities such as those carried on by the political action committee of the C.I.O.

Obviously, labor leaders are and have been active in the democratic party, and their influence behind the scenes is not doubt considerable as was apparent in certain phases of the 1952 democratic convention. But in regard to education, which is under scrutiny here, their political objectives seem simple and reasonable enough. The main concern that the directors express is for the ignorance and indifference of so many workers about political issues and individuals. This is the area that they intend to concentrate upon according to the tone of their answers.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS OF STUDY

The original attraction to study this area of union activity was its apparently immense potentiality. Especially today one is aware of the anxiety over the direction of education in our whole educational framework because of the potentiality for great harm or great good to society that education represents. Thus also in the case of workers' education great opportunity to mold and crystallize men's attitudes exists. But the true possibilities of workers' education have not been recognized by unions in the United States. All indications from this survey are that only a small fraction of all unionists are exposed to this kind of education, and most of it is devoted to teaching the operation of a union. This is an agreement with the conclusions of a survey of union education directed by Mark Starr¹ which reports that a large number of labor organizations do almost no educational work, and of actual programs even the most vigorous reach only perhaps one-tenth or less of their membership by their union's own reckoning.

There is evidence from this survey of indifference or ignorance toward workers' education from both above and below. That the attitude of some national

¹ Mark Starr, "Union Education Survey," Labor and the Nation, New York, VII, Fall, 1951, 55-80

officers is not favorable has already been recorded as has the fact of almost overwhelming lack of interest from the membership of unions. There is some logic in the idea that this is due to the fact that workers' education as known to these people has little to offer. It does not embody an ideal which appeals to men's minds. It is strongly utilitarian, and in its present state does not imply ideal higher purposes.

This state of workers' education in union seems to reflect a continuing emphasis on practical dollars and cents unionism. Union education is not part of a long-range plan to bring about a new concept of industrial relations. It is primarily dedicated to supplying trained leaders for unions. This is not to say that the scope of union activities has not broadened because the results of the survey indicate that much attention is being paid to such things as community relations, political action and economics. These activities are perceived as basic to maintaining the present extent of labor's development. There are among the education directors here questioned, a few who envision relatively important changes in the relationship between labor and management, but the majority have no such horizons. Their concern is that labor consolidate and improve its gains in the sense of being accepted by society and prepare to meet the challenge of its adversaries. Those challenges are such things as the Taft-Hartley law and similar, often more severe, state laws which have been promoted by the National Association of Manufacturers and like organizations.

But if workers' education has not been made vital, and if leaders are not convinced of its importance, the need for it still exists. The survey showed that second to leadership training, stimulating interest and participation in

union affairs by members is the most important function of workers' education. In other words, membership indifference is a widely acknowledged problem, and unions are seriously concerned about it. However, the replies to another question in the survey indicate that no attempt at mass education is foreseen in the near future. This is a basic defect in the whole union attempt at education. They see no urgency for getting to all members. They do see, are are alarmed at how little is known of unionism by both members and the public. They are aware that most schools do not do justice to unionism, if they teach on it at all. They are appalled at the "one party" press and its distorted coverage of industrial relations. But they see little possibility right now of educating the worker on a large scale.

The important points made thus far are, that Workers' education in unions is not reaching most unionists and is not expected to for some time, and that, though, this education is conceived of as having a variety of functions, it is not an instrument for implementing any long range plans of labor. The survey did not convince the writer that any really long range plans existed for one or two individuals unions.

There is no evidence of a social theory embodied in the union attempt at education, nor did anyone observe that it should involve one. The only theory mentioned is democracy. Nearly all the education directors assert their faith in democracy. They say that democracy must be made to work both in government and in unions, and that it demands the participation of the electorate in each case. But how can this kind of interest be brought about without mass education which reaches all members? Furthermore, the union member must be sold on a scheme of action, Just as a candidate makes his appeal on the basis of a

platform, smust unionism make clear what it stands for.

Communism was once an influence on the American labor movement. It had a program with a unifying principle and ultimate aims. The acitivites it sponsored were related, and all contributed in some way to the furtherance of its ultimate ends. No one would deny that it was an effective system. These properties of coordination are found in the activities of communism is all fields. These qualities in themselves are not wrong. The fact that they were found in an organization with a false ideology does not alter their worth. The point is that a social theory propagated in the ranks of labor would tend to make it a dynamic movement and would give direction to its activities.

If such a theory were dominant in the labor movement today, there would be evidence of it in this survey. But there are no indications of such an influence, even in embryo form. It would be well to explain here that a theory such as this must be founded on the Christian and democratic principles of western culture. It is not presumed here to develop such a theory or to evaluate proposed ones. The purpose is to stree that, from this study, a philosophical vacuum is perceived in the labor movement and that filling in the vacuum is essential to its further development.

There are still no answers to be questions: where is labor gliding? and why? A socially theory would provide the answers to these questions. It would also answer the question: education for what? in terms which are not purely practical and shortsighted. It would give the whole field of workers' education an order and a meaning which it now lacks. This concept of a social theory does not imply radicalism in the usual sense or the foundation of a political

party by labor. It does imply abandoning the pragmatic approach which has characterized labor thus far. It also implies agreement and much closer relationship between the elements organized labor than now exists.

To proceed with other conclusions of the study, it is found that though the aims of workers' education are not long in range, they are broad in concept. That is to say that since unions today evidently perform a wider variety of functions than they used to, so does workers' education have the job of preparing people thus to handle these increased duties. The union's frame of reference has expanded beyond members and management. It now included the community, the government and the whole economy. Beside these areas, unions are becoming involved in foreign affairs and would world economy. The results of the survey bear this out in that they show an emphasis by unions on the study of community affairs, political activity, economics and world affairs. From the indications of the survey the labor statesman of today is expected to be versed in these matters and also know something of world trade and diplomacy.

Perhaps due to the efforts of the federations, A.F. of L. and C.I.O. unions have a fairly broad concept of the function of workers' education. By contrast independent unions have a much narrower view of what is expected of workers' education. Then too, there are far fewer independent unions which have education programs. It is significant that the United Mine Workers Union which is at present unaffiliated has no program of education. John L. Lewis has been perhaps the strongest influence on the course of American unionism since the death of Gompers. There is little evidence to show that he places much value on education. His union, though militant, is not influenced much from below.

Had Mr. Lewis looked differently upon education, it is conceivable that it would be more important than it is today in the labor movement.

The tone of most of the questionnaires received gave the impression that those actively engaged in union education see the great need for it encompassing many more people than it now does. They assert that practical difficulties make this impossible at present. This applies particularly to politics. They emphasize the appalling ignorance of the majority of workers' regarding political issues. A closely related subject is community affairs, and this is also holding a special place in workers' education today. These unionists feel that labor's influence must come to bear on society through the established institutions. The economic pressure of strikes should not be the public's only introduction to unionism.

It is apparent from this survey that unions are struggling to balance the pressure that business exerts on public institutions. Schools and colleges will be expected to give the union movement a more impartial treatment in their classes. Efforts are being made to give labor representation on the various civic boards and commissions which are found in all communities. The survey generally gives evidence that unions are finding that it is necessary to indulge in a variety of social enterprises in order to safeguard their interests.

It is encouraging to see that economics is becoming increasingly important to the field of workers' education from the view point of unions. It seems impossible to associate any one theory of economics with the labor movement, and perhaps the lack of unity or agreement among the elements of the American labor movement explains its. It is, however, a salutary development when

unions consider the economic how of their demands, instead of leaving that problem entirely up to businessmen with whom they are dealing.

Another trend for the better is the changing attitude toward having a college education. The consensus on this survey was that though not necessary for a union officer, it is definitely an asset for those who have had it. Not only this but also the fact that unions look to colleges as the best source of workers' education, other than themselves, indicates that better communications and cooperation are developing between higher education and labor. The surface has only been scratched in this area, and there is much criticism by unions that they aren't given enough voice in college programs, but it seems that this liaison between the two is in the process of growth rather than decline.

A problem brought in to focus by the survey is that of finding qualified teachers for workers' education. Teaching workers is a distinct skill in itself. For the college professor it presents problems of communicating in the everyday terms of the shop or factory. To the high school or grammar school teacher it is a problem of adjustment to a mature audience, or perhaps varied ages and diverse educational backgrounds. The teacher in workers' education, as pointed out in several questionnaires, must be able to comprehend the problems of the worker and be sympathetic to the principles of unionism.

No agency that the writer has discovered specializes in training teachers for workers' education. There is no class of educators which has arisen to meet the need for this special type of instruction. Such manuals as

A.A. Liveright's, Union Leadership Training² are valuable outlines of the best techniques and methods, but there is no well established mechanism for turning out qualified teachers for workers' education. Results of the survey suggest that this problem can best be worked out by cooperation between unions, colleges and any adult education groups which now exist. Unions feel that they must be the dominant factor in such plans. They are suspicious of allowing any other group to be the guiding influence.

One function which unions reject is raising the cultural level of the worker. In spite of assertions by one or two education directors, that they undertake to educate the "whole man," unions look upon this idea as unimportant. It is characteristic of American unions, and therefore of their educational programs that they would involve little speculative matter.

Important to workers' education is the study of world affairs. The union movement has generally followed the swing of our country away from isolationism. Communism appears to have influenced labor's interest in foreign trade. The labor movement has been called upon to defend the cause of capitalism as opposed to communism. Upon it has responded enthusiastically, more from the realization of the fate of free trade unions in a communist state than any love of the status quo in America. The view that the welfare of workers' in other countries is not only strategic to the containment of communism, but also affects the standard of living of American workers through the functioning of world

2 A.A. Liveright, Union Leadership Training, Harpers, New York, 1951.

economics.

Now that the slogan "trade not aid" is becoming increasingly popular in America, the factor of low-paid labor in countries whose industries are potential competitors with ours is a serious consideration for American unions. Their approach thus far has been a positive one, that of fostering strong trade unions in these countries, which will raise wages and make labor costs a less important element of competition if and when the barriers to American markets are dropped significantly.

An observation on the state of union management cooperation can be drawn from the results of the survey. At this time there is little possibility of cooperative educational efforts. Nearly all unions contacted expressed suspicion toward employers intentions. Mutual acceptance is not yet the theme in the American industrial scene. Nor will any joint education efforts be feasible until harmony is established in other phases of industrial intercourse between unions and management. That is not to say that there are no examples of harmony, but that there is no significant amount of them.

It is in the final estimate difficult to generalize about the "labor movement." There has never been close identification of all workers of all unions in the United States. Unions have fought one another as well as employers. Also, aside from the fact that there is no one organization which speaks for all unions, there is also a rivalry between unions within each federation. Jurisdictional disputes bear witness to this fact. Only eighteen of the thirty education directors were of the opinion that unity was an essential aim of the workers' education. Class consciousness has by no means become the prevailing

attitude among American workers.

Workers' education is not class education, but it has an unmistakable air of class about it. It seeks to integrate the workers as a workers, not to elevate him to a higher position. Therefore, it tends to identify the interest of all workers. This is undoubtedly one reason why workers' education has not been attractive to the American workers. The term is not accurately descriptive of the type of education that has thus far been developed in the United States.

The field of industrial relations is in a constant state of change and development. Workers' education as a part of the picture is changing along with it. But up until now it has not had the stimulus necessary to make it a really effective instrument in the hands of organized labor in the United States. Its content at the present mirrors the broader area of activity in which unions have become involved, but it is not yet used in such a manner that it reaches and influences directly the great body of the rank and file.

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APPENDIX I

UNIONS COOPERATING WITH SURVEY

Associated Unions of America

United Auto Workers International Union, A.F. of L.

International Union of United Brewery, Flour, Cereal, Soft Drinks, Distillery Workers of America, C.I.O.

Building Service Employees International Union, A.F. of L.

International Chemical Workers Union, A.F. of L.

Communications Workers of America, C.I.O.

International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, A.F. of L.

Federation of Glass, Ceramic & Silica Sand Workers of America, C.I.O.

American Federation of Hosiery Workers

Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders International Union, A.F. of L.

Laundry Workers' International Union, A.F. of L.

Amalgamated Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen of North America, A.F. of L.

International Progressive Mine Workers of America

Oil Workers International Union, C.I.O.

United Packinghouse Workers of America, C.I.O.

United Paperworkers of America, C.I.O.

The Order of Railroad Telegraphers, A.F. of L.

Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen

Order of Railway Conductors of America

Brotherhood of Railway & Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express & Station Employees, A.F. of L.

Retail Clerks International Association, A.F. of L.

United Rubber, Cork, Linoleum & Plastic Workers of America, C.I.O.

American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, A.F. of L.

United Steelworkers of America, C.I.O.

United Textile Workers Union of America, A.F. of L.

Textile Workers Union of America, C.I.O.

Upholsterers International Union of North America, A.F. of L.

International Woodworkers of America, C.I.O.

American Federation of Labor

Congress of Industrial Unions

QUESTIONNAIRE ON LABOR EDUCATION

I. THE PURPOSE OF LABOR EDUCATION

Which of these statements represent the objectives of labor education?

- ☐ 1. Improvement of the leadership of union officers.
- ☐ 2. Development of greater participation in union activities by the membership.
- ☐ 3. Promotion of better understanding of union problems on the part of the membership.
- ☐ 4. Development of unity in the labor movement.
- ☐ 5. Improvement of loyalty and discipline within the union.
- ☐ 6. Clarifying political issues in the minds of:
 - ☐ A. Union Officers
 - ☐ B. Union members
- ☐ 7. Training for political action by union.
- ☐ 8. Developing interest and action in community affairs.
- ☐ 9. To provide an understanding of the economics of each industry for the workers in it.
- ☐ 10. To develop an interest and understanding of basic economic principles and the functioning of the American economy.
- ☐ 11. To foster better understanding between labor and management.
- ☐ 12. To raise the cultural level of the workers.
- ☐ 13. Do you feel this list includes the most important objectives?
- ☐ 14. If not, briefly list those which should be included.

II THE SCOPE OF LABOR EDUCATION

Which of these topics are proper subject matter for labor education?

LEADERSHIP TRAINING

☐ Public speaking
☐ Effective writing
☐ Parliamentary procedure
☐ Labor legislation
☐ Collective bargaining
☐ Time and motion study
☐ Statistics
☐ Psychology
☐ Handling grievances

ECONOMICS

☐ Economic principles
☐ Economics of the particular industry
☐ Economics of the nation as a whole
☐ Labor history
☐ Organization of unions
☐ Operation of unions
☐ Industry's objectives
☐ Political role of organized labor

THE UNION AND THE COMMUNITY

☐ Political action techniques
☐ Participation in community affairs such as rent, housing, taxes, etc.
☐ Responsibilities and privileges of citizenship

CULTURAL

☐ Language
☐ Art
☐ Literature
☐ Music
☐ Drama
☐ Philosophy
☐ Crafts
☐ American history
☐ World affairs
☐ World History

List any others topics which you think should be included.

In your experience, what type of agency generally carries on the education function most effectively? Indicate this by numbering from the most effective downward. Omit a number before any agency whose contribution is usually negligible.

_____ Unions

_____ Universities and colleges (co-operative programs)

_____ Churches (Catholic Labor Schools, Jewish Labor Schools, etc.)

_____ Independent labor schools (Highlander Folk School, Brook Wood, Etc.,)

Mention any other agencies which carry on labor education in an adequate manner.

III THE FUTURE OF LABOR EDUCATION

_____ 1. Do you feel that the existing facilities for labor education are adequate to meet the need?

_____ 2. Briefly, what developments, if any, do you feel are needed in regard to the programs of state universities and colleges?

_____ 3. Do you think that union officers should have some general college training?

_____ 4. Do you think that public schools could provide some form of labor education? Briefly describe what kind?

_____ 4. Are you in favor of some form of government assistance to colleges for extension schools in the field of labor education such as House Bill, HR 7108?

6. Would you like to see a co-operative program with management for education concerning the functioning of an industry or corporation? Why?

7. Do you ever expect that labor education will tend toward mass education or do you feel it will remain leadership training primarily?

8. What is the primary problem in labor education today from the union point of view?

9. Concerning education for political action, do you feel that the labor movement needs more or less of it? Tell why briefly.