DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 123 990 HE 007 793

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TITLE Support of Unionism Within the Education Faculty of a Large Private University: Some Unexpected Findings.
INSTITUTION American Educational Research Association, Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE Apr 76
NOTE 35p.; Paper presented at the annual meeting at the American Education Research Association (San Francisco, Calif., April, 1976)

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 HC-$2.06 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Attitudes; *Collective Bargaining; *Faculty; *Higher Education; Research; Strikes; Tenure; Trend Analysis; *Unions

ABSTRACT

Perhaps the most extensive empirical research on the topics of support for collective bargaining and for unionization in higher education is that of Ladd and Lipset (1973). Their analysis leads to a number of general propositions about faculty support for collective bargaining and for unionism, some involving properties of higher education settings and faculty status characteristics. Data available from a school-of-education study in a large, private university, permitted examination of some of Ladd and Lipset's conclusions. The objectives were to determine: (1) to what extent the faculty as a body was receptive to the idea of collective bargaining; (2) to what extent there was support for unionism; (3) what relationship, if any, there was between faculty and support for collective bargaining and desire for unionization; and (4) to what extent support for unionism was related to faculty rank, tenure, and research orientation. It appears that a contradictory picture of forces behind the push for unionism (tenure) and away from unionism (research priority) exists within this faculty. A discussion of this conclusion includes: (1) changes during the 1960's; (2) the faculty generation gap; and (3) exacerbating conditions in the early 1970's. (Author/KE)

H.E

SUPPORT OF UNIONISM WITHIN THE EDUCATION FACULTY OF A LARGE PRIVATE UNIVERSITY: SOME UNEXPECTED FINDINGS*

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A considerable amount of discussion has gone into the issues surrounding collective bargaining and unionism in higher education. Several factors appear to account for the emergence and growth of faculty collective bargaining during the last decade: the rapid expansion of American higher education in the 1960's; hard times and the cessation of growth since then; the extension of legal support for collective bargaining through the passage of state laws; and, changes in the structure of higher educational institutions (Carr and Van Eyck, 1973; Duryea and Fisk, 1973; Garbarino, 1975; Gress and Wohlers, 1974).

Many researchers have attempted to link characteristics of individual faculties and institutions with faculty receptivity to collective negotiations. Among the personal factors specified are: dissatisfaction with the work environment; political liberalism; upper manual and lower white collar backgrounds; association with liberal arts disciplines especially the humanities; and conditions both personal and institutional related to income, prestige, and security (Carr and Van Eyck, 1973; Haehn, 1971; Ladd and Lipset, 1973; Mortimer, Johnson, and Weiss, 1975). On the institutional level, Smart and Rodgers (1973) researched college environmental factors to determine the relationship between school differences and affiliation choice. Lindeman (1975) investigated the relationship between faculty and administration perceptions of university goals and functions and their attitudes toward collective negotiations.

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*A paper to be presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Education Research Association in San Francisco, April 19-23, 1976.

In addition to research emphasizing variables affecting the emergence of and support for collective negotiations, other recent studies focus on such topics as: competition among bargaining agents for faculty support (Garbarino, 1971); the impact of unionization on academic structures and faculty organization (McHugh, 1973); the impact of unions on academic governance (Boyd, 1972; Kemerer and Baldridge, 1976); reviews of hearings and court cases (Carr and Van Eyck, 1973); the scope and provisions of contracts (Bucklow, 1973; Kemerer and Baldridge, 1976; Mortimer and Lozier, 1973); and, the role of administration in collective bargaining campaigns (Oliker and Kaufman, 1975). Garbarino's (1975) and Carr and Van Eyck's (1973) recent books represent major efforts to integrate available studies of the evidence on and explanations for the collective bargaining and unionization movements in higher education.

Conceptionally, we view unionism in higher education as an extreme form of large-scale, group action involving collective bargaining. It has as some of its elements, the legitimacy of striking and an adversarial role relationship with the administration. It supports the notion of equality among members, but also enforces a strict seniority system. We think, therefore, that there is not a one-to-one relationship between faculty receptivity to the general notion of collective bargaining (a process) and their support, specifically, for unionization (a structural form).

Perhaps the most extensive empirical research on the topics of support for collective bargaining and for unionization in higher education is that of Ladd and Lipset (1973). Their analysis, based on data drawn from the 1969 survey of American academics sponsored by the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education and a much smaller 1972 survey of faculty political opinions supported by the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, was completed in 1973 under the

auspices of the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education. Their work leads to a number of general propositions about faculty support for collective bargaining and for unionism, some involving properties of higher education settings and faculty status characteristics. One important proposition, is that faculty at research-oriented private universities are less receptive to collective bargaining and especially to union representation than their counterparts at teaching-oriented two and four year institutions. A second is that tenured associate and full professors are generally less receptive than non-tenured assistant professors. A third is that research-oriented faculty are less receptive to collective negotiations than their non-research oriented counterparts.

While Ladd and Lipset's study provides many important benchmarks for further research, in its present state the knowledge about forces behind and faculty support for unionism and collective bargaining in higher education settings remains incomplete. As extensive as their work is, the extent of its applicability to specific university subunits such as schools of education remains unclear. For instance, their generalizations based on an overall survey of members of universities might mask very important differences among the schools of such universities and their faculties, which often, if not most of the time, have their own special goals and problems.

Data available from a school-of-education study in a large, private university,[2] permitted us to examine some of Ladd and Lipset's conclusions about reactions to collective bargaining and unionism in order to see if they would receive support in this particular situation. The specific objectives of this secondary analysis were to determine: 1) to what extent the faculty as a body was receptive to the idea of collective bargaining; 2) to what extent there was support for unionism; 3) what relationship, if any, there was between faculty support for collective bargaining and desire for unionization; and, 4) to what extent support for unionism was related to faculty rank, tenure, and research orientation.

METHODOLOGY

The Setting and Research Sample

This paper reports the secondary analysis (Hyman, 1972) of questionnaire data gathered in 1973, as noted, from the education faculty of a large, private university. Most of the University's schools enjoy good to excellent reputations within their respective fields (especially business, dentistry, education, law, and medicine). And, the University compares favorably to others on the basis of its students, research activities, and grants and donations, even though at the time of the data collection it was experiencing a period of serious retrenchment because of the financial exigencies felt throughout higher education. While one could not classify this university in Ladd and Lipset's elite tier, many of their conclusions about unionization as they apply to private research-oriented universities ought to extend to this particular setting. Indeed, in 1974, an important part of an open letter sent to faculty by the University's president supported one of their central conclusions: "Last year we opposed faculty unionization as a major step in the wrong direction for [this] University and other universities of its kind. No Major Research-oriented private university has chosen unionization or seems likely to do so."*

The education school, itself, was marked by a very large and still growing graduate training component. Its many departments and extensive master's and doctoral programs ranged in areas, for example, from administration, educational psychology, elementary and secondary education to health specialities in education, nursing education, and the arts in education. Of its many thousand students, over two-thirds were enrolled in graduate programs of the kind mentioned above. The School had at the time of the original data collection nearly 200 assistant, associate, and full professors.

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* Underlining, ours for emphasis.

A total of 133 out of 189 full-time professional faculty (excluding those with full-time administrative positions, on sabbatical, or on leaves of absence) returned questionnaires. So, a 70% return was obtained in the original study. Breaking down the returns by rank, 64% (49/77) of the full professors responded, 71% (53/75) of the associate professors, and 84% (31/37) of the assistants. The excellent completion rate was attributed to the personalized hand delivery of the questionnaires during a three-week period in March of 1973 and to several follow-up efforts including phone calls and hand-written notes of reminder. Table 1 contains a summary of selected social and organizational characteristics of the education faculty. Since a subsample (69 of the 133 respondents) was used in some of the analyses that follow, both sets of percentages are presented. They reveal differences between the entire sample and the subsample, but none that would be seriously distorting.

Table 1 about here.

There were slightly more associates than either assistant or full professors in both samples. The largest percentage of faculty fell between the ages of 36 and 50. Slightly less than half taught graduate-level students only. While about 35% reported completing five or more publications during the previous five years, over 50% gave research their first or second priority on a five-point scale including teaching, advisement, university governance, and community involvement. A slight majority were tenured, with a larger majority being men. In addition to the statistics found in Table 1, several other characteristics are helpful in describing the faculty. While the great majority had no formal administrative responsibilities, nearly a third did report some administrative activity, most under the heading of program direction. Nearly all (91%) held doctorates, three-quarters of which were from large, private institutions such as Chicago,

Columbia, Harvard, and New York University; two-thirds were Ph.D.'s and one-third were Ed.D.'s. The faculty reflected great variation in training: 30% reported that their graduate training was in the humanities; 40% in the social sciences; 10% in the natural sciences; 10% specifically in education; another 10% failed to provide the necessary information.

The original three-part, self-administered questionnaire was designed to measure receptivity to a large variety of higher education innovations and to test several theories about receptivity. Several items included the questionnaire, however, permitted the analyses presented in this paper.

Support for Collective Bargaining

Support for collective bargaining (CB) was assessed by a semantic differential (Osgood, Suci, and Tannenbaum, 1957) asking faculty to judge the concept: COLLECTIVE BARGAINING FOR FACULTY. Underneath this concept was the following paragraph further explicating its meaning:

> An elected bargaining agent would participate in bilateral decision-making with administration. The faculty's representative negotiates for benefits with the administration, according to the faculty's needs and desires. The agreement is codified in a contract binding on both parties.

The paragraph was followed by eight, bipolar, adjective pairs, seven of which have been consistently good indicators in prior studies of what a person's evaluation of a concept is. The eight pairs in the order presented to the subjects were: good-bad, progressive-regressive, foolish-wise, ineffective-effective, worthless-valuable, important-unimportant, tense-relaxed, and positive-negative. Each pair was separated by a seven-point scale, three points on one side indicating intensity of feeling in one direction, the middle point standing for ambivalence, neutrality, or equal evaluation, and the three points on the other side indicating growing feelings in the opposite direction.

A subsequent, principle components analysis of responses revealed, as

expected, one strong factor accounting for 75% of the total variation among the eight pairs. The tense-relaxed pair had a loading of .43 on this factor. The loadings of the remaining pairs ranged from .84 to .95. Factor scores for subjects generated from this type of analysis are standardized. While responses in this form are useful for many purposes, they do not reveal a clear picture of the absolute strength of a group's responses. And, since the factor loadings of seven of the pairs were equally high, we created a summary score for each faculty member by simply adding together their original responses to those seven pairs. Reactions to CB could range, therefore, from a score of seven (strong opposition to CB) to a score of 49 (strong support for CB). This summary scale correlated .98 with the standardized form, indicating virtually no loss of information while allowing us to gain a clearer picture of the actual strength of feelings toward CB. The mean for the entire sample (133) was 37.02 and had a standard deviation of 10.55.

Support for Unionization

An item asking faculty to express their affiliation preferences was used to develop our index of support for unionization. The item permitted them to choose AAUP or UFCT, to choose both AAUP and UFCT, to specify another collective bargaining unit, or to indicate that they did not want organizational representation. None of the 133 specified another CB agent; 64 picked AAUP, 17 checked UFCT; 21 marked both UFCT and AAUP; 31 said they preferred no affiliation. After considering various alternatives, we decided that those who specified a desire to affiliate with both UFCT and AAUP were indeed in favor of unionism and were, therefore, pooled with those choosing only UFCT. With this initial collapsing of responses, about 48% preferred AAUP affiliation, 29% indicated a preference for union affiliation, and about 23% were for no affiliation.

In trying to develop our index of preference for unionism, the classification as it stood with three categories, seemed ambiguous to us and nominal in

nature. If we employed it in that form when analyzing factors related to pro-unionism, difficulties in the actual type of analysis to use as well as problems in interpreting the results would arise. We considered the alternative of pooling the pro-AAUP faculty with those clearly against unionism, of pooling the AAUP faculty with those for unionism, and also of using the AAUP category as a mid-category between strong union preference and no affiliation preference. The first two options would have made the new variable a lopsided dichotomy. Moreover, we had no information that would justify our pooling those choosing AAUP with either, particularly in light of the recent militant tactics of some AAUP and NEA chapters. The choice of AAUP might represent either an acceptable union-like organization to a faculty member or it might be smybolic of a professional organization emphasizing personal professional autonomy.

Since we had no way of separating those viewing the AAUP as an acceptable union-like organization from those seeing it in its traditional role, we were also hesitant to treat the entire category as midway between pro-unionism and anti-unionism, for we might be creating a middle group by virtue of two inappropriately mixed extremes. We did not want to take these risks; so, we dropped the AAUP supporters entirely from the analyses involving the determinants of faculty preference for unionism, which are presented in the latter part of the paper. In short, for these analyses we ended up with a dichotomized, unambiguous dependent variable involving a little over half (69 of 133) of the original sample about equally distributed between pro-unionization (38) and anti-unionization (31).

Other Selected Faculty Characteristics

A series of demographic questions included in the original study helped establish several important faculty characteristics needed for our analysis: academic rank, administrative role (if any), age and sex, level of student

instruction, number of publications in the past five years, research as a priority, and tenure. We used the number of professional offices they were holding as an index of their local versus cosmopolitan orientation. The personality measure included in the questionnaire was the short form of the Rokeach Dogmatism Scale, a 20-item, summated rating scale ranging from low dogmatism or open-mindedness (20) to high dogmatism or closed-mindedness (100). The alpha coefficient of reliability was .72 for the sample of 133 with a mean of 42.19 and a standard deviation of 8.27.

FINDINGS

The research questions we were asking, given the data that were available, required a variety of analyses. To assess the amount of support for CB and for unionization, percentages were calculated. To examine the degree of relationship between these two variables, analysis of variance was used. For testing whether conditions found by Ladd and Lipset to militate against faculty support for unionization had the same effect within this faculty, we used contingency table analysis with gamma (G) as our measure of association.

Support for CB Within the Education Faculty

Frequency distributions were constructed for each sample (133 and 69) from the seven-item summated ratings on CB. The scores ranged from 7 (strong opposition to CB) to 49 (strong support). A composite histogram, which was then made, allowed the frequencies of both samples to be compared for each interval on the scale. Table 2 contains the composite histogram. It reveals two very negatively skewed distributions with approximately the same shape and statistics.[3] From the means of 37.02 and 38.22 and their respective standard deviations of 10.55 and 10.54, it is clear that the faculty regardless of sample was strongly in support of the idea of CB.

Table 2 About Here.

In order to compare these results to those of Ladd and Lipset, our interval scale had to be collapsed, since they present their findings in the form of a simple dichotomy: agree-disagree (1973:12). We could not offer quite so sharp a picture, because a score of 28 on our scale was the specific point at which theoretically there was clear ambivalence or neutrality. Therefore, we added all the frequencies to the right of it (29-49) and treated them as reflecting different degrees of agreement with CB. Similarly, all the frequencies to its left (7-27) were treated as demonstrating disagreement with CB. The score of 28 was viewed as a separate category altogether. Ladd and Lipset's findings were also adjusted slightly. The responses of academicians from schools in their upper two tiers were combined, since these were the most comparable to the university setting we were studying; the responses from the two lower-tier schools were also added together. These are presented along with the frequencies and percentages for the entire sample of over 60,000 academicians.

Table 3 About Here.

Table 3 reveals that the education staff under investigation was more supportive of CB than even the respondents from the two lower-tier colleges and universities (77% as compared to 61%). And, when the education faculty is more appropriately compared to faculty, many of whom are from private, research-oriented universities, the difference is much larger (77% as compared to 54%). The above figures support the conclusion that the education faculty as a body

was supportive of CB to a greater extent than expected on the basis of Ladd and Lipset's work.[4]

Faculty Preference for Unionization

The frequencies and percentages necessary for determining the extent of support for unionization are contained in Table 4. Using data presented by Ladd and Lipset about affiliations (1973:44), we calculated the percentages of faculty in their national sample who belonged to AAUP, to various union organizations, to other representative bodies, and to no associational or union affiliates at all. This information was contrasted with the affiliation preferences in the School of Education.[5]

Table 4 About Here.

The table shows that the education faculty had a greater general desire to affiliate with some organizational body (77% versus 52%) and clearly indicates that a substantially greater proportion supported unionization (29%) than would have been expected on the basis of Ladd and Lipset's work (2%).

The Relation of CB and Unionization Within the Faculty

In order to determine the extent to which affiliation preferences were related to degree of support for CB, two analyses were conducted: a one-way ANOVA for the larger sample with the three-group categorization, and then, a t-test for the smaller sample with the dichotomous categorization. Table 5 demonstrates important differences among the three groups -- AAUP, UNION, and NO AFFILIATION -- on how much support they gave to CB. The pro-union group showed the strongest support with a mean of 43.47 and the smallest standard deviation (6.19). While the no affiliation group evidenced the least support for collective bargaining, the mean was still on the positive side of the scale (31.94), and the standard deviation was the largest (11.86). The group preferring

AAUP affiliation fell in between these two groups both on its mean (35.66) and on its standard deviation (10.07). More important for our present purposes, eta,[6] the proportion or percentage of total variance accounted for by the grouping variable, was .169 or 16.9% (r= .41).

Table 5 About Here.

The variation in CB grouped for the smaller sample in Table 6 was according to the dichotomy of union versus no affiliation. The eta found in this case was .281 or 28.1% (r= .53). Both analyses uncover a moderate relationship between affiliation preferences and support for CB.

Table 6 About Here.

The Relations of Tenure and Research Orientation to Unionism

To explore whether the findings of Ladd and Lipset about faculty characteristics leading to strong anti-unionization sentiments applied to this specific school of education, a series of contingency-table analyses were carried out. Table 7 contains several zero-order associations.

Table 7 About Here.

The most important finding in the table is the fact that although tenure was related to support for unionization, it was related in the opposite direction than expected (gamma= -.56). Even though 39% of the untenured faculty did support unionization, a much larger percentage of the tenured faculty (69%) did. And, since there is always a substantial relationship between rank and tenure,

the table also reveals that far more associates and full professors supported unionization than assistants (68% and 61% as compared to 33%). The gamma was -.34. Only among the associates were there both tenured and untenured members, since no assistants in the sample had tenure and all the full professors did. When we separated the associates into these two categories and compared the proportions supporting unionization (Table 8), the resulting gamma (-.69) was stronger than the original one for tenure and was again in the unexpected direction, with 85% of the tenured associates supporting unionization as compared to 50% of the untenured faculty. In short, our analyses uncovered a serious departure from the findings of Ladd and Lipset within this faculty: tenured associate professors and full professors were much more supportive of union affiliation than the untenured assistant and associate professors.[7]

Information presented in Table 7 did confirm Ladd and Lipset's finding about the effect of research orientation on support of unionism. When research priority was cross-classified with unionization, a gamma of .50 was found and was in the expected direction. Of the faculty with a lower research priority, 70% supported union affiliation as compared to 44% of those with a high research priority. However, no important association was established between number of publications and unionization (gamma= .12). Furthermore, the Pearson correlation between research priority and publications was a minimal .20. This might have been due to a large number of newer assistant professors who, although expressing the commitment to research and probably making the effort to do research, had not yet published much, if anything. It is also probable that many of the publications reported by this professional school faculty were not the consequence of research. These two factors, alone, would seriously limit the use of publications as an index of research orientation.

We were concerned that the unexpected relationship between tenure and

unionism might actually be spurious: due to a third factor. For example, it could be that the tenured faculty were simply less research oriented, or that junior faculty were closed-minded to the introducation of unionism.

In order to test for spuriousness, we conducted a series of third-variable analyses. Preliminary tests uncovered no relationships between dogmatism and support of union affiliation or tenure, and similarly, no associations between our measure of cosmopolitanism (number of professional offices held) and support of unionism or tenure. Research priority, however, was found to have associations with support of unionization and with tenure. The gamma with tenure, -.48 (p= .013), revealed that while 70% of the untenured faculty had a higher research priority, only 44% of the tenured members expressed a higher research priority. When the zero-order association between support of unionism and tenure (gamma= -.56) was controlled for research priority, Table 8 shows that the effect was to increase slightly the relationship among those with a lower research priority (gamma= -.60), while lowering it (gamma= -.41) for faculty with a higher research priority. However, the original relationship was neither reversed nor drastically reduced in either partial table.[8]

Table 8 About Here.

Therefore, at least as far as could be determined with the factors available to us, the association of tenure with unionization was not spuriously related. On the basis of these results, it seems reasonable to conclude that research priority and tenure (to a greater degree than research priority) each had an effect on support for unionization within this faculty, and furthermore, that the unanticipated positive effect of tenure was specified to some extent by research priority.

DISCUSSION

It appears that a contradictory picture of forces behind the push for unionism (tenure) and away from unionism (research priority) exists within this faculty, if we take Ladd and Lipset's findings as our point of departure. To discuss this seemingly confusing picture, the introduction of information about the setting in which this faculty was embedded in 1973 is necessary.

Before introducing our central argument, a number of preliminary remarks are needed. First, the total explanation of support and rejection of unionization in this setting, in all probability, depends on a combination of factors, some of which cannot be examined, either because of an inadequate sample size or lack of necessary information. Second, it must be said that Ladd and Lipset's generalization regarding the adverse effect of a strong research orientation on support of unionization was upheld: 70% with lower research priorities as compared to 44% with higher research priorities favored union affiliation. And, when the zero-order association of unionization with tenure was controlled for research priority, the effect was to increase support for both untenured and tenured members with lower research priorities, while decreasing it among both groups expressing higher priorities. Third, 39% of the assistant (untenured) professors and 50% of the untenured associates did support unionism.

Still, it remains that 44% of the higher research priority faculty did endorse unionization and that the controlling did not erase or change the direction of the association between tenure and unionism. Most importantly, our various tests established the existence of a reversal within this faculty that contradicts Ladd and Lipset; 69% of the tenured members in the sample supported unionism and 61% of the non-tenured members rejected unionism. Senior members, those with the greatest investment in time and professional energy at the School were more for its unionization than their newer, less committed,

junior colleagues. Why? It is around this basic question that our discussion takes shape.[9]

Important Changes During the 1960's

The University set out in the early 1960's to change its ways of operating and its image to a first-rate institution of higher learning. The following passage in a recent memo from a top administrator to university faculty reflects this effort and its outcome: "We have worked hard together over the past decade, through good times and bad, to raise the reality and the perception of the reality of our University's excellence in the city and in the nation. We have moved into the front rank of private research universities...." At about the same time and in the same spirit, a newly appointed Dean of the School of Education began urging fundamental modifications in the School's conception and operation. Several changes, directly important to our discussion, involve school goals, hiring practices, and standards for salary raises, promotions, and tenure. Central to these was the stress the Dean placed on greater research productivity within the faculty, and with this, the growth hopefully of the School's national prominence.

This new emphasis helped balance the perennial commitment of faculty to teaching and advisement of students. The Dean was desirous of making what went on in the School more discipline-based and theoretically-directed than had, heretofore, been the case. He encouraged the hiring of new faculty, especially at the assistant professor level, who showed research promise, who were trained in specific disciplines such as the behavioral and social sciences, and who were concerned with conducting research that would contribute in some way to the understanding or betterment of education generally, schooling, and the training of professionals at the preservice and graduate levels. A number of professors were hired at the senior level who had records of educational research and publications and were well known in areas of national focus

at that time such as "cultural deprivation" and "poverty."

In line with shifts in direction and recruitment of staff, all faculty were encouraged and aided in applying for outside money particularly from federal agencies and private foundations who at that time were committed to supporting promising educational endeavors. The funds obtained were mostly for evaluation of public school projects or were grants for training students both at the undergraduate and graduate levels, although some money did come in for basic and applied research. Salary increases attached to one's professorial rank, however, were based on a formalized, merit system. Research and writing became important areas in which faculty were encouraged to invest professional energy in order to qualify for raises. While most faculty were getting raises some were getting much more than others according to a quartile system within each of the three professorial ranks. Some faculty were getting no annual increments. Promotions and tenure, according to a formalized system of peer and administrative review, increasingly required that faculty members demonstrate productivity and continued research and publication potential. There were other avenues open for promotion and tenure, but efforts were being made slowly to close them.

The Faculty "Generation Gap"

As a result of these and other changes in the School during the late 1960's and early 1970's, a climate was created in which faculty came to perceive research and publications as the legitimate way to status and mobility within the School and to win substantial salary increases. What these changes also created, however, was a "generation gap" often within departments and divisions of the School but also between the faculty members of particular departments.

There was one faculty, but two academic cultures. An unspoken line was drawn. There were those, for the most part tenured, who were concerned more

with teaching and the advisement of undergraduates and graduate students-i.e., the training of practitioners. They were field-based in schools and other types of organizational settings and were experienced-directed. As our data show, 63% of the tenured compared to 48% of the non-tenured in 1973 were teaching both undergraduates and graduates. Furthermore, our data reveal that the faculty teaching both levels were far more supportive of unionism than the graduate-only faculty (68% as contrasted with 37%). The gamma was .58 ($p=<.001$). Then, there were those, largely untenured, theoretically-oriented, junior faculty who were discipline-based and with a focus on research and graduate level teaching. Often these junior faculty were fresh from prestigious private universities with long-time research traditions and were hired at salaries that were relatively speaking much higher than the salaries at which their tenured colleagues were hired. The junior faculty were, as demonstrated earlier, clearly more research oriented than their seniors (70% as contrasted with 44%). And, when research orientation and tenure are viewed togethe the final percentages emerging (Table 8) makes the picture of the generation gap clear. 80% of the tenured, more training-oriented faculty supported unionization, while 65% of the untenured, more research-oriented faculty were against unionism-i.e., only 35% supported unionization.

Exacerbating Conditions in the Early 1970's

As 1973 approached, new conditions were arising in the society, larger University setting, and the School of Education. The undergraduate enrollments continued to drop in the School because of the decreasing need for public school teachers. The need nationally for academicians was also dropping because of a decrease in college-aged youth; so, the job market for faculty began to tighten. Master's degree and doctoral programs, however, at the School on the whole grew: some areas rapidly, others slowly, while still others actually decreasing. But, on the whole the drop in undergraduates was balanced by an

increase in graduate students. Moreover, outside sources of money declined in many educational areas rapidly so that the School became more dependent than ever upon increases in student tuition and enrollements to balance the budget. In the years just preceding 1973, the education faculty had experienced both a one-year, all-university wage freeze and also several good annual increases that included adjustments for many on the faculty with salary differentials due to discriminatory policies established early on according to sex, prior to the new administration.

Overall, the University experienced a much greater drop in student enrollments and an increase in operating costs to the point that an all-University task force was convened and made recommendations that the University's central administration followed in making serious cutbacks in several services and schools. Units were required by formula to "pay their way" or possibly be disbanded. This was perceived by many education faculty as a threat to their job security and as a move toward greater centralization of fiscal decision-making. Some, rightly or wrongly, saw this as applying to both the School and to the University-at-large. Many faculty were also distressed by the pressure to do research and publish on the one hand, and on the other hand, the pressure to attract more students and engage in more teaching in order to help the School meets its operating costs and obligations to the central administration.

The Responses of Faculty to Unionization in 1973

In 1973 the faculty in the two educational camps responded differently to the building pressures for unionization. Those mainly tenured, training and advisement oriented -- the professionalizers -- we believe saw unionization of the faculty as a way of resolving many of their difficulties and as full of benefits.[10] Those largely untenured, discipline-oriented -- the researchers -- we believe took unionization to be a serious threat to their well-being and as full of risks.

The professionalizers, due to their field orientations, had seen the positive effects of unionism in the surrounding public sectors of education, especially the public school systems in the area, the nearby public system of higher education, and other service organizations where teachers, professors, and other professionals made substantial gains in salaries and other professional benefits. Perhaps more important for this faculty group, unionization would represent a second line of defense for job security, since tenure was coming under attack in many university settings and since many were in departments with declining, if not, plummeting student enrollments. On the other hand, for those in this group that had large numbers of students, unionization would mean a guaranteed salary increase annually according to one's teaching activity and according to steps in a fixed scale, regardless of their publication and research records. Still to other professionalizers the union might represent a collective force necessary to fight the perceived centralization of fiscal decision-making, which to some was "capricious" or, at least, not seen as being in the best interests of the faculty. It would put a halt to what some saw as the weak, advisory nature of faculty influence. And still yet for others, unionism might help offset the perceived pressure for research. Since they had less of a research commitment and might be asked, therefore, to do more teaching, the union might be used to fight such administrative pressure. To put it bluntly, the professionalizers as a group and for a variety of reasons were in a position to see the union as their defender.

The researchers, on the other hand, probably found little to cheer about in unionization. They, for the most part, would see it as a way of blocking or slowing down their security and their mobility--i.e., promotions and tenure. This was particularly important. Since positions at academic institutions were no longer plentiful, success in this school setting became even more vital. In addition, unionism might be seen by many researchers as a way of limiting salary

increases, which they could win in greater amounts meritoriously through their research and publications. Taking a look at this from another perspective, for those who fitted the prevailing system of rewards and punishments, the union would act as a leveler of personal and professional growth and success. Moreover, the researchers had no previous "organizational memories" of times past when the School may have seemed more cohesive, more practical, and with faculty in greater control; rather, they had remembrances of their graduate-student days often in more prestigious colleges and universities; unionism to them would be viewed as an obstacle to their self-directed, entrepreneurial conception of the academic role. And, with pressures and a priority to engage in research in order to gain promotions and tenure, they would have much less time and desire for school governance. The researchers could see that unionization in a time of financial belt-tightening would act as a shield for the professionalizers' interests and against their own.

In sum, for the professionalizers, the union represented a bringing back of some of the old, a training focus, job assurance, and regular salary increments to the extent that money was available -- as a way of offsetting the newer conception of the School. For the researchers, the union would be instrumental in blocking their rise in the system and research as a valued activity and status criterion.[11]

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Collective Bargaining, Unionization, and Their Relation

We found very extensive support for collective bargaining in 1973 within the education faculty of a large, private, research-oriented university and a substantial preference also for unionization, although not to the degree that existed for CB. It is unclear whether the differences between Ladd and Lipset's findings and ours are due to the continued growth of support for CB and for

unionization between 1969 and 1973 throughout higher education, or whether schools of education (especially like this one) are more receptive, or whether some combination of these and other conditions has led to the divergence of findings. It is clear, however, that both studies showed more faculty support for CB than for unionization.

The moderate relationship uncovered between unionization and support of CB is also important. First, since affiliation explained less than a third of the variance in CB, we conclude that CB and unionization are not tantamount to the same thing and must be kept, conceptually, separate. Because faculty do not view CB and Unionism as the same, it becomes difficult to predict accurately the degree to which a specific faculty will support unionization at their school based on attitude surveys which use the construct CB and generalize from their findings. Another obvious problem with utilizing data from Carnegie-type attitude surveys for predicting unionization is discussed by Garbarino (1975:53). This is that the surveys contain no direct questions about support for unionism on their own campuses. The moderate relation between CB and unionization also supports the arguments that unionization represents an extreme form of group action for faculty.

Not only is the moderate relationship important but so is the degree of divergence within each of the three groups. Those committed to union affiliation showed the least variation (SD= 6.19) in the strongly positive evaluation of CB; those wanting no affiliation varied the most on their support for CB (SD= 11.86); faculty choosing AAUP were somewhat less divergent in their assessment of CB than the no affiliation group (SD= 10.07), but showed far more disagreement that the union supporters. The connotation, components, and implications of CB seem to be clearer to pro-union faculty. An important question emerging from this finding is, why are the pro-union faculty so highly positive, while the anti-union faculty so divergent in their opinions of CB?

It would be valuable to delineate more clearly the elements that go into the meaning of the term, collective bargaining, and the extent to which CB and unionization overlap in these elements or criteria. To do this would help us to understnad better what faculty are reacting to when they support or reject the concept of unionism as compared to CB or both. Given greater specification, surveys of the support or rejection of CB would have more comparability and permit more accurate interpretation. The valid acceptance or rejection by faculty of CB and unionization would also have a greater chance of occurring.

Tenure, Research Priority, and Unionization

The unexpected positive relationship between tenure and support for unionization coupled with the apparently contradictory negative relation between research orientation and support for unionization reveals to us the importance of accepting general findings, such as those of Ladd and Lipset, with caution. Under certain conditions lack of tenure weakens support for unionism. In some situations young, untenured faculty perceive unionization as inhibiting academic innovation and individual mobility, and, therefore, oppose it (like this situation and that reported by Oliker and Kaufman, 1975). Under other conditions, thought not present in this study, research orientation strengthens support for unionism (Haehn, 1971; Lindeman, 1975). For these reasons, studies of support for CB and unionization should give greater emphasis to structural, functional, and environmental variables which result in systematic differentiation between and within universities. Garbarino (1975) argues that the failure of unionization to penetrate the more prestigious university systems depends more on the policies of the university administration than on the personal characteristics of the faculty. Too often, variations in local context have been ignored. Yet, specific factors such as the role of the administration prior to and during a collective bargaining campaign or changes

in recruitment patterns, probably accounts for the failure of CB and union elections on many campuses. For these reasons, studies of support for CB and unionization should give greater emphasis to structural, functional and system factors.

In broad perspective, our evidence provides partial support for Ladd and Lipset's conclusions about the effects of rank, tenure, and research priority. Yes, a higher research priority did have the effect of reducing the desire for unionization. But, the younger assistant and untenured associate professors were far less supportive than the tenured associate and full professors. And, while tenured associates and full professors with a stronger research orientation were less supportive of unionization than their training-oriented counterparts, separately tenure remained generally a positive force for unionism, in this school of education located in a large private university, for a number of reasons.

Given the present state of the national economy and the condition of our educational institutions, these findings may have an important practical implication. To the extent that schools, departments, and programs of education contain large numbers of professionalizers -- tenured, largely non-research-oriented, trainers -- our data suggest that they may be important sources of union support within university settings. It is hoped that efforts such as this one will lead to further insights into the degree of and reasons behind the support of unionism by faculty located in specific university subsettings.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Completion of this research paper was supported by the School of Education, Health, Nursing, and Arts Professions, NYU's University Computer Center, and by fellowship funds awarded to Joseph Giacquinta through the National Academy of Education by the Spencer Foundation.

[2]For the original study see Carole Kazlow, Resistance to Innovations in Complex Organizations: A Test of Two Models of Resistance in a Higher Education Setting. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, New York University, 1974).

[3]We also interpret this as evidence, beyond the similarity of general statistics in Table 1, that the smaller sample of faculty was representative of the larger sample and of the school of education faculty.

[4]While their study was published in 1973, the data about support of CB were gathered during 1969. One might argue that had their questions been asked in 1973 the results would have been similar to our findings. This is possible. However, there is another and off-setting point. The question asked of the education faculty, unlike that of Ladd and Lipset, was not about CB on campuses in general and in the abstract. The education faculty was being asked about CB being introduced specifically on their campus, a very real possibility at the time. So, many of the faculty studied by Ladd and Lipset might have enjoyed the luxury of expounding somewhat more liberal positions with no serious consequences or threats to them on their own campuses.

[5]We do not know for a fact that the preferences expressed by the education faculty were backed by their actual memberships (or lack of) in these organizations. We can see reasons both pro and con for why there could be discrepancies. Nevertheless, we believe their expressed preferences to be a good indication of whether they were in fact in sympathy with such affiliations and, thus, whether they were supportive of unionization or not.

[6]All of the data analyses were carried out with the use of DATA-TEXT. Armor and Couch (1972:94,99,181) use the term, Eta, to refer to the ratio of among group variation to total variation.

[7]There were several correlates of tenure including age and administrative responsibilities, which automatically had relations with support of unionization.

[8]Whether the strong zero-order relation between support for unionization and research priority might have been a function of tenure, led us to a conditional analysis with tenure as the third variable. The original association between research priority and support of unionization was modified more by the introduction of tenure, than was the relationship between tenure and unionization by the introduction of research priority (Table 8). We view this as further support for why tenure might be taken as a stronger determinant of unionism than research orientation.

[9]It should be kept in mind that the explanation we offer is applicable to 1973. It may be somewhat overdrawn and, as noted, subject to the influence of other conditions. Still, we think the following depiction captures the essential cause of the unexpected reversal.

[10] Our reasons for these responses are based largely on informal and personal observations. They may, therefore, be viewed by some as speculative. They may or may not have wide applicability. We, obviously think they do, although we do not think they are exhaustive of the factors behind faculty responses. We are indebted to several good friends and colleagues, who shall remain anonymous, for providing us with a number of stimulating ideas about unionism which we draw on freely in this section.

[11] To the extent that there were tenured researchers and untenured professionalizers, the pressures to support unionization of the setting might cross. For example, the tenured researcher who had few students might support unionism as a way of assuring job security even though it contradicted other important considerations. The data suggest that a considerable amount of cross-pressuring in both directions -- for and against unionism -- may have occurred.

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TABLE 1. Selected Social and Organizational Characteristics of School of Education Faculty.

Variables	Categories	Faculty Used in CB Analysis (N=133)	Faculty Used in Unionism Analysis (N=69)
1. Academic Rank	Assistant Professors	23%[a] (31)	33% (23)
	Associate Professors	39% (52)	36% (25)
	Full Professors	38% (50)	31% (21)
2. Age	26-35 years	18% (24)	25% (17)
	36-50 years	46% (61)	45% (31)
	51+ years	36% (48)	30% (21)
3. Instructional Level	Graduates Only	47% (63)	44% (30)
	Undergrads & Grads	53% (70)	56% (39)
4. Publications in Last Five Years	None	12% (16)	10% (7)
	1-2	26% (35)	32% (22)
	3-4	25% (33)	22% (15)
	5-7	18% (24)	20% (14)
	8+	19% (25)	16% (11)
5. Research Priority[b]	First Choice	26% (35)	21% (15)
	Second	30% (40)	34% (24)
	Third	22% (29)	17% (12)
	Fourth	14% (19)	23% (14)
	Fifth	8% (10)	5% (4)
6. Tenure	Yes	56% (75)	52% (36)
	No	44% (58)	48% (33)
7. Sex	Females	38% (50)	29% (20)
	Males	62% (83)	71% (49)

[a] Percentages are rounded for clarity.

[b] The other possible first choices were teaching, advisement, school governance and community involvement.

TABLE 2. A Composite Histogram of Faculty Summary Scores on Collective Bargaining (CB) for Both Samples.

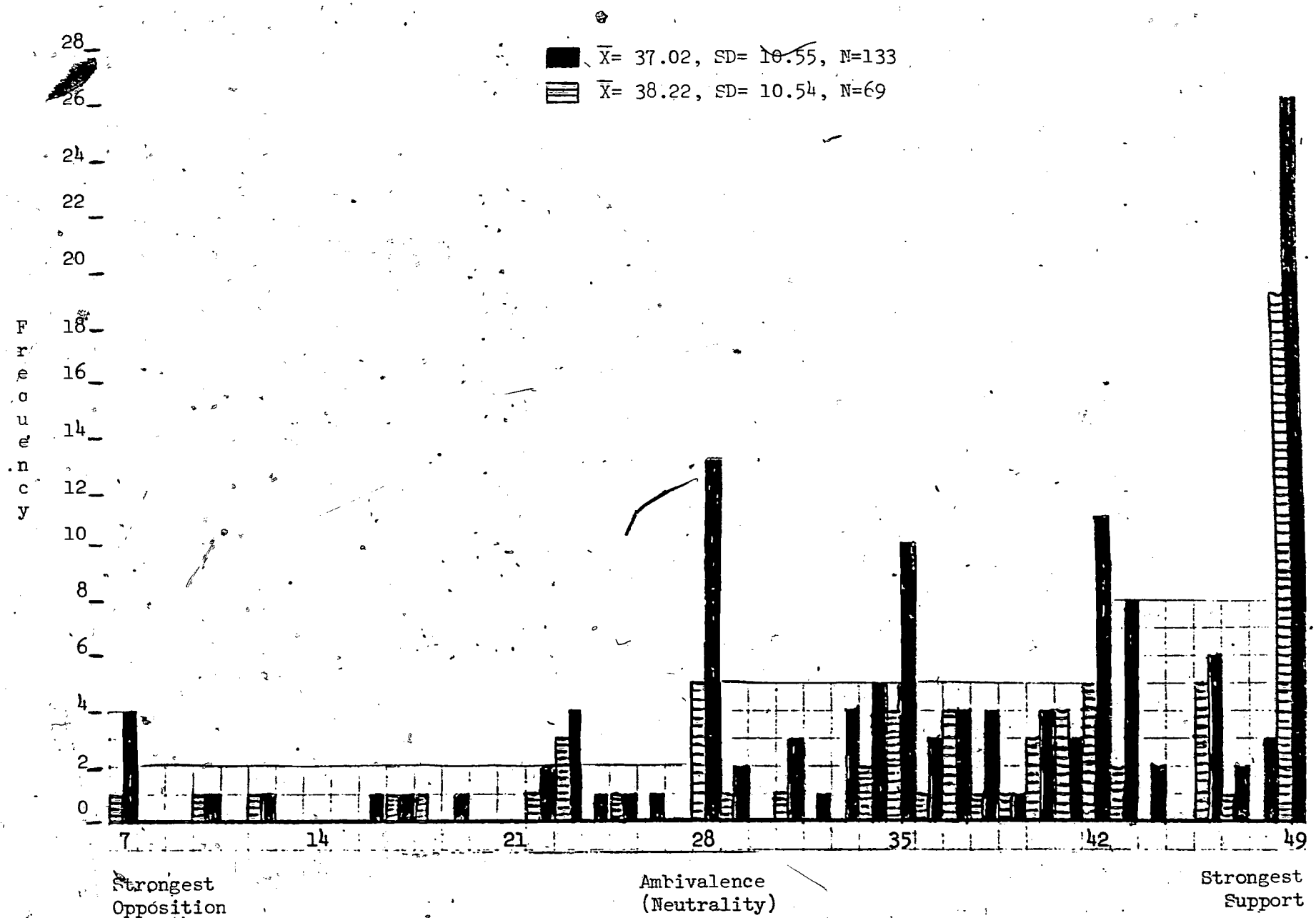

TABLE 3. Percentages of Faculty Supporting Collective Bargaining as Compared to Ladd and Lipset's Findings.

Categories	Ladd and Lipset's Findings: Total[a]	Upper Tiers[b]	Lower Tiers[c]	Education Faculty Results[d] (N=133)
Agree with Collective Bargaining	59%	54%	61%	77%
Ambivalent or Neutral[e]	-	-	-	10%
Disagree with Collective Bargaining	41%	46%	39%	13%
Total Percentage	100	100	100	100

[a] All respondents in Ladd and Lipset's four school-tiers: A(elite) and levels B,C, & D.
[b] Those respondents in their A & B tiers (N= 44,313).
[c] Those respondents in their C & D tiers (N= 15,690).
[d] Based on the pooling of CB summary scores (see Table 2): Disagree equals 7-27; Ambivalent (neutral) equals 28; Agree equals 29-49.
[e] The distinction was not made in their table (1973:12).

TABLE 4. Faculty Preferences for Various Forms of Representation as Compared to Ladd and Lipset's Findings.

Organizational Preferences	Affiliations of Faculty in Ladd and Lipset's Research (N= 67,971)	Affiliation Preferences of Faculty at the School of Education (N= 133)
AAUP	28%	48%
UNION (AFT, UFCT)	2%	29%
OTHERS (NEA, Local)	22%	-[a]
NONE	48%	23%
Total Percentage	100	100

[a] No faculty members specified "Other" as an affiliation preference.

TABLE 5. Analysis of Variance of Faculty Summary Scores on Collective Bargaining and Affiliation Preferences. (N=133)

Source of Variation	Mean Square	df	F-Test	Eta
Among Groups	1251.53	2	13.232***	.169[a]
Within Groups	94.58	130		

Group One (No Affiliation)	$\bar{X}$= 31.94	SD= 11.86	N= 31
Group Two (AAUP)	$\bar{X}$= 35.66	SD= 10.07	N= 64
Group Three (Union)	$\bar{X}$= 43.47	SD= 6.19	N= 38
Overall	$\bar{X}$= 37.02	SD= 10.55	N= 133

*** $p < .001$

[a] These three groups accounted for 16.9% (r= .41) of the variation in CB scores for the larger sample of 133 faculty.

TABLE 6. Comparison of Faculty Preferring Union Affiliation to Faculty Preferring No Affiliation on their Collective Bargaining Stance. (N=69)

Source of Variation	Mean	SD	Difference	SE	df	t-test	Eta
Union Preference (N=38)	43.47	6.19	11.54	2.25	67	5.12***	.281[a]
No Affiliation (N=31)	31.94	11.86					
Overall (N=69)	38.22	10.54					

*** $p < .001$

[a] These two groups accounted for 28.1% (r= .53) of the variation in CB scores for the larger sample of 69 faculty.

TABLE 7. Zero-order Relations Between Support of Unionization and Tenure, Faculty Rank, Research Priority, and Publications. (N=69)

Preference	Tenure: No.	Tenure: Yes	Professorial Rank: Assistant	Professorial Rank: Associate	Professorial Rank: Full	Research Priority: Lower[c]	Research Priority: Higher	Publications: Lesser[d]	Publications: Greater[d]	TOTAL
Union Affiliation	39%	69%[a]	33%	68%	61%	70%	44%	59%	53%	55%
No Affiliation	61%	31%	67%	32%	39%	30%	56%	41%	47%	45%
Total Percentage	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total Number	33	36	21	25	23	30	39	29	40	69
	G= -.56[b] p=.002		G= -.34 p=.065			G= .50 p=.009		G= .12 p=>.500		

[a] Statistics are rounded for clarity.

[b] Gamma (called often Yule's Q for a 2x2 table) reveals the degree of diagonality in a table and hence the degree of association between the variables. Gamma ranges from +1.00 to -1.00.

[c] Lower includes the ranking of research 3rd, 4th, or 5th out of five activities, the others being teaching, advisement, school governance, and community involvement. Higher includes 1st or 2nd

[d] Lesser includes 0 to 2 publications in the past five years, while greater includes 3 to 8+.

TABLE 8. Degree of Association between Tenure and Union Support Controlling for Professorial Rank and Research Priority and Degree of Association between Research Priority and Union Support Controlling for Tenure. (N=69)

Control Variables	Faculty Supporting Union Affiliation:		Gamma	Level of Significance
	Not Tenured	Tenured		
Zero-Order	39% (33)	69%[a] (36)	-.56	.002
Assistant Professors	33% (21)	0% (0)	-	-
Associate Professors	50% (12)	85% (13)	-.69	.006
Full Professors	0% (0)	61% (23)	-	-
Lower Research Priority	50% (10)	80% (20)	-.60	.027
Higher Priority	35% (23)	56% (16)	-.41	.136
	Lower Research Priority	Higher Research Priority		
Zero-Order	70% (30)	44% (39)	.50	.009
Not Tenured	50% (10)	35% (23)	.30	.383
Tenured	80% (20)	56% (16)	.51	.064

[a] The percentages in each row represent the upper halves of tables, while the numbers in parentheses represent the total column frequencies. For example, 39% of the 33 non-tenured members favored union affiliation. The 61% of the same 33 non-tenured members favoring no affiliation is not presented. Each gamma is based, of course, on an entire table.