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POWER WITH LOW PRESTIGE: A STUDY OF LABOR UNIONS IN A DEPENDENT COMMUNITY

by
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of the requirements for the degree of
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND METHODS

Introduction

A statement of the aims of this dissertation.--This is a study of the place of local labor unions in the power structure of one community, some of the functions of unions in the community, and how their present position has evolved. Unions were selected for particular emphasis from among many community associations in order to show what the organization of power is like in a community where unions are present and active. The study was designed to illustrate two propositions about community power: (1) Changes in American society as a whole have altered the structure of individual communities, and part of this alteration is the redistribution of power internally among old and new centers. (2) At the same time, as the United States has become more interdependent, power that was formerly localized in communities has shifted to other units that are located beyond their borders.

The initial entry into the community.--This study grew out of an investigation that began in 1960 to assess

the impact on a community of a recent plant shutdown.[1] Under the sponsorship of the Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations of the University of Michigan and Wayne State University, two field investigators were sent to Sardis, a city in southeastern Michigan, with this very broad research problem: to ascertain how the city was reacting to the plant shutdown, to find out if any actions were being taken in the community to forestall future closings, and to discover what the community was doing to recruit new industry. More specifically, it was hoped that the investigators might be able to find a leadership cadre who took upon themselves the responsibility for the community's economic health and industrial development.

As a research strategy, the field investigators were assigned to study **separate** segments of the community's population. One established liaison with middle and upper-middle class people in Sardis. It was assumed that these businessmen, industrialists, and professionals were the most concerned with the economic well-being of the community and were most able to do something about the current situation through collective action. Beginning with certain key individuals, such as bankers, the manager of the Chamber of

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[1]Louis A. Ferman and James R. Hudson, "Job Dislocation Among Brass Workers in a Small Community" (unpublished data on file in the University of Michigan-Wayne State University Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations).

Commerce, and local businessmen, his task was to work out patterns of sociometric relations within what was tentatively called "the community leadership."

The other investigator was assigned to learn about the reactions to the plant shutdown among local labor leaders. Research on job dislocation has indicated that informal channels are the usual method for workers to find new jobs.[2] Since the plant that closed had been organized by the UAW, it was hypothesized that other UAW locals would be cooperating with their unemployed colleagues by helping them to find new jobs. One research problem was to discover whether that hypothesis was correct, and, if so, what the unions contributed. Another question was to find out whether or not the loss of a significant number of jobs in the community had altered the attitudes of local union leaders towards their employers. Had the unions become skittish in pushing for higher wages in the face of declining prosperity in the community? Before the investigators entered the community, information was received suggesting that the plant shutdown could be attributed partially to the union's unwillingness to cooperate with management on

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[2]William Haber, Louis A. Ferman, and James R. Hudson, The Impact of Technological Change: The American Experience (Kalamazoo, Michigan: The W. E. Upjohn Institute for Employment Research, 1963), p. 30.

production standards and other job-related problems. Could these rumors be substantiated? What had been the impact of this criticism on other labor unions?

The origins of the dissertation problem.--After the research was under way, it was decided to utilize a more systematic method for locating the community power structure. Hunter, Schulze, and others have developed what commonly is known as the reputational technique, based upon interviews with a sample of community residents who have been defined in one way or another as having reliable information about the community's power relations.[3] These residents are asked a series of questions designed to elicit the names of the most powerful members of the community, those persons perceived as sitting in on the most important community decisions, and those persons whose support is necessary in any important community decision. A list of these persons is promulgated, and those above a certain cut-off point are called variously "the public leaders," "the influentials," or "the power structure."[4] The

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[3]For descriptions of this technique, see Floyd Hunter, Community Power Structure (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1953), chap. iv, "The Structure of Power in Regional City;" and Robert O. Schulze, "The Bifurcation of Power in a Satellite City," Community Political Systems, ed. Morris Janowitz (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1961), sec. 3, "The Present," pp. 39-53.

[4]Ibid., and Delbert C. Miller, "Industry and Community

community residents interviewed in this study were heads of voluntary associations, the same group Schulze selected. The results were the same as obtained by Schulze and substantiated by Reichler, that is, a series of middle and upper-middle class business and professional men were named (see Appendix B).

While the interviews were being collected, informal probings among higher status residents produced some interesting comments about the plant closing. An executive of the company which had shut down the plant called continued demands from the local union unrealistic and aggravating to the plant's other problems, which resulted from changes in the market. The union did not seem willing to meet the company half way; "they just had a very unfavorable attitude toward us." Another local businessman, commenting on the economic situation in general, said, "The unions are going to have to make some changes. We have had a lot of trouble with the labor unions especially on the local level." Others remarked that a "bad labor climate" had made it difficult to recruit new industry. These informants were at a loss to suggest how their "labor image"

Power Structure: A Comparative Study of an American and an English City," ASR, XXIII, No. 1 (February, 1958), 9-15.

could be changed. The responsibility, they believed, rested with the labor unions. The unions had to become "more realistic in their demands;" they had "to give a little to get a little." The emphasis, furthermore, was on local unions in most cases and not on the internationals. As one executive put it:

> The international representatives are somewhat unrealistic in what they want, but I found them actually quite sensible and sensitive. It was the local boys who were really wild in their demands--and things like that. I got along well with the international representatives. . . . The local boys didn't know what they were doing half the time.

With minor exceptions, the leaders in the community who were concerned with its economic well-being had made no attempt to open channels of communication with the officers of local labor unions. While they cursed the unions for their intransigence, these leaders were ignorant about how local unions operate, who were the important local union officers, and what these officers could offer to encourage economic development within the community. Neither did they envision labor unions as part of any constructive effort to rebuild the economy of the community, nor were they trying to broaden their perspective. While they blamed unions for a decline in the community, these community leaders made no meaningful attempts to establish a dialogue

with organized labor. The one exception, begun in 1958, was the Labor-Management Committee of the Chamber of Commerce, which was having a rebirth in mid-1960.

Business leaders, plant executives, and other members of the middle class held the unions partially responsible for the decline in the local economy, especially for the most recent plant shutdown, which had cost the community over six hundred jobs. Unions, then, according to these respondents, took actions which profoundly affected the entire community. Yet when these same people were interviewed using the formal schedule of questions, neither labor unions nor labor union leaders were nominated among the powerful of Sardis. The juxtaposition of these two pieces of information raised the following question: If unions are talked about as powerful and influential bodies by the supposedly informed members of the community, if decisions made by local unions alter the economy of the community, and if unions have inhibited and frustrated efforts for industrial development, why did they not appear when questions were asked that are supposed to specify the structure of community power?

Two types of evidence are examined in answering this question: shifts in power within the community and loss of community power to outside units. Relationships among

units in the community are examined first--what Warren calls the community's horizontal pattern of integration, "the structural and functional relation of its various social units and subsystems to each other."[5] Particular attention is given to relationships among local unions and those between the unions taken together and other community units. The relationships between local and extralocal units are then examined. There are two aspects here. First, there are the relationships between discrete community units, such as unions and churches, and the extracommunity organizations with which they are affiliated. These are the relationships Warren defines as a community's vertical pattern: "the structural and functional relation of its various social units and subsystems to extracommunity systems."[6] Second there is the relationship of the whole community with the larger society, taking the vertical patterns as a network.

Methods and Techniques of Data Collection

Field observation as a source of data.--Since contacts had been made successfully with several labor leaders,

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[5]Ronald L. Warren, The Community In America (Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1963), p. 162.

[6]Ibid., p. 161.

the decision was made to begin field work for this study with the labor unions. The approach at first was very broad. Anyone who was in a union and wanted to talk, or could be persuaded to talk, served as an informant. From these interviews there developed a file on "union personalities" that eventually made clear that certain names were mentioned more frequently than others. The investigator also attended formal meetings, special union committee meetings, labor council meetings, building trades council meetings, and social events sponsored by the unions. At these meetings he introduced himself and asked for the cooperation of different locals. Out of this grew invitations, offered and badgered, to other meetings of locals. During the research in Sardis at least one meeting of every local was observed (except for one whose rules prohibit attendance by anyone not a lodge member). The investigator also attended meetings of the women's auxiliary of the labor council, retired workers' clubs, and political rallies.

Through observations and discussion something was learned about the organization of unionized labor in Sardis and how this organization fits into the community from the viewpoint of the unions. Observations also were gathered from union members about their perception of the attitude

of other community members toward unions. Notes generally were taken at meetings and other observations recorded later. At the same time information of a more formal nature on the size of locals, how long they had been in the community, their strike history, and kinds of active community participation was collected from various records.

The investigator resided in Sardis for seven months beginning in February 1962. At this time acquaintance was renewed with the manager of the Chamber of Commerce. Through him contact was established with members of the middle and upper-middle classes in Sardis. Special attention was given to interviewing persons who had been named community leaders by the heads of voluntary associations and those whom D'Antonio and Erickson call "community knowledgeables," such as newspaper reporters and city officials.[7] From them information was gathered on how they perceived the role of unions in the community. The investigator was introduced to several members of the business community. The manager of the Chamber of Commerce also invited him to attend the monthly board meeting of its directors. The invitation furnished him with entree into many

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[7]William V. D'Antonio and Eugene C. Erickson, "The Reputational Technique as a Measure of Community Power," ASR, XXVII, No. 3 (June, 1962), 364.

different middle-class community activities. Invitations were received to luncheon meetings of the service clubs and introductions made to the membership; each time the research was mentioned. A small article was placed in the local daily newspaper telling of the investigator's presence in the city. To further legitimate the research activity, several major reputational leaders were asked to serve as references.

The daily work schedule of union members differs from that of business and professional people such that it is easier to interact with the latter during the day time and the union people at night. One community institution became apparent early in the study. At ten o'clock in the morning, various restaurants in the downtown district became meeting places for different groups of business and professional men who work nearby. These informal coffee calls served as an excellent time to gain some insight into how the businessmen felt about labor unions.

Access to the industrial leaders was somewhat more complicated. They did not frequent the downtown restaurants. Some were members of the service clubs, especially the Rotary Club, but these meetings did not offer a very good opportunity to engage them in informal discussion. In some cases they were visited at their plants or shops.

This provided an excellent opportunity to observe them in their roles as industrialists and made questions seem even more appropriate than they would have in the more sociable atmosphere of a coffee shop.

The investigator's activity within the community became routinized. After a while he was assigned a role by various members of the community. He became "the man doing research on industry." In this role it was very easy to appear at many places and to be accepted as part of the ongoing scene. One incident may serve as an illustration. During the negotiations of a local contract, the investigator was invited by the union bargaining agent to attend meetings to see how negotiations are conducted. The union representatives discussed their strategy in his presence beforehand. During the actual talks, the employers asked to be left alone to caucus, but they invited the investigator to stay to hear their discussion.

All segments of the community cooperated with the investigator and supported the research. An example of a day's activity in the field at this stage of the research may help to show the nature of the investigator's contacts in the community.

7:30 - Go to hiring hall of the building trades --discuss work conditions with the business agent of the carpenters' union--

listen to dispute between teamsters and bricklayers over inter-union cooperation on forcing contractors to abide by union hiring policies--talk to laborers in the hall seeking work.

9:30 - Go to coffee with newspaper reporter--talk about negotiations at local plant.

10:15 - Meet with manager of the Chamber of Commerce to talk about forthcoming Labor-Management Committee meeting.

11:30 - Stop by local merchant who is promoting a charity--buy ticket.

12:15 - Lunch with mayor and his business associate.

1:15 - Late lunch with barber, store owner, and dentist.

2:45 - Attend monthly meeting of local union--afterwards stay for informal talk with officers.

6:30 - Dinner at the Elks, bachelors' night.

9:30 - Visit workingmen's cafe.

Over a period of time in a research situation like this one, an investigator is bound to develop friends and perhaps enemies. Splits between community leaders sometimes place him in the position of being asked to take sides. Discussion of personalities and issues and other encounters which go to make up interaction with one's fellows may begin to numb the objectivity of the field observer. After a meeting, whether it be of the Chamber of Commerce board, the city commission, or the AFL-CIO council,

when informal groups divide to go for refreshments, there is the difficulty of deciding with whom to go. The observer may not be able to discern subtle social slights or violations of local mores. But as the role of outside observer shifts to the role of accepted community member, ignorance is not an adequate excuse.

The scheduled interviews.--When more systematic questioning began, the established rapport facilitated interviewing. Two formal interview schedules were developed, one for labor union leaders and one for other community leaders (see Appendix A). The eighty union respondents included officers of the Summit [County] Labor Council AFL-CIO and the Summit Building Trades Council, the three international representatives who were active in Sardis on a more or less full-time basis and lived in the community, and the top four elected officers in each local union that had at least twenty members and a base of operations in Sardis.

For the community leaders' sample it was decided not to interview the reputational leaders who had been nominated in the first series of interviews. Rather, a list of positional leaders was assembled including the mayor, city administrator, city commissioners, chairman of the school board, superintendent of schools, Chamber of Commerce

manager, chairman of the Industrial Development Corporation, hospital administrator, four bankers, Methodist college president, newspaper editor, and the chief local executive in each industry that either employed at least fifty workers or was organized by one of the unions being studied. The former mayor was also interviewed. Each community leader had to have been a resident of the community for at least two years. This qualification eliminated the United Fund executive and two industrial managers. There were two refusals. The decision to select community leaders on the basis of function rather than upon reputational criteria was made in order to gain a more comprehensive listing of leadership roles within the community than might have been possible relying upon the chance of recognition. Instead of depending upon "informed" sources, the assumption was made that certain roles were important to the community and, therefore, would be powerful. Some persons who occupied important roles in the community may well have been reluctant to take active part in some community affairs and, as a result, failed to score on the reputational method.

One problem occurred when a shift was made from interviewing union members to interviewing community leaders. Having often observed the investigator in the presence of

union members and heard him recognized as a friend of workers at a meeting of the Labor-Management Committee of the Chamber of Commerce, several community leaders felt it necessary to discuss with others the legitimacy of his position; one even called the University. But there was no indication that either of the two final refusals had anything to do with the question of "friendliness" to labor, nor were any answers of those interviewed apparently prejudiced by what they thought were the investigator's sympathies.

Documents as a source of data.--Difficulties arise in the use of documents because their contents are not always an accurate or complete picture of what transpired. One notices that one's own field notes taken at a meeting do not always resemble the notes of the organization's recorder. Much of the interplay that occurs in a meeting may be lost. Reasons for decisions are not generally put into official minutes; only the action taken is recorded. In some meetings, not only union meetings, comments unfavorable to members are discreetly omitted in the minutes. A well-known fact about the Sardis city government prior to charter revision is that there were two meetings of the city commission for every one noted in the records. The first of the pair was always held informally behind closed doors. At that

time all controversy was hammered out and decisions were made. The second meeting, the public meeting of which records exist, only rubber-stamped decisions that already had been made. This sort of thing tempers reliance on official documents.

Nevertheless, records proved valuable in several ways. They permit establishment of the dates of specific events. Union records provide information on the development of union activity in the community. Minutes of the Chamber of Commerce chronicle its activity and the types of problems with which it was dealing. The local newspaper also proved valuable in ascertaining dates and the nature of coverage given particular events at the time they happened. Organizations such as the United Fund, the Red Cross, the hospital, and the service clubs have some records that provide information on their activities and membership. Some of these organizations keep scrap books of their activities and have unofficial historians who were able to give background information on the organization. From these records membership lists, histories of boards of directors, and activities in which the organization participated were compiled.

All in all, about three years were spent working in the community, sometimes more intensively than others, and

a little more than nine months living there. In the final months of field work several of the community leaders consulted the investigator about various local problems in labor-management relations, industrial development, and on the selection of a new Chamber of Commerce manager. A formal talk was delivered to a women's club on the problems of a small community in a complex industrial society; another was given to the Rotary Club on the Sardis research.

Review of Community Power Study Methods

The assumptions and methods of community power studies.--Before going on to the conceptual framework of this dissertation, a brief review of studies of community power is necessary. Most of these analyses derive their inspiration from the elitist tradition in political thought. Sometimes treated as an assumption and sometimes as an hypothesis, the central proposition of this position is "at its crudest the notion that The Few should rule because they do in fact rule, and less crudely the contention that, since only a few can rule, The Many do not and never will."[8] Implicit in this approach is the assumption that the elite can select possible alternatives of action and consciously

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[8]James H. Meisel, The Myth of the Ruling Class: Gaetano Mosca and the "Elite" (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1962), p. 3.

reshape society. In community studies, as a general rule, many economic, demographic, and other social forces are ignored or given a minor role. It is well to notice the definition of power used in these studies. Many of them cite Lasswell and Kaplan: "Power is participation in the making of decisions."[9] This is fundamentally a reformulation of Weber's definition: "We understand by 'power' the chance of a man or of a number of men to realize their own will in a communal action even against the resistence of others who are participating in the action."[10] The authors of recent studies of community power assume that the cities and towns they analyze are loci of power, political units where decisions of consequence are made. They treat decision making as the crucial test of power in the community, essentially asking who makes the community's decisions.

Three different approaches have been identified as methods of discovering the most powerful community members: the positional approach, the reputational, and the decisional.[11]

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[9]Harold D. Lasswell and Abraham Kaplan, Power and Society: A Framework for Political Inquiry (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950), p. 75.

[10]Hans H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (eds.), From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1948), p. 180.

[11]Charles M. Bonjean and David M. Olsen, "Community Leadership: Directions of Research," ASQ, IX, No. 3 (December, 1964), 280.

Whichever of these three methods may be selected, singly or in combination, lists of individuals usually are assembled and sociometric relations among them designated.[12] Schulze, for instance, selected as economic dominants those persons who "occupy the top formal statuses in the major economic units within the community area."[13] Using a reputational approach he identified powerful public leaders, a group which overlapped hardly at all with the economic dominants.[14]

Labor unions in community power studies.--No matter what the method for delineating community power structures, one usually does not find union members named as important parts of it.[15] Hunter's study of Regional City recognizes two union leaders of some community importance, one of whom is active in welfare organizations.[16] He concludes that "neither [union] represents great power as yet," although he does not provide details on whatever power unions may have.[17] Of course, since these methods seek to identify "leaders," unions themselves enter the central discussion only if their leaders are named.

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[12]For examples, see Hunter, op. cit., Schulze, op. cit.; and Miller, op. cit.

[13]Op. cit., p. 21. [14]Ibid., p. 40.

[15]For example, see Schulze, op. cit.; Miller, op. cit.; D'Antonio and Erickson, op. cit.; and Roland J. Pellegrin and Charles H. Coates, "Absentee-Owned Corporations and Community Power Structure," AJS, LXI, No. 5 (March, 1956), 413-19.

[16]Op. cit. [17]Ibid., p. 43.

Characteristics of the particular communities analyzed may explain why labor unions do not figure more prominently in community power studies, but this is doubtful. Since information about the economic base and the organization of labor generally is lacking in the reports, it is difficult to assess the relative influence or power of unions in the community system. Where there is evidence that labor union leaders have an important impact, as in Schulze's study of Cibola, members of the working class and their representatives are not included in the power analysis. Schulze rather tested the following hypothesis: "As the community becomes increasingly involved and interrelated in the large societal complex, . . . its power structure bifurcates, resulting in two crucial and relatively discrete power sets, the economic dominants and the public leaders."[18] His major focus is on a change in elite participation in the community political system, that is, how the economic dominants abdicated in favor of the public leaders. Schulze is not concerned with the possible emergence of other new centers of power. Yet the two largest plants located in or near this town of 20,000 employed work forces of approximately two and ten thousand, both organized

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[18] Op. cit., p. 22.

by the UAW. The union in the smaller plant even had offices in Cibola and a full-time president. The sheer size of these unions raises some question about their power in the community. What is more, Schulze himself documents this power when he notes that following the defeat of a proposal to change the form of city government,

> . . . the public leaders . . . had been obliged to try to "win over" certain key leaders in the Negro and working class sub-communities. . . . But in the process, promises and commitments had been made, as evidenced by the fact that since 1946 one prominent Negro leader and one pivotal labor union official almost invariably have been named to "represent their elements in the community" on important citizen committees appointed by the Chamber of Commerce and the city council.[19]

There are several possible answers to why labor union leaders are not named as community leaders. First, and this is especially true on the local level, unions are taking action in response to their environment, particularly in collective bargaining. During negotiations unions often are pictured as negative forces in the mass media. Unions reject company offers. They hold out for some demand. They strike or threaten to strike. Only infrequently do unions initiate action in the social welfare area. Their leaders usually are co-opted into already existing

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[19] Ibid., p. 60.

welfare organizations. Even though union support may be necessary for a successful community project, thus revealing union power, the labor leaders are not seen as leaders outside the collective bargaining relationship.

Labor union leadership, furthermore, is characterized by a great turnover. This is especially true for small unions where professional labor leaders are absent. Leaders in local businesses and industry, by way of contrast, have a longer local career than labor leaders. Middle-class community leaders go through a series of career steps over a number of years. Typically, one begins in the Junior Chamber of Commerce, moves to serving as a member of committees in various organizations, and emerges finally as a full-fledged community leader. By comparison, a labor leader may move successively through the elective or appointive offices of the union, while seldom taking part in the middle-class voluntary associations. Even when a man becomes president of a local union or its business agent, he may not hold the office for more than two or three years. This hardly gives him time to become well-known in the community. Constant turnover in leadership within a union does not necessarily diminish the power of the union. On the other hand, it does not facilitate local union leaders' gaining a reputation in the wider community.

The concepts of power, prestige, and influence in community studies.--The reputational technique as used in community studies fails to include individuals in occupations that rank moderate or low in prestige. This may reflect a confusion of power with prestige or with other characteristics closely related to status. Wolfinger argues: "The reputational method appears to be particularly susceptible to ambiguity resulting from respondents' confusion of status and power."[20] Social statuses are subject to several different kinds of evaluation, for example, the prestige attached to them, the power inherent in the position, or the rights and privileges of incumbents.

Distinctions among power, prestige, and other characteristics such as rights, dominance, and influence, have been outlined by Bierstedt. With regard to the difference between power and prestige he writes:

> Prestige is frequently unaccompanied by power and when the two occur together power is usually the basis and ground of prestige rather than the reverse. Prestige would seem to be a consequence of power rather than a determinant of it or a necessary component of it. In any event, it is not difficult to illustrate the fact that power and prestige are independent variables, that power can occur without prestige, and prestige without power.[21]

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[20]Raymond E. Wolfinger, "Reputation and Reality in the Study of 'Community Power,'" ASR, XXV, No. 5 (October, 1960), 640.

[21]Robert Bierstedt, "An Analysis of Social Power," ASR, XV, No. 6 (December, 1950), 731.

Thus, some powerful positions, such as international president of a large labor union, may not carry much prestige with the members of our society as a whole. An individual or a group having a status which carries great prestige also may be powerful, as head of state and army general. But it may be mainly influential. Bierstedt expresses the contrast in this way:

> Influence does not require power, and power may dispense with influence. Influence may convert a friend, but power coerces friend and foe alike. Influence attaches to an idea, a doctrine, or a creed, and has its locus in the ideological sphere. Power attaches to a person, a group, or an association, and has its locus in the sociological sphere.[22]

Evidence that labor union leaders at every level of union organization do not have high prestige comes from several studies.[23] Phelps examined Who's Who in America, boards of universities, trusts, and foundations, and membership in service clubs like Lions, Rotary, and Kiwanis, and in Chambers of Commerce. Labor leaders were universally absent from these positions--positions that generally are taken to represent prestige in the community.[24] Form

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[22] Ibid., 731-32.

[23] Orme W. Phelps, "Community Recognition of Union Leaders," ILRR, VII, No. 3 (April, 1954), 419-33; and William H. Form and Warren L. Sauer, "Organized Labor's Image and Community Power Structure," Social Forces, XXXVIII, No. 4 (May, 1960), 332-41.

[24] Miller suggests that a working class Labour Party leader was a member of the English counterparts of these organizations. Op. cit.

reports, "This case study of Lansing, Michigan, confirms the findings of McKee, Phelps, Cook, and others that organized labor's community power lags behind its economic power."[25] Those who are selected as powerful men not only have power, but prestige as well. In this study, we shall operate on the assumption that it is possible to have power without prestige and prestige without power.

Warner's study of Yankee City is significant because it does not confuse power and prestige.[26] He does not claim that in the class system the upper-upper class has all the power there is in the community. His discussion of the shoe strike of 1933 indicates that the workers had power. He concludes that local owners lost both power and prestige when they sold out to national corporations. The absentee owners gained power but not prestige. In Middletown the pyramids of power and prestige were almost congruent.[27] Attempts to organize a union failed; no one could challenge the economic leaders.

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[25]William H. Form, "Organized Labor's Place in the Community Power Structure," ILRR, XII, No. 4 (July, 1959), 538.

[26]W. Lloyd Warner and J. O. Low, The Social System of the Modern Factory (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1947), chap. viii, "Managers and Owners, Then and Now."

[27]Robert S. Lynd and Helen Merrell Lynd, Middletown (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company, 1929).

Other criticisms of community power studies.--Approaches to studying community power that focus on identifying decision makers have been criticized on grounds other than that they confuse power and prestige. Whether the decisions selected reflect fundamental problems of the community is difficult to say. Issues of large or small consequence may raise a dust storm of controversy as consensus is sought, providing groups and individuals with opportunities to influence and to be influenced. D'Antonio and Erickson's use of several decisions over time may provide reliability of their results, but they beg the question of the meaning of these decisions.[28] The validity of these approaches also may be doubted because usually no prediction is made of the outcome of the issues analyzed.[29]

There is other evidence that the power elite is not necessarily powerful. It cannot always deliver the goods.

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[28] Op. cit.

[29] Some contrary evidence is offered in one study which used the reputational method to predict the outcome of a particular issue. See Delbert C. Miller, "The Prediction of Issue Outcome in Community Decision-Making," Proceedings of the Pacific Sociological Society ("Research Studies of the State College of Washington," Vol. XXV; June, 1957), pp. 137-47. For another method of predicting community decisions, see Amos H. Hawley, "Community Power and Urban Renewal Success," AJS, LXVIII, No. 4 (January, 1963), 422-31.

Hunter reveals that certain decisions had been under consideration by the power structure in Atlanta for ten years. Truly powerful persons should hardly have to delay action for such an incubation.[30] In Illini City all persons who were considered "influential" mobilized to support a school bond issue, yet it failed. The explanation offered by the investigator for this failure was that the elite had not solicited the support of the working population through their organizations, such as the unions. When the question was reopened two years later with active union support, the issue passed.[31] Since there can be alternative explanations of just what happened in Illini City, further study on the role of unions in community decisions seems necessary.

Let us summarize the criticisms of the reputational and decisional methods for studying power relations in a community. The methods generally allow one to handle relations only among those holding the most prestigious positions in the community. Those whose occupations have less

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[30] Op. cit., p. 210.

[31] Donald E. Wray, "The Community and Labor-Management Relations," Labor Management Relations in Illini City, ed. W. Ellison Chalmers et al. (2 vols.; Champaign: University of Illinois, Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, 1953), I, 94.

prestige or who are otherwise unknown to middle-class citizens are ignored. The reputational method likewise does not allow one to examine the power exercised in the community situation by persons, corporations, or other units spatially located outside the community. Nor does it focus on organizations within the community that exercise power regardless of the incumbents of their leadership roles. It focuses on persons rather than roles, on positions rather than organizations. To deal systematically with the situation of union power informally acknowledged by some of Sardis's leaders, it seemed necessary to adopt another approach to the investigation of community organization and power. We turn in the next chapter to discussion of such a theory.

CHAPTER II

COMMUNITY STRUCTURE AND LABOR UNION POWER

The Conceptual Framework of This Study

The concept of community.--The several definitions of community generally found in community power studies do not derive from a theory of community. Yet such a theory seems essential if one is to deal with the exercise of power in communities. Hawley's definition, "the structure of relationships through which a localized population provides its daily requirements," was adopted for this study because it is the key to his theory of community structure.[1] According to this theory, groups which produce sustenance directly, or which produce materials that can be exchanged for sustenance from outside, will be crucial for community life. The concept encompasses an integrated social system, so that attributes such as power may be seen as characteristics of an entire system, not just a segment of the system.[2]

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[1]Amos H. Hawley, Human Ecology: A Theory of Community Structure (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1950), p. 180.

[2]Other concepts of community need not concern us here. MacIver's concept of a community based upon shared values of a geographically dispersed population, or the studies of urban sub-communities have a different emphasis than is being pursued here.

Given our definition, the operational task was to delineate a geographical area with a population so organized as to approximate a concrete instance of community. Unlike most other theories about communities, Hawley's requires investigation of the extent to which a political unit, a city or town, constitutes a system by providing the daily requirements of its population. The political unit makes a good operational definition of the ecological community under some circumstances, but in this case the city itself is too small to incorporate the entire social organization of interest. The political boundaries of Sardis exclude the sites of certain factories important to its economy and relevant to the status of labor unions there. What is more, many persons who have important roles in Sardis live beyond the city limits.

Another possible operational unit is the county, the next larger governmental unit. Sardis serves as headquarters for several county-wide agencies. The United Fund is the Summit County United Fund. The Chamber of Commerce is called the Sardis Area Chamber of Commerce. The unions themselves have two organizations which are based on the boundaries of the county, the Summit Building Trades Association and the Summit Labor Council AFL-CIO. Other organizations with which the unions interact also are

organized on the county level, particularly the Democratic Party. The hospital draws its patients from a wider area than the city itself, and when it seeks to raise money from the public, it goes beyond the city limits. Nevertheless, the county was, if nothing else, too large an area for a one-man field study.

The sociological literature unfortunately does not offer many procedures for operationalizing "community" other than to designate a single administrative unit or an aggregate of them.[3] An ad hoc decision, therefore, was made to draw the boundaries of the community with a definite center, the City of Sardis, and an indefinite periphery within the county. The following kinds of activities were the main object of investigation:

1. Industrial plants located in the city or within six or seven miles of it.
2. Industrial unions which represent workers in these plants.
3. Craft unions with a business agent's office in Sardis.
4. City-based community activites which are actually county-wide.
5. Important intra-city organizations and political activity.

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[3]For a presentation and discussion of this problem, see Allan G. Feldt, "The Local Ecological Community: An Investigation of Relative Independence in an Urban Society" (microfilmed Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Sociology, University of Michigan, 1962).

All activities that were based in Sardis, or directly and crucially related to it and located physically very nearby, were thus included in the designation of community, though it refers neither to the city alone nor to the whole county, nor indeed to any precisely bounded territorial unit. References to Sardis or "community" in this study will mean the particular complex of activities outlined above.

Other investigators have encountered a similar situation where political and ecological boundaries do not coincide. Schulze, for example, investigated economic units located outside the municipal boundaries of Cibola. He fails to note in discussing the modern bifurcation of the Cibola power structure that, when the economic dominants were included among the public leaders in the early period, the political and ecological communities more or less coincided. Bifurcation is evident in the 1950's from the absence of political participation by the economic dominants, for the city no longer encompasses the system in which the economic units are involved any more than it encompasses the ground on which the factories themselves stand. It seems clear that Cibola, the city, no longer is a community, but a part of a community.[4] Such a situation should

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[4]Schulze uses elected office as a measure of participation in community activity. It should be noted that

confound local political action, and this condition seems well established by Schulze's study.

The concept of power.--Power resides to some extent in every community function, but here the argument is advanced that it is concentrated in sustenance units. As Hawley says, "Power is measured by the extent to which the function of any one unit regulates or determines the conditions essential to the functioning of other units."[5] It is in the organization of activities or functions, not in individuals, that power resides. The power of local unions thus depends upon their relationships to other units in the community. Unions will have most power when they have organized important community functions.

Power may be distributed diffusely or concentrated, depending upon the concentration of the units performing the community's functions. Hawley's "Community Power and Urban Renewal Success" indicates that when coordination of important activities is spread among a number of community units it is more difficult to act than if this function is

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contemporary economic dominants, those affiliated with absentee-controlled firms, could not participate in the political life of Cibola even if they wanted to since they are not residents (op.cit., p. 42, Table 9). This again calls into question the equation of "community" with a political unit.

[5]Amos H. Hawley, "Axioms and Derivations," p. 3. (Dittoed.)

more centralized.[6] This suggests the hypothesis that to the extent that all unions in a community are coordinated through a central agency, they should have more power than if they were to act independently. Particular emphasis in this study, therefore, was placed upon assessing the effects of differences in union organization on inter-local relations.

The Organization and Functions of Unions

The history of union organization on the national level.--Without a doubt the growth of national labor unions has concentrated the power of a segment of the population which hitherto has not had representation. The history of unions in the United States is long and spotty, indicating the difficulty with which this representation has been won. The year 1828 witnessed unsuccessful attempts to establish a workingmen's party. The short-lived Knights of Labor in the 1870's gave way to the emergence of the American Federation of Labor in 1886. It was the AFL which finally brought stability to the labor movement in the United States. In 1914 the only major unions not affiliated with the AFL were the railroad brotherhoods. Primarily an organization of skilled workers, the AFL followed the precepts established by Gompers which were basically conservative.

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[6] Loc. cit.

The AFL's failure to be more militant in attempts to organize the large masses of industrial workers eventually led to the CIO's break from the AFL in the 1930's. Under the direction of John L. Lewis the CIO made rapid advances in organizing industrial workers. A major difference between the AFL and the CIO was the latter's concern with political action. Organizationally the CIO was much more concentrated than the AFL; at the merger in 1955 there were 108 AFL unions and only thirty-two CIO internationals. The contrast between skill and industrial unionism has remained as a major distinction. The fundamental strength of the AFL is dominance in the trades, while the CIO is strongest in the organization of industries.

American unions are not organized to act in concert, and the merger between the AFL and the CIO has altered the situation only in limited ways. Sympathy strikes are illegal; so are secondary boycotts. The lack of these two weapons weakens the arsenal of organized labor. The honoring of picket lines is not universal; cooperation among unions is not assured. The whole area of jurisdiction causes friction. This is most apparent in the building trades, but it is also true where there is more than one industrial union in a plant. In view of these problems it is not surprising that Arthur J. Goldberg concludes that

the larger federation of autonomous affiliated unions in the AFL-CIO merger did not establish a "labor monopoly."[7] The merger probably will help labor to organize the unorganized and will give more direction to labor's participation in national politics.

The power of labor unions on the national level.--National labor unions and union leaders have been recognized as important centers of power in American society today. C. Wright Mills has called national labor leaders the "new men of power." He writes, "The leader of the union is not of the elite of money or of prestige, but he is a member of the elite of power. The labor leader is a powerful man: he accumulates power and he exerts it over the union member and over property."[8] When Mills comes to review the entire power structure of the United States, he finds the new men of power at the national level "well below the top councils; they are of the middle levels of power."[9]

Nonetheless, his argument for the power of labor unions is worth examining. The power of labor union leaders

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[7]AFL-CIO: Labor United (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1956). See especially chap. ix, "The Labor Monopoly Question."

[8]The New Men of Power (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company, 1948), p. 7.

[9]C. Wright Mills, The Power Elite (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956), p. 263.

in Mills's view is based upon their ability to control the supply of labor in the American economy. They contract the terms by which large blocks of manpower are bought; they affect the conditions under which this manpower will be employed. But union power as Mills sees it extends beyond negotiating contracts. Labor unions are in effect guaranteeing discipline on the job. Those who violate union contracts are subject to sanction by the union as well as the employer.[10] In industries where there are myriads of small companies and only one large union, the union can police relations among companies. The International Ladies Garment Workers Union even has undertaken to help employers rationalize the industry's management and merchandising.

> In the entire industry, this union is the richest and largest single organization in "a jumble of jobbers, manufacturers, sub-manufacturers, contractors, and sub-contractors." It can afford, therefore, to take a statesman-like view. Each one of the contractors and jobbers and sub-manufacturers continues to get his profits under the planning and rationalization imposed by the union.[11]

The local labor union as a categoric group.--A local labor union is a categoric group, that is, "an association of functionally homogeneous individuals."[12] The primary

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[10]Mills, The New Men of Power, p. 225.

[11]Ibid., p. 226. [12]Hawley, Human Ecology, p. 210.

function of a categoric group is to protect its members. Hawley maintains that "categoric groups emerge only in those occupations that have been confronted by challenges which, if unattended, might impair or eliminate the sustenance base of the individuals involved."[13] One type of activity common to all unions is economic--negotiating contracts, securing jobs for their members, and forming credit unions. Many locals also sponsor social activities for their members and for the community at large. They may participate in voluntary, charitable organizations and involve themselves politically by supporting parties and candidates, raising funds, backing voter registration drives, or even recruiting some of their members to run for elective office.

Problems of rank and file participation, interest, and attitudes toward local labor union activities have been studied in a number of settings.[14] These studies always

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[13] Ibid., p. 218.

[14] This kind of study is represented by the following: Leonard R. Sayles and George Strauss, The Local Union (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1953); George Strauss, "Control by the Membership in Building Trades Unions," AJS, LXI, No. 6 (May, 1956), 527-35; Joseph Kovner and Herbert J. Lahne, "Shop Society and the Union," ILRR, VII, No. 1 (October, 1953), 3-14; Joel Seidman et al., The Worker Views His Union (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1958); Eli Chinoy, "Local Union Leadership," Studies in Leadership, ed. Alvin Gouldner (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950),

find that the members generally are satisfied with their local union. There is an interesting report by Strauss that members of a building trade union who lived outside the central city served by the local were "more loyal and more militant because they could not find jobs for themselves and had to depend on the union office."[15] Yet research has found that local union meetings may regularly draw as few as 5 percent of the workers, except when important issues such as ratification of a contract arise. Barbash suggests several considerations which elucidate the common finding that craft locals draw their membership to meetings more effectively than industrial locals.[16] Low percentages of attendance at meetings cannot necessarily be taken as an indication of disinterest in the union, however, for Kovner and Lahne point out that in an industrial setting shop talk may keep members well informed of the issues.[17] The few who attend meetings actually represent many other members.

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pp. 157-73; George H. Hildebrand, "American Unionism, Social Stratification, and Power," AJS, LVIII, No. 4 (January, 1953), 381-90; Arnold S. Tannenbaum and Robert L. Kahn, Participation in Union Locals (Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson and Company, 1958); and Will Herberg, "Democracy in Labor Unions," Antioch Review, III, No. 3 (Fall, 1943), 405-17.

[15] Loc. cit., p. 533.

[16] Jack Barbash, Labor's Grass Roots: A Study of the Local Union (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1961), pp. 53-54.

[17] Loc. cit.

All unions have certain similar objectives, but the way in which they represent their members in the economic sector varies from one union to another. Differences derive in part from the type of work which is organized. This should be reflected especially in the nature of federations among local unions; one should expect to find closer relations and cooperation among unions that have similar work situations than among those whose work situations differ. Men in craft unions should interact more with those from other craft unions, and they should depend more on the cooperation of other craft unions to gain their economic objectives than they depend on industrial unions. Industrial unions should be more independent of each other because they are usually the sole union represented at a work place.

The corporate group aspects of labor unions.--Categoric groups may become corporate groups, "internally differentiated and symbiotically integrated."[18] Many unions have acquired a relatively professional staff, a fairly extensive and varied program, and some other attributes of permanency. These developments in internal specialization mean that a division of labor emerges with some specialists handling internal problems and others handling external relations.[19] The relative power of these specialists rests

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[18]Hawley, Human Ecology, p. 210. [19]Ibid., p. 219.

with their function as central coordinating agents. Thus, in studying unions in a community, it is necessary to ascertain what the relation of the local is to the international union.

Barbash, Strauss, and Joseph deal with a crucial difference between craft and industrial locals in the critical role which links the members with the employers and with the international union.[20] The business agent in a craft union has tremendous influence in dealing with both union members and employers. There is no counterpart of this position in industrial unions. On the other hand, the international representative is more important to the industrial local, due in part to the development of pattern bargaining in major industries. Seltzer and Shister discuss this process whereby a basic contract is reached by negotiation between large corporations and the leaders of the international union.[21] Their agreements serve to define the

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[20]Barbash, op. cit.; George Strauss, "Business Agents in the Building Trades: A Case Study in a Community," ILRR, X, No. 2 (January, 1957), 237-51; and Myron L. Joseph, "The Role of the Field Staff Representative," ILRR, XII, No. 3 (April, 1959), 353-69.

[21]George Seltzer, "Pattern Bargaining and the United Steelworkers," Journal of Political Economy, LIX, No. 4 (August, 1951), 319-31; and Joseph Shister, "Locus of Union Control in Collective Bargaining," Quarterly Journal of Economics, LX, No. 4 (August, 1946), 513-45.

parameters within which many contracts covering small plants will be written with adjustments for local conditions. The international representative is responsible for carrying the message to the local unions and for helping them to negotiate contracts consistent with union principles and the decisions reached at the highest levels of union and company discussion.

In industrial unions the size of the local determines to a great extent what its relationship will be to the international.[22] Unions with small memberships need more of the professional services that the international can provide and are, therefore, more dependent on the international for leadership and direction than the larger locals. In fact, Barbash even suggests that the largest locals may be considered "little internationals."[23] Large locals participate more than small ones in international affairs. The international takes extensive account of the demands of large locals. Their members dominate conventions, and their local leadership is more professional.

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[22]William A. Faunce, "Size of Locals and Union Democracy," AJS, LXVIII, No. 3 (November, 1962), 291-98.

[23]Op. cit., pp. 9-10.

Determinants of Union Power in Communities

Of the many aspects of community structure and function that determine the power of labor unions, three are especially important: the relative independence of the community, its functional specialization, and the locus of control over the critical community functions.

The independence of the community.--We have said that communities are organized to provide the daily requirements of a population. Communities which do not produce all they consume must become involved in exchange relations to supply their requirements. Indeed, all modern communities are dependent to a great degree on other communities.[24] Vidich and Bensman in Small Town and Mass Society show that even what appears to be a small, isolated, relatively self-sufficient town nowadays may be very dependent on the larger society through a complex of often subtle ties.[25] The

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[24]Warren offers the following observation: "Actually the relationship [among communities] is one not so much of unilateral dependence as of symbiotic interdependence between the smaller communities and the large one, but the ways in which the larger community depends on the smaller ones are not usually given an equal emphasis." Op. cit., p. 239.

[25]Arthur J. Vidich and Joseph Bensman (New York: Doubleday Anchor Book, 1958).

independent community, a population which "produces most of the goods and services it consumes," is less and less a valid description of most places in the United States.[26]

The functions of carrying on this exchange and providing the goods and services to be exchanged are crucial to the survival of the community. Such organizational units can, therefore, set conditions under which other community functions will be performed. Sustenance units by definition, then, have the most power in the community. It follows that units that influence the conditions of sustenance production also have relatively large amounts of power concentrated in them. The activities of producing and distributing sustenance in any community, region, or society are commonly said to be organized as the economy. Economic groups thus establish control over most community activities by setting conditions for their occurrence.

The functional specialization of the community.--The internal structure of the community reflects the impact of the power of the basic economic functions. Reiss, for example, describes different kinds of functional specialization and "demographic, economic and socio-economic differences among cities with different kinds of function

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[26]Hawley, Human Ecology, p. 223.

specialization."[27] He concludes, "almost every aspect of a community's structure is related to its basic functions," and it "seems warranted that type of functional specialization is a principal determinant of structural differences among communities."[28] Since units in a community involved in the basic functions will be powerful, the power of unions depends on whether they have organized the basic functions. Thus we could predict, for example, that unions will be more powerful in cities specialized in trade, manufacturing, or transportation than in cities with economies emphasizing higher education, public administration, or health services.

The locus of control over community functions.--Warren writes in The Community in America:

> The "great change" in community living includes the increasing orientation of local community units toward extracommunity systems of which they are a part, with a corresponding decline in community cohesion and autonomy. As the relation of community units to state and national systems becomes strengthened, the locus of decision-making with regard to them often shifts to places outside the community.[29]

A community that has autonomy in these terms is one in which the major functions are controlled by the local community,

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[27]Albert J. Reiss, Jr., "Functional Specialization of Cities," Cities and Society, ed. Paul K. Hatt and Albert J. Reiss, Jr. (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1957), p. 555.

[28]Ibid., p. 575. [29]Op. cit., p. 53.

giving it power, that is, the ability to set conditions for exchange relations with other communities. In modern American communities control over these relationships has been to varying degrees given over to centralized, bureaucratic organizations of business, labor, and government.[30] A community's gain or loss of power refers, then, not to the amount of dependence, but rather, to the extent of control over how relations with other units are to be maintained.[31]

The consequences of absentee control of business and industry are not always the same, but they carry the common element that units are no longer of the community, they are only in it. A community that does not have within its borders the decision-making apparatus for its key units cannot direct its own fate even within the limits dependency imposes. Schulze points out that the larger economic units in Cibola stayed clear of controversial issues. Pellegrin and Coates describe the other extreme where absentee-owned

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[30]John Kenneth Galbraith, American Capitalism and the Concept of Countervailing Power (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1952).

[31]See Robert L. Carroll, "Nature and Determinants of Metropolitan Influence: An Analysis of 168 Metropolitan Central Cities" (microfilmed Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Sociology, University of Michigan, 1960); and Omer R. Galle, "Occupational Composition and the Metropolitan Hierarchy: The Inter- and Intra-Metropolitan Division of Labor," AJS, LXIX, No. 3 (November, 1963), 260-69.

firms vigorously exercised their power in the community.[32]

Local control over basic functions is still evident in Sardis. There are a number of locally-owned factories and businesses operating in the area. But the trend is toward absentee control of companies. Under these conditions the community may find it quite difficult to take collective action. Attempts to mobilize absentee-controlled companies for major community undertakings may founder, because the local representatives are unable to commit the company to any specific policy. Even if they can, they may not care to. Where companies are locally owned, and where local managers are part of the social relations of the community, the opinions of neighbors, friends, and business associates can modify the action of company officials. When plants are no longer locally controlled, and when local managers are part of a corporate bureaucracy, this kind of social pressure is not as strong. An absentee-owned company also is somewhat more independent of the rest of the community than a locally-owned one, because it can and often does secure certain of its essential professional and commercial services elsewhere, particularly banking, marketing, and legal services. The same kind of argument also holds

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[32] Loc. cit.

for small merchants in comparison with those who operate chain stores. Closing hours, pricing policies, and credit practices are more readily coordinated and regulated by the community when the stores are locally owned.

The Study of Unions in Communities

The two traditions.--Investigation of unions in communities seems to derive from two main traditions. One is community field investigations, where the main object is to study the community system. Unions are viewed as one type of association. Their functions are analyzed in the same way as for any community organization. For instance, some of the problems which faced the organizers of industrial unions in middle-sized communities are discussed in the Lynds' Middletown in Transition.[33] The study came at an early period of American industrial unionism and, therefore, deals primarily with the difficulties of organizing and not with labor union participation in community activities.

The Yankee City study examines several major trends in American society of the late 1930's, focusing on the breakdown of moral and economic integration in factory and community. Warner describes Yankee City as a community in which the important industries were locally owned. Shoe

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[33]Robert S. Lynd and Helen Merrell Lynd (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company, 1937), pp. 36-44.

manufacturing until almost 1930 was a highly specialized field with emphasis on craftsmanship and job mobility within the factory. Technological change made possible the elimination of the old apprenticeship system and caused the breakdown of the skill hierarchy.[34] At the same time that technology was changing the division of labor within the plant, the movement toward consolidation in the shoe industry led to the merger of the Yankee City factories with larger national corporations. Warner argues that under the old system of local ownership and paternalistic control, mill owners would not have laid off workers and forced them into a union seeking changes in wages and working conditions. He points out that absentee ownership removes from the community control of vital company activities. The breakdown in personal and friendly relations between the local owners and the employees created the conditions favorable to organization of a union that also was controlled externally.[35]

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[34] Op. cit., chap. v, "The Break in the Skill Hierarchy." A recent discussion of Newburyport presents a conflicting interpretation: see Stephan Thernstrom, "'Yankee City' Revisited: The Perils of Historical Naïveté," ASR, XXV, No. 2 (April, 1965), 234-42.

[35] For a contrasting situation, see Liston Pope, Millhands and Preachers (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942). The textile mills' policy of paternalism in mill towns and the extension of paternalism into the church is the basis of

Industrial sociologists have developed the other tradition of studies, whose main object is to describe and analyze the factory or the union as a functioning system. In-plant relations between union and management are first investigated. Some attention then may be given to "carry-over" from plant to community. Chinoy deals with work-related problems and their consequences in the community.[36] Similarly, the key to McKee's investigation is the power of unions in the plants and how this power moves into community affairs.[37]

Union influence certainly can be expected to be most apparent in community economic affairs. The Chamber of Commerce in Illini City, for example, was seeking a revision of the city building code. From the beginning it was

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this study. Here, in contrast to Yankee City, community support was not on the side of the strikers, but the mill owners were also still residents of Gastonia County.

[36]Eli Chinoy, Automobile Workers and the American Dream (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1955). See especially chap. vii, "Out of the Factory." See also William H. Form and Delbert C. Miller, Industry, Labor and Community (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1960).

[37]James McKee, "Organized Labor and Community Decision Making: A Study in the Sociology of Power" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1953); and James McKee, "Status and Power in the Industrial Community: A Comment on Drucker's Thesis," AJS, LVIII, No. 4 (January, 1953), 364-70.

apparent that effective change could not be accomplished in the face of opposition from the building trades unions, since work standards, the apprenticeship system, and other matters of deep union involvement were to be altered. Under these conditions the Chamber extended membership to the building trades unions and won their support for carrying through the proposed reform.[38] In another case an entire isolated town in western Pennsylvania depended upon a single plant that was to be closed. Organized labor's attempt to reform out-moded work rules, production standards, and featherbedding was partly responsible for preventing the plant's departure.[39]

The ability of CIO unions to mobilize segments of the working class for effective political action is revealed by two studies in particular.[40] Both McKee and Calkins indicate that labor desires to be a part of the political system rather than to dominate it. McKee mentions the ability of the union to overcome ethnic barriers

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[38]Wray, loc. cit., p. 93.

[39]Charles R. Walker, Steeltown: An Industrial Case History of the Conflict Between Progress and Security (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950).

[40]McKee, "Organized Labor . . . "; and Fay Calkins, The CIO and the Democratic Party (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952).

that had split workers prior to the formation of the union. He points out that once laborers won offices within the community they did not differ significantly in their activities from others who had held such positions.[41] Aside from helping to elect officials, unions support certain semi-public efforts like welfare drives and community improvement programs.[42] Data from several studies indicate that as labor unions become better organized and reach the initial goals of collective bargaining, they serve as effective agents to mobilize participation of the working class in a wide range of community activities. This effectiveness brings them to the attention of other groups in the community which seek support. Where unions want to build a community image of being cooperative, valuable union assistance often can be successfully solicited.

Finally there have been studies that tried to measure the effect of union action on the prestige of unions and union leaders within a community.[43] The general conclusion

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[41]McKee, AJS, LVIII, No. 4, 369.

[42]Form, loc. cit.; Chinoy, "Local Union Leadership," loc. cit.; Chalmers et al. (eds.), op. cit.; and Saul D. Alinsky, "Community Analysis and Organization," AJS, XLVI, No. 6 (May, 1941), 797-808.

[43]Phelps, loc. cit.; Walker, op. cit.; Form, loc. cit.; and McKee, loc. cit.

is that unions have gained recognition as being important to the community. Early antagonism has given way to somewhat reluctant acceptance. Union leaders are not yet equal partners with the business and professional leaders. Wray reports in the Illini City study that "the differences in social, economic, and political orientations of businessman and worker presented a real difficulty in the development of mutual understanding."[44]

A summary statement.--Two main cautions must be kept in mind in discussing unions in particular communities. First, communities have unique configurations of economic institutions. There are still company towns and towns that are dominated by a single factory or by a single industry. Some communities lack an industrial base, specializing in some alternative economic activity. Companies in some communities are locally owned and locally controlled. In others, branches of large corporations exert tremendous influence through a small managerial staff resident in the community.[45] Similarly, some communities are barely touched by unions, while in others almost all of the industrial work force is organized by them. Different structural patterns emerge in a community when there are several factories

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[44]Wray, loc. cit., p. 100.

[45]Pellegrin and Coates, loc. cit.

organized by different international unions than when one big industry and a single large union dominate.[46] This unequal distribution of unions at the local level makes it harder to generalize about the impact of unions in the community than on society as a whole.

Second, unions in a community are not usually autonomous units. They are parts of larger international organizations, and their activities within a community are limited in some ways by these relationships. This is true as well of other institutions in a community, often of factories. Loss of control from the community has been discussed in relation to the Yankee City study.[47] Once the locus of control leaves a community, it depends upon outside units to make fundamental decisions affecting it. If one defines a community power system only in terms of those resident in the community or by issues involving only local decision makers, then clearly the power system excludes many issues and decisions affecting critical functions of the community. Through failing to specify the limits of autonomy of the local power system such studies may present

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[46]Walker, op. cit.; McKee, loc. cit.; and Chalmers et al. (eds.), op. cit.

[47]See Maurice R. Stein, The Eclipse of Community (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960), chap. iii.

a "false" model of the functioning community.

The approach of this study.--The present study undertakes to examine the power of unions in a community in the context of the theoretical considerations presented in this chapter. The loss of community power to outside institutions is dealt with mainly in Chapters III and IV, which review Sardis's economic history and the emergence of labor unions in the community. Chapters V and VI document union power in three facets of community life: the economic, the political, and the social welfare areas. The central analysis chapters are supported by data presented in Chapter VII on the comparisons in status and prestige between the officers of local unions and the incumbents of other functionally important community roles. The final chapter presents a summary and concluding comments on problems in community research.

CHAPTER III

THE BASIC STRUCTURAL FEATURES OF THE COMMUNITY

Background

The two propositions under investigation in this dissertation focus on the impact of societal changes as they alter the internal organization of communities and their relationships to outside social systems. To use Warren's terminology, it is a question of how "the great change" has affected horizontal and vertical patterns of a community.[1] This chapter deals with both patterns, but particularly the vertical. The main contours of the history of Sardis's population, institutions, and functions are sketched to sharpen the contrast between aspects of community life that are very old and those that have arisen within the last twenty-five years.

The early history of the community.--Some of the functions Sardis performs today for the political and economic order of the county and state are as old as the city itself. The first settler came to Sardis in 1825 and was

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[1] Op. cit., chap. iii.

chosen as its mayor when it was incorporated in 1853. In those twenty-eight years Sardis had taken advantage of its position at the geographical center of Summit County to become a vigorous trading and administrative center. In 1836 a thirty-mile stretch of railroad was built through the forest from the Great Lakes, helping Sardis to develop as a place for distribution of merchandise from the east to settlements in the surrounding country. Broad highways and several railroad lines now link the city with the rest of the country. The county seat was moved in 1838 from a rival town to Sardis, where it has remained ever since.

From the beginning, Sardis's residents were farmers, merchants, and small-scale manufacturers. Early forest clearing revealed some of the richest soil in the United States. Today Summit County is an active grain and dairy farming area with prosperous three-to-four hundred acre farms that have been in the same family for several generations. The grist mills and saw mills powered by the Acoaxet River, running through the center of town from north to south, have been replaced by plants manufacturing a number of products.

The population of Sardis.--The early settlers of Summit County came from New England via western New York. In the latter nineteenth century there was considerable

immigration of German people whose presence is still very noticeable in speech, family names, and church affiliations. Table 1 indicates Sardis's steady population growth from 1890 to 1940.[2] Most of the residents then, as today, were

TABLE 1.--Intercensal changes in the population of Sardis and Summit County: 1890-1960

Census Year	Population of City (100's)	Percent Change	Population of County (100's)	Percent Change
1890	8,800	..	48,400	..
1900	9,700	10	48,400	0
1910	10,800	11	47,900	-1
1920	11,900	10	47,800	0
1930	13,100	10	49,800	4
1940	14,200	9	53,100	6
1950	18,400	29	64,600	22
1960	20,300	11	77,800	20

Source: U. S. Census of Population.

descendents of the early settlers or people much like them in occupation, religion, and national background. A most

[2]Statistics from the Census and sources other than direct observation are for the political units named rather than for the "community" of Sardis as it was outlined in chapter ii.

dramatic shift in the community's population came during World War II. The rapid increase in industrial employment opportunities between 1940 and 1950 altered the composition of the population, showing a decline in the dominance of the farm service aspects of the community in favor of urban industrial ones.

In 1943 the United States government built a large war plant in Sardis. To provide workers for this plant, as well as other northern operations, the national government encouraged large-scale migration from the less industrialized southern states. Federal money subsidized temporary housing in Sardis, as in other communities, to accommodate the influx of migrants. The land in Sardis upon which these temporary buildings stood is covered with grass now, but the old roads and a few foundations remind one of the rapid alterations that took place. The population of these buildings has not gone away nor has it been completely absorbed into the community. Most of the migrants to Sardis were from Alabama or Texas. The rural whites from Alabama still call themselves and are called hillbillies. Most of these people live clustered together in Sardis's working-class neighborhoods or in "wild-cat ridge," a rural slum located outside the city limits. Many still have strong family connections in the South and often leave Sardis

during periods of unemployment, only to return with the next wave of prosperity. Some even maintain dual residence.

The migrants from Texas are of Mexican ancestry and speak Spanish. They are discriminated against in the same way as Negroes. A Mexican minister recalls that in the early days it was impossible to get a haircut in town and housing conditions were very poor. The problem of discrimination is aggravated by the seasonal migration of several thousand farm laborers, mostly Negro or Mexican, who camp in Summit County when tomatoes are picked and canned. The settled Mexicans live segregated within and without the city limits of Sardis. A recent attempt by the city to annex a bit of land just outside its boundaries was opposed successfully by the leadership of the Mexican settlement there. The Mexican leaders felt that the county offers them better schools and welfare benefits than would the city.

The few Negroes living in Sardis are inconspicuous. Table 2 shows that if the industrial activity associated with World War II attracted large numbers of Negro workers, they had left by 1950. The citizens of Sardis report some increase in the Negro population since the census of 1960. If their observations are correct, even a doubling of the 1960 Negro population raises their proportion to only

2 percent of the total, hardly comparable with the substantial numbers and high proportions common in the largest cities.

TABLE 2.--Population of Sardis by race: 1930-1960

Census Year	Total (100's)	White (100's)	Negro	Percent Negro
1930	13,100	12,900	126	1.0
1940	14,200	14,100	95	0.7
1950	18,400	18,200	149	0.8
1960	20,300	20,100	214	1.0

Source: U. S. Census of Population

The spatial arrangements in the city of Sardis.--It is not difficult to recognize some of Sardis's streets of today in pictures made fifty or even a hundred years ago, for some of the houses and churches are that old. Dominating the main shopping area today are the county court house and the city hall. Stores, offices, and small shops offering such necessities as banking, insurance, heavy-duty tires, and machine repair attest to Sardis's continued role as a farm service center. Several retail trade establishments have been doing business since the late nineteenth

century. But, whereas thirty or forty years ago the downtown streets were lined with stores owned and managed by local people, today one sees many familiar names of chain stores. The downtown business area has not been growing lately. The only two new buildings are a bank and the small Chamber of Commerce office building. Several stores are empty. Some competition has come from a shopping center on the outskirts of the business district organized by one of the grocery chains.

The manufacturing district, set on the southeastern corner of the city, is invisible from the major roads leading into Sardis, so it looks more like a quiet rural residential town than it is. Most of the middle- and working-class residents of Sardis live in well-kept frame dwellings on streets surrounding downtown. The wealthy have moved from Victorian houses in the downtown area to more comfortable ranch style homes near the country club on the northwest side of the city. There are a few pockets of dilapidated housing near the center of town which are occupied primarily by Negroes. One of these sections, the only one bad enough to deserve being called a slum, was mentioned frequently for urban renewal, if such a program were ever undertaken in Sardis. At the time of the study there was a housing surplus. One working-class development

built in the late fifties in anticipation of a boom in industry was largely unoccupied.

The community institutions.--The city government in Sardis is in good order as a result of a charter revision in the late 1950's. The principal elected officials are the mayor and six city commissioners. Administration is handled by a full-time appointed professional city administrator. The latter official has overseen the widening and repair of city streets, the acquisition of new equipment, and other improvements. The city school system is well developed, although there is some friction between the superintendent of schools and the city administrator over the costs of public education.

Sardis boasts two colleges. The smaller, a Roman Catholic girls' school, has a campus near the northeast corner of the city. The larger and more important Sardis College, a coeducational Methodist institution, occupies a sizeable area to the west of the business district. While this college dates from the middle of the nineteenth century, its greatest growth in size and importance came in the ten or twelve years immediately preceding this study. Its enrollment of less than two hundred in 1951 climbed to slightly over a thousand students by 1961. Under the effective administration of the current president, the college

has developed into the third largest employer in Sardis. The president has assumed a very active role in the community. His service on charity boards and advisory committees, and in the role of community arbiter, reflects not only his personal administrative skills, but the increased influence of the college in the economic life of the community. A vigorous college building program has helped to offset the effects of declines in residential and commercial construction during the 1950's.

Since 1904 Sardis has had a municipal hospital. The present building was constructed in 1957 after a county-wide fund-raising drive. As a "wholly-owned municipal corporation," its public or private status is somewhat ambiguous. The term tends to be interpreted differently according to whether the hospital is trying to buy supplies at a discount or to receive Federal aid under the Hill-Burton Hospital Construction Act. The hospital staff is headed by a professional administrator responsible to a board of directors appointed by the city commission. The hospital administrator has steadily developed and expanded services, and there is money for future expansion of facilities.

The professionalization of roles.--The hospital administrator and the city administrator are not the only

professional administrators working in Sardis. The manager of the Chamber of Commerce, the United Fund executive, the superintendent of schools, the director of the YMCA, and the director of the Salvation Army all are professional administrators. Each gained his position through his expertise. It was not given as a reward for good service in some other endeavor as was often the case before. While the "good citizens" of the community may still serve on boards of directors or trustees, actual day-to-day operations are now in the hands of a specialist.

The introduction of professional leaders into a community can be viewed as a shift from a traditional to a bureaucratic order in Weber's terms. These men were hired because, as professionals, they either had received specific training in their special field or had gained experience in another organization demanding their particular skills. In several cases the hiring organization advertised through the appropriate professional journal. This growing use of professionals reflects not only the increasing skills demanded by the positions, but also the reliance of the community on the larger society to recruit and train personnel necessary to community functioning.[3] None of these

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[3]The problem of the relationship between profession and the larger society is more fully developed in William J. Goode's "Community Within a Community: The Professions,"

professionals was a member of the community prior to employment in his present position.

Professional status gives these leaders a degree of latitude not possessed by lay leaders, for their expertise can serve as a valuable shield from community pressure. These men, of course, are not entirely free to make decisions and set policy. They are hired, and they can be fired. Having engaged a professional's services, the organization or the community at large may not willingly follow his advice nor assent to his programs. Or another expert may challenge his competence. Because of this, certain professional leaders are quite concerned with their general acceptance in the community and seek support on a very wide basis. They try not to become embroiled in political controversies where the issues are not germane to their speciality. But frequently this seems to be impossible. As the manager of the Chamber of Commerce said, "A Chamber man has a life expectancy of about six or seven years. Then it is time to move on and give someone else a chance. You make a lot of enemies and the job gets more and more difficult."

His geographical mobility must be linked with professional mobility as well as with the possibility that the

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ASR, XXII, No. 2 (April, 1957), 194-200.

administrator has become too controversial to be effective. Several of the professional leaders were quite candid in their remarks. They saw Sardis as a way station in their career pattern. It was necessary to do a good and commendable job while they were there, but not to sink their roots so deep as to be unable to move on to the larger hospital, the bigger YMCA, or the more demanding job in a city government.[4] Professional mobility is in terms of a professional group, not a community. Information concerning new developments, new jobs, and changes in the field comes from outside.

Reliance upon the outside expert to fill roles in the community is not limited to the organizations named above. Absentee-owned firms have also sent managers to serve in executive positions in the local plants. Greer's summary of the position of these industrial executives might apply as well to other organization professionals. "The manager of the branch plant is primarily a citizen in his national corporation and his lodestar is company

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[4]During the course of the field work, the local YMCA director moved to Salt Lake City to accept a similar position in a larger operation and the executive secretary of the United Fund moved to a community of 50,000 in Ohio. The city manager who came to Sardis in 1960 left a similar position in a smaller Michigan city. Sardis was his third position since 1953 as a city manager in increasingly large cities.

headquarters. To his own career, local affairs are relatively unimportant."[5]

The advent of absentee ownership and management by outsiders is only one of many changes in Sardis's industrial pattern. The rest of this chapter is concerned primarily with Sardis's twentieth-century industrial history in three rough periods--the period from the turn of the century until about 1940, the decade of World War II and its aftermath, and, finally, the 1950's leading to the early 1960's when the study was done.

The Twentieth Century Industrial History of Sardis

The first forty years.--By the close of the nineteenth century, Sardis had begun to acquire some of the manufacturing activities, factories and products it has today. One food packing company has been in Sardis since 1896. A large auto supplier is the direct descendent of a wire and fence company founded in Sardis in 1881. From the 1890's to the 1930's Sardis was a center of wire fence manufacture in this country. But as markets shifted westward, the fence industry followed, until today the vestiges

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[5]Scott Greer, The Emerging City (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1962), p. 154.

of earlier activity are abandoned factories, a warehouse that employs a fraction of the company's former work force, and a plant that now makes auto brake cables.

For many years industry as well as retail business was oriented to the farmer as supplier and consumer. Sardis's function as a service center for the surrounding farm area gave it a certain provincial self-sufficiency. Local businessmen and merchants were united in their opinion that the status quo was beneficial. The Chamber of Commerce manager who remained in office from about 1913 to 1953 represented these interests very well. He was a local citizen for whom the job was more honorary than professional. Local legend credits him with keeping out big industry. As one informant put it, "They had a good deal here and they didn't want anyone coming in and upsetting the apple cart." Stories abound describing how companies desirous of locating plants in Sardis were discouraged. The most famous one is well known to the entire community. In the late 1930's a manufacturer from western Michigan was seeking a site for relocation and needed financial assistance. He visited several communities and received no support. In Sardis, so the story goes, the Chamber manager told him to get out of town--"We don't need your kind here." Today this industrialist owns one of the three hundred largest corporations

in the United States with his factories in a town seven miles from Sardis that did provide financial help. While it is hard to substantiate all such stories, apparently a small group of merchants and industrialists were able to inhibit developments in the community that seemed disadvantageous to them personally or otherwise undesirable.[6]

One useful parcel of data about the Sardis industrial scene between 1900 and 1940 dates from 1927. Table 3

TABLE 3.--Fourteen largest firms in 1927: Ownership, longevity (1901-1963), and management

Item	Time of Company's Establishment in Sardis			
	Present by 1901	1901-1907	1907-1927	Total
Companies (1927)				
Total	4	4	6	14
Locally owned	4	4	3	11
Longevity of companies				
Present in 1940	3	1	3	7
Present in 1953	3	1	2	6
Present in 1963	3	0	1	4
Company executives				
Total in 1927	9	10	9	28
Local residents in 1907	7	3	3	13

summarizes information about fourteen companies listed as having a capitalization of over $125,000 by the Polk

[6]For amplification of this theme, see Form and Miller, op.cit., p. 45. Schulze documents such a situation in

Directory for that year. At the time all but three were locally owned plants, and these three were among the newest. Of the fourteen companies, only four had been in operation at least since 1901. Seven were still present in 1940. These include one of two food packing plants, three of five wire fence companies, one of two manufacturers of furniture, one of three textile companies, and one electrical equipment manufacturer. The remaining plant in the records for 1927 made concrete. The 1927 City Directory lists twenty-eight administrative officers for these companies, of whom almost half had been adult residents of Sardis in 1907, twenty years prior to the base date. The decade of the 1930's and the early forties mark the transition between the industrial pattern present in 1927 and the one characteristic of the post-World War II years.

The growth of industry from 1940 to 1950.--Dominance by the farm population which marked the early years of the community declined with industrial expansion during the 1940's. Industrial labor unions became firmly established; absentee ownership of large manufacturing plants was more common; Sardis's function as a supplier of automobile parts developed importance. The community at large benefited

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Cibola. Loc. cit., sec. 2, "The Past," pp.26-39.

from increased services available because of the demands of expanding industry and population during and after the war. Greater police protection was offered; streets and sewer lines were extended; new schools were constructed.

World War II was a pivotal time for the community. The building of the government bomber plant, over which the city had no control, and its attendant migration have already been discussed. Six of the seven largest plants in Sardis today were operating during the war, using extra shifts and offering good wages. There was room for new plants and new companies at that time, and Sardis's industry boomed.

The rapid growth of industry during the war is reflected in labor force statistics. Table 4 shows a substantial increase in the proportion of jobs in manufacturing

TABLE 4.--Size of labor force, percent employed in selected industries, and percent unemployed: Sardis, 1940-1960

Year	Total Labor Force (100's)	Percent in Services	Percent in Manufacturing	Percent Unemployed
1940	5700	49.9	34.9	6.0
1950	7500	49.5	44.2	1.3
1960	7800	52.7	32.9	9.6

Source: U. S. Census of Population

industries between 1940 and 1950. Enough of these jobs remained in 1950 to give Sardis a very high proportion of workers in manufacturing and a low unemployment rate. The proportion of the labor force engaged in service industries remained quite constant at about one half for the two decades after 1940. This supports the direct observations of Sardis's continuing function as a service center.

The decline in industry since 1950.--The labor force figures for 1960 (Table 4) show considerable decline in manufacturing jobs and increased unemployment. The cold war consumer economy could not sustain the same pace of industrial development as a hot war economy with its cost-plus government contracts. By 1961 three plants had terminated operations in Sardis, plants which in 1951 had employed a total of over 2000 workers. One of these was the fifth in a series of companies that had leased the government plant. The building was designated for auction as surplus government property in 1960. The rest of that story will be taken up in Chapter VI. A second departure of the 1950's was a company started by a local entrepreneur in the early months of World War II. It declined after the war and closed down in the late fifties when consolidation moved its functions outside Summit County. In the third case, a local entrepreneur moved his company's operations to a southern state.

Nor is loss of factories the only problem. One company which remained in business reduced its work force from a peak of 2500 employees in 1945 to one-tenth of that number by 1962. Another local businessman moved his 120 workers from Sardis to a new plant provided by a rival city seven miles away. While this did not involve any job loss for people in the Sardis area, loss of face and hurt feelings upset Sardis citizens.

Table 5 summarizes the industrial picture in 1962. Though once primarily involved in manufacturing for farm

TABLE 5.--Sixteen industrial plants in 1962: Ownership and presence of union by size of industrial work force

Work Force Size	Total Plants	Locally Owned	Organized
400 or more	4	2	4
200 to 399	3	1	2
100 to 199	3	2	2
50 to 99	6	5	3
TOTAL	16	10	11

consumption, factories have tended to become suppliers, especially for automobile manufacturers. The two largest plants in Sardis today are dependent exclusively upon this

market. Other products of today's industries include furniture, electrical equipment, refrigerator motors, and special metal products such as steel and aluminum extrusions. The industrial base is not expanding rapidly, but there is some indication that factories may not be moving away at the rate that they were. Absentee ownership has not completely taken over from the local businessmen, but it prevails more strongly than it did thirty-five years earlier, especially in the larger plants. The trend has not halted, as the manager of one of the smaller local firms pointed out. He expects his company will be sold or absorbed into a large corporation when the present owner dies.

While they acknowledge high industrial unemployment as a serious community problem, many citizens hope that the availability of an experienced semi-skilled and skilled labor force may make Sardis an attractive place for a variety of small manufacturers to locate their operations. Until the government built the war plant, industry had tended to develop within Sardis, even though it later might have become absorbed into a larger corporation. Now, instead of waiting for local residents to start new firms, the Chamber of Commerce makes a great effort to recruit from outside. While some people would prefer to restrict the kind of industry recruited, the most common attitude seems to be to get what is available.

The Industrial Development Corporation, founded in 1961, is one step to stimulate industrial expansion. This corporation was formed through the joint efforts of the city government and the Chamber of Commerce. It offers financial services to businesses and help in locating land and arranging other details of location in Sardis. Some aspects of the recruiting program have met a certain amount of resistance from established industrialists. They complain that bringing in new industry and granting special tax concessions will put a greater burden on established firms, that is, they would be, in effect, subsidizing the new industry. Such support some say is inherently bad, it is not the American way.

The self-reliant ethic obvious in these complaints also arises in arguments against urban renewal. Some citizens fear that in asking for Federal funds a city is resigning itself to dominance from the outside. Thinking that government agencies could do little but interfere with the internal affairs of the community, they strongly resist any further encroachment upon community autonomy. Yet it is obvious to other citizens that without Federal help and without appealing to new industry to locate in Sardis, the future of the community is bleak. The direction of change is unmistakeable. Outsiders will continue to play a more important role in the community.

A concluding statement.--In this chapter a brief description is made of how Sardis has changed over the course of its history. The purpose was to focus on the ways it has become involved with the larger society, that is, the greater dependence on vertical ties. In the next chapter the emergence of labor unions is dealt with in the general context of community change. The changes in Sardis --professionalization of community leadership positions, increasing dominance of the absentee-owned companies, and emergence of labor unions--have also changed the horizontal patterns of integration. This discussion begins in the next chapter and is developed more fully in those that follow.

CHAPTER IV

LOCAL LABOR UNION ORGANIZATION IN SARDIS

Background

Introduction.--The structure and influence of local labor unions is now examined in the context of the organization of the community. Some differences between craft and industrial unions in Sardis are discussed to show how the functions performed at the workplace can affect the organization of the unions. This in turn points up how cooperation among unions at the local level is inhibited or encouraged by isomorphism, or correspondence in structure. The interrelated horizontal patterns of integration--the relations among locals and the relation of each local to its employing organization--are affected by the vertical pattern relations of each local to its international union.

We have said that to determine the importance of unions, absolutely and relative to one another, one must specify the key functions of the social system studied. While all units in a social system are assumed to have power, their relative power depends in part upon how they are related to its functional pattern. For instance, in American

society the network of functionally integrated communities with an extended territorial division of labor makes communication and transportation facilities crucial and powerful in the country-wide system. The railroad brotherhoods, the maritime unions, teamsters, and communications workers have great power in the society at large, because they represent workers in the vital connective and exchange activities. While members of these unions that help to control the interrelations of communities may live and work in Sardis, these unions are not as crucial to Sardis, studied as a community system in itself, because the basic function in which Sardis tends to be specialized is not communication nor transportation--nor entertainment nor education--but manufacturing, processing, and similar forms of production.

Labor unions are not new to Sardis. There were AFL craft unions and a cigar-makers unions by 1900. The real impact of unionization came to the community years later, however, with the organization of industrial unions. They gave labor some control in the basic sustenance activities of the community. Another reason the unionization of the thirties and forties had such a profound influence was that many workers were involved in a very pervasive movement. Sheer size of membership is important. Industrial unions have organized more workers in Sardis and nationwide than

the crafts ever did.

The building trades unions, the other type of union found in Sardis, have little influence by contrast with industrial locals. In a town where the primary function is not the construction or maintenance of housing or highways, nor the building of complex electronic devices like rockets and computers, the construction tradesmen are much like the barbers, bartenders, and other providers of service. By contrast, in installations like Cape Kennedy or huge development towns in other parts of the country where the crafts are central to the basic work, the craft unions are very powerful.

The history of industrial union organization in Sardis.--The first large plant was organized in 1927. This event is especially interesting to the student of unions in communities because of the circumstances under which the union came into the plant. The president of the company recalled the situation this way:

> It looked like we were going to be organized. So we decided which union would be best for the company and called them up. And they came in and organized the men. You can't do that sort of thing today. But we were looking for someone we could work with and it has turned out very well.

In the 1930's several more of Sardis's industries were organized under less peaceful circumstances. Most attempts at

establishing unions were vigorously opposed. Vigilante committees, sheriff's posses, and citizen groups were all active. Another large plant went through an organization struggle in 1937. One of the local organizers recounted his story:

> I called up Mazey and told him to send us down a charter. Things were pretty tough. We met in basements and in rented hotel rooms so that we could not be spotted. One night, after a meeting, I began to walk home. I see these guys in the shadows and they're talkin'. So I started to run and so did they and I ran all the way home. My wife was at the door and she got it opened and I just got in when they came up on the porch.

His wife added, "It wasn't safe for him to walk off work." When the union was finally organized, it struck the plant. The strike lasted several weeks during which it became necessary to call in the sheriff and the state police.

> One day a bunch of farmers came into town. They came down with pitchforks and ball bats. There were some skulls cracked. But that made the men mad and we just couldn't sign members up fast enough after that. . . . There were some names called and they never been forgotten.

One plant, whose wage scale in 1935 was eleven cents an hour and less, was organized by men from the CIO, some of whom were Communist Party members. This local was a battleground for one of the Reuther brothers in his struggle to keep Communists from controlling the CIO. In 1940 Walter Reuther, Emil Mazey, and Dick Gosser came to Sardis for

Labor Day in recognition of efforts to organize workers there.

Unions have not been successful in all their attempts to organize plants in Sardis. As recently as 1956 the UAW failed to organize a plant; still other places have not been tried as yet. At the time of the study fifteen industrial unions were identified in the Sardis area, representing over 3100 members altogether.[1] One local covers several plants; two unions are present in each of three plants.[2] Each of the other eight locals represents all the workers in one plant. Of the other eleven local unions in the area, seven craft unions operate from distant metropolitan centers and claim relatively few Sardis residents or workers as members. The International Brotherhood of Teamsters, representing 600 men, has local offices in Sardis. Little is said about these eight unions except in connection with the Summit Building Trades Council. Three former AFL building trades unions and the fifteen industrial locals were studied in more detail.

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[1]The AFL organized three industrial locals with a total membership of 550. It should be remembered that the AFL industrial unions have tended to organize in factories where skill level is an important component of jobs. The membership of the UAW's eight locals totals about 2000. There are four other industrial unions which were formerly affiliated with neither the AFL nor the CIO and have a combined membership of 550.

[2]These unions are paired as follows: AFL and IAM, AFL and CIO, and two CIO (office and plant).

The carpenters, bricklayers, and electricians represent just over 200 men altogether and maintain offices in Sardis. All locals but the teamsters are now AFL-CIO affiliates.

Horizontal Patterns

Introduction.--While all unions try to protect members, represent membership to the employer, or bargain with the employer for the best possible wages and working conditions, the organization of the work situation dictates to a large extent the kind of protection necessary and possible. Differences in work situations raise different problems to be solved. Perhaps the best-known example of union organization being affected by the work situation in the industry is analyzed in Union Democracy. Lipset demonstrates that the organization of work encouraged close contact among ITU members both on and off the job, which in turn led to greater participation in union activities, including the development of political parties within the union.[3] Organizational and work situation differences have repercussions in the cooperation among unions and the relations between union locals and their internationals. In Sardis the biggest work site contrast for union members is between factory and construction

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[3]Seymour M. Lipset, Martin Trow, and James Coleman, Union Democracy: The Internal Politics of the International Typographical Union (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1956).

work.[4]

The organization of construction and the building trades locals.--Sardis members of ten building trades locals are employed by builders whose work places continually shift. As buildings or roads are completed, the contractor moves on to the next location. The workers do not remain at any specific location for very long. A small supervisory staff carries over from job to job, and large contracting firms may keep a permanent basic crew. But in most cases work crews are put together for a single job and then disbanded, so the average worker must find new employment several times a season. Construction in this part of the country is seasonal. All building trades union leaders mentioned how important it is that they are unable to work during the winter months. To make a living in the building trades, one has to start a job in early spring and work long hours until the winter weather.

Construction is organized by a number of different unions, each representing highly specialized and often highly skilled workers. Each building trade union has elaborate rules governing the kind of work it does. A contractor deals

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[4]It should be pointed out that members of some unions do not have a community base. The airline pilots, the merchant seamen, and some railroad workers fall into this category of workers with highly mobile workplaces.

with as many as one or two dozen different unions in the course of a single job, and he may not shift his men from one task to another across jurisdictional lines. Craft workers are selling a skill. This skill, in many cases, demands familiarity with tools that they own. The craft union member carries his skill with him and goes where the work is located. He starts on the job an equal of any other man carrying the same union card, presents his card, pays his dues, and goes to work. The craft union member can also go into business for himself.[5]

A fundamental characteristic of the trade union is its restrictive membership. The apprenticeship system limits the number of persons who will ever become craft union members. The craft unionist is socialized into the union from his first day as an apprentice. For the craftsman membership in the union comes before he can get a job. The AFL sees a danger in having too many carpenters or too many plumbers, a danger they have long tried to guard against by limiting membership and making entrance into the union difficult. Craft union strength lies in the fact that they have organized

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[5]Trade union members who shift from worker to entrepreneur are called "hip pocket" contractors, indicating the tenuousness of their status as independent businessmen. No bull session with craft union members is complete without stories about how such men have gone broke or about hopes of getting out of the round of jobs with contractors and striking out for oneself.

most of the craftsmen. Their influence upon the general labor market is not especially pervasive, since "general labor" is not eligible for their work.[6]

Strauss emphasizes an important feature of the construction trade unions which is closely related to this pattern of employment and union organization. In a craft union he notes that:

> To a greater extent than in industrial locals the author has studied, the members knew each other. They had all done the same sort of work for years. Most of them mingled at work; most of them had seen each other at union meetings or waiting in the union office for jobs. In addition, there were ethnic and family ties which bound them together even closer.[7]

Strauss maintains that, because of this, the craft union member takes a more active interest in his union.[8] The trade trade union is in some aspects more a fraternal organization than a union. Recall that outsiders are not permitted to enter lodge meetings of one of the Sardis locals. For the benefit of the investigator one meeting was temporarily adjourned, so he could talk to the membership about his

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[6]The investigator once worked in a factory where the plant carpenter asked to be paid carpenter wages. The company agreed to pay him carpenter wages as long as he was working as a carpenter. Since there were not forty hours a week of carpentry in the plant, such an agreement would have meant a substantial cut in income. He agreed to keep the regular factory wage rate.

[7]Strauss, AJS, LXI, No. 6, 535.

[8]A similar point is made by Barbash, op. cit., pp.53-54.

research project.

The role of the business agent.--The shifting workplace of the building trades is not suited to the conduct of union affairs. Therefore, the building trades have established local units on the basis of geographical areas. A great deal of activity takes place in the union hall or wherever the business agent has an office. The business agent of a craft union performs very important functions. Barbash lists these as follows:

1. To represent the union in bargaining for an agreement with employers and groups of employers.
2. To act as an employment agency in referring members to jobs on request of contracting employers.
3. To protect the local union's jurisdiction as against claims of other unions.
4. To police the various work sites under his control to see that union standards are adhered to.
5. To participate in the activities of various local labor movement bodies--notably the building trades council, the central labor body, and the local and state councils of his own union--in order to represent the interests of his local and its members.[9]

The business agent's strength rests upon his success as a middleman, as the link between employees and employers. When contractors bypass him, he loses some of his control. He tries to stay on top of all local construction so that he

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[9] Ibid., pp. 76-77.

knows how many men are working and where. One method used to keep track of construction work in Sardis is to subscribe to a business service that reports all starts on local construction. While he has a great deal of potential power in the local union,[10] an agent's work may be frustrated by his own membership. The business agent tries to keep an activity record of the members of the local. When a union member is seeking work, he can appeal to the business agent or find work himself, in which case he should report it. When a man completes a job, he is supposed to call into the union hall, where his name is placed at the bottom of the waiting list. Jobs are filled in rotation. A constant complaint of the business agents is that members of the local take jobs and do not report them.

The business agents in Sardis spend a great deal of time finding jobs for their members outside their territory. Large contractors sometimes bring crews with them into a territory for a job. This necessitates negotiation with other business agents and with contractors to agree on a ratio between local men and outsiders. Each local tries to keep its boundary lines intact, but craft unions face the

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[10]Strauss writes in his study of business agents: "The business agent is the key man in the building trades local. As the full-time spokesman of the union, he has the primary responsibility for enforcing the contract and handling grievances with employers. Often he provides members with jobs, and employers with their work force. Both groups become dependent upon him." ILRR, X, No. 2, 237.

possible invasion of their area by members of their own craft from other locals. There are also attempts by nonmembers to do the tasks claims by the unions as their exclusive work. Building trades unions now are confronting the problem of protecting their crafts from wholesale invasion. Under a provision of the Landrum-Griffin Act, if an employer cannot obtain all the union help he needs for a specific job, he cannot be struck if he hires others to do the work.

In many cases the large area covered by individual locals is hard to police, and jobs may get well started before a particular business agent spots them. No one business agent can make the rounds of all building sites during a workday or a workweek. On several occasions it was noted that the business agents in Sardis would serve as lookouts for one another. They exchange information on what they see going on in their common area. This draws the trades into close cooperation. On the other hand, cooperation is somewhat inhibited by jurisdictional quarrels. Furthermore, only a few locals have geographical boundaries that coincide. Of the three crafts with a base in Sardis, no two have the same boundaries. This ambiguous situation of conflict and cooperation is embodied in the Summit Building Trades Council, a small association composed of up to ten construction unions and the teamsters.

The Building Trades Council.--This council serves as a forum for the trades to air their differences and to solve minor problems of cooperation and competition on the job. Since all the building trades are involved with one another in the work situation, their cooperation is quite important insofar as collective action is concerned. Since there are constant disputes over jurisdiction of work, it also is necessary to keep open channels of communication. This helps to keep an employer from assigning work to one union that belongs to another. While one union might make some short-range gains in getting work, the situation from job to job, from contractor to contractor, would not remain constant, jeopardizing the "integrity" of the crafts. The jurisdictional problem is aggravated by changes in technology that bear directly on construction work and must be incorporated into one craft or another to maintain the organization by spheres of competence. The craft must then train its members to perform the new work in the same standardized manner that can be expected of them in performing their traditional skills.

The focus of the Building Trades Council on the work situation explains the role played by the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and the reason why the teamsters sit on building trades councils throughout the state,

although they have been expelled from the national AFL-CIO organization. The teamsters haul material to work sites. They are in a position to tie up construction, because without supplies a contractor cannot continue to work, however willing are his building tradesmen. Mention has been made of how important it is for men in the construction trades to work steadily during good weather. They cannot afford much interruption from striking teamsters. On the other hand, if one of the building trades is on strike, the teamsters can give enormous support to the union by honoring its picket line. At certain stages of construction the truck drivers hauling ready-mix concrete can put an almost instantaneous stop to activity at a work site. The teamsters are in a position to render the building trades another rather different service on account of their high mobility. They visit many work sites in the course of a day and can provide a great deal of information on construction in the vicinity. Since the business agents do not cover all the territory they need to cover for proper policing of their crafts, they are grateful for this extra source of information.

Nevertheless, the council has limited powers, and the individual crafts are jealous of their independence. The various locals have joined and quit on many occasions over action voted by the council. As one business agent reported,

when asked about his participation in the council, "I don't know how long we've been members. We've been in and out so many times I can't count them." During the field work in Sardis, the bricklayers were in violent disagreement with the teamsters and had quit the council. The president of the council, the teamsters' business agent, was pushing for a merger with the building trades in the next county where there are more teamsters. The carpenters, bricklayers, and electricians were opposed to this move to the extent of threatening to set up their own county council.

The organization of manufacturing and the industrial locals.--Industrial unions tend to organize plant by plant through an entire industry, incorporating workers with a wide range of skills. Within the ranks of one union there may be all levels of skill from floor-sweepers to tool-and-die makers. Manufacturing industry in this country involves on the whole a rather considerable investment in cumbersome machinery that is most conveniently housed in large fixed buildings, or complexes of buildings and unsheltered operations. Since a given plant or work site may continue to operate over long stretches of time with the same ownership and about the same size of work force, a man may be employed by one company at one place for his entire work life. There may be regular or irregular layoffs; plants are occasionally

moved or closed. But many workers can expect to hold the same job for years.

The pattern of modern industrial unionism has been to tie the worker to the plant in what has been called "the new feudalism." Any given worker's job is protected not by a monopoly of his union over all men in the city or county with his skills, but by seniority lists and other benefits of a contract signed with a given employer and specific to a given work site. The industrial worker who leaves a job must begin again at the bottom of a seniority list. Indeed, until recently he had to pay initiation fees every time he changed factories. The industrial worker uses tools that are provided him by his employer. As a rule he cannot go into business for himself using whatever skills he has learned in a factory.

Industrial union members do not have the same chances as building tradesmen to meet with members of their own union or other unions on the job. Even where there is more than one local in a shop, shift work, the size of the plant, noisy machinery, or the demands of the assembly line--all may prevent extensive interaction. On the other hand, common membership week after week in a small work group helps some industrial workers develop close relations with a few other union members. Such friendships, however, are

less likely to be part of networks of friendship linking each member with every other, as in a craft union.[11]

Industrial workers generally are more certain of the boundaries of their union than are craft workers. The men are not usually scattered over a wide area; the plant, not the craft, is the focus of union activity. Easy access increases the ability of the industrial union to mobilize for union activities, politics, or charity drives. A whole range of officers is available to the rank and file in the plant; committeemen, stewards, members of the bargaining committee, and in most cases the elected executive officers work right along with the men. When a dispute occurs either within the union or with the management, the local union officers are immediately responsible for settling it. This function is performed by the business agent in the building trades, as the local officers are too scattered about.

In the industrial situation competition between locals at the same workplace is diminished by the preponderance of one-union shops. Job classification, the counterpart of the jurisdictional dispute, is a common source of intra-local problems. Highly skilled workers have banded together within

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[11]Kovner and Lahne, loc. cit.

industrial locals to demand special consideration. Another source of internal friction is the shift work system of factories and such related questions as differential wage rates.

Industrial union halls do not perform the functions of employment offices. The union hall is the place for union meetings, social functions, and political activity. Where there are large locals, the rank and file come to the hall to see their leaders in the staff offices. Large locals can have an elaborate staff to do research before bargaining, publish their own newspapers, run summer camps for members' children, and do many things for which small locals must rely upon the international. There are some full-time labor leaders in Sardis, the three international representatives of the UAW who live in the community and were interviewed in this study. But no local in Sardis has its own full-time professional official. A county council might be able to afford some professional staff, but bargaining has until now been a matter of patterns within an international or within an industry, not across industry lines within a community.

The contrasts between industrial and craft union power and influence.--The impact of industrial unions on the community power structure is not just their part in

determining wages and working conditions in the factories they have organized. In addition, the strength of industrial unions is based upon their ability to set general wage conditions in a community. If a large portion of local industry is unionized, then union wages and benefits become a standard by which other companies are measured. Even though a specific company is not organized, it is still competing in a market where conditions have been established by bargaining. It will have to meet or approach the wage and benefit levels reached by the unions in negotiation, accept less competent workers, or face the threat of organization by the unions. This is what union members refer to when they say that today plants organize themselves.

The craft unions do not have such an influence. While the IBEW or the ITU may be very strong in establishing wages in electrical or typographical work, their influence does not carry over. In fact, their very argument is that special skills qualify them for wages that other workers should not be paid. To be eligible for craft union wages, one has to be accepted into the craft.

The AFL-CIO labor council.--Before the merger of the AFL with the CIO, there were three organizations of union locals headquartered in Sardis: the Summit Industrial Union Council, CIO; the Summit County Federation of Labor; and the

Summit Building Trades Council, corresponding to a department of the AFL. The Federation of Labor was never a very active body. Most of the AFL locals were building trades and gave their efforts to the Building Trades Council. The Summit Industrial Union Council, founded in 1942, was to promote cooperation among the various CIO locals and in particular to support industrial organization drives. The council supplied some funds, manpower for picketing, guidance, and general moral support. During the late forties, the CIO obtained a building just off the main street of Sardis. Their building was assigned in 1962 to use by the newly formed AFL-CIO labor council and by all the locals associated with it. But the sign over the door signifies the absence of significant change--it still reads "Summit CIO Labor Temple." Several unions in the community will not use the building, and this has caused some friction among locals.

The AFL-CIO council was formed in 1959 by the merger of the Industrial Union Council and the Summit County Federation of Labor. All the members of the Building Trades Council can be members of the new council except the teamsters, but the group does not have the support of all eligible locals, especially the nonindustrial unions. The political overtones of the AFL-CIO council have slowed the participation of the more conservative unions. As one

member of a craft local said, "The council is just a forum for politics, and the unions should not be so involved." A basic problem of the council is that it tends to be dominated by the UAW. Under the constitution governing the merger in the county, locals are represented in the council by the following rules:

> 50 members or less -- 2 delegates
> 51-100 members -- 3 delegates
> 101-250 members -- 4 delegates
> 251-500 members -- 5 delegates
> One additional delegate to be allowed for each additional 500 members or major fraction thereof.

Since the UAW locals are larger and more numerous than the other locals, they are able to send more representatives to the council. What is more, the UAW locals are as a matter of international union policy required to be active in community AFL-CIO bodies. Two affiliates of formerly independent unions have become fairly steady and active members of the council, thus producing a new thread of contact and cooperation among industrial unions. Because of the sizeable UAW membership, the actual existence of the council is not threatened, but its capacity to speak for all organized labor in the county is severely handicapped by the chronic failure of most non-CIO unions to take part.

Local labor union leaders were asked what have been the most important consequences of the merger between the

AFL and the CIO (see Table 6). Twenty-six percent of the union leaders in Sardis responded that the merger had made the labor movement in general stronger. Those leaders who did not give this response tended to answer in terms of issues directly affecting their union rather than the labor movement as a whole. For example, 44 percent of the AFL building trade union leaders see the settlement of jurisdictional disputes as being the most important consequence of the merger, while only 17 percent of the AFL industrial union leaders, 8 percent of the CIO union leaders and none of the other union leaders gave this response. On the other hand, 38 percent of officers of the formerly independent unions see reduction of inter-union friction as the most important consequence. This phrase refers to raiding among unions, a problem that had seriously plagued the independent unions. Thirty-six percent of the entire sample of local labor union leaders believe that there has been no effect, or they do not know of any effect.

Questions were asked to learn if the union officers believed the merger had altered relations among locals in the community. Fifty-four percent of the labor leaders believe the merger has increased cooperation among local unions. In the area of coordinating union efforts in the community, twenty-nine leaders admitted that their locals

TABLE 6.--Percentage distribution of responses of local leaders to the question "What have been the most important consequences of the merger between the AFL and the CIO?"

First Mentioned Consequence	Affiliation of Union Officers				
	AFL Craft (N=16)	AFL Industrial (N=12)	UAW-CIO (N=36)	Other Industrial (N=16)	Total (N=80)
Made labor movement stronger	25	17	31	25	26
Reduced internal friction	13	17	22	38	23
Settled jurisdictional disputes	44	17	8	0	15
No local effect	6	33	11	19	15
No effect	13	0	8	0	6
Don't know	0	17	19	19	15
Total percent	101	101	99	101	100

took cues from the labor council, while forty-five leaders said their locals did not. Sixty-eight percent of the local leaders agreed that the merger had improved the ability of labor to organize the unorganized workers in the county. All in all, the merger, as such, has not brought about much change in the relations among local unions. It has not done much to change local union policy, nor have unions become so involved in the council that their own internal programs have been revised.

The merged council has been ineffective in bringing about closer cooperation between craft and industrial unions and only somewhat successful in bringing together CIO unions with other industrial locals. Since close cooperation among unions could have important consequences for the community and for the development of organized labor, it is of interest to try to understand why the merger seems to have made so little impact. Two major considerations help to explain the absence of change. One is the nature of the work situations in Sardis. The merger neither upset any of the former accords on jurisdiction, nor offered any better solution to problems of inter-union workplace relations than already existed. The other has to do with the nature of the relationship of the locals to their international unions. Generally speaking, local unions lack autonomy to act singly or together except with the help and direction of their internationals.

Vertical Patterns

The power of international unions in the community.--The consequences of successful union organization are accentuated by the fact that unions, like so many groups in the United States today, are associated in organizations of nationwide membership with centralization of authority that varies from case to case, yet reduces the autonomy of local units to some extent in every case. The international unions influence the community in much the same way as the main offices of absentee-owned plants. In each case there are people immediately involved who live and work in the local area, but their activities are directly influenced by the organizations with which they are affiliated. Thus the outside organization partly controls the economy and other functions of the community by setting standards and limits for the activities of community units.

Sardis's local union leaders, nevertheless, are nearly unanimous in their support for labor union ideology that union organization is democratic and that locals are relatively autonomous. For instance, in response to an interview question about who has the real power in the local, labor leaders chose the rank and file membership or the active membership; only five of the eighty leaders chose the international union, and no one mentioned the international representatives (see Table 7). To the more direct question

TABLE 7.-- Percentage distribution of responses to the question "Who has the real power in your local?"

Alternatives Offered	Affiliation of Union Officers				
	AFL Craft (N=16)	AFL Industrial (N=12)	UAW-CIO* (N=33)	Other Industrial (N=16)	Total (N=77)
Membership as a whole	44	42	39	63	46
Active membership	6	17	27	13	13
Executive committee	19	8	9	0	9
International union	0	17	9	0	6
President	0	8	0	19	5
Business agent	25	0	0	0	5
International representative	0	0	0	0	0
Other	6	8	15	6	10
Total percent	100	100	99	101	99

*Does not include international representatives.

of who has the most to say about whether or not the union will strike, only 10 percent mentioned the international, whereas an overwhelming 81 percent named the active or full membership.[12] Aside from the question of control over their own affairs, the local union officers were certain that local rank and file could affect the international. To the question, "If members don't like the way the international is run, is there anything they can do about it?", 78 percent said "yes." All but two or three of these had some suggestion about what could be done. Many advised the discontented to take or send their problems to the international convention floor, although one added that they probably would not get very far. Only six respondents suggested going outside the international's own structure and procedures, either by affiliation with another international or by going to the National Labor Relations Board (see Table 8).

Several other questions in the interviews elicited the opinions of Sardis's union leaders about their international unions and their notions about how much influence the international has over the local. The union leadership responds with overall support of the proposition that power is held by units outside the local community. To a direct question

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[12]Tannenbaum and Kahn found a similar pattern among rank and file union members. Op. cit., Table 32, p. 188.

TABLE 8.--Percentage distribution of alternative membership actions against the international union*

Action Alternative	Affiliation of Union Officers: AFL Craft (N=11)	AFL Industrial (N=4)	UAW-CIO (N=34)	Other Industrial (N=13)	Total (N=62)
Go to international convention	46	50	35	38	39
Follow certain complaint procedures	9	0	35	8	23
Vote out the officers	18	50	9	15	14
Rely on member's representative	27	0	6	8	10
Go to NLRB	0	0	9	8	6
Join another international	0	0	3	8	3
Not ascertained	0	0	3	8	3
Don't know	0	0	0	8	2
Total percent	100	100	100	101	100

*Includes only leaders who believe the members can do something about how the international is run.

about how influential the international is on negotiations, 78 percent chose the response "a great deal." Sixteen of the eighteen locals studied in detail are influenced considerably in negotiation by the international, for the "not very much" and "none at all" responses are largely accounted for by two locals, one craft and one industrial, whose officers agree that they negotiate for themselves. Table 9 tabulates the responses of the leaders of these sixteen locals to an open-ended question about how the international's influence is felt. Almost a third of the officers, predominantly UAW men, mentioned the pattern bargaining that is so common in industrial unions. The others commented upon the skill, education, and experience of the international representatives, or mentioned their authority to negotiate or approve contracts.

Another specific sort of help asked about in detail was the settlement of grievances. The international representative helps settle grievances in all unions but two, one of those which does its own negotiating and another craft union.[13] Officers of eleven locals indicated it was an

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[13]Barbash makes the important point that a local union may not be able to deal effectively with the company. "In the case of the Sleeping Car Porters, the control of the international union over the grievance procedure stems from the fear that if the grievance machinery were left solely in local hands the local committee could not properly cope with the power of the Pullman Company." Op. cit., p. 139.

TABLE 9.--Percentage distribution of types of international union influence on local negotiations*

International Influences Local Negotiations by:	Affiliation of Union Officers				
	AFL Craft (N=12)	AFL Industrial (N=12)	UAW-CIO (N=36)	Other Industrial (N=12)	Total (N=72)
Provision of knowledge and skill	33	83	31	58	44
Pattern bargaining	17	17	50	8	32
General support	33	0	14	25	17
Other	8	0	6	8	6
Not ascertained	8	0	0	0	1
Total percent	99	100	101	99	100

*Includes only officers of locals which acknowledge international influence.

automatic part of the grievance procedure to call in the international at a particular point where the grievance becomes serious and cannot be settled between the local and management. Two UAW unions and one craft union brought up jurisdictional disputes as the occasion for calling in the international representative. Officers of two unions (one UAW and one craft) simply agreed that the international representative is called in "when we need help." All the local unions in Sardis are affiliated with large internationals, but the form and function of this relationship varies depending on a number of conditions, some of which are discussed in the following sections.

Pattern bargaining and the role of the international representative.--Industrial locals depend heavily upon the international union to establish issues for negotiation and to bargain for contracts. As Sayles and Strauss say, "Contract writing and negotiation is a specialized art; local leaders are often glad to accept the assistance of experts. As a result, in most locals the International has an important say in determining the type of contract negotiated."[14] The international representative, the most important link between the industrial local and the international union, is

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[14]Op. cit., p. 12.

a full-time paid professional appointed by the international to serve local unions. What further distinguishes these men from local leaders in Sardis is that their area of jurisdiction goes beyond the boundaries of any one local. They serve a population which can support full-time union activities, while the primary wage of local leaders is derived from work for an employer rather than from functioning for the union.

In field observations of the international representatives in action, note was made of how often they were looked to for direction, and how they were able to lead the local membership to acceptance of the international position. The ability of the international representative to command the respect of the local union leaders is based upon several things. He is the voice of the international union to the locals. He brings the word from the international and interprets its policy for the local level. The representative also serves as the vehicle for access to the international's resources. Since bargaining has become a complex matter involving personal skills and considerable background knowledge over broad fields of economic, legal, and social issues, most small unions do not attempt to handle their own negotiations without the aid of the trained staff at the international headquarters.[15]

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[15]"The national office influences bargaining at the local level in a substantial fashion, for the success of the

When the United Steel Workers, the United Automobile Workers, or the United Mine Workers are bargaining, the issues cut across many political and geographic units. Wage levels, fringe benefits, and other questions are to be settled for large blocks of workers regardless of their community location. An agreement reached in Detroit affects Oakland, California, and Jersey City, New Jersey. Industrial union members who depend upon the pattern bargaining in other communities thus can be seen as part of a national labor market.

Reliance on pattern bargaining is so common that both sides know fairly well what the next contract between the UAW and a Sardis plant will look like as soon as the industry's major companies and largest locals have agreed to terms. Since there are always some local issues and special in-plant problems to take up, however, before contract negotiations begin, the rank and file are asked to raise issues for the bargaining committee to take to the sessions. Where there are large numbers of workers with different skills and on different shifts, the issues raised at pre-bargaining local meetings are the subject of vigorous intra-union struggles. In many cases members bring up very specific personal experiences, not questions of general policy.

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local's case often depends on the effectiveness of the research office in furnishing the necessary data." Shister, Quarterly Journal of Economics, LX, No. 4, 517.

Some of the officers and international representatives reported that a few of the unusual requests are actually taken into negotiations and presented. The company listens politely to the union, knowing that this is window dressing; the bargaining committee reports back that the issues were raised, but not pushed. Since the company would not negotiate, they did not want to jeopardize the union position on more central questions.

The effects of the size of the local.--The size of local union membership is important, because it set limits on the complexity of the local organization. It determines the scope of resources available to the local, its relative power in the international, and the number of professionals on its staff. Studies mentioned in Chapter II indicate that the larger the size of a local, the more its relationship with the international is a matter of discussion between equals, for the large local can hold out for its particular demands effectively. Recent negotiations between the UAW and the Ford Motor Company were complicated by large locals which wanted to negotiate different issues than the president, Walter Reuther, did, much to his embarrassment. The larger the local, the more interest the international will have in how it operates, and the greater the chance that its representatives will serve the local full time or visit frequently.

While the famous UAW Local 600 in Detroit has more than 60,000 members, Tannenbaum and Kahn point out that over 90 percent of the locals in the country have 250 members or fewer.[16] The size of Sardis's locals is quite typical of American unions. Sardis is characterized by small businesses and industries; the unions, therefore, correspond in size. The union with members employed in several plants is only the third largest local in the community. The largest plant employs fewer than 800 workers and has the largest union. Small locals acquire a certain measure of freedom in return for their disadvantage in competition for the attention of the national organization. Because they are small, the international may not supervise them quite as closely as the large locals. This is the sort of advantage all Sardis unions enjoy, particularly the very small craft locals.

Some historical contrasts between AFL and CIO affiliates.--Despite the recent merger of the AFL and the CIO, it is useful to talk about unions at the local level in terms of their former federation affiliations--AFL, CIO, or neither--because the AFL unions differed considerably from the CIO unions in organization and structure of relations with locals. And, on the other hand, the member internationals of the respective federations were quite similar.

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[16] Op. cit., p. 21.

The AFL was organized from the bottom up, that is, it was a loose confederation of highly individual internationals which were formed by local unions. Kerr's discussion of the balkanization of the construction union labor market indicates a high degree of regionalism, higher than exists among industrial unions.[17] A great deal of autonomy still rests with the individual locals. This was noted in discussions with business agents in Sardis. A case in point was the local electricians union which voted against the seven-hour day even though the parent local was trying to make this a bargaining issue in the area. Another indication of autonomy came in answer to an interview question about the role of the international representative in negotiations. Officers of all eight CIO unions and three formerly independent industrial unions agreed that the international representative is present from the start of negotiations. But the officers of one AFL craft denied that the international representative comes at all, and the other craft officers and the AFL industrial men stated that the international representative comes in only on request. This is true of the remaining independent industrial union also.

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[17]Clark Kerr, "Balkanization of Labor Markets" (Reprint No. 59; Berkeley: University of California, Institute of Industrial Relations, 1954).

The CIO, on the other hand, was organized from the top down, beginning with a strong central body derived primarily from the United Mine Workers. Many of the persons directly involved in recruiting of membership and in battles for recognition came from the national headquarters. CIO unions still see every wage worker as a potential union member. Their concern is not only with whom they have organized already, but with whom they can organize in the future. The job is the key to union membership, and union membership is the key to protection of the worker in his job.

One distinguishing feature of the CIO unions that helps to put across this ideology to the local leaders is a number of schools for worker education. At these schools union officers study community relations, labor history, labor economics, collective bargaining, and other aspects of the labor movement. This gives the CIO an opportunity to present the local leaders with ideology, policies, methods, and techniques which are in line with international strategy and goals, and which the leaders can use to good advantage in their community activities. Table 10 shows a great difference between UAW leaders and others on the question of frequency of attendance at union schools. While 31 percent of the local UAW leaders had never participated, more than twice as many of the other union members had never attended classes.

TABLE 10.--Percentage distribution of union leader attendance at union-sponsored schools

Frequency of Attendance	UAW-CIO (N=36)	Non-CIO (N=44)
Never attended	31	75
Attended once	28	18
Attended more than once	42	7
Total percent	101	100

The effects of the work situation.--One of the interview questions for the local union officers asked: "What would you say are the most important things the international representative does for your local here?" The answers support the contention that differences in the function of the international union relate to work situations. For the craft unions the function of the international representative is primarily to aid the local union with its internal affairs and with relations with other locals. Sixty-nine percent of their responses fitted into this category, illustrated by the following extracts:

> It would be to see if the local needed any help with the membership. Or maybe if we needed financial help. (UBCJ)

> He watches the local so it won't get into any trouble, you know, with the books and things like that. He keeps us alert to what is happening elsewhere. (BMPU)

> He keeps the local straight in all ways. Makes sure the financial records are businesswise and things like that. (IBEW)

Although none of the craft union leaders mentioned direct contact with employers as an important function of the position, 65 percent of all industrial union officers declared that the international representative assists in relations with the employer. The functions they mention include collective bargaining, settlement of grievances, and bringing prestige to the local. Here are some examples:

> . . . he comes in for collective bargaining. Or when you need to interpret the contract with the company. (UAW)

> He serves more or less an an arbitrator between the union and the company. He is smarter than we are and he can do more than we can for ourselves. (IAM)

> He comes down into the plant and talks over our problems with us. He more or less has a tendency to work like an arbitrator. Management is more cooperative with him. The company has more of a tendency to talk seriously with him. I think the company respects him. (UAW)

Asked to name the most important activity of the international union, more local officers mentioned services to the locals than any other answer. Handling relations with employers through organization of workers and negotiation of contracts, handling disputes with other unions over raiding or jurisdiction, and engaging in political action were the other types of activity mentioned. The AFL industrial

unions, plagued by jurisdictional disputes, stress relations with other unions. The UAW, as could be expected, places more emphasis on political action than do other unions, but no more than on direct services to locals (see Table 11). Furthermore, 85 percent of the union leaders felt that the international union does a good or very good job in carrying out its functions. Only a few answered "fair" or "poor" to the question, "How good a job would you say the international union is doing?" The statements made in support of good opinions of the international again stressed provision of services to the locals and proper handling of the internal affairs of the international union (see Table 12).

A concluding statement.--The dominance of the internationals over the local unions leads to three important consequences. In the first place most local unions do not have control over the very important function of bargaining. Acceptance of the pattern established by the international in negotiations with larger firms outside Sardis and dependence upon the representatives to negotiate local contracts limit the power of the local union. Second, it is obvious to the officers of the local companies who has the power within the labor movement. Local officers are less important to management than representatives of the international. In the third place, local unions do not decide upon policy

TABLE 11.--Percentage distribution of choices of most important activity of the international union

Activity	Affiliation of Union Officers				
	AFL Craft (N=16)	AFL Industiral (N=12)	UAW-CIO (N=36)	Other Industrial (N=16)	Total (N=80)
Service function for local	19	25	47	44	38
Political action	19	8	36	0	21
Negotiation of contracts	19	8	6	19	11
Organizing	19	8	8	6	10
Handling relations with other unions	13	42	3	0	10
Don't know	6	0	0	19	5
Nothing	6	0	0	6	3
Other	0	8	0	6	2
Total percent	101	99	100	100	100

TABLE 12.--Percentage distribution of reasons for favorable or unfavorable opinion of international union

Response	Affiliation of Union Officers: AFL Craft (N=16)	AFL Industrial (N=12)	UAW-CIO (N=36)	Other Industrial (N=16)	Total (N=80)
Reasons for favorable opinion of international					
Service to local	19	25	53	56	43
Action on job-related issues	25	25	31	19	26
Political action	6	8	14	0	9
General	6	0	3	6	4
Reasons for unfavorable opinion of international					
Poor service to local, scandal	13	25	0	0	6
Poor action on job-related issues	6	8	0	6	4
Political action	6	8	0	0	3
General	19	0	0	6	5
No opinion about international	0	0	0	6	1
Total percent	100	99	101	99	101

among themselves in the specific community. Each local union is an independent agent and acts accordingly. Coordination among local unions on what kinds of demands will be made is, therefore, absent.

CHAPTER V

THREE SPHERES OF UNION INVOLVEMENT IN THE COMMUNITY

Introduction

While corporation home offices and large industrial unions have much control over the economic life of American communities, Warren's view that this "great change" has not gone so far as to eliminate the validity of studying the community as a social system seems justified. This chapter discusses the involvement of local unions in the structure of community organization beyond the basic bargaining relationship with employers. As the participation of unions in Sardis is described below, it will be necessary to specify some interrelations among other community organizations. But the primary emphasis excludes extensive consideration of community enterprises with no direct relationship to unions, such as the Republican Party, the colleges, the Grange, or the churches. The important groups with which union locals interact are classified below as economic, political, and social welfare units. Some have more interaction with unions than others, and locals differ in the scope and emphasis of their community participation. Despite such

variations the evidence lends support to the proposition that unions have power in the horizontal integrative organization of the community.

The concept of co-optation.--One important process by which unions have been incorporated into the community's associational life was described by Selznick in his study of the TVA. The concept of organizational "co-optation" is defined as: "the process of absorbing new elements into the leadership or policy-determining structure of an organization as a means of averting threats to its stability or existence."[1] Selznick distinguishes between formal and informal co-optation. In the former the emphasis is upon public recognition of the new elements being brought into the organization. For example, "appointments to official posts are made, contracts are signed, new organizations are established--all signifying participation in the process of decision and administration."[2] Informal co-optation is simply "a response to the pressure of specific centers of power within the community;"[3] the concern is more with the substance of power than the form of power. Either kind reflects "a state of tension between formal authority and social power."[4]

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[1]Philip Selznick, TVA and the Grass Roots: A Study in the Sociology of Formal Organization (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1953), p. 13.

[2]Ibid. [3]Ibid., p. 14. [4]Ibid., p. 15.

In Sardis formal co-optation is obvious in the Labor-Management Committee and the inclusion of labor leaders on the boards of voluntary associations and as members of fund-raising committees. Informal co-optation is more apparent in labor's participation in the Democratic Party. Public acknowledgement of union political influence could have negative rather than positive consequences.

Economic Participation

The recognition of union economic power.--How unions have come to play a direct role in the economic life of the community through negotiation of contracts has already been discussed. Unions have power in the community, and leaders and members of the community at large show some recognition of that fact. The following editorial, which appeared in the Daily Bulletin in the spring of 1959, is a good indication of community comprehension of labor's power.

Think It Through

> It is to be hoped that members of Local 116 UAW-CIO are doing some serious thinking about their futures and the future of Pierpont Brass in Sardis.
>
> The fact that work continues at the plant while negotiations are extended indicates that the union wants a fair settlement with no interruption in production and pay. The community certainly hopes this is true.
>
> The entire area will be affected by the outcome of the negotiations. Besides the 800 men and $5 million annual payroll directly involved, there

> are all the goods and services bought by these men and by the company. The total is a large fraction of the area's economic activity.
>
> The importance of a manufacturing operation the size of Pierpont is often hard to measure in a community. But it isn't too difficult to imagine what the loss of it would entail. It would be a tremendously serious blow not only to the 800 workmen but also to retail business and suppliers in the area and to Sardis, Bristol Township and Summit County in the taxes they would lose.
>
> An illustration of this is currently in the news--at Cartier. There the B. F. Goodrich Co., announced that it intends to close its plant which employs about 200. The community was suddenly struck by the loss it would feel and made a strong effort to keep Goodrich in Cartier. However, at last report, the Goodrich Company is definitely closing the plant.
>
> There has been no mention here that Pierpont might close its plant. But the importance of keeping production is sometimes best illustrated by examining a community which suffered such a loss.
>
> This is why the negotiations currently under way are so important to Sardis and the entire county. This is why the negotiators bear such a heavy responsibility to the community.
>
> It is up to the members of Local 116 to examine carefully and evaluate any offer that Pierpont makes. And it is up to the Pierpont management to weigh carefully worker criticisms of its offer. Every citizen in the area hopes that each man involved on both sides of the disagreement will do his utmost to see that there is a speedy and equitable solution.

As it happens, the Pierpont plant in question closed a little over a year later.

During the field study, a member of the board of the Industrial Development Corporation reported difficulty convincing businesses to locate in Sardis. "Several times when

we thought we had a company landed, they would tell us that they had heard about our labor climate and just would not come in. People outside the community think our unions are uncooperative." In the summer of 1963 a company had selected a plant location in Sardis.

> Just as we were about to close the deal, Barton was taken to the National Labor Relations Board for firing a man for union activities. They called me up and told me the whole thing was off. They weren't coming into a community like this.

The unions, he continued, had a hold on the community, and this hold was making recruitment difficult. "If we could just get labor to lay off for awhile, or somebody to lay off, so we could get going." Specific instances like these, as well as the general exodus of northern manufacturers to the South in search of cheaper labor, focuses attention on the power of industrial unions to influence community life.

It is less commonly acknowledged that some unions have modified their demands with the express intent of helping industry to compete with other locations. One of Sardis's larger plants was able to get a 15 percent reduction in the wage scale in 1960, when it opened its books to the local union and demonstrated that without the reduction it would be forced to relocate. Another plant, which subsequently did close, was able to change production standards by modifying work rules in its attempt to remain competitive. The

accepted contract is also subject to modification in the plant itself. Dalton suggests that daily interactions between union and management people establish patterns, customs, and precedents that may evade specific sections of a contract.[5]

These examples of formal and informal adjustments to local conditions, sometimes in direct contradiction of stated international union policies, do not receive much publicity.[6] A union leader involved in one of the decisions cited above commented that it was better not to have such information made too public, since it would look as if they were "giving in to management." Likewise, the company president volunteered that he was happy not to let his competitors know of his firm's difficulties. Such contract adjustments, hushed as they may be, should counter any impression that local issues are always submerged in favor of international policy. Nonetheless, contract adjustments have been insufficient to solve the problems of Sardis's industrial economy.

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[5]Melville Dalton, "Unofficial Union-Management Relations," ASR, XV, No. 5 (October, 1950), 611-19.

[6]Although the industrial unions are for many reasons more important in this adjustment process, craft unions are also concerned and have made their contribution. Chapter IV mentioned the local that refused to go along with the movement for the seven-hour day. At the meeting both the officers and the rank and file discussed the possible adverse effects such action would have on the labor market.

The problems of soliciting union cooperation.--Growing concern with labor's power in the community has prompted attempts to solicit union cooperation on a continuous basis, especially toward the recruitment of new industries. But leaders in the community who would like to establish liaison with labor face a dilemma, for, as already noted, labor unions at the local level are not tied together. Their power has an impact on the community, but their organization diffuses this power among many locals. No single organization is capable of speaking or acting for all unions in the community on any specific problem. Thus dealing with union power is complicated from the beginning.[7] Many city officials, politicians, the Chamber of Commerce, and leaders of local charities regard the AFL-CIO council as the spokesman for organized labor in the county. But the city administrator observed, "If I wanted to get support from organized labor I would go to the council. But I would use it only as a sounding board, because I don't think the council can act for unions here. It is really a loose federation with no sanctions."

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[7]A parallel case could be made for "the business community." Strains in the Chamber of Commerce develop from the fact that retail merchants have quite different problems than the manufacturers. But at least the owner or a manager of a business is not the elected or appointed spokesman for a membership who treasures its democratic ideology.

During this study, an incident arose that illustrates very nicely the importance community leaders attach to union cooperation in industrial development and the frustration they face because of the way local unions are related to one another and to their internationals. A new company moved into the community. Several influential people wanted to ask the unions to delay organizing activity at the plant until it had time to establish itself in the community. Before they could convince "labor" to call a temporary moratorium on organizing, they had to find out which unions were interested in trying. A generalized fear of the power of the CIO prompted some informal pleas to leading UAW men in Sardis, including one of the international representatives. It was not the CIO that made the first move to organize, however, but another union that acted, not from local initiative, but on instructions from the international headquarters.

The Labor-Management Committee.--Recognition of the ways unions may affect industrial growth and development in Sardis led, not only to desperate pleas in time of crisis, but to a more formal attempt at permanent liaison in the form of the Labor-Management Committee of the Chamber of Commerce. Faltering and generally unproductive as this committee has been, it is one of Sardis's only attempts at labor union co-optation in the realm of industrial development.

The function of this committee is to talk about community labor-management problems in informal meetings attended by representatives from both organized labor and the proprietors and managers of industry. The committee has no powers; it is just a forum for discussion.

When the first committee was established in 1958, labor was eager to send representatives. But when a meeting was scheduled to discuss the specific problem of negotiations at a plant which was threatening to leave town, none of the labor representatives attended the meeting. As one of them said, when asked to recall the occasion, "What could we do? It was Hope's locals' business, and I wasn't going to stick my nose into their negotiations." The committee did not meet regularly after that.

When it was re-instituted in 1962, the manager of the Chamber of Commerce called the president of the labor council to ask that organization to appoint representatives. At the council meeting where the appointments were discussed, someone asked who the committee moderator would be. The moderator selected by the Chamber of Commerce manager was attacked by the council membership as anti-labor. They asked the council president to tell the manager that the membership did not want him. The next day the manager said he did not understand why the labor people dislike Melvin.

"But I will find someone else." And he took on the embarrassing task of cooling out one of the most prominent men in the community.

The committee resumed activity, but with no more power than before. Meetings were marked by careful banter between union and Chamber men. Once again a plant in the thick of negotiations was threatening to relocate. A union representative from this plant was bombarded with questions at a meeting of the Labor-Management Committee, but he avoided answering any of them, saying that such business was within the jurisdiction of the rank and file, and he could not make statements "without authorization from the body."

The Industrial Development Corporation.--Co-optation of unions for economic growth and industrial development in Sardis may not have run its course. At least one important organization has not yet involved labor unions. The Chamber of Commerce through its Industrial Development Committee helped establish an independent corporation, the Industrial Development Corporation (IDC), that comes closer than any other organization to being a categoric group representing all the entrepreneurial and local government interests in the community. The mayor and other city government representatives, industrialists, bankers, businessmen, and even the manager of the Chamber belong to IDC. Indeed, the

IDC includes formal or informal representatives of any group that has power in the industrial economy except the unions! The IDC goals are to influence industries to locate in Sardis by offering general information, financial assistance, or other services that are requested.

Although the manager of the Chamber of Commerce was able to convince his membership of the advisability of a Labor-Management Committee, the Chamber has yet to undertake inclusion of union representatives in industrial development or in any other activity. The utility of co-optation is apparently clear to the manager, but not to the businessmen of Sardis. As one active member of the IDC said, "We never even thought about having labor in the Industrial Development Corporation. In order to join, each man had to put up $25 out of his own pocket. We didn't think they would really be interested in this project."

A summary statement.--The power of labor unions to help or hinder a company's competitive position in the market is well known in Sardis. Most community leaders are aware that unions and the "labor climate" have an impact upon success in recruiting new industries. Labor leaders have been approached individually and asked for specific help. Union cooperation has been sought and given on certain ad hoc committees, one of which will be discussed in

Chapter VI. Yet, except for one meager attempt at establishing some kind of working arrangement between union leaders and the business community, namely the Labor-Management Committee, labor is not consistently represented in those agencies that are trying to recruit new industry. It is not yet clear to these organizations that the question may not be whether unions are interested in them, but whether they need to involve the unions.

Political Participation

Introduction.--Local unions in Sardis differ widely in the amount and kind of political action in which they engage, a circumstance which is intimately involved with two factors already discussed--the work situation and the relationship with the international union. Several types of political activity that involve unions are discussed in this section, and consequences of this participation examined.

Differences between the AFL and CIO.--The AFL and the CIO have always differed in their commitment to politics. John L. Lewis, then a member of the AFL, organized Labor's Non-Partisan League in 1936. Its strength rested not with the older AFL unions, but with the Committee for Industrial Organization, the forerunner of the Congress of Industrial Organizations. The Non-Partisan League passed from the

scene by 1940. By then the split had occurred. The CIO, under the direction of Sidney Hillman, organized the famous Political Action Committee (PAC), a far more militant and effective organ of labor union political action. The present-day Committee on Political Education (COPE) is the direct descendent of the PAC. COPE, the official union body for both general citizenship action and support of party candidates and platforms, is a committee of the larger AFL-CIO federation and, in addition, is organized on the local level. COPE is officially presented as an educational agency, but in practice it becomes highly partisan.

As Raskin points out, the CIO owes much of its impetus to the political atmosphere and specific legislation of the New Deal.[8] The AFL grew powerful without the aid of the Federal government. The CIO, therefore, is aware of indebtedness to governmental action and is more alert than the AFL to the benefits of such action. Raskin observes, however, that the intervention of the Federal government in labor union affairs was beginning to change the AFL's position by the early 1950's.

On the local level, CIO members are more conscious of a need for political action than members of other unions.

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[8]A. H. Raskin, "AFL-CIO: A Confederation or Federation? Which Road for the Future?," The Annals, CCCL (November, 1963), 37.

This is apparent in the responses of union officers in Sardis. When asked to name the most important activity for the international, only 9 percent of the non-CIO leaders named political action, while 37 percent of the UAW leaders gave this response. By the same token union leaders observe differences in the amount of actual political participation by their locals (see Table 13). UAW leaders are much more

TABLE 13.--Percentage distribution of union officers' estimates of amount of local political activity

Degree of political activity	UAW* (N=33)	Other (N=44)
Very active or active	48	2
Not active or inactive	52	95
Don't know	0	2
Total percent	100	99

*Does not include international representatives.

likely to say that their local union is active in politics than are leaders of other locals. While there is closer agreement among union leaders about the desirability of increasing local union political activity, 70 percent of the UAW union leaders desire an increase, while only 45 percent of the other union leaders do (see Table 14). UAW

TABLE 14.--Percentage distribution of responses of local leaders to the question "Should your local be more active in politics than it is now?"

Response	UAW* (N=33)	Other (N=44)	Total (N=77)
Yes	70	45	56
No	30	55	44
Total percent	100	100	100

*Does not include international representatives.

leaders, then, not only favor the present union political activity, but they are also eager to increase it.[9]

Differences in political activity among locals again emphasize that labor solidarity is more slogan than fact. The splits among locals, particularly the AFL versus the CIO, in political interest and activity means that the ties that bind are loose, indeed. The only time the unions come together for cooperation is when they are collectively threatened. This does not happen too frequently at the local level.

[9]These two tables require caution in interpretation because of differences in the perception and perspectives of the respondents. UAW leaders who responded that their locals are "not too active" have local projects that the AFL leaders might have called "active." The second table does not provide a good index of total amount of activity desired, since most of the UAW unions are already active and their officers speak from that background, not from a void.

Lobbying and political pressure by local unions.--
Since government bodies have authority to make or enforce laws relating to the work situation of union men, unions respond with pressure policies such as lobbying, organizing to control voting by members, and similar tactics. The legislative function now is quite attenuated at the local community level, so that local unions and their rank and file seldom are active lobbyists. Most union pressure now is concentrated in the state capitals and Washington, D. C., where the internationals, not the locals, maintain representatives.

The more dependent a local union is on local government, the more likely it is to engage in lobbying there. Industrial unions rely very little on local government, since most "right-to-work" and minimum wage laws are state and Federal matters. Even health and safety standards are not exclusively local rules. Building trades, on the other hand, are licensed locally as well as by the state, and building codes are established on the local and the state level. So the AFL crafts become involved in local lobbying in the interest of protecting their crafts.

Generally, these lobbies are effective, even though the unions do not get all they want on every occasion. A price is paid for governmental consideration, however, in that, having been co-opted into the system, the unions dare

not act "irresponsibly" on other political issues. This does not put much stress on the AFL locals, though, for the membership is most deeply involved in work-related affairs of the craft, not broad political or social reform.

An electrician who is a member of the local union is regularly appointed to Sardis's Electrical Examining Board, the only union man, incidentally, who has been appointed to any board or commission in city government. It is not surprising that the building trades have been very active in getting their standards of workmanship accepted as criteria for licensing plumbers and electricians. A state electrical examing board passes not only on the qualifications of persons practicing the trade, but also on the types of material that can be used. This code is very important to the trade, because it alters the amount of work available for the union members. Other building codes have a similar impact, and the protective eye of the crafts is always alert to pending changes.

Craft unions are not always successful in getting their demands met at the local level. An example of their failure occurred during the course of the field work. City firemen had been moonlighting in construction, undercutting union wages. Three business agents protested to the city commission, but no action was taken against the firemen.

The civic activities of local unions.--The role of the crafts is somewhat diminished and the role of industrial unions, especially the UAW, becomes more dominant, as we move from describing lobbying on the local level to the area of general civic education and responsibility. In the early stages of their organization, industrial unions were not concerned with general community problems as much as their internal organizational and bargaining requirements. Since many important functions of the locals now are handled by their international unions, including much of the bargaining and more serious grievance settlements, one of the persistent problems facing local union leadership is how to keep members interested in the union and its activities.

Local labor unions continue to be viable organizations and have developed into even stronger units, because they found themselves with an organization which could be mobilized for activity in politics and social welfare. In some instances the locals have gained new goals through the action of members who use the union to bring pressure in affairs that are not strictly union business. This "succession of goals" occurs frequently in organizations.[10] Rather than

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[10]David L. Sills, The Volunteers (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1957), pp. 254-64.

accept dissolution, organizations adapt to change by developing new goals or expanding action toward unrealized goals. Such shifts maintain membership interest, or create new constituencies, and justify the continued existence or expansion of the organization.

Labor unions become recognized, as they develop political strength, as possible allies for other community groups which are working to accomplish particular goals through direct legislation or referendum. Sponsors recognize that success or failure of a project may depend upon union endorsement. As organized representatives of working-class persons, unions are perceived as able to mobilize support. Thus their ability to recruit votes, signatures, or volunteer workers, when coupled with the necessity for their help, gives them a stronger voice in the councils of the community.

It is also possible that unions seek to deomonstrate their cooperation and responsibility in the community by entering into some type of citizenship activity. This may be a conscious strategy to gain a foothold in the community which can be used later to gain support for union demands. In case of a strike, a backlog of good works might prove helpful to the union. Again community activity may be a device to acquire a measure of middle-class respectability.

One of the biggest efforts by Sardis's industrial unions in support of a public issue began in 1954, when a committee was formed to plan a change in the form of city government. The Charter Revision Committee had representatives of organized labor from the outset. During the three years that the charter revision was a public issue, the notes of the Summit Industrial Union Council are dotted with motions, resolutions, and comments indicating their support.

> October 19, 1954: Motion made by Brother H $75 be donated from PAC fund to help finance an ad in the Bulletin concerning the study of the revision of the charter.
>
> December 4, 1956: Motion made, seconded, and carried the regular order of business be laid aside to hear three quest speakers from the City Charter Revision Committee. . . . Motion made, seconded, and carried the Council endorse the new recommended charter.
>
> January 15, 1957: Motion made, seconded, and carried the Council place an ad in Bulletin on the new charter.

Finally, the following notice to all locals was issued:

> **ALL MEMBERS OF ALL LOCALS IN THE CITY OF SARDIS ARE REQUESTED TO GET OUT AND VOTE ON JANUARY 27, 1957 AND SUPPORT THE NEW CITY CHARTER**

The chairman of the committee, a Republican lawyer, described labor's role in the revision: "Labor was very cooperative in getting behind the charter revision. I wouldn't say that it would have lost without them, but it certainly was easier with their support. They were really able to mobilize their members and get out the vote."

While labor unions have taken an active part in support of the charter revision and school bond issues, they are not involved in the groups that initiate such programs in Sardis. During the field investigation, there was quite a bit of talk about the possibility of urban renewal. In interviews with city government and Chamber of Commerce officials, who were actively engaged in developing a program, no mention was made of labor unions taking part in the initial planning. Their support would be sought when the issue finally became "public." Union power in this sphere is limited to the ability to support or veto programs and policies. In this sense unions are very much categoric groups, as Hawley describes them. Unions lack the structure necessary to provide leadership for presenting and developing policy within the community; they react to what is presented. And other units in the community now take unions into account in deciding upon strategy.

The AFL-CIO council has tried to get a labor representative appointed to the hospital commission. Industrialists and businessmen have dominated the board since the hsopital was founded. The first physician, in fact, was appointed to the board only in 1960. The question of whether to appoint a union man to the hospital commission has been raised. The hospital administrator reported that

the mayor wondered if it would be a good idea to appoint "some Joe Blow, some man in the street, or a union man," in order to get more representative membership on the commission. There is resistance to such an appointment, and the reasons given are indicative of the attitude in the community toward unions. Some citizens do not believe working men have the required skills. The hospital administrator also reported that the present hospital commissioners believe a union man might bring "union ideas" with him. Union policy on medical care in general differs significantly from what the more conservative elements in the community favor. Unions might push for a more liberal medical program beyond the limited resources of the hospital. Since most union members do not agree with the AMA on many counts, some people believe there might be objections from the doctors. Finally, the union man might make his appointment contingent upon organization of the nonprofessional hospital staff. While labor has been unsuccessful in getting a union member on the hospital commission, unofficial recognition that such representation could be beneficial, or that this segment of the community is well enough organized to raise policy questions, indicates labor's strength in the community.

The local unions and the Democratic Party.--For many years Sardis citizens have voted for Republican candidates

by substantial margins. The New Deal blush in Summit County faded fast; Democratic candidates for local public office since 1934 have run more as a matter of pride than with expectation of victory. In recent years the Democratic Party has been gaining some ground, mainly through the efforts of organized labor. But labor is not strong enough to pose a serious threat to the Republicans. A brief history of the local Democratic Party will provide a framework for discussing the current participation of unions in party politics.

Two generations of middle-class Summit County Democrats can be distinguished. From the middle twenties to 1940 a small number of professionals and businessmen controlled the local party. A qualified source said that this group totaled no more than twelve, and they worked very closely, complementing each other's skills. These were the days before television, when torchlight rallies, speeches, picnics, and other small town hoopla could draw a large crowd. A member of this group was a lawyer who agreed to handle the first major labor dispute in Sardis. His efforts were rewarded by a small group of local businessmen, bankers, and industrialists who came to his office to tell him: "You're dead as far as this town goes."

By the end of the thirties this generation was getting too old to keep the Democratic Party organization vigorous

and active. After World War II, the sons of the old guard Democrats came back to Sardis and tried to revitalize the party. They recognized that it could no longer be run as a private club. The newly organized UAW unions were taking such a great interest in local politics, contributing workers, money, and votes, that any party action necessitated their inclusion. The old formulas, the old methods, and the old coalitions no longer held.

The middle-class and upper-middle class Democrats saw that labor had a great deal of vitality and was a necessary part of a successful Democratic Party, but they feared union domination. A former county chairman constantly referred to the unions as "they" and the Democratic Party as "we" during conversations. As he explained the situation, "One of our major problems had been that they have been too union and not enough Democratic." He continued:

> The unions do not have the desire to cooperate with the Democratic Party. They never talk about farmers, white-collar workers, small businessmen, or professionals. It is always the union. In many instances they have been more a hindrance than a help. When I became chairman, the party had become very dependent upon the contributions from the unions, but I tried to free the party and get money from other sources. In fact, until 1958, labor furnished most of the money. They don't want too big a party in Summit County, because they are such a minority group.

Furthermore, because the recent decline in the community's industrial fortunes has been laid at the feet of

the unions, the Democratic Party appears to be a party of depression. As one middle-class Democrat put it, "People are beaten into the ground because of the plants moving out. They are afraid to take strong stands and get associated with the labor unions." The union members outnumber the small core of more conservative professionals and businessmen who are interested in politics. Loss of some middle-class support for the party in Sardis gives credence to the notion that the Democrats are controlled by labor.

In their political work, union members are made quite conscious of their social class position. As an example of this "class consciousness," the Democratic Party caucus held many heated discussions on strategy in approaching the silk-stocking districts in Sardis. Some of the more ardent labor men were discouraged by the middle-class party workers from knocking on doors in these areas. The labor people were made aware that dress and decorum were necessary so as not to look, as one of them put it, like "a bunch of dirty-fingered workers." To middle-class Democrats the union leaders lack polish. The unions, in an effort to be helpful, have volunteered the union hall for meetings. But another chairman reported, "To many white-collar persons 'union hall' was a dirty word. Wives of these white-collar workers did not like to go to the union hall."

The middle-class/working-class split has been paralleled by a farmer-worker split. "We would hold a rally at the court house and all the farmers would come to it. But when we moved the meeting down to the union hall, we would get two farmers--the same two farmers." Much of the animosity toward labor unions on the part of farmers was attributed by informants to the editoral policy of the local newspaper.

Labor union leaders who are active in politics see themselves trying to contribute and not to dominate the Democratic Party. As one of them put it, "We're for the party that's for the people." Union leaders view the middle-class Democrats as sluggish and lacking the energy to get out and work. Field observations provide numerous examples of a strong commitment to politics by local UAW union leaders. Those men constantly talk about politics and continuously work at politics. They adhere very closely to the well-defined political policies of the international union. Major issues for them are medicare, civil rights, aid to education, and most social legislation. These overshadow foreign policy.

Labor unions provide funds and workers for the party. The county chairman in the early 1950's was a union member. In 1960, the Swainson Day Dinner Committee was chaired by an active unionist. His wife was in charge of the Mary Swainson Day in Sardis in 1962. Some of the more politically

active members of local unions have tried unsuccessfully for various elective offices from time to time. The former party chairman mentioned above has been defeated with regularity in his attempt for a series of different offices. Two of the candidates for the city commission in 1958 were union men and they were defeated. The president of the Summit Labor Council AFL-CIO was defeated in his attempt to go to the state constitutional convention. The fact that any Democrat has a difficult, if not impossible, race should be remembered. Nevertheless, efforts on behalf of the party have been rewarded. The union man's wife mentioned above was appointed to the local Secretary of State's office. This is a political appointment, approved by the county party organization.

COPE and the local unions.--It is through COPE that the majority of the local unions' political activity is channeled. A thin line separates COPE activities and the activities of the county Democratic Party.[11] COPE funds pay for telephone tolls, gasoline, and other expenses of committeemen whose work will benefit Democratic candidates. Each year the local COPE sponsors a drive to raise funds

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[11]For other studies that consider this problem see Calkins, op. cit.; and Arthur Kornhauser, Albert J. Meyer, and Harold L. Sheppard, When Labor Votes (New York: University Books, 1956).

for various purposes at the local, state, and national levels. Some of it is used directly to buy space in local newspapers and spot announcements on the local radio station in support of candidates or issues. In the 1962 gubernatorial election the AFL-CIO council COPE purchased radio time for the Democratic incumbent. The recorded announcements were provided by the state COPE and by supporters of the governor.

The state COPE furnishes large amounts of campaign literature. This committee keeps a record of the activities of each member of Congress and the state legislature. At election time lists are sent around showing the "score" of each elected representative from the area. The voting record of each candidate is evaluated according to the judgment of the state COPE. The literature is passed out at plant gates, at meetings, on street corners, and house to house. COPE organized house-to-house canvasses to spread the literature and to get people to register in the 1960 and 1962 campaigns. In fact, one local Republican lawyer said prior to the 1962 election, "I won't vote for them, but I am certainly impressed by their efforts. Every morning for the last week I've had something placed under my door. I wish we had such workers."

It is through the COPE's that local candidates are presented at union meetings. While efforts are made to hear both sides, the Democratic Party candidates receive a far more sympathetic reception and make more frequent visits. Local COPE committeemen help get union members out to rallies and sell tickets to dinners, picnics, and other local political activities. They also spearhead voter registration drives and work closely with the county and city party organizations to provide transportation on election days. During the field work period there were several voter registration drives. The workers were taught how to knock on doors and find out the political affiliation of the householder. In part they learned how not to encourage Republicans to register and how to get dormant Democrats on the rolls. Elaborate files of political preferences are kept so that during a campaign known Democrats can be reached.

The personal political behavior and attitudes of union officers.--The contrast between the UAW and other union leaders shows up again when they are asked about personal voting behavior. All but 6 percent of the UAW leaders either vote straight Democratic or split their ticket in favor of the Democrats, while only 61 percent of the other leaders vote for Democrats (see Table 15). Several questions were asked to reveal the extent of personal involvement in political

TABLE 15.--Percentage distribution of union officers' political party preferences

Party Preference	UAW (N=36)	Other (N=44)	Total (N=80)
Democrat	89	50	67
Republican	6	20	14
Independent, splits to Democrat	6	11	9
Independent, splits to Republican	0	14	8
Independent, no preference	0	5	2
Total percent	101	100	100

campaigns. Given a list of five items, such as contributing money, displaying a campaign sticker, and encouraging others to vote, 81 percent of UAW leaders claimed three or more kinds of activity; only 18 percent of the others were that active.

In many elections unions make recommendations about candidates and issues. From Wilensky's discussion of political action in a local union it is clear that active UAW members tend to accept direction from the international in their voting.[12] To learn how Sardis's union leaders believe

[12]Harold L. Wilensky, "The Labor Vote: A Local Union's Impact on the Political Conduct of Its Members," Social Forces, XXXV, No. 2 (December, 1956), 111-20.

rank and file should treat these recommendations, they were asked: "In deciding how to vote, how much attention do you think union members should pay to what the unions say about the candidates?" Table 16 shows the expected contrast

TABLE 16.--Percentage distribution of local officers' responses to the question "How much attention do you think union members should pay to what the unions say about the candidates?"

Amount of Attention	UAW (N=36)	Other (N=44)
Quite a lot	47	27
Some	47	32
Not too much	0	16
None at all	6	25
Total percent	100	100

between the responses of officers of the UAW and other locals. Only two of the UAW officers believe little or no attention should be paid, but 41 percent of the others take this position. Answers to other questions on attitudes toward union participation in politics do not alter this pattern. The UAW local officers are very committed to union political action.

Social Welfare Participation

Background.--While many organizations are involved in "good works" as part of their program, Sardis has a wide

range of voluntary associations whose primary focus is charity or social welfare activity. These include the United Fund, the Salvation Army, the Red Cross, and several others. Participation in these associations and support of them is taken as a mark of civic responsibility. As community-based organizations, these associations try to draw support from all segments of the population. In many cases their benefits are available to the whole community.

Labor unions are drawn into welfare organizations from two directions. The organizations seek to gain the widest possible support for fund-raising. Any group that can provide resources of personnel or material is seen as a possible asset. Then, as representatives of a particular segment of the population, the unions are interested in participation in order to gain prestige and to govern policy that has a direct effect upon their membership. It is reported by Seeley that:

> In Detroit, it is well known, a United Fund was brought into being by a coalition of top management and top union leadership, thus not only demonstrating the power of Big Business and Big Union, but also, by the enlargement of their participation in the civic philanthropic enterprise, acknowledging the new social standing won by the leaders and the rank and file in the labor camps.[13]

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[13]John R. Seeley et al., Community Chest: A Case Study in Philanthropy (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957), pp. 158-59.

Similarly, Walker writes:

> The union, as such, shared in making policy for the Community Chest. By insisting upon the principle of no contributions without representation, it had won substantial representation on the board of directors of the Community Chest. [14]

The history of labor's social welfare participation in Sardis has been one of ever widening involvement. It has not been a simple matter, however; the growing participation is an index of a change in attitude toward labor unions that is continuing. It is not possible to chronicle the entire history of labor's participation in the voluntary welfare associations in Sardis and Summit County. Brief mention is made in this section of some of the more significant steps that led to labor's current role, and some trends for the future are noted.

The participation of local unions.--Since 1944, unions have been active in the Red Cross. Their career within the United Fund is somewhat difficult to trace, since the Summit County United Fund was preceded by the Sardis United Fund, the Community Chest, and the War Chest. Nonetheless, labor unions have been involved in this organization under its various names at least since 1943. The following incident marks the beginning of labor's systematic participation:

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[14]Walker, op. cit., p. 196.

> Back in the early days of the war we wanted to get on the War Chest or the Community Chest board, whatever they called it then. They [the War Chest] had formed the "Vickies," a group of women who were raising funds for this. They had uniforms and all that. . . . Well, they came right into the plants and talked to each guy. In fact, they called them into an office and got them to sign a pledge that told what they would give. After the drive was over we began to get letters that said we had signed cards pledging so much a month. The men felt they had been taken advantage of. They came to the union and asked us to help them. We demanded representation [on the board] and we got it.

This story illustrates labor unions' role as the agents of working class protest. Problems which might not normally be considered within the unions' jurisdiction become matters for action, because members turn to the union for support.

The Summit Industrial Union Council was very conscious of its role in the United Fund. An item in the 1954 minutes reveals their involvement: "Brother C spoke of CIO policy in regards to the United Fund Drive and Community Service. Believes Labor will be in on the ground floor of these Boards from now on." The most active labor man was the president of the Industrial Union Council. When the Sardis United Fund was developed into the Summit County United Fund in 1958, "labor was active from the beginning in getting it off the ground," according to the former executive secretary. At the time of this study the fund-raising drive had a general chairman and two co-chairmen, one called the

"Labor Co-Chairman." It is a policy to report contributions in the Industrial Division in the following way: United Wire Fence and AFL-CIO No. 313 and 988, emphasizing union participation.

Labor unions have slowly been accepted into the policy-making activities of many charitable organizations. For example, the following letter was received in 1958 by the county CIO council president from the board chairman of an association:

> It is our understanding that interest has been expressed by your council towards supporting Goodwill Industries of Southeastern Michigan. We will be most happy to welcome your participation as a valuable asset to this worthy cause.
>
> If you will inform the writer of your appointed representative, we will issue the proper invitation and duly elect him to our Board of Directors.
>
> Thank you for your interest.

The minutes record a $100 contribution to Goodwill Industries in August 1958.

Unions have also helped to initiate projects for the health and welfare of local citizens. The AFL craft unions volunteered labor for building the Red Cross station at the county fair grounds. The Summit Industrial Union Council participated in the organization of a school for retarded children in 1954 and had a postion on the board of directors until the school was replaced by another agency in 1962.

The council launched a program to raise money for a station wagon to be used as a school bus. The campaign was successful, and the station wagon was presented at the county fair on Labor Day in 1955. During its operation the school received replacements for the car as needed.

Overall, labor unions have taken on a more active role in the voluntary associations of the community. Their support is sought by many organizations, and they sit on the policy-making boards of others. These actions appear to involve explicit as well as tacit recognition of the unions' role in the community and of the necessity of taking their position into consideration in making community decisions. This is both influence and power.

Union financial contributions.--The records of the local unions are studded with reports of contributions to various charities. Sometimes they are simply ad hoc responses to a request from a particular organization, either local or national. For example, local unions have aided the United Negro College Fund, the Eleanor Roosevelt Cancer Fund, Guiding Eyes, and Sister Kenny Foundation.

The local hospital has never regarded the unions as a vital source of money. A great share of the funds contributed to its 1954 building drive came from a few substantial contributors. Nevertheless, when the hospital fund-raising

drive was organized, attempts were made to insure labor unions' cooperation. At one point during the campaign, several members of the hospital administration appeared before the Summit Industrial Union Council-CIO to explain admissions and fees. The unions withheld complete support until they were able to satisfy themselves that the policies of the hospital would benefit the union rank and file.

A concluding statement.--As unions have come to enjoy success in collective bargaining, the structure of the community and the functions of the unions have encouraged their movement into other areas of community life. The community participation of labor unions has increased over time. Union activities were investigated when their role was not fixed but expanding. The unions are very active in the Democratic Party, for example, and union members now hold important positions in the local party structure. Yet no labor leader has been successful in winning an election for political office. This may be only a matter of time.

In the examination of labor union activity in the community it was shown that participation varies with the differences among unions cited in Chapter IV. Different union organizations and work-related functions lead to local union differences in behavior within the community. The CIO unions, for example, are much more involved in the Democratic

Party, while the AFL craft unions are more concerned with lobbying on local work-related issues and making sure their standards for building codes are adopted.

Unions have expanded their areas of interest because of organizational and membership pressure. New goals have been sought to maintain a viable organization, as members look to the unions to protect their interests in areas beyond the factory gates. On the other hand, the unions have been co-opted, because they represent a new center of community power relevant to the activities of many community groups. The industrial unions were the targets of co-optation among those community members and groups that were interested in industrial development, but these persons discovered that decisions rested with individual locals and not in any federation or representatives of the industrial unions. So questions like organizing new plants or negotiating local contracts could not be settled, in fact, not even discussed, with these representatives. Undoubtedly, industrial development is the activity discussed in this chapter which is most important to the future of the community as a whole. Several incidents illustrating union power in this crucial realm are discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER VI

LABOR UNIONS AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: THREE CASE STUDIES

Background

Introduction.--A community has been defined as an organization of relationships to secure sustenance for a population. The prime importance of economic functions was emphasized, because they supply the sustenance. The argument was developed that unions have power in a community because they play a role in its economic organization. That outside units may hold power in a community is most readily, though not exclusively, apparent in external control of economic activity. The control exercised in Sardis by home offices of absentee-owned companies, the national headquarters of labor unions, and the national government's agencies of defense planning has already been discussed. This chapter presents the interrelations among certain economic units and some effects of their relative power over the outcomes of three incidents in the recent history of the community. All three illustrate the concern of the community with getting and keeping industry.

The important units in Sardis's industrial economy.--Since Sardis lost more industrial jobs that it gained during the 1950's and failed to recoup these losses by the time of the study, the research focused upon this problem. In fact, initial field entry into the community was to investigate a plant closing. The informal comments of a variety of Sardis's citizens about the need for industrial development in the city have been reported. Unions, in several instances, were blamed for decline in the economic fortunes of the community, since manufacturers are likely to cite as one reason for closing or moving the contrast of high union wages with lower nonunion wages paid in the South.

Although there is some disagreement about what ought to be done by whom to solve the problem, Sardis's union officers and positional leaders responded with remarkable unanimity to an interview question that asked the community's most pressing problem. Seventy-five percent of all respondents gave answers clearly referring to industrial development. Over 10 percent more named taxes, high wage rates, and high cost of services--answers that can easily be understood as intended to identify what is inhibiting industrial growth. Employment, getting new industry, and keeping the factories already in town seem to be paramount for nearly all leaders.

Two major sorts of action most directly influence how industrial development in Sardis fares, those that happen within the geographical bounds of the community and those that happen outside. The markets, suppliers, and transporters for any given manufacturing enterprise exert influence over its location and organization, including its size. There may be a choice of responses to the force of these markets and suppliers, so their influence in the community is felt in terms of whatever modifications the local industrial operation makes. Furthermore, any enterprise choosing to move into or out of Sardis will be influenced by what other communities offer in terms of labor force, services, and other supporting functions. Government requirements and geographic characteristics beyond the control of the community may be decisive factors.

But within the territorial confines of the community, certain units influence how industry will be carried on there, and, hence, they influence industrial development. All of these organizations exert an active or inactive influence over how questions of industrial change are resolved. Under conditions of relative stability power may be hidden from view. The relative activity and influence of each organization in the resolution of specific problems will vary with the nature of the situation and the extent to

which extraterritorial agencies are involved. Nonetheless, each always has some control over the circumstances of productive activity--power in the economic sector of the community.

The following groups and organizations in Sardis were found to have significant power over the industrial portion of the economy: the industrial companies themselves, then the unions, the Chamber of Commerce, the Industrial Development Corporation, the local government, the local banks, and the local retail and wholesale merchants. In Sardis industrial plants that manufacture goods for exchange with other communities bring much of the wealth into the community. These industries collectively have more power than units performing any other function. But the industrial complex is dependent upon and somewhat influenced by other units that might be termed service businesses, including local retail stores, real estate offices, and banks. The banks finance improvements and provide small industries with credit. The merchants furnish supporting services to industry and to its executives and work force. These businesses, together with the local colleges, also provide employment for a number of citizens.

The Chamber of Commerce and its committees are categoric groups representing industry and business. Whenever

the Chamber agrees to pursue any policy, it carries all the weight of the powerful constituent members, plus the additional increment which accrues from being organized into a group rather than acting as separate units. It is true that the interests of business and industry do not always coincide, however, and in these cases the Chamber will not act decisively. Furthermore, the manager of the Chamber, though a full-time officer with considerable time, information and other resources at his disposal, cannot initiate activity in the name of the Chamber without the formal sanction or tacit support of the board and influential members. He may be able to influence the board or the larger membership to a certain degree, but he has absolutely no power except by their suffrance. These general comments hold also for the committees of the Chamber. Though originally a creature of the Chamber, the Industrial Development Corporation is independent.

Like local business, the labor unions influence manufacturers and are influenced by them. They have power, but there is no doubt that it is less than the power of the manufacturers. The most important are industrial unions, for the crafts are involved with services and other supporting businesses. They hold a secondary position corresponding to the dependence of their businessmen employers on industrial

vigor. Finally, there is the city government that owns land, zones and assesses property, collects taxes, provides for inspection and licenses for certain activities, and has some control over utility supplies and rates. All of these organizations have an obvious relationship to the environment of industry. Any exercise of discretionary power over these factors is an exercise of control in the industrial economy.

The organization of production and, hence, the relative power of the groups just named change through time in the community. This dissertation focuses upon the growing impact of labor unions, but the role of the Chamber and the city government have changed also recently, and some groups have only just come into existence. A description of the interrelationships of the various units in the industrial organization of the community is, therefore, necessary. The way these relations seem to have changed within the last twenty years, especially within the five-year period prior to early 1963, are described. This description then is used to analyze the development and outcome of the problems in industrial preservation and expansion that arose during the field work. Finally, comment is offered on the power of unions in the community. Argument is presented that the analysis of community power adopted in this study

is superior to others for understanding the role of unions and other powerful units in a community.

The situation at the time of the study.--The relationship between the city government and the Chamber of Commerce over industrial growth and development was in the process of change. For one thing, during the fifties each group had acquired a professional executive. The role of the city administrator was new; that of the Chamber of Commerce manager was newly professionalized. The old ties between the city and Chamber were informal and friendly ones; these were being destroyed and gradually replaced by close but formal ties. The city seemed to be more free of the Chamber than it often had been in the past. This division was heightened by a quarrel between the two executives over which organization properly represents the community as a whole in matters of policy and in approaching or responding to industrial firms seeking to move to or from Sardis. These groups and their executives, professional and elected, are in competition for leadership, control, and prestige.

The mayor, the city commissioners, and the city administrator all feel concerned to encourage industry to remain in Sardis or to relocate there. Whenever an industrial problem seems to involve more that routine labor-management negotiations, the city administrator is interested in being

part of community discussions from the very beginning, though he inclines to a neutral stand on union-company conflicts so that the city government may act as mediator if possible. In all matters where public or official statements and positions might be taken, the city administrator thinks that city officials should speak for the community, since they are the elected and appointed guardians of the affairs of the whole community. The city government has not made extensive use of its power to encourage industry by reducing taxes, making land available at low cost, or providing advantageous utility rates. Nevertheless, city officials, expecially the administrator, are very aware of city potential in this field and regard such actions as community enterprises. They are inclined to regard themselves as the rightful spokesmen for the community as a whole, even where the critical conditions of a given situation are not matters over which they have any sort of control.

The Chamber of Commerce representatives also feel responsible for active work in industrial development. Selling Sardis as a good place to operate a manufacturing plant is a reasonable extension of the long-standing Chamber function of selling the community as a good place to visit, to shop, to have a business, or to own a home. Furthermore, some men feel that a private organization like the Chamber

is more flexible in informal negotiation, that official responsibilities limit what a city government can do. Having put money and time into a development project, the Chamber of Commerce and its manager do not want to lose public credit and acknowledgment to the government. The manager also takes the position that the Chamber should be concerned with problems of labor-management relations, because this is such a crucial part of the town's industrial problem.

The city administrator does not think the Labor-Management Committee has brought the companies and the unions together successfully. He deplores the lack of communication he observes between the unions on the one hand and the companies, the Chamber, and the city government on the other. "The city and the Chamber have cooperated on a good many projects," he said once, "but the same type of cooperation has been lacking between the city and the unions. There is no real interchange of ideas between us." He expressed concern to show labor that "we are not going to bite his head off or steal his pants." If a problem presented itself, "I just would not know how to get access to these people to just kick the gong around." While he has met with union leaders on other specific issues, "I have only been able to do things which are absolutely essential

to the job. So my contacts with labor unions are not really on a continuous basis." He commented pointedly that he had been asked to address almost every organization in the city except unions.

Professionalization of community roles has also changed the position of the old business and industrial elite. One of the most revealing consequences of this realignment of community power is a change in the role of the banker. Sardis has four banks, all local establishments. The president of the biggest one described how his own business had changed:

> We really have changed in the last few years. I can remember when we had the bank on the corner and one of the wealthy women came in. She saw a blue-collar worker at one of the teller's cages. "We don't need that kind here," she said. Well, today we do. We have gone into a lot of consumer credit. We have more accounts today and these accounts come from the working class of people, and this is where we make our money.

Kimbrough's article "The Role of the Banker in a Small City"[1] describes a community of 30,000 dependent mainly on small business and service to a surrounding farm area, that is a city very much like Sardis used to be. Since local farmers, manufacturers, and businessmen often required credit, the banker played a critical role in the

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[1]Emory Kimbrough, Jr., Social Forces, XXXVI, No. 4 (May, 1958), 316-22.

flow of funds. He was also active on the school board, in the YMCA, in one of the prominent churches, and in the Chamber of Commerce. Because of their control over a vital resource, money, Sardis's bankers once had a lot of power over the community's sustenance activities. They were active in the same sort of organizations Kimbrough describes. Today, however, outside cities are closer because of transportation and communication improvements. Large factories, especially the absentee-owned, can secure their loans in the big city, while an increasingly prosperous working class employed in the industrial plants uses the local banking services.

The bank president quoted above is considered to be a very powerful community figure. Yet, his base of power has been curtailed in such a way that he is not as important to the industrial sector of Sardis's economy as he once was. He seems not to understand the consequences of this change for his ability to influence community affairs, although he sees clearly the direct effects on his business. Later in the chapter he will be shown trying to rally community support for a cause that most industrial leaders, businessmen, and other ordinary citizens would not publicly endorse. Since he still works quietly behind the scene, he faced no public embarrassment in this case. But most people

were probably able to guess that he was behind the citizens committee.

The Hope Wire Case

In the first case examined the members of the city government and the Chamber of Commerce tried to reach consensus with the unions that represent employees of a plant on what "the community" could do to keep the company from leaving Sardis. This example explicates the relationships among various units located in the community and how units located outside the community affect these relations. It shows clearly that the local unions have much power.

Hope Wire is an absentee-owned company with a plant in Sardis and one in Tennessee, the latter opened in the late 1950's at the time a second Michigan plant was closed. The company is a part of a well-known national corporation; its primary operation is to manufacture parts for one of the three large automobile producers. The Sardis plant is an outmoded five-story brick building near the center of town. During World War II it employed ten times as many workers as at the time of the study, but there is no indication that it will lose the contract for the work now being done in Sardis.

This is one of the three Sardis factories that is organized by two unions, one an AFL industrial and the other

an IAM local, of about equal size. Each union depends heavily on the advice and instructions of its international representative in action and reaction vis-a-vis the company. But the international representatives are not residents of the county and ordinarily are present only for negotiations or in times of critical confrontation. Both local unions are well organized, but they have a tendency to compete rather than cooperate. One local feels that the other carries a smaller load of union activity. "They always wait to see what we are going to get before they negotiate," one leader declared, "so we are really doing their negotiating for them." There was cooperation in 1958, however, when the plant was struck for the second time in the decade. An across-the-board wage reduction of 15 percent in violation of contracts in force at the time precipitated the unions' walkout. During this strike the company threatened to leave town, but the strike was settled without recourse to moving the plant.

It was during the 1958 strike at Hope Wire that the Labor-Management Committee scheduled the meeting that was boycotted by all the labor representatives. This was interpreted by the Chamber and other citizens as an uncooperative reaction, although it was perfectly true that no one from the council could have spoken authoritatively for the members

of the locals involved in the strike. These two unions have little more use for the city government than for the Chamber of Commerce and have a tendency to lump them together without distinction. One reason for mistrusting the city government arose from another experience at the time of the 1958 strike. The company obtained a court order allowing it to remove from the plant dies that belonged to an automobile firm for which it was a subcontractor. The unions refused to let the trucks pass through the picket lines, since they had not been informed of the court order. When the city police provided an escort for the trucks, the dies were carried out. The unions accused the police of strikebreaking, and the city government was tagged as anti-labor. In addition the police car hit one of the pickets; this angered the union men further, although the picket was not badly injured. When the strike was settled, the dies were returned.

Rumors began to circulate in the community in the spring of 1962 that Hope Wire would close its Sardis plant and move the operations south. It was said that taxes and the physical plant were contributing to the company's dissatisfaction. The local plant manager was apparently under pressure from the home office to increase productivity and reduce labor costs. Because of internal company upheaval,

other Sardis citizens did not know for a time who was in charge of the local operations and where decisions were being made. The president of the large controlling corporation could not be reached by Chamber of Commerce representatives. He had given authority to another officer of his company and did not wish to become personally involved. The Chamber dealt with two or three levels of company management above the local manager.

Local management approached the unions to say that some accommodation in the contract then in force would have to be worked out, but neither union ever received a clear statement of what the company desired. A 35-cent wage reduction, changes in work rules, elimination of wash-up time, and reduction in coffee break were all mentioned. The general attitude of the unions was skeptical of the company's motives and intentions. In particular they did not wish to modify the existing contracts unless there were satisfactory assurances that the company would remain in Sardis afterward.

Like the unions, the community leaders involved in industrial development were distressed by the rumors that Hope Wire might close. Their efforts to recruit industry showed promise of bearing fruit; they thought that loss of another operating factory would be a heavy blow. The city

government, the Chamber of Commerce, and the Industrial Development Corporation wanted Hope Wire to remain in Sardis and quickly initiated action.

Through the IDC, the Chamber investigated the possibility of helping the company to buy a more efficient plant in the Sardis area. Over a quarter of a million dollars was raised toward purchase of an abandoned factory, but the company never made any commitment and finally rejected the offer. The city government looked into relieving the tax burden of Hope Wire and discovered that the city taxes only totaled a few thousand dollars, and by wiping them off the books entirely they could save the company only $3000 a year.

Early in June the Chamber of Commerce manager wrote each union president to invite him to a meeting with representatives of the city and the Chamber to discuss the problems at Hope Wire. He said that city and Chamber officials had been in contact with the Hope management and were concerned to further the best interests of the community by assisting in prevention of job loss and further economic depression. Neither union leader replied to the letter. The manager complained about their discourtesy and called the lack of response typical of labor's attitude toward the Chamber. About ten days after this unsuccessful attempt

to organize a meeting, the manager, the mayor, the city administrator, and the two union presidents met in the mayor's office at the suggestion of the city administrator and the head of the IDC. The two invitations came so close together that it is quite possible the union presidents thought they had been invited twice to the same meeting. The manager went along, although he was a little annoyed, because he thought the problem was properly in the jurisdiction of the Chamber's Labor-Management Committee.

The mayor presided. He opened the meeting by saying, "We do not wish to enter into any direct problems between union and management. We would like to offer our help, however, where it is needed and wanted." Referring to the Chamber and the city as "we," he reviewed the information he had gathered up to that time, including conversations with representatives of Hope Wire. Both city and Chamber men pointed out that they wanted to keep the factory in Sardis and were sure that the unions did, too, since jobs were scarce. The union leaders were nearly as distrustful of the city and Chamber as they were of the company. "Given the employment situation as it is, you'd be surprised how independent workin' people can be," one of the union presidents observed. Then the chamber manager suggested that perhaps the community could put together a package with

contributions by the city, the Chamber, and the unions to induce them to remain. The city administrator felt that this made the company a stranger, not a part of the community. The union leaders then pointed out that a 30-cent wage reduction would save the company between $75,000 and $100,000 a year. So, if a package were put together, the unions would make a much larger contribution to it than the city could by eliminating taxes.

After listening to all the arguments and pleadings for cooperation in the name of the community, the union presidents made clear their position. One of them pointed out that the company had been making money all year. "If we gave them the concessions, what would stop them from moving or threatening to move again? Why should we finance their move?" The union in the other Michigan community from which Hope Wire had moved had been caught by this very chain of events. "I will not ask my people to take a cut unless I could promise my people something concrete." The unions were used to bargaining with management and were prepared to wait until the demands of the company had been clearly presented to them. Nor were the union leaders willing to commit themselves on any possible program of action, even with guarantees from the company, without instructions from their memberships. They insisted that their sole function

at this meeting would be to get information; they had no authority to act.

At the end of the meeting the Chamber manager suggested, "Let's not negotiate through the newspapers." He felt the possibilities for flexibility and compromise in the final solution to the problem would be reduced by publicity about early discussions. Nevertheless, the next day an article appeared in the local paper that attributed information about the company's requests to the city administrator and told of a meeting between city officials and the unions. It did not mention the Chamber of Commerce.

Officers of the Chamber thought the newspaper story ill-advised and complained to the mayor. The Chamber manager promptly wrote letters of reassurance to the union presidents that the Chamber regretted the article, disclaimed all responsibility for it, and probably would have been able to prevent publicity if it had arranged the meeting (see Appendix C.1). This letter was an obvious effort on the part of the manager of the Chamber of Commerce to regain control of the situation he saw slipping away from him. The city administrator had succeeded in sponsoring the meeting under city auspices and had given it publicity against his advice.

Although the meeting involved no commitments on any side, the city administrator was pleased to have established contact with the unions. He sympathized with their unwillingness to move until they knew the company's position and what demands actually were being made. The Chamber manager was also sympathetic with the unions and desirous of helping in labor-management relations. He did feel, however, that the unions were not trying to cooperate to the extent they should. "The union does not see things in terms of the community as a whole but only as things affect their pockets," he remarked on the day after the meeting in the city hall. The unions were not bothered by the newspaper story. They had not made any commitments, nor did they cherish any distinction between the Chamber and the city in personnel, motives, or sympathy toward unions.

About three weeks after the meeting in the mayor's office, both unions met to discuss the situation. After separate routine business meetings, they adjourned for a joint meeting at the union hall. The report of the presidents on the meeting with city and Chamber officials was greeted with hoots and howls. The union rank and file trusted nobody after their experiences during the last strike. The international representatives of the two locals were present and addressed the joint meeting with

exhortations to stand their ground on the fairly negotiated contracts now in force. "The only thing the city or the Chamber, or whatever you want to call it, want to do is save their skins." This summary comment appears in the notes of the meeting: "All members are agreed that we will not make a deal with the Chamber of Commerce."

The international representatives counseled just as firm a stand with Hope Wire itself. One of them suggested that the company might already have decided to move, and only wanted to squeeze some extra money from the unions to help them pull out. At any rate the rank and file should refuse any commitments until the company position was clear. Management had suggested that some members of the unions might wish to meet and talk over problems outside the regular working time. But the meeting rejected any modifications in the regular procedure--full bargaining committees on company time.

That meeting of the bargaining committees and the Hope Wire management never took place. The incident dissolved in a very quiet fizzle with no changes in wages or fringe benefits finally requested of the unions. The plant manager was replaced, and there were no more rumors about moving. Hope's most compelling reasons for remaining in Sardis, in the final analysis, were the requirements of the automobile

concern it supplies. Apparently the quality of the parts being shipped from Tennessee was substandard. The auto concern owns the dies used in the manufacture of parts in Sardis; they preferred to keep those dies in Michigan. The automobile company made it quite clear in the end that it wanted the Sardis operation to remain in Michigan.

The case supports several of the arguments made in this dissertation. Within the community the city administrator, the Chamber of Commerce, and the unions were disunited. While the Chamber and city representatives were aware of the power of the union in this situation, they wanted this power to be used in the interests of "the whole community." Yet, the critical decisions for the unions and the company were not made by persons in Sardis. Rather, they were made by outside agencies--the international unions, the company home office, and the automobile company that buys the product of the Sardis factory.

The Rescue of the Air Force Plant: Barton I

The second of the three incidents concerns community action to keep a plant in operation. The unions, the city, and the Chamber of Commerce worked together more or less closely. The unions and the local government were able to utilize organizational ties at the state and national levels to secure help for the community cause.

The discussion of Sardis's economic history mentioned the government plant that was built during World War II. The plant had certain interesting characteristics. In the first place its equipment included some German machinery appropriated during the war; it was not modernized even by 1960. Another unique feature, of course, is that the plant was owned by the Federal government and leased to operators by the United States Air Force. Finally, the UAW had a contract, not with the operating company, but with the plant as long as it was government-owned. This meant that each new company that leased the plant had to accept the previous union contract, including the seniority list, that is, it had to take on the work force that had been laid off by the previous operator.

The plant saw a series of occupants. After the fifth company had failed to run the plant profitably, the government decided to sell it. In December 1960 the highest of three bids for the plant came from a scrap company that sought to dismantle the plant and sell it for junk. The reaction in Sardis was immediate, shocked, and almost frightened. Newspaper editorials appeared under the titles "Jobs or Junk" and "Producing Company's Bid is Best." The Chamber of Commerce took up the cry. Under the banner "Jobs not Scrap" it mobilized the community's appeal to the Federal

government to permit aquisition of the plant by one of the bidders who would use it for production. Delegations were sent to the state capital and to Washington, seeking political support for the community's effort. In January 1961 the Congressman from Sardis's district introduced a resolution that reads as follows:

> To authorize the disposal of Air Force Plant Numbered 00 at Sardis, Michigan, to a person, firm, or corporation which will continue manufacturing operations therein.

Members of the Chamber of Commerce and city government turned to the local unions for support on two counts. The governor of the state, the President, and Michigan's two United States Senators at that time were all Democrats, and one of the best ways to reach Democratic party office-holders seemed to be through the labor unions. The UAW unions informed Solidarity House, and the UAW Congressional lobbyists were alerted. One of the delegations to Washington sponsored by the city included the president and past president of the Sardis Labor Council AFL-CIO. Union members also were active within the community recruiting citizen support. A petition was circulated for presentation in Washington to support the citizens' demand that the plant be sold to an operating company. Most of more than 12,000 signatures were collected by the union rank and file working door to door over one weekend.

At the same time as they were working in Washington, the city, the Chamber, and the unions dispatched delegations to California to visit a company that had bid for the plant as a potential employer. These community representatives were eager to assure the company that Sardis would be a good place to operate a plant, that good workers were available, and that, in the best Chamber of Commerce phrases, Sardis was a good place to live and work.

In March of 1961 the Secretary of Labor conferred with Michigan's governor and UAW President Walter Reuther. President Kennedy indicated in a March news conference that he was favorable to the California company's bid. And in June he announced that the Air Force plant had been sold to the Barton Aluminum Company of California. The concerted efforts of the community to bring a producer to the idle plant were successful. Sardis received national publicity, and the Sardis Area Chamber of Commerce won the Michigan Week Award for its contribution to saving the plant from the scrap heap. The Barton company benefited, for it paid about $700,000 less than the scrap company offered. It is possible to guess that the Democratic Party won, too. For, while it is true that Barton was the second highest bidder, it also should be pointed out that the Barton company is a tightly controlled corporation whose president is a well-known figure

in California Democratic politics and a personal friend of Joseph P. Kennedy.

There are two important points. First, the local people had to bring pressure at the national level, because the government owned the plant. The cooperation of the unions was sought to provide the best access routes to certain state and Federal authorities. Whether or not the leverage the unions supplied was required to accomplish the goal, the unions were considered an effective vehicle for pressure, and they used it. Second, in appeals to the company itself, the union council leaders spoke for their membership to say that the unions wanted jobs for the unemployed citizens of the community most of all. Unionization was a secondary matter.

The Citizens Committee: Barton II

The third incident concerns reaction of the Barton firm to signs of organization activity by two different international unions. One of their attempts to prevent a union election in the plant, sponsorship of an anti-union citizens committee, was strongly opposed by many groups and individuals in the community, not all of whom are fully sympathetic to unions. But this case begins, really, with the arrival of the new plant manager and personnel director.

Everyone in town heralded their coming, encouraged by their preparations for production. Conversation on the street, in the cafes, barber shops, clubs, and homes of Sardis always came around to the arrival of the new management and what this would mean for the town. There were all sorts of rumors at first. Perhaps they would take over the old seniority list. They might have five hundred working by Christmas. Most people felt that Sardis had finally turned the corner and was on its way to revitalized industrial growth.

The two men from the parent company were received enthusiastically. As the plant manager said, "If I took every golf invitation I've had, I would never be in the plant." Every service club offered membership to one or both of these men. Several evenings the investigator went with the personnel director to his fraternal lodge, the Elks. Each time someone came up, usually bought drinks and asked, "How are things going out there?" Attempts to involve the new executives in community affairs and organizations did not meet with great success. They wanted as little involvement as possible. This is the way the personnel director expressed it:

> We are here to work. If the community interferes or other things happen to harrass us, we will close the doors and walk out. We are not concerned

> with the community in general. The only way I would join a local organization is if the company told me to join. Otherwise I would stay out. We have been told not to buy homes in Sardis because the prices are too high. . . . The problem with Pierpont was that they were too involved in community relations. . . .

The Barton personnel director reported that several thousand applicants came to sign up for jobs in the plant. He said many people had called him to ask about a job for a friend. The old union seniority lists were definitely not used; in fact there were rumors that men known to be active union supporters actually were blacklisted. The approach to hiring was cautious and calculated to encourage loyalty to the company. Beginning in the fall of 1961 and continuing through the following summer, a few men were hired every week. Six months after the plant opened there were fewer than a hundred employees, though the company refused to release the exact figures to the Michigan Employment Security Commission. The new employees were given a very thorough indoctrination about what was required of them and how they could get along with management. On a tour through the plant it was evident that the personnel director knew the name of every man. He said this was company policy. The plant manager, too, showed interest in the employees, as when he visited a man who was hospitalized after a plant accident. Wages appeared to be below the going rate, though

neither employees nor management ever said what Barton was paying. A bar owner reported the size of a couple of pay checks he had cashed; actual take-home pay was good, but it resulted from working long hours and on Saturday.

Since the company was not employing many workers during the first months of operation, the local unions took little interest in organizing the plant. The question came to the floor of the monthly meetings of the Summit Labor Council several times. But the consensus was generally to wait until the plant really got into production, at which point the workers would be more interested. The unions knew about the company's personnel policies and realized that an organization drive would have no chance then. Furthermore, no one was sure just which union would have the best chance. The MESA had the contract at another Sardis plant doing the same sort of work. On the other hand, the UAW had had the contract when the Air Force owned the Barton plant. They knew a strong drive by a well-organized and militant union would be required, for the United Steel Workers had spend enormous amounts trying without success to organize Barton's California plants.

In the spring of 1962 the personnel director was asked about unionization of the plant. He said the choice was up to the men. "Some people within the community have asked

the company to put in a union so that there would not be any trouble at the plant. We are not going to put a union in just to please the community or to placate the unions." About the middle of May the MESA put out the first feelers toward organization of the Barton plant. They ran an open letter in the newspaper over the signatures of their local officers (see Appendix C.2). The letter called for mailed responses from workers who were interested in the union. The MESA was not an active member of the labor council and did not use the union hall for meetings. The president of the local said that the letter was written in their Detroit headquarters and was placed in the paper at the insistence of the international. Response was small, and most community members were not bothered by this very tentative move. Even the plant manager responded very mildly, but he hinted that he would not treat more active attempts to organize with the same grace.

> The open letter was something we can't control. It doesn't create any fear here. But our people have been approached. We are so busy, we can't cross a bridge until we get to it. We can't allocate resources to fight a nonexistent enemy. There is no special union which has attempted to organize us.

During the next two months, June and July, the UAW international representatives and their locals began to take a more active interest in organizing the Barton plant. No

doubt pressure from Detroit had begun to filter down to the community level from the UAW as from the MESA. As one of the international men said, "It's my job to organize plants. That's what I am here for, and if I didn't do that someone else would have my job." One of the UAW men said that he had spoken to several persons at the Barton plant, some of whom had approached him first. In mid-August one international representative accompanied several members of the UAW unions who went to handbill the Barton plant, that is, to stand at the plant gates and pass out literature to the workers. Handbilling is a legal and recognized way of distributing union literature and informing workers of their rights. These are some pertinent paragraphs from this particular handbill.

> Surely you know that there is a federal law that guarantees you the right to form a union of your own choice, without any interference from your employer. The National Labor Relations Board, a government agency, not only protects your right under the law to organize a union, but it also sets the rules as to how you organize a union. . . .
>
> The rules of the National Labor Relations Board provide that the employees in a plant like where you work who want the services of the NLRB must sign UNION AUTHORIZATION CARDS. Such a card is enclosed and you will note at the bottom of it, the print tells you that the card is not an application for membership in the UAW, but instead it is to be used in securing a United States Government-conducted election in the plant.
>
> The rules of the NLRB provide further that at least thirty percent of the eligible employees in the plant must sign before the NLRB vote by secret ballot can be held. . . .

The handbill goes on to encourage the workers to act promptly so that they can get the benefits of union protection and is signed by one international representative. The response from Barton workers was not great enough to call for an election, but the management did respond strongly.

The best information available indicated that two days after the handbilling, the Barton plant manager met with the prominent banker quoted above to discuss the UAW's organizing activity. The plant manager was apparently under pressure from his home office to halt the union. It is not known what action the plant manager might have taken on his own. But the following day the banker talked with another old city leader, the former mayor, about what to do to help Barton. The outcome of this discussion was a call to about a dozen people to meet the next morning, a Saturday, in the city commission's chambers. As stated to several of those who came, the purpose of the meeting was "to discuss the situation at Barton's." But the president of the college did not even know about the meeting until the former mayor picked him up that morning for a round of golf at the country club and told him they were going to a meeting first. Those who took part included the two officers of Barton, the mayor, presidents of three of the banks, the college president, the newspaper editor, an industrialist, the former mayor, the

head of the Industrial Development Corporation who is vice-president of the fourth bank, and three businessmen, one of whom is a city commissioner. The city administrator was invited, but he could not attend because of a previous commitment out of town. The Chamber of Commerce manager was not invited; he did not even know about the meeting until two days later.

The results of the meeting as they are known to the public appeared in the local newspaper on Monday morning. A front-page news story headlined "Citizens Group is Born" carried the information that a larger open meeting was called for 7:30 p.m., Wednesday at the city hall. This is what the story said about the Saturday morning gathering:

> Dave Jacks, Barton plant manager in Sardis, described the outside pressure for union organization at the plant from the first day he arrived in Sardis a year ago.
>
> Mr. Jacks said that Barton recognized the right of workers to organize, that Barton was not anti-union. But he said that no interest for union organization had developed with the Barton plant. Barton workers had been intimidated and threatened in some cases, he said, by outside influence. The outside pressure is disruptive, he added.
>
> Dan McLeish, former Sardis Mayor who was one of the leaders instrumental in bringing Barton Aluminum to Sardis, made the motion that the citizens group be formed.

Elsewhere in that same paper was printed a full-page advertisement over the name "The Citizens Committee to Preserve Industry in Sardis" (see Appendix C.3). It asked for an

end to outside agitation to organize Barton workers so that Sardis would not risk further job losses.

The details of the meeting are hard to determine, although the newspaper story is probably only incomplete, not inaccurate. The plant manager is said to have come to the meeting carrying an advertisement that had been written by the California office and that Barton was prepared to publish with or without community support. Several of those who attended the meeting voiced objections to the advertisement and refused to support it. The ensuing turmoil made support unpopular, but it is not entirely clear who was opposed from the very beginning. Some who felt the language of the advertisement was too openly anti-labor concentrated their efforts on toning it down. This actually was done. It was also decided to show community support for Barton by signing the advertisement from the citizens committee rather than the Barton company. The person who made that recommendation explained it later in this way:

> I didn't know what to do. I didn't want it to come out over Barton's name. I felt we were all responsible. It would look bad for the community to have a company put out such a thing. Maybe I was wrong. Maybe I should have let them do it.

It was impossible to find out from the newspaper who finally paid for the advertisement, although it is known that payment was slow.

Reaction to the advertisement and the news story was swift, much of it negative. The Chamber of Commerce office was a focal point of activity on Monday morning. The manager considered the advertisement ill-advised; he was certain it would defeat much of the effort he had put into establishing rapport with local labor leaders. Many people who called or came in believed that the Chamber manager had had a role in the meeting Saturday morning. He tried to assure them that he had nothing to do with it, was opposed to the advertisement, and was himself still trying to find out what had happened. No doubt some of his callers were more disposed to believe him than others. One industrialist burst into a telephone conversation with a shout: "What the hell is going on down there. Don't you people have any sense. We've been working years to develop cordial relations with labor and then you pull a stunt like this." Another plant owner called to remind the Chamber that his company was just going into negotiations and this was a terrible thing to happen at such a time. Some of the downtown merchants came in and wanted to keep the public meeting out of the city hall. One of them said the advertisement had put labor-management relations back years, and the less said about the whole thing the better. Two men who had attended the Saturday meeting also came in to the Chamber

office to discuss the situation. They both seemed a little embarrassed at having been associated with the advertisement. But during the meeting they had not seen any alternative to trying to prevent even more drastic language. Later in the day, one of the UAW international representatives stopped in to complain, followed by the labor council president. Again and again the Chamber manager repeated that he had had nothing to do with it and thought the whole citizens committee idea was wrong.

That night the manager called an emergency meeting of the Chamber of Commerce board of directors and invited the mayor and two city commissioners to attend. The president of the Chamber opened the meeting by reviewing the advertisement and its reprecussions in the community. He said that, as an employer with a strong union, he knew what Barton was up against. "But they are here to stay and we've got to learn to live with them." Others were not so sure. One businessman said, "I think it is about time someone stood up to labor." Another suggested that a citizens committee might be able to help the situation. Still another board member was more skeptical: "It is hard for me to think how Barton and Jacks can be so thin-skinned to take a little action by the unions so seriously. Personally, I think these people [the citizens committee] may have been

duped." This was what the manager wanted to hear. He kept pushing for the board to pass a resolution condemning as hasty and ill-timed the action calling for a public meeting. He wanted authority to act in opposition to the meeting. Finally, he pointed out that the Labor-Management Committee was designed to handle such problems and that Barton should not have skirted the Chamber.

The mayor also addressed the meeting. He agreed with the manager, saying, "Why do we have organization which we don't use? . . . I think Emerson [the banker] and McLeish should use the machinery which is available." He also spoke in support of city neutrality. "The commission and I had nothing to do with this meeting. . . . Now I've been inside the plant a couple of times and they are contented to work there. . . . Our legal advisor told us to stay completely away from the thing until they call us in." One of the city commissioners supported the mayor, "I think it is a poor policy for citizens in the community to stand between Barton and the unions." Despite the hopes and pleas of the manager, the Chamber of Commerce board were unable to reach any consensus and refused to taken an official position on the citizens committee question. The board agreed to take no action at all.

Nevertheless, the next day the Chamber manager called upon as many persons as he thought prudent in an effort to

prevent attendance at the Wednesday meeting, this in clear contradiction to the decision of the board to do nothing. He was unable to get firm commitments from many people about what they would do. The union leaders assured him emphatically that they would be present to answer the charges contained in the advertisement. The newspaper editor refused to deny publicity to the event. However, the industrialist who heads the Chamber of Commerce took his banker to a baseball game that Wednesday night, and the college president found something else to do, too.

On Tuesday morning the Harvey plant manager met with the Chamber of Commerce manager and the bank vice-president who heads IDC. The investigator was also present, along with the personnel director and the plant foremen at Barton. The Chamber manager asked why Barton had taken such precipitous action. Why had other avenues not been explored first? "We did not have the opportunity to act as mediators between labor and management." Jacks took a firm and vehement stand in support of the whole citizens committee idea. He thought the issues should be taken before the public. "I think it is a damn good article. I don't think any other action would have been effective to keep our plant here." He went on to announce that he thought the Chamber of Commerce and its manager ineffective in getting industry into the community.

It was obvious that he thought their unwillingness to stand up to the unions was one reason for that failure. He finished by saying to the manager, "We know who our friends are now." The Chamber of Commerce manager backed down rather meekly, assured the Barton men of his friendship, and went away. The plant manager had stood up to the Chamber of Commerce representative and proclaimed that Barton was supporting Sardis's industrial development by its employment of workers and its defiance of unions. But from that point on the Barton position lost support, until most citizens who had been involved in the original meeting were apologizing to the unions or at least keeping a careful silence.

About 6:30 p.m. on Wednesday the investigator was present at an impromptu strategy meeting in the union hall located about two hundred yards from the city hall. About fifteen or twenty men were sitting around discussing what labor should do. They were quite concerned, and many openly blamed the Chamber of Commerce for organizing the citizens committee. They refused to consider that the meeting was held without the knowledge of the Chamber manager and that many Chamber members were against it. "They're always behind these things somewhere," said one. "You never can trust them no matter what they say to your face." It was agreed to let the international representatives do most of

the speaking. The rest would try to keep quiet so as not to give any support to the notion that union members were uncooperative and irresponsible. They knew that the gross misrepresentations in the advertisement could be exposed in vindication of the unions, if they were careful not to spoil their advantage. The members agreed to "drift over to the town hall in two's and three's, so we won't look conspicuous."

Meanwhile, in the city hall the heads of the city government were going over the situation. The mayor had been asked to chair the meeting, but the city administrator was very much opposed to this. He did not think it should look as though the meeting had the sanction of the city. This was in line with his usual stance of remaining neutral, unless it was possible to mediate a conflict. About 7:30 they left the city administrator's office and went upstairs to the council chamber where the meeting was to take place. As far as could be seen the Chamber manager had been somewhat effective in getting people to stay away, although he had not been able to prevent the meeting from happening. There were about forty-five to fifty persons in attendance, of whom twenty-three were union members. One city commissioner sat joking with the union men. Another stood out in the hall watching with the mayor and city administrator.

None of the bankers who attended the Saturday meeting was present, although the leading banker had sent one of his vice-presidents. The industrialist joined the president of the college and the bankers on the absentee list, but the newspaper editor, the former mayor, and several businessmen were present.

The meeting was chaired by a businessman who had attended the earlier meeting. This was at the request of former Mayor McLeish, after the mayor declined the chair. It later was learned that this businessman is a liberal Democrat sympathetic with the unions. The former mayor introduced the problem and said that the citizens committee meeting and the advertisement had been requested by the Barton plant manager. He did not want to take sides, but there seemed to be an emergency. It was possible that a neutral group of citizens could mediate, if the problem were brought out into the open. He did not specify what the emergency was nor exactly what action a citizens committee might take, but he struck the theme of community support for a plant trying to get into production.

At this point the chairman recognized the Barton manager. He reviewed what had happened in the plant up to that time. Then he said that labor unions had been making overtures to men in his plant that were disturbing to plant

operations. All the company wanted was to be left alone. They wanted an end to intimidation and threats by outside influence. Then one of the UAW international representatives got up and introduced himself to the meeting. These are some excerpts from his remarks, transcribed from a recording made by the local radio station:

> I've got this paper, a very good article here that the plant here has been intimidated. You take an article like this and say we have outsiders. Now, I want to know from Mr. Jacks who does he mean by outsiders? We have three representatives that live here and pay taxes. Naturally our headquarters is in Detroit. There was a card passed out there on the question because people had contacted us. Maybe Mr. Jacks don't know we had many people in this international union also in the state, including the government, made trips to Washington to try to get this plant in here. We also put on a banquet. We are only concerned with getting people in the plant. The question of organizing was a second factor. But we hate to have articles that call the people, fellows like Pat Ryan, the president of our council who has been here for years, and then come out with a big pitch like this, mislead the people and say outside organizers. Hell, I see my banker here; I see the guy that sells me oil; I see all kinds of people here. We are not at all outsiders. We live here, we pay taxes. I happened to come here twenty-three years ago. . . .
>
> We want to cooperate but we hate being put on the question as outsiders, when every one of our people, including John Williams who lived here long before the Barton Corporation, happened to be an international representative. This Citizens Committee with a lot of people got behind the eight ball on this because I think we had a Labor-Management Committee. I sat here during the war years on the War Manpower Commission. . . . We worked pretty hard. We've come a long way. We don't want to see this turned over . . .

> because we have this committee set up. We're willing to cooperate. But we don't like to be called intimidating because we pass out a card and point out the law to some of these people. . . .
>
> Maybe Mr. Jacks don't know that before you organize a plant, you have to have people sign cards. It takes thirty percent before you can petition for the election that is conducted by the government of the United States. Then they said we was going to put a sympathy strike around here. You can't strike people. If we had an election there and we lost, that's something else. They have a secret election. . . . Now he says with none of my people wanting it. They're not going to tell him. People don't tell each other that. But this thing here, I think that if the labor movement is getting along here, it's owed an apology by the citizens committee with their $350. . . . In all plants we had cooperated . . . as far as labor. We're willing to cooperate with Barton, but we hate to see things like this that get management, labor, businessmen against one another.

The international representative was followed by Ronald Fisk, former council president and a member of the Labor-Management Committee, who had been forced to look for work in a distant city when the Air Force plant was shut down and put up for sale. After recalling the efforts of working people in support of the city's industrial development, he spoke as follows:

> Let me say this: We've had two serious labor strikes in as long as I've been in this community. And I came here in 1939. I know there was one way back in the early days of organization of the union. I think everybody that's a longstanding citizen knows about this in this town. We don't want no more of this. We think

labor's mature; we think management's mature. But here we are getting into an area that a few people come here and say, "Now look. We're going to stir up a ruckus in this community. We're going to have our way." I want to say this, too. The Labor-Management Committee was asked when there was negotiations on this plant, if we would consider signing a moratorium for two years and we would not even attempt to organize this plant. Not all unions--one union, the UAW. Look, the UAW has a legal right to request representation in this plant because they were the people that represented the people out there prior to Barton Aluminum being in business. They don't have to give it. Are we afraid of what the Federal law says? If it is, then we're living in the wrong country. We believe in democracy. We think people should have a free choice and I think this is all that Bob has said, and I'm very serious in this. I have property here. This kind of thing don't help my property. Manufacturing places, bigger, more, all create a bigger tax base. This we need in this community. We're not going to get it this way. You plaster this all over the papers and get it all over the country. You won't get an employer interested in this place for miles around. Maybe this is what some of the employers here want. I don't want it. I hate like the dickens because I have to drive forty-four miles each way to work. I would take a job for a lot less money to work in this town if there were jobs available. And I think some people better do some serious thinking. Here's one that I don't like at all. The ordinary laymen, not having ever worked in a plant to know what the conditions are; the person that reads the paper; the housewife; the person that works in the store downtown--they don't know what the problems are and when you get stuff like this in the paper, immediately they get gun shy. And when we say we're here to prevent something, to make a study, to set up a committee to prevent something, there is only one thing we're trying to set up a committee for to prevent, the organization of Barton Aluminum.

Fisk then moved that the entire matter be turned over to the Chamber of Commerce Labor-Management Committee. The chairman was not accustomed to conducting a meeting according to the rules of parliamentary procedure, which the unions used regularly. Every time the chairman suggested that someone else should be heard, the union members demanded consideration of the motion on the floor. The unions had control of the meeting. There was not going to be a neutral committee of community members established to look into Barton's problems with the unions.

After a few minutes of discussion on the motion, a businessman who is a past president of the Chamber of Commerce got up to speak in support of the motion. He seemed to summarize the feelings of most of those present when he said that the Labor-Management Committee was formed to get things done without tearing the town apart. He thought the available machinery ought to be used. For the final developments in this meeting the account given by a reporter for the local radio station who broadcast parts of the open meeting serves well.

> Before a vote was taken, Mr. Jacks was asked if he would be willing to meet with the Chamber Labor-Management Committee. He answered by stating there were no labor problems at the plant, so it would be pointless for him to meet with the committee. "Then what was the emergency that caused the formation of a Citizens

> Committee?" another asked. The emergency, Jacks said, was a broadcast by this reporter over the weekend on the meeting Saturday morning. In answer to Mr. Jacks's remarks, this reporter attempted to set the record straight. WTCE News did not learn of the Saturday morning meeting of the citizens group until some six hours later, after it had adjourned. The matter of publishing the advertisement obviously had already been decided. We only reported this story as told us by persons attending the meeting. The meeting last night was brought to a close by J. Lee Riddle, a local banker, who urged a vote to turn the matter over to the labor-management board before it got out of hand.
>
> The group voted almost unanimously in favor of this course of action. The meeting then adjourned.

When the meeting closed, it was apparent to nearly everybody present that labor unions in Sardis had put down Barton Aluminum's attempt to rally community support against organization of the plant. The unions had showed great restraint and indicated their willingness to cooperate with existing agencies in the community. The fact that the prominent citizens who were involved in the first meeting stayed away left the company in an embarrassing spot. Their failure to come up with substantial charges or concrete evidence of outside agitation or intimidation, and their refusal at the end to admit there was a labor problem created the impression that the company had sounded a false alarm. The citizens committee was dead. The obituary appeared on the front page of Thursday morning's paper with the headline,

"Citizens Group Dies A-Borning After City Hall Discussion."

The citizens committee may have died, but neither the Barton officers nor the banker who had originally supported them were ready to concede that the UAW could organize the plant without another fight. A few days after he spoke for the UAW at the city hall meeting, the international representative received a phone call from the bank vice-president who had also been present. He asked him to stop by for a little talk with the bank president about the Barton situation. This is the way the labor leader recounted that meeting: First the vice-president thanked the international representative for calling him. To which the union man said he had not called, he had been called. Then the president suggested that there might be more trouble at the plant. He meant essentially that if the unions continued their organization drive, Barton would not sit idly by. The labor leader replied that he believed the community owed labor an apology and ought to put another advertisement in the paper to that effect. Beyond that he said:

> We have a lot of people who want to pull their money out of your bank. . . . I'm a customer. Our locals have money here. . . . You took a powder on this issue. Have you forgotten that we cooperated in getting Barton in here? . . . Our first interest was jobs, then the union. . . . Our people don't like being treated this way.

At that point the union man said the bank president tried to brush aside the issue. After that meeting the president said to the investigator, "I think the unions are now aware that the city is on the lookout for any trouble. It is a problem of outsiders coming in and stirring things up." Although it is not true that any outsiders had come in to Sardis to handbill, threaten, or intimidate for the UAW, perhaps the banker really believed there were. At any rate he was not giving in to the unions.

After the city hall meeting the UAW had much more prestige and a greater claim than before to be the union to represent the Barton workers, if they ever were organized. Since the UAW spokesmen had met the compnay head-on, it seemed to many citizens that the UAW was the most likely organizer, that no other union could give them much competition. Furthermore, some people felt that the UAW was, indeed, owed an apology, or at least congratulations for courtesy and restraint in stating its case. The Chamber of Commerce manager sent the labor council president a letter expressing gratitude for union cooperation at the city hall meeting and regrets that hasty action had made that confrontation necessary (see Appendix C.4). The issue began to recede quietly, but all during the late summer and early fall the union leaders reported that people stopped them on

the street to compliment them on their patience and good sense. In September the Labor-Management Committee meeting opened with thanks from one of the Chamber representatives for the "polite and gentlemanly" conduct of the union leaders before and after the city hall meeting.

The Barton Aluminum Corporation had tried to take on unions in a manner for which it did not have sufficient power. But at the same time it had enough power to continue command of concesssions that no other company was getting. For instance, in the late fall of 1962 the college president sent a letter to the mayor with copies to the manager and the president of the Chamber of Commerce. The letter said that all support should be given to Barton, particularly by helping to counter rumors that the company was not going to stay in Sardis as an employer, that is was not going to make a serious or successful effort at profitable operation (see Appendix C.5). As an example of the kind of cooperation the community could and should give, he pointed out that the United Fund had not pressed for an employee gift, though Barton had made a company contribution. It will be recalled that the employee division of industrial canvassing for the United Fund is handled mostly by union members. Some people thought Barton requested exemption from employee solicitation to keep its men away from union leaders. At any rate

conscious efforts by the community to assist Barton were continued.

As Barton Aluminum increases its work force, it will become more and more important to the community; its power will increase. While it is doubtful that it could ever get a citizens committee to support its efforts to keep unions out of the plant, there is no doubt that the amount of pressure it can bring to bear will increase. The company also had apparently discovered that one way to be left alone when it wants to be is to establish relationships with units of similar function through the Chamber of Commerce. The next time the Chamber of Commerce held elections to its board of directors, Mr. Jacks was among those elected. In fact, the only victim of the citizens committee affair was the Chamber of Commerce manager. His actions were criticized as contrary to the neutral position that the board had agreed upon. The city administrator took the opportunity to declare he thought the manager had not acted in good faith with his board. Since there was already some discontent with the manager, this was enough added pressure to force his resignation at the first of the year. Reports are that his replacement is both more conservative and a "sharper" diplomat.

The case of the citizens committee shows that some of the powerful groups in the community realized that they were

dependent upon union cooperation, something which some bankers, businessmen, and the new company did not fully comprehend. They also knew that the labor leaders were not outsiders, but members of the community who had given responsible and valuable help in a number of enterprises including the recruitment of this very company. Ironically, the company that tried to rouse community feeling against outsiders was less integrated into the community and more aloof from it than the organizations they attacked. The influence of the international unions and the Barton home office were apparent, but the question of the citizens committee was really worked out among community members, including the unions, the city, the city, the Chamber of Commerce, the industrial plants, the banks, and the local businesses. In this case the industrial unions, especially the UAW, were united and the Chamber of Commerce was divided. Essentially Barton's attack threatened all unions but only certain businesses, mostly the organized industries. Other businesses in the Chamber felt, like Barton, threatened by the unions.[2]

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[2]It would be possible to view this incident as a case of community conflict. See James S. Coleman, Community Conflict (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1957). The issue meets his three conditions for a dispute: (1) the event touched an important aspect of community members' lives, (2) different members were differently affected, and (3) the community members felt that action was possible through the Labor-

A summary statement.--In each incident described in this chapter there has been an attempt to show the underlying power relations among the groups in the community concerned with industrial development. The relationship and interactions among various individuals who represented segments of the organized community were described. The concern lay with groups represented by individuals rather than with the persons themselves. The fact a certain individual is not personally involved in a given action, however, does not mean that the organization's position is not being represented nor that the group's power has not entered into the situation. These incidents give some indication of the power that local unions have in the economic life of Sardis and how this power becomes manifest in interrelationships with other community organizations. In each case a very complex set of interrelationships with groups outside the community affected both the content and the outcome of struggles that occurred within the community.

The horizontal and vertical patterns of community integration as interrelationships among units were analyzed

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Management Committee. The incipient conflict never developed into a full-scale battle of polarized factions, because the company declined to press the issue after the city hall meeting. But such a conflict may well develop in the future, if there are persistent attempts at organization, or if the plant is organized and struck.

in this chapter and the two which precede it. Eligibility for membership varies with the unit. Recruitment into labor unions, for example, depends upon occupation. Union members are excluded from certain other organizations precisely because they are people with working-class occupations. In Chapter VII some of the consequences to the union and the community of selective membership practices that exclude working-class individuals from some kinds of organizations are examined. Other students of participation in voluntary associations have noted that class determines to some degree the extent of individual social participation. This chapter should throw some light on the reasons for that finding.

CHAPTER VII

STATUS, PRESTIGE, AND PERCEPTION OF COMMUNITY POWER

Introduction

This study began with a particular conception of community power and with a set of assumptions about how communities are organized. These have served as guidelines for locating the various powerful units in a community and for interpreting the relations among them. Since power was taken to be a property of a social system, concern has not been with the individual actors in Sardis as much as with the conditions under which they could and did act. Nevertheless, many of the incidents in preceding chapters were reported in terms of interaction among community members and extra-community individuals as a matter of convenience in presenting the materials for interpretation.

In this chapter the study focuses on certain contrasting characteristics of union leaders and other functional leaders, rather than on the community as a whole. The differences among types of leaders, particularly in prestige, are related to the basic differences in status that origin-

ally led to treating union officers apart from other community leaders. Analysis of these characteristics indicates that persons with various statuses see community power from contrasting perspectives. This helps to explain the observation that participants in different role systems perceive each other incorrectly--why, on the one hand, most union leaders perceive a well-organized business elite dominating the community, and why, on the other hand, most middle-class businessmen and government officials see labor unions organized into a more or less monolithic structure.

A basic fact is clear: union members belong to different social classes or strata in the community from functional leaders. The officers of Sardis's labor unions do not possess certain requirements for middle and upper-middle class status and patterns of life in the community and the larger society. Location within any social system sets limits on participation for individuals and categories of them; labor union officers are not among those with whom the other functional leaders commonly associate, nor are their opinions generally sought in matters other than union affairs. One important consequence of this situation is that labor leaders are almost completely excluded from discussions and decisions that begin community action, since these take place in informal social contacts among members

of the middle and upper classes. Furthermore, since more extensive and more varied opportunities for public service are open to middle-class people, their chances for leadership are greater. This does not necessarily increase their power, but it does contribute to their personal prestige and reputations for influence.

Status Differences between Positional Leaders and Union Officers

The contrast in demographic characteristics and voluntary association participation.--Labor union officers and persons designated as positional leaders are in contrast on a number of aspects of status. Demographic comparisons show the union leaders are younger, have fewer years of formal education, and command lower incomes. None of the positional leaders is a woman, although there are a few female secretaries of union locals. Two of the union officers are Negroes. No positional leader is a Negro. The union leaders are also characterized by their blue-collar occupations, identification with the working class as opposed to the middle class, and support of the Democratic Party. Table 17 shows how church membership of leaders in Sardis corresponds with this social class pattern. While 13 percent of the union leaders belong to low-status churches, none of the positional leaders belongs to these churches.

TABLE 17.--Percentage distribution of positional leaders and union officers by status of denominational preference*

Preferred Denomination	Leadership Category: Positional Leaders (N=34)	Union Officers (N=80)
High status	56	10
Middle status	38	68
Low status	0	13
No preference	6	10
Total percent	100	101

*Religious denominations are coded by status according to the findings of Liston Pope, "Religion and Class Structure," The Annals, CCLVI (March, 1948), 84-91 and Bernard Lazarwitz, "A Comparison of Major United States Religious Groups," Journal of the American Statistical Association, LVI, No. 295 (September, 1961), 568-79.

At the other end of the status hierarchy, 56 percent of the positional leaders but only 10 percent of the union leaders belong to high-status churches. Indeed, since there are separate parishes and congregations for most middle- or high-status denominations, there is almost no overlap in membership in a local church between the two sets of leaders.

Interviews also substantiate previous reports that workers participate in fewer voluntary associations than members of the middle and upper classes.[1] Each person was

[1]For relevant literature, see Warren, op. cit., p. 190, n. 23.

asked to name the organizations he belonged to at the time. Table 18 tabulates the number of memberships reported. The

TABLE 18.--Percentage distribution of positional leaders and union officers by number of organizational memberships

Number of Memberships (includes union and church)	Leadership Category Positional Leaders (N=34)	Union Officers (N=80)
One or two	3	28
Three or four	6	39
Five or six	32	33
Seven or more	59	1
Total percent	100	101

expected results are illustrated by the extreme category of seven or more memberships that encompasses over one half of the positional leaders but accounts for only one union officer. When it is recalled that all the union officers are members of one group, the union, by virtue of their office and that most are also church members, the voluntary activities of labor leaders are even more limited by contrast with the middle-class positional leaders.

Even when union men belong to many organizations, they are generally involved in a different set from the

upper-middle class. For example, although about half of both the union officers and the positional leaders belong to at least one fraternal lodge or veterans' organization, in specific memberships there is very little overlap between the two groups. Complete membership lists for the various fraternal organizations were not available for analysis by occupation, but some stratification is apparent of the sort found in churches. When one of the lodges runs to 700 members in a town of 20,000, it cannot be too exclusive. Nevertheless, only two union officers are Elks, whereas thirteen of the nineteen positional community leaders with fraternal lodge membership belong to the Elks. This is the highest ranking fraternal groups in Sardis and the only one in which more than three positional leaders claimed membership. The Eagles is mainly a working-class organization; fourteen union officers belong, but so do three positional leaders. One or two of each group belongs to a handful of other organizations, including Moose and Knights of Columbus. This raises the further matter that attributes such as military service and religion control membership in certain associations. But that does not seem to have made them markedly more heterogeneous than other fraternal groups. Seven labor union leaders, mostly from craft unions, and two community leaders are Masons. One fourth of the union officers,

or one half of those with any fraternal group membership, belong to the American Legion or the VFW. For the lower-middle class and for working-class men who drink whiskey, the Legion, the VFW, the Eagles, and the Moose provide bars, an important consideration in a town where beer and wine are the only beverages served in public establishments. Only three community leaders belong to the American Legion; for the upper-middle class the country club and the Elks lodge are the main drinking places.

The workday and participation in voluntary associations.--Differences in the workday open some choice of organization membership to middle-class citizens that is closed to union officers. While the union men generally quit at 3:30--one-and-a-half to two hours before business and professional men--they have only a thirty-minute luncheon period. Therefore, any group which meets during the day before four o'clock systematically excludes participation by laboring men who are unable to take time from their jobs to attend meetings. Even if they were invited to join, union leaders could not regularly participate in luncheon service clubs like Rotary, Kiwanis, and Lions. The business agents of craft unions and the international representatives have the freedom to attend noon meetings, but none of them belongs to a service club, nor have the members of these

clubs indicated any interest in recruiting them. In only one such Sardis club are there members who are also union officers. This is possible because the group meets twice a month in the evening.

Concerning luncheon clubs and other daytime meetings, one labor union member made this analysis:

> If we had full-time paid officers to meet with them, we could be in a better position. You can't ask a working man to put in four hours of work, go to a meeting at noon, and then go back to work. You can't do a good job on both. When you sit down at a meeting like that, you have to be prepared. You can't walk out of a shop hot and sticky and in work clothes and expect these people to perform well.

On the other side, the secretary of a service club pointed out the importance of enough time at the right time as a rationale for membership policy:

> We only want people who can take time from their jobs to attend. Nowadays, a laborer might have the money, but he does not have the time. So we look for businessmen and industrialists. There is a lot of work to be done in this club and we need people who can get away.

Analysis of the membership lists published by the service clubs for 1961 discloses that they are stratified to a certain extent by occupation, although most members are white-collar workers. The Rotary tends to siphon off the elite of the industrialists and downtown merchants, the president of the college, the mayor and the city administrator,

and other functional leaders.[2] The rest of the clubs draw their membership from the lower ranks of industrial management and from other merchants, businessmen, and professionals. A few lesser occupations such as barber, service station owner, and clerk also appear. This situation is not likely to change soon, for it is not a matter of formally or informally co-opting a powerful group into the existing organization, as happened with the Democratic Party and the Community Chest. The latter association, in fact, changed

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[2]Those to be selected for active membership are described in the Rotary Club constitution as follows:

> Each active member shall be an adult male of good character and good business or professional reputation--
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> (a) engaged as proprietor, partner, corporate officer, or manager of any worthy and recognized business or profession;
>
> or
>
> (b) holding an important position in an executive capacity with discretionary authority in any worthy and recognized business or profession;
>
> or
>
> (c) acting as the local agent or branch representative of any worthy and recognized business or profession, having charge of such agency or branch in an executive capacity; . . .

This listing does not specifically exclude labor leaders, but the emphasis is clearly on business and the professions.

its meeting time to the evening, when regular representatives from the unions became involved. But, at least for the time being, the Rotary and other service clubs do not think they need union members or union support.

Class position and community participation through the life cycle.--Labor leaders in Sardis are not socialized, as the functional community leaders have been, to play active roles in community organizations. The idea of providing leadership for the whole community through a life-cycle development of skills and experience in various service organizations is part of a young banker's, doctor's, or business executive's self-image. It is not, however, part of working-class thinking. Active young businessmen and professionals who want to participate in the organizational life of the community, contributing services and providing leadership, can move up through the ranks of organizations in a career pattern that parallels their occupational advancement. At the same time as he takes on increased responsibilities in his job, this sort of middle-class apprentice will move into more influential positions in community service. Such activities give access to potential clients, which is often a stated reason for becoming involved.[3] As

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[3]A young dentist told why he had not joined the Rotary Club: "My father is a member, and he wants me to join. I can't see any reason for it. We already have an established practice."

a cohort of young men moves through the various positions, friendships are established and lines of communication opened. Reputation with peers as well as superiors is made in the process. Persons holding such positions as middle-level industrial executive, sales clerk in a family business, and second vice-president of a bank spoke of one another as "comers" in the community. For example, the career of a junior bank officer was explored. He has gradually been allowed to assume more responsibilities in the bank. At the same time the bank president has encouraged him to become active in certain community organizations. He discussed the advice the president offered on what public positions he should seek and which he ought not to attempt without more experience.

The position of union officers contrasts sharply with that of middle-class citizens. A blue-collar factory worker does not have a high-status occupation in our society, nor is potential job mobility within a modern plant enough to give most workers an expectation of great occupational advancement. Though the union member may gain a more prestigious position by election to a local office, in Sardis there is considerable turnover in union leadership with no stigma attached to returning from the presidency of a local to the rank and file in the shop. To retain a job-related

position of any power or prestige, the potentially active union leader must periodically campaign successfully for election to local union office. Since the union leader is not pursuing a career pattern on the job like the middle-class activist's, there is not the same pressure on him to work in voluntary associations, thus developing the reputation and skills which would give him access to continually more important positions in the community's life. In addition to limitations on his mobility which prevent attendance at any gatherings during the workday, these facts of his vocational career make it difficult for the union leader to build up and maintain long-term informal relations with functional community leaders.

The facilitation of informal community discussion.--Before and after service club meetings in Sardis groups of men stand around, discussing local problems. No one need finally commit himself on any issue, but frank exchange of ideas is possible. As one industrialist said at a Rotary meeting: "You can take your problem to the city commission meeting for a hearing, but by discussing it here you are able to get some idea of the best way to approach them. They can tell you things in private that they couldn't tell you in the meeting." Support and opposition on any given proposal can be gauged without risk of public embarrassment,

if a project fails to get off the ground. This is not to argue that the service clubs have any community power, but rather to emphasize that these middle-class organizations facilitate intercourse among city officials, businessmen, industrialists, and some of the important professionals in the community.

An example of an informal test of a proposal was provided when one individual sought support for urban renewal at a club meeting. Speaking with several people in different community positions, he was able to get a feeling about who was for and who was against entering the program. After the meeting, when asked whether or not he had approached the unions, he stated that he wanted first to make sure he had the support of certain individuals. The unions then could be used to rally popular support. This is a general theme which recurs. Unions are considered unnecessary in the discussion phase of a project; their usefulness is due to their influence with a wide segment of the community when a vote, a money-raising drive, or other community-wide show of support is required.

Other opportunities for informal interaction with community leaders are denied to union members. During most of the day, they are not seen on the streets of downtown Sardis nor heard talking over the telephone about

community questions. Union officers do not chat with the city administrator over lunch or drop into his office in mid-morning. They do not take coffee breaks with the newspaper editor and reporters. So meetings between union leaders and city officials, for example, constitute "news" and are often reported in the local newspaper. Under these conditions both sides must be guarded in their statements.

Furthermore, the interaction processes in which union officers and other leaders have been socialized are quite different. What is proper and expected in one group may be improper in the other. So when they meet, very formally under specific conditions, ideological and other normative differences create barriers. In observing meetings between representatives of these two groups, one is struck by the extent to which they talk past one another. One reason is that middle-class ideology says unions and their members consistently represent a particular position, the union position, on every matter. Functional leaders or members of other organizations often express ideas without their being attributed to a specific ideological position, e.g., the big business interests. But when any union man is involved with other organizations, it is taken for granted

that he represents the union. He is not viewed as a citizen who also happens to belong to a labor union.[4]

Though effort may have gone into establishing liaison between labor and the rest of the Sardis community, there are problems in their relationships. The differences in life patterns described above help to maintain physical and social distance, discouraging dialogue between the two groups. There is no opportunity for the development of the informal and friendly relations that mark each group separately. Coordinated community action is a problem when the cement for association among powerful groups is not present in the social structure. Although members of the different leadership categories have come together cooperatively on some occasions, most of these are episodic. When a crisis occurs, differences are minimized because of a common threat; when a crisis has passed, the ties are no longer binding. Secondary

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[4]This contrasts with the situation in Steeltown where Walker found that union leaders participated in other community activities and were not seen solely as labor representatives. He writes:

> Union officers and union men participated widely in community activities. They did so, however, largely as individuals. As an organized pressure group the union did not attempt to dominate the town government or other important functional and/or civic organizations . . . . The union provided for its members few outside activities, either welfare or social. Its meetings were not well attended, and it left extra-curricular activities to other organizations in town.

Op. cit., p. 196.

ties of mutual interests are not present. When there is no great pressure to bring diverse elements together, community action is segmental.

The exclusion of union officers from high prestige positions.--An important consequence of differences in life patterns based on social class is that Sardis's labor leaders are excluded from most organizations and activities having or conferring high prestige. The activities of community public life which bring prestige seem to be reserved to the middle class. Neither work-related nor extra-curricular effort of union officers usually enhances any given man's reputation, although, as evident in the Barton Aluminum case and other situations, unions and some of their leaders render the Sardis community considerable service. The Exchange Club keeps a "Book of Golden Deeds" which contains the names of citizens who have done some outstanding service for the community. One does not find union members in the book. Thus the citizenry of Sardis, when it decides who are responsible, contributing, or powerful members of the community's public life, is unlikely to include unions or their officers.

The effects of social distance between the two sets of leaders cast doubt on the validity of the reputational technique as it has been employed in studies of community

power. Middle-class functional leaders have a different idea of how power is distributed than the union officers, and both differ from the heads of voluntary associations who were interviewed before the present study began. The picture presented by each group contained both errors and omissions by comparison with the investigator's understanding of power, based on the assumptions and investigations reported in the preceding chapters. Furthermore, all respondents had some tendency to answer partly in terms of norms or ideology, that is, the power structure that each group perceives corresponds to some extent to an image of how power should be distributed. The second part of this chapter now is devoted to development of consequences for sociological method of status differences among leaders of powerful community groups.

Perceptions of Community Power

Assumptions of the reputational approach.--The reputational approach assumes that it is the individual actor who has power which he may use to gain some end. Research begins by seeking those accredited with power by their fellow citizens and then investigates the role of these people in certain community events. Alternatively, certain decisions where there is controversy are selected and studied from the point of view of identifying the roles played by the powerful

individuals in making decisions or initiating action. The latter approach assumes that critical controversies have been selected and that the pattern of participation in making these decisions indicates the pattern of community power in general.

By contrast, it can be argued that certain organizations and organizational positions have power in the community as a whole regardless of the extent to which they overtly exercise that power in many decision-making situations. Studies of community power that ask informants to name the leaders are liable to find out who has prestige or good reputation, not necessarily who has power. In fact, these questions may not even discover whom the respondents think powerful. Witness the bank officer who answered all the questions that are supposed to tap community power without mentioning unions and then remarked thoughtfully, as the interviewer was getting up to leave him, "You know unions have a lot of influence here. In fact, they have driven some companies right out of town."

If a community is dominated by units outside its geographical boundaries, the local residents may not even know who is making decisions that affect their lives. The possibility also arises that reputations were made in the past under a set of conditions that since have changed, and

incumbents of formerly powerful roles have not yet been deprived of their reputations. The bankers in Sardis to some extent exemplify this phenomenon for reasons which already have been elaborated. Until a crisis occurs during which there is a challenge to the old leadership, the recognition of power may lag behind the acquisition of power in the community.

The differences in responses to interview questions about community power.--Using questions in the areas of government, education, and welfare, Gresham Sykes found differences among members of a community in level of knowledge about the community.[5] While the questions are different and the samples of respondents in this study are quite selective, the interviews conducted in Sardis substantiate this finding. For example, in response to questions designed by Schulze and others to identify public leaders, union officials answered "don't know" much more frequently than the positional community leaders. The range among the seven questions for the union leaders was between 14 and 55 percent, whereas only one question brought a "don't know" response from as many as 15 percent of the positional leaders. The positional leaders' involvement with the public life of the community has brought them into direct formal and informal contact with the persons who have served in the activities the questions probe. They have seen who has filled roles in the past and have

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[5]Gresham M. Sykes, "The Differential Distribution of Community Knowledge," Social Forces, XXIX, No. 4 (May, 1951), 376-82.

formed opinions about whom they would like to see in leading positions. Excluded from some prestigious social organizations and dependent upon formal reports, public statements, and newspaper coverage, union officers have a much more restricted range of experience.

Even when they can answer questions about leadership in the public life of the community, union officers tend to see it either ideologically or in terms of organizations and categories of people, but not in terms of individuals. For this reason, the responses of the labor union officers cannot be used to produce a rank order of community leaders, in the manner of Schulze, by a cumulative count over all questions of individuals most frequently mentioned. That technique, applied to the responses of the positional leaders, produces the same results with a few modifications as reported for the voluntary association heads. Perhaps the most interesting position is the manager of the Chamber of Commerce. The sample of voluntary association officials ranked him second; the labor union officers mentioned him often as well. Yet he failed to place within the first twenty individuals among the nominations of the positional leaders. Though he has some influence, as has been pointed out, the manager is not in command of any resources and often finds the potential power of the Chamber unorganized

and ineffectual. From the point of view of the whole community, the positional leaders are perhaps correct in their view that the Chamber of Commerce manager is not "powerful."

This comparison supports the contention that questions about power tend to be answered in terms of the respondent's status. A person's role determines what he will know about various community activities, and it determines his point of view about what he knows. A voluntary association leader who is asked "how things get done around here" is likely to think of the things that concern him, his agency, and the people around him. Perhaps his association is Planned Parenthood, and it has applied for acceptance as an agency receiving support from the United Fund. If it should be excluded because of pressure brought by two or three churches, these churches appear very powerful to that association. So is the United Fund group itself. A newspaperman conscious of his dependence on advertising may see some downtown merchants and chain stores as having a great deal of power. But these are particular interrelations within the community which may or may not reveal the organization of power in the community as a whole. Even in the case of a moderately powerful unit, persons with different positions in the community may have relations with various representatives of that unit. When asked to identify powerful individuals, the

respondent will tend to name the person who seems to control the activities of that unit vis-a-vis his own organization. This does not mean that the person named actually has power.

It is not maintained here that high-status individuals have complete perception of community power. After the citizens committee incident some supposedly knowledgeable people were heard to state that "the mayor handled it just about right." This was enough to give any observer pause who had seen the mayor vacillate and finally yield to the influence of the city administrator, while the bulk of the functional leaders were boycotting the meeting and the unions took charge. There have been situations in Sardis where the functional leaders miscalculated union power or misunderstood union problems and goals. Some of their responses to the present set of questions reveal the same difficulty. For instance, unions have come to play a very active part in charitable fund-raising in the community. Yet, when the questions was asked about leadership in charity drives, only three positional leaders mentioned labor, whereas of the sixty-nine union officers who answered this question, fifty-six cited labor's contribution. These positional leaders are quick to attribute power to unions when an economic crisis occurs. But they do not select these same unions as organizations which play an important role in the public life of the community.

Attention has been called to union officials' mistrust of the Chamber of Commerce in general and some of its members and appointees in particular. That union members do not trust many functional community leaders would seem to be a relevant factor in answering the following interview question: "Suppose a major project were before the community that required decisions by a group of leaders that nearly everyone would accept. Which people would you choose, regardless of whether you know them personally or not?" Twenty-six of the fifty-four union officers responding to this question included at least one representative of labor, whereas only one positional community leader was alert enough to union sentiment to suggest inclusion of a labor representative.

Another factor that casts doubt on the validity of the reputational questions is that some people will respond with off-hand answers, because they feel they ought to have an opinion on everything. They would be embarrassed to say "I don't know." On the other hand, some of the enthusiasm with which union leaders mentioned labor in response to the reputational power questions must be attributed more to their hopes and ambitions than their accomplishments. Positional leaders may have a clear idea of who has been active in the past, but they, too, reply somewhat in terms of how

they would like to see the community function in the future.

A concluding statement.--The analysis of community power explicated in this study plays down reputation, involvement in decision making, and the exercise of will for accomplishment of some end. Rather, this study examines the organization of the community, showing how this structure establishes the conditions for power relations to be worked out. In this chapter, the point of view was taken a further step to try to establish that persons having different positions within the community will perceive community power differently. This opens to question the assumption of reputational community studies that some respondents have a full and correct perception of community organization.

CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

The title of this dissertation calls attention to a basic problem of community power studies. Almost every study of community power arrives at a collection of socially prominent individuals as the powerful leaders in the community. The actors, the doers, those who hold the center of the stage, can be depended upon to wear white collars and to be employed in relatively high-paying occupations. Whether these persons are corporate executives, bankers, political officials or merchants, they all have more social or prestige standing in the community than people with blue-collar occupations. Some of the powerful are in the "best" clubs and their wives grace the social pages of the local newspapers; others are lesser lights found in the middle-level luncheon clubs and fraternal organizations. But, for the most part, power and prestige are closely linked. Nonetheless some men and women in Sardis are organized into powerful groups which lack high social prestige. These people wear work clothes most of the day, and,

when the men appear in public, more often than not, they wear sport shirts and slacks.

On certain public ceremonial occasions like an annual United Fund dinner, the socially prominent mingle with these workers and sit at the same table and speak out with ritual incantations on harmony between labor and management and "labor's contribution to the common effort." Aside from these rare occasions, the two never meet socially. Yet union members, as a collectivity, have left an indelible stamp on the community. Their power runs deep, though none of these men can make claims, like the bankers, the doctors, or the industrialists, to the higher prestige systems of the community.

The whole pattern was impressed upon the investigator in a single evening. First, he attended a local union meeting. It was held early in the evening, after the members had had their dinners and assembled in the union hall. In the dirty, dusty room the outlines of the next contract demands were being hammered out. Seated on hard, folding chairs, in the harsh light from bare bulbs, men and women guided by the international representative were shaping part of the community's future. Leaving the meeting before it ended, the investigator drove to the country club for the monthly dinner meeting of the board of directors of the

Chamber of Commerce. Some members were assembled in the bar before beginning dinner. As they sat about in comfortable chairs, sipping strong drinks, waiting for others to arrive, they, too, talked about the community's future. During dinner and into the meeting itself, the forthcoming contract negotiations were a subject of conversation, touched with concern and speculation. After the board meeting, the investigator returned to the union hall. The meeting had adjourned. Assembled in the basement were the local officers and some of the regulars, drinking beer from bottles or whiskey by the shot. They had agreed not to push too aggressively on the new contract. Perhaps, at this point more than at any other in the field work, the investigator was able to perceive clearly how power divides along prestige lines, and that there are powerful groups with both high and low prestige.

Summary of Methods

The initial goal of this study was a partial replication of the reputational analysis by Hunter, Schulze, and others. Questions they developed for locating public leaders were asked of three different sets of respondents--heads of voluntary associations, union officers. and leaders with critical functional positions. The results for these

groups were sufficiently different, not only to support the various criticisms of the reputational technique, but to substantiate an hypothesis derived from Sykes on the differential distribution of community knowledge. At this point it was clear that, whatever else they do, the reputational questions do not delineate the power structure either in the public life of the community or in the community in general.[1]

The research in Sardis depended heavily upon techniques often employed in community and formal organization analysis. If this study is in any way methodologically unique, it is in the combined use of these approaches. A conceptualization of why unions are important to some communities led to analysis of the basic functions in Sardis. This functional analysis included an examination of changes in the work force in Sardis over the past few decades. Chapter IV is an exploration of union organization, how type of union affects structure and how it relates to

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[1]See Nelson Polsby's Community Power and Political Theory (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963). He criticizes the reputational studies he reviews and certain others for using what he calls a "stratification theory" of community power. While this is, perhaps, the most extensive criticism of the reputational approach, the replacement he proposes--"the pluralistic alternative"--is also limited to the political power system, or what is called below the public life of the community.

interactions among unions and between locals and their respective internationals. Both relationships contribute to understanding how unions fit into the community.

Certain fortuitous events occurred during the field study that brought together union, government, business, and civic leaders. It was here that the investigator found major evidence of union power. A careful analysis of these events provides understanding of just how labor unions fit into the general community structure and how certain conditions make union power very obvious. Crises sharpen relationships and lay bare some of the problems in analyzing power in a community. They do so because they present its study in changing situations.

Since major interest lay in labor union participation in the community, three areas of community life were selected where unions are known to be active; these are the economic, political and social welfare areas. Union-management relations make up the bulk of union participation in the economic life of the community. But in the course of the study, industrial development was also taken to be part of union economic activity. Structured and informal interviews with members of the community generated information that was coupled with some obtained from direct observations and private and public documents.

Much more concrete data were available in the political and social welfare areas. Both realms had many specific incidents that could be reconstructed. For example, elections serve as benchmarks for union action in politics. Minutes of local unions and union federations provide source material on when unions began to be active and what kinds of activities they engaged in. At the same time participants in these activities were available for interviewing. On certain community issues, like the charter revision, non-union citizens who had been active helped to establish how union participation took place. Likewise, in the Democratic Party local leaders were queried on how unions became involved in politics and what the consequences of this participation have been. In the social welfare agencies the beginning and extent of union involvement could be documented similarly. Leaders in these various organizations were interviewed and their records searched to develop the history of union activity. What is more, living in the community and visiting frequently over several years provided the opportunity to observe how and where unions participated.

Summary of Findings and Conclusions

The community setting.--Throughout this dissertation

two dimensions of a local community have been examined: (1) those internal arrangements among different units that give the community its structure, the relative power these different units have, and how the power relationships have been shifting with the rise of industrial unions; (2) the arrangements between internal community units and units located outside. The major purpose has been to show that local labor unions have power and that their power is more readily discernible by use of a functional approach that examines the organizational system of a community. While a case can be made that little power remains in Sardis itself, what power there is is shared among various community units, and unions must be counted in.

To summarize the situation in Sardis during the study, vital community functions were in the manufacturing plants located within or near the political boundaries of the city. These plants were engaged primarily in manufacturing goods for national markets with a substantial part directly tied to the automotive industry. These manufacturing plants were divided among local and absentee-owned firms. In fact, the efforts of government and citizen groups engaged in economic expansion were directed toward recruiting companies from outside Sardis. Little effort was being made to support or encourage industrial

growth from within.

Sardis's growing reliance upon factory production as its major source of wealth over the past forty years was an essential element in the rise of labor union power in the community. National labor unions had organized the majority of the blue-collar work force in these plants. Through contract negotiations at the local level, these unions were exerting much influence over the economic life of the community. Over some years this had come to be recognized by a widening circle of persons within the community. The dramatic reduction in industrial employment in the 1950's made union influence even more apparent. As recruitment of new industry became important to the community, the influence unions could have on these efforts stimulated further recognition of union power. While evidence of union power has been derived from its recognition in the community on the part of business and government leaders, it does not mean such recognition is necessary to the conclusion that unions have power. As matter of fact, the existence of union power no doubt predates its recognition.

Over the years a general softening of attitudes toward unions has taken place in Sardis. On the whole, however, middle-class businessmen, retail merchants, bankers,

and others were basically still hostile. Consensus could be reached among them, it would seem, that conditions would improve if unions were not present in the community. Yet these persons have come to see that unions are not going to disappear in the immediate future. Most have sought some accomodation with the unions. The Chamber of Commerce Labor-Management Committee was such an accomodation. The city government in several instances enlisted union help in keeping industry in the community and in getting new plants. Moreover, when a group of citizens met to institute a definite anti-labor committee, several city officials, along with other community members, took positions supportive of the local unions.

The rise of union prominence in the economic life of the community was followed by their increasing activity in the political and social welfare areas. Other organizations in the community had come to regard unions as assets or potential allies in their causes. Through their various civic activities unions were weaving, and being woven, more tightly into the fabric of the community. Union representatives were not found on all public boards nor in all private agencies; however, more and more of these bodies were accepting union participation and in some cases seeking it. Union leaders were seen as representatives of

special interests and not yet simply part of that body known as "good citizens of the community."

The evidence for the first proposition.--From the point of view of the assumptions about community power being advanced here, the most significant evidence of union power comes from an analysis of labor's role in the negotiating of contracts with most of the larger employers in the community. In this capacity the industrial unions help to establish wage levels and working conditions. Companies in Sardis must come close to the going wage rate. Organized companies take labor's current demands as a given in their economic life, and they constantly prepare themselves for changes in these demands. Several cases were reported in which labor's willingness or unwillingness to change wages and production standards resulted either in keeping a local plant operating or forcing it to close or move.

Interest in contract negotiations spreads beyond those immediately involved to many others in the community. Local newspaper editorials entreat unions to consider the implications their actions will have for the entire community. Those who are involved in the city government and the Chamber of Commerce seek ways to gain the confidence of labor union leaders in hopes they can influence union-management negotiations. The Hope Wire case, for example, showed the

urgent concern those groups had in on-going negotiations. It was interesting to observe how little influence the local government or the Chamber of Commerce was able to bring to bear on the labor leaders in this situation. Nor have the two labor federations any control over how the affiliated locals carry on their bargaining. Each union does its own negotiating and must be seen as a separate unit trying to extract from management the best possible bargain. Labor unions have power in Sardis's economy, but their power is diffused among many relatively independent locals.

The power of unions in direct negotiations with various companies makes it obvious why unions must be numbered among the power centers of the community. An even more interesting observation, leading to a similar conclusion, is the impact Sardis's unions have had upon industrial development. Those persons in the public and semipublic agencies specifically charged with recruiting new industry reported the concern possible incoming companies had with the existing labor conditions, labor conditions implicitly defined as the pliability of local unions in their relations with the companies. In more than one case a company unwilling to accept the possibility of organization by militant unions passed by Sardis in its search for a location. When a major new industry did decide to move into the community, serious discussion among

business and government leaders were held on the feasibility of getting unions to refrain from organizing activities until the company was firmly established in the community.

The departure of some plants from the community can be directly linked to differences in prevailing wage levels in several areas in the United States. Sardis, as part of the northern industrial complex having strong unions, had wage levels substantially higher than some other places. Some industries were able to take advantage of these differences and relocate their operations, leading certain members of the community to conclude that unions had driven companies out of Sardis. On the other hand, local labor connections through international union representatives at the centers of state and Federal government provided leverage in securing favorable Federal action to help community industrial development.

Union power in Sardis and in other communities does not end, however, with participation in the economic life. Unions have organized a segment of the working class into units that can participate as well in the political and social welfare areas of the community. With the help of their internationals local unions have come to realize some of the potential they have in bringing their needs to the attention of the larger community.

Significantly, other citizens have come to realize that unions can be co-opted to help them gain their own ends. This was documented by the charter revision, when a citizens' group solicited and received labor's support for reform. The history of labor's participation in the United Fund is indicative of how unions have been able to demand a more active role in community welfare organizations. The unions and the community agencies realize what the withdrawal of union support could mean to the agencies and, on the other hand, what their participation contributes.

Chapter V shows that certain unions have encouraged their members to become active in local politics. The Committees on Political Education support candidates, sponsor voter registration drives, and generally take an importnat role in local Democratic politics, overtly and covertly. That their activities have not always been welcome does not nullify their influence and effectiveness.

The participation of unions in more and more areas of the community has changed the influence of other groups. Power has diffused through the community, in part as unions have been able to mobilize the working class into new centers of power and potential sources of financial, political and social support. Unions provide power centers that can act on their own or be used by others. Out of this develops the possibility for new coalitions and alliances.

There have been other developments within the community contributing to the diffusion of power. Although these developments were not central to the study, their presence should be acknowledged. Among the most important has been the increasing number of positions in the community held by professionals.[2] Except for the superintendent of schools and the director of the YMCA, all the positions held by professionals at the time of the study were not so filled less than twenty years before. As was pointed out, a hospital administrator was appointed during the recent hospital building program and a city administrator was hired after the charter revision. The city administrator present during the field work was the second to hold this position under the new charter. Each of these professionals was hired from outside the local community and had been employed in similar positions in other communities prior to coming to Sardis.

What makes the increasing number of positions held by professionals important to a study of community power is the effect this has had on decision making within their areas of competence. In administering his office each professional interviewed was conscious of the fact that he was both a

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[2]For a discussion of the current use of the term "professional" and some of the problems involved therein see: Harold L. Wilensky, "The Professionalization of Everyone?," AJS, LXX, No. 2 (September, 1964), 137-58.

member of the community and a member of a profession. Subsequent employment depended as much on his standing in the profession as on his reputation in the community. A very important consideration for each of these men was the realization that job mobility was not rooted to the community in which he was currently employed. For example, the hospital administrator was well aware that Sardis had sufficient hospital facilities to meet its current needs, and, unless some unforeseen change should occur, most of its future needs. For him to advance, i. e., to gain more responsibility and to command an appreciably higher salary, he would have to move to another community.

Under these conditions the professionals in Sardis went about their jobs following methods and procedures approved by their professions rather than becoming enmeshed in local intrigues and politics. Part of their strength in handling their jobs was the availability of professional standards to appeal to. These men, of course, were not free of local pressures nor indifferent to the various groups to whom they were accountable. But in comparison with their predecessors, who left another job in the community to assume one of these positions and knew if they were replaced they would once more want employment in the community, the professionals had a lot less pressure

with which to contend. Thus the growing number of professionals is contributing to the breakdown of the old power centers. Many decisions that once were open to higgling now are programmed; they are made on the basis of standard rules and procedures.

The evidence for the second proposition.--The discussion of the role of professionals in Sardis is germane in considering the second proposition. The necessity to recruit key personnel from outside the local community is only one indication of how much Sardis has come under the influence of the larger society because of its need for certain services. Organizations in Sardis no longer direct their own destinies as they once did, confronting the external world as a series of markets. Rather, critical decisions are made for them outside the community. This contributes to the leakage of power from the dependent community.

Loss of autonomy in the local community also can be traced to the increased number of absentee-owned firms. The major employers in Sardis are parts of larger corporations, so determination of some policies of these local units is in the hands of persons outside the community. The unions, too, are linked to national bureaucracies. Investigation of the relationship between local and international

unions centered on two functions of labor unions, grievance procedures and contract bargaining. The building trades unions appear to be more autonomous in relationships with their internationals than the industrial unions. The building trades have more control over local negotiations and are less likely to use the international representative in settling grievances. One implication of these findings is that in those communities where the building trades have organized the more important functions, that is, those most vital to the community, their greater autonomy means that more power still resides in the community.

But the situation in Sardis gives a rather minor economic role to the building trades. Therefore, the most important set of local-international relationships are those involving the industrial unions and, more specifically, the UAW locals. The industrial unions use the services of their internationals frequently and in critical areas. For example,the international is usually called upon automatically when important grievances arise. The union leaders' interviews reveal the international representative as an arbiter between the union and the company and someone who has more status in the eyes of management than local officers.

The international unions hold great power in the negotiation of contracts. Many local unions wait until

major industry contracts are settled before opening their own negotiations. The establishment of pattern bargaining has taken away much of the autonomy of local unions, though the situation varies from community to community. The local unions in Sardis do not have professional staffs. They rely upon the research and leagl services of the international union with which they are affiliated. Where professional staffs exist and where local union officers are full-time paid officials, the loss of union and community autonomy would be less than in Sardis where these conditions are absent.

Some findings relevant to the study of unions in communities.--Primarily this was a community power study, yet it also is a case study of labor unions in a community, and as such it continues the study of labor's community role. Some of the results agree with those from other studies. The findings of McKee, for example, on how the UAW-CIO mobilized the working class in Lorain, Ohio, into an effective political pressure group, enabling unions to participate in a wide range of political and social welfare activities, agree with similar ones from this study. So does his finding that local unions depend upon the international for leadership.[3]

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[3]McKee, AJS, LXIII, No. 4, 364-70.

Another interesting finding that agrees with those from this study is stated by McKee:

> Paradoxically, the CIO was anxious to be included in the leadership of civic welfare associations and would not mobilize working-class support until they were; yet, once included they have not sought to alter the civic welfare program in any significant degree.[4]

Local leaders are apparently more concerned with public recognition than reform. Recall the worry of the hospital administrator in Sardis about the possible problem of union representation on the board of directors. Such problems may be more imaginary than real in the short run. Local union leaders have no clear ideologically-based programs to take before civic welfare bodies. The issue is much more a matter of "No contribution without representation." To claim and receive status in the civic welfare organizations appears to be sufficient for these local leaders. The same case cannot be made on the national level. Thus in the long run the locals may respond to the pressure of the international unions and implement their policies at the local level as well.

Form and Sauer[5] in several studies of Lansing,

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[4] Ibid., p. 369.

[5] Form, loc. cit.; Form and Sauer, loc. cit.; and William H. Form and Warren L. Sauer, "Labor and Community Influentials: A Comparative Study of Participation and Imagery," ILRR, XVII, No. 1 (October, 1963) 3-19.

Michigan, and McKee, and Phelps,[6] report status differentials between union leaders and other community leaders. This theme was elaborated in Chapter VII, suggesting that class differences in patterns of participation in voluntary associations tend to keep labor leaders out of the publicity-producing roles that receive community praise. Furthermore, the union leaders themselves showed awareness that "dirty-fingered workers" could not participate in some activities that middle-class citizens could. Where there are full-time professional union officials, the situation is different.[7]

Other findings of this study tend to confirm previous investigations of local union organization. Strauss's description of the business agent in the building trades is also accurate for Sardis.[8] As labor contractor and union liaison chief, he maintains a powerful position in the local union. Contractors and union members as well are dependent upon him. In another article Strauss points out several reasons for greater loyalty to building trade unions than is common in industrial unions.[9] The obervations for

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[6]Loc. cit.

[7]See Hunter, op. cit., especially chap. iii, "What Some Leaders Are Like."

[8]Strauss, ILRR, X, No. 2, 237-51.

[9]Strauss, AJS, LXI, No. 6, 527-35.

Sardis agree. The dominance of the role of the international representative in Sardis's industrial union affairs supports Barbash's Labor's Grass Roots and others.[10]

Wilensky's discussion of union members' participation in politics could not be replicated, since his sample includes both activities and inactives, while only active members are included in this study.[11] The performance of the UAW officers supports his propositions, however. Findings on differential political participation between the CIO and AFL unions are in line with the commonly accepted view that the CIO tends to be more deeply rooted in partisan politics than the AFL, despite Raskin's oberservation of trends on the national level toward a more politically active AFL.[12]

The absence of important consequences of the AFL-CIO merger for either organized labor or its relations with the rest of the community is discussed in Chapter IV. Essentially the new labor council had no control over local unions; they still maintained their autonomy and relied upon their respective internationals for support and direction. On important issues, such as contract negotiations, the labor

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[10] Op. cit.

[11] Wilensky, Social Forces, XXXV, No. 2, 111-20.

[12] Raskin, loc. cit.

council had no influence whatsoever. The merger in Sardis thus had limited effect. There was no problem of inter-union relations that the council was equipped to handle. The differences among unions in work-related problems were so great that the council could not offer relevant advice. And in the case of the building trades their continued alliance with the teamsters did not even accord with general AFL-CIO policy.

It would be possible to hypothesize a situation in Sardis in which all labor unions were confronted with a sufficient threat to their existence that coordination and cooperation became imperative for their survival. Under such circumstances unions would tend to overcome their distinguishing characteristics and become unified. Such a situation, however, is much more likely to occur on the level of state and national government than in a small community. The division of laboring men in Sardis is one of the reasons why labor has been unable to gain as much representation in the community as their numbers might indicate possible.

The limitations of union effectiveness in a community deriving from differences among unions, a major point made in this study, confirms a similar finding in the Illini City study:

> The political effectiveness of the unions in dealing with local and national issues was

> limited to some extent by rivalry among various organizations. The 18 locals of the UAW were fairly well united through their common membership in a city-wide joint executive board and in a district council of the region. However, they avoided any permanent commitments to cooperation with other labor groups. Most of the UAW locals were not affiliated with the Trades and Labor Assembly. The Trades and Labor Assembly also suffered from frequent dissension among some of its leaders over policies and status. This lack of unity detracted from the power which unions might have wielded on the basis of sheer numerical strength.[13]

Although Sardis's unions were unable to bring coordinated action to bear in a labor market, they were organized into local federations on the basis of function, the major criterion being the closer the ties at work, the closer the ties of mutual support. The labor council, dominated by the UAW, was very active in politics through its COPE and related committees in the several locals. But such political activity did not interest the building trades locals, and they refused to participate in the council because of the partisan politics. On the social welfare front the council had a more important role. Most local unions were willing to let the council act in the name of organized labor in these affairs.

Issues and Problems

The works of others have been referred to continually in the analysis of materials in preceding chapters. Certain

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[13]Wray, loc. cit., I, 103.

stated and unstated issues and problems in studying community power thereby may have become apparent. There follow now some observations on what these issues and problems are. They are included more in the spirit of clarification than resolution.

In reviewing the growing literature on community power studies, some inconsistencies between what is studied and what is purported be be studied were noted. In most cases power and power relations are cast in terms of the public life of the community. By "public life" is meant those decisions, actions, social welfare organizations, civic groups, and government agencies more or less accessible to the general population of the community. Issues in this area of community life appear to be open to debate, subject to manipulation, and responsive to public and private pressures. Those persons who act to make public decisions, or who are consulted before these decisions are made, or those without whose tacit agreement to cooperate the decisions could not be made, are called powerful. Whether or not the methods for arriving at the list of actors are valid, or the decisions selected important, and whether or not some of the numerous other criticisms of these studies are valid, there is another more fundamental question left unasked and, therefore, unanswered: Is the structure being

defined and studied a community power structure or something else? Because the decisions, issues, and individual participation occur only in the public life of the community, it seems that, at best, what is being described is the political power structure and not the power structure of the community as a functional unit.

Many actions, decisions, and alterations within a community are not part of this public life. In order to understand community power structure, certain private areas of a community seem to be quite important. On a national scale in The Power Elite, Mills took account of the consequences of private economic activity. But on the community level power tends to be limited to events occurring in the public life. Those who study community power or, preferably, community political power, usually conclude with Hunter that the business elite wields tremendous power in the public life of a community.[14] They seem to forget that the base of this power lies in the economic sphere.

Businessmen may, for example, contemplate expansion or contraction of their enterprises without subjecting their

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[14]Contrary evidence has been offered by Dahl and his students. For example, see Robert A. Dahl, "A Critique of the Ruling Elite Model," American Political Science Review, LII, No. 2 (June, 1958), 463-69; Robert A. Dahl, Who Governs? (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961); and Polsby, op. cit.

action to any public review. Their decisions may have greater impact upon the community than a public decision to build a new school or increase parking facilities. Obviously, some decisions are more critical than others because of how they fit into the general community structure. They vary, as well, in their particular impact on different community units. Retail business is far more sensitive to layoffs in plants than are different plants in the same community to one another, if there is not a direct supplier relationship. A lower-class church is more responsive to marginal labor conditions than is a middle-class church. In general, those who make important private decisions cannot measure or foresee how these decisions ramify through the community. The connecting links among units are not easily identified and seldom come into immediate public consideration when certain units act.

This study sought to broaden the information available on how labor unions impinge upon a community. Different combinations of community functions, union size, and union solidarity would have made the details different, but the general facts remain. Where unions have organized strategic functions, they have become part of the power structure and are as such a critical variable to be studied, when the object is to understand the community power structure. In

studying labor unions, it becomes clear that union-company relationships in general do not become part of the public life of the community. Politicians, college administrators, bankers, and other "influentials" rarely enter into direct relationships between the unions and management. Yet consensus reached in this domain ramifies through the community, increasing consumer spending, changing wage levels, encouraging migration, and so forth. The presence of unions may, in fact, bring some industrial changes to public attention, for if unions are absent, companies can make some decisions with little prior publicity. An increase or decrease in work force appears in unemployment statistics or in revenues of local merchants, in church collections and other service functions, but the precipitating actions are not necessarily public matters. Management and labor may even try to prevent public debates, although their accommodations change the face of the community.

Yet in some ways unions are like other groupings in the community, as for example, churches, downtown merchants, and voluntary associations. The churches and the downtown merchants in Sardis both have coordinating bodies with about as much authority over their members as the labor councils have. In fact, the Sardis Council of Churches does not include the Roman Catholic churches. Churches could have

been and should be studied from the same point of view as the unions were. That is, how much power do the churches have? Where do they get involved in the community? Are they controlled locally or from outside the community? A case could be made for Sardis that the churches have considerable amounts of influence. For example, when liquor-by-the-glass was a political issue, the churches were quite active and helped defeat the proposal. The significance of this power element in respect to the total power structure of the community is limited. What we tried to prove in studying unions was how their position in the economic life of the community gives them a great deal of power, more than might appear on the surface of the community if one relied upon reputations, public decision-making, or representation in prestigious organizations and offices.

Equating a community power structure with a political power structure tends to focus interest and research on decisions in the public sector of community life. Those who focus on the public life of the community are apt not to analyze aspects of the community situation which define public issues. Such issues as school bonds, zoning, urban renewal, unemployment, and racial tensions may well be functions of other actions taking place within the community and between communities. Certain issues may become articu-

lated because of action taken elsewhere in the society, for example, in the state or Federal governments or the home offices of large corporations. The public issues may very well be responses to those forces, those sources of power, missed by anyone whose concern is the politics of a particular community.

Political action can be seen, in other instances, as a response to unanticipated changes in the structure of the community. Shifts in the economic structure can alter the relevant political questions. For example, the development of a chemical industry can affect water and air pollution, and this may become a political issue. Increasing automation can make unemployment a political issue, and changes in population can make education or segregated housing an issue. If a union and a company reach a favorable long-term contract, the company may decide to expand its local facilities and increase its work force. The additional population may put a strain on police, schools, public welfare, and other community services, may increase local retail trade, and alter land use, housing, and other facets of community life. Political decisions can, on the other hand, affect the structure of the community. It may well be a decision in the political realm to encourage new industry by favorable tax and utility rates or revisions of zoning and

building codes. To understand a community power structure, one must know what the units in the community are which bring about community conditions, and then one must be able to comprehand what factors control their operations.

This study has differed in several ways from other community power studies. In the first place the conception of power has focused attention on groups and organizations in the community and not upon individuals. The community was seen as a power system with certain units having more power than others. The important functions are those that provide the community with its source of income or integrate it with the larger society in meeting the livelihood requirements of the community members. Once the units performing these basic functions were identified, the problem was to understand how they operate. What controls them? Where are they controlled? What positions are critical to the operation of the functioning unit? Specifying control over the units performing the basic functions permits the investigator to show whether or not the important decisions for these units remain in the community or if these units are directed from the outside. This, in turn, leads to a consideration of changes in the community power systems, such as the diffusion of community power to loci outside the community. There is a difference between direct control,

e.g., a branch plant or a local union, and indirect control, e.g., a supplier or a buyer. Branches have far less flexibility in the local community than independent units subject only to indirect control from outside.

Vital community decisions are no longer made within the boundaries of many communities. The problem confronting a small community dominated by large absentee-owned firms is that the major economic decisions will be made outside. No matter how the local people struggle, they will not be able to control the forces impinging upon them. The recent history of South Bend, Indiana, illustrates the point. Once Studebaker decided to leave, the community was going to change no matter what anyone attempted to do. A confrontation in Schenectady, New York, is another case.[15] The organization of the community hung in the balance lately during negotiations between General Electric and the local union. If General Electric had left the community, a basic source of wealth was lost, and a new power structure would have emerged. The only action other community members could take in this situation was to call upon both parties to reach an agreement beneficial to the community. However much influence they have, the local elites cannot alter certain conditions affecting important units in a community.

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[15]"Schenectady Faces a Decision: G.E. Will Revise Pay--Or Move," The New York Times, September 26, 1964, p. 11.

If a local plant loses its contract as a supplier to a large corporation, no amount of local pressure upon the plant can restore the contract and create work.

The realization that locally controlled units may represent no more than a residue of power left in the community calls for a reformulation of power structure studies. The next question in community research may well be specification of the parameters of local community action. What can a local community do to affect its growth and development? What are the resources at its disposal? Within these limits the question of community power is relevant.

Participation in the public life of a community on the part of certain individuals or groups may even be a decision made outside the community. While a plant may be quite powerful in the community in which it is located, its local managers may be forbidden to use their influence. Similarly, unions may be restricted by law and by policy as to the areas in the community in which they participate. The pool from which local talent may be drawn for important positions will be limited, when the more powerful have interests outside the community and are not involved in local affairs.[16]

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[16]This point is developed by Robert K. Merton in "Patterns of Influence: Local and Cosmopolitan Influentials," Social Theory and Social Structure (rev. ed.; Glencoe: The Free Press, 1958), pp. 387-420.

Furthermore, those who are active in the public life of the local community may not be the residents having the highest economic and social status. With large numbers of upper-middle class citizens leaving each day for work in some city, the non-commuting population of many towns may be dominant in the community's public life. In certain respects those who are tied to the community by occupation as well as by residence are more involved in the community and have a greater stake in more areas than the commuters. The latter may be analogous to summer people in a shore town. They do not become involved in local politics and, in fact, may regard the local political scene with a certain amount of amusement as long as their general interests are attended to. On the other hand, let some fundamental change in the character of the town be introduced, like encouraging industrial development, and the commuter population will suddenly find its political voice and no longer remain aloof. The point being made is clear: one could study the "natives" and their political activities without really understanding power in the community.

The withdrawal of some economic elites from the public life of the community, especially the political battles, is well documented by Schulze and substantiated

by others.[17] An unanswered question is what happens in a community where economic dominants try to maintain a hold in the public life, given the development of powerful unions and an increasing number of public roles being held by professionals. Pellegrin and Coates show how active economic dominants in Bigtown, even in absentee-owned firms, maintained influence in the public life.[18] In Sardis there is some withdrawal of economic dominants, but by no means as complete as observed by Schulze.

But Schulze poses this as essentially a moral question: How can a community maintain its integrity when the public leaders and the economic dominants no longer overlap? In another context the same question is posed by Janowitz in his concern with "the community of limited liability." Both Schulze and Janowitz express concern with communities' maintaining the ability to function as autonomous units.

Janowitz is worried about the failure of business elites to remain active in community decision making, i.e., the public life of the community. He states in summing up the studies in Community Political Systems that "there has

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[17]For a discussion of participation in local politics by an aristocracy, see E. Digby Baltzell, An American Business Aristocracy (New York: Collier Books, 1962).

[18]Loc. cit.

been a withdrawal, a default, or an inability of business to exercise political power in community affairs."[19] The same worry is echoed by Schulze.

> The economic dominants' abnegation of civic responsibility and accountability has perhaps done more than undermine their own claims to legitimacy. Very possibly, their withdrawal from responsible involvement threatens to subvert the viability of community life as well.[20]

The Lynds, Hunter, and others were worried about the all-too-powerful business elite who dominated and controlled communities.[21] At one time in the past the question seems to have been: Is the hegemony of the economic elites consistent with democratic values?

These particular points are raised because they illustrate what has been a major concern of many community leadership studies. In general, the question these studies hoped to answer was, How are the central issues in the political life of a community settled? This was followed closely by the questions, Who participates in the public life of the

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[19]Janowitz (ed.), op. cit., p. 15.

[20]Loc. cit., p. 73.

[21]For discussions of the debilitating effects of elite control, see Lynd, Middletown In Transition, especially chap. iii, "The X Family: A Pattern of Business-Class Control;" and Hunter, op. cit., chap. ix, "The Organized Community and the Individual."

community?, and How do they participate--directly or from behind the scenes? The validity of studying the public life of a given community or communities is not denied. Rather, attention is called to the possibility that the identification of public life as the focus of community power is a limiting perspective.

There is another issue in the discussion of community power that has not been articulated. Underlying both the reputational and decision-making approaches is the latent assumption that particular individuals are able to direct and mold the forces in the community. Both approaches take as axiomatic that power is held in the hands of particular individuals and that these individuals are the most important parts of the power structure. In these studies the emphasis is upon sociometric ties connecting the great and the near great into a web of power. In no studies is the question of migration examined thoroughly. The question now being raised is: If one or more of the "powerful" leaders leaves the community, will its power structure be altered? No one doubts that there is turnover in community personnel from time to time; yet no one asks what happens when certain important persons leave the community.

In Sardis it appeared that friendship patterns and social position in the community were opened readily to

recent migrants. The new managers of absentee-owned companies were offered specific memberships in the community that would quickly make them "influential" persons. As was pointed out in the case study of the Barton Aluminum Company, the plant manager could have assumed numerous roles immediately upon his arrival in town. The same pattern, on a slightly lower level, held for the new executives of chain stores. While the investigator was in the community, a newly arrived chain store manager became a member of a luncheon club, a member of a fraternal lodge, and a member of the Chamber of Commerce within weeks after he and his family moved into Sardis. Warren summarizes this nicely when he says, "the new incumbent of a particular position may find tacit membership in a local power clique readily available and waiting for him, simply because of the position he occupies, although there is no formally structured guarantee of this."[22]

Similarly, out-migration or death can change the personnel in particular roles, but they may not alter the distribution of power. The death of particular individuals can alter the structure of a community in some instances. For example, if a company is the private preserve of one individual, his death may cause a radical change in the activities

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[22] Op. cit., p. 284.

of that company for a multitude of reasons. The heirs may decide to sell it to another corporation or dismantle the business. Or some wealthy individual may have taken a particular interest in one charity or another, for example, a local college or boys' club. His passing from the scene may alter the support available for these institutions and, therefore, a part of the structure of the community.

It may be argued in addition, of course, that certain personal relationships might be altered by changes in the incumbent of particular roles. For example, close ties between a banker and the executive secretary of a Chamber of Commerce may affect the operation of the Chamber of Commerce and the role played by that particular bank. If such a relationship is important to the functioning of either, changes in individual office holders will not change the relationship. A new pattern of interaction might emerge, but the functional relationship would continue.

In general, however, migration of particular individuals into and out of a community does not affect the community one way or the other. The community as a social system has a certain number of roles that will be filled. It is the functional pattern of activities in which the roles are set that describes the power structure of the community and not the holders of these particular roles.

This study defined community as an organization of relations within a localized population. Certain organizations dominate because they supply sustenance to the population. This key function defines the more powerful community units and establishes the community power structure. Thus, we have been able to show that unions have power in one community where they control some of the conditions under which certain major units--manufacturing plants--must operate. The locus of control over key units and its organizational form have been changing in American communities, raising many of the practical and theoretical issues and problems that have been noted here.

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW SCHEDULES

A.1--Text of interview schedule for officers of local unions

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1. Why are you active in union work? (PROBE: for ideological and personal responses)

2. What have been the important consequences of the merger between the AFL and the CIO?

3. What do you think is the most important activity for a local union?
   a. Do you think most of the other members of your local would agree with you on that?
      1. yes 2. no 9. don't know

   IF NO to Q. 3a.
      b. Why is that?

4. What do you think is the most important activity for the international?
   a. What would you say are the most important things the international representative does for your local?

5. How long have you been a member of Local ____?

6. What was this union like when you first joined? (PROBE: If R says active, probe for specific response.)
   a. Has it changed since then?

   IF YES to Q. 6a.
      b. In what ways has it changed?

7. How long have you been _____(his office) of the local?

8. How long is your term of office?

9. Do you receive any money for your work in the union?
   1. yes 2. no

IF YES to Q. 9
a. How much? _____

10. (IF NOT MENTIONED IN RESPONSE TO Q. 9)
Do you get loss time pay for your union work?
1. yes 2. no

IF YES to Q. 10
a. From whom?

11. Are there any activities for which union officers should get paid, but do not?
1. yes 2. no 9. don't know

IF YES to Q. 11
a. What are these?
b. How much?

IF EITHER to Q. 11
c. Why do you say that?

12. Aside from the office you now hold, what other elected or appointed offices have you held in this local? (INTERVIEWER: Get dates and title of position held and whether elected or appointed.)

13. Have you ever held an elected or an appointed office in a different local?
1. yes 2. no

IF YES to Q. 22
a. Where?
b. What were these?

14. Did you ever think you would like to hold some other office in the union?
1. yes 2. no

IF YES to Q. 14
a. What is that?
b. Do you think your chances for doing that sometime are good, fair or poor?
1. good 2. fair 3. poor

IF NO to Q. 14
c. Why is that?

15. Have you ever held an office or been a delegate to any labor board or organization outside your local union?
    1. yes 2. no

    IF YES to Q. 15.
    a. What was this office?
    b. When did you hold it?

16. Have you ever attended any schools,conferences, or training sessions sponsored by organized labor?
    1. yes 2. no

    IF YES to Q. 16
    a. When did you attend?
    b. What subjects did you study?
    c. Who paid for your attendance?

17. Have you ever attended any national, state, or local labor conventions?
    1. yes 2. no

    IF YES to Q. 17
    a. Who sponsored them?
    b. When were they held?
    c. Who paid for your expenses?

18. What is your opinion of the Summit County AFL-CIO Labor Council?

    Now I am going to read you some statements about the AFL-CIO Labor Council. I want to know for each of them whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree.

19. The AFL-CIO Labor Council is the most politically active labor organization in Summit County.

20. The council has improved the ability of labor to organize the unorganized in this area.

21. It has made it easier for other community organizations to cooperate with labor on particular problems.

    Now I would like you to think about how the merger between the AFL and the CIO has affected organized labor here in Summit County.

22. For instance, how about cooperation among unions, would you say it has increased, decreased, or remained the same since the merger?

23. Do you think the merger has made it harder or easier for labor to present its position on issues to the community--or is there no difference?

24. Since the merger has your own local had the same number of social events and sponsored the same number of athletic teams as before?
    1. yes 2. no

    IF NO to Q. 24.
    a. What has been the change--an increase or a decrease?

25. Has the number of activities in the community which have representatives from organized labor gone up, gone down, or remained the same since the merger?

26. Since the merger has your local come to look to the Summit AFL-CIO Labor Council for direction on matters of union policy in the community?
    1. yes 2. no

27. Finally, how do you think the merger affects the prestige of labor in Summit County? Has it increased, decreased, or remained the same?

Now I would like to ask you some questions about your job. I would like to find out about the jobs you've had and also about the times you were out of work.

28. What is your job now?

29. About how many people work there?

30. Are there other local unions represented where you work?
    1. yes 2. no

    IF YES to Q. 30
    a. What are the names of these?

31. What hours do you work--from when to when?

32. (INDUSTRIAL UNIONS ONLY)
How many years seniority do you have?
1. less than 1 year
2. 1-4 years
3. 5-9 years
4. 10-14 years
5. 15-19 years
6. 20-25 years
7. over 25 years

33. (THE ANSWERS TO THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS TO BE RECORDED ON RULED PAGE WITH COLUMNS NUMBERED TO CORRESPOND WITH QUESTION NUMBERS.)
Now I would like to know something about the other jobs you have held for six months or longer.

column
(1) What was your first job?
(2) What was the name of the company?
(3) (IF NOT CLEAR)
Were you self-employed or did you work for someone else?
(4) When did you get that job?
(5) Where was that (CITY AND STATE)?
(6) How long were you there?
(7) How many people worked there?
(8) Was there a union?
(9) IF YES to column 8
What was the name of that union?
(10) IF YES to column 8
Were you a member?
(11) How did you happen to leave that job?
(12) What was your next job?

REPEAT EACH QUESTION FOR ALL SUBSEQUENT JOBS UNTIL R GIVES PRESENT JOB. FOR PRESENT JOB ASK ONLY COLUMN 4.

34. Is there any other job you did not mention that you had for six months or longer?
1. yes 2. no

35. Have you ever been unemployed for six weeks or longer?
1. yes 2. no

IF YES to Q. 35
a. When?

36. Were you ever self-employed even for a short time?
1. yes 2. no

IF YES to Q. 36.
a. When?
b. What did you do? (INTERVIEWER: Distinguish between moonlighting and slack season jobs.)

37. (AFL CRAFTS ONLY)
Some _____(craft) work pretty steadily the year around, for themselves or a contractor. Others shift from job to job because of the kind of work they do. And others work steadily just through the building season. Which one of these descriptions most closely comes to your situation?

38. Of course a large community like Sardis is made up of many different classes. If you had to place yourself in one of these, would you say you are now in the upper class, the middle class, the working class, or the lower class?
a. You say you are in the ____class. Are you in the top part or the lower part of that class?

39. Here is a list of things people tell us are important differences between the middle class and the working class. (SHOW CARD)[1] If you were told to make a guess about a man's social standing, which one of these things would you want to know first--the one that would help you most in placing him? ____
a. What would be the next most important for telling his social class? ____
b. What other things on this list would be important clues for judging a person's class? _____

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[1]The card listed the following alternative responses:
a. the sort of house he lives in
b. the clubs and organizations he belongs to
c. the amount of money he has
d. what country his parents and grandparents were born in
e. how much education he has
f. his manners and speech--the way he talks
g. his job
h. how much he knows about books, music, and the arts
i. how he and his wife dress
j. his father's occupation

40. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, or an Independent?

41. Do you ever split your ticket?
    1. yes 2. no

    (ASK ONLY IF Q. 40 ANSWERED INDEPENDENT, OTHER, OR NO INTEREST IN POLITICS)
    a. If you split your ticket, which party gets the majority of your support?

42. All in all, does it make any difference to you which of the two parties, the Republicans or the Democrats, are in control of the national government?
    1. yes 2. no

    IF YES to Q. 42
    a. Why do you feel this way?

43. All in all, does it make any difference to you which of the two parties are in control of the state government?
    1. yes 2. no

    IF YES to Q. 43
    a. Why do you feel this way?

44. I'm going to read some things people do to help a party or a candidate win an election. I'd like to know if you usually do any of these things during a campaign. First, do you wear a campaign button or put a campaign sticker on your car?
    1. yes 2. no

45. Did you donate to any political organization?
    1. yes 2. no

46. Did you ask other people to contribute money for political causes?
    1. yes 2. no

47. Did you help get people registered to vote?
    1. yes 2. no

48. Did you help people get to the polls?
    1. yes 2. no

49. In deciding how to vote, how much attention do you think union members should pay to what the union says about the candidates? . . .
    1. quite a lot
    2. some
    3. not much
    4. none at all

    a. Why do you feel this way?

50. How active do you think your local union is in politics here in Summit County? Is it . . .
    1. very active
    2. active
    3. not too active
    4. inactive

    IF NOT INACTIVE to Q. 50
    a. What does your local do in politics here?
    b. When did your local first become active in politics?

51. Do you think your local union should be more active in politics?
    1. yes 2. no

    IF YES to Q. 51.
    a. What should the local do that it is not doing now?

52. Do you think the union itself should support a particular political party?
    1. yes 2. no

53. Do you think the unions should help certain candidates get elected?
    1. yes 2. no

54. In your opinion, would it be all right for the union to spend dues money on political action?
    1. yes 2. no

    a. Why do you say that?

55. Do you think the unions should try to get laws passed that are favorable to union members?
    1. yes 2. no

56. Do you feel there are any (other) political activities unions should not engage in?
    1. yes 2. no

57 IF YES to Q. 56.
    a. What are these?

57. How good a job would you say your local union is doing doing? Would you say . . .
    1. very good
    2. good
    3. fair
    4. poor

a. Why do you say that?

58. How much do you think the union has improved your own financial situation? . . .
    1. quite a lot
    2. some
    3. not much
    4. none at all

59. If the members don't like the way the local union is run, is there anything they can do about it?
    1. yes 2. no

IF YES to Q. 59.
    a. What is that?

60. Who has the real power in your local? Would you say . . .
    1. the president
    2. the executive committee
    3. the business agent
    4. the membership as a whole
    5. the international
    6. the active membership
    7. the international representative
    8. other

a. Who has the least power in your local? ____

61. How good a job would you say the international union is doing? Would you say . . .
    1. very good
    2. good
    3. fair
    4. poor

a. Why do you say that?

62. If the members don't like the way the international is run, is there anything they can do about it?
1. yes 2. no

IF YES to Q. 62
a. What is that?

63. Do you ever use the international representative in settling a local grievance?
1. yes 2. no

IF YES to Q. 63
a. What are the circumstances under which you call in the international representative?

64. How much influence would you say that the international has on local negotiations? Would you say . . .
1. a great deal
2. some
3. not very much
4. none at all

a. Why do you say that?

65. Who negotiates the contract for the union?
a. Who is on the bargaining committee?
b. How about the international--do they send in a representative?

IF YES to Q.65b.
c. When does he come in?

66. Are there any people in the community who try to influence the union or the company during the negotiations of a contract?
1. yes 2. no

IF YES to Q. 66.
a. Who?
b. Who do they try to influence, the union or the company?
c. How do they try to influence them?

67. Under what conditions do you think a union should call a strike?

68. Has your local here ever called a strike?
    1. yes 2. no

    IF YES to Q. 68
    a. When was that?
    b. What were the issues involved--local or international issues?

69. (IF A STRIKE)
What sort of support did the union receive from the community during the strike? (IF NONE, PROBE IF NEUTRAL OR NEGATIVE)

70. Since you have been in a union here in Sardis, do you think that there has been any change in the attitude of the people in the community to organized labor in general?
    1. yes 2. no

    IF YES to Q. 70
    a. What kind of change?

71. Who do you think has the most to say in deciding whether or not the union will go out on strike over an issue? Would you say . . .
    1. the membership as a whole
    2. the active membership
    3. the stewards and committeemen
    4. the president
    5. the executive board
    6. the international
    7. other (specify)

72. Unions sometimes appoint a representative to community boards, agencies, or commissions such as the Red Cross or United Fund. What characteristics are most important for someone who represents organized labor in this way?

73. Do you represent the union in any organization in Sardis or Summit County?
    1. yes 2. no

    IF YES to Q. 73.
    a. Which ones?

73. On what boards, agencies, committees, or other community bodies in Sardis or Summit County do you think organized labor should have a representative?
    a. Why do you say that?
    b. Why doesn't labor have a representative there?

74. Every community has certain pressing problems which it faces. What do think are the most pressing problems in Sardis today?

75. What groups or individuals have the most power in deciding important issues in Sardis?

76. When there is a charity drive in town, what groups or individuals take the leadership?

77. Suppose a major project were before the community that required decisions by a group of leaders that nearly everyone would accept. Which people would you choose --regardless of whether you know them personally or not?

78. In most cities certain persons are said to be influential "behind the scenes" and to have a lot to say about programs that are planned, projects, and issues that come up around town. What persons in Sardis are influential in this way?

79. If a decision were to be made in Lansing that affected Sardis, who would be the best contact man to get in touch with State officials (besides the local members of the Legislature)?

80. Who(besides local members of Congress) would be the best people to get in touch with Federal officials in Detroit or Washington?

81. Are there any other people who these leaders work with that have not been named so far and should be included in a list of leaders?

82. There are several boards in Sardis which are appointed by the City Commission. What do you think should be the most important consideration in making selections for these boards?

83. (INDUSTRIAL UNIONS ONLY)
How do you feel about a steward, committeeman, or other other union official becoming a foreman in the company? Would you say . . .
1. I'm very much against it
2. I'm somewhat against it
3. it doesn't make any difference one way or the other
4. I'm somewhat for it
5. I'm very much for it

a. Why do you say that?

84. Do you think the company is (contractors are) trying to give as much as it (they) can to employees, or do you think it is (they are) out to make as much as it (they) can at the expense of the employees?
1. is trying to give as much as it can
2. is trying to make some profits and give some to employees
3. is out to make as much as it can

85. Do you think the company is (contractors are) trying to cooperate with the unions, or is it (are they) trying to fight the unions?
1. is trying to cooperate
2. is neither trying to cooperate or fight the union
3. is trying to fight the union

86. Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? First: "So long as a large number of workers in an industry are unemployed, all employees should work shorter hours to spread the work around."
1. agree 2. disagree 3. neither

87. "The real difference between people who succeed and those who don't is that the successful people have had the breaks . . . getting to the top is more a matter of luck than ability."
1. agree 2. disagree 3. neither

88. "The big corporations have so much control over American business that it's bad for the country as a whole."
1. agree 2. disagree 3. neither

89. "The big labor unions have so much power over American workers that it's bad for the country as a whole."
    1. agree 2. disagree 3. neither

90. Now here are some questions about yourself. What is your age?
    1. 20-24
    2. 25-29
    3. 30-34
    4. 35-39
    5. 40-44
    6. 45-49
    7. 50-54
    8. 55-59
    9. 60 or over

91. What is your religious preference?
    1. Protestant
    2. Catholic
    3. Jewish
    4. None

    IF PROTESTANT
    a. What denomination?

92. How often do you usually attend church services?
    a. Where is that church located?

93. Which of the following organizations do you belong to? (SHOW CARD)[2] (INTERVIEWER: GET SPECIFIC NAMES)

94. What was the highest grade in school you completed?

95. Did you ever have any other special job training such as an apprenticeship, trade school, or any other?
    1. yes 2. no

    IF YES to Q. 95
    a. How long was this training?
    b. Are you now employed in a job that that training prepared you for?
        1. yes 2. no

---

[2]The card listed the following groups:

Church- connected groups	Parent-Teacher Associations
Fraternal organizations or lodges	Youth groups (Scout leaders,etc.)
	Sports teams
Veterans' organizations	Country club
Business or civic groups, service clubs	Professional groups
	Political clubs or organizations
Charitable and welfare groups	Card clubs; social clubs

96. Where was your father born?

97. What is the original nationality of your family on your father's side?

98. What was your father's usual occupation while you were growing up?

99. Would you say that you are better off, worse off, or the same as your parents?

100. Where was your mother born?

101. What was the original nationality of your family on your mother's side?

102. Are you married?
    1. married
    2. single
    3. divorced
    4. widowed

    IF NOT SINGLE
    a. When were you married?

103. What was your total family income before taxes in 1961 --considering all sources such as rents, profits, wages, interest and so on? (SHOW CARD)[3]
    a. How much of your total family income was earned by you?
    b. How much by your wife?
    c. What are the other sources of family income?
    d. Is this a typical year?
        1. yes 2. no

---

[3]The card listed the following income categories:
    a. under $2,000
    b. $2,000--$2,999
    c. $3,000--$3,999
    d. $4,000--$4,999
    e. $5,000--$5,999
    f. $6,000--$6,999
    g. $7,000--$7,999
    h. $8,000--$8,999
    i. $9,000--$9,999
    j. $10,000--$14,999
    k. $15,000--$25,000
    l. over $25,000

104. Do you or your wife have any of the following things listed on this card? (SHOW CARD)[4]

Now I would like you to add up all your savings and investments--the things you mentioned--and tell me approximately how much it comes to . . . just say what letter on this card it would be. (SHOW CARD)[5]

(IF R MAY HAVE INCLUDED THE VALUE OF HOUSE)
What would your total savings and investments be, not counting the value of this house?

105. (NOTE TYPE OF DU)
Do you own this home, are you buying it, do you rent, or what?

106. What would be the highest income you expect to earn in any one year during your lifetime (figured in today's dollars)?
   a. When would that be?

---

[4]The card listed the following forms of saving:
   a. U. S. Savings Bonds
   b. Checking accounts
   c. Savings accounts in banks or savings and loan associations
   d. Shares in credit unions
   e. Corporate stocks and bonds, investment trusts
   f. Real estate other than your home
   g. Christmas Club
   h. Other (please specify)

[5]The card listed the following amounts:
   a. under $200
   b. $200--$499
   c. $500--$999
   d. $1,000--$1,999
   e. $2,000--$4,999
   f. $5,000--$9,999
   g. $10,000--$24,999
   h. $25,000 or more

A.2--Additional interview questions asked only of presidents of local unions

---

1. What is the international affiliation of your local?

2. When was this local organized?

3. Was it ever an independent union?
   1. yes 2. no 3. don't know

   IF YES to Q. 3
   a. When did it join the international?

4. Did the international send persons in to help you organize this union?
   1. yes 2. no 3. don't know

5. Is your local a member of the Summit County AFL-CIO Labor Council?
   1. yes 2. no

   IF YES to Q. 5
   a. When did it join?

   IF NO to Q. 5
   b. Why not?

6. (AFL CRAFTS ONLY)
   Is your local a member of the Summit County Building Trades Association?
   1. yes 2. no

   IF YES to Q. 6
   a. When did you join?

   IF NO to Q. 6
   b. Why not?

7. (INTERVIEWER: No matter what the response, probe for political parties, charities, community organizations in general.)
   Unions sometimes send delegates to other community organizations. Does your local send delegates to any organizations in Sardis or Summit County?
   1. yes 2. no

IF ANY
a. What are the names?

(FOR EACH)
b. When did you first have a delegate to that organization?
c. How are these delegates selected?
d. Do you recall the circumstances under which you first sent a delegate to _____?

8. Have you yourself ever been asked by any group to meet with them representing labor?
1. yes 2. no

IF YES to Q. 8
a. Who?
b. When was this?

9. Aside from your particular local, does organized labor in general send delegates to any organizations in Sardis or Summit County?
1. yes 2. no

IF YES to Q. 9
a. Which ones?
b. When did they begin to send delegates to that organization?
c. Do you recall the circumstnaces under which they first began to send a delegate to _____?

10. Does your local sponsor any athletic teams or social events?
1. yes 2. no

IF YES to Q. 10
a. What are these?
b. When did you begin?

11. Does your local donate to any local charities?
1. yes 2. no

IF YES to Q. 11
a. What are these?
b. When did you begin?

12. While not representing a particular union or organized labor, there are sometimes boards, commissions, or agencies like the Sardis Electrical Examination Board on which union men serve. Do you know of any of these in Sardis or Summit County?
    1. yes 2. no 9. don't know

    IF YES to Q. 12
    a. What are these?
    b. When did a union man get on these?

13. Does your local have a credit union?
    1. yes 2. no

    IF YES to Q. 13
    a. How large is it (number of members and assets)?
    b. When was it established?

14. (INDUSTRIAL UNIONS ONLY)
    Do you work in a union shop?

15. (AFL CRAFT ONLY)
    Are all _____(particular trade) organized in this area?

16. (AFL CRAFT ONLY)
    What area does your local cover? (GET NAMES OF COUNTIES)

17. How many dues-paying members do you have right now?

18. How many are women?

19. As an estimate, what percent of the membership usually attends meetings?
    How about special meetings, like elections or strike votes?

    ____% regular ____% special

A.3--Text of interview schedule for positional community leaders

---

1. Every community faces certain problems. What do you think are the most pressing problems in Sardis today?

2. As you know, several factories have been moving out of Sardis. Why do you suppose this is so?
   PROBE:
   a. Do you think anyone in particular is responsible for this?
   b. Why do you say that?

3. Do you think something should be done about keeping factories from moving out of Sardis?
   1. yes 2. no

   IF YES to Q. 3.
   a. What do you think can be done about keeping factories here?

   IF NO to Q. 3
   b. Why do you say that?

4. Do you think Sardis should try to attract new factories?
   1. yes 2. no

   IF YES to Q. 4
   a. What do you think can be done about attracting new factories?
   b. What kinds of factories or industries would you like to see move in here? (PROBE FOR SIZE, PRODUCT, LOCAL VERSUS ABSENTEE OWNERSHIP)

   IF NO to Q. 4
   a. Why do you say that?

5. Do you think it makes any difference to a community if most of the industries are locally owned or if most of the industries are branches of larger corporations?
   1. difference 2. no difference
   a. Why do you say that?

6. Do you think that Sardis should grow bigger, is already too big, or is just about the right size?
   a. Why do you say that?

7. Labor unions have been active in Sardis for some time now. What do you think is the most important activity for a local union?

8. Unions sometimes take very strong stands on particular issues. How effective would you say the local unions in Sardis are in getting their position before the public? Would you say . . .
   1. very effective
   2. effective
   3. not too effective
   4. ineffective

9. Do you think the people of Sardis have changed their attitudes toward labor unions since they were first organized here?
   1. yes 2. no

   IF YES to Q. 9
   a. In what ways have they changed?

   IF NO to Q. 9
   b. What would you say the attitude of the people is toward organized labor?

10. Have you noticed any change in the attitude of the local unions toward the community since they were first organized here?
    a. Why do you say that?

11. How much interest would you say most unions take in the local community?
    1. very much
    2. some
    3. not too much
    4. none at all

12. Are there any people in the community who try to influence unions or employers during the negotiations of a contract?
    1. yes 2. no

IF YES to Q. 12
a. Who?
b. Who do they try to influence, the union or the company?
c. How do they try to influence them?

Now here are a few questions about how things get done around Sardis.

13. What groups or individuals have the most power in deciding important issues in Sardis?

14. When there is a charity drive in town, what groups or individuals take the leadership?

15. Suppose a major project were before the community that required decisions by a group of leaders that nearly everyone would accept. Which people would you choose --regardless of whether you know them personally or not?

16. In most cities certain persons are said to be influential "behind the scenes" and to have a lot to say about programs that are planned, projects, and issues that come up around town. What persons in Sardis are influential in this way?

17. If a decision were to be made in Lansing that affected Sardis, who would be the best contact man to get in touch with State officials (besides local members of the Legislature)?

18. Who (besides local members of Congress) would be the best people in Sardis to get in touch with Federal officials in Detroit or Washington?

19. Are there other people who these leaders work with that have not been named so far and should be included in a list of leaders?

20. There are several boards in Sardis which are appointed by the City Commission. What do you think should be the most important consideration in making selections for these boards?

21. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, or an Independent?

22. Do you ever split your ticket?
    1. yes 2. no

    ASK ONLY IF INDEPENDENT, OTHER, OR NO INTEREST IN POLITICS
    a. If you split your ticket, which party gets the majority of your support?

23. All in all, does it make any difference to you which of the two parties, the Republicans or the Democrats, is in control of the national government?
    1. yes 2. no

    IF YES to Q.23
    a. Why do you feel this way?

24. All in all does it make any difference to you which of of the two parties is in control of the state government?
    1. yes 2. no

    IF YES to Q. 24
    a. Why do you feel this way?

25. I'm going to read some things people do to help a party or a candidate win an election. I'd like to know if you usually do any of these things during a campaign. First do you wear a campaign button or put a campaign sticker on your car?
    1. yes 2. no

26. Do you donate to any political organizations?
    1. yes 2. no

27. Do you ask other people to contribute money for political causes?
    1. yes 2. no

28. Do you help get people registered to vote?
    1. yes 2. no

29. Do you help people get to the polls?
    1. yes 2. no

30. In some communities unions are very active in politics. How would you judge the unions here in Sardis and

Summit County? Would you say they are . . .
1. very active
2. active
3. not too active
4. inactive

a. You say unions are _____. Are there differences among the unions?
1. yes 2. no

IF YES to Q. 30a.
b. What kinds of differences do you see?

IF NOT INACTIVE
c. Why did the local unions first become active in politics here?

31. How effective would you say local unions are in politics here? Would you say . . .
1. very effective
2. effective
3. not too effective
4. ineffective

32. In deciding how to vote, how much attention do you think union members should pay to what the union says about the candidates?
1. quite a lot
2. some
3. not much
4. none at all

a. Why do you feel this way?

33. Do you think the unions themselves should support a particular political party?
1. yes 2. no

34. Do you think the unions should help certain candidates get elected?
1. yes 2. no

35. In your opinion, would it be all right for the union to spend dues money on political action?
1. yes 2. no

a. Why do you say that?

36. Do you think the unions should try to get laws passed that are favorable to union members?
    1. yes 2. no

37. Do you believe that unions should be able to call strikes?
    1. yes 2. no

    IF YES to Q. 37
    a. Under what conditions do you think a union should call a strike?

    IF NO to Q. 40
    b. Why do you say that?

38. There are many activities in a city like Sardis which need the cooperation of many different groups to be successful. If such an activity needed a representative from the unions (or from organized labor) who would you select?

39. Have you ever served on a board, agency, or committee which has had representatives from organized labor?
    1. yes 2. no

    IF YES to Q. 39
    a. Which ones?
    b. When was that?

40. Do labor representatives add to the effectiveness of s such a board or committee?
    1. yes 2. no
a. Why do you say that?

41. Can you think of any boards, agencies, committees, or other community bodies in Sardis or Summit County which would benefit by having representatives from organized labor on them?
    1. yes 2. no

    IF YES to Q. 41
    a. Which ones are these?
    b. Why these?

42. Looking at the unions here in Sardis, would you say that they are pretty much the same or are there differences among them?
    1. the same 5. different 9. don't know

    IF THE SAME
    a. In what ways are they similar?

    IF DIFFERENCES
    b. In what ways are they different?

43. Are there any differences among the local unions as to the amount of interest they take in community affairs?
    1. yes 2. no
    a. Why do you say that?

44. There are many different unions in Sardis. Is there any one body which represents organized labor in general here?

    Now I am going to read you two statements about the AFL-CIO Labor Council. I want to know for each whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree.

45. The AFL-CIO Labor Council is the most politically active labor organization in Summit County.

46. It has made it easier for other community organizations to cooperate with labor on particular issues.

47. Who would you say has the most to say about how the unions are run here in Sardis?
    (PROBE- if international or local not mentioned)

48. Do you think that the unions are trying to cooperate with the companies in Sardis or do you think they are trying to fight them?
    1. are trying to cooperate
    2. are neither trying to fight or cooperate with the companies
    3. are trying to fight the companies

49. Of course a large community like Sardis is made up of many different classes. If you had to place yourself in one of these, would you say you are now in . . .
    1. the upper class
    2. the middle class
    3. the working class
    4. the lower class

    a. You say you are in the _____ class. Are you in the top part or the lower part of that class?

50. Here is a list of things people tell us are important differences between the middle class and the working class. (SHOW CARD)[6] If you were told to make a guess about a man's social standing, which of these things would you want to know first--the one that would help you most in placing him? ____

    a. What would be the next most important for telling his social class? ____

    b. What other things on this list would be important clues for judging a person's class? _____

Now I would like to ask you some questions about your job. I would like to find out about the jobs you've had and also about the times you were out of work.

51. What is your job now?

52. About how many people work there?

53. (THE ANSWERS TO THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS TO BE RECORDED ON RULED PAGE WITH COLUMNS NUMBERED TO CORRESPOND WITH QUESTION NUMBERS)
Now I would like to know something about the other jobs you have held for six months or longer.

column
(1) What was your first job?
(2) What was the name of that company?
(3) (IF NOT CLEAR)
Were you self-employed or did you work for someone else?
(4) When did you get that job?
(5) Where was that (CITY AND STATE)?

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[6]The card is the same as for Question 33, Appendix A.1, p. 281, n. 1.

(6) How long were you there?
(7) How many people worked there?
(8) Was there a union?
(9) IF YES to Column 8
What was the name of the union?
(10) IF YES to Column 8
Were you a member?
(11) How did you happen to leave that job?
(12) What was your next job?

REPEAT EACH QUESTION FOR ALL SUBSEQUENT JOBS UNTIL R GIVES PRESENT JOB. FOR PRESENT JOB ASK ONLY COLUMN 4.

54. Is there any other job you did not mention that you had for six months or longer?

55. Have you ever been unemployed for six weeks or longer?
1. yes 2. no

IF YES to Q. 55
a. When?

56. Were you ever self-employed for even a short time?
1. yes 2. no

IF YES to Q. 56
a. When?
b. What did you do? (INTERVIEWER: Distinguish between moonlighting and slack season jobs.)

57. Why do you prefer to live in Sardis rather than in some place like Detroit or Chicago?

58. What disadvantages are there in living in Sardis?
a. Does this make any difference to you?

Now I am going to read you a series of statements about topics we have been talking about. For each of them, I would like to know whether you agree or disagree. Some of these statements you might prefer to modify, but I am interested in the general direction of your thinking.

59. This country's progress has been due mainly to the efforts of big business.

60. On the whole, industrial workers are paid too much for too little work.

61. A community that can't get a job done by itself has no right to call on outside people for help.

62. Generally speaking there is more corruption and dishonesty in politics in a large city than there is in a smaller community.

63. One of the advantages of living in a small community is that the people are more neighborly than those in a large city.

64. Another advantage is that it is easier to solve one's problems in a smaller community than a large city.

65. In a smaller community parents are better able to provide their children with more attention and care than in a large city.

66. So long as a large number of workers in an industry are unemployed, all employees should work shorter hours to spread the work around.

67. The real difference between people who succeed and those who don't is that the successful people have had the breaks . . . getting to the top is more a matter of luck than ability.

68. The big corporations have so much control over American business that it's bad for the country as a whole.

69. The big labor unions have so much power over American workers that it's bad for the country as a whole.

70. The Federal government should give more aid to the unemployed.

71. This country needs a compulsory health insurance plan.

72. Many labor unions today don't have a sense of public responsibility.

73. Generally labor leaders are much more interested in their own personal welfare than in the welfare of the union members.

74. Now here are some more questions about yourself. What is your age?

1. 20-24
2. 25-29
3. 30-34
4. 35-39
5. 40-44
6. 45-49
7. 50-54
8. 55-59
9. 60 and over

75. What is your religious preference?

1. Protestant
2. Catholic
3. Jewish
4. None

IF PROTESTANT

a. What denomination?

76. How often do you usually attend church services?

a. Where is that church located?

77. Which of the following organizations do you belong to? (SHOW CARD)[7] (INTERVIEWER: GET SPECIFIC NAMES)

78. What was the highest grade in school you completed?

79. Where was your father born?

80. What is the original nationality of your family on your father's side?

81. What was your father's usual occupation while you were growing up?

82. Would you say that you are better off, worse off, or the same as your parents?

83. Where was your mother born?

84. What is the original nationality of your family on your mother's side?

85. Are you married?

1. married
2. single
3. divorced
4. widowed

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[7] The card is the same as for Question 93, Appendix A.1, p. 289, n. 2.

IF NOT SINGLE

a. When were you married?

86. What was your total family income before taxes in 1961--considering all sources such as rents, profits, wages, interest, and so on? (SHOW CARD)[8]

a. How much of your total family income was earned by you?

b. How much by your wife?

c. What are the other sources of family income?

d. Is this a typical year?

1. yes 2. no

87. Do you or your wife have any of the following things listed on this card? (SHOW CARD)[9]

Now I would like you to add up all your savings and investments--the things you just mentioned--and tell me approximately how much it comes to . . . just say what letter on this card it would be. (SHOW CARD)[10]

(IF R MAY HAVE INCLUDED THE VALUE OF HOUSE)
What would your total savings and investments be, not counting the value of this house?

88. (NOTE TYPE OF DU)
Do you own this home, are you buying it, do you rent, or what?

---

[8]The card is the same as for Question 103, Appendix A.1, p. 290 , n. 3.

[9]The card is the same as for Question 104, Appendix A.1, p. 291 , n. 4.

[10]The card is the same as for Question 104, Appendix A.1, p. 291, n. 5.

APPENDIX B

NOMINATIONS OF PUBLIC LEADERS IN CIBOLA AND SARDIS

Here is a comparison of the occupations of persons nominated as "public leaders" in Cibola and Sardis. These nominations are based on six questions (same as Questions 76 to 81, Appendix A.1). Those interviewed were a sample of heads of voluntary associations in the respective communities. Schulze, loc. cit., Table 6, p. 41. See also Melvin Reichler, "Community Power Structure in Action" (microfilmed Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Sociology, University of Michigan, 1963), Appendix A.

Cibola	Rank	Sardis
Chamber of Commerce Executive	1	Bank Executive
Industrial Executive	2	Industrial Executive
City Manager	3	Chamber of Commerce Executive
Industrial Executive	4	Educator
Educator-Attorney	5	Mayor
Attorney	6	Clergyman
Wholesaler	7	Retired Executive-Politician
Realtor-Insurance Broker	8	Industrial Executive
Educator	9	Bank Executive
Judge	10	Educator
Clergyman	11	Attorney-Politician
Merchant	12	Industrial Executive
Bank Executive	13	Merchant
Retired Executive	14	Bank Executive

APPENDIX C

DOCUMENTS PERTAINING TO CASE STUDIES

C.1--Text of letters from Chamber of Commerce to Presidents of the Hope Wire unions

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No doubt you read the article in the Sardis Daily Bulletin reporting the meeting recently held in the Mayor's Office. Mr. Hess, the President of the Chamber of Commerce as well as myself want you to know that we deeply regret that the confidential nature of this meeting was evidently not observed. We further want you to know that the Chamber disclaims any and all responsibility for this breach. I might further add that had this meeting been arranged through this office the likelihood of the publicity would have been minimized.

May I emphasize again my firm belief that the interests of business and labor are interrelated and both can be better realized by mutual trust and cooperative efforts in many areas of community endeavor.

C.2--Text of open letter in the Sardis Daily Bulletin from the officers and Shop Committee of an MESA Local to prospective employees at Barton Aluminum

---

The hustle of activity at the Barton Aluminum Plant serves as announcement; soon the operation will be under way. When a new Company moves into an area, or when already existing facilities are expanded, there is usually a feeling of satisfaction.

New plants mean more jobs in Sardis. More jobs mean greater security for everyone. It means more security not only for the men and women who will be employed at the new plant; it means greater security for the Community as a whole.

The officers and members of M.E.S.A.-AFL-CIO Local 50, all of whom are employed at the Case Aluminum Plant in

C.2--Continued

Sardis, offer our every wish for a successful operation at the new Barton Aluminum Plant. We extend the hand of co-operation, and take the liberty of offering a word of advice to the men and women who will be employed at Barton.

We urge them to take a look at Case Aluminum. To view what we have accomplished, at the reasonable security and substantial benefits that Case Aluminum workers enjoy.

Obviously, our job security as well as our high level of wages and benefits have not been the result of mere chance or any hokus-pokus. Rather, we Case workers know that the benefits we receive and the jobs we have are the result of intelligent representation for more than fifteen years, by our Union, the M.E.S.A.-AFL-CIO. We take this opportunity to advise the new Barton Aluminum workers, that our personal experience has made it clear, the M.E.S.A.-AFL-CIO is the Union which will serve your interests.

Many among us worked in other Sardis plants before coming to Case. As a matter of fact, many among us worked in the very building where Barton will conduct its operation. But we are here at Case and know that M.E.S.A.-AFL-CIO membership means decent wages--means adequate fringe benefits and a smooth running shop. We know that M.E.S.A. membership means good working conditions and job security.

To those of you who will be employed at Barton Aluminum, we say, "M.E.S.A. membership will mean the same to you."

Though this letter is specifically addressed to Barton Aluminum Workers, we urge all unorganized workers in the Sardis area--take a look at what we have achieved at Case Aluminum--then fill out the information form printed below and mail it to the M.E.S.A.-AFL-CIO Sardis Office, 280 Main Street., Sardis, Michigan.

Come--join with us in making Sardis a more prosperous community. M.E.S.A.-AFL-CIO membership will mean a higher standard of living. It will mean making your job a better job. It will mean more security for you and your family; and isn't that what all of us are working for?

C.3--Text of full page advertisement in the Sardis Daily Bulletin signed by "The Citizens Committee to Preserve Industry in Sardis"

TO OUR FELLOW CITIZENS OF SARDIS

A committee of Sardis citizens is being formed to protect the jobs and create new jobs in Sardis.

What was once a prosperous city with a good industrial climate has now deteriorated to a status of high unemployment and closing of our plants.

In just six years twelve plants have shut down creating a loss of over 1800 jobs.

This year two more plants are planning to shut down and move over to other areas creating a loss of over 250 additional jobs.

WHY MUST THIS CONTINUE TO HAPPEN TO US??

With the shutting down of plants and reduction of work in the few plants remaining, our total job loss in the past five (5) years amounts to over 4200, FOUR THOUSAND TWO HUNDRED JOBS that no longer exist in Summit County.

WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THIS SITUATION??

While the State of Michigan has 298 available empty idle plants, other states are working 24 hours a day, 7 days a week building new plants to accommodate the industries that are leaving Sardis and the other 141 communities that have these empty idle plants. Sardis alone has over 386,000 square feet of empty factory space while new industries are being built in the other states.

NO OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE PLEASE!!!

Five different companies have attempted to operate the aluminum plant on Linden Avenue. Five have left. The sixth and possibly last is now attempting to operate it, hiring local people who want to do an honest day's work. With this prosperity on the horizon for Sardis the unions are sending in organizers from out of the City, not local people, but outsiders who have but one objective--either organize the workers or shut the plant down.

We, the citizens of Sardis, ask outsiders to please leave us alone and give us a chance.

C.4--Text of letter from Chamber of Commerce to the President of the Summit County Labor Council

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The results of the meeting at City Hall on the evening of August 22 was indeed gratifying both to us as well as, I am sure, to you people. Moreover, I have no doubt but that it solidified the cooperative spirit and efforts which you and I as well as our people in the Chamber and Labor have worked hard to attain. We are deeply grateful too that your representatives verified this cooperation and brought out the truth of several allegations.

Further it is our hope that the community as a whole might have learned a lesson from the hasty action that precipitated this unhappy situation so that our work toward the goal of a good labor climate in this community can go forward.

May we plan a meeting of our Labor-Management Board some time in September? Again, deeply appreciative, I remain,

C.5--Text of letter from President of Sardis College to the Mayor of Sardis

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It has occurred to me that those of us who are so keenly interested can do a great deal to help the future of the Barton Aluminum Company in our area. I have had a recent conversation with Dave Jacks, and took a complete tour through the plant accompanied by Fred Louis and Mr. Jacks. From all indications, the Barton Company is here to stay. For example, they have added nine new and expensive extrusion presses, with accompanying walk-a-way racks, to their installation. This means an investment of millions of dollars, and a company does not engage in this type of activity unless they expect to produce, particularly when their own money is involved. They have cleaned the plant up, and it is in first-class condition. Approximately 200 people, I was told, now work there and production is already under way. A considerable inventory of aluminum billets was on the property.

The point is that Barton is already engaged in production, hiring a number of Sardis people, and expects to continue operation here. This should encourage all of us for the future.

C.5--Continued

I really believe that the most necessary response from the community should be a positive one.

For example, Jacks has been beset with rumors and counter-rumors started by business and labor people in this community relative to the so-called shaky future of the Barton Company in this city. Much doubt has been cast on their determination to get the plant underway as a money-making operation. The word has been passed about by word of mouth to the effect that "if Case couldn't do it, nobody can." I am not at all familiar with Case's operation. What I do believe is that we need to squash these rumors, and to provide a positive and united front of favorable public relations to the Barton Company. From my visit to the plant and the background of a good bit of personal experience in these matters, it looks to me as though the future of the plant is a complete certainty here. Jacks has enough on his mind and back without finding it necessary, personally or through his public relations office, to continually fend off rumors started by pushers of the panic button.

I do believe that our industrial future here in Sardis, including that of the Barton Company and others, is going to rest in part on what the Chamber of Commerce, the city government, and other public spirited citizens do in the days ahead by way of positive public relations for our many companies. We can do this best by squelching unfounded and scurrilous rumors, and by trusting the good intentions of the people who have or will establish business enterprises in our community.

For example, as County President of the Summit United Fund, I have insisted that we refrain from pressing the Barton Company, at this point, for an employee gift. The company itself made a contribution to the United Fund. By doing everything that we can of a positive nature to substantiate the truth about what this company is doing here, I believe we will not only help to assure its future interest in Sardis, but strengthen it as a service asset to the community.

Even though I am preacher, Edward, I hope you won't interpret this as a sermon from me. I would have no reason to provide this for you and others. I have been disturbed by unfounded stories that have circulated here in this area

C.5--Continued

about the Barton Company, and have a real concern for supporting a more realistic picture of its operation than seems to be currently at large in the community. I would not only apply this concern to this one company, but to the many other public-spirited enterprises of our area.

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