Urban Community College Unionism: A Descriptive Survey and Case Study of the American Federation of Teachers, Local 1600, City Colleges Division

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URBAN COMMUNITY COLLEGE UNIONISM: A DESCRIPTIVE SURVEY AND
CASE STUDY OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS,
LOCAL 1600, CITY COLLEGES DIVISION
PURPOSE OF STUDY

The purpose of this descriptive survey and case study was three-fold:

1. to compare the City College faculty who belong to the Cook County Teachers Union-AFT Local 1600 with those who do not belong regarding background, career, and attitudinal variables.

2. to discover why those active in the faculty union originally joined, why former union members have quit the union, and why a small percentage of faculty have never joined the union.

3. to point to future trends and directions for community college unions.

The major source of information for this study was a four-page questionnaire administered to the 1400 faculty members of the eight City Colleges - the original bargaining unit of Local 1600. Fifty-four percent of the Union (653) and 55% of the non-union (102) faculty responded. Fourteen background and seven attitudinal variables were tested. Primarily as to their effect on the 233 most pro union faculty, those active in the union, and the 58 least pro union faculty, those who never joined the union. Other comparisons were made between all of the union and all of the non-union respondents, between the 58 respondents who had never joined the union and the 44 who were once members, and between the 233 active union and the 420 non-active union members.
The conclusions of the study are as follows:

1. The attitudinal variables primarily distinguished the most pro union and the least pro union or most anti-union faculty with the former being more politically and educationally liberal, more negative toward the administration, and more favorable to student activism.

2. The influence of significant background and career variables was discovered to be as follows:
   a. Family attitudes favorable or unfavorable toward unions apparently predisposed one pro or con faculty unions.
   b. The most favorable toward unions are those with 6-15 years teaching experience in the City Colleges and the least favorable are those with the least experience, not the most as predicted.
   c. Those with more than 30 hours beyond the masters and from 35-60 years are the most pro-union while the untenured of lowest rank and salary are the least pro union.
   d. Jewish faculty, because of a more liberal orientation, were more pro union than Catholics or Protestants as were the 28% who indicated another or no religion.
   e. The pro union faculty were much more politically active than the anti union faculty. The former were mainly in the counseling, library, social science and humanities departments while the latter were in the business and other career departments - nursing, law enforcement,
engineering, child development, and physical education.

3. The active or pro union faculty joined the union more so because of a negative view of the administration and a desire for greater faculty power and higher degree of professionalism. The non active union faculty member joined the union mainly because of peer pressure, job security, and gratitude for benefits earned.

4. The faculty who never belonged to the union did not join because of traditional views of unions as unprofessional, too concerned with own interests, and indicative of mediocrity, though a significant number would join if there was a state collective bargaining law.

5. The faculty who quit the union did so because of the frequent strikes and criticism of the union leadership, though 10% were expelled for crossing picket lines.

Future directions for even greater community college unionism suggested by this study are:

1. The passage of a state collective bargaining law.
2. Union leadership with the left of center attitude of social criticism.
3. The continued negative view of the administration by large segments of the faculty.
4. The accepted climate of faculty unions and strikes.
5. The threats established faculty perceive to their status.
6. Fewer strikes or threats of strikes by faculty unions.
7. An image of the union leadership as more professional.

Conditions contrary to the above, of course, would produce a lower rate of unionism.
CASIMIR J. KOTOWSKI

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1980
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CASE STUDY OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS,
LOCAL 1600, CITY COLLEGES DIVISION

by
Casimir J. Kotowski

A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the School of Education
Loyola University of Chicago in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Education

January
1980
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The author wishes, first, to acknowledge a debt of gratitude to his wife, Jinx, whose encouragement, prodding and typing made this work possible. Dr. Steven Miller's kind direction and constructive criticisms shall always be remembered with fondness, as shall be Drs. Jack Kavanagh and John Wozniak. Cooperation was received from local and chapter officers of AFT Local 1600, as well as central and local administrators of the City Colleges. The author's former colleagues at The Loop College also need special recognition since it was they who cooperated in the preliminary non-structured interviews and pre-test that gave encouragement and form to this research project.
VITA

The author, Casimir Kotowski, was born on August 8, 1931 in Cleveland, Ohio, and attended Holy Name High School from which he graduated in June, 1949.

In 1949 he entered John Carroll University, University Heights, Ohio. In 1951 he transferred to Xavier University in Cincinnati, Ohio, where he graduated in June, 1955 with a Bachelor of Literature degree in Latin. In 1955 he was accepted as a graduate student and studied in the sociology, philosophy and urban studies departments. In 1968 he earned an M.A. in Urban Studies. In 1972 he was accepted as a candidate for the Ed.D. degree with a specialization in the Social Foundations of Education.

The author spent nine years as a teacher in Chicago area parochial high schools. He taught Latin and Spanish at Loyola Academy in Wilmette from 1958 to 1961, at Fenwick in Oak Park from 1962 to 1965, and at St. Ignatius in Chicago from 1965 to 1967.

During the 1961-1962 school year, the author directed a residence hall and taught sociology at Loyola University. From 1967 to 1968, he served as Manpower Director of the Archdiocesan Committee on Poverty, a division of Catholic Charities.

Since the Fall of 1968, the author has been an instructor of sociology and social science in the City College system. He taught at The Loop College for ten years and is presently in his second full year at Truman College. While a teacher in the Chicago City Colleges, the author has had the opportunity to teach in the Chicago Police Academy,
the Probation Department of the Cook County Jail, and several neighborhood outposts on the south, west and north sides.

Professional organizations that the author belongs to include the Community College Social Science Association and the Illinois Sociological Association.
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Significance of the Study

A discussion of college faculty unionism has to begin with two-year public community colleges since more have chosen bargaining agents, have been bargaining for a longer time, and have more experience with its effects. These community colleges account for 80% of the faculty bargaining agents in higher education, 60% of the unionized institutions, and one-third of the full-time faculty. As of June, 1974, over 100 had bargained for their third contract while only two four-year institutions had the same experience.\(^1\) One must admit, however, that the community college experience is very different in that it was tied to the K-12 system, is primarily concerned with teaching, not research, has a history of less faculty participation in academic governance, and possesses a lower professional status. Common characteristics with four-year colleges and universities revolve around curriculum and degree requirements, departmentalization, more student participation in governance, and a national climate for union organization.

An excellent case study of the Public Community Colleges is the Chicago City College faculty, 87% of whom in 1976 belonged to the Cook County College Teachers' Union, American Federation of Teachers.\(^2\)

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\(^2\)See Appendix A, History of the American Federation of Teachers.
In its first ten years of existence, the Cook County College Teachers' Union included six strikes—some often bitter. Three injunctions were defied. Its president was jailed twice. Five contracts were negotiated. It has also been forced to negotiate in court off and on since 1971.

Besides its militancy, the CCCTU is interesting since it was organized in the absence of a state collective bargaining statute. This is important since, as of January, 1975, more than half of the Public Community Colleges in the twenty-one states with enabling legislation were unionized. These 21 states contained 70% of the nation's Public Community Colleges. Only those in Illinois and Maine were able to unionize to any extent under voluntary agreements. To further emphasize the importance of collective bargaining legislation, Garbarino pointed out that, at the end of 1974, 90% of all organized public institutions and faculty were in states with strong bargaining laws. He called state public employee bargaining laws the "most important single factor that explains unionization in higher education."

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3Local 1600 also contains six sub-locals of surrounding suburban community colleges and the Urban Skills Center, but the Chicago community colleges was the original bargaining unit and is the second largest community college system in the nation. See Chronicle of Higher Education 4 April 1977, p. 2.

4From 1963 to 1973, the CCCTU accounted for one-half of the faculty days lost in strikes in higher education. See Appendix B on Strike History.


6According to a 1966 Illinois Appellate Court ruling, teachers at all levels may bargain collectively. Among the state's 136 institutions of higher education (49 public, 87 private, including 39 public and 10 private junior colleges), 14 have faculty bargaining on 20 campuses. Eleven of these belong to the CCCTU.

7Garbarino, p. 61.
In its first ten years of bargaining, Chicago City College Teachers Union succeeded in doubling faculty salary, in obtaining a separation of rank and salary, in reducing the teaching load from fifteen to twelve hours, as well as many fringe benefits. It is indeed "one of the successful, if not the most successful, community college unions in the United States."\(^9\)

The Chicago City College faculty is worthy of study, not only because of its uniqueness but also because of its indicativeness and representativeness. The Cook County College Teachers Union, like many community college unions, sprang from the K-14 system with many faculty being members of a powerful lower school teachers' union (AFT Local 1) when it was divided from the K-12 system in 1966.

A holdover from the lower system was the K-12 administration mentality that refused to engage in meaningful collegiality consultations with faculty and resulted in frequent unilateral decisions. The break from the K-14 system also increased faculty dissatisfaction since it raised faculty expectations in a period of growth and affluence. No longer were they satisfied with the passive role of a teacher in a highly centralized structure where control is lodged in the hands of a few.\(^{10}\) They were no longer objects to be manipulated" but "subjects to be satisfied."\(^{11}\)

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\(^8\) As of this writing, the CCCTU faculty are the only Community College instructors in the country teaching twelve contact hours per week.


\(^{10}\) Richard J. Frankie and Roy A. Howe, "Faculty Power in the Community College," Theory Into Practice 7 (April 1968): 83-84.

Also, like many community college systems, the greatest unionization took place during a period of great growth. From 1960 to 1970, the nation's Public Community Colleges grew from 310 to 654 institutions, from 356,000 to 2,100,000 students - four times the growth rate of the rest of higher education.\textsuperscript{12} From the Fall of 1966 to the Fall of 1975 the CCC system grew from four campuses with approximately 25,000 students to nine campuses with 93,000 students.\textsuperscript{13}

The CCC system, furthermore, is multi-campus and comprehensive. The increased centralization that resulted from its rapid growth is believed by Garbarino to be one of the major factors for unionization.\textsuperscript{14} The rapid expansion swelled the ranks, raised personal aspirations regarding salary, status and professional role in college governance, as well as heightened aspirations for the institution. The reconstruction of the system for more coordination and direction threatened many faculty who saw the new system of control as a threat to the continued evolution. Other faculty saw it as an opportunity to claim parity with other sections of higher education which has often treated them as "second cousins."\textsuperscript{15}

Lastly, the CCC system is like other unionized systems in that it moved from a junior college to a community college orientation. As the enrollment of blacks and other minorities increased under an open-enrollment policy, no longer were the first two years of the liberal arts

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{12}Garbarino, p. 189.
  \item \textsuperscript{13}Illinois Community College Board, "Community College Bulletin" (January-February 1976), p. 6.
  \item \textsuperscript{14}For an excellent summary of the broad changes that the community-junior colleges were (and still are) subject to, see Leland L. Medsker, "Changes in Junior Colleges and Technical Institutions," \textit{Emerging Patterns in Higher Education}, Logan Wilson, ed., (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1965), pp. 69-83.
  \item \textsuperscript{15}Garbarino, p. 183.
\end{itemize}
the only offerings. Occupational, remedial, continuing and adult education, non-degree, and community-based programs were established or greatly enlarged. The mission was dramatically changed and many of the liberal arts-trained faculty, from where the union impetus came, did not embrace wholeheartedly the changes that required ethnic study courses, special learning laboratories, tutoring, and occupational and vocational counseling.

**Statement of Purposes**

There are three principal aims of this dissertation:

1. To compare and contrast the approximately 200 non-union faculty with the active and non-active union faculty regarding the categorical variables of sex, age, religion, race, class, rank, salary, tenure, department, teaching experience, educational attainments, personal and family's union sentiments and affiliations, and the scaled variables of general political orientations, degree of distrust of major social institutions (especially of the City College Administration), general views of controversial educational topics, degree of political activism, degree of career satisfaction, and professional attitudes.

2. To attempt to discover why the union members originally joined the union, why the non-union members never joined or why they quit if they once were members, and if so, under what conditions the non-union would consider or reconsider joining.

3. To suggest future trends as to the influence and directions of unionization at the community college level.

**The Problem**

This study will attempt to answer the following questions:

1. How do the approximately 200 non-union faculty differ in the above categorical and scaled variables from the 1,100 union members,
especially those active in union matters?

2. Why have the non-union faculty resisted membership in the highly unionized City College Division of CCCTU?

3. Why have the non-union members who previously belonged, quit the union?

4. Why did the active and non-active union members originally join?

**Definition of Terms**

The following key terms used throughout the study that represent the four major sub-populations are defined as follows:

**Union Faculty Member:** A dues paying member of the Chicago City College Division of AFT Local 1600, the Cook County College Teachers Union.

**Non-Union Faculty:** A faculty member who has never joined Local 1600 or who, having once belonged to Local 1600, is no longer a member.

**Active Union Faculty:** A union member who was or is a chapter or city-wide officer and/or was or is a delegate or alternate to the Union House of Representatives and who attended or attends most House meetings and/or attends most chapter meetings (who is, in general, a more involved or militant union member.)

**Non-Active Union Faculty:** A union member who is none of the above.

**Public Community College:** A comprehensive, public two-year college that offers academic, general, occupational, remedial, and continuing adult education.

**Chicago City Colleges:** A multi-campus system of eight Public Community Colleges in the city of Chicago with campus presidents being equal to each other but all campuses being under the control
of a central administration.

Cook County College Teachers' Union: A division of the AFL-CIO, AFT Local 1600 with chapters at each of the eight Chicago and six suburban Public Community Colleges, plus one Urban Skills Center.

Collective Bargaining: (Used synonymously with unionism, unionization, collective negotiations.) A process wherein faculty and employer representatives make offers and counter-offers for the purpose of reaching a mutually acceptable written agreement or contract covering terms of employment for a specific period of time.

Theoretical Perspectives

The theoretical framework of this research is varied. Concepts regarding the class theory of politics, the social criticism of intellectuals, socialization, relative deprivation and professionalism are invoked. Ladd and Lipset's discussion of the class theory of politics holds that tendencies to criticize societies are related to objective deprivation and discrimination, that a politics of change finds its natural supporters among those who suffer from the status quo, and that being rewarded and recognized makes for conservatism, just as being deprived produces liberal and egalitarian perspectives.16 Application of this theory to college faculty suggests that those from a lower class background, the untenured,

the younger, those of lower rank, salary, and educational attainments, minorities, Jewish or non-Protestant identify with or are coopted the least by the system and, therefore, are more militant or active in the union movement.

Chomsky reinforces the above view by holding that the more rewarded faculty have become the "new mandarins" and attributed to these "dominants" the most conservative and apologist mentality. As applied to this study, the tenured, those from a middle or upper class background, those of higher rank, salary, and education, the older, and non-minority group faculty identify with and are coopted more by the system and are, therefore, the least militant or active.

Hofstadter has stressed the tendency of intellectuals to support a politics of social criticism. Raymond Aron has written of the tendency to criticize the established order as the "occupational disease of the intellectuals." Trilling even described the academic's intellectual role that predisposes him/her toward a critical, questioning, oppositionist political stance, as one of an "adversary culture." The above,

17Sociological studies of political behavior have consistently shown that Jews are more liberal than any other religion or ethnic group primarily because of their historic status as a minority that has produced a distrust of the status quo. See Gerhard Lenski, The Religious Factor (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, 1963), pp. 137, 140.


21Lionel Trilling, Beyond Culture (New York: Viking Press, 1965), pp. XII-XIII.
declares Ladd and Lipset, is the result of the weakness of a national conservative tradition since the ideology of Americanism as stated in the Declaration of Independence emphasizes egalitarianism and populism. It is the intellectuals who have become aware of the gap between these ideals and the world of reality, and thus have challenged the system for its lack of fulfillment of the American creed.22

In Lipset's *Political Man* are chronicled an impressive body of data demonstrating the left of center politics of American academics over the last half century.23 Back in 1937, a survey reported pro-New Deal sentiments as 84 percent for professors of social science and 65 percent for those of natural science, while only 56 percent of manual workers and just 15 percent of lawyers, physicians, dentists and engineers.24 In 1948, 1952, 1956, 1964, 1968, and 1972, academics voted for the more liberal Democratic presidential candidate—twenty to twenty-five percentage points—than other groups of comparable social economic status. Surveys concerned with the national issues of Vietnam, black Americans, marijuana, and school busing also found overwhelming evidence of the greater liberalism of academics.25 An application of the above points to this study is that the most liberal of this faculty group would be the most alienated and militant regarding the status quo power structure of their college system and campus.

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22Ladd and Lipset, p. 11.


24Ibid., p. 314.

25Ladd and Lipset, pp. 11-16.
Another theoretical underpinning of this study is the sociological process of socialization which Popenoe defines as "the process by which the culture of a group or society is instilled or internalized in the individuals who live in that group or society."\textsuperscript{26} Simply put, it is the way we are raised or trained. Application to the study at hand involved whether one has been socialized from early childhood with attitudes favorable or not favorable toward unions. Thus, if one's father or other family member belonged or did not belong to a union or spoke or acted favorably or unfavorably toward unions, one would, by this type of socialization, inherit attitudes that would predispose one toward, or away from, union membership and union militancy or activity.

The process of socialization is also used to explain sex status differences in that women are generally reared to be less aggressive and more conforming and thus would tend to be less militant or active union members, as well as less attracted to union membership, especially to a union with a history of conflict. The older faculty were raised and trained in a different era when unionized teachers were unheard of. Thus socialization might also be used to explain their hypothesized greater reluctance to join and participate in union activity.

The theory of relative deprivation is also used to explain sex status differences. Men teachers frequently have been looked down upon as people who had failed, or would fail, in the world outside the classroom. In contrast, teaching traditionally has been considered an excellent job for women. Men teachers tend to compare their occupation with the high-income and high prestige, predominantly male occupations of

doctor, lawyer or successful businessman.

Cole, comparing his study of teachers with Lipset, Trow and Coleman's study of printers in *Union Democracy* \(^{27}\) suggested that the extraoccupational statuses of religion and political affiliation were more correlated with militancy if there is no tradition of militancy. Printers had more occupational precedents for militant behavior and, therefore, had to rely less on extraoccupational status precedents. Application to this study seems to indicate that, due to the dramatic militant precedents in the Chicago City College Division of the Cook County College Teachers Union, non-teacher statuses would be less influential in determining union membership and degree of activity or militancy than occupational socialization.

The rapid growth of "professional unionism" indicates a complete reversal of the historic position of a significant number of academics who once believed that their professional status was incompatible with the collectivist and equalitarian trade union spirit of manual workers. Perhaps the best summary of this position was expressed by Theodore D. Martin, a National Education Association (NEA) executive:

> Unionism lowers the ideals of teaching. By emphasizing only the selfish, though necessary economic needs of teachers - salary, hours, tenure, retirement - unionism misses altogether the finer ideals of teaching and the rich compensations that do not appear in the salary envelope.\(^{28}\)

\(^{27}\)Seymour Martin Lipset, Martin A. Trow, and James S. Coleman, *Union Democracy* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1956).

The Dean of Fordham University School of Education once said:

Teachers who think of ideals before paychecks do not join unions. They abhor the thought of striking to secure increases in salary, since they consider themselves to be public servants, who are obligated under the unwritten law of the profession to promote the public welfare. When lawyers and doctors picket the courts and the hospitals, then teachers should join unions.29

The desire of teachers to be considered professionals has led them in the past to reject measures that would have identified them with the working classes. In order to increase their prestige, teachers have stressed the differences while ignoring similarities with manual workers. According to Cole, a low status group identified itself with a higher status group to emphasize its superiority to a still lower status group.30

As Parsons has indicated, besides needed knowledge and a somewhat exaggerated self-image, professionals have had a high degree of self-regulation that they have guarded jealously.31 The professoriate, in this sense, is becoming "less professional," especially in the least professional sector of higher education — the community colleges that traditionally have had a low degree of self-determination mostly because

29 *The New York Times*, 27 February 1947. As it turned out, nurses and public health doctors have followed the lead of teachers in collective bargaining conflicts.

30 Cole, p. 5.

they were linked historically with K-12 teachers. Etzioni pointed out that, because a good teacher (or nurse) could be replaced more readily than a good doctor, lawyer or scholar, these "semi-professions" have a "replaceability" factor that causes them to embrace the egalitarian norms of unionism more readily.32 In general, these norms are more acceptable to those whose status and freedom of action are low.

Helriegel, French and Peterson see professionalism as a multidimensional concept consisting of client orientation or service, colleague-orientation or peer review, monopoly of knowledge, and decision-making.33

Corwin further explains the process of professionalism for teachers as moving from subscribing to their professional obligations to demanding rights and in lessening the control administrators and the public have had over decision-making.34

The new professional status being demanded is, in many crucial respects, incompatible with the traditional principles of administration originally fashioned in a unified, small-town America and justified by the legal fiction that administrators can be responsible for every


facet of "their" system. Corwin sees centralized authority and system-wide uniformity difficult to reconcile with decentralized decision-making, the central component of professionalism.35

There still is the question of whether teaching is actually a "profession." The question, however, becomes moot because in 1969 70% of teachers did, in fact, believe that they should have the "ultimate authority over major educational decisions."36 Corwin equates the anomaly of job satisfaction and morale increasing with the rates of conflict as the lack of a sense of meaningful participation not provided by the system itself. Corwin sees the primary source of tension among militant teachers not arising from professional motivation but from political and social liberal attitudes. Corwin finally discusses the "generic tension" between idealism and self-interest that all professions have because teachers must demonstrate the ability to protect the clients' welfare while pursuing personal goals.37

As applied to this study, the union members, especially the more active or militant, (will) express more concern for faculty power or control of decision-making and for student rights. They will not be that concerned about having to strike, and will be more politically and socially liberal, as well as more critical of the administration.

While the above literature mainly discussed union and non-union faculty, this study will also strive to demonstrate that the more active and, therefore, militant union members see the various levels of


36Ibid., p. 243.

37Ibid.
administration as autocratic or consistently making unilateral decisions and view control of the decision-making process as a crucial professional goal. They will also be more politically and socially liberal, as well as less concerned about strikes.

**Limitations of the Study**

The major limitation was whether the research instrument really measured what it purported to measure. Also, did the sophisticated and test-wise faculty who responded give the most socially acceptable responses. Another serious problem was the high percent of non-returns (47%). Since it was not practical for the author to do a sample follow-up of the faculty who did not respond, one will always question the validity of the sample, even though a relatively high percent (53%) of faculty did indeed respond. The unevenness of the response from the various college campuses further restrains the conclusions, even though it appears the respondents percentage-wise represent the overall system (See Chapter III).

**Summary**

The first chapter establishes the justification for and importance of the study, as well as defining the problem and major terms. Chapter II provides the background for the study through a review of the literature. It outlines the major research on faculty characteristics and unionism in four-year colleges and universities as well as two-year colleges. Chapter III delineates the hypotheses and details the methods
and procedures that were followed. Chapter IV discusses and analyzes the findings and Chapter V gives the conclusions and implications and presents recommendations for further study.
CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Introduction

There has been an explosion of the printed word regarding unionism in higher education since the mid-1960's, although it has been a little uneven regarding specific faculty characteristics vis a vis union and non-union, union active and non-active, especially as it relates to community college faculties. The first part of this chapter is a detailed summary of important existing research regarding faculty unions in general and the above mentioned faculty characteristics in particular.

The second section of the chapter summarizes major research concerned with the reasons for joining unions, first among manual workers, then among college and university faculty, and finally among two-year college faculty. The following served as the prime sources of the author's hypotheses with his own observations relied on very minimally.

Faculty Characteristics - K to 12

Even though it did not deal with higher education, the first study to influence the author regarding theory, research design, and technique was Stephen Cole's perceptive study of the New York City and Perth Amboy, New
Jersey public school teachers. It encompassed two questionnaire surveys of the faculty, as well as a detailed history of the United Federation of Teachers, the New York City American Federation of Teachers, Local 2. It also reviewed the extent and the causes of the growth of teachers' unions on the national scene.

The first faculty survey was conducted in New York City in June, 1962, two months after the famous United Federation of Teachers strike of April, 1962, that is believed to have triggered militant teacher unionism in the United States. A questionnaire was placed in the school mailboxes of 900 teachers at three senior high and seven elementary schools. Questions regarding strikes, attitudes toward teacher unions, job and salary satisfaction, as well as background data were asked. Only 37% of the questionnaires were returned; however, Cole thought this sample to be minimally representative since his non-random sample statistics compared favorably with known teacher population statistics.

Perth Amboy, New Jersey, was the site of the second survey in January, 1966. It was conducted two months after the Perth Amboy teachers had been on strike for two weeks and was designed to test some ex post facto hypotheses developed from the NYC data. All 261 teachers were mailed questionnaires at home. Despite the fact that great cooperation was received from the school board and the union president, and, even

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2Ibid., pp. 219-221.
3The Board supplied a list of home addresses.
though a second mailing and phone follow-ups were used, only 126 or 48\% of the questionnaires were returned.\textsuperscript{4} The questionnaire was longer than the New York one and requested information regarding attitudes of friends, professional views, personal judgements regarding teaching ability, and future occupational plans.

In the above surveys, Cole devised several indices of militancy, of unionism, of career commitment, of relative deprivation, and of prestige dissatisfaction. He also related the categorical status variables of religion, political affiliation, class, age and sex to pro unionism. Among his findings were:

1. Regarding religion, Jews were more likely to come from families with pro-union sentiments and were, therefore, more militant than Protestants or Catholics.
2. Democrats were strong labor supporters and, therefore, more likely to support their own profession's labor movement.
3. A lower-class family background meant being more Democratic and, therefore, more disposed to unions.
4. Women were likely to be upper-middle class and less likely to have positive union attitudes.
5. Older teachers were more conservative and less likely to be favorable toward unions.\textsuperscript{5}

\textsuperscript{4}There were indications that the teachers from that small, politically-oriented town were afraid that their private opinions would be made known to the school board.

\textsuperscript{5}Cole, p. 93.
Faculty Characteristics - Colleges and Universities

In 1969, the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education sponsored a rather extensive survey of unionism in colleges and universities throughout the country. An elaborate questionnaire was sent to 100,315 faculty members at 78 universities, 168 four-year colleges, 43 junior colleges, and 14 predominantly black colleges. The 12 percent sample of the nation's 2,433 colleges and universities were primarily those that had participated in the 1966 Cooperative Institutional Research Program of the American Council on Education. Returns were received from 60,028 faculty members, or 60%.

The questionnaire was designed to acquire factual data about the academic profession, as well as attitudinal data about collective bargaining, strikes, satisfaction with salaries, teaching loads and institutional governance. By correlating the above responses, conclusions were reached as to why faculties began turning to collective bargaining in the 1960's. The greatest support for collective bargaining was indicated by the faculties of predominantly black colleges and two-year colleges, followed by public and private four-year colleges, private and public universities. Non-tenured, of lower rank, younger faculty in the departments of social science.

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8 Corwin, however, found that middle-aged, well established men become most frequently involved in academic conflict. See Ronald G. Corwin, "The Anatomy of Militant Professionalism," p. 57.
natural science, humanities, and education supported collective bargaining more strongly. Older (over 51 years), tenured faculty in the departments of engineering and law opposed collective bargaining.

Ladd and Lipset followed up their 1969 study with a randomized phone survey of 523 academics between August 29 and September 13, 1972. A total of 471 interviews (90 percent) were completed. In November, 1972, this panel was also sent mailed questionnaires. In the 1969 survey, Ladd and Lipset constructed a general liberalism-conservatism scale for national issues, a campus activism scale, a student role scale, and a university governance scale, as well as questions regarding presidential votes and preferences. The 1972 survey was summarized in another important Ladd and Lipset study that was also published the following year. An attempt was made to see if the tone of faculty politics that was outward looking and concerned with the problems of the larger society in the sixties had become more conservative and more concerned with immediate professional interests as illustrated by the dramatic change toward the previously unthinkable issue of collective bargaining. Comparisons between the faculty and the United States public and electorate found the faculty, as a group, much more left-liberal and inclined to vote for the democratic or Third Party presidential candidates. No significant political differences were found to be affected by their socio-economic background. Religious origins, as Cole discovered, were very significant with academics of Jewish background being more liberal.

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and Democratic than those of Protestant or Catholic background.\(^{10}\) Positions on faculty unionism, student activism, preferential hiring for underrepresented groups, and collective stands on major educational controversies were also explored.

Ladd and Lipset followed up with another survey of college professors in 1975. They found that, while only 95,000 faculty members (16\%) out of more than 600,000 were employed at unionized schools, the faculty were much more disposed to accept collective bargaining than were actually covered by union contracts. While their surveys in 1960 and 1973 revealed that 59 and 66 percent endorsed the principle of collective bargaining, in 1975 it was 69 percent with 76 percent of the two-year college faculty. They saw the fact that three-quarters of the 294 institutions with bargaining units were two-year colleges, as a function of the "replaceability" factor "of the 'semi-professions'." In other words, scholars at the major universities are less easily replaced than mere teachers. Even so, more than half of the faculty at prestigious, research and meritocracy oriented universities support unionization - at least in theory.

Again, they found that the faculty members who favored collective bargaining were liberal, strong democrats, voted for McGovern or a Leftist Third Party candidate in 1972, took part in anti-war demonstrations, were the most alienated from their career and institution, and were from the social sciences, humanities, and education areas. Ladd and Lipset, in

\(^{10}\)Ladd and Lipset, pp. 37-38.
general, found ideological orientations more important than status or categorical variables in their 1975 survey.\textsuperscript{11}

J. O. Hoehn accomplished a rare data based research study regarding a profile of faculty members in the California State College system who supported the adoption of collective bargaining. In comparison to their colleagues who opposed collective bargaining, these faculty members tended to come from upper-manual and lower white-collar background; be dissatisfied with their work environments; belong to the Democratic Party; espouse liberal or radical political views; be drawn more frequently from the liberal arts disciplines, especially humanities and social sciences; have a greater research perspective; and possess a higher level of educational preparation.\textsuperscript{12}

Lane also did a study of California faculty, but only at one large state college. Comparing by means of a questionnaire union and non-union members, he found the former to be younger, less experienced, of lower rank, with a lower opinion of the administration, and who saw professionalism as a necessarily militant process.\textsuperscript{13}

The attitudes of faculty at fourteen Pennsylvania State Colleges were also surveyed by questionnaires (33% sample) in two separate studies.\textsuperscript{14}


months before a union election. Flango found politically alienated faculty more politically active than others, as well as those with doctorates; and, like Ladd and Lipset, more liberal faculty more pro collective bargaining and student activism. Muczyk, Hise and Gannon discovered academic discipline, rank and longevity at present institution significant but not age, prior union membership or years of college teaching experience. Dissatisfaction with the administration and compensation received, especially by the younger faculty, were other indications of being favorable toward unions.

Faculty views at the community college level as well as at the four-year colleges of the University of Hawaii system were studied by Seidman, Edge and Kelley. They found the lower ranks, the untenured, those under 30 (as opposed to those over 50), those in the education, business, and arts and sciences, were favorable. They also found no age group accepted the view that collective bargaining conflicts with professionalism, or that it is only appropriate for blue collar workers.

Feuille and Blandin also surveyed by questionnaire (45% response), all 1,010 individuals of academic rank at the University of Oregon regarding attitudes pro or con collective bargaining just after the 1971-72 state budget freeze. The demographic factors that they found important were rank


(with the lowest the most favorable), tenure (with the untenured more pro),
and sex (with females more restrained), but not department. The faculty
were found satisfied with teaching as a career but dissatisfied with their
economic benefits, existing personnel decision-making procedures, and with
both the campus administration and higher administrative levels. Though
a faculty majority perceived strikes as unprofessional, they did not perceive
collective bargaining as inconsistent with faculty professional standing,
with the individualized nature of faculty jobs, and with merit incentives.

Two important works that virtually ignored the union experience at
the community college level were those written and compiled by Terrence N.
Tice\textsuperscript{17} and Carr and Van Eyck.\textsuperscript{18} The latter is a good introduction to the
basics of collective bargaining and provides an abundance of facts and specifics
concerning contracts negotiated, the court decisions, the election results,
and pertinent bargaining issues. As it was stated in \textit{The Chronicle of Higher
Education Handbook}, "Because both Carr and Van Eyck hail from Oberlin College,
one of the most faculty-dominated institutions in the country, they tend to
exalt faculty power above the reality on most campuses."\textsuperscript{19} Tice's work is
a description and analysis of academic bargaining aimed at attorneys, as
well as educators, and contains a detailed state by state legislation review.

\textsuperscript{17}Terrence N. Tice, \textit{Faculty Bargaining in the 1970's} (Ann Arbor,

\textsuperscript{18}Robert H. Carr and Daniel K. Van Eyck, \textit{Collective Bargaining Comes

\textsuperscript{19}Faculty Collective Bargaining: A Chronicle of Higher Education
One of the most recent and excellently considered studies of unions in higher education was accomplished by Joseph W. Garbarino. Garbarino's work, another Carnegie Commission on Higher Education Report, noted that the change to collective bargaining is directly related to changes in the size and structure of the institutions, especially to state or system-wide "super boards" which further removed individual colleges, departments, and faculty members from the decision-making processes.

Aussieker's work, in the same volume, summarizes the rapid growth of and extent of unionization at the community college level, the similarities between unionized two-year and four-year schools, the effect of collective bargaining legislation, faculty participation in academic governance, the general characteristics associated or not associated with unionism, parity between public two-year and four-year faculty, and especially the structural, administrative and functional changes. While greatly enlightening concerning background data and present trends regarding collective bargaining at the community college level, Aussieker did not deal directly with faculty characteristics and collective bargaining, but suggested that the more favorable union attitudes of the community college faculty were not due to more liberal social and political beliefs but to a greater familiarity with unions on the K-12 level.

Faculty Collective Bargaining: A Chronicle of Higher Education Handbook is a useful tool filled with facts, figures and news highlights drawn almost entirely from the pages of The Chronicle, as of December 31,

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1975. An expanded second edition was published several months later (current through October 21, 1976) that included sections on the most recent (1975) Ladd and Lipset surveys of faculty attitudes toward collective bargaining, campus elections and strikes, and more reference tables.

**Faculty Characteristics - Public Community Colleges**

Research on unions in Public Community Colleges is sketchy. Much data are contained in the above general works covering the entire gamut of higher education, but some studies were completed that directly considered the Public Community Colleges.

John Gianopulos' research\(^2\) dealt directly with public community colleges and employed a combination of historical analysis and descriptive survey design. Gianopulos studied the scope and impact of collective bargaining at ten selected public community colleges in Illinois and Michigan, the two states which, in 1968, contained approximately 75 percent of the nation's agreements in effect at the Public Community College level.\(^3\) A questionnaire was sent to all sixty-one community college presidents in the two states, forty-seven of whom responded. In addition, personal interviews were conducted with heads of faculty organizations at the ten selected schools. Gianopulos did not deal directly with faculty involvement in unionism but did discover similarities at the ten schools with respect to issues, strikes, agreements, and their effects.


\(^3\)Ibid, p. 13.
The most recent and comprehensive work regarding collective bargaining in the community colleges is Adjusting to Collective Bargaining.²⁴ Edited by the President of Northern Virginia Community College, it presents interpretations of the extensive union experience at the Public Community College level by faculty, college administrators, trustees, and state administrators. Although the extent of the reasons for unionism are catalogued quite well, no differentiation by faculty characteristics was indicated.

The closest research to the present study was Moore's study of the community college faculty of the state of Pennsylvania.²⁵ Its purpose was to determine whether faculty perceptions of their capacities for power and mobility were related to favorable or unfavorable attitudes toward collective negotiations (now known as collective bargaining). Moore's population was 951²⁶ full-time faculty employed at ten of Pennsylvania's twelve community colleges in the Fall of 1969. He used three Likert-type scales as well as biographical and career information. He found that the faculty who felt unable to influence events within the college system had more favorable attitudes toward collective bargaining than those with a high sense of power. This is compatible with Corwin's view that teacher militancy is related to professionalization or control over conditions in which they perform professional duties.²⁷

Moore also reinforced Lane's mobility conclusion that union faculty

²⁶He received a 57.5% response.
are significantly less loyal to the institution than non-union faculty and are more willing to leave. Gouldner's theory that professionals are cosmopolitans, not locals, backs up Moore's finding of greater loyalty to peer group than to institution. This result has not been universally concluded, however. Andreasen found that union members were more immobile and felt "trapped". This reduced their individual bargaining power and inclined them to align with a local aggressive organization.

Regarding biographical data, Moore found the faculty who were younger, male, non-Protestant, of liberal-political orientation, whose fathers were members of labor unions significantly correlated with attitudes favorable to collective bargaining. He concluded, however, that marital status, number of children, parents' birthplace, parent's level of education, father's occupation, and type of childhood community were not significantly correlated. Regarding career variables, Moore found that faculty relatively dissatisfied with community college teaching, former members of a union, in non-science fields, untenured, of low rank, and in college transfer programs significantly correlated with more favorable attitudes toward unions. He did not find salary level and length of employment to be so correlated.

28Lane, p. 1933a.
Joseph Hankin, in January of 1975, wrote a report for ERIC that reviewed the status of unionism in higher education, with special focus on two-year institutions. After identifying the extent of representation by bargaining agents, the year in which first faculty contracts have been signed, and distinguishing among four-year and two-year institutions and public and private ones, the current status of state collective bargaining legislation was summarized with an eye toward how much activity may be generated as additional permissive state legislation is enacted. Among Haskin's major findings was that 30.9 percent of faculty members teaching 33.2 percent of the students in 19.8 percent of America's community and junior colleges were already covered by union contracts; and, as soon as permissive legislation is enacted in 27 states without it, we may expect a large increase in these figures. Of the 927 public community and junior colleges, Haskin found 222 and 23.9 percent unionized with only 2.3 percent of the 219 private institutions unionized.

Why Faculty Members Join Unions

Before reviewing research as to why faculty members join unions, one of the classic studies why manual workers join trade unions is Seidman, London and Karsh's study of a midwest local of the United Steelworkers of America with a membership of fourteen thousand and a militant reputation earned by many strikes, slowdowns and aggressive leadership. Three sub-populations were interviewed:


1. A leadership group (28) composed of Officers, key committee chairmen, and past presidents;

2. Twenty-four of forty-three active members who attended from four to seven meetings in the past year;

3. A one percent random sample was taken of the inactive members who had not attended any meetings during the year and 62 were interviewed.

The great majority of the three groups joined with some degree of conviction. Smaller numbers joined under the informal pressure of fellow workers or as a result of dues inspection lines. Those with convictions listed family background of father a union member, poverty, prior union experience, or the general treatment at the plant as responsible for their pro-union orientation. The authors believe, however, that had they been able to study the motives for joining at the time the step was taken, they would have discovered that a larger number joined without conviction and simply because of the peer pressure of others doing so.

When the union members were asked why five percent of the workers refused to join, they stated the company orientation of getting ahead faster and fear of their supervisors, the desire to get benefits without paying dues, the general dislike of unions, and the conviction that the local did not do anything for them.

Gus Tyler, an assistant president of the International Ladies Garment Union, bridged the manual-faculty union member gap and discussed college faculty unions in the context of a "new class" of white collar, service employees that has developed since World War II. According to Tyler, unionized faculty were attempting to regain the status that had historically been theirs. He cited the following as evidences of lessened
faculty power: student unrest, financial difficulties, and oversupply of college teachers. He feared that lack of financial resources would split the academic community but believed unions might be instrumental in obtaining the needed funding.

Lindeman's major review of over 100 publications dealing with unions in higher education found five primary reasons for their increase: inadequate compensation, dissatisfaction with the faculty role in governance, the statutory right to bargain, inept administration, and competition for members among NEA, AFT, and AAUP. Lindeman admitted, however, that the above cited reasons have been based on little empirical research.

In the Bureau of National Affairs survey of administrators asking why their faculty organized, more than half indicated salaries and fringe benefits. Government pressure on colleges to favor women and minorities when jobs in higher education are scarce has also been suggested as a reason for the increased tension for faculty unionization.

Schulman suggested that going to a statewide system also promotes

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35 Throughout this study the faculty position on issues is predominant. For an excellent view of the administration position, see William Moore, Blind Man on a Freeway (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc., 1971), especially pp. 8-9 and 60-69.
unionization because it invited comparison of salary and conditions of employment at the different campuses of the community and senior colleges. Other reasons of Schulman for faculty unionization were the senior faculty in emerging liberal arts colleges feeling threatened by the direction their institution is taking, the job market glut of Ph.D.'s, legislative supervision of working conditions, job security for the junior faculty, the reduction in faculty mobility, decision making at the state level, not on individual campuses, and the imposition of uniform policies and procedures. 39

Regarding community college unionism specifically, Howe, while stressing that the causes were far from clear, pointed out that faculty have seen other groups (especially in elementary and secondary education) organize and achieve significant gains even in the face of social disapproval. He also mentioned the economic pressures that make the faculty feel helpless when local actions seem so inadequate and regard themselves as the principal object of cutbacks. Other reasons were lip service paid to faculty involvement, the relative affluence that has raised aspirations 40 and the lack of perception of a viable alternative. 41

Hankin also believed that there was "no alternative to collective bargaining but the alternatives come from the selection of the bargaining

40 Ray Howe, Community College Board of Trustees and Negotiations with Faculty (Washington, D.C.: American Association of Community and Junior Colleges, 1973), pp. 5-6.
41 A 1967 NEA Task Force Report, Faculty Participation in Academic Governance, found that this was most prevalent among younger faculty at junior colleges and at former teachers' colleges.
representative, and that collegiality as a principle no longer works unless the faculty feels that they have real teeth and can share in the final decision jointly. 42

Tice's earlier work, *Faculty Power: Collective Bargaining on Campus* contained an excellent article by Karl J. Jacobs, "Collective Bargaining in Community Colleges," in which was contained five characteristics of Public Community College faculty not common to the rest of higher education that "impel the lower level faculty to collective bargaining:"

1. The lack of an academic tradition since many Public Community Colleges were formed or greatly expanded overnight.

2. The predominance of former high school teachers once part of the K-14 system with the resultant tendencies to collective bargaining.

3. The ineptitude and unfairness of some boards to prevent effective faculty communication and influence. (The author wrote the article while president of Rock Valley Community College, Rockford, Illinois.)

4. The inferior status of two-year college teachers in the eyes of the public and their four-year colleagues.

5. The relative lack of professional mobility to status four-year institutions that makes them more likely to view themselves as part of the proletariat (like the secondary school faculty) than as part of the managerial and entrepreneurial class. 43


Another important parallel study was Duryea and Fisk's *Faculty Unions and Collective Bargaining*.44 They discussed the nature, issues and procedures of faculty unionism in a state of the nation overview. George Angell, a former president in Public Community Colleges and a professor of higher education, in 1970-71 conducted a comprehensive study of collective bargaining in 23 of the 37 Public Community Colleges in New York state.45 After he pointed out that the bulk of faculty unions were in public two-year colleges and that they had the most complete experience with associations formed, negotiations conducted, and contracts signed, Angell noted that they were becoming increasingly a part of higher education and provide an experience that can bring insights to four-year colleges and universities.

Like Garbarino, he names the state statutes which facilitated public employee organization as the "primary causative factor" for unionism. Reviewing Shoup's study of Michigan Public Community Colleges as well as his own in New York, (the two states that have the most extensive union experience at the Public Community College level), Angell presented these primary reasons for faculty union organization: low salaries, unilateral decisions by trustees and administrators, lack of communication between faculty and administration, the general feeling of being treated as a high school teacher (no sabbatical leaves, over half with the same salary as neighboring high school teachers, few effective senates), and the lack of academic freedom on some campuses (faculty lost jobs without hearings

in the turbulent 1960s). This last situation caused an angry faculty to turn to collective tactics to protect their constitutional rights even before they organized unions. The faculty sought help from outside organizations that they knew best, especially the state teacher associations affiliated with the NEA who were becoming more and more oriented toward "professional unionism." Those that affiliated with the AFT, the industrial type union, were far more militant in bargaining tactics and the successful use of strikes, even in the face of severe legal penalties as in the large urban centers of Chicago and New York. 47

A two-year study of New Jersey's fifteen community colleges, thirteen of which had recognized collective bargaining agents, found authoritarianism and unilateral and arbitrary decision-making by administrators of particular significance in faculty attitudes toward unionism. Dissatisfaction with economic benefits, as well as the salary inequities believed stemming from individual contract negotiations were also important. Of particular interest were the conditions at one of the unorganized county colleges. It had a viable committee system and basic economic satisfaction. Its administration was perceived as highly sensitive to faculty concerns and dealt with grievances quickly and equitably. The faculty were conservative with one-half formerly from another county college and who had resigned their positions in the face of union organization and had

46 As of October, 1976, the NEA had affiliated 140 Public Community Colleges; the AFT, 94; and the AAUP, 2, with 7 AAUP-NEA and 38 independent or other agents for a grant total of 281 bargaining agents. See Chronicle of Higher Education Handbook, 2nd ed., pp. 84-92.

47 Duryea, pp. 88-90.
promulgated negative attitudes toward collective bargaining.\textsuperscript{48}

Hershel H. Nelson presented a good summary of the social and personal faculty motivators for unionism: the unexplained release of a faculty member, sudden changes in policy, rumors that the administration will discontinue a particular program, desire to participate meaningfully in governance, the frustrating experience of serving on committees that are only empowered with the power to talk, the loss of the personal touch as institutions became larger and more rigidly structured, the concern over job security due to the declining enrollments of the 1970's, gains made by other faculties that were unionized, the changing legal climate making collective bargaining respectable, not knowing what else to do, going along with the crowd, and the failure of administrators and legislators to understand the forces present in faculty acceptance of unionization.\textsuperscript{49}

Perhaps the best summary of the many reasons why community college faculties join unions is Patsy R. Summer's findings.\textsuperscript{50} She lists the tradition of unionism in public schools, the number of vocational skills instructors with an industrial union background, the familiarity with union organization and operations, dissatisfaction with the failure of administration


to let participate in governance, the seller's market of the 1960's which seemed to indicate no end to student enrollment and faculty demands, and, of course, the enabling legislation. According to Summers, the 1970's found the faculty even more receptive to collective bargaining because of inflation, declining enrollments, rising unemployment, public demands for accountability, student demands to participate in evaluating faculty, the move toward more state level control, very low influence in personnel matters such as promotion which Blomerly found to show the highest correlation with morale, and the hiring of young, anti-establishment, left of center, inexperienced instructors at low salary levels with little to lose from union affiliation. The above were a fertile ground for the membership drives that the NEA and AFT launched in 1973 and 1974.

Daniel F. Schultz accounted for the rapid spread of unionism over the community college faculty whom he found were 14% of higher education but 36% of the organized and who went from 10 to 191 organized institutions and from 2800 to 23,900 unionized faculty during 1966 to 1973 by using the framework of internal and external factors. The latter, he suggested, were the organizing rivalries between the AFT, NEA and AAUP; the changing legal environment; and the financial stringency and competition for scarce revenue. The internal pressures were the administrative decisions seen as unilateral and arbitrary by the faculty, the lack of the tradition of shared authority, the weak faculty senates, the way collective bargaining in other systems has resulted in better salaries and working conditions without gross inequities.


Of all the previous related literature, Kemerer and Baldridge's study for the Stanford Project on American Governance\(^5^3\) was based on the strongest set of empirical data. In all, 511 unionized and non-unionized institutions of higher education were sampled. Questionnaires were sent to their presidents and local union faculty chairpersons (65% return) and a randomly selected national sample of faculty (53% response). In addition, sensitive case studies were carried out at seven institutions, one of which was the Chicago City College system.

Although the study's emphasis was on the effects of unionism, it contained an excellent summary of the forces promoting and hindering collective bargaining:

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\(^5^4\) Ibid., p. 68.
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Chapter Three will deal with which of the many variables covered by the literature this study chose to investigate as well as the manner and type of investigation.
CHAPTER III

Survey Model

This study chose to concentrate on individual demographic and attitudinal factors as well as specific expressed reasons as possible independent variables affecting the major dependent variables of union membership and degree of union activity or militancy. The major purpose of this research is to discover how the non-union faculty, especially those who never belonged to the union, differ from the union faculty, especially those active in union affairs, in those demographic and attitudinal variables, with liberal-conservative political attitudes being paramount.

The survey model is expressed below:

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\text{VARIABLES}\end{array} \rightarrow \begin{array}{c}
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\text{DEMOGRAPHIC}^2 \text{FACTORS} \\
\text{ATTITUINAL}^3 \text{FACTORS}
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\text{DEPENDENT} \\
\text{VARIABLES} \rightarrow \begin{array}{c}
\text{UNION}^4 \text{MEMBERSHIP} \\
\text{UNION}^5 \text{ACTIVITY OR MILITANCY}
\end{array}
\end{array}
\]

1 For joining, not joining or quitting union, see questionnaire items 23 to 26.

2 The following 14 background variables were surveyed: sex, age, race, class, rank, tenure, religion, salary, department, education, experience, father's occupation, previous union membership, family union membership. Although demographic variables undoubtedly influence attitudinal factors (as well as in expressed reasons), the pressures of time and space and the thrust of the literature caused attention to be directed from the groups of independent variables immediately to the dependent variables.

3 Seven indices were used to measure faculty attitudes: union, political, and educational orientations, college governance issues, student power role, degree of institutional trust, and degree of political activity.

4 Besides union and non-union, the distinction between those who never joined and those who quit the union was also considered.

5 See page 6 for definitions of an active (militant) and non-active (non-militant) union member.
The rest of this chapter will present the study design, major hypotheses and statistical treatments.

Procedure and Design of Study

The general design of this research is a descriptive faculty survey, a four-page pre-tested\(^6\) questionnaire\(^7\) (See Appendix C) composed of categorical and Likert-type scale data that was administered to the over 1,300 faculty at the eight city college campuses.\(^8\) The questionnaire was coded by college and instructor and placed in the individual faculty member's mailbox along with an explanatory letter (See Appendix D) and self-addressed stamped envelope. The chapter chairpersons, union president, Norman Swenson, friends on the faculties and an occasional administrator, were most helpful in obtaining the rosters of both union and non-union members at the various campuses. Two official sources, The Directory of Illinois Community College, 1974-1975, and The Catalog of the City Colleges of Chicago, 1974-1975, were both very outdated.

\(^6\) During the Spring of 1974, the author, after many non-structured interviews with his colleagues, administered a pre-test of his questionnaire. Forty were placed in mailboxes of thirty union and ten non-union members of his colleagues at Loop College. Responses were received from thirty-two, six of whom were non-union. Since the non-union members' responses (especially the four never union) were very different from the union members, the author felt justified in undergoing a survey of the entire Chicago City College faculty. See Appendix D for pretest results.

\(^7\) The questionnaire was used because of the geographical scattering of respondents over eight campuses, as well as their high educational background (masters degree or better). See William J. Goode and Paul K. Hatt, Methods in Social Research (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1952), pp. 178-82.

\(^8\) A ninth campus, the Chicago Urban Skills Institute, was not included in this research.
Returns filtered in all during the summer months of June, July and August, 1975, until 514, or a 41% response rate, was attained. During the last week of August and the first two weeks of September, the City College system was rocked by its sixth strike in its ten year existence. After the strike settlement, the author was faced with the decision whether or not to send out additional mailings to achieve a response rate of 50% or more. Would the fresh antagonisms of the strike and faculty changes make too much of a difference in the responses? Since the strike was merely the latest one in a series of confrontations and since there is very little turnover in the faculty, it was decided to attempt a second mailing in October of 1975 to all who had not previously responded. Another 194 questionnaires were received during the next several months for a total of 768, of which 753 were deemed useable.

It was correctly estimated that a larger return, especially from the non-union faculty, would result if respondents were encouraged to blot out the code numbers of the college on each questionnaire to ensure complete anonymity. Fifty-six, fourteen of them non-union, chose to respond precisely that way.

One hundred and two questionnaires from non-union faculty were received (56 of whom were never in the union) which, in January of 1976, represented 55% of the 184 non-union members in the system. Of the 753 respondents, 651 or 54% of the 1,209 were union members. In all,

9Dr. Buchner, a Chicago City College Board of Trustees members, during the strike pointed out how few faculty leave the system they were railing against.

the 753 questionnaires represented 54% of the total 1,393 faculty members in the system when the questionnaires were distributed. The high percent of non-returns (46%) is rather common in survey research and concern over bias is lessened if the population is not very diverse.

It was not possible to discover the overall system percentage of non-union members who were never in the union or had once been, as well as the overall percentages of active and non-active union members.

The question of how representative of the system's campuses are the faculty members who returned their questionnaires is difficult to answer. Table I gives a summary view of the returns by campus. Though percentage of the union returns by campus varies from 33 to 78, the percentages of union members in the survey who responded by college compared to the percentages of the union members by college in the system vary by no more than 3% at only two colleges: Loop, where it is 6.4% over, and Malcolm X, where it is 4.6% below. Therefore, the percentages of union members by college campus who filled out questionnaires is representative of the percentages of union members in the system by college campuses, especially since almost 7% of the union faculty did not indicate any campus.

The non-union representation is another matter. Percentages by campus vary from a high of 92 to a low of 18 (Loop and Malcolm X again). The percentages of the non-union faculty who responded by campus and the percentages of the non-union faculty by campus in the system is over 3% at six of the eight campuses with Wright being 11.5% under and Loop

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11 Kerlinger stated that most questionnaire survey researchers will have to be satisfied with a return between 50-60%. See Fred N. Kerlinger, Foundations of Behavior Research (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., 1973), p. 414.

12 According to Leslie, concern over bias in a sample with a low response may be exaggerated if the population under investigation is homogeneous (e.g., college professors). See Larry L. Leslie, "Are High Response Rates Essential to Valid Surveys?" Social Science Research 1 (1972):323-334.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Campus</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Returns</th>
<th>Campus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HST</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICWP</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KK</td>
<td>284</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOOP</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>78%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MX</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OH</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SW</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WR</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANON.</td>
<td>41</td>
<td></td>
<td>6.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>1,209</td>
<td>651</td>
<td>54%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The abbreviations stand for the following eight campuses:

HST - Harry S Truman College (formerly Mayfair College)
ICWP - Institute of City Wide Programs (now Chicago City-Kit
KK - Kennedy-King College
LOOP - The Loop College
MX - Malcolm X College
OH - Olive-Harvey College
SW - Southwest College (now Daley College)
WR - Wright College

1These columns list the percent of returns by campus.
2These columns list by campus the percent of union and non-union faculty in the CCC system.
3These columns list by campus the percent of union and non-union faculty in the survey.
4These columns list the differences between the percent in the system and in the survey.
5The author taught at Loop College for 10 years which probably accounts for the significantly higher percent of return.
being 3.6% over. There is grave doubt about the non-union representation by campus. The high percent of anonymous returns (14%), however, as well as the almost identical percent of responses of union members (55 to 54%), in this author's judgement, balances the unevenness of response indicated above.

How representative is the study regarding other known population statistics? Thirty-two percent of the respondents were women and, according to the central office, 13 35.5% of the full-time faculty were female in the Fall of 1975. Seventeen percent of the respondents were black, 1.5% Latino, and 2.7% Oriental or Asian. The study published in the Chicago Reporter 14 listed the minority faculty as 25% black, 1.5% Latino, and 4.4% Asian. The lower response from Kennedy-King 15 and Malcolm X 16 College which had the highest percent of black faculty (43% and 59%) and Asian faculty (15.6% at Malcolm X) undoubtedly accounted for the lower response role.

In the Fall of 1975, 11% of the faculty were professors, 25%

13 Telephone interview with Lee Covitt, an aide to Dr. William Stevens, then Vice Chancellor for Personnel Relations, 7 May 1976.


15 Over 50 faculty were hired at KK for the Fall 1976 semester and these new teachers, conscious of just entering a controversial system, were perhaps reluctant to fill out a questionnaire for a private study by someone about whom they knew nothing.

16 Malcolm X College was highly politicized, racially and union-wise, by its president, Charles Hurst, in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Hurst once publicly stated that the union was just "another white racist institution" and that he would break every clause in the union contract. It's fairly certain that the suspicions carried over in its low response to a sensitive questionnaire.
associates, 36% assistants and 28% instructors. The survey percentages were 11%, 28%, 37%, and 23%. Statistics regarding tenure were harder to obtain. According to the Master Plan, in the Fall of 1973, just over 100 teachers, under 10% of the faculty, were untenured. The Central Office, however, indicated in May, 1976, that there were about 300 or 20% of the faculty untenured. At any rate, the survey return of 16% splits the difference.

The educational attainments of the respondents were 17% with a doctorate and 41% with an M.A. plus 30 or more semester hours of graduate work (the so-called ABDs, All But Dissertation). According to the Master Plan, 11% had doctorates and 35% had completed more than 30 semester hours.

As Table 2 indicates, the survey's department or discipline representativeness of full-time faculty is remarkable. Only Counseling and library faculty have a difference over two percent (2.9%). Most of the rest vary less than one percent.

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17 The same interview with the central administrator. See Note 13.

18 Master Plan for the City Colleges of Chicago (Sunnyvale, Cal.: Westinghouse Learning Corporation, 1974), p. 89.

19 Part of the difference can be accounted for by the hiring of approximately 100 new faculty since 1973.

20 Master Plan, pp. 82-83.
### Table 3.2

Percent of Full-Time Faculty in System and Survey by Department or Discipline

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Department or Discipline</th>
<th>Bus. &amp; D.P.</th>
<th>Science &amp; Math</th>
<th>Other Career</th>
<th>Humanities</th>
<th>Social &amp; Behav. Sci.</th>
<th>Supportive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>System</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>21.4</td>
<td>16.8</td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>6.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Survey</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>20.8</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td>28.5</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>9.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Chicago City College Budget for Fiscal Year 1975-1976.

1. Business and Data Processing
2. Biology, Physical Science and Math
3. Child Development, Engineering and Technical, Law Enforcement, Nursing, Police Academy, Physical Education
4. Art, English, Drama, Humanities, Speech
5. Sociology, Psychology, Economics, History, Political Science, Geography, Urban Studies
6. Counseling and Library

It appears that the respondents were more than minimally representative of the 1400 faculty in the entire Chicago City Community College System.

Several indices were adopted from Ladd and Lipset's 1969-1972 study. Their Political Orientation Index, for example, contained five items - 1972 presidential vote, the legalization of marijuana, busing for integration, Vietnam, and personal political characterization. (Questions 41, 43 and 44; See Appendix C). A question on the then current oil crisis...
was substituted for the passe Vietnam issue. Responses were weighted from a +1 to a -1 with +5 indicating the most liberal score and -5 the most conservative. Ladd and Lipset's student power or orientation index (Question 43) and college governance index (Questions 33 to 37) were adopted unchanged and weighted from a +8 to a -8 in the direction of favoring greater to lesser student control and from a negative to a less negative attitude toward the administration.

Five indices were developed for this study: union activity, union orientation, education orientation, institutional trust, and political activity. The union active index paralleled the definition of an active member on page 6. If a faculty member was an officer, delegate, and attended house of representatives and chapter meetings (Questions 19 to 22) a score of +4 was given. If not, a -4.

The union orientation index included Question 7 (family membership in union), Question 8 (family sentiment toward unions), and Question 29 (personal sympathy toward unions striking). The responses were weighted in the directions of unions +6 to -6. The education orientation included Question 32 on affirmative action and items taken from question 37 - IQ tests being culturally biased, equality of educational opportunity, race and IQ, F grade, and vocational-technical stress. Strong agreement, except for the race and IQ statement, assumed greater liberal leanings and were weighted from a +10 to -10.

The institutional trust index referred to Question 38 and also were weighted from a +10 to -10 in the direction of greater to lesser trust with a neutral category for neither trust nor distrust. Finally,
a simple political activity index was developed based on question 30 (teachers' unions taking a stand on non-union political issues) and question 40 (extent of political activity). If a faculty member strongly agreed with the statement of greater union political involvement in non-union matters and indicated frequent political activity, that individual was rated more politically active on a scale from +4 to -4.

To overcome the response-set variance of neither agree nor disagree category, a forced choice of strongly agree, agree, disagree and strongly disagree was employed. However, an implied neutral category was used when a question (usually of a sensitive nature) was not answered by a significant percentage (over 5%).

Items in each of the indices were correlated (Pearson correlation coefficients)\textsuperscript{22} among themselves mostly at the .001 significance level but at least at the .05 level. Some items did not correlate and were dropped from the indices. For example, responses regarding Congress and the Supreme Court in question 38 did not correlate with responses regarding other institutions in the institutional trust index and were dropped. Statements concerning vocational-technical and remedial education in question 37 were also deleted from the educational orientation index.

All the indices, except the institutional trust index, correlated positively with each other at significant levels from .001 to .05.\textsuperscript{23}

Outside of the intercorrelations of index items and of the indices with each other, no reliability measures were presented by Ladd and Lipset for the various indices.

\textsuperscript{22}The Pearson correlation coefficients ranged from .15 to .58, with most .30 or over.

\textsuperscript{23}The Pearson correlation coefficients ranged from a low of .06 (union activity and student orientation indices) to a high of .54 (political and educational orientation indices).
indices, but the clarity of both the meaning of the individual items and also of the instructions to the respondents were attempted to be duplicated in this study. Also, most of the items in the questionnaire were of fixed response leading to greater reliability. While consistency, accuracy, and dependability of measurement is very important, one could be consistently and accurately measuring something else than what was intended.

Besides the study of other questionnaires used in comparable research, the pretest and the unstructured interviews with colleagues were attempts to increase the content validity of the measuring instrument as well as to discover the accepted criteria for the measurement of pertinent variables. For example, presidential voting behavior and self-labeling are two common criteria for measuring one's liberal-conservative political orientation.

Statistical treatments included frequency distributions and contingency tables in simple and multiple cross-tabulations as indicated significant by chi-square. Correlations used for categorical variables to determine the extent of the established relationship were the contingency coefficient, gamma and phi. For Likert-type scaled data, the various indices were computed, judged significant by chi-square and also included in frequency distributions and contingency tables.

MAJOR HYPOTHESES

After an analysis of the pertinent literature, the following hypotheses were proposed to give direction to this descriptive survey and case study analysis:
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MAJOR HYPOTHESES

After an analysis of the pertinent literature, the following hypotheses were proposed to give direction to this descriptive survey and case study analysis:
1. The most pro union faculty, the union active, compared to the least pro union faculty, those who have never joined the union, will be influenced by the independent variables surveyed to the following extent:
   a. The more politically and educationally conservative will be more never union while the more politically and educationally liberal will be more union active.
   b. The older, white, female, upper-middle or upper class Protestants from a non-union background who teach in the natural sciences or business departments and who have more teaching experience and higher educational attainments will be more never union.
   c. The younger, non-white, lower or lower-middle class males who teach in the social science or humanities departments and who have less teaching experience and lower educational attainments will be more union active.
   d. The less politically active, the more trusting of major social institutions, the more satisfied with a community college teaching career will be more never union, while the more politically active, the less trusting of major social institutions, the less satisfied with a community college teaching career will be more union active.

2. The faculty who have never been union members did not join Local 1600 because they believe that:
   a. Unions are unprofessional and identified with manual workers.
b. that unions are too concerned with their own interests and take away from excellence.

c. that Local 1600 is too radical and strikes too much.

3. The faculty who previously belonged to but quit Local 1600 did so because they:

a. were never committed to unionism in the first place and only joined out of peer pressure.

b. dislike the present union leadership.

c. were against the issues in one strike and believe the union strikes too much.

4. The faculty who previously belonged to but quit Local 1600 are more like the union non-active than the faculty who have never been union.

5. The active union members:

a. originally joined Local 1600 because they believe that:

1) faculty power cannot be obtained any other way.

2) collective bargaining is the only path left to professionalism.

3) unionism brings greater personal, as well as professional freedom.

4) the City Colleges administration is very poor.

b. The union active, compared to all the non-union faculty, will be influenced by the independent variables to the following extent:

1) The young, Jewish, untenured men from a working class and union family background who teach in the social
science or humanities departments and who have previous union experience, lower rank and salary, and lower educational attainments will be more union active while the older, non-Jewish, tenured women from a non-working class or non-union family background, who teach in the natural science and business departments, who have not had previous union experience, and who have a higher rank, salary, and education will be more non-union.

2) The politically and educationally more liberal, the more politically active, the less trusting of major social institutions (especially the City College Administration), and the less satisfied with a community college teaching career will be more union active while the opposite will be true of the more non-union.

6. The non-active union faculty originally joined Local 1600 because of peer pressure, in gratitude for benefits won, for greater job security, because they believe unionism is the only way to obtain adequate salary and fringe benefits, and because they believe the City Colleges administration is very poor. Regarding the above categorical and scaled variables, they are more like the non-union than active union faculty.
Limitations of Questionnaire Study

As indicated in the first chapter, there are serious limitations in the use of a questionnaire. Though it can be administered to large numbers relatively easily, though it encourages honesty and frankness if anonymous, and though it can achieve greater reliability if most of its items are of a closed type, the questionnaire's principal disadvantages are its low percent of returns and inability to check the responses given. Since 46% of the Chicago Community College teachers did not respond, and since it was not possible to interview a random sample of non-respondents, valid generalizations are difficult.

Weisberg and Bowen point out, nonetheless, that those who refuse to respond usually do not differ too much from those who do respond other than being less cooperative. The higher the refusal rate, however, the more important it is to determine whether the refusals are concentrated among a certain group in the population. In this study, the low response from black and other suspicious faculty at Kennedy-King and Malcolm X do then somewhat invalidate any generalizations made for the entire City College faculty.

The following chapter will deal with the analysis and evaluation of the findings of this study.

24 Kerlinger, op. cit., pp. 414 and 487.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS AND EVALUATION OF FINDINGS

When comparing the 653 union faculty members with the 102 non-union faculty, the following background or career variables were surprisingly not found significant by the chi-square statistic: sex, 1 department, family membership in union, rank, tenure, race, religion, father's occupation, previous union membership, education, and teaching experience at the high school level. Besides age, class, salary, family attitude toward unions and teaching experience in the Chicago City Colleges, at other colleges, or on the elementary school level, what was found to be most significant were the attitudinal factors - political and educational liberal-conservatism, union orientation pro or con, and views toward student power on campus. 2

1 Statistical significance is defined throughout as equal to or less than .05 or else the relationship between the variables is thought to have occurred by chance.

2 Sex, which consistently has been identified as an independent variable in other studies of faculty unionism, in particular, was surprisingly not found to be significant. Perhaps this was due to the fact that most of the other studies were done at the K-12 level (Cole, 1969) or at the university level (Feuille and Blandin, 1974). It is also possible that the Chicago City College Division of AFT Local 1600 is unique, or at least unusual, in its apparent lack of sexism.

3 See Appendix E for discussion of results.
When comparing the two groups of non-union faculty, the 44 who previously belonged to the union and the 58 who never joined the union, the following background and career variables were also not found to be significant: race, religion, class, family union membership, department, family attitude toward unions, and teaching experience in other colleges and on the elementary school level. In addition, no attitudinal variables were found to be significant. The few variables found important were sex, age, salary, tenure, rank, father's occupation, education and Chicago City College teaching experience.

When the 653 union members were divided up into the 233 union active (see definition on page 6) and the 420 union not active, more variables became significant. The large percentage of union active (36%) was not a surprise since the eight chapters surveyed all have their own set of leaders; since democratic participation has been a union tradition; since a more educated group usually has a heightened sense of participation, and since the conflict atmosphere derived from the many strikes and threats of strikes have kept many faculty alert to what they perceive as irrationality or harassment on the part of the administration.

While sex, class, occupation of father, teaching experience in other colleges and at the secondary and elementary levels, as well as political and educational orientations were still not found to be significant, age, race, religion, family union membership, family attitude toward unions, rank, salary, tenure, department, education, teaching experience in the Chicago City Colleges, and previous union membership

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4 See Appendix E for discussion of results.
were discovered to be distinguishing variables. Other significant relationships were attitudes toward the administration, student power, unions, and degree of political activity.5

The comparisons, however, that contained the greatest number of distinguishing variables and the highest degrees of significance were between the most pro union faculty, those active in union affairs, and the least pro union or the most anti union faculty who have never joined the union. (See hypotheses on pages 52 to 54). The succeeding sections will deal directly with these results.

**Hypotheses #1 - Union Active and Never Union Faculty**

1. The most pro union faculty, the union active, compared to the least pro union faculty, those who have never joined the union, will be influenced by the independent variables surveyed to the following extent:

   a. The more politically and educationally conservative will be more never union while the more politically and educationally liberal will be more union active.

   b. The older, white, female, upper-middle or upper class Protestants from a non-union background who teach in the natural sciences or business departments and who have more teaching experience and higher educational attainments will be more never union.

   c. The younger, non-white, lower or lower-middle class males who teach in the social science or humanities departments and who have less teaching experience and lower

5See Appendix E for discussion of results.
educational attainments will be more union active.

d. The less politically active, the more trusting of major social institutions, the more satisfied with a community college teaching career will be more never union, while the more politically active, the less trusting of major social institutions, the less satisfied with a community college teaching career will be more union active.

Using the chi square statistic, no statistical significance was found regarding several variables listed in the first set of descriptive hypotheses - sex, class, race, degree of political activity, union or non-union background, degree of institutional trust, and satisfaction with a community college teaching career. Therefore, women, those from an upper-middle or upper class background, the white, the more politically active, those from a non-union background, those more trusting of major social institutions and those more satisfied with a community college teaching career were not more likely to be more anti-union or less pro union than their counterparts.

Table 4.1 indicates the variables in the hypotheses that were found to be significant and thus suggest a relationship between them and whether one is for or against faculty unions.

As expected, political orientation was one of the most significant variables. Collapsing all negative and positive scores of the political orientation index (see pages 48 and 49) to conservative and liberal, Table 4.2 visually presents the results.
TABLE 4.1
SIGNIFICANT HYPOTHESES VARIABLES BETWEEN UNION ACTIVE AND NEVER UNION FACULTY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Chi Square</th>
<th>Degrees of Freedom</th>
<th>Level of Significance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Political Orientation</td>
<td>30.01</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>.001 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational Orientation</td>
<td>34.76</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>.001 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicago City College experience</td>
<td>17.65</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Department</td>
<td>21.78</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other college experience</td>
<td>29.82</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>.01 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family attitude</td>
<td>9.15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>13.55</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Activity</td>
<td>30.01</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>.05 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>10.61</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>8.36</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*chi-squares and significance levels when collapsed are in Appendix G.

The observed and expected cell percentages of liberal and conservative union active and never union faculty were different, 51 to 47 and 8 to 12, for liberal, and 12 to 16 and 8 to 4 for conservative. This last indicated that twice the percentage of conservatives were never union than were expected to be by chance. The column percents were also diverse with 86% of the liberal faculty being active and only 59% of the conservative with 14% and 41% being never union. The contingency coefficient of .31 and the gamma of .40 denote moderate strength to the established relationship. The fact that almost 60% of the faculty responding were liberal, while only 20% were conservative, concurs with the view mentioned in Chapter I, that college faculties are much more left of center than the average American.
### TABLE 4.2
**POLITICAL ORIENTATION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conservative</th>
<th>Moderate</th>
<th>Liberal</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Union Active</strong> <em>(N=233)</em></td>
<td>59 <em>(12/16)</em></td>
<td>84 <em>(18/17)</em></td>
<td>86 <em>(51/47)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Never Union</strong> <em>(N=58)</em></td>
<td>41 <em>(8/4)</em></td>
<td>16 <em>(3/4)</em></td>
<td>14 <em>(8/12)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td><strong>(20 )</strong></td>
<td><strong>100 (21 )</strong></td>
<td><strong>100 (59 )</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N = 291</th>
<th>N = 58</th>
<th>N = 61</th>
<th>N = 172</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>contingency coefficient = .31</td>
<td>gamma = .40</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Regarding conservative and liberal educational orientation, the same procedure was followed using the educational orientation index (see page 49). The conclusions are illustrated in Table 4.3.

### TABLE 4.3
**EDUCATIONAL ORIENTATION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conservative</th>
<th>Moderate</th>
<th>Liberal</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Union Active</strong> <em>(N=233)</em></td>
<td>62 <em>(7/10)</em></td>
<td>68 <em>(5/6)</em></td>
<td>84 <em>(68/66)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Never Union</strong> <em>(N=58)</em></td>
<td>38 <em>(5/2)</em></td>
<td>32 <em>(2/1)</em></td>
<td>16 <em>(13/15)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td><strong>100 (12 )</strong></td>
<td><strong>100 (7 )</strong></td>
<td><strong>100 (81 )</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N = 291</th>
<th>N = 34</th>
<th>N = 22</th>
<th>N = 235</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>contingency coefficient = .33</td>
<td>gamma = .29</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6 In all of the following tables, regarding Hypotheses #1 (Tables 4.4 to 4.20), the numbers in parentheses refer to the observed and expected cell percentages (the observed will always be first). The numbers not in parentheses, with the exception of the N's, refer to the column percentages.

7 See footnote 6.
Though the moderates swing over to the conservative side in this table, only 16% of the liberals never joined the union while 38%, more than twice the percentage of the conservatives, did not do so. At the same time, 84% of the liberals are union active while only 62% of the conservatives are. Looking at the observed and expected percentages of each of the cells, there are differences also indicating the liberals are more union active and the conservatives more never union. The negative gamma (−.29) above means that as the faculty becomes more liberal, they become less never union, and as they become more conservative, they become more never or anti-union.

Contrary to expectations, teaching experience on the highly unionized K-12 levels, as previously indicated in the beginning of the chapter, was not found to be important in distinguishing the active union from the never union faculty. With over 70% of the public K-12 teachers unionized in the country, it was assumed that those with that lower level of experience would be more union oriented.9

Teaching experience in other college systems and the Chicago City Colleges, however, were found to be significant as Tables 4.4 and 4.5 reveal.

There appears to be a clear pattern in which the 25% of the faculty who are new to the Chicago City College system (1-5 years) do not

8 Forty-two percent of the union active and 29% of the never union have had high school experience and 19% and 12% respectively have taught on the elementary level.

9 Perhaps partly responsible is the failure of the researcher to distinguish between the highly unionized public and very non-unionized private sectors.
TABLE 4.4
YEARS EXPERIENCE • CHICAGO CITY COLLEGES
Percentage Distributions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1-5</th>
<th>6-10</th>
<th>11-15</th>
<th>16-20</th>
<th>Over 20</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Union Active (N=229)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>66 (16/20)</td>
<td>86 (40/38)</td>
<td>90 (13/12)</td>
<td>71 (4/3)</td>
<td>91 (8/7)</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never Union (N=54)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>34 (9/5)</td>
<td>14 (7/9)</td>
<td>10 (2/3)</td>
<td>29 (2/3)</td>
<td>9 (1/2)</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N=283</td>
<td>N=70</td>
<td>N=132</td>
<td>N=41</td>
<td>N=17</td>
<td>N=23</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N=80</td>
<td>100 (25)</td>
<td>100 (47)</td>
<td>100 (15)</td>
<td>100 (6)</td>
<td>100 (9)</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

contingency coefficient = .37  gamma = -.30

participate as much (66%) as those who have been teaching in the City Colleges over 6 years. In fact, as the contingency percentages suggest, even those with over 20 years experience have a higher rate of union activity and thus a lower rate of never unionness than would be expected by chance. This is a dramatic reversal from the hypothesis suggested, namely, that the younger would be more active and the older more never union. It obviously takes many faculty members time to adjust to being an active member of a militant union as well as to join the union. The negative gamma (-.30) reveals the direction and extent of this surprising finding.

As Table 4.5 reveals, the pattern for those with teaching experience in other college systems is comparable to the Chicago City College experience.

Among the 127 (44%) union active and never union faculty who had other college teaching experience there is greater union activity (95%) and much less never unionism (5%) than among those with moderate experience (6-10 years) than expected by chance and much less activity (42%)
TABLE 4.5
YEARS EXPERIENCE • OTHER COLLEGE SYSTEMS
Percentage Distributions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Experience</th>
<th>1-5</th>
<th>6-10</th>
<th>over 10 years</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Union Active (N=101)</td>
<td>81 (61/60)</td>
<td>95 (15/13)</td>
<td>42 (4/8)</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never Union (N=26)</td>
<td>19 (14/15)</td>
<td>5 (1/3)</td>
<td>58 (6/2)</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100 (75)</td>
<td>100 (16)</td>
<td>100 (10)</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N=127</td>
<td>N=95</td>
<td>N=20</td>
<td>N=12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>contingency coefficient = .44</td>
<td>gamma = .32</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

among those with the most experience (over 10 years). There is no significant difference among those with the least experience (1 to 5 years). The hypothesis that those with the most experience will be less active and more never union appears accurate, but those with moderate experience are even more active and less never union than those with the least experience. It is interesting that only 19% of the faculty coming from what were probably non-unionized college systems, did not choose to join the union. Perhaps the faculty that transferred from other colleges already leaned toward unions or accepted union membership as a price for working in a system with good salary and benefits in a tight job market period.

While the fact of previous family union membership was not found to be significant, family attitudes toward unions were discovered to be important as presented in Table 4.6.
TABLE 4.6

FAMILY ATTITUDES TOWARD UNIONS

Percentage Distributions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Con</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Pro</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Union Active (N=233)</td>
<td>72 (13/12)</td>
<td>73 (33/36)</td>
<td>88 (35/32)</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never Union (N=58)</td>
<td>28 (3/4)</td>
<td>27 (11/8)</td>
<td>12 (5/8)</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>100 (16)</td>
<td>100 (44)</td>
<td>100 (40)</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N=291</td>
<td>N=115</td>
<td>N=45</td>
<td>N=131</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

contingency coefficient = .17  
gamma = .38

Twenty-eight percent of those whose families displayed negative union attitudes never joined the union while only 12% of those with positive union attitudes never joined. In addition, there is a 16% difference in the percentage of con and pro families that are union active. There is not much difference between the observed and expected percentages of the 16% of the faculty whose family attitudes were negative toward unions, but the 40% whose families were pro union were more union active and less never union than expected. Those with neutral family attitudes, however, were more never union than expected. The gamma of .38 also indicates at least a moderately strong relationship between family attitudes toward unions and degree of union activity, as well as why some faculty never joined the union.

The hypothesis that non-union faculty have attained higher levels of education appears not to be accurate as Table 4.7 illustrates.

The observed percentage of never union and union active is exactly the same as expected by chance while those with a masters plus 30 or more graduate semester hours (the largest category = 45%) are more
TABLE 4.7

EDUCATION

Percentage Distributions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Masters 10</th>
<th>+15-29</th>
<th>+30 or more</th>
<th>Doctorate 12</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Union Active</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(N=231)</td>
<td>69 (12/15)</td>
<td>77 (14/15)</td>
<td>87 (39/36)</td>
<td>81 (15/15)</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never Union</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(N=55)</td>
<td>31 (6/3)</td>
<td>23 (4/3)</td>
<td>13 (6/9)</td>
<td>19 (4/4)</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>100 (18)</td>
<td>100 (18)</td>
<td>100 (45)</td>
<td>100 (19)</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N = 286</td>
<td>N=51</td>
<td>N=52</td>
<td>N=131</td>
<td>N=52</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contingency coefficient = .21</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gamma = -.15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

active and, therefore, less never union than expected. Also, those with the lowest educational levels are much more never union (31%) and less union active (69%) and those with 15 to 29 hours beyond the masters are more never union than expected. The small gamma (-.15) indicates this negative relationship. The relatively high percent of never union at the lowest educational level perhaps could be explained by the time lag in joining the union. Many experience when first beginning teaching in the Chicago City Colleges.

10 M.A. or M.S. or equivalent.

11 Masters plus graduate semester hours.

12 Ph.D., Ed.D., or J.D.

13 The system is not a closed shop and it is probably only during strikes that much pressure is placed on non-union members to join.
Collapsing the political activity index (see page 50), whose scores ranged from -4 to +4, into all negative (politically inactive) and all non-negative (politically active) scores, the cross tabulations in Table 4.8 were formed.

**TABLE 4.8**

**DEGREE OF POLITICAL ACTIVITY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage Distributions</th>
<th>Inactive</th>
<th>Active</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Union Active (N=232)</td>
<td>72 (38/43)</td>
<td>88 (41/37)</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never Union (N=58)</td>
<td>28 (15/10)</td>
<td>12 (6/10)</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td>100 (53)</td>
<td>100 (47)</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N = 290</td>
<td>N=151</td>
<td>N=139</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>contingency coefficient</td>
<td>.24</td>
<td>gamma</td>
<td>.38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since 28% of the politically inactive are never union (more than is expected by chance) and 72% are union active (less than expected by chance), since the politically active are more union active than is expected by chance, and since the correlations are in the moderate range, the hypothesis that the never union faculty are less active politically and that the union active are more politically active appears to be upheld. The fact that almost half of the faculty (47%) were designated as politically active is an indication of the greater participation of the more educated groups in the political system and the feeling among large numbers of faculty that political backing of their economic and educational concerns, especially at the local and state level, is crucial.

It was hypothesized that a significant number of non-union faculty would be members of the natural sciences or business departments.
Table 4.9 presents the results.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DEPARTMENTS</th>
<th>Percentage Distributions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Union Active (N=222)</td>
<td>Supportive 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union Active</td>
<td>92 (9/8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never Union (N=53)</td>
<td>8 (1/2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>100 (10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N=275</td>
<td>N=26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Contingency coefficient = .27

In general, the hypothesis appears accurate with 91% and 86% of the Social Science and Humanities faculty being active while only 79% and 67% of the Science-Math and Business-Data Processing are active. The Social Science department members were more union active or less never union than the Humanities, and the Business and Data Processing members less active or more never union than would be expected by chance. The hypothesis, however, failed to take into account the 92% of the Counseling-Library faculty who are active and the Other Career who are the least active (58%) and, therefore, have the highest percent of never union faculty (42%).

14 Counseling and Library.

15 Sociology, Psychology, Economics, History, Political Science, Geography, Urban Studies.

16 Art, English, Drama, Humanities, Speech.

17 Biology, Physical Science and Math

18 Business and Data Processing.

19 Child Development, Engineering and Technical, Law Enforcement, Nursing, Police Academy, Physical Education.
The last two variables suggested as independent in the hypotheses that were found significant are religion and age. Table 4.10 and 4.11 display the results.

**TABLE 4.10**

**RELIGION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Protestant</th>
<th>Catholic</th>
<th>Jewish</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>None</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Union Active</td>
<td>70 (19/22)</td>
<td>78 (22/22)</td>
<td>92 (15/13)</td>
<td>88 (10/9)</td>
<td>83 (13/13)</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(N=230)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never Union</td>
<td>30 (9/6)</td>
<td>22 (6/6)</td>
<td>8 (1/3)</td>
<td>12 (1/2)</td>
<td>17 (3/3)</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(N=58)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td>100 (28)</td>
<td>100 (28)</td>
<td>100 (16)</td>
<td>100 (11)</td>
<td>100 (16)</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N = 288</td>
<td>N=80</td>
<td>N=81</td>
<td>N=47</td>
<td>N=33</td>
<td>N=47</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>contingency coefficient</strong> = .19</td>
<td>gamma = .29</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 4.11**

**AGE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Under 35</th>
<th>35-49</th>
<th>50-60</th>
<th>Over 60</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Union Active</td>
<td>68 (12/14)</td>
<td>81 (40/39)</td>
<td>87 (26/24)</td>
<td>70 (2/2)</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(N=233)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never Union</td>
<td>32 (6/4)</td>
<td>19 (9/10)</td>
<td>13 (4/6)</td>
<td>30 (1/1)</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(N=58)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td>100 (18)</td>
<td>100 (49)</td>
<td>100 (30)</td>
<td>100 (3)</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N=291</td>
<td>N=53</td>
<td>N=142</td>
<td>N=86</td>
<td>N=10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>contingency coefficient</strong> = .17</td>
<td>gamma = .26</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As expected, Protestants were less active (70%) and more non-union (30%) than expected, and Jews were much more active (92%) and the least inclined not to join the union (8%) with Catholics not indicating any significant differences between the observed and expected cell frequencies.
Surprisingly, the youngest faculty were the most non-union (32%), while the middle category of 50 to 60 years was the most active and least never union (87% and 13%). The age group 35 to 49 was just a bit more active and less never union than expected. Though there is a small N (10), the rate of non-unionism among those over 60 years is not more than would be expected by chance. Therefore, the hypotheses that the younger are more union active and the older are more never union is rejected though there is a lessening of union activity and thus an increase in never unionism when one goes from the most active 50-60 category to the over 60. The fact that the young are less union active and more never union might be explained by the occupational socialization that takes place among many who enter the Chicago City College system with no previous union experience. After a time they become socialized to the norm of union membership, especially since there is a strike on the average of every two years that entails much pressure from certain union members to join the union and not to cross picket lines as well as to seek safety in numbers.

Variables found significant that were not originally taken into consideration by the hypotheses were salary, rank, tenure, degree of political activity, college governance attitude, student power views, and, of course, attitude toward unions in general. Table 4.12 lists the above in order of statistical significance as measured by chi-square.

---

20 Since several studies were published after the inception of this study, several variables were not included in the original hypotheses. In addition, a second reading of all the literature revealed the importance of additional variables.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Chi-Square</th>
<th>Degrees of Freedom</th>
<th>Level of Significance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Union Orientation</td>
<td>44.27</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>.001 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College Governance Attitude</td>
<td>52.92</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>.001 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student Power Views</td>
<td>32.66</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>.001 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenure</td>
<td>10.88</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rank</td>
<td>12.71</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salary</td>
<td>11.12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*chi-squares and significance levels when collapsed are in Appendix G.

The union orientation index (see page 49) scores which ranged from a -6 to a +6 were collapsed into negative or anti-union and positive or pro-union categories as illustrated in Table 4.13.

**TABLE 4.13**

**UNION ORIENTATION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage Distribution of Scores on Union Orientation Index<strong>21</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union Active (N=233)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never Union (N=48)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N=291 N=127 N=19 N=145

contingency coefficient = .36  gamma = -.39

Two patterns emerge in the above table. One is that very few of the union active and never union faculty are neutral about unions (6%),

**21**See footnote No. 6.
with the rest of the faculty split fairly evenly between those with negative and positive views (44% and 50%). Another is that 29% of those with negative scores were never in the union while only 17% of those with positive scores never joined — a difference, as the observed and expected cell percentages indicate, that could not have happened by chance. The moderately high negative gamma (−.39) and the contingency coefficient (.36) infer the extent and direction of this relationship.

The college governance index (see page 49) attempts to measure the degree of alienation of faculty toward the central and local administration, as well as toward the Board of Trustees. Once again, the scores were collapsed that ranged from a -8 to a +8 in the direction of a negative to a positive attitude toward the administration. Table 4.14 summarizes the results.

**TABLE 4.14**

**COLLEGE GOVERNANCE ATTITUDE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage Distribution of Scores on College Governance Index</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union Active (N=233)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never Union (N=58)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N = 291</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N = 4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

contingency coefficient = .39  
gamma = -.48

What is interesting about Table 4.14 is the minute percentage of union active and never union faculty who possess positive (1.4%) or even

---

22See footnote No. 6.
neutral (4.8%) views of the administration, and thus almost 84% have a negative view. At this point, one is reminded that the college governance index which, as indicated above, measures faculty attitude toward the administration, was taken entirely from the Ladd and Lipset study (see page 49). Since there were differences between the percents of positive and negative scores of the union active (85% to 15%) and never union (75% and 25%), one can also conclude that those with a negative view of the administration are more union active and less never union, while those with a positive view, though very few, are less union active and more never union.

The views of the union active faculty and never union faculty toward student power issues was another important variable. Table 4.15 illustrates the results after collapsing all negative and positive scores of the student orientation index (page 49).

TABLE 4.15
STUDENT POWER VIEWS
Percentage Distribution of Scores on Student Orientation Index

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Con</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Pro</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Union Active (N=233)</td>
<td>75 (41/44)</td>
<td>76 (9/5)</td>
<td>89 (31/28)</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never Union (N=58)</td>
<td>25 (13/10)</td>
<td>24 (3/7)</td>
<td>11 (3/6)</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>100 (34)</td>
<td>100 (12)</td>
<td>100 (34)</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N=291</td>
<td>N=158</td>
<td>N=34</td>
<td>N=99</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>contingency coefficient = .32</td>
<td>gamma = .24</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first fact to note is that only 34% of the previously established liberal faculty favor more student control over college decision areas while

\[23\] See footnote No. 6.
over half (54%) have negative, more traditional, more conservative views in this regard. Of the 34% who are more pro student activism, however, a significant percent are more union active and less never union than would be expected by chance.

Only 11% of those that scored positively toward student power and control were never union, while 25% of those who scored negatively were never union. It is clear that there is a relationship between views of student power and whether one has never joined the union or is active in the union.

Tenure, rank and salary were also found significant when comparing union active and never union faculty as Tables 4.16 to 4.18 demonstrate.

**TABLE 4.16**

**TENURE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Tenured</th>
<th>Untenured</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Union Active (N=231)</td>
<td>84 (72/69)</td>
<td>59 (8/6)</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never Union (N=58)</td>
<td>16 (14/17)</td>
<td>41 (6/8)</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td>100 (86)</td>
<td>100 (14)</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N=289</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phi = .21</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gamma = .55</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 4.17**

**RANK**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Instructor</th>
<th>Asst. Prof.</th>
<th>Assoc. Prof.</th>
<th>Prof.</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Union Active (N=232)</td>
<td>64 (13/16)</td>
<td>81 (30/29)</td>
<td>88 (25/22)</td>
<td>85 (12/11)</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never Union (N=58)</td>
<td>36 (7/4)</td>
<td>19 (7/8)</td>
<td>12 (3/6)</td>
<td>15 (2/3)</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td>100 (20)</td>
<td>100 (37)</td>
<td>100 (28)</td>
<td>100 (14)</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N=290</td>
<td>N=59</td>
<td>N=109</td>
<td>N=81</td>
<td>N=41</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>contingency coefficient = .20</td>
<td>gamma = .34</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 4.18

SALARY

Percentage Distributions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Salary</th>
<th>Union Active (N=232)</th>
<th>Never Union (N=58)</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$11,000-14,999</td>
<td>69 (14/17)</td>
<td>31 (7/4)</td>
<td>100 (21)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$15,000-19,999</td>
<td>88 (37/34)</td>
<td>12 (5/8)</td>
<td>100 (42)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$20,000-24,999</td>
<td>76 (27/28)</td>
<td>24 (8/7)</td>
<td>100 (35)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$25,000 and over</td>
<td>76 (27/28)</td>
<td>12 (.3/.6)</td>
<td>100 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N=290 N=61 N=120 N=101 N=8

Contingency coefficient = .19 gamma = -.06

The above three tables illustrate the fact that there is a significantly higher percent of never union faculty who are untenured (41%), of the lowest rank of instructors (36%), and of those with the lowest salaries (31%) than would be expected by chance. All three of these variables, of course, are related to each other since the untenured instructors receive the lowest salary. This continues the pattern found with age in Table 4.17 and years teaching experience in the Chicago City Colleges in Table 4.4 that the youngest, least educated, untenured, instructors with the lowest salaries and least experience are the most prone to never joining the union and thus the least active union members. This is the exact opposite of what was predicted by the literature and the hypotheses.

Hypotheses #2 - Why Non-Union Faculty Did Not Join the Union.

2. The faculty who have never been union members did not join Local 1600 because they believe that:

a. unions are unprofessional and identified with manual workers.
b. that unions are too concerned with their own interests and take away from excellence.

c. that Local 1600 is too radical and strikes too much.

The second set of major hypotheses listed above refers to the reasons why a small percentage of the faculty (8%) did not choose to join the union. Fifty-six of the 58 (97%) never union faculty specified why they refused to join. Reasons that were selected from a review of the literature and from the study's pre-test were in the main, but not completely, indicative, as Table 4.19 reveals.

As specified in Table 4.19, the main reasons for not joining refer to the traditional fear that one's professional status is somehow diminished though only 7% are against unions because the latter are identified with manual workers. Strikes or fear of radical labeling, while there (9%), do not appear to be the crucial reasons. Therefore, while hypotheses 2a and 2b appear to have some validity since up to 45% of all never union have indicated same, the hypotheses that the never union faculty did not join Local 1600 because it is too radical and strikes too much cannot be accepted since only 13% and 25% of all the never union indicated same as a reason. Perhaps even the hardcore non-union faculty have become somewhat socialized to the many strikes (see Appendix B) that the Chicago City Colleges have had. At any rate, many of the non-union faculty do not cross the picket lines during a strike and thus, in effect, are on strike.
## TABLE 4.19

**REASONS WHY NEVER UNION FACULTY (N=56) DID NOT JOIN UNION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>% Selected 1st</th>
<th>% Selected 3rd</th>
<th>% of All Selected</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Unions are unprofessional.</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Unions are selfishly concerned with own interests.</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Unions take away from excellence.</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Local 1600 is too radical.</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Local 1600 strikes too much.</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Local 1600's leadership is poor.</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Unions are identified with manual workers.</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Other.</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Hypotheses #3 - Why Faculty Quit the Union.

3. The faculty who previously belonged to but quit Local 1600 did so because they:

   a. were never committed to unionism in the first place and only joined out of peer pressure.

---

24 Listed by highest percentage that selected the reason as the main one.

25 Do not add up to 100% because most selected more than one reason.

26 A wide variety of other reasons given ranged from "personal" and "being against a closed shop" to just "not interested" and even to "no one ever asked me." The most significant "other reason" indicated by 9% of the never union faculty, however, was the five month contract. It appears that since the union agreement does not offer sufficient job protection to faculty hired on a one semester contract, many feel less of a need to join the union until they receive a normal two semester contract.
b. dislike the present union leadership.

c. were against the issues in one strike and believe the union strikes too much.

The above set of hypotheses refer to the reasons why faculty who once belonged and were even very active, have quit the union. Table 4.20 gives the reasons specified by 38 of the 44 once union faculty respondents (86%).

TABLE 4.20
WHY FACULTY QUIT THE UNION (N=38)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons</th>
<th>% Selected 1st</th>
<th>% Selected as 1st-3rd</th>
<th>% of All Who Selected</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Against particular strike issue(s).</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Union leadership poor.</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Union strikes too much.</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Union has made education too political.</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Expelled from union.</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Union acts unprofessionally.</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Never wanted to join in first place.</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Other</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

27 Listed by highest percentage that selected the reason as the main one.

28 Do not add up to 100% because most selected more than one reason.

29 For crossing picket lines.

30 A wide variety of reasons that included that the union is "too selfish," that "hospitalization insurance was needed during a strike," that "dues checkoffs are not right," that one is a "loner and against all organizations."
Since 41% of the once union faculty mentioned dislike of the union leadership, since 50% indicated being against particular strike issues, and since 41% believe the union strikes too much, hypotheses 3b and 3c are accepted. Hypothesis 3a, however, appears to be unsubstantiated since only 7% selected it at all and only 2% specified peer pressure and lack of commitment as the main reason. It has to be replaced by the politicization of education which 43% indicated was a reason.

Hypothesis 4 - Once Union Faculty Compared to Union Non-Active and Never Union.

4. The faculty who previously belonged to but quit Local 1600 are more like the union non-active than the faculty who have never been union.

Hypothesis 4 simply states that the non-union faculty who once belonged to the union are more like the union faculty who are not very active than the non-union faculty who have never been members.

Tables 4.21 to 4.26 present the similarities and differences among the variables found significant when comparing once union faculty and the never union faculty (see pages 55 and 56) then comparing the once union to the union non-active.

The pattern that emerges in Tables 4.21 to 4.26 is that, contrary to what was expected, the once union faculty members are not more like the non-active union members than the never union faculty regarding background variables found significant; but the non-active union members are more like the never union faculty. Regarding sex in Table 4.21, there
is a 23% difference between female and male faculty who were once in the union and who are non-active union members, while there is only an 8% difference between the non-active and never union female and male faculty.

As to age, only 12% of the once union faculty were under 35 years, while the non-active and never union are almost the same (28% to 29%). A similar difference is found in the other age categories.

TABLE 4.21
TABLES COMPARING ONCE UNION/NEVER UNION/UNION NON-ACTIVE
SEX

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Once Union (N=42)</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union Non-Active (N=416)</td>
<td>35% (23%)</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never Union (N=58)</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 4.22
AGE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Under 35</th>
<th>35-49</th>
<th>50-60</th>
<th>Over 60</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Once Union (N=42)</td>
<td>12% (16%)</td>
<td>41% (8%)</td>
<td>33% (13%)</td>
<td>14% (11%)</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union Non-Active (N=416)</td>
<td>28% (1%)</td>
<td>49% (2%)</td>
<td>20% (1%)</td>
<td>3% (2%)</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never Union (N=58)</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

31 Percentage in parentheses is the difference between the once union and non-active union and between the non-active union and never union in each of the categories in Tables 4.21 to 4.26.
### TABLE 4.23

**SALARY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>$11,000-14,999</th>
<th>$15,000-19,999</th>
<th>$20,000-24,999</th>
<th>$25,000 &amp; over</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Once Union (N=42)</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union Non-Active (N=418)</td>
<td>(20%)</td>
<td>(19%)</td>
<td>(27%)</td>
<td>(6%)</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never Union (N=58)</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(10%)</td>
<td>(26%)</td>
<td>(1%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 4.24

**RANK**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Instr.</th>
<th>Asst.</th>
<th>Assoc.</th>
<th>Prof.</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Once Union (N=42)</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union Non-Active (N=418)</td>
<td>(20%)</td>
<td>(9%)</td>
<td>(13%)</td>
<td>(16%)</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never Union (N=58)</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(13%)</td>
<td>(2%)</td>
<td>(10%)</td>
<td>(3%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 4.25

**TENURE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Once Union (N=42)</td>
<td>98%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union Non-Active (N=418)</td>
<td>(18%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(18%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never Union (N=58)</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>(8%)</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(8%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 4.26

**YEARS EXPERIENCE - CHICAGO CITY COLLEGES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1-5</th>
<th>6-10</th>
<th>11-15</th>
<th>16-20</th>
<th>Over 20</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Once Union (N=41)</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union Non-Active (N=411)</td>
<td>(23%)</td>
<td>(3%)</td>
<td>(2%)</td>
<td>(6%)</td>
<td>(6%)</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never Union (N=58)</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(12%)</td>
<td>(11%)</td>
<td>(5%)</td>
<td>(5%)</td>
<td>(1%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Salary is not as clear with large differences between most categories, but in three of the categories there is a larger difference between the once union and union non-active than between the non-active and the never union. Rank and tenure follow the same pattern as sex and salary with larger percentage differences between the categories when comparing once union and union non-active than when comparing union non-active and never union.

Lastly, years experience in the Chicago City Colleges found less clear cut distinctions. Percentage differences between those with 1 to 5 years experience, 21 to 25 years, and over 25 years, are clear cut in favor of greater similarity between the non-active and never union than between the once union and non-active (8% to 13%, 1% to 9%), and 0% to 3%). Categories 6-10 years and 11-15 years, however, contained less difference between the once union and union non-active than between the union non-active and never union (3% to 11% and 2% to 5%). The differences in category 16 to 20 years were very close with a 6% difference between the once union and union non-active and a 5% difference between the non-active and never union.

In summary, regarding the variables found significant by chi-square, the hypothesis that the faculty who once belonged to the union are more like the union non-active than the faculty who have never been union members is not accepted, and is replaced by the conclusion that the non-active union faculty are more like the never union faculty.
Hypotheses 5 a. Why the Union Active Faculty Joined the Union

5. The active union members compared to the union non-active:

a. originally joined Local 1600 because they believe that:

1) faculty power cannot be obtained any other way.
2) collective bargaining is the only path left to professionalism.
3) unionism brings greater personal, as well as professional freedom.
4) the City Colleges administration is very poor.

The set of hypotheses indicated above refers to the reasons why the union active originally joined the union. Comparing the union active with the union non-active, only peer pressure, gratitude for benefits, and job security were found to be significant by chi-square (See Table 4.27).

The hypotheses that the active union faculty (unlike the union non active) the union because faculty power could not be obtained any other way, because collective bargaining is the only path left to professionalism, and because the City Colleges administration is very poor were not accepted.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Chi-Square</th>
<th>Degrees of Freedom</th>
<th>Significance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Peer Pressure</td>
<td>21.76</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gratitude for Benefits</td>
<td>21.87</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job Security</td>
<td>15.91</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Tables 4.28 to 4.30 illustrate how the three significant motives were expressed.

TABLE 4.28

PEER PRESSURE AS UNION MOTIVE
Percentage Distributions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1st</th>
<th>2nd-3rd</th>
<th>4th-9th</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Union Active (N=99)</td>
<td>21 (8/13)</td>
<td>32 (8/8)</td>
<td>44 (16/11)</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Active (N=211)</td>
<td>79 (31/26)</td>
<td>68 (17/17)</td>
<td>56 (20/25)</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>100 (39)</td>
<td>100 (25)</td>
<td>100 (36)</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N=310: N=122, N=77, N=111
contingency coefficient = .26 gamma = .33

TABLE 4.29

PEER PRESSURE MOTIVE AS FREQUENCY & PERCENTAGE OF UNION ACTIVE AND NON ACTIVE TOTAL N'S

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Totals</th>
<th>No. &amp; % Selected 1st</th>
<th>No. &amp; % Selected as a Reason</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Union Active</td>
<td>233 = 100%</td>
<td>25 = 11%</td>
<td>99 = 42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union Non-Active</td>
<td>420 = 100%</td>
<td>97 = 23%</td>
<td>211 = 50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>653 = 100%</td>
<td></td>
<td>310 = 47%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.28 clearly indicates that only 21% of all who mentioned peer pressure as the main reason for joining the union were active union members.

32 See footnote No. 6, page 61.
33 Percent that selected peer pressure as the primary reason for joining the union.
34 Percent that selected peer pressure as either the second or third reason for joining the union.
35 Percent that selected peer pressure as the fourth through ninth reason for joining the union.
members (much less than was expected by chance), while 79% were non-active. In addition, Table 4.29 shows that 50% of all the non-active and 42% of all the active specified peer pressure as a reason. Furthermore, 97 non-active (23%) selected peer pressure as their primary motive for joining while only 25 union active (11%) did so. Therefore, while the fact that 42% of the union active selected peer pressure as a motive was a surprise, the hypothesis that peer pressure was more influential as a reason for joining the union by the union non-active appears upheld.

**TABLE 4.30**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1st 37</th>
<th>2nd-3rd 38</th>
<th>4th-9th 39</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Union Active (N=98)</td>
<td>26 (6/7)</td>
<td>24 (8/12)</td>
<td>46 (20/15)</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union Non-Active (N=190)</td>
<td>74 (16/15)</td>
<td>77 (27/23)</td>
<td>54 (23/28)</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>100 (22)</td>
<td>100 (35)</td>
<td>100 (43)</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N=288</td>
<td>N=62</td>
<td>N=101</td>
<td>N=125</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

contingency coefficient = .27
gamma = .30

36 See footnote No. 6, page 61.

37 Percent that selected gratitude for benefits earned as the primary reason for joining the union.

38 Percent that selected gratitude as the second or third reason for joining the union.

39 Percent that selected gratitude as the fourth through ninth reason for joining the union.
Table 4.31 shows that while the percent of union active and non-active that stated gratitude as the main reason is not that significant, the non-active selected the reason as second or third or as one of many much more so than was expected by chance. Table 4.31 also states that a higher percent of all union non-active selected gratitude first (11% to 7%). Interestingly, however, is the fact that 45% of the non-active and 42% of the active indicated it as one of several reasons. It appears that the good contracts earned by Local 1500 are major reasons for its high rate of union participation and low rate of non-unionism.

Job security, as Table 4.32 shows, is much like peer pressure regarding the fact that more non-active and fewer active selected it as the main reason or as one of the reasons than would have been expected by chance. However, Table 4.33 states that 64% of all the active to 56% of the non active selected it as one of the reasons. This is contrasted with 42% of the active that selected gratitude and peer pressure. Job security is indeed a reason for clinging to the union for almost two-thirds of the union active faculty and over half of the non-active (56%).
TABLE 4.32
JOB SECURITY AS UNION MOTIVE
Percentage Distributions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1st</th>
<th>2nd-3rd</th>
<th>4th-9th</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Union Active (N=148)</td>
<td>25 (5/7)</td>
<td>37 (17/18)</td>
<td>47 (18/15)</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union Non-Active (N=235)</td>
<td>75 (12/10)</td>
<td>63 (29/28)</td>
<td>53 (19/22)</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td>100 (17)</td>
<td>100 (46)</td>
<td>100 (37)</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N=383</td>
<td>N=64</td>
<td>N=175</td>
<td>N=144</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>contingency coefficient</strong> = .20</td>
<td><strong>gamma = -.19</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 4.33
JOB SECURITY MOTIVE AS FREQUENCY AND PERCENT OF UNION ACTIVE AND NON ACTIVE TOTAL N'S

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Totals</th>
<th>No. &amp; % Selected 1st</th>
<th>No. &amp; % Selected as a Reason</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Union Active</td>
<td>233 = 100%</td>
<td>16 = 7%</td>
<td>148 = 64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union Non-Active</td>
<td>420 = 100%</td>
<td>48 = 11%</td>
<td>235 = 56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td>653 = 100%</td>
<td></td>
<td>383 = 59%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Due to the very negative rating given the administration by both the union active in the college governance index (see Table 4.13, page 71), and the never union faculty, a second look was given to the motive of joining because the administration is so poor (Hypothesis 5a. 4). The

40 See footnote 6, page 61.
41 Percent that selected job security as the primary reason for joining the union.
42 Percent that selected job security as the second or third reason for joining the union.
43 Percent that selected job security as the fourth through ninth as a reason.
chi-square level of significance was .0573 more than normally allowed but close to the preferred .05. Table 4.34 presents the relevant percentages and correlations.

TABLE 4.34
POOR ADMINISTRATION AS UNION MOTIVE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage Distributions</th>
<th>1st</th>
<th>2nd-3rd</th>
<th>4th-9th</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Union Active (N=110)</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union Non-Active (N=151)</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N=261</td>
<td>N=34</td>
<td>N=73</td>
<td>N=154</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

contingency coefficient = .23  
gamma = -.10

TABLE 4.35
POOR ADMINISTRATION AS FREQUENCY AND PERCENT OF UNION ACTIVE AND NON ACTIVE TOTAL N'S

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Totals</th>
<th>No. &amp; % Selected 1st as a Reason</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Union Active</td>
<td>233 = 100% 13 = 6% 110 = 47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union Non-Active</td>
<td>420 = 100% 21 = 5% 151 = 36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>653 = 100% 261 = 40%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

44 See footnote No. 6, page 61.
45 Percent that selected poor administration as the primary reason for joining the union.
46 Percent that selected poor administration as the second or third reason for joining the union.
47 Percent that selected poor administration as the fourth through ninth reason for joining the union.
While there is no significant difference in Table 4.34 between the union active and non active who selected poor administration as the primary reason, there appears to be a clear cut difference among those who selected it as the second or third or the fourth through ninth reason. Table 4.35 indicates that while 47% of the active listed it as a reason, only 36% of the non active did so.

Hypotheses 5b, 1. Why Active Union Faculty Joined and Comparison with All Non-Union Faculty

5. b. The most pro union faculty, the union active, and all of the non-union faculty, those who never joined, as well as those who once were members, will be influenced by the independent variables to the following extent:

1) The young, Jewish, untenured men from a working class and union family background who teach in the social science or humanities departments and who have previous union experience, lower rank and salary, and lower educational attainments will be more union active while the older, non-Jewish, tenured women from a non-working class or non-union family background, who teach in the natural science and business departments, who have not had previous union experience, and who have a higher rank, salary, and education will be more non-union.

Regarding background variables, Hypotheses 5b, 1. compares the
233 union active faculty to the 102 non-union faculty. Again using chi-square, no statistical significance was found regarding several variables listed in the above set of descriptive hypotheses - sex, union family background, department, tenure, rank and salary, education. The hypotheses, therefore, that men, those from a union background, those from the Social Sciences and Humanities, the untenured, those of lower rank and salary, and those of lower educational attainments were not more likely to be active in the union than their non-union counterparts.

Table 4.36 lists the variables in the hypotheses found to be significant.

TABLE 4.36
UNION ACTIVE AND NON-UNION SIGNIFICANT HYPOTHESES VARIABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Chi Square</th>
<th>Degrees of Freedom</th>
<th>Level of Significance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Religion</td>
<td>15.25</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Family attitude toward unions</td>
<td>10.05</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Class</td>
<td>9.02</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Age</td>
<td>8.22</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Previous union experience</td>
<td>6.54</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tables 4.37 to 4.39 present these five significant variables in an illustrated manner.

As expected in Table 4.37 and as previously see in Table 4.10 on page 69 that compared the union active and the never union faculty, that 15% of the faculty who are Jewish are much more active than the

48

In a sense, the hypotheses comparing the union active and non-union are redundant because the major parallels have already been accomplished with the union active and never union faculty.
**TABLE 4.37**

**RELIGION**

Percentage Distributions\(^{49}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Protestant</th>
<th>Catholic</th>
<th>Jewish</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>None</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Union Active</strong> (N=230)</td>
<td>57 (17/21)</td>
<td>69 (19/20)</td>
<td>84 (13/10)</td>
<td>78 (9/8)</td>
<td>75 (12/11)</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Non-Union</strong> (N=101)</td>
<td>43 (13/9)</td>
<td>31 (9/8)</td>
<td>16 (2/5)</td>
<td>22 (2/3)</td>
<td>25 (4/5)</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td>100 (30)</td>
<td>100 (27)</td>
<td>100 (15)</td>
<td>100 (11)</td>
<td>100 (16)</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N = 331</td>
<td>N=99</td>
<td>N=92</td>
<td>N=51</td>
<td>N=37</td>
<td>N=52</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

contingency coefficient = .21

---

**TABLE 4.38**

**FAMILY ATTITUDE TOWARD UNIONS**

Percentage Distributions\(^{49}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Pro</th>
<th>Con</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Union Active</strong> (N=233)</td>
<td>80 (30/27)</td>
<td>69 (11/11)</td>
<td>62 (28/31)</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Non-Union</strong> (N=101)</td>
<td>20 (2/11)</td>
<td>31 (5/5)</td>
<td>38 (17/14)</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td>100 (38)</td>
<td>100 (16)</td>
<td>100 (45)</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N=334</td>
<td>N=127</td>
<td>N=54</td>
<td>N=153</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

contingency coefficient = .17  
gamma = .32

---

**TABLE 4.39**

**CLASS**

Percentage Distributions\(^{49}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Lower</th>
<th>Middle</th>
<th>Upper Middle</th>
<th>Upper</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Union Active</strong> (N=233)</td>
<td>56 (6/8)</td>
<td>75 (46/43)</td>
<td>66 (17/18)</td>
<td>44 (1/2)</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Non-Union</strong> (N=100)</td>
<td>44 (5/3)</td>
<td>25 (15/18)</td>
<td>34 (9/8)</td>
<td>56 (2/1)</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td>100 (11)</td>
<td>100 (61)</td>
<td>100 (26)</td>
<td>100 (3)</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N=333</td>
<td>N=34</td>
<td>N=204</td>
<td>N=86</td>
<td>N=9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

contingency coefficient = .16  
gamma = .04

\(^{49}\)See footnote No. 6, page 61.
### Table 4.40

**AGE**

**Percentage Distributions**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Under 35</th>
<th>36-49</th>
<th>50-60</th>
<th>60+</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Union Active</strong> (N=233)</td>
<td>62 (11/13)</td>
<td>72 (34/32)</td>
<td>74 (23/22)</td>
<td>44 (2/4)</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Non-Union</strong> (N=101)</td>
<td>38 (7/5)</td>
<td>28 (13/14)</td>
<td>26 (8/9)</td>
<td>56 (3/1)</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td>100 (18)</td>
<td>100 (47)</td>
<td>100 (31)</td>
<td>100 (5)</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- N=334
- N=58
- N=159
- N=101
- N=16

Contingency coefficient = .16

Gamma = -.03

### Table 4.41

**PREVIOUS UNION EXPERIENCE**

**Percentage Distributions**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Teachers' Union</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Union Active</strong> (N=233)</td>
<td>78 (21/19)</td>
<td>64 (37/40)</td>
<td>76 (12/11)</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Non-Union</strong> (N=101)</td>
<td>22 (6/8)</td>
<td>36 (20/17)</td>
<td>24 (4/5)</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td>100 (27)</td>
<td>100 (57)</td>
<td>100 (16)</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- N=334
- N=91
- N=190
- N=53

Contingency coefficient = .14

30% who are Protestant (84% to 57%) and who are, therefore, more non-union (43% to 16%). While differences among the 27% who are Catholic are not that significant, the 27% of the faculty who indicated another religion (unspecified) or no religion were more active and less non-union than expected by chance.

Table 4.38 regarding family attitudes toward unions clearly...

---

50 See footnote No. 6, page 61.
points out that being from a pro-union or neutral-union family increases one's union activity and decreases one's "non-unionness," but being from an anti-union family does not make much difference. While a subjective self selection of class background has debatable research value, it is interesting that Table 4.39 shows 44% of those who admitted to a lower class background (much more than would be expected by chance) were non-union. If the class self-designation is at all accurate, the hypothesis that the union active are from a more lower class background than the non-union is questionable. The other categories of upper-middle, and upper class, though the last has a small N (9), justify the hypothesis because as class goes up, so does percent of non-unionism. The middle class, however, were more union active and less never union than expected. Perhaps the lower class suspicion of established organizations and institutions, as indicated in the relative deprivation theory, in this case, has carried over to the faculty union.

Age, in Table 4.40, presents an even more confusing picture. While the oldest category of over 60 has the highest percent of non-unionism (56%), the category 50 to 60 has less than what was expected by chance (though not by much) and less than the category of 36 to 49; and those under 35 are higher yet with 38% non-union. Perhaps many of those in the lower class in Table 4.39 are the ones under 35 in Table 4.40.

Lastly, previous union experience was moderately important, as Table 4.41 shows, in determining a higher rate of union activity and lower rate of non-unionism. Of those with previous union experience (it does not make much difference whether it was in a teachers' union or
not), 78% were active while only 64% of those without union experience were so. The question is, however, why does previous union experience make such a small difference. This researcher expected it to be much more influential.

Hypotheses 5b, 2.

5. The active union members:
   
   b. The active union members and all of the non-union faculty will be influenced by the following independent variable to this extent:
   
   2) The politically and educationally more liberal, the more politically active, the less trusting of major social institutions (especially the City College Administration), and the less satisfied with a community college teaching career will be more union active while the opposite will be true of the more non-union.

Regarding attitudinal variables, hypotheses 5b, 2, compares the 233 union active faculty with the 102 non-union faculty regarding political and educational orientations, degree of political activity, degree of trust or mistrust of major social institutions (especially the City Colleges administration), and degree of satisfaction with a community college teaching career. All these hypotheses were able to be accepted at the .001 and .01 level of significance. Table 4.42 specified the hypothesized variables that were found significant while Tables 4.43 to 4.46 display their cross tabulations.
TABLE 4.42

UNION ACTIVE/NON-UNION - OTHER SIGNIFICANT VARIABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Chi-Square</th>
<th>Degrees of Freedom</th>
<th>Level of Significance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Political Orientation</td>
<td>33.47</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Educational Orientation</td>
<td>42.90</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Trust of City College</td>
<td>41.38</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administration</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Political Activity</td>
<td>18.20</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 4.43

POLITICAL ORIENTATION
Percentage Distributions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Conservative</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Liberal</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Union Active</td>
<td>47 (10/15)</td>
<td>71 (15/15)</td>
<td>77 (44/41)</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Union</td>
<td>53 (11/6)</td>
<td>29 (6/6)</td>
<td>23 (14/17)</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>100 (21)</td>
<td>100 (21)</td>
<td>100 (58)</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N=335</td>
<td>N=72</td>
<td>N=72</td>
<td>N=191</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>contingency coefficient = .30</td>
<td>gamma = .37</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 4.44

EDUCATIONAL ORIENTATION
Percentage Distributions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Conservative</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Liberal</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Union Active</td>
<td>44 (6/10)</td>
<td>61 (5/6)</td>
<td>83 (59/55)</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Union</td>
<td>56 (8/4)</td>
<td>39 (3/2)</td>
<td>17 (19/23)</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>100 (14)</td>
<td>100 (8)</td>
<td>100 (78)</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N = 335</td>
<td>N=48</td>
<td>N=27</td>
<td>N=260</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>contingency coefficient = .34</td>
<td>gamma = .36</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

51 See footnote No. 6, page 61.
TABLE 4.45
TRUST OF CITY COLLEGE ADMINISTRATION
Percentage Distributions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Trust</th>
<th>Neither</th>
<th>Distrust</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Union Active</td>
<td>53 (6/8)</td>
<td>56 (21/27)</td>
<td>87 (45/32)</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non Union</td>
<td>47 (5/3)</td>
<td>44 (17/10)</td>
<td>13 (6/14)</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>100 (11)</td>
<td>100 (38)</td>
<td>100 (46)</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N=313
contingency coefficient = .34

TABLE 4.46
DEGREE OF POLITICAL ACTIVITY
Percentage Distributions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Not Active</th>
<th>Neither</th>
<th>Active</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Union Active</td>
<td>61 (33/38)</td>
<td>75 (16/15)</td>
<td>83 (21/17)</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Union</td>
<td>39 (21/16)</td>
<td>25 (5/6)</td>
<td>17 (4/8)</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>100 (54)</td>
<td>100 (21)</td>
<td>100 (25)</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N=334
contingency coefficient = .23

Tables 4.43 and 4.44 were structured like Tables 4.2 and 4.3 on page 59 with the negative and positive scores of the appropriate indices being collapsed into conservative and liberal categories. As can be clearly noted, the two tables present the pattern of conservative attitudes held by the non-union faculty and liberal attitudes held by the union.

52 See footnote No. 6, page 61.
active faculty with the neutral differences not that different than what was expected by chance.

As predicted, Table 4.45 points out that the faculty who distrust the City College administration are much more active than expected (87%) with almost half (47%) of those who trust the administration being non-union. Those who indicated they neither trusted nor distrusted the administration also scored much lower in union activity and thus much higher in never unionness than was expected. Note also the rather strong negative gamma (−.57). Concerning degree of political activity, the hypothesis that the union active are more politically active seems to be borne out by Table 4.46 since 83% of those who score as active politically are active in the union and 39% of the politically inactive are non-union - significantly more than would be expected by chance.

Other variables that were found to be significant were the attitudes toward college governance, unions, and student power, as displayed in Table 4.47.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Chi-Square</th>
<th>Degrees of Freedom</th>
<th>Level of Significance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. College governance attitude</td>
<td>52.07</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>.001*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. union orientation</td>
<td>40.41</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>.001*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. student power views</td>
<td>32.90</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>.001*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*chi-squares and significance levels when collapsed are in Appendix C.
Just as when comparing the union active and the never union faculty, the scores on the index to measure the attitude of the union active and all non-union faculty toward the administration are significant as Table 4.48 points out.

**TABLE 4.48**

**COLLEGE GOVERNANCE ATTITUDE**

**ATTITUDE TOWARD CITY COLLEGE ADMINISTRATION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Pro</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Con</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Union Active</td>
<td>50 (1/1.5)</td>
<td>65 (3/3)</td>
<td>70 (65/65)</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Union</td>
<td>50 (1/1.5)</td>
<td>35 (2/2)</td>
<td>30 (28/28)</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>100 (2)</td>
<td>100 (5)</td>
<td>100 (93)</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N=335</td>
<td>N=6</td>
<td>N=17</td>
<td>N=312</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

contingency coefficient = .37  
gamma = -.41

Again, just as with the union active and never union faculty (see Table 4.13 on page 71), a very small percentage of the faculty have a score pro (2%) or even neutral (5%) regarding the administration of the City Colleges. The N's, however, are too small in the pro and neutral categories to generalize regarding the percentages. It is clear that the union active and the non-union are anti-administration. This is supported by the moderately high negative gamma (-.41). It does not appear, however, that those with a negative view of the administration are more union active or less non union than those with a positive view.

Pro and con union attitudes should also have been hypothesized as Table 4.49 indicates.
Once more very few were found neutral (7%) regarding unions (see Table 4.12 on page 71), and 41% of those with anti-union scores were never union and 59% union active. The percentage of those with pro-union sentiments that were never union (22%) and union active (78%) were also significantly different than were expected. The correlations reinforce the conclusion that the never-union faculty have more anti-union views than the union active faculty than were also expected.

The third attitudinal variable that was not included in the hypotheses was the faculty view of student power. Table 4.50 illustrates this after the collapsing procedure is again applied as in Table 4.14 on page 72.

TABLE 4.50
STUDENT POWER VIEWS
As hypothesized, those faculty against student power issues were more never union and less union active than expected, and those for student activism were more union active and less never union than expected. Those who were given a neutral score were very similar to those who received negative scores.

Hypothesis #6 • Why Non-Active Faculty Joined and Comparison with Non-Union

6. The non-active union faculty originally joined Local 1600 because of peer pressure, in gratitude for benefits won, for greater job security, because they believe unionism is the only way to obtain adequate salary and fringe benefits, and because they believe the City Colleges administration is very poor. Regarding the above categorical and scaled variables, they are more like the non-union than active union faculty.

It has already been established in Tables 4.27 to 4.31 (pages 83-86) that the non-active significantly differ from the active as to motives for joining the union with the former being more influenced by peer pressure, gratitude for benefits received, and job security; and the latter by a negative view of the administration. Though not found significant by chi-square, 67% and 65% of the active, while only 49% and 37% of the non-active, selected greater faculty power and professionalism as one of nine reasons for joining the union. In addition, 73% of the active and only 55% of the non-active indicated salary and other benefits. This last perhaps means that the active union faculty identify greater economic benefits as a sign of professionalism.
Concerning similarities and differences among significant variables, hypothesis #6 states that the non-active union faculty are more like the non-union than the union active. It also has already been established in the discussion concerning Hypotheses #4 (Tables 4.21 to 4.26 on pages 80-81) that the non-union faculty who were once in the union are not more like the union non-active faculty but that the latter are most like the non-union faculty who were never in the union in regard to sex, age, salary, rank, tenure and Chicago City College teaching experience.

The two non-union groups are lumped together and compared to the union-active in Tables 4.51 to 4.56. Reviewing all the tables at once, the pattern is one of great similarity. The non-active are slightly more female, younger, of lower rank and experience, slightly less untenured, and much less in salary. In almost every category the differences between the union non-active and non-union are less than the differences between the non-active and never union and much less between the non-active and once union faculty (see Tables 4.21 to 4.26, pages 80-81). The hypotheses accurately predicted the above relationships.

Chapter 5 will now summarize the results of this study and relate them to the pertinent literature, as well as indicate topics for future study.
### TABLE 4.51 - SEX

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-Active (N=416)</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Union (N=100)</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 4.52 - AGE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Under 35</th>
<th>35-49</th>
<th>50-60</th>
<th>Over 60</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-Active (N=416)</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Union (N=100)</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 4.53 - SALARY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>$11,000</th>
<th>$15,000- $19,999</th>
<th>$20,000- $24,999</th>
<th>$25,000 &amp; over</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-Active (N=418)</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Union (N=100)</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 4.54 - RANK

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Instr.</th>
<th>Asst.</th>
<th>Assoc.</th>
<th>Prof.</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-Active (N=418)</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Union (N=100)</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 4.55 - TENURE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-Active (N=413)</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Union (N=100)</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 4.56 - YEARS EXPERIENCE - CHICAGO CITY COLLEGES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1-5</th>
<th>6-10</th>
<th>11-15</th>
<th>16-20</th>
<th>21-25</th>
<th>Over 25</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-Active (N=411)</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Union (N=96)</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

Background and Attitudinal Variables

The purpose of this research was three-fold: 1) to compare the non-union and union faculty regarding background and attitudinal variables; 2) to find out why so many faculty joined the union, why some quit and why some never joined; and 3) to suggest future directions for community college unions.

Regarding hypothesized background and attitudinal variables, it was correctly predicted that the most pro union faculty, that is, those active in the union would differ significantly from the least pro union faculty, those who never joined the union. As did Ladd and Lipset (1973), it was discovered that ideological and attitudinal variables (political and educational ideology, positive or negative attitudes toward unions, views pro or con the administration and student activism) were the most significant.

Concerning political orientation, the never union faculty, as hypothesized, were politically conservative and the active union faculty, politically liberal (Table 4.2, page 59). This finding is very consistent with the literature distinguishing faculty pro or con unionism at all levels of education (K-12, Cole (1969), Moore (1971) and Sumner (1975):

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community college, Hoehn (1971) and Flango (1975): university, Ladd and Lipset (1973) and Kemerer and Baldridge (1975): all college levels. This conclusion is also compatible with the left of center politics of social criticism that has become identified with college faculties. It is logical that the most liberal of this liberal group (college teachers) would be the most militant or active in opposing the established power structures of the Chicago Community Colleges.

Though the literature does not specifically cover liberal-conservative educational orientation, it was correctly predicted that the political ideological differences would carry over to educational views (Table 4.3, page 59).

As should have been foreseen, these same two groups differed, although not as markedly, regarding their union orientation, their attitude toward the administration, and their views concerning student activism with the union active being more pro-union (Table 4.13, page 58), more critical of the administration (Table 4.14, page 69), and more in favor of student control over campus decisions (Table 4.15, page 70). Again the literature is filled with pertinent references. Ladd and Lipset (1973) found the more liberal, pro-union faculty more pro-student activism and more critical of the administration. Practically all the studies cited in the literature review (Lane (1967), Howe (1973), Tice (1973), Angel (1972), Begin (1974), Nelson (1974), Sumner (1975), Schultz (1975), Kemerer (1975)) indicated, at least indirectly, a negative view of the
administration and dissatisfaction with one's work environment as a distinguishing variable between pro-union and anti-union and hence as one of the major causes of faculty unionization. Flango (1975) also concurred with Ladd and Lipset (1973) regarding student activism.

The background variables found important were family attitude towards unions, college teaching experience (especially in the Chicago City Colleges), tenure, rank, salary, education, political activity, department, religion and age.

Previous findings regarding college teaching experience is uneven. Lane (1967) found pro-union faculty to have had less college teaching experience while Muczyk (1975) and Moore (1971) did not. This study concludes that the most pro-union are those with 6 to 15 years experience in the Chicago City Colleges and those with 6 to 10 years of other college teaching experience (See Tables 4.5 and 4.6, pages 61 and 62). The least pro-union are the faculty with less than 6 years experience in the Chicago City Colleges and over 10 years in other college systems. The next least pro-union and most non-union are those with 16-20 years experience in the City Colleges, but those with over 20 years are the most active and the least non-union (though both categories have small N's). It takes the faculty time to join the union, as well as to get active in it, possibly because of the occupational socializing factor of peer pressure and issue awareness during strikes.

Concerning union background, several variables were considered as child and adult socializing influences - prior union membership, family member in union, and family attitude pro or con unions. Only the last
was found significant (See Table 4.6, page 65) though Tice (1972), Moore (1971), Summer (1975) and Garbarino (1975)\(^2\) stressed prior union experience on the K-12 level. Perhaps the K-12 influence is not membership so much as the atmosphere of an accepted behavior pattern and the model for better economic benefits and improved working conditions. Moore found father's membership in a union important in his study of Pennsylvania community colleges.

The literature regarding the related background and career variables of education, age, rank, tenure, and salary is fairly consistent. Though Hoehn (1971) found the pro-union to be of higher educational level, though Muczyk (1975) did not find age significant, and though Moore (1971) did not find education or salary level important, Ladd and Lipset (1973), Lane (1967), Seidman (1974), Fulle (1974), Sumner (1975), and Kemerer (1975), all found the younger, the untenured, those of lower rank and salary more pro-union. Moore (1971), in addition, found the untenured and those of lower rank more pro-union while Muczyk (1975) found rank alone significant.

This research concluded that those with more education (Table 4.7, page 66), and those 35 to 60 years of age (Table 4.11, page 69), are the most pro-union and that the untenured and those of lowest rank and salary are the least pro union (Tables 4.16 to 4.18, page 71), as well as those under 35 and those over 60 years of age (Table 4.11, page 69). Thus the class theory of politics that the more deprived - the untenured faculty of lowest rank - would be the most militant and active is not endorsed as far as explaining the union militancy of the Chicago City

\(^2\)Muczyk (1975), however, did not find prior union membership significant.
College faculty. The real surprise in the above is the fact that those under 35 are the least pro union or most anti-union. The conclusions from Chapter IV and as indicated above regarding occupational socialization and peer pressure to join during the regularly held strikes, appears to explain this phenomenon, at least in part. It is more likely, however, that Kemerer and Baldridge's conclusion that unions appeal to two different faculty groups is more applicable. The "preservation" oriented seek to safeguard their higher status and the "deprived" oriented view collective bargaining as a way to gain more power and benefits. 3 This research's findings suggest that the City College faculty are more preservation oriented.

Corwin reinforces Kemerer and Baldridge when he concluded that it is the middle-aged well-established male faculty that are more pro union. 4 With the exception of the sex differences, his finding seems to also apply to the City College active union faculty.

Another explanation might be the relative deprivation that the established, experienced, educated faculty experience when they compare their community college status to the status of four-year college and university professors. According to Garrison, many see themselves as the Ph.D. candidate who "couldn't make it" and their self-esteem needs would be better satisfied at a university. 5 Further research might investigate this possibility.

3 Kemerer and Baldridge, op. cit., p. 65.
4 See footnote No. 8, p. 20.
Using political orientation as a test variable, Table 5.1 presents another perspective regarding age.

TABLE 5.1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POLITICAL ORIENTATION</th>
<th>BY AGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>under</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union Active</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never Union</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N=80</td>
<td>(10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gamma</td>
<td>- .50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Though the small N's in the over 60 category make generalizations difficult, it is clear that political ideology has a significant difference in the three other age categories. The most dramatic of which is the under 35 category. When the above table is compared to Table 4.11 on page 69, it is seen that, for those of conservative orientation, youth (note the - .50 gamma) is more important since the degree of pro unionism is lessened as one gets younger. Again, this might be explained in terms of occupational socialization. For liberals the basic pattern seen in Table 4.11 on page 69 holds true.

6 The moderate category was eliminated because of a low N (17).
Another background variable considered was religion. Cole (1969) and Ladd and Lipset (1973) deduced that Jews were definitely more pro union because of a more liberal background, while Moore (1971) ascertained that non-Protestants were more favorable toward unions. This study also concluded that Jews were the most pro union and Protestants were the least, with Catholics intermediate (Table 4.10, page 69). Even more pro union than Catholics, however, were those 80 respondents (23%) who checked "other" or "none". It was thought that perhaps religious differences could also be explained by political orientation or ideology. Though the conclusions were not significant by chi-square (undoubtedly because of the small N's in some sub-categories), Table 5.2 presents the results.

**TABLE 5.2**

**RELIGION BY POLITICAL ORIENTATION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conservative</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Liberal</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Active</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>87%</td>
<td>92%</td>
<td>92%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N = 79</td>
<td></td>
<td>31</td>
<td>(8)</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(44)</td>
<td>(44)</td>
<td>(38)</td>
<td>(26)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gamma = -.03</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>N = 192</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>gamma = -.33</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The moderate category was eliminated because of a low N (17).
The picture is now changed from Table 4.10. Although Protestants and Catholics were more evenly divided between conservatives and liberals, there were very few conservative Jews, "other," and "none". Protestants and Jews do not vary that much in their union orientation by political ideology, but liberal Catholics are significantly more pro union than conservative Catholics (87% to 57%). The same applies to those of other religions (92% to 67%) and especially those who indicated no religion (90% to 40%).

The last background or career variables to be considered are the department in which the faculty member teaches and his or her degree of political activity. As predicted, those least pro union, the faculty who never joined the union, were significantly less active politically (Table 4.8, page 67) concurring with Flango's (1975) study at the university level. Several studies (Ladd and Lipset (1973), Hoehn (1971), Muczyk (1975), Seidman (1974), Moore (1971), Kemerer (1975)) found that the more active or more pro union faculty belonged to the social science or humanities (liberal arts) departments, while the least pro union were in the business department. As Table 4.9 on page 68 indicates, this research concluded basically the same thing with members of the counseling and library departments as even more pro union than the social science and humanities and members of the child development, engineering, law enforcement, nursing and physical education departments more anti-union than business and data processing. The natural science faculty was not found as anti-union as expected.

Again, using political ideology as a test variable, Table 5.3
presents some interesting observations, namely, that political orientation
does not make too much difference to counselors and librarians or to
teachers of the humanities, but it makes a substantial difference to social
scientists, to business and other career faculty, and makes a moderate
difference to natural scientists and mathematicians. Exactly why the
above occurs is not quite clear. Perhaps both conservative as well as
liberal counselors and librarians realize their position is improved
substantially by unionization since they are given full faculty status.
Perhaps also the liberal ideology of others just simply includes unionism
while their conservative ideology simply excludes it. The humanities
teachers who are interested in all things "human" might simply exclude
unionism from their political ideologies.

TABLE 5.3
DEPARTMENT BY POLITICAL ORIENTATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Counseling</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Science &amp; Math</th>
<th>Bus. &amp; Data P.</th>
<th>Other Career</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Library</td>
<td>Science</td>
<td>Humanities</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conservative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union Active</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>79%</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never Union</td>
<td></td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>59%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N = 78</td>
<td>(8)</td>
<td>(9)</td>
<td>(14)</td>
<td>(19)</td>
<td>(11)</td>
<td>(17)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Counseling</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Science &amp; Math</th>
<th>Bus. &amp; Data P.</th>
<th>Other Career</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Library</td>
<td>Science</td>
<td>Humanities</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union Active</td>
<td>88%</td>
<td>97%</td>
<td>87%</td>
<td>85%</td>
<td>87%</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never Union</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N = 139</td>
<td>(17)</td>
<td>(34)</td>
<td>(63)</td>
<td>(40)</td>
<td>(15)</td>
<td>(20)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Motives for Joining, Quitting, or Not Joining

The second major purpose of this research was to discover exactly why the union members, especially the active, joined; why a small minority of faculty never joined; and why almost half of the non-union who responded once belonged to the union. The literature stresses several reasons why individuals, especially college faculty members, join unions. Seidman mentioned work conditions and peer pressure in discussing steel workers. As indicated earlier, a direct or indirect negative view of the administration by college faculty was rather universal—Lindeman (1973), Shulman (1972), Howe (1973), Tice (1972), Angell (1972), Begin (1974), Nelson (1974), Sumner (1975), Schultz (1975), Kemerer (1975). Unionism being the only viable alternative to obtaining a say so in important decisions affecting economic benefits and working conditions and therefore to obtaining greater freedom and control over events, was also inferred as a reason by Moore (1971), Howe (1973), Mankine (1972), Begin (1972), Nelson (1974), Sumner (1975), Schultz (1975) and Kemerer (1975).

Changing views of what professionalism consists of were considered. Lane (1967), Seidman (1974), and Corwin (1965)specifically mention the attitude that militant control over important career areas are now considered by pro union faculty as much more professional than the outdated idea of collegiality that all college groups have input and can influence decisions and conditions. Economic pressures were also presented as influential by Ladd and Lipset (1973), Howe (1973), Angell (1972), Begin (1974),

Although all of the above motives were of some influence in the decision to join the union, only peer pressure, gratitude for benefits received, job security, and a negative view of the administration distinguished the active union members from the non-active. (See Tables 4.27 to 4.31, pages 83-86).

The active union faculty were less motivated by the so-called extrinsic motives of peer pressure, gratitude, and job security than were the non-active faculty. The active, as expected, were more influenced by a negative view of the administration and a desire for greater faculty power and professionalism. This last is consistent with Corwin's view that the traditional opinion of professionalism being elitist and anti-union egalitarianism is giving way to the professional militancy of control over decision making. The conclusions regarding job security seems to indicate that Etzioni's (1969) replaceability factor of the semi-professions refers mainly to the union non-active, not the union active who take a less traditional and more professional attitude toward unionism on campus.

A small group of faculty did not join the union (Table 4.19, page 7) because of traditional views of unions as unprofessional, too concerned with their own interests, and indicative of mediocrity. Local 1600 was also seen as too radical and possessing poor leadership. No one or two reasons dominated, but a fairly wide range of motives for not joining were indicated. It would seem that a change in the situation would be
difficult because of the many expressed reasons and since the major reasons appear to be based on a more traditional view of academic life reinforced by a more political conservative ideology. While answering another question, however, seven never-union faculty indicated a passage of a state collective bargaining law would change their minds.

The motives of the rather large percentage of non-union faculty (42%) who were once union members, were particularly intriguing. The frequent strikes and criticism of the union leadership are their major reasons for quitting, although almost 10% were expelled (Table 4.20, page 78). Interestingly, 17 or 42% of those teachers would rejoin the union if there were no strikes, or if they could cross the picket lines, and/or if the union changed its leadership.

**Future Directions**

The last purpose of this research is to suggest future directions or trends for community college unions. As indicated above, the passage of a state collective bargaining law will probably increase the percent of faculty unionization within community college locals as well as perhaps the number of locals.

The importance of political ideology as the major independent variable directing attention to or away from unions might have an adverse effect. If liberal orientation is to question established institutions, the more liberal faculty might begin to look upon experienced unions or their established leadership as social phenomena to be criticized. A concern for future research is to study the factions in Local 1600 for political ideology differences.
If central administrations engage in more understanding and open communication with the faculty and allow them effective participation in governance by eliminating the K-12 mentality of employer-employee relationships and encouraging a collegial approach, much of the faculty's negative view of the administration might be dissipated and the need to join unions to have an effective voice would probably be lessened. At any rate, the faculty trace much of their alienation to poor administration.

On the other hand, it might be too late. The administration now has to show a "tough face" or else be considered weak. The above discussion seems to call for an open, considerate, imaginative and leading administration and faculty working together for the good of the students, as well as for their own professional goals. As far as the Chicago City Colleges go, it appears that a change in leadership would go a long way toward diffusing the personal and categorical antagonisms engendered over its long history of continual conflict.

The elimination or proliferation of one-semester or short-term contracts would also appear to increase or decrease union participation.

Areas for further research not previously mentioned are a detailed historical analysis of the origin and growth of Local 1600 and the questions of whether the pro union community college faculty are cosmopolitans or locals; whether personal, temperamental and other psychological traits distinguish union attitudes; whether union officers differ significantly from the rank and file; whether most administrators have a negative view of faculty unions; whether sexism is non-existent in Local 1600; whether any K-12 union influence can be traced; whether black faculty view unionism
differently than the non-black; whether strikes can be diminished in importance; and whether the positive aspects of unionism - economic benefits, job security, increased faculty influence in college governance, conflict management, and past discrimination remedies - outweigh the suggested potential problems - polarization of administration and faculty, increased bureaucracy, disproportionate power to faculty, inferior educational quality, and increased standardization.  

^3^Kemerer and Baldrige, pp. 206-218.
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APPENDIX A
History of American Federation of Teachers (AFT)

In an effort to promote stronger local organizations, eight of the local teacher unions banded together in 1916 to form the American Federation of Teachers. The AFT affiliated with the American Federation of Labor three years later.

Though the AFT started with a membership of almost 3,000, the Chicago Federation of Teachers, which was organized in 1887 as the first teachers' union in the nation and has always borne the designation Local No. 1, withdrew soon afterwards when they were forced to accept a "yellow-dog" contract that prohibited union membership. The AFT, however, rebounded quickly to 10,000 members in 1920. This growth was interrupted by the anti-union, open-shop drive in the early 1920's and the intense membership campaign of the National Education Association, directed by public school administrators. Therefore, between 1920 and 1926, the AFT lost two-thirds of its members because many local leaders were dismissed or threatened with dismissal.

Beginning in 1926, the AFT gradually increased its membership and by the mid 1930's it was once again at the 10,000 member mark and spurted to almost 40,000 in 1940. Serious internal problems beset the organizations as a Communist takeover was finally averted with the revocation

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1 Teachers salaries had not been raised in 20 years and after the union discovered several major corporations had failed to pay their full taxes, successfully recovered the needed revenues in a court suit. The union was aided in their efforts by the Chicago Federation of Labor.
of the charters of three major locals by a membership referendum in 1941.2

During the 1950's, the AFT resumed its steady growth though it experienced a brief loss of membership in the mid-1950's when convention delegates expelled a few racially segregated locals. By 1960, the AFT emerged as a securely established union with approximately 60,000 members. Pressure from the rival National Education Association (NEA) prompted the AFT to formally label that organization "a company union," thereby establishing the two groups in firm competition.

By then it was considered obvious by many teachers that collective bargaining was the only way to insure economic security and to protect teachers' rights. Prior to collective bargaining, "negotiations" between boards of education and teachers' unions ranged from presentations of salary committees to agreements that were almost de facto collective bargaining agreements. The formal stress on the importance of collective bargaining clearly defined the AFT as an organization with unmistakable trade union goals.3 The big breakthrough came in 1962 when the New York City teachers went out on strike after three months of negotiations. Less than ten years later, almost half of all the public classroom teachers in the nation followed suit. No longer

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did professionalism to teachers mean conformity and acquiescence as over 453,000 had joined the AFT by 1975.4

In 1967, the AFT Executive Council formally established a full-time Colleges and Universities Department when there were some 50 college locals with about 3,000 members. In 1974, there were approximately 240 locals in over 300 campuses with 35,000 members in higher education5 which had established itself as one of the fastest growing sectors of the AFT. About half of these members were in New York State, most of them in the joint NEA-AFT unions in CUNY and SUNY. In 1975, membership was about evenly divided between the two-year community colleges and four-year colleges, "the most notable unit (outside New York) being that in the Chicago City Colleges with eight years of bargaining and a number of strikes behind it."6 The AFT has had more success than the NEA in organizing community college faculty in the larger cities like New York, Detroit and, of course, Chicago.

4American Teacher 59 (June 1975): 3.

5Garbarino and Aussieker, Faculty Bargaining: Change and Conflict, p. 93.

6The AFT in 1976 voted to dissolve this joint relationship. See American Teacher 60 (March 1976): 3.

7Mainly former teachers or normal colleges.

8Garbarino and Aussieker, p. 93.
APPENDIX B

Strike and Contract History of CCC

Called the "largest faculty strike in the history of American junior colleges," the first faculty walkout in the fifty-year Chicago City College history took place on November 30, 1966, and lasted for three days. Besides being housed in inferior facilities, faculty leaders complained that they had "virtually no voice in the determination of their working conditions" and that the needs of 684 full-time junior college teachers were submerged among the 22,000 teachers under the Chicago Board of Education.1

When the Illinois Master Plan for Higher Education made possible the transferring of the colleges to an independent junior college board, the Cook County College Teachers' Union, with a membership of 450, or two-thirds of the full-time faculty at eight campuses, had great expectations that they would be recognized as the exclusive bargaining agent.

After the Board of Education had refused this right, even though it had given the right to a collective bargaining election to the K-12 faculty, a threatened strike was averted in June, 1966, only after Mayor Richard J. Daley promised that an independent junior college board

1 Much of the information about the early relations between the City College Board and the Cook County College Teachers Union was contained in the following article. Norman G. Swenson and Leon Novar, "Chicago City College Teachers Strike," Junior College Journal 37 (27 March 1967): 19-22. See also Monroe (1972) and Kelley (1970).
would be appointed by July 1, 1966, and that it would be sympathetic
to the union's demand for an election.

The new board received the petition signed by 475 faculty members
and agreed to hold an election. This election was not held until October, 1966, because of delays caused by the Chicago Division of the Illinois
Educational Association, an NEA affiliate. Because the board insisted
that all faculty groups participate in setting the election ground rules,
the Cook County College Teachers' Union was forced to negotiate with an
organization representing only a handful of the faculty. The I.E.A.
eventually withdrew at the last minute and the Cook County Teachers' Union
received 535 of the 590 votes cast (91%).

The board took two weeks to select its negotiating team so that
negotiations for the first collective bargaining contract were not begun
until the end of October. The union expected to negotiate with board
members and its chief administrative officer but instead faced an outsider,
a former labor lawyer, as sole spokesman for the negotiating team (also
composed of campus deans and lesser administrative officers), while at
the same time negotiations by the Chicago Board of Education were being
conducted by three board members and the general superintendent.

During the first six sessions, the board further alienated the
union by failing to make one single counterproposal to the union's
thirty-eight page proposed contract, by insisting on the presence of a
court reporter (as in a trial), by calling for all meetings on board
property, by insisting that the sessions be timed around the chief
negotiator's schedule at Loyola University, and by demanding seventeen
preconditions for union recognition. Among the latter items were that the union would agree not to strike, that the negotiated results would only be recommendations to the board, and that the board would discharge any employee who encouraged or participated in a strike.

The union negotiating team, acting on instructions from the Cook County College Teachers' Union House of Representatives, declared at the sixth session that they would refuse to negotiate until the seventeen preconditions would be withdrawn. Dr. Taylor, the board president, in a letter to the press and faculty, stated that he was going to court to seek an injunction to halt any possibility of a strike since the union's House of Representatives had already authorized the calling of a strike if negotiations were not continued.

Dr. Taylor's letter triggered the strike and progress was made in negotiations during the brief strike resulting in a signed agreement that pledged the board to good faith bargaining without preconditions and a signed collective bargaining contract.

The union remained alienated, however, because, even though meetings were no longer held on board property, the composition of the board's team did not change, the oral promise of no court reporter was not carried out, and the chief negotiator announced that he would have to leave for two weeks to attend a professional meeting just before the crucial deadline (January 10, 1967) of passage of the final budget. Therefore, because of lack of progress, the union membership voted on January 2, 1967 to strike again if the board did not offer substantial economic counter-proposals. A second strike was called for January 6 that lasted for one day and resulted in a breakthrough agreement in Mayor Daley's office with
reductions in class load and class size, salary increases, paid major medical and term insurance policies, paid sabbatical leaves, sick leave accumulation, severance pay based on unused sick leave, calendar agreements, and a tax sheltered annuity to be negotiated later. The first contract was for two years and ran from January 1, 1967 through December 31, 1968.

The experiences of these first impasses were a foretelling of future bargaining conflicts with the strikes lasting longer, the board trying to chip away at the excellent contract provisions, relations becoming more strained, and the courts being more involved.

In 1969, although a contract strike was averted with another last minute two-year agreement from January 1, 1969 to December 31, 1970, the faculty struck for two days in November over the issue of the involuntary transfer of two union faculty members at Bogan (now Daley) Community College. This eventually was settled by an outside arbitrator.

In 1971, Local 1600 had its longest strike of five weeks. This period contained one of the most successful instances in which students have influenced events by appealing to the courts use of injunctive powers. After four weeks of the strike, six of the then seven student body presidents supported the injunction petition. Cook County Circuit Judge Nathan Cohen ordered further negotiations to be held in court under his supervision. He eventually resolved five disputed issues himself and the longest contract (two and one-half years) was signed from January 1, 1971 through June 30, 1973.

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2 Garbarino, p. 120.
In the Fall of 1973, after a strike of one-day and another defied injunction, both parties arrived at a settlement on their own to last from July 1, 1973 through June 30, 1975.

The sixth strike was again over a contract and lasted for three bitter weeks before the opening of the Fall, 1975 semester. Another injunction was defied resulting in a five-month jail sentence (later pardoned by Governor Walker) and the second jailing of President Swenson for eight days\(^3\) as well as fines of $55,000. An agreement was eventually reached that extended from July 1, 1975 through the beginning of the Fall semester, 1977 (and as long as negotiations for a new contract continue). Besides salary increases, released time for department chairmen was restored, 100 teachers were added to the bargaining unit and procedures for laying-off and hiring teachers were spelled out.\(^4\)

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\(^3\) 1975-1977 Agreement, p. 3.

SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

please check the appropriate category.

1. Male ( ) Female ( )

2. ( ) under 35, ( ) 35-49, ( ) 50-60, ( ) over 60.

3. Religious preference?
   ( ) Protestant, ( ) Catholic, ( ) Jewish, ( ) other __________

4. Your race or ethnic group?
   ( ) White ( ) Black ( ) Latin ( ) Oriental ( ) Other __________

5. Do you consider the family you grew up in to be?
   ( ) lower class, ( ) lower middle class, ( ) upper middle class
   ( ) upper class

6. What was your father's major occupation? __________________________

7. As you were growing up, did you father (or other family member) ever
   belong to a union? ( ) Yes, ( ) No.

8. As you were growing up, were your family's sentiments toward unions
   ( ) Pro, ( ) Con, ( ) Neutral.

9. Your salary over academic year (not including summer school)?
   ( ) 11,000-14,999 ( ) 20,000-24,999
   ( ) 15,000-19,999 ( ) 25,000 and over

10. Your rank?
    ( ) instructor, ( ) assistant professor ( ) associate professor
    ( ) professor

11. Tenured? ( ) Yes ( ) No

12. Department? (Please check one)
    ( ) Art ( ) Foreign languages ( ) Physical Science
    ( ) Biology ( ) Law Enforcement ( ) Physical Education
    ( ) Business ( ) Humanities & Art ( ) Police Academy Services
    ( ) Data Processing ( ) Library ( ) Public & Community Services
    ( ) Drama ( ) Mathematics ( ) Student Personnel
    ( ) English ( ) Music ( ) Speech
    ( ) Nursing ( ) Social Sciences
    ( ) Other __________________________

13. Years teaching? (Indicate total no. of years in brackets - include
    this semester)
    ( ) In CCC System ( ) In High School ( ) Other __________
    ( ) In colleges other than CCC ( ) In Elementary

14. Indicate your highest level of educational attainment:
    ( ) M.A. or equivalent ( ) Ph.D. or Ed.D.
    ( ) M.A. + 15-29 semester hours ( ) J.D.
    ( ) M.A. + 30 or more semester hours ( ) Other (C.P.A., etc.)__

15. Were you ever a member of another union? ( ) Yes ( ) No
    If yes, please indicate: ________________________________________________
16. Are you presently a member of Local 1600? ( ) Yes ( ) No

17. If 16 is no, were you once a member of Local 1600? ( ) Yes ( ) No

18. If 17 is yes, why are you no longer a member? ____________________________

19. Were (are) you ever a local (city-wide) or chapter officer? ( ) Yes ( ) No

20. Were (are) you a delegate or alternate to the House? ( ) Yes ( ) No

21. If 20 is yes, how often do (did) you attend House meetings?
   ( ) almost always ( ) most of the time ( ) a few times ( ) never or almost never

22. How often do you attend monthly chapter meetings?
   ( ) almost always ( ) most of the time ( ) a few times ( ) never or almost never

23. If a union member, why did you first join the City College Union?
   (Please number-rank all that apply, signifying the most important reasons with 1; 2nd most important with 2; etc.)
   ( ) peer pressure, most faculty belonged
   ( ) true faculty power cannot be obtained in any other way
   ( ) collective bargaining is the only road left to professionalism
   ( ) greater personal, as well as professional, freedom
   ( ) poor central administration
   ( ) in gratitude for benefits won by union
   ( ) only way to get adequate salary and fringe benefits
   ( ) greater job security
   ( ) other __________________________

24. If never a union member, why did you not join the City College Union?
   (Please number-rank all that apply, signifying the most important reasons with 1; 2nd most important with 2; etc.)
   ( ) unions are too concerned with own interests
   ( ) teachers should not identify with manual workers
   ( ) teachers' unions are unprofessional
   ( ) unions take away from excellence
   ( ) the union is too radical
   ( ) other

25. If once a union member, why did you quit? (please number-rank all that apply, signifying the most important reasons with 1; 2nd most important with 2; etc.)
   ( ) was against the issues in one strike
   ( ) believe union strikes too much
   ( ) makes educational issues a political football
   ( ) dislike union leadership
   ( ) never wanted to join in first place
   ( ) other

26. If not presently a union member, are there any conditions under which you would consider joining? ( ) Yes ( ) No

27. If 26 is yes, please indicate the conditions. __________________________

28. Even if community college teachers earned as much money as doctors, there would still be a need for unions because of less control over professional decisions. ( ) strongly agree ( ) agree ( ) disagree ( ) strongly disagree
29. When reading about other strikes (not teachers), you tend to sympathize with the union.  
( ) strongly agree ( ) agree ( ) disagree ( ) strongly disagree

30. Teachers unions should take a stand on non-union related political issues such as Watergate or Vietnam.  
( ) strongly agree ( ) agree ( ) disagree ( ) strongly disagree

31. Laws should be obeyed even if I think they are wrong.  
( ) strongly agree ( ) agree ( ) disagree ( ) strongly disagree

32. Groups that are under-represented on the faculty - such as Blacks, Latins, and women - should be assigned a large share of future faculty vacancies until they are proportionately represented.  
( ) strongly agree ( ) agree ( ) disagree ( ) strongly disagree

33. The Central Administration at 180 is autocratic.  
( ) strongly agree ( ) agree ( ) disagree ( ) strongly disagree

34. The administration of your college is autocratic.  
( ) strongly agree ( ) agree ( ) disagree ( ) strongly disagree

35. The City College System would be better off with fewer administrators.  
( ) strongly agree ( ) agree ( ) disagree ( ) strongly disagree

36. There should be faculty representation of the City College Board of Trustees.  
( ) strongly agree ( ) agree ( ) disagree ( ) strongly disagree

37. Please indicate whether you (1) strongly agree, (2) agree, (3) disagree, or (4) strongly disagree with the following statements (indicate for each)  
( ) Most IQ tests are culture and class biased  
( ) Everyone has a right to equality of educational opportunity, regardless of income.  
( ) As a group, Black Americans possess lower IQ's than non-Blacks probably due to a genetic factor.  
( ) The "F" grade is mainly punitive and should be eliminated.  
( ) The Chicago City Colleges should primarily stress vocational-technical training.  
( ) The Chicago City Colleges should emphasize remedial education.  
( ) Faculty promotions should be based on formal student evaluations of their teacher.

38. Indicate which of the following established institutions and statuses you (1) trust very much, (2) trust, (3) neither trust nor distrust, (4) distrust (5) distrust very much -- Indicate for each please.  
( ) The Supreme Court ( ) AFL-CIO leadership  
( ) The U.S. Congress ( ) The organized Churches  
( ) U.S. Chamber of Commerce ( ) Illinois House & Senate  
( ) American Bar Association ( ) Chicago City Council  
( ) The Media (Press, TV, etc.) ( ) State Bd. of Higher Education  
( ) ACLU ( ) Bd. of Trustees, City College District #508

39. Whom did you vote for in 1972?  
( ) McGovern ( ) Nixon ( ) Wallace ( ) Other ( ) Didn't Vote
40. To what extent have you worked for political candidates in local, state, and federal elections?
( ) frequently ( ) occasionally ( ) seldom ( ) never

41. How would you characterize the political candidates you worked for?
( ) liberal ( ) radical ( ) middle of road ( ) moderately conservative ( ) strongly conservative

42. If you were to begin your career again, would you still want to be a community college teacher?
( ) Definitely yes ( ) probably yes ( ) Probably no ( ) Definitely no

43. Please indicate your opinions regarding the following with (1) strongly agree; (2) agree; (3) disagree; or (4) strongly disagree:
( ) Marijuana should be legalized
( ) the energy crisis has been, in large part, manufactured by the major oil companies to sell less oil at more profit.
( ) Racial integration of public schools should be achieved even if it requires busing.

44. How would you characterize yourself politically at the present time?
( ) Liberal ( ) Middle of the road ( ) Moderately Conservative ( ) Strongly Conservative

45. Answer the following questions with one of the following statements:
(1) control; (2) voting power on committees; (3) formal consultation; (4) informal consultation; or (5) little or no role.
( ) What role do you believe students should play in faculty appointments or promotions?
( ) What role do you believe students should play in decisions on admissions policy?
( ) What role do you believe students should play in decisions on provision and content of courses?
( ) What role do you believe students should play in decisions on student discipline?

46. Do you wish a summary of the research when finished?
( ) Yes ( ) No

Thank you sincerely.
APPENDIX D
APPENDIX D

Pre-Test

In May of 1974, a tentative questionnaire and explanatory letter was placed in the mailboxes of 40 faculty colleagues at Loop College. Ten of these colleagues were not members of Local 1600, while 30 were. Of the latter, about half were considered active in the chapter or local. Thirty-two responded (an encouraging 80%) - 6 non-union and 26 union (14 active and 12 non-active).

Questions regarding Watergate, the effects of the union on the City College System, marital status, degree of religiosity, and comparing professional associations with trade unions were rated as vague or unnecessary by several respondents and, therefore, dropped from the final questionnaire. Some items also considered vague were kept in as the index of institutional trust. The fact that this last was not considered significant in the study itself seems to validate the original pretest criticism. A few objected to the lack of a "neither," or "I don't know," or other neutral categories. It was decided to retain most of them, however, to force a choice.

Clarification considerations concerning format, deletions, or additions were welcomed. In particular, suggested reasons for joining, quitting or not joining the union were added.

Incredibly, not one of the respondents objected to the length of
the four-page questionnaire. Perhaps the fixed response format that could be answered rapidly with a check or an X was the reason.
APPENDIX E
APPENDIX E

The hypotheses for this study dealt primarily with distinctions between the most pro union faculty category of union active and the least pro union (or most anti union) category of never union. This addition compares all the union members with all the non-union faculty, the union active and union non-active and the once union with the never union regarding variables found significant by chi-square. Table E.1. lists the variables found significant when comparing the 653 union with the 102 non-union faculty.

TABLE E.1.
SIGNIFICANT VARIABLES BETWEEN UNION AND NON-UNION FACULTY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Chi-Square</th>
<th>Degree of Freedom</th>
<th>Level of Significance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Educational Orientation</td>
<td>22.43</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salary</td>
<td>23.42</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class</td>
<td>11.92</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other College Experience</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>.005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>(6.14)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City College Experience</td>
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<td>.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Attitude</td>
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<td>.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>9.19</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that educational, not political, orientation was significant with the expected educationally liberal faculty more union and the educationally conservative significantly more non-union.1

1The tabular data displaying numerically the indicated relationships are available from the author.
College governance was not significant undoubtedly because 95% of all non-union as well as union faculty have a negative view of the administration.

Salary was very significant with those earning over $25,000 the most non-union and those earning the least ($11,000 to $15,000) also more non-union than expected. The most union group were those in the $15,000 to $20,000 bracket.

As expected, almost half of those indicating an upper class background were non-union with those from the lower class more non-union than the lower or upper-middle class. Those of lower middle class origin were the most union of all the classes.

Forty-three percent of all the faculty has previous college experience - 42% of the union and 47% of the non-union. Those with over 10 years experience were more non-union, while those with 6 to 10 years were the most union. Interestingly enough, those with over 25 years experience in the City Colleges were more represented in the union than all categories except those with 6-15 years experience. The most non-union are those with 16-25 years experience.

Again, as expected, those whose families were pro union themselves were more represented in the union than would have been expected by chance. Strange to say, however, those who indicated their families were neutral toward unions, were more non-union than those who indicated their families were anti-union.

One-third of the faculty over 60 years of age were non-union while
only 12% of those 35-50 years are non-union. Those under 35 years are less non-union than those 50-60 years.

Next to the distinctions between the union active and never union faculty, comparisons between the union active and non-active are the most significant as Table E.2. indicates.

**TABLE E.2.**

**SIGNIFICANT VARIABLES BETWEEN UNION ACTIVE AND NON-ACTIVE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Chi-Square</th>
<th>Degree of Freedom</th>
<th>Level of Significance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Political Activity</td>
<td>11.85</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>19.48</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rank</td>
<td>15.06</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrative Trust</td>
<td>19.81</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City College experience</td>
<td>22.76</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>.001</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tenure</td>
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<td>Education</td>
<td>14.29</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race</td>
<td>10.82</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Family Attitude</td>
<td>9.22</td>
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</table>

Regarding political activity, the union active (36% of the union faculty) were much more politically active than the non-active (54% of the
faculty) - 43% to 30%. Regarding age, almost half of those 50-60 (24% of the union faculty) were active while 24% of those under 35 (23% of the union faculty) were active. As to rank, there is a definite relationship since full professors are much more active (52%) than instructors (25%).

The union active faculty were predictably more distrustful of the administration but the non-active were also. The most active were those with over 25 years City College teaching experience (71%), while those with less than 5 years experience were the least active (25%). The un­tenured who represented 16% of the respondents were much less active than expected - 22% to 39% of the active.

While Protestants (32% of the union faculty) were less active (27%) and Catholic (27% of the union faculty) differences were not significant, Jewish faculty (15%) and those who responded that they had no religion (14%) had a higher percent of the active faculty (45% and 43%).

Those who earned over $20,000 were more active than expected (44%) and those who earned under $20,000 were less active than expected (30%). The most active department is the Social Sciences (almost half) and the least active are Business and Data Processing (approximately one-quarter).

Regarding educational background, those just short of the doctorate were the most active (42%) while those at the lowest educational rung had the least number of active faculty (24%).

The only time race was significant in this entire study was when the active and non-active faculty were compared. Whites who make up 78% of the respondents were slightly more active than expected (38%), and the black faculty (16%) were much less active than their numbers would indicate (26%). The most active and least active groups, however, were
the orientals who represent only 3% of the faculty (44% of whom were active) and the Latins who are just 2% of the faculty (18% of whom were active). Having a family member in a union definitely made for more union activity (42% to 32%) as was being from a family with positive union attitudes (43% to 30%).

Table E.3. compares the non-union faculty who were once in the union and those who had never joined.

**TABLE E.3.**

SIGNIFICANT VARIABLES BETWEEN ALL NON-UNION FACULTY, NEVER UNION AND ONCE UNION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Chi-Square</th>
<th>Degree of Freedom</th>
<th>Level of Significance</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
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<td>Tenure</td>
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<td>.001</td>
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<td>.001</td>
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<tr>
<td>City College experience</td>
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<td>.005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
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<td>.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>11.44</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The only time in this study that sex was very significant was the comparisons with the two categories of non-union faculty - those who never had joined (58%) and those who once had belonged to Local 1600 (42%). Women are very unrepresented among the latter (17%) and, therefore, overly represented among the former (83%). More than half of the male non-union faculty had once belonged.
Tenure was also very significant with 94% of the untenured (17% of the non-union faculty) being never union. Ranks operate in reverse order with instructors being the most never union (88%) and full professors being the most once union (63%). Salary basically follows rank with 95% of those in the lowest category ($11,000 to $15,000) being more never union and those in the highest category being the most once union (75%).

City college teaching experience influences similarly since those with over 20 years have the highest percent of once union (67%) and those with the least experience (1 to 5 years) have the lowest percent of once union and the highest percent of never union faculty.

Age and education offer no surprises with the highest percents of those over 60 (67%) and those with doctorates (55%) being once union and those in the lowest categories, under 35 years of age and with only a masters degree being much more never union than expected by chance (77% and 80%).
APPENDIX F

Letters to City College Faculty

May, 1975

Dear Colleague:

I need your respected views and some personal information for a research project. Attached is a questionnaire that I have developed to survey the 1300 faculty members in the City College System. I would be deeply grateful if you would take 10-15 minutes of your time to fill it out.

Besides an historic overview, my method is a descriptive survey with ideas culled from a variety of sources, e.g., Ladd and Lipset's Professors, Unions and American Higher Education (1973), a Carnegie Commission Study. I am basically after a comparison of three groups: 1) the non-union faculty, 2) the faculty members who are active in union matters, and 3) the faculty who belong to the union but would not be considered very active (where I belong).

Although I have discussed my research with officers of the Union and the central administration, this study has been sponsored by neither group. My primary purpose is to write a dissertation (Ed.D., Loyola University). It does seem about time, however, that some research about the Chicago City Colleges and AFT Local 1600 is due.

Knowing how easy it is to put something like this aside and forget about it (I myself have done it more than once), may I implore you to take a few minutes at your earliest opportunity to complete the questionnaire and return it in the enclosed self-addressed, stamped envelope.

Gratefully,

Cas Kotowski
Loop College
Social Science Dept. (269-3073)
Home Phone: 764-4697
May, 1975

P.S. The anonymity of respondents will be preserved. The number on the questionnaire merely allows me to note who returned the questions and to send a reminder if needed.
November, 1975

Dear Colleague:

This is another attempt to solicit your aid in my research project (dissertation in Ed.D. Program at Loyola University). First, however, I would like to bring you up to date on my returns. As of November 7, 1975, 601 returns or about 44% have been sent back. The breakdown by colleges (Spring, 1975 totals) is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>College</th>
<th>Returns</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>300</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KK</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loop</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mayfair</td>
<td>69</td>
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<td>51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MX</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OH</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SW</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wright</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>233</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campus Unknown</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>601</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union:</td>
<td>508</td>
<td>1136</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Union:</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Considering the negative CIA climate, the personal nature of some of the questions, and the fear of their misuse, the responses have been gratifying. The high percentage (72) from Loop, my own college, I believe, illustrates the confidence that my fellow instructors have in my integrity.

Enclosed is a follow-up questionnaire, in case you mislaid the earlier one. (Please ignore this one if you have already responded.) If you feel that you cannot respond, naturally your wishes will be respected and you will not be bothered again. If, however, you just have not gotten around to it, needless to say, I would appreciate you taking 10-15 minutes to accomplish same so I may have a more statistical significant return.

If the code number on the first page bothers you, just blot it out or clip it off. The number was merely used to avoid an expensive overlapping second mailing and to do the breakdown by colleges.

Gratefully,

Cas Kotowski
Social Science Department
Loop College
64 E. Lake St.
Chicago, Illinois 60601
## APPENDIX G

### COLLAPSED CHI-SQUARES

**BETWEEN UNION ACTIVE AND NEVER UNION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Chi-Square</th>
<th>Degree of Freedom</th>
<th>Level of Significance</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>1. Political Orientation</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Educational Orientation</td>
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<td>.005</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Other College Experience</td>
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<td>.01</td>
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<td>4. Political Activity</td>
<td>12.44</td>
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<td>5. Union Orientation</td>
<td>12.97</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.005</td>
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<td>6. College Governance Attitude</td>
<td>6.39</td>
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<tr>
<td>7. Student Power Views</td>
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### COLLAPSED CHI-SQUARES

**BETWEEN UNION ACTIVE AND ALL NON-UNION**

<table>
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<td>3. Political Activity</td>
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<td>6. Student Power Views</td>
<td>7.31</td>
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</table>
The dissertation submitted by Casimir J. Kotowski has been read and approved by the following committee:

Dr. Steven Miller, Director
Associate Professor
Foundations of Education, Loyola

Dr. John Wozniak
Professor
Foundations of Education, Loyola

Dr. Jack Kavanagh
Associate Professor
Chairman, Foundations of Education, Loyola

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

The dissertation is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education.

December 19, 1974

Date

[Signature]
Director's Signature