OPERATIONALIZING SOCIAL CONTRACT: APPLICATION OF RELATIONAL CONTRACT THEORY TO EXPLORATION OF CONSTRAINTS ON IMPLEMENTATION OF AN EMPLOYEE ASSISTANCE PROGRAM

by

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was two-fold. First, it sought to identify constraints on program implementation by exploring the nature of contractual relations in the construction industry. The program of interest was the Laborers' Membership Assistance Program. Second, it sought to operationalize behavioral norms identified by Macneil in his work on relational contract. The underlying intent was to assess the usefulness of relational contract theory in explaining observed behaviors among parties potentially affected by program implementation.

The research strategy chosen for study of the Laborers' Membership Assistance Program was the embedded case study. Multiple projects were embedded within the overall design, and analyses incorporated outcomes from these multiple projects. Results were then used collectively to propose a grounded theory framework for systematically evaluating relational contract. This was accomplished by comparing ideas growing
out of Macneil's work to empirical evidence.

Data were collected from three distinct groups. Each group was potentially affected by the program being implemented -- union stewards and foremen, union business leaders, and signatory employers. Mechanisms for data collection were the semi-structured interview, focus group interview, and questionnaire. Data collection was accomplished through researcher visits to hiring hall premises, focus group interviews at selected hiring halls, and mail surveys. Multiple analytical techniques were used to analyze the data including conceptual correlation matrix analysis, frequencies, correlations, multidimensional scaling, and cluster score analysis.

The study was exploratory and the results descriptive. Its theoretical significance lay in its use as a means for assessing the usefulness of Macneil's work on relational contract as a viable approach to study of workplace relationships and to study of social contract. Its practical significance lay in its applicability to decisions by unions as to what factors should be considered when designing implementation strategies.
DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated with much love to my husband, Gerald, and to my three children, Joseph Wayne, George Edward, and Jacqueline Elaine. Their love, patience, and emotional support made completion of the study possible.
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CHAPTER 1

NATURE OF THE PROBLEM

Construction has been shown throughout this century to be one of the most hazardous industries in the United States. U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics data indicated that in 1985, construction had an injury rate of 15.2 cases per 100 workers. This was well above the 10.4 cases in manufacturing and the 7.9 cases in overall private sector industries (Stanton and Willenbrock, 1990). Analysis based on death certificates collected by the National Institute of Health and Safety showed that between 1980 and 1984, construction employees incurred 20.4% of all work-related fatalities. In 1988, estimates for fatalities on construction jobs ranged from a low of 800 to a high of 2,200. Actual fatalities reported to the U. S. Occupational Safety and Health Administration in 1988 numbered 909 (U.S. Department of Labor, 1990).

Though construction by virtue of the nature of the work has always been considered dangerous, investigators have sought out additional causes of high occupational injury, death, and health problems. For example, the California Department of Health Services examined excess deaths, i.e., death rates above the average for adult men, for construction helpers and laborers in California. Results of the study indicated that while causes of death appeared to be linked to accidents, drug and alcohol use and cigarette use were also
contributing factors. (See Appendix A-1.) Results such as these, especially when combined with results of other studies, alarmed industry leaders. All studies appeared to point to the same general conclusion -- problems are associated with the work itself, but factors other than the work itself are causing substantial problems with respect to on-the-job accidents and occupational health problems.

Among factors investigated were alcohol and drug use, credit problems, and other personal problems among workers. Scholars debated whether such problems as alcohol abuse are imported into the workplace or whether conditions in the workplace lead to heavy drinking (Seeman and Anderson, 1983; Slattery, Alderson and Bryant, 1986; Trice and Sonnenstuhl, 1988). In addition to debates concerning causes of drinking, associations between heavy drinking and workplace problems were investigated (Trice and Roman, 1978; Holder and Blose, 1991). Research results showed a positive association between heavy drinkers and the risk for occupational injury, death, and chronic health problems (Hingson and Howland, 1987; Smith and Draus, 1988; Peters, Martin and Ward, 1985; Seitz and Kommerell, 1985; Pfefferbaum, Rosenblum, Crusan and Jernigan, 1988). Likewise, links between workplace problems and other personal problems experienced by workers, including drug use, credit problems and mental health, were documented (Bureau of National Affairs, 1986; Sonnenstuhl and Trice, 1986).
Researchers also found an association between workers' personal problems, especially those associated with heavy drinking or drug use, and medical costs experienced by the business sector (Trice and Roman, 1978; Harwood, Napolitano, Dristiansen and Collins, 1985; Bureau of National Affairs, 1986). Research results revealed, for example, that medical costs incurred by alcoholics and heavy drinkers exceed those incurred by non-alcoholics by a rate of at least twice that of their corresponding age and gender cohorts (Holder and Blose, 1991; Forsythe, Griffiths, and Reiff, 1982; Holder and Blose, 1986). Research addressing these findings was of special interest to unions and employers funding health care benefits for workers in such industries as construction, industries known to be hazardous.¹

The growing concern among industry leaders in construction was enhanced when government data revealed that, in 1984, craftworkers, operatives and laborers ranging in ages from 19 to 27 years had rates of on-the-job drug use averaging more than nine percent (Gleason, Veum, and Pergamit, 1991). This concern was paralleled by a growing concern in the United States over drug use in general. Though alcohol use had long been accepted as a norm among construction workers, its use

¹This statement is based on comments made by individuals in leadership positions in the Laborers' Union and in construction companies.
attracted the attention of industry leaders. The category of workers shown to have relatively high incidences of drug use also reported relatively high rates of alcohol use (Gleason, et al., 1991).

Industry response to these findings and possible links between alcohol and drug use and occupational accidents was generally predictable. Employers and unions in construction sought to identify programs designed to intervene and in essence alter worker behaviors. Their response behavior was modeled after actions by employers in other industries, actions which had been documented in various studies and surveys. Actions generally involved provision of programs addressing worker problems through implementation of worker assistance programs.

The positive results of surveys on assistance programs in case studies did much to encourage employer involvement in identifying how companies can benefit from involvement in plans designed to assist workers. Fortunately, insurance coverage became readily available during the 1980s. The 1989 Employee Benefits Survey\(^2\) revealed that participation in

\(^2\)The 1989 survey studied full-time employees in a sample of 2,047 establishments, which represented more than 109,000 establishments employing 32 million full-time employees. The data covered private industry establishments with 100 or more employees, not including Hawaii and Alaska. (See Kronson, 1991.)
health plans providing substance abuse coverage grew from approximately 50% in 1983 to 96% in 1989 (Kronson, 1991). Furthermore, though it was standard practice prior to the 1970s for insurance policies to exclude coverage under the heading of substance abuse treatment, changes in attitudes toward abuse and passage of state-legislated mandates led to coverage by insurers. By 1990, twenty-four states and the District of Columbia required private insurance plans to provide some type of coverage for alcohol-related treatments. Sixteen other states had mandated coverage for both drug and alcohol abuse (Kronson, 1991).

The benefits of providing assistance to workers beyond insurance coverage for treatment became a subject of much research during the 1980s. Articles on employer-provided assistance programs were voluminous during this time period, especially with respect to medium or large manufacturing or service firms. Unfortunately, programs developed in the union sector were less likely to be the subject of scholarly research.

The lack of scholarly research on union-provided services was problematic for unions desiring to take on responsibility for addressing workers' personal problems. Lack of applicable information on how to proceed impacted construction especially hard, especially given the severity of occupational safety and health problems. Though programs had been implemented by
various craft unions or through the AFL-CIO for addressing literacy and job skills, the models used for development of the programs were not found to be wholly applicable to implementation of worker assistance programs in construction.\(^3\)

The realization that little guidance was available for construction unions on how to implement worker assistance programs given the industry's complex contracting systems provided the rationale for this study. It was realized that seeking guidance on implementation required understanding the nature of contract in construction. The vehicle for exploring contractual relations and how they are related to efforts to implement new programs was a pilot worker assistance program developed by the Laborers' International Union of North America (LIUNA). The program was being tested during 1989-1992 in the Washington, DC-Baltimore, Maryland areas. Relations which had evolved among parties over the century provided a rich environment not only for implementation of this type of program but also for the study of how perceptions

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\(^3\)This statement is based on comments by individuals involved in implementation of the Laborers' Membership Assistance Program. An additional search for literature dealing with implementation of worker assistance programs revealed that, not only is there a void in the literature concerning how to implement the programs in construction, surprisingly little has been written and published about labor relations in the construction industry over the last two decades. Much of the relevant literature identified had been published during the 1970s.
of contractual relations could impact implementation efforts. The nature of the program is described below to provide a foundation for the subsequent investigation.

THE LIUNA MEMBERSHIP ASSISTANCE PROGRAM

In 1988, the Laborers' International Union of North America (commonly referred to as the Laborers' Union) and signatory contractors established the National Health and Safety Fund (Annual Report, 1989). 4 Objectives of the fund included developing programs to improve the safety and health conditions of the union's members and their families, cutting the costs of medical care paid by health and welfare funds, and dealing effectively with substance abuse affecting union members and their families. The fund was initiated in response to a resolution of the 1986 International Union Convention and established as a joint union-employer trust under provisions of Section 302 of the Taft-Hartley Act.

The Health and Safety Fund was established in response to unfavorable reports concerning health and safety from

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4 The Laborers' International Union of North America organizes laborers employed primarily in the construction industries within the United States and Canada. The Laborers' Union also organizes workers in other industries that perform laborer-type work.
government and universities indicating that construction had one of the highest overall injury and fatality rates of any industry during the 1980s. Reports internal to the union revealed that medical care costs associated with members' health problems were increasing and that this was due to accelerating demands made on the union's health and welfare funds. The Laborers' Health and Safety Fund established a strategy for addressing both problems which included program development aimed at legislative reform, managed care, and prevention.

Implementing the strategy, especially that of prevention, required identification of factors potentially impacting, either directly or indirectly, the safety and health of Laborers. As expected, major factors identified for study were the potential impacts of substance abuse and worker personal problems on performance. Concern among union leaders over such problems as drugs had recently been enhanced as signatory contractors sought to comply with provisions of the 1988 Drug-Free Workplace Act. (See Tatel, 1989.) The Laborers attempted to identify ways to assist contractors on compliance while protecting its members from inappropriate drug screening.

Concern over the impact of substance abuse and personal problems on worker health and safety led the union to consider implementing a program shown to be effective in addressing
worker problems in other industries -- an employee assistance program, commonly referred to as an EAP. In 1991, the LIUNA National Health and Safety Fund developed a pilot Membership Assistance Program (MAP), i.e., a program similar to an EAP but which the union rather than employer initiates and administers. The pilot program was to be tested using LIUNA Locals, i.e., local unions, in the Washington-Baltimore area. The purpose of the Laborers’ Membership Assistance Program was to refer members whose problems affect work performance to appropriate treatment programs.

Pilot testing of the Laborers’ Membership Assistance Program represented recognition by union leaders and signatory employers of the possible impact of workers’ personal problems on job productivity and health and safety costs. Unfortunately, surprisingly little information was available to guide the union in developing and implementing the program. Previous research was only minimally helpful since few studies had been conducted in workplace environments that share the unique contractual arrangements found between the Laborers’ Union and the signatory contractors. Furthermore, past research had generally focused upon subjective experiences of

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5Employee assistance programs (EAPs) are defined as "job-based strategies for the identification, motivation and treatment of bio-medical conditions not limited to, but usually including, alcohol and drug addictions, mental health problems and adjustment problems" (Sonnenstuhl and Trice, 1986).
providers, i.e., persons responsible for implementing the program and providing services, or upon a single problem such as overcoming individuals' initial resistance to accepting treatment. Such singularity ignored the numerous factors affecting the union's members and signatory employers at the various levels of inquiry and acting as constraints on implementation.

This study embraced the idea that the multiple factors potentially influencing receptivity to implementation of the Laborers' Membership Assistance Program could be explored in a way that uncovers the dimensions underlying a decision to implement workplace changes. It focused on contractual relationships as perceived by key groups of individuals at various levels of union and employer organizations. It employed a grounded theory paradigm and thus utilized a multimethod approach in order to avoid that singularity which could inhibit identification of factors affecting implementation efforts. The grounded theory paradigm and multimethod approach are described in Chapter 3. An overview of the employee assistance program, an employer-provided worker assistance program found in many public and private sector organizations and after which the membership assistance program is modeled, can be found in Appendix A-2.
PURPOSE, SIGNIFICANCE, AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of the study was two-fold. First, the study sought to identify constraints on or strategies for promoting program implementation by exploring the nature of contractual relations in construction. The framework chosen for this purpose was based on Ian Macneil's work on relational contract (1980, 1981). Using this framework, the study investigated how explicitly and implicitly defined relationships in the workplace might be used to assess receptivity to the Laborers' Membership Assistance Program. Second, the study sought to operationalize behavioral norms identified in Macneil's work on relational contract and to assess their usefulness for explaining perceptions of individuals who are potentially affected by the Laborers' Membership Assistance Program. The overall research strategy chosen for investigation was the grounded theory approach, an approach which has as its ultimate goal the grounding of theory in reality.
SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This study had both practical and theoretical significance. Its practical significance lay in its applicability to decisions by unions as to what factors to consider when designing implementation strategies. It thus described factors which can contribute to improved decision making in fragmented industries attempting to implement change.\(^6\) Given the scarcity of research available for guiding program development and implementation of membership assistance programs, this potential contribution could not be taken lightly. Costs covered by the union health and welfare fund and associated with members' personal problems as they affect productivity, safety, and health continued to threaten the health of the union. The study was timely since the problems noted above show no signs of waning, and relevant since what was learned could be generalized to future planning efforts by the Laborers' Union and other unions faced with similar decision making needs.

The study's theoretical significance lay in the exploration of work on relational contract as a viable approach to study of workplace relationships and program

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\(^6\)Fragmented industries are made up of many, often small-to medium-sized firms, none of which are dominant with respect to market share.
implementation. The magnitude of Macneil's potential contribution to scholarship in business had not been explored and was yet to be fully realized. In addition, the study could be used to test the sufficiency of a multi-method approach for the study of the relational contract concept and the appropriateness of the grounded theory paradigm for discovery under conditions where a theoretical framework was not yet fully developed. Though numerous research paradigms exist in business and many scholars are concerned with the concept of contract, none had approached decision making by exploring norms within Macneil's relational contract framework (Macneil, 1980). This was due in part to the recency of Macneil's work on relational contract and to the fact that the literature on relational contract was based primarily on legal scholarship. This study thus represented a first step in the effort to develop and refine such a framework for use by business scholars in future research on workplace relationships.

The study also met three criteria for sufficiency with respect to the investigation, i.e., that the study explore, explain, and describe. The study was exploratory in that it sought to identify important variables for study of relational contract and for generating hypotheses for future research; explanatory in that it sought to lay a foundation for identifying those plausible causal networks found in the
workplace which help explain how receptivity is linked to
perception of relationships; and descriptive in that it sought
to document beliefs and attitudes associated with the
phenomenon of interest.

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The primary limitation of the study lay in the nature of
the study population. The study population was limited to
parties associated with the Laborers’ Membership Assistance
Program and was thus narrowly defined. This limitation
potentially raised concerns over generalizability of results
to the larger industry, especially given the unique
characteristics of the segment of the construction industry
under study. However, as noted above, results could be
generalized to future decision making activities by leaders of
the Laborers’ International Union of North America and the
union’s signatory employers, and probably to other craft
trades. (See Shadish, Cook and Leviton, 1991.)

A second limitation was also associated with problems
concerning characteristics of the sample population. While
management personnel were relatively well-educated, illiteracy
among union members directly impacted data collection.
Traditional research survey methods would have potentially
produced less reliable and hence less valid results when collecting data from individuals with these demographic characteristics. Assumptions underlying traditional methods are based on standards more attuned to middle-class characteristics and communication capabilities. Data collection methods used with union members were focus group interviews and site observation. Though less efficient, data collected were more reliable and produced more useful information. The data were by nature more amenable to descriptive analysis.

A third limitation lay in the nature of the employer population. The segment of the industry with which the Laborers' Union is associated was composed of many small- to medium-sized firms operating in a fragmented industry. In 1990, the top 400 contractors carried out only one-third of the total work (Oglesby, 1990). Evidence suggested that employers in fragmented industries are generally hesitant to cooperate with researchers due to time and resource constraints or other personal reasons. Expectations regarding response rate had to be tempered given this limitation.

Regardless of limitations, the study added to the limited knowledge base concerning implementation of assistance programs in unique workplace environments and among small- to medium-sized employers in fragmented industries. Furthermore, the study contributed to future planning efforts and to
increased understanding about implementation of membership assistance programs where illiteracy and related problems abound. The study also furthered development of a model for guiding the study of relational contract. This contribution was believed to be essential in order for future scholars to extend the research without need for perfectly comparable situations.

SUMMARY OF THE CHAPTERS

This study is described in seven chapters. The theoretical foundations for study of relational contract are presented in Chapter 2. An overview of the literature on employee assistance programs is also included. The methodology is discussed in Chapter 3. Chapters 4, 5, and 6 are structured around the three research questions used to guide the study. The questions are presented in Chapter 3 and restated in subsequent chapters. Results of analyses of data collected through structured interviews, focus group interviews, and mail survey instruments are presented in Chapters 4, 5, and 6 as needed to address the research question on which the chapter is focused. Observations growing out of the overall study are summarized in Chapter 7.
CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL BASIS FOR THE STUDY OF RELATIONAL CONTRACT

Relational contract is defined as contractual relations between parties which govern on-going patterns of behavior. As such, the concept permits recognition of the factors impacting perceptions of the nature of relationships between parties. These perceptions affect maintenance of relations in the workplace over time. They permit consideration of multiple levels of inquiry, i.e., societal, organization, and individual, by recognizing the importance of the nature of relationships not only within a worksite but between the union and industry or society in which the union operates. Studying organizations as systems of relational contracts thus permits a rich description of business and individual relationships and of perceptions which potentially influence diffusion of and receptivity to programs impacting workplace relations.

The concept of relational contract differs from other scholarly concepts of contract in that it is not contract-in-law or contract governing discrete exchange. Discrete exchange is defined as exchange which has boundaries and is discontinuous. It is a more commonly understood form of contract in that it is expressed through such instruments as
contract defined by the Uniform Commercial Code. By contrast, relational contract or relational exchange has no such documentation in law. It is instead expressed through workplace norms and networks or processes that permit work to be carried out. To understand the distinction between discrete and relational contract and why understanding these differences is important to understanding program implementation, it is useful to start with a basic definition of contract.

By definition, contract is an agreement between two or more parties for doing or not doing something specified. When viewed from its basic definition, it is not specifically legal, economic, or political. Furthermore, contract is inconceivable without the common needs, language, and stability created by society (Macneil, 1980). It is expressed both through the specialization of labor (as expressed through activities performed by individuals trained for a particular role) and through exchange based on societal custom, rationing systems, and complex employment relations. It can also be understood in terms of choice since without freedom to elect among a range of behaviors, contract becomes conceptually indistinguishable from programmed activities. Finally, contract involves the belief that a future exists. This belief is a necessary addition since awareness of a future
gives the concept of choice a meaning.\(^7\)

In contract-in-law or discrete exchange, parties enter into an agreement believing that there is a definable beginning and ending time. The agreement is based on the premise that a promise exists for which law gives a remedy should the promise be breached. By contrast, the primary focus in relational contract concerns on-going relationships which may be either explicitly or implicitly defined. The relationship may have no specific or identifiable beginning and no definable ending. Exchange between parties to the relationship is both unique and transferable to future parties. As noted earlier, relational contract recognizes such nonpromissory mechanisms as custom, status, habit, hierarchical structures, and status quo, all of which evolve out of the interconnectedness of roles and relationships found in a large, complex society (Macneil, 1980). Participation in the relationship may start at birth of an organization or association and end only when one organization ceases to exist. A high level of coordination and/or cooperation among parties to the contract is thus required, and parties must share both benefits and burdens arising out of the

\(^7\)The ideas expressed in this section were taken from Macneil, 1980. He identified society, exchange, choice, and future awareness as the four primal roots of contract. The concepts as well as the relationships between concepts are described in some detail in his book The New Social Contract.
relationship. The parties take actions and make plans regarding exchange in which the resulting relationship arising out of the contract is projected forward in time. Because the future is unknown, relational contract is characterized by uncertainty (Macneil, 1980).

Planning under relational contract places major emphasis on two areas of concern -- 1) structure of the relationship and 2) processes for carrying the relationship forward in time. Both concerns are essential to effective planning for present and future events. Still, planning is never complete in a day-to-day operating sense since structure and processes inevitably change over time (Macneil, 1980).

Implementation of programs where ongoing relationships, i.e., relational contracts, are involved thus requires attention to behaviors affecting planning and maintenance of a relationship under conditions of uncertainty. Without attention to these behaviors, the basis for evaluation of program implementation is inadequately defined. Use of the concept of relational contract provided a framework for initiating an investigation in that specific behavioral norms for describing contract had been identified. The challenge was to determine whether the norms identified by Macneil could be effectively used to describe beliefs and perceptions of parties as to the desirability of program implementation.

The following section introduces the literature which
provides a foundation for the study. It is multi-disciplinary in nature. As should be expected, the conceptual foundations for study of relational contract has its roots in the legal literature. Applied research on relational contract can be found in both the legal and economics/business literature. However, the idea of relational contract as a concept has only recently begun to emerge as a concept for use by business scholars (Rousseau, 1989). Therefore, out of necessity, the bulk of the literature examined comes from non-business publications.

CONCEPTUAL FOUNDATIONS

Theoretical Works: The conceptual foundation for scholarly study of relational contract is rooted in the works of Ian Macneil (1980, 1981, 1985). In The New Social Contract (1980), Macneil examined relational contract by returning to the primal roots of contract -- 1) society, 2) exchange, 3) choice, and 4) future awareness -- and exploring how these roots contributed to the development of contractual relationships. From this base, he observed patterns of basic contractual behavior which give rise to standards of proper conduct. Norms related to the particular behavior were then identified and used to explain the link between contractual
behavior and observed behavior. Nine norms were identified:

1. role integrity,
2. mutuality,
3. implementation of planning,
4. effectuation of consent,
5. flexibility,
6. contractual solidarity,
7. creation and restraint of power,
8. harmonization with the social matrix,
9. linking norms (expectation interests, reliance interests, and restitution interests).

Macneil suggested that under discrete transaction, the nine norms describe "how people behave" and prescribe "how they should behave" (Macneil, 1980: 59). The two norms holding a primary position of importance in explaining the nature of the discrete transaction are implementation of planning and effectuation of consent. By contrast, he saw relational contract as relying more heavily on role integrity, contractual solidarity, and harmonization with the social matrix. Macneil defined the norms especially relevant to relational contract as follows:

Role Integrity: Role integrity is the maintenance of a role in a state which is expected of the person or organization occupying a particular social position. It is

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8See Appendix C-1 for definitions of behavioral norms.

9Macneil notes that all norms are relevant to both the discussion of discrete and relational contract. However, he notes that certain types of exchange, i.e., relational or discrete, are better described by focusing observations on specific norms. Definitions for all nine norms are given in Appendix E-2.
enhanced in relational contract due to the number of contacts between parties, the broad range of obligations assumed by parties to the relationship, and the length and complexity of the association. It acts as a foundation for interpretation of expectations that evolve between parties to the relationship.

Contractual Solidarity: Contractual solidarity is a measure of the desire to preserve a relationship. It is strengthened as parties strive to preserve the status quo, especially where the relationship is threatened. This norm involves sustaining both individual and collective membership relationships. The two types of membership can sometimes come into conflict since an individual's self-interest may not be perceived as consistent with the interests of a collective group. Nevertheless, a desire to maintain or dissolve either individual or collective relationships can generally be observed.

Harmonization with the Social Matrix: Harmonization with the social matrix is the process of assuring that the nature of the relationship is consistent with societal expectation. Like contractual solidarity, it intensifies when conflict threatening the relationship must be resolved. Society, or its representative agency where government regulation is warranted, identifies standards of measurement, specificity, and procedural regularity for defining acceptable contractual
relationships. Deviations from the standards as defined lead to considerable conflict. Where discrete transaction is involved, society can respond by discouraging or prohibiting the relationship or by maintaining a neutral stance. By contrast, where relational contract is involved, the scenario is more complex since fitting an organization's behavior into society requires that standards be considered which have their origins both internal to (e.g., customary practice) and external to (e.g., government regulation) the contractual relationship. Standards may be prescribed by the legal system, industry custom, socially reinforced habit, morality, or other institutional behavioral patterns.

Macneil examined how these three behavioral norms, along with the other norms, combine to allow for both discrete and relational exchange. He argued that identification of such norms would permit exploration of characteristics of on-going associations that might otherwise be overlooked. He concluded that relational contract should be examined outside narrowly defined scholarly paradigms, e.g., promise-centered paradigms, more appropriate to the study of discrete transactions.\(^\text{10}\)

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\(^{10}\)Promise-centered paradigms focus on the role of promise in interpreting contract. They have historically been a preferred approach to the study of contract.
APPLIED RESEARCH

Applied research on relational contract falls into two basic categories -- 1) formal empirical studies and 2) transaction costs research. The basic premises underlying each category are given below.

**Formal Empirical Studies:** Formal empirical studies on the concept of relational contract are best understood through examination of works by Stewart Macauley (1963a, 1963b, 1966a, 1966b, 1985). Prior to publication of his work, such subject-specific topics as collective bargaining and landlord tenant law were prominent in the literature but were not framed within the language of relational contract. Empirical works appearing in the literature after 1960 shifted attention to the more general ideas, principles, rules, and information underpinning observable contractual behaviors.

Macauley examined attitudes of manufacturers toward various aspects of contract. He found that business persons often fail to completely plan for exchange relationships. Furthermore, they seldom used legal sanctions to adjust these relationships or to settle disputes. Among factors noted as important in a manufacturer’s ability to get along without attention to the constraints of discrete contract and to legal
sanctions were 1) knowledge of industry customs which fill gaps in express agreements, 2) non-legal sanctions resulting from widely accepted norms prohibiting welshing, and 3) internally imposed sanctions.

Macaulay also observed that people engage in different degrees of planning. They may plan carefully and explicitly or they may simply have a tacit understanding. They may have unexpressed and possibly inconsistent assumptions about an issue and may not think of or plan for the issue in any way.

The observations led Macaulay to pose two important questions -- 1) "How can business successfully operate exchange relationships with relatively so little attention to detailed planning or to legal sanctions?" and 2) "Why does business ever use contract in light of its success without it?" (1963: 62). He concluded that contract is not needed in most situations since its functions are generally served by other devices. Nevertheless, he concluded that exchanges or contracts are carefully planned if it is believed that such planning will have more advantages than disadvantages. The decision to use contract will be made only if persons in relevant positions decide to make such decisions.

Macaulay's work is important for a number of reasons. First, he expanded concerns beyond legal doctrine to incorporate the study of how law is affected by social relationships. Second, he recognized that both discrete
contract and relational contract play a role as mechanisms for regulating relationships in business transactions. His work and that of his colleagues in essence validated the importance associated with empirically exploring why relatively non-contractual practices are so common in business behavior.

**Transaction Costs Research:** Transaction costs researchers view the costs associated with a transaction as the unit of analysis. Business scholars conducting applied research closely aligned with relational contract are best represented by scholars working within this paradigm. This school finds its roots in the economics literature and in the ideas of Coase (1937).

Coase examined models of behavior exhibited by contracting organizations under conditions of low transaction costs. He observed that vertical integration allowed a firm to economize on negotiation costs for intermediate contracts by implementing more flexible employment agreements.

Coase's theory was not empirically tested for another 30 years. However, once his ideas found acceptance among business scholars, theoretical developments in transaction cost analysis led to modification of the theory. Early variations of this school of thought included work on how organizations reduce transaction costs in complex contractual relationships and how this impacts governance of the
transaction (Williamson, 1979; Goldberg, 1976; Goetz and Scott, 1983). Other studies investigated the role of equity in bringing on transaction costs. For example, Ouchi (1980) argued that cooperative action necessitates interdependence between individuals and that this interdependence in turn calls for exchange in which each individual both gives and receives something of value. The perception of equity then depends upon a social agreement which meets standards of reciprocity.

The relevance of transaction cost analysis to this study lies in its confirmation of the importance of relatively non-contractual or non-legal practices in maintenance of on-going relationships. Ouchi and his colleagues have pursued research on relational contract by observing ongoing, structural relations. They acknowledged the role of industry custom, internal norms, and worker expectations in defining how transactions occur in the business setting.

Where data are available, the transaction costs paradigm represents a valuable tool for discovery. Unfortunately, access to data can be a major constraint on its use as the chosen research strategy. The business sector may be unwilling to share the needed information. The ideas underpinning this paradigm are nonetheless closely associated with those found in Macneil's work in their recognition of the importance of processes, structures, and procedures required
for maintenance of a relationship over time, i.e., for projecting the relationship forward into the future.

SUMMARY

Macauley and Macneil's work, along with that of the transaction costs theorists, raised important questions concerning the adequacy of commonly-used paradigms for studying business behaviors. Among legal scholars, their work raised questions concerning the legitimacy of focusing on promise-centered paradigms as a vehicle for studying relational contract (Fried, 1981; Farnsworth, 1984). Macaulay and Macneil brought to the attention of the academic world questions concerning whether contractual arrangements in a complex society diverge markedly from the classical promise-centered models typically used by legal scholars to investigate contract. Like the transaction costs analysts,

11Viewing promise as the pivotal point around which all nonpromissory aspects of relationships should be organized proved to be less than adequate. Implicit in the classical promise model of contract was the idea that rigidly defined rights and obligations must exist between contracting parties. Furthermore, the source of obligation was defined simply in terms of the wills of parties and not in terms of processes evolving for carrying the relationship forward into the future (Lightsey, 1984). For a synthesis of promise-centered scholarship, see Charles Fried, 1981 and Joel Levin and Banks McDowell, 1983.
they sought out models that permitted the researcher to incorporate the flexibility and social influences observed in the workplace into the research. They acknowledged the possibility that the nature of the contractual relationship itself might generate sources of rights and duties through establishment of trust and expectations.\footnote{Other scholars have since joined Macaulay and Macneil in support of study of relational contract as a concept. For example, Goetz and Scott (1981) conducted research which led them to conclude that as long as future contingencies are uncertain, parties will find it advantageous to seek cooperative exchange relations with specially adapted contractual devices. They noted that contract will always be relational to the extent that parties cannot reduce important terms to well-defined obligations. Lightsey (1984) also examined Macneil's work and, as a result of this research, recommended a model based on a two-stage process for delineation of rights and obligations. Obligations were defined as arising from three sources -- 1) sources external to the relationship, 2) consent of the parties, and 3) the relationship itself.}

Of primary importance was that the scholars noted in this literature review had begun the process of identifying definable and measurable variables for study. Macneil's work on relational contract provided guidance for developing a framework within which useful information could be identified. In addition to identifying the primal roots of contract, he identified behavioral norms for guiding the researcher in describing the nature of observed behaviors.
THE LITERATURE ON EMPLOYEE ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS

The published research on employee assistance programs is voluminous. In 1981, an "EAP" category was added to The Business Periodical Index. Since that date, over 150 articles on employee assistance programs have been cited. The largest proportion of articles can be found in practitioner journals addressing concerns of professional managers or EAP providers. Subjects covered by these articles include how to structure an employee assistance program, how to train personnel in constructive confrontation techniques, and how to increase the program's effectiveness. Information on EAP program components, implementation tactics, and issues in program development were summarized in Strategies for Employee Assistance Programs: The Crucial Balance, a monograph first published by Sonnenstuhl and Trice in 1986. The monograph is updated periodically.

A second group of articles focus on risk factors which increase the probability that problems will occur. The primary purpose of much of this research has been to identify conditions which may lead specifically to alcohol problems. Trice and Sonnenstuhl (1988) found that such studies investigate substance abuse from one of four general perspectives -- 1) the cultural perspective (Sonnenstuhl and Trice, 1986; Slattery, Anderson and Bryant, 1986; Applebaum,
1984; Whitehead and Simpkins, 1983), 2) the social control perspective (Trice and Roman, 1978), 3) the alienation perspective (Seeman and Anderson, 1983), and 4) the work stress perspective (Fennell, Rodin, and Kanter, 1981; Ames and Janes, 1987).

Research results using the cultural perspective have suggested that many occupations view heavy drinking as "normal" and thus encourage or enable drinking (Applebaum, 1984; Seeman and Anderson, 1983; Trice and Sonnenstuhl, 1988). According to the social control perspective, those characteristics that interfere with a worker's integration into the work organization are likely to put workers at risk for developing alcohol-related problems (Trice and Sonnenstuhl, 1988; Weiss, 1986). Under the alienation perspective, work creates in workers a sense of dissatisfaction and powerlessness that is relieved through drinking (Seeman and Anderson, 1983). The work stress perspective also sees workplace experiences as translating into life strains but does not see work roles as central in people's lives (Trice and Sonnenstuhl, 1988). Nevertheless, particular stressors are likely to be given by workers as a reason for drinking (Fennell, Rodin and Kantor, 1981; Ames and Janes, 1987).

A third group of articles focuses on costs, either from the perspective of how problems impact the workplace.
monetarily or from the perspective of costs and benefits associated with providing services. The most influential study published concerning the costs associated with substance abuse was conducted by North Carolina's Research Triangle Institute. Research results indicated that alcohol abuse caused approximately $65 billion in productivity losses in 1983 alone (BNA, 1986). Drug abuse accounted for another $33 billion in productivity losses. In a separate study, the Alcohol, Drug Abuse and Mental Health Administration reported equally alarming results (BNA, 1986). They indicated that substance abusers cost the country more than $140 billion annually, including $100 billion in lost productivity.

In spite of the fact that employee assistance programs were advocated as a means for containing costs associated with alcohol and drug abuse, rigorous cost-benefit analysis on whether EAPs help contain costs were rarely published prior to 1990. This was due, in part, to the sensitivity of data required to conduct a study of EAP effectiveness. Individuals requiring rehabilitative treatment are generally promised confidentiality, and companies are reluctant to release information except under very tightly controlled conditions. Nevertheless, new demands for accountability were made by companies funding programs, and managers of these companies responded by commissioning researchers to design and conduct cost-benefit analyses.
One of the most rigorous studies of the costs and benefits associated with providing services through an employee assistance program was commissioned by McDonnell Douglas Corporation. Researchers followed 20,000 employees over three years. Those employees in the study who were not impaired were used to establish typical absentee rates, medical claims, and turnover patterns. Employees with the same chemical dependency or mental health problems but who were outside of EAP referral channels were identified and used as a control group. Groups were then matched on the basis of demographics and job types. All figures were converted to 1988 dollars. Analysis of the data collected indicated that the employee assistance program saved $4.00 for every dollar spent on the program (Stern, 1990).

In addition to cost savings, the McDonnell Douglas Corporation study generated important information concerning employee performance and characteristics. When compared to peers in their control group, employees using the company’s assistance program had fewer absences, generated fewer medical claims, and stayed with the company longer. Employees using the service tended to be hourly wage earners who were female, single or divorced, and younger than the average person in the peer group (Stern, 1990).

In 1990, Control Data published reports of an in-house study of benefit claims and utilization data for 50,000
employees (Health Plans, 1990). The purpose of the study was to determine whether employees using the assistance program from 1980 to 1985 had lower benefit costs than employees who did not use the program. Results of analysis indicated that health costs and sick-leave usage were, when compared to non-users of the services, significantly lower for users of the employee assistance program. Health costs for non-users averaged $19,034 per employee in 1985 dollars. Health claims for users were an average of $4,222 less per employee.

Though important information was generated by the research noted above, the studies did not generally incorporate the concept of contract into the discussion. Perhaps the researchers coming closest to doing so were Roman and Blum (1987). They investigated the relationship between presence of employee assistance programs and attitudes about corporate social responsibility. Results of analysis of 1979 data from Fortune 800 companies revealed a positive relationship between these two variables. Those employers who had implemented EAPs tended to have a broader view of their role within society than those who had not implemented programs. No association was found between structural features used as a measure of EAP quality and attitudes concerning social responsibility. Roman and Blum cautioned that the employee assistance program may be used as an alternative to discipline. Should the employee accept this
alternative, a contract with the employer that an acceptable solution to the problem will be provided may be implied.

A second closely related study was conducted by Trice and Beyer (1984). They incorporated the role of performance-oriented and humanitarian ideologies into an investigation of how job-based alcoholism programs expand into broader-based employee assistance programs. Content analysis was used to interpret 65 interviews of lower-level to corporate-level managers in seven locations. Results of the analysis revealed that employers look favorably on the performance-oriented ideology of the EAP movement. The most frequently cited reasons for approval of an EAP-type program were 1) the company should care about its employees, 2) the program will help improve productivity, and 3) the program will be good for business. Concerns impacting negatively on approval of an EAP-type program were 1) costs of the program, 2) possible implication in bargaining with the union, and 3) the belief that personal problems are none of the company's business.

SUMMARY

In summary, nonclinical articles concerning employee assistance programs are voluminous. Most are found in practitioner journals and tend to concern how to structure or
build a case for implementation of an EAP. The non-practitioner articles tend to fall into categories based on risk factors, productivity and health care costs, and, more recently, on cost-benefit analysis. Few, if any, address the implications of contract in the decision to implement an employee assistance program. However, two articles on employee assistance programs were found which address topics of interest to this study, one which examined corporate social responsibility and one which incorporated measures of ideology into the study.

The literature on employee assistance programs provides useful information for scholars and practitioners alike. Many of the published works are prescriptive, giving directions to interested parties as to the approaches available for dealing with workers' personal problems. Others provide evidence that intervention programs are needed or evidence that employee assistance programs can be shown to be effective. The studies do not, however, raise questions as to the adequacy of commonly-used paradigms for studying implementation of programs which may bring about substantial change in the workplace. Most scholars prefer use of behavioral models of change; few utilize the concept of contract as a basis for identifying constraints on implementing change.

This study relied heavily on the work of Macneil for guidance in the study of the Laborers' Membership Assistance
Program, both with respect to collection and analysis of data. While the literature on employee assistance programs provided a foundation for understanding the intent of the program, Macneil’s approach to study of relational contract provided a conceptual basis for development of a model for describing constraints on program implementation. A framework for initial exploration of relational contract based on concepts presented in this chapter is described in Chapter 3 and further developed in subsequent chapters. The use and implications of Macneil’s ideas for research in business are discussed in Chapter 7.
CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

The research strategy chosen for study of the Laborers' Membership Assistance Program was the embedded case study (Yin, 1989; Eisenhardt, 1989; Eisenhardt and Bourgeois, 1988; Miles and Huberman, 1984; Mintzberg, 1979). Multiple projects were embedded within the overall design, and analysis incorporated outcomes from the multiple projects. Results were then used collectively to propose grounded theory by comparing ideas to empirical evidence (Galser and Strauss, 1967; Sutton and Callahan, 1987).

This research strategy was chosen for three primary reasons. First, it permitted investigation of complex patterns of contractual and observed behavior within a real-life context by using multiple settings for data collection. Second, it permitted investigation of a situation in which the relationships under study were not easily quantified. This in turn reduced the likelihood that the lack of quantifiable knowledge would limit discovery. Third, it permitted use of multiple information sources for both examination and a more indepth understanding of the phenomena under study.

Triangulation across samples and data collection
procedures was employed to check the consistency of findings. (See Patton, 1990.)\textsuperscript{13} The use of multiple measures was especially useful for the following reasons:

1. Characteristics of the population under study created difficulties for the researcher in obtaining data.

2. Interviews, questionnaires, and researcher observation used with the population potentially intruded into the social setting by creating, as well as measuring, attitudes and by possibly eliciting atypical responses. (See Webb, et al., 1968.)

3. Use of multiple measures and measurement processes to provide clues for investigating a phenomenon reduced uncertainty associated with an interpretation.

Triangulation thus increased the confidence which can be placed in interpretation.\textsuperscript{14}

As noted, this study was intended to lead to grounded theory by investigating a phenomenon in a real life context. Because effectiveness of the grounded theory approach can grow

\textsuperscript{13}Denzin (1978) lists four basic types of triangulation -- 1) data, 2) investigator, 3) theory, and 4) methodological. This study utilized two of the four types -- data triangulation and methodological triangulation.

\textsuperscript{14}Confidence should be placed in an interpretation only if it can survive a series of imperfect measures, each of which possesses irrelevant error. This error potentially serves a source of invalidity in the measures. Reactive measurement effects can arise out of error from the respondent due to the individual’s awareness of being observed, selection of a role from among the many "true" selves, tendency to endorse a statement rather than disagree with it, and response to measurement as a change agent (Webb, et al., 1968). These types of error were reduced when possible through observations not requiring cooperation from the respondent.
out of systematic collection of observable behaviors, the research process could capture potentially relevant aspects of the topic at the moment they were observed. The ability to record such observations within the context of the research permitted grounding of the theory in reality. (See Corbin and Strauss, 1990; Glaser and Strauss, 1967.)

Grounded theory methodologies have been available to researchers in the behavioral sciences since the 1950s (Popper, 1959). Nevertheless, they remain somewhat unfamiliar to scholars in business and merit a brief description. The following section contains an overview of the grounded theory approach. This is followed by identification of research/study questions and a description of projects embedded in the case study. The chapter concludes with identification of procedures chosen to analyze the data collected.

GROUNDED THEORY

The grounded theory approach to research is based on the assumption that descriptive theory can be grounded in the behaviors, experiences, and perceptions of individuals through comparison of ideas to empirical evidence (Sutton and Callahan, 1987) or on a constant movement between theory and data (Kahn, 1990). Though not unlike other approaches to
research and theory development in its requirements for rigor, it requires that the canons\textsuperscript{15} of "good science" be redefined if they are to fit the realities of qualitative research and the complexities of social phenomena. Corbin and Strauss (1990) address this problem by identifying the canons and procedures relevant to the grounded theory approach. The canons and procedures are described below.

Data Collection and Analysis as Interrelated Processes: In grounded theory, analysis begins with collection of the first bit of data. Research questions are identified prior to beginning the project and are used both to set the overall direction of the research and to determine initial and subsequent data collection, except in cases where analysis proves the questions to be irrelevant. Results of initial analyses are used in turn to direct the next phase of the research project. Data are examined for cues in order not to miss anything salient for subsequent projects. All relevant issues are then incorporated into subsequent data collection efforts and analyses.

Concepts as the Basic Units of Analysis: Concepts earn their way into the theory only when they are repeatedly

\textsuperscript{15}Scientific canons include significance, theory-observation compatibility, generalizability, consistency, relevance, precision, reproducibility, and verification (Corbin and Strauss, 1990; Gortner and Schultz, 1988; Popper, 1959).
present (or absent) in multiple data collection efforts and thus deemed to be relevant. A theorist "works with conceptualizations of data, not the actual data per se" (Corbin and Strauss, 1990: 7). Incidents are interpreted as potential indicators of phenomena. Through comparison of incidents and naming of like phenomena, theorists can accumulate the basic units for theory.

Development of Categories: Categories are generated through the same analytic process producing concepts, i.e., comparison of similarities and differences found through analysis of data. The categories in turn provide the "cornerstones" for developing theory in that they provide the means by which a theory can be integrated (Corbin and Strauss, 1990). A category achieves status when it is developed in terms of properties and dimensions of the phenomenon represented, conditions giving rise to the phenomenon, and the consequences produced.

Sampling Based on Theoretical Grounds: Sampling in grounded theory focuses on concepts, not on specific groups of individuals. Representativeness of concepts, not of individuals, is crucial since the aim is to build theoretical explanations, not to generalize findings to a broader population per se. Consistency is achieved through incorporation of concepts in the study through demonstration of their relationship to the phenomenon under investigation.
Indicators should thus be evident in all subsequent interviews and observations.

Use of Constant Comparisons: Comparisons are used in analyses to guard against bias and to achieve greater precision and consistency. Concepts should be labeled and grouped based on similarities and differences. Subsequent challenges with fresh data assist the researcher in guarding against bias. Precision is increased through sub-division of the original concept based on analysis.

Examination of Patterns and Variations: Regular examination of patterns in the data allows the researcher to give order to data. The presence or absence of regularity with respect to specific concepts allows for more informative interpretation of data. This differs from the concept of significance in that the pattern, regardless of level of significance, provides cues for future avenues of investigation.

Process Built into Theory: Process has multiple meanings in grounded theory. It can refer either to breaking down a phenomenon into stages, steps, etc., or to purposeful action that changes in response to prevailing conditions. Both meanings can be used in a given project.

Development of Hypotheses: Hypotheses about relationships among categories or concepts are developed during the analyses and may be taken back into the field when possible.
A key feature of grounded research is that hypotheses are constantly revised during the research until they hold true for available evidence concerning the phenomena under study.

Recognition of Broader Structural Conditions: Analysis should not be restricted "to the conditions that bear immediately on the phenomenon of central interest" (Corbin and Strauss, 1990: 11). Economic conditions, cultural values, political trends, social movements, and other similar forces affecting the phenomenon should be considered for inclusion into the research. Specific linkages between conditions and the phenomenon under study should be explored.

Much of the research using the grounded theory approach available today has been based on the work of Strauss and his colleagues (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Sutton and Callahan, 1987; R. H. Miles, 1987; Kahn, 1990). The approach has proven to produce useful information and to meet criteria identified as necessary to good science. However, as shown above, there are needed adjustments with respect to how specific criteria are defined. In addition, the approach to grounded theory must be modified with respect to reproducibility and generalizability.

Grounded theory is verifiable and, to that extent, reproducible (Corbin and Strauss, 1990). However, it is not reproducible in the sense of an exact match of conditions from one situation to another situation. Extraneous variables
impinge upon the phenomenon of interest and so testing hypotheses derived from a grounded theory requires careful specification of conditions. Nevertheless, a second investigator using the same general rules for data collection and analysis should be able to arrive at the same general scheme given similar conditions.

Grounded theory is generalizable to the extent that it specifies conditions that link action with consequences (Corbin and Strauss, 1990). Systematic and widespread sampling through continuing research permit greater generalizability, precision, and predictive capacity. As with other paradigms, additional research permits discovery of new specifications for amending the original thesis.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The framework guiding this study, the use of the grounded theory approach, and the nature of the study itself were such that use of qualitative methods oriented toward exploration, discovery, and inductive logic were particularly appropriate. The study was similar to the hypothetical-deductive approach to research in that it used an explicit framework and research questions to guide activities. However, this study focused on

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patterns of evidence for construct validation as opposed to hypothesis testing as the primary driving force behind analysis of the data. Minimal use was made of prior assumptions about correlative or linear relationships among narrowly defined variables.

The study was similar to the interpretative-inductive approach to research in that it assumed that a construction worker's social or work world was basically a subjective construction of individuals in that world. Importance was placed on beliefs of parties which contribute to their perception of the reality of their workworld. However, this study rejected the interpretive view that there is no utility in constructing a social science which focuses upon the analysis of structures. Great importance was placed on explicit or formal documents as structures for carrying relations forward in time.\textsuperscript{16} It recognized that research in which researchers philosophically reject the existence of organizations as such rarely remain true to such ideas and that much of their work exhibits a "structural presence". (See Burrell and Morgan, 1985; Silverman, 1972.)

General research questions were used to guide the study. They incorporated concerns about structures for carrying relations forward and beliefs concerning those relations. The

\textsuperscript{16}For an overview of the interpretive paradigm, see Burrell and Morgan, 1979.
questions used to give direction to the study are stated below:

1. What is the nature of contractual relations in construction and what structures and processes are in place for carrying the relationship forward in time?

2. How are individuals' beliefs concerning contractual relations in the workplace affecting receptivity to the Laborers' Membership Assistance Program?

3. Can understanding Macneil's behavioral norms defining relational contract contribute to an increased understanding of existing relations and of the decision to modify existing relationships?

These questions were addressed in part from the perspectives of the LIUNA Constitution and the trade agreement between the Laborers' Union and signatory employers. These documents were chosen for two primary reasons. First, they helped lay the foundation on which new program development could occur and on which the relationship could be carried forward in time. Second, they helped carve out those expectations on which the relationship between parties relied for preservation and maintenance.

Data collected for projects embedded in the study were analyzed using multiple analytical procedures. In addition, insight gained during the course of the study indicated that additional information was needed on the nature of relations in construction. Works by scholars focusing on construction who had themselves worked in construction were identified and used to add additional structure to the overall study and to
improve interpretability of findings. A written account of the Laborers' history prior to 1955 was made available through the Laborers' International Union of America.

THE RESEARCH STRATEGY

FRAMEWORK FOR THE STUDY OF RELATIONAL CONTRACT

A framework for conducting this study was constructed using Macneil's work on relational contract. It is shown in Figure 3-1. The framework provided a structure for investigating beliefs of key groups about ongoing relationships, their establishment and maintenance.

The behavioral norms used to build the initial framework were 1) role integrity, 2) contractual solidarity, 3) harmonization with the social matrix, 4) expectation interests, and 5) effectuation of consent. The framework implied that the interaction between beliefs about role integrity, contractual solidarity, expectation interests, effectuation of consent, and harmonization with the social matrix helps form perceptions of the nature of contractual relations in the workplace.

Three components of the framework were previously described. They are 1) role integrity—the maintenance of a
Source: Concepts are taken from Macneil, 1980. No directional flows should be assumed. The components of the framework identify content areas for directing the research effort.

FIGURE 3-1: RELATIONAL CONTRACT FRAMEWORK

role in a state expected of a person or organization occupying a particular social position, 2) contractual solidarity -- a measure of the desire to preserve a relationship, and 3) harmonization with the social matrix -- the process of assuring that the nature of the relationship is consistent with societal expectations. Two behavioral norms also identified by Macneil (1980) were added to the model. They are 1) expectation interests -- a measure of what has been
promised that is perceived as a result of the substance of a contract and the nature of the relationship and 2) effectuation of consent -- the choice made by parties to the relationship.

The linking norm, expectation interests, was included to provide a systematic approach to examination of those formal documents which possibly create certain expectations on the part of the union membership. Effectuation of consent was included since a primary object of the Laborer's Union was to persuade employers to choose to participate in the Laborers' Membership Assistance Program. The five behavioral norms were collectively used to direct both development and analysis of instruments used for data collection. Examination and interpretation of results were then used to modify the framework in a way that contributed to initial steps in development of a model for grounding a theory of relational contract in reality.

THE EMBEDDED CASE STUDY

The embedded case study was made up of three major projects. Data collected were both qualitative and quantitative. With respect to qualitative data, it was assumed that what people say or imply through body language
can be used as a major source of data. (See Patton, 1990.)

Description was considered the raw data of the qualitative inquiry. Descriptions were presented in as objective a manner as possible, and interpretations were then used as a means for giving substance to the descriptions.

Collection of Data and Sampling

The approach to collection of qualitative data differed from collection of quantitative data in its mandates. (See Patton, 1990.) The following four mandates guided collection of the data -- 1) the researcher should get close enough to the people and/or situation to develop understanding of the details surrounding occurrences, 2) the researcher should seek to capture both what people actually say and what actually takes place, 3) description of people, activities, interactions, and settings must provide the basis on which discovery proceeds and 4) above all, Halcolm's Evaluation Laws should be observed.

The evaluator's scientific observation is some person's real-life experience. Respect for the latter must precede respect for the former. (See Patton, 1990.)

The first-hand collection of data was useful in that visual cues could also be used in interpretation and for identification of areas for follow-up. The ability to use
cues as data was absolutely necessary given the closed nature of the construction industry and the problems of illiteracy. Furthermore, it has long been established that workers in hazardous industries such as construction use "joking" and other observable gestures as a means to lower stress and to communicate. The possibility that focus group interviews used to collect data from laborers created a stress situation for participants was recognized a priori.

Relatively small samples, selected purposefully, were used for the inquiry. It was not probability sampling in that the logic and power of probability sampling depends on selecting random and statistically representative samples. By contrast, the logic and power of purposeful sampling is related to selection of information-rich cases (Patton, 1990). Information-rich cases are defined as cases from which a great deal can be learned about issues of central importance to the research.

Two strategies were combined for sampling purposes. First, variation sampling aimed at capturing themes that cut across levels of participants was used. Investigation cut across several levels of the union hierarchy and incorporated signatory employees. Second, politically important cases were selected as sensitive units of analysis. Efforts were made to tap responses from individuals in leadership positions, i.e., individuals who have the potential to greatly impact success
of the Laborers' Membership Assistance Program, and from workers from local unions that were of particular importance to program implementation.

The Research Projects

Three primary projects were incorporated into the embedded case study. Each project was designed to collect data from parties to the relationship who hold different roles and responsibilities with respect to the industry and worksite. The LIUNA Leader Project targeted union leaders; the Steward-Foremen Project targeted union workers; and the Employer Survey Project targeted signatory employers. Methods of data collection were tailored to meet the specific characteristics of the group sampled. Each project and the primary method of data collection are discussed below. Due to its importance in shaping interpretation of data analyses, information on sample characteristics is presented in the section describing the specific project.

Project One: The LIUNA Leader Project: The primary purpose of the LIUNA Leader Project was to develop an understanding of characteristics of the local union and the workers it represents. This project was absolutely necessary in that the headquarters of the Laborers' International Union
of North America in Washington, D. C. had surprisingly few records profiling its membership at the local level. Information concerning member characteristics was important to interpreting observations and to discovering how to market the Laborers’ Membership Assistance Program to union members. A secondary purpose for conducting interviews was to begin the process of confirming that Macneil’s behavioral norms can support theory development on relational contract.

Data for project one were collected using semi-structured interviews with business managers of LIUNA local unions, district councils and regional offices. Interviews with LIUNA local union business managers were conducted in the Washington, DC - Baltimore, Maryland District union hiring halls located in both urban and rural areas.

Information gathered through interviews with business managers, district councils, and the regional office revealed early in the study that data collection would be extremely difficult. First, gathering information from the union members would be extremely difficult, especially for those members working in construction. Many did not, according to business managers, read and write. If mail surveys were used, responses would probably be from the wives, not the union members.

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17A simplified representation of an organization chart for a typical craft union can be found in Appendix A-3.
member, and more than likely, no response would be received. Other union members simply had no address. A similar situation was found for use of telephone surveys. The union had no telephone number for many local union members.

A general sense of the characteristics of the local unions was gathered through the semi-structured interviews with the business managers of local unions. Specific information was either not available or was intentionally withheld. The nine managers were interviewed individually at their respective local union halls during the Fall of 1990. The questions used to guide the interviews are shown in Appendix B-1.

As shown in Table 3-1 "Local Union Profiles", approximate size of locals ranges from 30 members in a local representing nurses aides to 2200 members in a local representing construction workers. The membership of locals in the Washington, D.C., and Baltimore areas tends to be black for both urban and rural unions. The prime departure is for the industrial union which reports that only about 25% of members are black. Except for nurses aides, few union members are female. With two exceptions, average age appears to be between 35 and 45 years. The exceptions are Union 1-C which represents a larger proportion of younger workers at a nuclear power plant in rural Maryland and Union 4-C which represents construction workers in the Washington area. Only the local
TABLE 3-1

LOCAL UNION PROFILES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LOCAL UNION*</th>
<th>AVERAGE AGE</th>
<th>PERCENT BLACK</th>
<th>EDUCATION LEVEL [MAJORITY]</th>
<th>PERCENT FEMALE</th>
<th>WORK TYPE</th>
<th>WEEKS WORKED PER YEAR</th>
<th>NUMBER UNEMPLOYED FALL 90</th>
<th>MEMBERSHIP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-B [M]</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>Less Than High School</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>36-40</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>856</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-B [U]</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>Less Than High School</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>1150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-B [M]</td>
<td>40-45</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>Less Than High School</td>
<td>10.0%</td>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-B [U]</td>
<td>25-30</td>
<td>99%</td>
<td>Less Than High School</td>
<td>97.0%</td>
<td>Nurse Aide</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-B [U]</td>
<td>35-40</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>High School</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
<td>Industrial</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>475</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-C [R]</td>
<td>26-45</td>
<td>85%</td>
<td>Less Than High School to High School</td>
<td>4.0%</td>
<td>Utilities</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-C [U]</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>Less Than High School to High School</td>
<td>4.0%</td>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>28-52</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>2200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-C [R]</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>85%</td>
<td>High School</td>
<td>.8%</td>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-C [U]</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>High School</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>390</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*aData are based on perceptions of business managers. All numbers should be interpreted as approximations. More accurate records were not available from local, district, or international offices.

*bThe letters "B" and "C" represent the two districts in which the Laborers' Membership Assistance Program was being pilot tested. [M], [U], and [R] are codes representing composition of local unions with respect to types of members. [M] signifies mixed urban and rural members, [U] signifies urban members, and [R] signifies rural members.

doing industry work represents workers who appear to typically have a high school degree.

Four of the locals report stable work for members, i.e., work for 52 weeks out of the year. Three construction locals
report fewer weeks worked during the year. Two business managers simply did not know or care to say how much their members were working. Similarly, the figures for number of unemployed as of Fall 1990 are highly suspect. Union 2-B estimated 100 out of 1150 members as being out of work at the time of the interview. On-site observation at union halls coupled with comments of workers suggested that this was a gross underestimation. Greater confidence can be placed in estimates given by Local Union 1-B based on the nature of the management staff and its attention to numbers. However, it must be recognized that any numbers given concerning weeks worked and number of unemployed are suspect at best due to the prevalence of moonlighting in nonunion jobs and of open shop arrangements.¹⁸

Business managers of the two district councils -- one in Washington, D. C. and one in Baltimore -- and the representative regional office were also interviewed in their

¹⁸The prevalence of moonlighting in nonunion jobs by union members was brought up by union leadership at the district, regional, and national levels of LIUNA. This avenue of research was not pursued for several reasons. First, it was not the focus of the research. Second, this type of information could actually put those participants in jeopardy who admitted to such activities should word get back to the union leadership. The issue is nonetheless relevant to the topic of contractual solidarity. It should undoubtedly be pursued as a topic for future research. Though research on moonlighting has been published, this segment of the workforce, i.e., construction workers, is difficult to reach and rarely represented in the literature.
respective offices. The interviews were conducted for three reasons. First, it was important to get a sense of the overall approach to leadership used by individuals at different levels of the union. Second, it was important to explore the level of commitment of these men to implementation of the Laborers' Membership Assistance Program. Third, it was important to observe how these individuals act as links to the upper union hierarchy and what they perceive their role to be in carrying out programs supported by the International.

Project Two: The Steward-Foreman Project: The primary goal for Project Two was to explore the beliefs and perceptions of union members who are potential recipients of services offered through the Laborers' Membership Assistance Program. Secondary goals included to determine whether union members were aware of the services, i.e., whether diffusion of information down through the ranks had occurred, and to collect data which could be reviewed for cues to guide subsequent data collection efforts. Information was constantly being reviewed for the purpose of refining concepts relevant to the theory being explored.

The difficulties inherent in obtaining information from union members under the research setting led to the decision
to employ focus group interviews.\textsuperscript{19} The interviews used to collect data from union members were structured around a planned discussion of the Laborers' Membership Assistance Program. The union members targeted for participation were those who act as foremen and stewards at the worksite. The environment of the focus group interviews was intended to be relaxed, nonthreatening, and enjoyable for participants. Individuals chosen to conduct focus group interviews, i.e., interviewers, were trained following procedures developed by the Office of Institutional Research at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University. (See Appendix B-2.1.) A two-week period was used for training individuals prior to the first focus group interview. The team met after each focus group interview and collectively worked to discuss the instrument and assess the outcomes.

In addition to the focus group interview itself, union stewards and foremen were asked to fill out a 16-item questionnaire concerning their perceptions of the presence of problems in the workplace. The questionnaire was employed to set the stage for collection of information during the interviews and to corroborate beliefs across focus group interviews. Due to the literacy level of participants,

\textsuperscript{19}Focus groups are a special type of group in terms of purpose, size, composition, and procedures. They are typically composed of 7 to 10 participants selected on the basis of certain characteristics which they have in common.
questionnaire items were read aloud and participants asked to circle a "Yes" or "No". Copies of the focus group interview instrument and questionnaire are found in Appendices B-2.2 and B-2.3.

Focus groups interviews were attended by approximately 92 stewards and foremen from three local unions. The local unions were chosen for this phase of the study on the basis of demographic characteristics and representativeness. They were Local Union 1-B, Local Union 2-B, and Local Union 2-C. These were the largest of the nine unions in the area covered by the Laborers' Membership Assistance Program and the jurisdiction of each was primarily the construction industry.

Characteristics of the three local unions used for focus group interviews, based on interviews with business leaders, are among the local unions profiled in Table 3-1. Additional information was gathered concerning participants during the focus group interviews. The groups differed across the three local unions on average age, educational level, race, and tenure as a union member. As shown in Table 3-1, participants from Unions 2-B and 2-C tended to be older than those participating from Union 1-B. The latter, though located in

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20There was some movement of workers into and out of the union halls during meetings. As a result, it was extremely difficult to get an accurate count. The estimate of 92 participants is based on the number of individuals filling out the questionnaire.
Baltimore, had a higher mix of urban and rural workers than did Unions 2-B and 2-C. A greater percentage of participants from Union C had a high school, or an equivalent, degree (54%). Less than 50% of participants from Unions 1-B and 2-B had degrees. All participants were male.

Participants from Union 2-C were black, as were all but three of those attending focus group interviews at Union 2-B. By contrast, though the overall membership of Union 1-B was approximately 50% black, only 15% of stewards attending the focus group interviews were black. The majority of stewards from all three unions had been a union steward for less than six years. However, participants at Union 1-B were, on the average, considerably younger (38.8 years) than those from Unions 2-B (48.2 years) and 2-C (49.5 years). Likewise, participants from Unions B and C had been union members for an average of 17.1 years and 21.1 years respectively compared to 12.3 years for Union 1-B.

The environment encountered in the local union hiring hall differed greatly across the three locations. Most prominent among differences was the level of control observed. The atmosphere at Union 1-B was casual and laid back. There was a fair amount of horseplay and kidding (believed to be common behaviors among workers in construction and other hazardous industries), ample beer and food provided by the local union, and substantial camaraderie. Participants
appeared to be both suspicious and curious and very quick to probe into who we were and what our interest in them might be. Level of control appeared to be relatively low.

The atmosphere at Union 2-B was more controlled with little or no horseplay or kidding. The local hiring hall itself was located in a rough neighborhood, and union leaders tended to position themselves near the exit/entry door during the focus group interviews. Participants occasionally exhibited relatively high levels of hostility. An objection was voiced by a member who happened to drop by and see that food and drink were made available to focus group participants at a time when no jobs were available for him.

The atmosphere at Union 2-C was highly controlled. Union leaders, though not invited, chose to join in the focus group interviews. In general, union stewards and foremen appeared hesitant to express their views too openly. Only one focus group deviated from this pattern with the interviewer reporting open straightforward discussion. By contrast, as an aside, one participant whispered to an interviewer that he felt they had to be cautious and couldn't really say what they thought since the business agent was watching.

Though collecting data using focus groups under such circumstances was difficult, especially since tape recorders

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²¹The business agent is the individual at the union hiring hall who assigns workers to jobs.
could not be used, the effort was successful. The goal was to gather qualitative data to provide insights into the attitudes, perceptions, and opinions of the participants. It was assumed that understanding could be based on discussion as opposed to testing and that the spirit of the discussion was a legitimate vehicle for description.

Being able to establish the validity of the focus group results given the nature of the sample was, however, a concern. The participants were found to be very good at doublespeak, i.e., using language that pretends to communicate but really doesn't (Lutz, 1989). In addition, they often appeared to be programmed to speak on such subjects as safety and management actions and programmed to avoid discussion of worker and union roles in addressing specific problems. Nevertheless, the focus groups had high face validity and provided useful clues to guide direction of the research.

Data from the interviews were assessed using several techniques. Data analysis consisted of examining, categorizing, and recombining the evidence to address the research questions. The process was difficult since comments had to be interpreted within the context of the social environment. Furthermore, comments within groups were inconsistent across participants. Given the apparent inconsistencies, conceptual correlation matrices were developed to try to reduce the comments and inconsistencies to
a manageable level. Overall, the analysis followed recommendations of Krueger (1988) which evolve out of the analysis continuum -- raw data to descriptive statements to interpretation. The following process was adhered to:

1. discussion with interviewers following focus group interviews
2. collection of results of focus group interviews from interviewers
3. development of summary reports identifying trends and patterns
4. cataloguing main ideas
5. examination of internal consistency
6. reconsideration of purpose of study

Two focus group interviews were conducted during late Fall 1991 and the third interview in January of 1992. The pattern of results suggested that additional focus group interviews would yield little additional useful data.

Project Three: The Employer Survey Project: The primary goal for Project Three was to identify the belief structures of management personnel affiliated with signatory employers, specifically employers targeted by the union to participate in the Laborers' Membership Assistance Program. It was hoped that identifying these belief structures might provide some
insight as to who would choose to participate. Previous research has suggested that managers do construct such belief structures and that the structures are simplified representations of their world (Fiske and Taylor, 1984; Walsh, 1988).

Information on employer beliefs regarding the nature of contractual relationships between business, the union, and society was collected using a mail survey. To ensure content validity, both the research literature and construction personnel were consulted during development of the instrument to identify content and interpretability of the items. Input was also sought and received from LIUNA Health and Safety Fund personnel and regional union leadership. No preconstructed instruments were available for use. Nevertheless, the literatures on employee assistance programs, social responsibility, social contract, and construction were reviewed for possible items which might be useful in gathering information about perceptions of contractual relations in construction.

Survey instruments were mailed to 136 companies that have signed trade agreements with the Laborers International Union

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22Participation refers to an agreement by the employer organization to provide funding to support the Laborers' Membership Assistance Program.

23See Roman and Blum, 1987; Trice and Beyer, 1984.
of North America. Each survey was accompanied by a request that the President and/or some other management individual if more appropriate fill it out. Fifty-one surveys were returned. Of the surveys returned, multiple surveys were received from 9 of the 31 companies responding. These surveys were analyzed to determine homogeneity of belief structures across levels of management within companies. Results indicated no difference across levels. Based on these results, the decision was made to proceed at the individual level and incorporate all 51 surveys into the data set. Given the sensitivity of the study from the perspective of the union and employers, the decision was made not to send out a second wave of surveys. Based on number of companies responding, the response rate was 22.8%. This was believed to be adequate based on review of respondent characteristics and given the nature of the study.

The survey instrument used in this study with signatory employers is shown in Appendix B-3. It was developed from a search of the literature (Beyer and Trice, 1978; Trice and Beyer, 1984; Weiss, 1986; Roman and Blum, 1987; Macneil, 1980)

24Agreements with employers/contractors are negotiated by business leaders at the district level for the various local unions.

25Several sections were added for the purpose of gathering data unrelated to this study. They concerned diffusion of information from the union to the employers and measures of success.
and from results of analysis of data collected from Projects One and Two. The instrument was field tested using personnel of local construction companies.

As shown in Table 3-2, 39 or 79.6% of respondents indicated that they were male. Approximately half of the respondents had worked in the industry for twenty or more years. Almost 28% had been with the company employing them for twenty of more years.26 Average age was 46.7 years and most were married with more than one dependent.

Respondents were surprisingly well educated. Thirty-seven percent had a bachelor's degree and 13.7 percent a master's degree. One respondent reported a level of formal education beyond the master's degree. All but one had at least a high school or equivalent degree. Based on title, thirteen respondents or 25.5% of respondents held jobs classified as lower-level management, 16 or 31.4% of respondents held jobs classified as middle-level management, and 21 or 41.1% held jobs classified as upper-level management.

26 There appears to be a discrepancy between number of years worked in the construction industry and number of years worked for the company. This discrepancy was traced to the fact that several companies have non-construction units, e.g., divisions, subsidiaries.
### TABLE 3-2

**EMPLOYER RESPONDENT PROFILES: EMPLOYER MAIL SURVEY**

n=49-51

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CATEGORY</th>
<th>NUMBER</th>
<th>PERCENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>79.6 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20.4 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Years in Industry</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-9 years</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>27.5 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-19 years</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>23.5 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-29 years</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>33.4 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt; 30 years</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15.6 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Years with Company</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-9 years</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>41.2 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-19 years</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>21.6 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-29 years</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>27.4 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt; 39 years</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9.8 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; 30 years</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5.9 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15.7 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>35.3 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-59</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>33.3 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt; 60 years</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9.8 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Highest Level of Formal Education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Response</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.0 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School/GED</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11.8 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some College</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>33.4 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelors</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>37.2 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advanced</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15.7 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital Status</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>92.2 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Married</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5.9 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Official Work Title</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Response</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.0 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower Level Manager</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>25.5 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Level Manager</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>31.4 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Level Manager</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>41.1 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Analytical Procedures

Triangulation used in the conduct of this study necessitated use of multiple types of instruments and analytical techniques. This approach was especially important given differences in sample populations, instruments, and data characteristics described above. Descriptive techniques and correlational analyses were used with all data. Correlation matrices, multidimensional scaling, and cluster analyses were used to reduce data to a manageable form (Miles and Huberman, 1984; Rafaeli, 1989; Rafaeli and Sutton, 1991). A brief overview of these techniques is given below.

Conceptual Correlation Matrices: Major patterns and/or themes arising out of comments made by participants in structured interviews and focus group interviews were identified and evaluated using a conceptual correlation matrix. A matrix was developed to help identify primary and secondary response themes. This was accomplished by listing primary response themes as row and column headings. Secondary themes were then developed for each intersection between primary themes. The intersection of the two themes created a secondary response theme which potentially revealed data collection areas of potential concern which were not always
explicitly recognized (Ory and Parker, 1989).\textsuperscript{27}

Items and responses from both the structured interview instruments and focus group interview instruments were used to construct the initial data collection matrices. Instruments were examined, items common to both instruments identified, and uniformity in measurement assessed. This procedure provides a cross-survey presentation of beliefs concerning Laborers' Membership Assistance Program. It also facilitated identification of gaps in content areas and needed modification in instruments (Coker and Friedel, 1991).

**Multidimensional Scaling:** Multidimensional scaling (MDS) refers to a family of procedures employed to display relationships as points in Euclidean space (Hair, Anderson, Tatham, and Grabowsky, 1984). The underlying assumption is that unidimensional expressions of relationships can be transformed into multidimensional expressions of these same relationships. MDS is employed to help systematize data in an area where underlying dimensions are not well developed. To accomplish this, MDS procedures display objects in a resultant spatial map which are judged experimentally similar to one another as points close to each other. If objects are judged to be dissimilar, they are represented as points which are distant

\textsuperscript{27}For a more indepth description of this technique, see J. C. Ory and S. A. Parker, 1989.
from one another (Schiffman, Reynolds, and Young, 1981).

Data used in multidimensional scaling are generally referred to as "similarities data" or "orientation data". Similarities data (also referred to as dissimilarities data) imply that how similar or dissimilar two or more stimuli/objects are on certain characteristics can be estimated. Orientation data refer to attitudinal data which can be used to determine similarities across respondents. (See Appendix C-2 -- Table of Definitions for MDS.)

A basic idea underlying multidimensional scaling is that phenomena have both a perceived and an objective dimension (Hair, et. al, 1984). The dimension perceived by a respondent may not coincide with the researcher's objective dimension. Furthermore, evaluations of the dimensions, though the perceived or objective may be the same, may not agree. MDS techniques enable the researcher to represent these evaluations spatially by graphically displaying the dimensions. This visual representation helps bring into focus similarities and dissimilarities between the perceived and objective dimensions.

The assumption underlying visual representation is that by locating the most preferred combination of responses in a geometric space, you can identify a spatial representation of subjects' underlying belief structure. The position of the "ideal point" representing this belief structure defines,
relative to other belief structures, the relative preference of other belief structures (Hair, et al.).

The procedures do not require a priori knowledge of stimuli attributes but provide a space that reveals relevant dimensions. The advantage of an MDS analysis is that it can generate a large amount of information under conditions where many unknowns exist and can do so with a limited number of subjects (Schiffman, et al., 1981).

In general, multidimensional scaling involves choosing the stimuli, computing the reconstructed distances between stimuli points and evaluating the "stress" of the configuration. Identifying and labeling underlying dimensions is accomplished by inspecting the "maps", studying the objective characteristics of the stimuli, and by screening for "values that 'match' the relationships portrayed in the maps" (Hair, et al., 303). These were compared and contrasted with researcher-determined criteria growing out of the research itself.

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28Two approaches are used to determine spatial location of the "ideal point" -- 1) explicit estimation and 2) implicit estimation. Explicit estimation is based on the direct responses of subjects. By contrast, implicit estimation is required due to perceptual problems stemming from a respondents lack of experience or knowledge of a topic. It is assumed that the derived measures will be maximally consistent with an individual's provided perceptions. It should be noted, however, that there is no "best" method for approaching ideal point estimation.
Multidimensional scaling was used in this study to explore whether or not belief structures of respondents from the Employer Mail Survey could be identified. This technique also permitted organization of data in a manner that permitted examination of possible associations between belief structures and receptivity to new program implementation.

**Cluster Analysis:** Cluster analysis was used with data from the mail survey to develop subgroups based on similarities among entities (Hair, et al., 1984). Groups were not defined a priori which is consistent with the exploratory nature of this research. The technique involved first measuring similarity or association between entities to determine how many groups exist and then profiling groups to determine the composition of the clusters.

SAS clustering procedures were used to cluster items from the employer mail survey (Project 3). The purpose for using the procedure was to place beliefs as expressed through responses on role variable items into groups. The underlying assumption was that those role variable items which cluster will be similar to each other in some definable sense, one which gives insight into how beliefs define perceptions and how perceptions are linked to relational contract.

The clustering method used was Ward's minimum variance (SAS Statistics, 1990). This method tends to search for
roughly equal clusters, i.e., the same number of observations in each cluster. The number of clusters chosen for the final solution was based in part on change in $R^2$ and in part on interpretability. Clusters were examined to determine whether they appeared to operationalize norms found in the theoretical framework and whether identification of clusters enhances understanding of decisions made by parties to the relationship.

It was also recognized that should hypotheses be generated, restrictions due to the inability to make assumptions about the underlying distribution of the sample suggested use of nonparametric statistical methods. Also known as distribution-free statistical procedures, nonparametric statistics have been developed specifically to test hypotheses that do not specify assumptions associated with parametric procedures (Huck, Cormier, and Bounds, 1974). These assumptions concern normality, homogeneity of variance, levels of measurement and sample size. Nonparametric statistical tests are similar to parametric procedures in that "(b)oth 1) test a hypothesis, 2) involve a level of significance, 3) require a calculated value, 4) compare against a critical value, and 5) conclude with a decision about the hypothesis" (Huck, et al., 1974). They can be applied to research problems in much the same manner as parametric tests.
SUMMARY

This research used the embedded case study design within a grounded theory paradigm. Three general research questions were identified to guide the study. Macneil’s behavioral norms were used to construct a model which could be used to aid in identification of concepts for study. Multiple strategies were used for collection of data. These included semi-structured interviews, focus group interviews, and mail surveys. Primary analytical procedures employed were frequencies, correlation, conceptual correlation matrices, multidimensional scaling, and cluster analysis.

PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

Chapters 4, 5, and 6 are structured around the three research questions. Relevant data are described and interpreted within the chapter dedicated to examination of the research question of interest. Chapter 4 focuses on questions concerning the nature of contractual relations in construction; Chapter 5 focuses on questions concerning how beliefs about explicitly or implicitly defined relationships affect receptivity; and Chapter 6 focuses on questions concerning how understanding Macneil’s behavioral norms and
relational contract may contribute to increased understanding of decisions.

Chapter 7 discusses implications of the study for implementation of the Laborers' Membership Assistance Program. This is followed by evaluation of the study as it adheres to the canons of good science under the grounded theory paradigm. The final section of Chapter 7 contains recommendations for future research.
CHAPTER 4

CONTRACTUAL RELATIONS IN CONSTRUCTION

Information in this chapter addresses the first of the three research questions used to guide the study. Relevant historical information is presented and the purpose of a trade agreement described. Formal documents are examined to explore the nature of structures in place for supporting program implementation. The relational aspects of agreements in construction are identified, and observations from the projects described.

RESEARCH QUESTION 1

What is the nature of contractual relations in construction and what structures and processes are in place for carrying the relationship forward in time?

Macneil (1980) suggests that modern industrial society is founded on contract, both discrete and relational. Nowhere is this better demonstrated than in construction through its complex formal and informal contracting systems. These systems dictate how work and the workplace should be
structured to provide workers with an acceptable livelihood.\textsuperscript{29}

Contracting Systems in Construction

Historically, industry characteristics such as uncertainty, technology and fragmentation combined with market variability, labor characteristics and craft jurisdiction to institutionalize the contracting systems in construction (Silver, 1986). Market variability and uncertainty made it economical for contractors to shift some production to specialty contractors and thus diffuse risks. Tool technology and market and labor characteristics led to cumbersome systems of hiring, supervising, and supplying equipment and materials. These systems function best under formal arrangements based on written or oral agreements but which are supplemented by informal systems of contracting based on industry custom. In addition, the process by which work was specialized developed along traditional skills or craft jurisdictions (Applebaum, 1981). Workers organized according

\textsuperscript{29}Employment arrangements in construction currently operate in three forms -- 1) the negotiated arrangement, 2) the open-shop or nonunion arrangement, and 3) the unorganized sector. Reliable statistics are generally unavailable on the size of each form or sector of the industry. (For additional information, see Mills, 1979.) This study focused on a segment of the unionized sector which relies on the negotiated agreement. For an overview of characteristics of the construction industry, see Appendix A-4.
to their particular craft, and contractors obligated their companies to hire workers through the union referral system (Mills, 1979). Given the broad range of skills required to complete a given project, contractors were often required to negotiate with more than one union to secure labor for a project. This led to agreement among unions to observe the work jurisdictions of other unions.

Today, contracting in construction reflects a system consisting of a formal contracting system existing between organizations and an informal system operating within organizations (Silver, 1986). The formal system at the level of the employer involves contracting by a general contractor with a specialty contractor using written agreements.\(^\text{30}\) This system has been used extensively in construction to permit flexibility in putting together the proper craft mix for a particular project. A general contractor may use the same group of subcontracting firms over a number of years, thus developing the type of continuous relationship defined through relational contract. The formal contracting system has thus laid the foundation for the informal contracting system by providing for a trusting and responsible relationship among

\(^{30}\text{Subcontractors may themselves subcontract elements of a job they do not want to perform (Mills, 1980).}\)
employers and workers (Applebaum, 1981).³¹

A formal contracting system also exists between contractors and unions. This system is defined by the trade agreement and provides structure for carrying relationships between these two parties forward in time. Similarly, structures specified in the trade agreement, plus the union constitution,³² solidify the relationship between the union and its members. The relationships between parties to the Laborers’ Membership Assistance Program should thus begin with examination of the trade agreement and LIUNA Constitution within the context of relational contract. Provisions in these formal documents concerning discrete exchange should help define acceptable practices and rationale for new program implementation.

Discrete Aspects of Contractual Relations: Trade agreements provide for discrete exchange in construction. They are conceptually different from their better known

³¹However, the relationships have in some instances led to divisiveness among construction employers (Mills, 1980). Because the disputes among parties often involve large sums of money, the struggle has been visible at all levels of society -- job site, courts, legislature. Similarly, the continuing relationship established between employers and workers has raised suspicion among outsiders concerning the legal and ethical nature of relationships in the industry.

³²The international union, the primary governing unit of a union, is governed by a constitution. The constitution is adopted and amended at the union’s convention. (See Mills, 1979.)
counterpart, the collective bargaining agreement.\textsuperscript{33} Understanding the types of relationships established using this vehicle require a brief explanation. An overview of the evolution of the trade agreement can be found in Feller’s 1973 work proposing a general theory of the collective bargaining agreement. A summary of the overview is presented below.

Feller notes that, like the collective bargaining agreement found in the manufacturing sector, the trade agreement provides for a method by which the process of rulemaking can be influenced by the workforce. However, powers retained by workers via the union over rulemaking are felt more strongly under the trade agreement. This was demonstrated by Feller through examination of the tradition under which workers affect rulemaking.

The tradition under which workers affect rulemaking grew out of early informal arrangements between workers and their employer under which workers determined workplace rules. Though not technically utilizing trade agreements, workers

\textsuperscript{33}The distinction between collective bargaining agreements and trade agreements is rarely addressed by scholars writing about labor relations in construction. The two terms are generally used interchangeably. However, it has been generally accepted that the bargaining goals for craft unions and industrial unions are generally different. The latter emphasize price of labor, individual worker protection, job and income security, and union security while craft unions emphasize price of labor, quality of trade, level of employment and supply of labor, and union security. (See Sandvær, 1987.)
successfully influenced wages and working conditions through a counter structure of workplace rules. Informal rules were imposed on employers by workers from below and conformity to the rules enforced on individuals by their fellow workers.

Formal rules were later imposed by worker organizations in the United States, first through secret societies and then through explicit agreements. For example, the cordwainers associations met in secret societies to determine the appropriate "bill of prices". Workers agreed not to work for any employer not recognizing the adopted scale (Commons, 1910). Early labor organizations also adopted rules governing such matters as security of employment, apprenticeship rules, and work rotation.

It was not until the turn of the twentieth century that worker organizations or unions sought to engage in formal bargaining. Their goal was to secure acquiescence from employers on work rules that the members had unilaterally established. The idea of bargaining between union and employers over what the rules should be eventually developed, but union rulemaking continued to persist in craft unions. Over time, such terms and conditions of employment as discharge and seniority were set forth in the union's "General Laws" and, as such, helped shape employers' relationships with craft unions and their members.

Feller suggests that evidence of the influence of early
union-created workplace rules can currently be found in trade agreements in construction. Procedures for securing compliance with union-created rules have been internalized by unions operating in industries which rely on the trade agreement. For example, a local construction union is given authority to try members for violations of rules occurring within its territorial jurisdiction. Furthermore, where employment contracts are involved, a contract must comply with specifications of the union's international constitution. If a contract does not comply, union members may be forbidden to perform work for an employer operating within the area. Fines and sanctions are employed as powerful weapons for securing compliance with union-created rules where union membership is a prerequisite for employment.

In many instances, disputes between an employer and the union as to the proper application of the terms of a trade agreement are actually resolved in the union hierarchy. A trade agreement may say nothing concerning such substantive provisions as discharge. This could mean that the employer is free to discharge at will but might also mean that the employer has acquiesced in union determination of the question (Feller, 1973).

Trade agreements can be found in industries with certain characteristics allowing or benefiting from such arrangements as those described above. They exist today primarily in
industries having three characteristics -- 1) skill requirements enable the union to exert an economic force strong enough to compel employer acquiescence, 2) employment is intermittent, and 3) there is a history of early and strong union presence. Industries possessing these traits include construction where in some areas or regions of the country employment relationships remain subject to union control through hiring halls. By providing for closed shop conditions or by agreeing to secure laborers through the union hiring hall, the employer in effect "assigns to the union the power to decide who will work and in what order" (Feller, 1983: 732).

Feller notes that a similar situation exists with respect to location of work and other issues. The right to work in a location may be governed by the union's rules concerning the right to transfer membership. The pace of work and use of particular tools may also be determined by union rule, as may fringe benefits through a union welfare fund. As with discharge, the absence of detailed rules pertaining to such issues in a trade agreement is generally an indication that the function has been delegated to the union.

Though not explained in detail, Feller also suggests that trade agreements are generally inconsistent with the National Labor Relations Act. The Act was designed to foster a relationship in which the union acts on behalf of employees in
a bargaining unit such as found in manufacturing, not on behalf of a general body of union members such as found in construction. Feller suggests that though the National Labor Board has tried to apply the Act and subsequent amendments to such industries as construction, efforts have not been entirely successful. There was not, however, an indepth description of why the outcome was less than optimal.

In summary, Feller's overview suggests that trade agreements, rather than typical collective bargaining agreements (which are more consistent with the National Labors Relations Act and which are commonly found in manufacturing), continue to form the basis of discrete exchange in construction. An example noted earlier is the equivalent of closed-shop conditions continuing in some sectors of construction, and in the end, the continued existence of trade agreements which essentially confirms employer consent to union-administered rules. Trade agreements differ from

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Another industry for which negotiations cover a general body of union members is the coal industry. However, the coal industry has several characteristics which distinguish it from construction and directly impact negotiations. For example, problems affecting negotiations in construction include 1) the narrow geographic scope of bargaining relative to the wide geographic area across which workers are employed, 2) lack of effective machinery for settlement of national or labor disputes involving the negotiated agreement, 3) lack of adequate mechanisms for securing needed information for problem solving through negotiations. (See Mills, 1979.) By contrast, the geographic scope of bargaining in the coal industry is narrower and considerable machinery has been developed for handing disputes and securing information.

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collective bargaining agreements designed to cover bargaining units, but they do, like collective bargaining agreements, qualify as a type of contract.\footnote{For a discussion of collective bargaining agreements as contract, see C. W. Summers, 1969.} They obviously provide for discrete exchange.

Trade agreements, when coupled with the union's constitution, should give structure to relationships between a union and its signatory employers. This assumption was explored through examination of the LIUNA Constitution and a trade agreement within the relational contract model. The procedure was utilized to determine whether the documents provided for the necessary structure and processes to support the Laborers' Membership Assistance Program. Macneil's five behavioral norms were used for guiding the investigation -- expectation interests, role integrity, contractual solidarity, harmonization with the social matrix, and effectuation of consent. Results are discussed below. Though the terms were defined previously, each behavioral norm will be further described below.

\textbf{Expectation Interests:} Expectation interests are equated with what has been promised. They grow out of the substance of the contract and the nature of the relationship, both of which should be reflected in the LIUNA Constitution and the
trade agreement. The key section of the LIUNA Constitution laying a foundation on which expectations are formed with respect to health and safety, and thus the Laborers' Membership Assistance Program, were found in Article II. Article II (d) of the Constitution states that it shall be the object of the union

(d) To promote the development and maintenance of health, welfare and on-the-job safety practices and such educational and staff training programs among its affiliates and members as would best effect a full knowledge of their rights, responsibility, welfare and interest;

The power of the union to negotiate for contributions to the Health and Welfare Fund, the fund which in turn funds the Laborers' Membership Assistance Program, was found in the Uniform District Council Constitution of the Laborers' International Union, Article II Section 2 (f). The union is authorized

(f) To provide for the well-being and security of members, officers and employees of the District

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The following section is limited to information from formal documents concerning: 1) the policies and objectives for provision of services to union members and their families, 2) the relationships between union and union members or between union and employers in the provision of services, and 3) the nature of relationships between the union and government. Information relevant to the issue of union democracy is purposefully avoided due to the unique nature of the topic and the complexity of issues surrounding it. The documents were not content analyzed since the focus of this chapter is on policy or objectives which underpin the nature of relationships affecting implementation of a membership assistance program.
Council and its affiliated Local Unions, including but not limited to the establishment of insurance, health and welfare, pension, severance and other employee benefit plans;

The expectation interests with respect to signatory employers eligible to participate in the LIUNA Membership Assistance Program as to their role in health and safety were formalized in the trade agreement's Supplemental Agreement between the Laborers' District Council of Washington, D. C. and the Construction Contractors Council - AGC Labor Division, Inc. Article VI Section 6 of this agreement states that

(6) The parties hereto agree to continue to operate the Health and Welfare Fund established for the benefit of the employees covered by this collective bargaining agreement...

Under terms of the most recently negotiated trade agreement (1990), signatory employers belonging to the Labor Relations Division of the Maryland Chapter of the Associated General Contractors of America, Inc., agreed to pay into the following additional funds:

1. Pension Fund
2. Vacation Fund
3. Training Fund

Under other contracts, employers may also pay into, or make contributions to, the Laborers' Political League, the Industry Promotion Fund, and the Construction Industry Advancement Program of Baltimore, Maryland.

Provisions of the LIUNA Constitution and terms of the
trade agreement were found to lay a foundation for certain
expectations concerning provision of social services. Workers/union members had cause to believe that the union has
promised to promote health, welfare, and on-the-job safety. Precedent had been laid for funding of needed services by
employers through contributions to various funds. Under
current practices, workers had cause to expect the union to
act as a broker or middleman by administering those services
which had been "voluntarily" funded by employers.

Examination of the expectations potentially growing out
of formal LIUNA documents led to questions concerning whether
objectives stated in the LIUNA Constitution would lead
naturally to certain expectations on the part of the union
membership regarding assistance for personal problems. In
addition, questions surfaced as to whether provisions in the
trade agreement concerning Health and Welfare Funds would lead
naturally to certain expectations with regard to signatory
employer support of new social services.

Role Integrity: Role integrity refers to maintenance of
a role in a state that is consistent with expectations
concerning the organization or individual occupying a given
position. The Laborers' Union had historically identified its
role in terms of representation of the less advantaged, i.e.,
workers filling positions often seen as undesirable by more
educated workers. It strived to build pride among members by
identifying their contribution to the progress of the United States.

Our members have helped lay down the new highways, build the spectacular bridges, dig the tunnels and subways, build the new plants and factories, dam and power plants, schools, churches, hospitals and housing (Mercey, 1954: viii).

The philosophy and perceived role espoused by early and current leaders was reflected by the goals and objectives of the union as given in the LIUNA Constitution. The nature of the union role within society was implicit in the document and was defined as one which meets three criteria — 1) to be consistent with the capitalist system, 2) to add value to the economy, and 3) to protect the common worker.

Intent to fill a role which is consistent with the capitalist system is implicit in Article II of the LIUNA Constitution. Section 1 (1) states that one object of LIUNA is

(1) To effectuate the philosophy of Samuel Gompers, of supporting our friends and defeating our enemies through such means as registration, voting, political education and citizenship activities involving the members, their spouses, and their families;

Samuel Gompers, first president of the American Federation of Labor, advocated development of unions whose goals were primarily market oriented as opposed to political or ideological. Primary emphasis was on improvement of the terms under which members sell their services (Estey, 1981).
The business-like character arising from this philosophy contributed to definition of LIUNA as a business organization organized for the benefit of laborers (Mercy, 1954: 35) within the established system, rather than as an activist union seeking to change the system.

Loyalty of the Laborers' Union to the established system was further reflected in Article II Section 2 (g) and Article XXV. Article II Section 2 states that

> It (the International Union) shall have the power to take such action as it may deem necessary, appropriate and proper to assist the governments of the United States and Canada in the protection and conservation of the general welfare of the peoples of both countries;

Article XXV contains the Oath taken by members and resembles oaths generally found in constitutions of unions operating as business unions. The Oath concludes with

> And, I further declare that I am not now a member of, nor sympathize with, any organization that has for its purpose the overthrow of this Organization or of the Government of the United States of America or Canada by force or violence.

The Laborers' role in promoting the value of the work of members for the industry and economy in general was also expressed in the objectives listed in Article II Section 1.

(f) To promote, foster and develop programs which advance the social unity and efficiency of the industries employing its members;

(i) To strive for effective programs which would improve, advance and increase the opportunities for employment;

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(j) To promote a better understanding by government and the public of the aims and objects of this Organization and the Labor Movement as a whole;

(p) To promote better understanding and improve the conditions of life of the laboring peoples of all countries.

At the level of the organization, the Laborers' Union had incorporated into its Constitution objectives which define a role for the union extending beyond the boundaries of the union membership. The Constitution clearly documented a belief that the union plays a legitimate role in advancing the interests of the industry, the labor movement, and the people it represents. This included activities intended to shape the public image of the organization and of laborers in general.

At the level of the individual, the role of the Laborers' Union was defined in three ways -- as an advocate protecting the common worker, as a supporter of worker and family, and as legal guardian. These responsibilities were implicit in objects (c) and (n) of Article II Section 1 of the LIUNA Constitution.

(c) To promote, foster, develop and advance the skills, efficiency, and working knowledge necessary, of such workers.

(n) To engage in legal activities appropriate for the defense and advancement of the interests of the International Union, its affiliates and their officers and membership;

The questions that surfaced concerning role integrity concerned whether promotion of the Laborers' Membership

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Assistance Program was consistent with the union's role as expressed in its constitution. Furthermore, because role is defined through perceptions of parties to the relationship and affected by explicit terms of formal documents, questions arose concerning whether perceptions were consistent with terms of the formal documents. This issue was important to the study given the prevalence of strong industry norms. Beliefs about role integrity were likely influenced by customary practices and other extraneous factors.

**Contractual Solidarity:** Contractual solidarity beliefs reflect some value associated with continuing a relationship. Solidarity beliefs continue to exist only as long as parties to the relationship believe that conditions under which they depend on one another will continue into the future. The solidarity belief may or may not be well founded (Macneil, 1980).

Beliefs concerning solidarity are closely tied to beliefs concerning rights. The "Preamble" of the LIUNA Constitution was as expected concerned with "Man's" inalienable right to provide for his existence and that of his family. It further enunciated that "Man has the right to band with others who have a common or mutual interest in the protection of these natural rights, in a proper and lawful manner..." (LIUNA Constitution: 2) It was the Constitution then that provided the basis for solidarity among union members.
that organizations and those persons working in these organizations were different in substantive ways. This led to questions concerning whether signatory employers choosing to participate in the Laborers' Membership Assistance Program differed from nonparticipants in identifiable ways, either with respect to individual beliefs or organizational characteristics. A number of variables were examined to address this concerns.\textsuperscript{40} A discussion of the observations relevant to these questions are presented under the section labeled "Project Observations".\textsuperscript{41}

\textbf{Relational Aspects of Contractual Relations:} The relational aspects of the trade agreement and LIUNA Constitution were found to be supported by the informal contracting system. The informal system developed alongside the formal system in construction. Though not generally

\textsuperscript{40}Given the early stages of program implementation, it was recognized that signatory employers might not be aware of the program and thus the norm of choice would be difficult to evaluate. Nevertheless, it was speculated that patterns potentially impacting choice or effectuation of consent might be identifiable.

\textsuperscript{41}Questions arising during assessment of the trade agreement and LIUNA Constitution were addressed during various stages of the study. Conclusions were drawn based on the preponderance of evidence provided by union business leaders, union stewards and foremen, and employer participants. The questions will be restated and addressed in Chapter 7.
associated with the trade agreement, it was found, both as a result of observations in this study and from the literature, that trade agreements do much to support the informal aspects of contracting in construction. For example, trade agreements were found to provide for ongoing relational exchange among parties to the Laborers' Membership Assistance Program in both obvious and not-so-obvious ways.\(^{42}\)

First, the trade agreements created a three-sided, ongoing relationship between the union, union members, and signatory employers represented by contractor associations. The relationships created by transactions and exchange were more complex than two-sided contractual relationships and possibly more complex than contractual relationships established by the collective bargaining agreement. Second, the trade agreement could not possibly provide for all future contingencies. Nevertheless, it was expected to act as a framework for resolution of future conflicts. This in turn provided the necessary flexibility necessary for preservation of the relationship.

Less obvious was the fact that though trade agreements were written for a fixed term, the roles and relationships reflected in the agreement continued unbroken from term to term (Summers, 1969). Parties to the agreement understood

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\(^{42}\)For a discussion of the relational aspects of trade agreements, see Feller, 1983.
that although successive agreements were discrete, rights and duties growing out of the agreement were ongoing. Second, because trade agreements were made for the benefit of third persons,\textsuperscript{43} parties had the power to amend mutually the agreement. In addition to providing the framework for supporting on-going relationships, it also provided the flexibility to address problems in a timely manner. The power to amend thus contributed to preservation of the relationship and protection of the interests of various parties to the relationship. Third, agreements were made within boundaries set by societal expectations. As was seen in the LIUNA constitution, desires of parties were in part shaped by such external forces as government policy. Because the agreements were subject to and required to conform to provisions of the constitution, trade agreements were highly subject to external restraints and guidance.

As noted earlier, an informal contracting system developed alongside the formal system in construction as represented by the trade agreement and other contracting arrangements between contractors. It complemented the formal system but depended on unwritten agreements and direct personal relationships to assign men/women to work (Silver,

\textsuperscript{43}The union enters into an agreement with signatory employers which is intended to benefit union members, who are the third persons.

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1986). This system and its accompanying relational aspects evolved for several rational reasons.

First, it arose out of the need for firms to reduce costs and economic risks through nonbureaucratic mechanisms of control.\footnote{Nonbureaucratic forms of administration evolved under a management system called "craft administration." An overview of this system of administration is given in Appendix A-6.} This was frequently achieved by foremen acting as inside contractors in the employers' organizations for specific projects. The pivotal position held by foremen made them ideally suited to this role. On one hand, they were a contractors' sole managerial agent at the worksite and were required in such instances to take responsibility for coordinating activities. On the other hand, they were union members and wage workers rather than salaried managers. As such, they shared the insecurity of project-specific employment with other craftsmen. In addition, they often engaged in production work and shared the same set of working conditions as other workers (Silver, 1986).

Second, it arose out of the nature of specialization in construction (Mills, 1980). Different branches of construction required different specializations. For example, pipeline construction required laborers, operating engineers, teamsters, and pipefitters while heavy highway construction required laborers, operating engineers, teamsters, cement
masons, and carpenters. Various branches of construction had their own unique labor requirements. Specialization of the labor force created a substantial pattern of interdependence across eighteen or so craft unions requiring more flexible working relations than could be specified in formal documents.\textsuperscript{45}

Taken together, the formal and informal contracting systems in construction, especially the unionized sector, had as expected created extremely relational employment practices. (See Mills, 1980; Applebaum, 1981; Silver, 1986.) Area-wide agreements between the union and contractors (and their subcontractors) had created a more intimate relationship between parties than was expected given what was known about open-shop trends and about labor relations in other industries. Continuing relationships covering employment practices as they developed under this system were between union and employer, not between worker and employer. Under such an arrangement, the union theoretically performed

\textsuperscript{45} In addition, U. S. labor law has presupposed a dichotomy between management and labor (Byrne, 1990). Court interpretations of the law, based less on historical realities than on ideological assumptions, further advanced the notion of a proper place for the working class, e.g., labor, in business affairs. The Laborers' Union was attempting to assume a leadership role and to implement a new social program within constraints placed on it by this presupposed schism between management and labor. Fortunately, they had the advantage afforded them by close working relationships between some workers and employers and between the union and specific signatory employers.
important employment functions for the industry.

The union provided for flexible employment relations through hiring hall activities. On one hand, a stable source of labor having diverse skills was made available for employers. On the other hand, job opportunities were preserved for workers. In addition, unions theoretically helped stabilize the industry by instituting a wage floor.

Project Observations

This section contains descriptions of findings based on analyses of data gathered during the three projects -- The LIUNA Leader Project, The Steward-Foreman Project, and The Employer Survey Project. It addresses the issue of whether findings concerning the nature of contractual relations among parties to the Laborers' Membership Assistance Program were as expected given the literature on construction, provisions of the LIUNA Constitution and trade agreements, and information on the nature of contractual relations in the industry.

First, observations indicated that the complex contractual arrangements described in the literature continue to exist. However, employment relations had changed over time. In some instances, laborers continued to utilize hiring and referral systems specified in the trade agreement. On the other hand, a surprisingly large number of laborers
interviewed had been with the same employer for a number of years, 25 years in one case.

Second, observations indicated that the types of contracting systems found in construction continued to foster loyalty among some workers to a few employers. Apparent loyalty of specific workers, primarily foremen, to specific employers was observed during focus group interviews. Signs included company jackets, company hats, and company lapel pins.⁴⁶ These observations were felt to be relevant in that long-term associations might influence willingness of employers to fund programs benefitting these workers. However, no evidence surfaced that suggested this was the case.

Third, observations indicated that trust underlying relationships was jeopardized by stresses on and within the industry. The literature on the construction industry had suggested that levels of uncertainty were generally high for the industry. The period of time during which the study was conducted and the pilot Laborers' Membership Assistance Program was being implemented, i.e., 1989-1992, was in fact

⁴⁶Foremen observed expressing employer identity in this manner were generally white with less than a high school degree. Though there were instances of expressed loyalty to employers by black workers, there were few outward symbols expressed through display of company paraphernalia. This was true even in cases where black workers indicated that they had been employed by the same employer for 15 years or more.
characterized by recession, downsizing of many U.S. companies, and fiscal stress in federal and state governments. Based on these conditions, it was expected that signatory employers who perform government work would be operating under substantial levels of stress and that this would manifest itself through changes in profit patterns and structure. Both variables were expected to impact willingness of signatory employers to commit resources to support a new program.

On the basis of this assumption, participants in the employer survey were asked to approximate the amount of government work done by their company and then to indicate whether changes had occurred in levels of profits over one and three years. As shown in Table 4-1, approximately 38% of respondents reported that 50% or more of work over the last three years had been on government projects. Only 16.3% reported no government projects over that time period.

Approximately 63.3% of respondents reported that profits had increased over the last three years but of those reporting favorable results for three years, only 30.6% (15) also reported that profits had increased over the most recent year (Table 4-2). The amount of government work was found to be significantly and negatively correlated with profits over a three year period (\(-.29126, p=.0446\)). Companies reporting higher percentages of projects on government work were less likely to report increased profits over the last three years.
TABLE 4-1
EMPLOYER SURVEY: PERCENT OF WORK ON GOVERNMENT PROJECTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERCENT OF WORK ON GOVERNMENT PROJECTS</th>
<th>NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS INDICATING THIS PERCENT OF WORK ON GOVERNMENT PROJECTS</th>
<th>PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS INDICATING THIS PERCENT OF WORK ON GOVERNMENT PROJECTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0 %</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>16.3 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 %</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>26.5 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 %</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10.2 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 %</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.1 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 %</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.1 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 %</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12.2 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60 %</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.0 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70 %</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6.1 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80 %</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8.1 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90 %</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8.1 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99 %</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.0 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The correlation between the percent of work done on government projects and whether profits have decreased, stayed the same, or increased over three years was -.29126, p = .0446. See Table 4-2 for information on change in profits.

TABLE 4-2
EMPLOYER SURVEY: CHANGE IN PROFITS®

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROFITS</th>
<th>DECREASED OVER 3 YEARS</th>
<th>NO CHANGE OVER 3 YEARS</th>
<th>INCREASED OVER 3 YEARS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DECREASED OVER LAST YEAR</td>
<td>14 (28.6%)</td>
<td>3 (6.1%)</td>
<td>12 (24.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NO CHANGE OVER LAST YEAR</td>
<td>1 (2.0%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>4 (8.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INCREASED OVER LAST YEAR</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>15 (30.6%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

®Companies were grouped according to the belief of managers concerning trends in profits over the most recent year and the last three years. Respondents were asked to use an "X" to mark the statement that best describes their company's profits during the time periods given.
Employers were also asked to indicate whether changes had occurred in legal and physical structures. Company characteristics are shown in Table 4-3. Eighty percent of companies employing respondents were over 20 years old. Forty-six percent of companies were organized as S-Chapter Corporations and 22% as sole proprietorships. The respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 4-3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EMPLOYER SURVEY: COMPANY CHARACTERISTICS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COMPANY CHARACTERISTICS</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>PERCENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TYPE OF COMPANY</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sole Proprietorship</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>22.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partnership</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-Chapter Corporation</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>46.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Corporation</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>26.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGE OF COMPANIES</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Length of Time in Operation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less Than 5 Years</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-10 Years</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-20 Years</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More Than 20 Years</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>80.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHANGES OVER TWO YEARS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type of Change</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ownership (If Sole Proprietor)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major Restructuring</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>25.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major Reduction in Employees</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merger</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acquisition</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divestiture</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Expansion</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Management Team</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>17.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Change Reported</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>19.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{a}\) Descriptions are based on responses of participants in the employer mail survey.

\(^{b}\) One respondent gave no response.
reported that a substantial amount of activity related to structural change had occurred over the last two years. Approximately 26% of respondents reported major restructuring of their company. Almost 10% reported acquisitions and 3.9% reported divestitures. One company expanded operations outside the country. Approximately 18% reported that their company had a new management team while 11.8% reported a major reduction in the number of employees. Four or 36% of the eleven companies organized around a sole proprietorship status reported a change in ownership. Given the reported stresses on the employer organizations, evidence from focus group interviews were examined to determine whether employment relations were being affected in any way.

A number of observations were made based on comments from participants. First, perceptions of job security differed substantially across participants. Laborers employed by companies on long-term government projects having a definable beginning and ending date felt a relatively high level of job security for the short run. Laborers not employed on long-term projects complained of high levels of stress caused by, in the opinion of foremen, the pressure on contractors to get contracts, probably based on low bid. Laborers' perceptions of job security, regardless of employer, were being affected

47Observations concerning stress in the workplace are based primarily on input from union foremen.
by the contractor's emphasis on efficiency and increased productivity. These concerns were expressed through comments referring to contractors wanting to replace older workers with younger workers, the contractors desire just to get the job done fast, and the contractor's only concern being the bottom line.

Second, perceptions of trust between contractor and worker were inconsistent across the various groups. Laborers working for contractors doing government work or work falling under the Drug-Free Workplace Act exhibited fairly high levels of hostility toward their employers. The belief that laborers would be treated fairly and that drug tests would be administered fairly was not strong. Laborers employed by subcontractors appeared more suspicious of primary contractors than did employees of the primary contractor.48

48Trade agreements were written to include an article on subcontractors, thus recognizing their relevance to the overall or total conduct of business. For example, Article V of the Agreement Covering Highway Work (April 1, 1990-March 31, 1993) between the Laborers Union and the Maryland Heavy and Highway Contractors Association, Inc., states that

It is understood that the terms and provisions of this Agreement shall be binding upon any subcontractor to whom the Contractor may sublet either all or a portion of his or its work.

Contractors also agree to inform their subcontractors of the contents of the Agreement. In addition, the effects of the formal subcontracting system on relations between parties to any project at a worksite are also evidenced in drug policies currently found at sites where Laborers are employed. Employees of subcontractors are often bound by the same policies as employees of the primary or general contractor.

111
Third, the presence of stress in the employer organization led to stresses on the informal contracting system, in part because the formal and informal systems were poorly delineated. The trade agreement, as expected, specified formal referral and hiring guidelines. However, provisions in the trade agreement suggested that much of the rulemaking regarding hiring historically reserved by the craft group had shifted to management. The Agreement Covering Highway Work (1990) laid out the following rules:

1. A minimum number of key men may be directly employed by the Contractor.

2. The Contractor has the right to appoint his own foreman.

3. The Contractor may request former employees with certain skills, knowledge or efficiency without regard to the workers' position on the list.

4. Competent, qualified men for reasons of skill, knowledge, efficiency, or former employment with the contractor may be hired directly by the contractor and the Union notified afterwards.

5. All other workmen should be referred by the Union.

6. The Contractor has the right to interchange employees on their payroll from job to job.

7. The Contractor reserves the right to accept or reject any applicant referred by the Union or to discharge for cause.49

Observations from focus group interviews suggested that

49The Agreement addresses many issues including the registration and referral of applicants, maintenance of lists, posting of hiring agreement provisions, and posting of grievance procedures.
while the trade agreement laid out a framework within which the informal subcontracting system could operate, it also created or provided for a degree of flexibility during times of stress that could undermine the informal contracting system. There was evidence that the "rules" were being followed in most instances. However, the permitted flexibility led to or promoted accusations concerning hiring practices or violation of informal, understood agreement between parties. Violation of the "unspoken agreement" was best demonstrated by the "White Worker Incident".

The "White Worker Incident" took place during one of the three focus group interviews. Stewards and foremen attending the session were male and all but two were black. The average age of the workers was 48 and the educational level was low. Sixty-four percent had less than high school degree or general equivalent degree. "Rumor" was that many of the workers in this local were "ex-cons".

The "white worker" was atypical in every way except in being male. He was white, young, and educated, i.e., could read and write. However, being white was not the primary reason he attracted the attention of the research team. The "White Worker" was noticed because he was ostracized by all other participants in the focus groups. No one spoke to him, sat near him, or even acknowledged his presence at the meeting.
Additional inquiry revealed that the "white worker" was hired directly by the contractor and assigned to a job. The "white worker" then reported to the union and established union membership. At a later date, other laborers were referred to the job by the local union hiring hall. Due to longer tenure at the job site, the "white worker" became the union steward. He remained, nevertheless, an outsider and was perceived to be a "company man".

The "White Worker Incident" appeared to be symptomatic of certain types of stresses currently acting on informal relations in the construction industry. Evidence of other stressors were observed through the adversarial perspectives of many focus group participants. These perspectives were expressed via the "rumor", a vehicle of communication used by stewards and foremen at all three focus group interview sites. For example, "rumor has it that"

1. contractors try to bribe the good workers to get them into the company and out of the union.

2. contractors use bribes and threats to persuade workers to work for below union scale.

3. contractors are hiring nonunion workers for the good jobs and leaving the "skuts" work for the Laborers.

Such observations have implications with respect to informal contracting that merit further investigation. First, are changes in informal contracting systems negating some of the benefits believed to accrue through provision of hiring
halls within the industry? Evidence from focus group interviews suggested that jobs were not being preserved for workers associated with the local union and that the union may not be effectively instituting a wage floor.

Second, are benefits formerly accruing through the informal system being eroded under terms of a formal contracting system which is strengthening management rights? Observations suggested that this change is occurring. Third, if rumor-spreading concerning contractor behavior is an accepted norm, i.e., an accepted verbal behavior, can it be used constructively in implementation of new programs? Observations from focus group interviews suggested that "rumor" was both an accepted means for communicating concerns and a means for increasing solidarity among union members.

SUMMARY

Contractual relations in construction are defined by a complex system of formal and informal contracting systems. In a unionized environment, these systems combine with the trade agreement and union constitution to provide a structure and processes for maintaining relations, i.e., carrying them forward in time. While the trade agreement provides for discrete exchange, it also provides for arrangements which are
extremely relational in nature. The relational aspects of contracting in construction in turn provide for the type of flexibility needed to perform to an acceptable level of efficiency. Stresses on contracting systems in construction are nonetheless evident in change within companies and in hiring practices. Concerns over such stresses are likely to be expressed through rumor.

Implications for implementation of the Laborers' Membership Assistance Program growing out of this first look at relational contract as expressed through contractual relations in construction are numerous. Of primary importance was the finding that the language of the LIUNA Constitution is sufficiently broadbased to build a rationale for implementation of new social services programs. Furthermore, while union rulemaking authority appears to have eroded over time, locking of employers into commitment to financial support of such programs is standard practice.

The formal and informal contracting systems do provide mechanisms both for carrying relations forward and for manipulating change. However, during periods under which contractors are themselves undergoing change, new program implementation must be seen as a way to lower or avoid additional stresses. On the downside, the "White Worker Incident" represents a perceived breach of trust between contractor and worker. The breach is important in that both
supervisors and stewards potentially play a role in implementation of the Laborers' Membership Assistance Program. Therefore, the importance of trust between union stewards and foremen and signatory employers in successful implementation efforts must not be underestimated by individuals in leadership positions.
CHAPTER 5

RECEPTIVITY

Information in this chapter addresses the second of the three research questions used to guide the study. How beliefs affect receptivity is examined from the perspectives of all three sample groups -- the union stewards and foremen, the union business managers, and the signatory employers.

RESEARCH QUESTION 2

How are beliefs concerning contractual relations in the workplace affecting receptivity to the Laborers’ Membership Assistance Program?

The literature on the construction industry indicates that laborers at the worksite perform a unique role. As brokers of information at the worksite, they have a broad range of contacts and possess a kind of social power which compensates for the lack of power associated with the job itself. This power is also believed to compensate for lower levels of discretion over work activities and time relative to other craftsmen. (See Appendix A-7.)

The union's managers oversee an organization that is made
up of multiple hierarchical levels. The business managers of principal interest to this study oversaw union operations at the local and district council levels. Managers of local unions are most likely to have direct contact with union members since they operate at hiring halls. This is also true for managers at the district level if the union hall serves as the district council office.

Union business managers are seen as holding a pivotal position between worker and employer through negotiations and between worker and the union through hiring hall activities and social services. The role they fill is intended to facilitate preservation of a stable work environment. This in itself potentially places the business managers in power positions within the industry.

Employers acquire power by virtue of their position within the industry. Under the complex contracting systems common to the unionized sector of the construction industry, employers have established their presence through systems of cooperation. These systems have facilitated the maintenance of the tripartite relationship between contractors, unions, and workers. They are realized through negotiations establishing terms of the trade agreement and through program support.

The presence of power positions among parties from the various sectors is an important factor in the description of
variables affecting receptivity to implementation of the Laborers' Membership Assistance Program. Though Macneil had identified creation and restraint of power as a behavioral norm, the relevance of power with respect to role became apparent only during the data gathering phase of the study. It was not anticipated a priori. The following sections will thus incorporate observations concerning power into the discussion of receptivity where appropriate. Receptivity will be described from the perspectives of all three groups studied -- the union stewards and foremen, the union business managers, and the signatory employers.

The Union Steward/Foreman Perspective

The majority of participants in Focus Group Interviews appeared to be receptive to implementation of the Laborers' Membership Assistance Program. The rare voices of dissent came from those men who believed that the money spent on the membership assistance program should be put into wages or from those believing that "a man's personal problems are none of the union's business."

There were three general questions guiding inquiry during the focus group interviews. First, do stewards and foremen really believe problems exist which merit implementation of a membership assistance program? The assumption underlying this
question was that if the problems are not perceived as real, then a statement indicating that they believe the program is needed is likely to be little more than a programmed response. Second, are stewards and foremen who are consciously aware of the program more likely to voice support for implementation? The assumption underlying this question was that if stewards and foremen know about the program, they will more likely agree that drugs and alcohol and other personal problems are present in the workplace. Third, will stewards and foremen who believe they can play a role in implementation exhibit higher levels of support for the program? The assumption underlying this question was that individuals who believe they can actively contribute to the implementation process will be more willing to buy into the program.

The evidence suggested that stewards and foremen perceive that drugs and drinking as well as other personal problems are affecting workplace conditions. As shown in Table 5-1, a majority of respondents from focus group interviews at all three local union halls agreed with the statements on the questionnaire that workers sometimes come to work under the influence of drugs, sometimes have credit problems affecting their ability to concentrate on their jobs, and sometimes come to work under the influence of alcohol. A majority of respondents from two of the three local unions agreed that workers sometimes smoke pot on the job or during breaks while
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QUESTIONS ASKED IN FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE</th>
<th>UNION 1-B PERCENT AGREEING&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>UNION 2-B PERCENT AGREEING&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>UNION 2-C PERCENT AGREEING&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Laborers at the job site have similar views about how people should act on the job.</td>
<td>61.5</td>
<td>92.0</td>
<td>94.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The most important consideration in judging whether you want to work with a person is whether he/she does the job right.</td>
<td>84.0</td>
<td>88.0</td>
<td>90.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If a laborer does something “wrong” at the job site, he/she will probably get caught.</td>
<td>40.7</td>
<td>72.0</td>
<td>85.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laborers you work with are generally satisfied with their jobs.</td>
<td>40.7</td>
<td>79.0</td>
<td>80.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sometimes people come to work under the influence of drugs.</td>
<td>51.9</td>
<td>60.0</td>
<td>61.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stress at the job site is generally low.</td>
<td>40.7</td>
<td>68.2</td>
<td>87.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laborers at the job site are closely supervised by a manager.</td>
<td>96.2</td>
<td>84.0</td>
<td>82.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sometimes it is okay to break safety rules in order to get the job done.</td>
<td>23.1</td>
<td>32.0</td>
<td>19.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workers sometimes drink alcohol on the job or during break.</td>
<td>42.3</td>
<td>36.0</td>
<td>51.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sometimes people have credit problems that affect their ability to concentrate on their job.</td>
<td>69.2</td>
<td>88.0</td>
<td>77.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laborers can greatly influence those things that happen to them at the job site.</td>
<td>72.0</td>
<td>92.0</td>
<td>92.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sometimes people come to work under the influence of alcohol.</td>
<td>69.2</td>
<td>68.0</td>
<td>75.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sometimes family problems interfere with a laborer’s performance on the job.</td>
<td>88.5</td>
<td>92.0</td>
<td>85.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workers sometimes smoke pot on the job or during break.</td>
<td>42.3</td>
<td>52.0</td>
<td>68.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup>n=27  
<sup>b</sup>n=25  
<sup>c</sup>n=40
a majority from one of the three local unions agreed that workers sometimes drink alcohol on the job or during breaks. Analysis of comments from focus group interviews only partially supported results from the questionnaires. Major themes growing out of the interviews did, however, suggest awareness of alcohol and drug use. There was evidence of contradictory views on the amount of alcohol and drug use on the job and the source of knowledge concerning users. Examples include:

1. Use of drugs and alcohol is not common on the job but workers may drink or do drugs during breaks.
2. We don’t see drug and alcohol use but suspect things are going on.
3. Problems and stress on the job lead to drinking off the job.
4. Laborers protect each other from workers who do drugs and alcohol on the worksite.
5. Workers know who is doing drugs and alcohol.
6. Drugs are a problem of younger workers.
7. Showing up "high" is a good way to lose a job.

In spite of concerns voiced about drugs and drinking, the underlying theme was that, while drugs are very bad, alcohol use is not so bad. Comments included references to the belief that a good job merits a few beers, i.e., as a reward, and the belief that drinking is "not out of control". Studies in
anthropology suggest that social drinking after work is part of the social fabric of the construction worker's life (Applebaum, 1981). Comments made during focus group interviews tended to support this belief. Furthermore, the evidence did not suggest that participants believed that alcohol problems were perceived as severe or serious enough to merit support for the program if this problem alone is to be addressed.

With respect to the second question, respondents from only one local union had attended classes explaining the Laborers' Membership Assistance Program. A higher percentage of these focus group participants relevant to participants in other focus groups agreed with statements that workers drink alcohol or smoke pot during breaks. They also suggested during focus group interviews that both alcohol and drug use increase the likelihood of on-the-job accidents. Unexpectedly, it was participants from this same local union who suggested in private, i.e., apart from the focus group, that workers' personal problems are no business of the local union and that participants could not express their views on this issue freely during the interview. These findings did not support the assumption that greater awareness would lead to greater personal support for implementation of the program. The findings did, however, suggest a higher level of observable "vocal" support for the program by those workers.
who should be more aware of the program.

With respect to the third question, evidence suggested that stewards and foremen were more than willing to help inform union members about the program. In fact, they openly voiced a desire to assist the union in diffusion of information. This desire was consistent with suggestions in the literature that laborers possess a kind of social power. While participants generally agreed that supervisors are in a good position to inform workers about the program, they suggested that "Stewards are the people laborers trust most." Stewards and foremen further indicated that they believe they can do the job. Level of receptivity by stewards and foremen to new program implementation thus appeared to be linked at least in part to participation and involvement in diffusion of information.

Evidence also surfaced suggesting that steward and foremen receptivity to the program was highly related to their beliefs concerning the contract. Focus group participants exhibited a keen awareness of contract and were quick to remind interviewers that "the union is only as good as the contract". Though this phrase is not uncommon to unionized environments, the insistence by foremen that programs must be specified in the contract was curious given the complex networks in place for providing services. Union-provided training programs and literacy training are not uncommon. In
addition, expectations regarding the LIUNA Constitution and the trade agreement as a protective cover for members were evident. Both stewards and foremen indicated that it was important to respect provisions of the agreement and that the union is supposed to do something for them.

Comments made by participants suggested that the real problem in their minds was not whether services were needed but who should provide services. If the services were to be provided in the workplace, the question was who should provide services to advance member well-being where terms for such services were not explicitly laid out in the trade agreement. As shown in Table 5-2, some workers suggested that the contractors/employers should be the provider. Aside from the ability to fund such services, employers were believed to be in the best position to inform workers about the Laborers' Membership Assistance Program. Three reasons were given to support this position -- 1) employers already conduct weekly safety meetings; 2) employers can force workers to get help with threats of job loss; and 3) some information needs to be kept from the union's business agent since he assigns jobs. Other participants countered that employers don't care enough about laborers to be trusted to promote the program. Furthermore, employers were accused of using the threat of job loss to get results and of not wanting to be bothered by or involved with the Laborers' Membership Assistance Program.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RESPONSIBLE PARTY</th>
<th>WHO SHOULD INFORM WORKERS ABOUT THE MAP?</th>
<th>WHO SHOULD PROVIDE MAP-TYPE SERVICES?</th>
<th>WHO SHOULD INTERVENE WITH PROBLEM WORKERS?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>EMPLOYER ORGANIZATIONS</strong></td>
<td>1. The contractors should discuss MAP at safety meetings. 2. The employers don't care. 3. The employers should inform workers about MAP since they can force the worker to get help.</td>
<td>1. The employers should provide counseling. 2. The employers should leave workers alone. 3. The employers should since the union business manager assigns jobs. 4. The employers don't want to be involved since they can use threats concerning pay to do the same thing. 5. The employer shouldn't be involved since it's none of their business.</td>
<td>(Employers were not mentioned.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>LABORERS UNION</strong></td>
<td>1. The union should tell workers about the MAP.</td>
<td>1. The union should provide counseling. 2. The union is only as good as the contract. 3. The union should provide services. 4. The union shouldn't be involved since its none of their business.</td>
<td>1. The union should take worker's side if conflict arises.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>LOCAL UNION</strong></td>
<td>1. The local should discuss MAP at union meetings. 2. The local can't inform at union meetings because most don't go to meetings.</td>
<td>1. The local should negotiate and win contracts.</td>
<td>1. The local is a threat since it assigns jobs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SUPERVISOR NON-UNION FOREMAN</strong></td>
<td>1. Foremen should be trained to run MAP meetings on jobsite. 2. Safety superintendent should inform workers.</td>
<td>(Not Applicable)</td>
<td>1. The supervisor is the person to intervene but he shouldn't embarrass workers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>STEWARD</strong></td>
<td>1. The stewards should be allowed to inform members about MAP. 2. Stewards are the people laborers trust most.</td>
<td>(Not Applicable)</td>
<td>1. Stewards or union foremen should intervene.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MEMBERS</strong></td>
<td>(Members were not mentioned.)</td>
<td>(Not Applicable)</td>
<td>1. Workers should try to get those who show up high to go home.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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*Approximation based on the number of questionnaires completed at focus group interviews.*

*What should be the role of the parties listed in this column?*  
*Individuals such as supervisors, stewards, and union members are not in the position to provide and fund such services.*
A second group of participants held that the union should accept the role of provider. Other participants suggested however that the union should not be distracted by provision of these new services and should concentrate on upgrading services already being provided. The union should concentrate on "negotiating and winning contracts", not on providing services evolving out of something other than trade negotiations. All participants did agree that if the service is provided, information concerning the service should flow through union channels. There were procedural questions concerning the union's role in diffusion of information. One group argued that the local union should discuss the Membership Assistance Program at union meetings while a second group suggested that discussions at union meetings are worthless since few workers attend. In their view, the local should send representatives onto the worksite to distribute information.

In general, findings concerning receptivity of stewards and foremen to implementation of the Laborers' Membership Assistance Program were consistent with expectations. The belief by stewards that they could play an effective role in diffusion of information was consistent with the observed role of laborers as information brokers, the source of social power for this class of construction workers. Overall, stewards and foremen tended to voice the "party line", not really
questioning the contractual arrangements which have evolved over time within the industry. However, not all agreed on the boundaries as to roles and responsibilities. Some saw the union, and in some instances the employer, as the benefactor who should provide for their overall well-being while others saw these parties as necessary evils and possible threats to workers' well-being. Some expected the union to attend to their personal needs (as defined by the Membership Assistance Program) while others saw such services as unacceptable intrusions into their personal lives. What did become clear was that when all else failed, the LIUNA Constitution and the trade agreement were, in the minds of stewards and foremen, the defining documents. Services provided by either employer or union falling outside terms of these contracts led to skepticism and suspicion among this class of workers.

The Business Manager Perspective

Business managers of local unions were found to be resourceful and cautious individuals. These characteristics in turn complicated efforts to assess their receptivity to implementation of a membership assistance program. Business managers tended to give the minimum amount of information required to answer any given question. They focused on "the way things are done" and tended not to draw inferences beyond
what was perceived as normal activity. Business managers relied heavily on the contract and other accepted norms that define workplace arrangements. Under such conditions, it was decided to record that which was not overtly stated but was communicated through the body language.

Business managers of local unions acted both as spokespersons for the international union and as employment agents for members. By contrast, business managers of the district office acted as spokespersons for the international union and represented the local unions in negotiations with employers over terms of the trade agreement. By virtue of their job descriptions as either employment agents or negotiators, they were endowed with a kind of position power that has evolved to levels unparalleled in other not-for-profit organizations, including manufacturing unions. It became evident during interviews with the business managers that they were keenly aware of power associated with their positions. As a result, comments had to be interpreted within this framework.

Power, defined as the capacity of individual actors to exert their will (Finkelstein, 1992), was accumulated through multiple means by business managers at the various levels of the union. First, business managers at all levels attained power through structures specified in the LIUNA Constitution and through tradition within the industry. Power was thus
based on formal organizational structure and hierarchical authority (Perrow, 1970; Finkelstein, 1992). Second, actions on behalf of local union members coupled with the large amount of autonomy given the local union bestowed upon business managers of local unions a kind of ownership power. The local, in essence, became "their union". An "us" (local union) versus "them" (international union) mentality appeared to have evolved at all locals visited.  

Third, business managers, both at the local and district levels, enjoyed standing among the union "elite". The fact that business managers met with upper echelons of the union and appeared to have some say in decisions signified personal importance, i.e., personal power. The international was clearly dependent upon these union members for day-to-day operationalization of the goals of the union. Similarly, the promotion of the Laborers' Membership Assistance Program by the local union and district business managers was seen by personnel at LIUNA Headquarters as critical to overall success of the implementation effort. Business managers were open in acknowledging their awareness of the international union’s

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50 Substantial effort would need to be devoted to tracing the origin of these attitudes. However, in some cases, the attitude may have been influenced by the fact that local craft unions frequently antedate the formation of the international union. Locals falling into this category had established an identity prior to receiving a charter and becoming officially associated with LIUNA.
need for their personal support.

Fourth, business managers, especially those at the local union level, possessed coercive power, i.e., the power to force compliance using psychological, emotional, or physical threat (French and Raven, 1959). Through the business agents, business managers could influence assignment of jobs to workers. It was not surprising then that evidence surfaced that some business managers believed that problem drinkers and drug addicts could be controlled from the hiring hall through sanctions. In these instances, the Laborers' Membership Assistance Program was perceived as a threat, something which could interfere with rights of action traditionally granted to personnel of the union hiring hall.

The power which had accrued to business managers of local unions appeared to affect relationships in special ways and as such to clearly impact receptivity to implementation of the Laborers' Membership Assistance Program. While the decision to implement a membership assistance program occurred naturally at the top of the union, i.e., LIUNA headquarters, cooperation for successful implementation was required at lower echelons. A program could survive over time without a

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51 The business agent generally holds the most critical external administrative role. Responsibilities include negotiations, spokesperson, grievance procedures, concerted activities, and contract administration, including hiring hall referral systems (Mills, 1979).
cooperative relationship but the effectiveness of the program would be seriously jeopardized by nonsupport of business managers. Fortunately, business managers at both the local and district levels believed that support of the program was consistent with their role as defined by the LIUNA Constitution and by industry norms.  

While business managers at all levels of the union exhibited high levels of receptivity to implementation of a membership assistance program, they also indicated that they expected clear and precise guidance from international headquarters. In fact, managers appeared to expect all initiative regarding program development to come from higher up, i.e., international headquarters, and the structure for day-to-day operations involving the membership assistance program to be set at those levels. They expected to accrue the benefits of efforts from higher levels of the hierarchy but expected programs to be structured in such a way as not to disrupt the current flow of operational activities, i.e., not

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52 While all but one business manager publicly supported implementation of the program because doing so was perceived as being consistent with their role as union spokesperson, there was some disagreement over the choice of constructive confrontation as the intervention strategy. As an alternative, two business managers strongly expressed their belief that workers should be scared into using the MAP for personal problems. They were not uncomfortable with the fact that they possess coercive power, accepting such arrangements as "the way things are done" in the industry.
to alter in substantial ways the current state of relationships affecting their organization. Of special importance was maintenance of the current level of autonomy for the local union.

Business managers of several locals, all of which were associated with construction work, were less than optimistic about receptivity among their members to the membership assistance program. (See Table 5-3.) For business managers of local unions hoping to maintain prestige with the district council and LIUNA headquarters by showing that they "can deliver", failure of members to use the service would pose a potential threat to the future success of the business manager and his relationship with superiors. Business managers expected members to make them look good, not bad.

In spite of concerns over failure of members to use the service, the consensus among business managers was that drinking and other personal problems can interfere with many Laborers’ productivity. However, there was no consensus on breadth of such problems as substance abuse. Comments ranged from "no problem" to "severe problem". Those business managers casting doubt on severity and prevalence of problems were as likely as those who saw problems everywhere to vocally support implementation efforts. In other words, everyone voiced the party line. At the level of business managers, the politically correct move was to support implementation of the
### TABLE 5-3

**BUSINESS MANAGER PERCEPTIONS ON NEED FOR AND USE OF MAP**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LOCAL UNION</th>
<th>IS MAP NEEDED?</th>
<th>WILL MEMBERS USE MAP?</th>
<th>IF NO, WHY WILL MEMBERS NOT USE MAP?</th>
<th>IF YES, WHAT WILL CAUSE MEMBERS TO USE MAP?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-B [M]</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Few</td>
<td>Too macho</td>
<td>To protect family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sense of Individualism</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Skeptical of new program</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-B [U]</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Not enough information about MAP</td>
<td>Are in serious trouble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Concern about not getting job</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>assignment</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-B [M]</td>
<td>Probably</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Individualism</td>
<td>Must use in order to keep job</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Supervisors have too many other</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>responsibilities other than promoting</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>MAP</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-B [U]</td>
<td>No opinion</td>
<td>No opinion</td>
<td>No opinion</td>
<td>No opinion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-B [U]</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Individualism</td>
<td>Family pressure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7-C [R]</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Confidentiality</td>
<td>To keep job</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Convenience</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-C [U]</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Want to keep information from</td>
<td>Scared into using</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>business agent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-C [R]</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Probably</td>
<td>Don’t need MAP services</td>
<td>Don’t know (Local appears to be dys-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>functional)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-C [U]</td>
<td>Don’t know</td>
<td>Don’t know</td>
<td>No opinion</td>
<td>No opinion</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*a Data were collected using semi-structured interviews with business managers of local unions.

*b The union president was not available. The perceptions are those of the representative district union leader.

*c Local union leaders had recently resigned from their positions in this union. The perceptions are those of a district employee currently overseeing the affairs of the union.

Laborers’ Membership Assistance Program.

Ideas expressed by union business managers and shown in the Conceptual Correlation Matrix (Table 5-4) also revealed
other inconsistencies in views among members of this group. Ideas presented in the row and column headings of the Conceptual Correlation Matrix represent those statements most frequently expressed by business managers. Ideas recorded within the matrix represent statements made or implied less frequently. The latter, labeled secondary themes, were used to explore why two primary ideas considered simultaneously appeared to be in conflict. Similarly, the ideas considered simultaneously were used to explore whether the underlying meaning of views expressed could be clarified or better explained using the secondary themes. For example, business managers believed that the personal problems of Laborers affect their productivity and that Laborers have trouble with drinking, drugs, absenteeism and tardiness. One possible implication of these ideas considered simultaneously was that business managers do believe that there is a link between drinking and productivity.

Business managers’ perceptions that personal problems keep Laborers from performing properly when considered simultaneously with the belief that contractors will not respond to suggestions concerning alcohol and drug problems suggested that business managers do not believe that employers find their views on Laborers’ personal problems to be valid. Similarly, when the belief that contractors will not respond to suggestions concerning such problems is considered
### TABLE 5-4

**BUSINESS MANAGER INTERVIEWS: CONCEPTUAL CORRELATION MATRIX***

Primary themes expressed during interviews are given as row and column headings. Secondary themes expressed during interviews which may act as underlying themes or which may act to synthesize the two primary themes are found within the matrix.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Primary Ideas Expressed by Laborers</th>
<th>Laborers' Ideas Keep Laborers from Working Properly</th>
<th>The Employers' Solution is to Cut Workers from the Workforce, or to Keep Them at Office, or to Keep Them as Consultants</th>
<th>Contractors Will Not Respond to Suggestions Concerning Alcohol and Drug Problems</th>
<th>The NFU Will Be Good if It Is Used</th>
<th>Drug Problems Are Most Likely to Cause Caretakers to Use the NFU</th>
<th>Some Workers Don't Know They Need Help</th>
<th>You Have to Be Clever about Getting Laborers to Use the NFU</th>
<th>You Have to Get Laborers to Use the NFU</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Laborers have trouble with drinking, drugs, and absenteeism.</td>
<td>There is a link between drugs and alcohol and productivity.</td>
<td>Employers aren't concerned with addressing the root causes of the problem.</td>
<td>This is a problem the employers must deal with.</td>
<td>Employers don't see drug problems.</td>
<td>Laborers who have problems do not necessarily need services.</td>
<td>Laborers with problems should not be marginalized since most are proud.</td>
<td>Laborers must be convinced they need help.</td>
<td>Laborers don't see drug problems.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personnel problems keep Laborers from working properly.</td>
<td>Laborers aren't concerned with Laborers' personnel problems.</td>
<td>Employers do not believe Laborers' view on Laborers' personnel problems are valid.</td>
<td>Poor performance may be a way to get workers into the program.</td>
<td>Laborers are more likely to live in drug use than in alcohol abuse.</td>
<td>Accusations about personal problemseworkers work more under poor performance.</td>
<td>Laborers don't expect poor performance to help them improve.</td>
<td>Laborers must believe the NFU will help them perform better.</td>
<td>Laborers must believe the NFU will help them keep their jobs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The employer's solution is to cut workers from the workforce.</td>
<td>Laborers don't want to change the way they handle the problem.</td>
<td>Contractors will have to be persuaded through negotiations to support the NFU.</td>
<td>Contractors want to remove drug users from the workforce.</td>
<td>Contractors are not sensitive to personal feelings of Laborers.</td>
<td>Contractors aren't concerned with workers who don't see the NFU's help themselves.</td>
<td>Contractors have to believe the NFU is helping workers who are important to their jobs.</td>
<td>Contractors have to believe the NFU is helping workers who are important to their jobs.</td>
<td>Contractors do not respond to suggestions concerning alcohol and drug problems.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drug problems are most likely to cause care takers to use the NFU</td>
<td>Caretakers will not respond to suggestions concerning alcohol and drug problems.</td>
<td>Caretakers must be convinced they need help.</td>
<td>Caretakers are more likely to use the NFU than other problems.</td>
<td>Caretakers are more likely to use the NFU than other problems.</td>
<td>Caretakers will emphasize the NFU's help.</td>
<td>Caretakers must believe the NFU will help them keep their jobs.</td>
<td>Caretakers must believe the NFU will help them keep their jobs.</td>
<td>Caretakers do not respond to suggestions concerning alcohol and drug problems.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some women don't know they need help.</td>
<td>Women don't want to use the NFU if they areWar.</td>
<td>Some women don't know they need help.</td>
<td>Some women don't know they need help.</td>
<td>Some women don't know they need help.</td>
<td>Some women don't know they need help.</td>
<td>Some women don't know they need help.</td>
<td>Some women don't know they need help.</td>
<td>Some women don't know they need help.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You Have to Be Clever about Getting Laborers to Use the NFU.</td>
<td>You Have to Be Clever about Getting Laborers to Use the NFU.</td>
<td>You Have to Be Clever about Getting Laborers to Use the NFU.</td>
<td>You Have to Be Clever about Getting Laborers to Use the NFU.</td>
<td>You Have to Be Clever about Getting Laborers to Use the NFU.</td>
<td>You Have to Be Clever about Getting Laborers to Use the NFU.</td>
<td>You Have to Be Clever about Getting Laborers to Use the NFU.</td>
<td>You Have to Be Clever about Getting Laborers to Use the NFU.</td>
<td>You Have to Be Clever about Getting Laborers to Use the NFU.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The conceptual correlation matrix is reprinted in Appendix E, pages 293 and 294, using courier 16.67cpm as a base font.*
simultaneously with the belief that the Membership Assistance Program will be good if used, the implication was that business managers are being rational when they take the position that contractors must be persuaded through negotiations to support the program.

There was little in the matrix analysis to suggest a lack of receptivity to implementation of the MAP. Questions or doubts that arose tended to concern processes of persuasion where parties funding the program or using its services were concerned. Employers must be persuaded through negotiations to support the program, and laborers must be persuaded to use the program through relatively harsh tactics, i.e., scare tactics.

In summary, business managers had no choice in whether or not to offer and implement a membership assistance program. That choice was made at higher levels of the hierarchy. Business managers saw their role as one of compliance with wishes of the international union. This was consistent with terms specified in formal documents specifying relationships between business managers and the larger union. The ability to act out the specified role was perceived as the glue that cemented the business manager's relationship with others in the hierarchy and that assured future personal success. Nevertheless, all things taken together, receptivity among business managers to implementation of the Laborers'
Membership Assistance Program appeared to be high if it could be shown that the program would not disrupt the current power status of the interviewees. Doubts primarily centered around how to implement the program.

The Employer Perspective

The literature suggests that under the type of craft administration common to the construction industry, employer personnel interact with craftsmen in determining how work will be performed at the worksite. Likewise, labor and management have cooperated with one another in provision of services for workers to a degree that is unusual in other industries.\(^{53}\) It was believed, therefore, that perceptions of the value of continuing a cooperative relationship between labor and management would potentially influence receptivity to new program implementation.

Analysis of items from the employer mail survey sent to signatory employers confirmed that employers see cooperation with labor as a legitimate vehicle for defining behavior in the workplace. For example, 86% of respondents agreed with the statement that major changes in the workplace should come

\(^{53}\)Employers provide for health and welfare services and for apprenticeship programs through payment into union-administered funds.
about as a result of cooperation between management and labor.

The employers also showed a strong reliance on union participation in addressing workers’ personal problems. Findings were consistent with suggestions from the literature that where trade agreements underlie relationship, employers may defer to the union to address specific workplace problems. (See Table 5-5.) Few employers saw a role for themselves except where joint programs were given as an option.

The mail survey was also analyzed to investigate whether it could be shown that preferences of employer mail survey respondents for joint or union-sponsored services and receptivity to new program implementation could be traced to

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROVIDER</th>
<th>FAMILY PROBLEMS</th>
<th>EDUCATION/ LITERACY</th>
<th>JOB RETRAINING</th>
<th>REHABILITATION: SUBSTANCES</th>
<th>HEALTH CARE (OTHER THAN MENTAL)</th>
<th>MENTAL HEALTH CARE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UNION</td>
<td>30.4 %</td>
<td>12.8 %</td>
<td>26.8 %</td>
<td>31.1 %</td>
<td>38.3 %</td>
<td>35.6 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EMPLOYER</td>
<td>15.2 %</td>
<td>6.4 %</td>
<td>8.2 %</td>
<td>2.2 %</td>
<td>19.1 %</td>
<td>15.6 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GOVERNMENT</td>
<td>17.4 %</td>
<td>53.2 %</td>
<td>2.0 %</td>
<td>26.7 %</td>
<td>10.6 %</td>
<td>22.2 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JOINT L-M</td>
<td>34.8 %</td>
<td>27.7 %</td>
<td>63.3 %</td>
<td>37.8 %</td>
<td>31.9 %</td>
<td>24.4 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GOVERNMENT/ UNION</td>
<td>2.2 %</td>
<td>2.2 %</td>
<td>2.2 %</td>
<td>2.2 %</td>
<td>2.2 %</td>
<td>2.2 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 5-5
EMPLOYER BELIEFS CONCERNING WHO SHOULD PROVIDE PROGRAMS

140
underlying belief structures held by respondents. Twenty-one items from the mail survey sent to signatory employers were analyzed using multidimensional scaling and cluster analysis. Nineteen items were taken from a survey section of the mail survey designed to explore employer beliefs about the company's role as perceived by management personnel. Four items contained in this section of the survey were dropped prior to analysis since they were included in the original survey to tap specific issues peripherally related. Two items were added during the course of the analysis to address the importance attached to providing services and to determine whether respondents are employed in a company that has an employee assistance program.

The items with simple statistics are shown in Table 5-6. Respondents were asked to indicate whether they agree or disagree with each statement. A four-point scale was used for Items 1 through 23: 1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=agree; 4=strongly agree. A four-point scale was also used for Item 25 (1=not important to 4=very important) and an equivalent distance for Item 24 (1=no, 4=yes) which determined whether participants were employed by companies that have an employee assistance program in place.

54It was noted earlier that managers construct belief structures that are simplified representations of their world (Fiske and Taylor, 1984; Walsh, 1988).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ITEM</th>
<th>STATEMENT</th>
<th>MEAN</th>
<th>STANDARD DEVIATION</th>
<th>% SD</th>
<th>% D</th>
<th>% A</th>
<th>% SA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>It makes good business sense to modify business practices in order to address problems affecting society.</td>
<td>2.61</td>
<td>.606</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>32.7</td>
<td>61.2</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Private business is in an excellent position to detect and help employees with personal problems.</td>
<td>2.43</td>
<td>.677</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>42.9</td>
<td>46.9</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>My company's role in addressing a worker's personal problems is the same today as when the company was founded.</td>
<td>2.31</td>
<td>.713</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>46.9</td>
<td>38.8</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>The general public has always expected private business to help solve social problems.</td>
<td>2.40</td>
<td>.670</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>46.0</td>
<td>44.0</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>The only legitimate role for employers in society is to provide jobs.</td>
<td>2.22</td>
<td>.546</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>72.0</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Providing services for workers who have personal problems is consistent with current workplace practices.</td>
<td>2.28</td>
<td>.454</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>72.0</td>
<td>28.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>My primary reason for supporting some kind of worker assistance program would be to fulfill requirements of my role in the workplace.</td>
<td>2.54</td>
<td>.504</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>48.8</td>
<td>51.2</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>The general public believes that employers should guarantee a workplace free of drugs and alcohol.</td>
<td>2.60</td>
<td>.663</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>36.0</td>
<td>44.0</td>
<td>12.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Implementation of a worker assistance program will lead to a more positive workplace environment.</td>
<td>2.66</td>
<td>.663</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>37.5</td>
<td>52.1</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Society is passing the buck to business by asking employers to solve problems which government should solve.</td>
<td>2.71</td>
<td>.742</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>66.7</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Personnel at all levels of business organizations are more knowledgeable today on how to assist workers with personal problems than they were in the past.</td>
<td>2.66</td>
<td>.519</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>36.0</td>
<td>62.0</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Providing many benefits and services tends to encourage employees to evade responsibility for their own affairs.</td>
<td>2.64</td>
<td>.749</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>46.0</td>
<td>38.0</td>
<td>14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Workers should be left alone to deal with their personal problems without employer interference.</td>
<td>2.46</td>
<td>.674</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>63.4</td>
<td>26.8</td>
<td>9.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Rules and regulations governing the workplace should be an outgrowth of the collective bargaining process and nothing else.</td>
<td>1.94</td>
<td>.767</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>51.0</td>
<td>18.4</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>A company should act to address a social problem only when government encourages action.</td>
<td>1.96</td>
<td>.570</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>74.0</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Addressing a worker's personal problems is primarily the responsibility of the union.</td>
<td>1.98</td>
<td>.654</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>38.0</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>The ultimate responsibility of the manager is to help a company meet its social responsibilities.</td>
<td>2.12</td>
<td>.713</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>54.0</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Workers should believe that they can rely on the employer to help them solve their personal problems.</td>
<td>1.96</td>
<td>.669</td>
<td>24.0</td>
<td>56.0</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>It is important to me that some kind of worker assistance program be implemented.</td>
<td>1.88</td>
<td>.718</td>
<td>30.0</td>
<td>54.0</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>A manager's primary concern should be to maximize the company's financial objectives, not to respond to shifting public expectations.</td>
<td>2.90</td>
<td>.621</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>24.5</td>
<td>61.2</td>
<td>14.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>My company has its own employer-provided employee assistance program.</td>
<td>72.5</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Items were used in the MDS analysis to form both dimensions and clusters. Unless otherwise stated, the scale for items was SD=1, P=2, A=3, S=4.

Items are arranged according to proximity identified during the MDS procedure. Items used in the employer mail survey were developed using a literature search and analysis of data from interviews of union business managers and union stewards and foremen. See Trice and Beyer (1984), Roman and Blum (1987), and MacNeil (1980).

The scale used with this question was Not Important=1; Somewhat Important=2; Important=3; Very Important=4.

The remaining 9.9% of respondents did not know whether or not their company had a company-sponsored Employee Assistance Program.
Based on interpretability, stress, and change in $R^2$, a four-dimension solution was chosen. These dimensions were then used in a double-linkage minimum-distance cluster program. This procedure is based on the idea that parallel patterns of responses on the dimensions can be identified. Dimensions are first described below, followed by a discussion of clusters. Clusters are then described based on their position within the multidimensional space.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DIMENSION</th>
<th>S-STRESS</th>
<th>CHANGE$^a$</th>
<th>R-SQUARE</th>
<th>CHANGE$^b$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.05170</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.990</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.07422</td>
<td>0.02252</td>
<td>0.979</td>
<td>0.011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.09522</td>
<td>0.02100</td>
<td>0.967</td>
<td>0.012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.12171</td>
<td>0.02649</td>
<td>0.947</td>
<td>0.020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>0.12656</td>
<td>0.00485</td>
<td>0.923</td>
<td>0.024</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>0.13544</td>
<td>0.00888</td>
<td>0.888</td>
<td>0.035</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$^a$Change is a measure of the difference in S-Stress or R-Square between sequential dimensions.

The Dimensions: The number of dimensions was chosen on the basis of changes in S-Stress and in the R-Square. These

More dimensions are produced than can be clearly interpreted or conceptually identified. This is due in part to the presence of "garbage" items which do not have a strong relationship to the common core. These items are dropped during subsequent studies as the construct under study is fine-tuned.
data are shown in Table 5-7. Stimulus coordinates are shown in Table 5-8. The last major decrease in stress is found between three and four dimensions and a similar pattern exists for larger decreases in R-Square.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ITEM NO.</th>
<th>PLOT SYMBOL</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.6213</td>
<td>1.0791</td>
<td>-2.6205</td>
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<tr>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>1.5807</td>
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<td>0.2193</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>-1.8934</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>B</td>
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<td>0.0625</td>
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<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>C</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>-1.1175</td>
<td>-1.1854</td>
<td>0.4368</td>
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<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>E</td>
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<td>18</td>
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<td>19</td>
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<td>20</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>-1.3285</td>
<td>-0.0405</td>
<td>0.1774</td>
<td>0.7832</td>
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<td>21</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>0.1261</td>
<td>-0.5895</td>
<td>0.6650</td>
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<td>22</td>
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<td>1.2963</td>
<td>0.1190</td>
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<tr>
<td>23</td>
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<td>1.6600</td>
<td>1.2028</td>
<td>0.5653</td>
<td>0.2264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>2.1195</td>
<td>0.8769</td>
<td>-1.0052</td>
<td>0.2811</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The decision to use four dimensions was confirmed by the interpretability of dimensions. Dimension I is interpreted relative to each of the remaining three dimensions. In the following section, each dimension is described in terms of the original loadings shown in Table 5-8. Possible explanations for extreme loadings or placement are given.

Dimension I did the best job of explaining the pairwise distances across items. The dimension should therefore do the best job of helping identify those types of beliefs among the most important in describing a respondent's belief structure. In other words, these items account for the largest variance between beliefs.

Items with the highest positive loadings on Dimension I were Items 25/Plot Symbol L (2.12), 10/B (1.78), 23/K (1.66), 24/I (1.62), and 4/2 (1.58). The three items showing the strongest negative loadings were 13/C (-2.17), 7/6 (-1.89), and 9/A (-1.84). Loadings on Dimension I indicated that respondents who believe that it is very important that some kind of worker assistance program be implemented tend not to believe that a manager's primary concern should be to maximize the company's financial objectives. (See Figure 5-1.)

Respondents for whom implementation of a worker assistance program was important also tended to believe that workers should believe they can rely on the employer to help them solve personal problems. These respondents were likely
to be employed by companies having an employee assistance program in place. Curiously, they also believed that the union has a primary responsibility in addressing workers' personal problems and that rules and regulations should be an outgrowth of collective bargaining. These same respondents tended to disagree with the statements that providing services will encourage employees to evade responsibility for their own affairs or that a manager's primary concern should be to maximize the company's financial objectives. They also tended to disagree with the statement that society is passing the buck to business by asking employers to solve problems which government should solve.

Two types of respondents emerged on Dimension I to represent the employer group. At one end were those who have beliefs more closely aligned with classical ideology. Prominent under the classical ideology is the view that managers doing a good job will reap high profits and are thus performing their proper role in society. Values underlying this ideology are well known -- individualism, freedom, hard work, and self-interest. Government is viewed with hostility and distrust.

At the other end were respondents whose beliefs are more closely aligned with modern socioeconomic managerial ideology. Treatment of people is given a more central position among managerial tasks. Workers should believe that they can rely
on the employer. An underlying assumption is that business should be involved in actively improving the worker environment. Business does not necessarily wait for government to encourage them to act. Individuals believe that they as managers have some social responsibilities.

Items with the highest positive loadings on Dimension II were Items 2/Plot Symbol 3 (1.37), 22/J (1.3), 23/K (1.2), and 4/5 (1.2). (See Table 5-8 and Figure 5-1.) Items with the strongest negative loadings were Items 3/4 (-1.76), 9/A (-1.4), and 14/D (-1.2). Respondents who tended to believe that implementation of a worker assistance program will lead to a more positive environment also tended to believe that the general public believes employers should guarantee a drug- and alcohol-free workplace. They were likely to believe that business is in an excellent position to help and that it makes good business sense to address problems affecting society. This same group of respondents tends not to believe that rules and regulations should be an outgrowth solely of the collective bargaining process. In addition, they disagreed with the premise that providing benefits will cause workers to evade responsibility for their own problems or that workers should be left alone to deal with problems without employer interference. (See Figure 5-1.)

Placement of items on this dimension reflected the respondent's beliefs about how construction employers in a
FIGURE 5-1
MULTIDIMENSIONAL SCALING: DIMENSION I AND DIMENSION II
unionized environment should conduct business. Those respondents disagreeing with the statements concerning use of collective bargaining processes and the distance which should be maintained between employer and employee appeared to be open to use of arrangements which may fall outside the formal contracting system. Interpreting this end of the dimension was difficult since items loading on Dimension II require further development. Nevertheless, it is important to note that the issue of whether business is in the best position to deal with society's social problems has been frequently raised in public debate over various pieces of legislation. Likewise, many advocates of corporate social responsibility have promoted the view that it makes good business sense for business to address society's problems. The public media has touted the benefits of employee assistance programs and their potential for creating a desirable workplace environment. The Drug-Free Workplace Act also supports the proposition that the public believes business is able to address the issue of eradication of drugs in the workplace. This end of the dimension appeared to reflect these debates and the respondents' beliefs concerning how they should operate.

Only two items have substantial loadings on Dimension III--Item 5/Plot Symbol 6 (1.826) and Item 24/1 (-2.0). Very simply stated, these loadings suggested that having a company employee assistance program is seen as a major change in the
MULTIDIMENSIONAL SCALING: DIMENSION I AND DIMENSION III
way the company does business. This belief represents a change probably related to an external factor not tapped by the survey and thus not included in the multidimensional scaling analysis. Respondents from companies with an employee assistance program in place appeared not to believe that the company’s role is the same today as when the company was founded. (See Table 5-8 and Figure 5-2.)

Items with highest loadings on Dimension IV were Items 8/Plot Symbol 9 and 16/E on one end and Items 4/5 and 24/1 on the other end. (See Table 5-8 and Figure 5-3.) Initial inspection of items on this dimension seems to yield contradictory findings. Respondents who believed that the general public has always expected business to help solve social problems and who believe they should help the company meet its social responsibilities tended not to believe that the public holds employers responsible for guaranteeing a drug- and alcohol-free workplace. They didn’t tend to be employed in organizations that have employee assistance programs. The items require further development. However, one plausible explanation for the grouping of these beliefs is that there is a separation in the minds of respondents concerning what constitutes social responsibility and what constitutes other responsibilities. Addressing drugs and alcohol in the workplace is perceived as a workplace issue not included under the category of "social responsibility".

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FIGURE 5-3

MULTIDIMENSIONAL SCALING: DIMENSION I AND DIMENSION IV
The Clusters: The four dimension solution described in the previous section was further analyzed using cluster analysis. Based on the change in the semi-partial $R^2$ shown in Table 5-9, a 6-cluster solution was chosen. The clusters are shown in Figure 5-4. Again, the items making up each cluster are shown in Table 5-10. Statistical information on the clusters is shown in Table 5-9.

\[\text{FIGURE 5-4}
\]
\begin{center}
MULTIDIMENSIONAL SCALING: SIX-CLUSTER SOLUTION
\end{center}

56Two items -- Items 24 and 13 -- did not enter into a cluster. Why these items were eliminated is a question for future research.
**TABLE 5-9**

**MULTIDIMENSIONAL SCALING: CLUSTERS**

**STATISTICS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NO. OF CLUSTERS&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>CLUSTERS</th>
<th>JOINED</th>
<th>SEMIPARTIAL R-SQUARED</th>
<th>R-SQUARED</th>
<th>PSEUDO F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>0.002718</td>
<td>0.997282</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>CL17</td>
<td>0.010253</td>
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<td>9.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>0.011933</td>
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<td>CL2</td>
<td>CL4</td>
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<td>0.000000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup>Number of clusters refers to the number of clusters remaining at that step.

The results of the cluster analysis were examined from two perspectives. The placements of clusters located at the extremes of the dimensions were examined. This was followed by examination of the placement of items with respect to the origin of the intersection of two dimensions.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CLUSTER</th>
<th>ITEM</th>
<th>PLOT SYMBOL</th>
<th>STATEMENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CLUSTER 1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>It makes good business sense to modify business practices in order to address problems affecting society.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Private business is in an excellent position to detect and help employees with personal problems.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>My company's role in addressing a worker's personal problems is the same today as when the company was founded.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CLUSTER 2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>The general public has always expected private business to help solve social problems.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>The only legitimate role for employers in society is to provide jobs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>18</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Providing services for workers who have personal problems is consistent with current workplace practices.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>19</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>My primary reason for supporting some kind of worker assistance program would be to fulfill requirements of my role in the workplace.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CLUSTER 3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>The general public believes that employers should guarantee a workplace free of drugs and alcohol.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>22</td>
<td>J</td>
<td>Implementation of a worker assistance program will lead to a more positive workplace environment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CLUSTER 4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Society is passing the buck to business by asking employers to solve problems which government should solve.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>Personnel at all levels of business organizations are more knowledgeable today on how to assist workers with personal problems than they were in the past.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Providing many benefits and services tends to encourage employees to evade responsibility for their own affairs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Workers should be left alone to deal with their personal problems without employer interference.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CLUSTER 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Rules and regulations governing the workplace should be an outgrowth of the collective bargaining process and nothing else.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>A company should act to address a social problem only when government encourages action.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>Addressing a worker's personal problems is primarily the responsibility of the union.</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CLUSTER 6</th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>The ultimate responsibility of the manager is to help a company meet its social responsibilities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>K</td>
<td>Workers should believe that they can rely on the employer to help them solve their personal problems.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>It is important to me that some kind of worker assistance program be implemented.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TRIMMED</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>A manager's primary concern should be to maximize the company's financial objectives, not to respond to shifting public expectations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>My company has its own employer-provided employee assistance program.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Items were used in the MDS analysis to form both dimensions and clusters. Unless otherwise stated, the scale for items was SD=1, D=2, A=3, S=4.*

*Items used in the employer mail survey were developed using a literature search and analysis of data from interviews of union business managers and union stewards and foremen. See Trice and Beyer (1984), Roman and Blum (1987), and Masneil (1980).*

*The scale used with this question was Not Important=1; Somewhat Important=2; Important=3; Very Important=4.*

*The remaining 9.9% of respondents did not know whether or not their company had a company-sponsored Employee Assistance Program.*

---

When clusters were examined relative to their placement along Dimension I, Clusters 5 and 6 were found at one extreme and Clusters 3 and 4 at the other end. (See Figure 5-5.) Clusters appeared to represent the distance employers tend to place between themselves and the workers. Two groups of respondents lay near the extreme end of the dimension denoting modern socioeconomic managerial ideology. Those agreeing with
the items in Cluster 6 saw a role for the employer in addressing workers' personal problems. Those represented by Cluster 5 saw a role for the union in solving the problems and for government as a catalyst for action.

Two groups of items also lay near the end of the dimension representing classical ideology. Respondents whose beliefs were represented by one group of items perceived that it is in their best interest to address workers' problems, especially drug and alcohol problems. A second group did not see a role for employers in addressing workers' personal problems, believing that it is not in their best interest.

Examination of the cluster of items relative to Dimension II revealed that Clusters 1, 3, and 6 fall on the positive end of the Dimensions while Clusters 2, 4, and 5 fall on the negative end. (See Figure 5-5.) Though items need further development for interpretability, items appeared to cluster along this dimension on the basis of how groups feel about whether programs should be part of a company's operations or an outside activity. Respondents whose beliefs group with items in Clusters 4 and 5 saw responsibility for action outside the company. By contrast, respondents whose beliefs group in Clusters 1, 3, and 6 tended to see responsibility for acting as an internal concern. Cluster 2 presented an interesting possibility. One interpretation was that respondents whose beliefs clustered here supported worker
FIGURE 5-5
MULTIDIMENSIONAL SCALING: PLACEMENT OF CLUSTERS ALONG
DIMENSION I AND DIMENSION II

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assistance programs because they saw the program as consistent with their role, but they did not perceive this activity as legitimate.

Of special interest were findings regarding clusters found at the origin of Dimensions I and II. Clusters 1 and 2 lay near the origin of these two dimensions. Both clusters pertained to role and thus their placement implied that assessing role integrity is central to understanding how respondents tend to group with respect to ideology and beliefs about how companies should conduct business. When items located in the space closest to the origin of Dimensions I and II were then examined independent of cluster, it became apparent that items nearest the origin concern consistency of company role over time (Item 5/6), consistency with current workplace practices (Item 18/F), and consistency with a workplace role (Item 19/G).

Further out from the origin were items which concern role legitimacy. Role legitimacy prevails when the organization's activities are congruent with society's expectations (Items 8/9 and 21/I) and, at the organizational level, when methods of operation conform to what is believed to be a prevailing standard, i.e., to engage in practices that make good business sense and that they are better able to do than all other types of institutions (Items 1/2 and 2/3). One possible set of implications for these placements within the space was that,
for construction industries, employer views concerning role consistency and legitimacy are somehow related to the individual's positioning along an ideological dimension and the beliefs concerning types of processes and structures for carrying a relationship forward in time. A second possible implication was that a similar belief concerning role integrity can be used in making a decision to defend different ideological positions.

The item falling at the origin of Dimensions I and III (Figure 5-6) concerned whether private business is in the position to help (feasibility). Consistency with workplace practices and workplace role was close by. Lying further from the origin were Items 1/2 (whether this makes good business sense), 21/1 (whether providing jobs is really the legitimate role), and 8/9 (whether the general public expects action).

As noted earlier, Dimension III indicated that the presence of an employee assistance programs represented a substantial change in the way companies do business. Placement of the items around the origin in this case suggested that judgements concerning capability, feasibility, and consistency are more central to the decision to implement programs or change than are societal pressures.57

57 No interpretations of placement in the spaces for Dimensions I and IV are attempted since further development of items is required.
FIGURE 5-6

MULTIDIMENSIONAL SCALING: PLACEMENT OF CLUSTERS ALONG
DIMENSION I AND DIMENSION III
**Associations:** Cluster scores were then developed for respondents based on clusterings from the multidimensional scaling. Simple statistics for Clusters are shown in Table 5-11. Pearson product moment correlations were used to examine whether an association is present between sets of beliefs and a company's decision to participate in the Laborers' Membership Assistance Program. Correlations were calculated for sets of beliefs as defined by cluster scores and the belief that some type of worker assistance program is needed. Correlation coefficients between role cluster scores, participation in the Laborers' Membership Assistance Program, and perceived need for the program are shown in Table 5-12.

### Table 5-11

**Employer Survey: Simple Statistics for Cluster Scores**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cluster Number</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Standard Deviation</th>
<th>Minimum</th>
<th>Maximum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>2.4490</td>
<td>.4438</td>
<td>1.3333</td>
<td>3.3333</td>
</tr>
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<td>2</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>2.3600</td>
<td>.3240</td>
<td>1.7500</td>
<td>3.0000</td>
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163
The correlation between participation and perceived need was positive and significant. (See Table 5-12.) Positive and significant correlations were found between Cluster 6 and participation and between Cluster 6 and need. Beliefs concerning social responsibility, whether workers should rely on employers, and importance placed on implementation are associated with perceived need for programs and with participation in the Laborers’ Membership Assistance Program.

### Table 5-12

**Employer Survey: Correlation Coefficients**

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* p < .05

164
A negative and significant correlation was found for Cluster 4 and perceived need for a program. Respondents perceiving a need for implementing a worker assistance program tend not to believe that society is passing the buck to business by asking employees to solve problems government should solve or that providing benefits causes employees to evade responsibilities.

Cluster 1 was found to be positively and significantly correlated with perceived need at the .0799 level. Those who perceive a need to implement a worker assistance program tended to see the company role as consistent over time, the decision to provide services as making good business sense, and the company as being in a good position to provide services.

Additional investigation of perception of need and belief structures potentially affecting receptivity was conducted by examining perceptions of respondents of conditions in the workplace. It was suggested that those respondent who believe that unfavorable conditions (such as alcohol use on the job) potentially impact the workplace would also believe that worker assistance programs are needed. This in turn would increase levels of receptivity to implementation of the Laborers’ Membership Assistance Program. Items from different sections of the employer survey instrument were chosen to
reflect perceptions of workplace conditions.\textsuperscript{58}

Respondents were asked to approximate the percentage of the company's employees whose work was impaired as a result of alcohol abuse or of drug abuse. They were asked in a separate section of the questionnaire whether they believed that some kind of worker assistance program was needed by workers in the industry.

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
\textbf{TABLE 5-13} & \textbf{EMPLOYER SURVEY: CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS} & \textbf{PERCEIVED NEED AND PERCENT OF WORKERS USING ALCOHOL AND DRUGS} \\
\hline
\textbf{n = 46 for Need/48 for Alcohol and Drugs} & \textbf{Pearson Correlation Coefficients} & \textbf{Probability > R under H0: Rho=0} \\
\hline
\textbf{VARIABLE} & \textbf{NEED} & \textbf{ALCOHOL} & \textbf{DRUGS} \\
\hline
\textbf{NEED}\textsuperscript{a} & 1.000 & 0.232 & 0.256 \\
& 0.0 & .1225 & .0859 \\
\hline
\textbf{ALCOHOL}\textsuperscript{b} & 0.232 & 1.000 & 0.861 \\
& .1225 & 0.0 & .0001 \\
\hline
\textbf{DRUGS}\textsuperscript{c} & 0.256 & 0.861 & 1.000 \\
& .0859 & .0001 & 6.0 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

\textsuperscript{a}Do you believe that some kind of worker assistance program is needed by workers in your industry? 1=No; 2=Yes

\textsuperscript{b}What is your belief regarding the percentage of the company's employees whose work is impaired as a result of alcohol abuse? Scale=0%-100%

\textsuperscript{c}What is your belief regarding the percentage of the company's employees whose work is impaired as a result of drug abuse? Scale=0%-100%

\textsuperscript{58}Primary emphasis was on a list of twenty-two items which were also used to construct the questionnaire used during focus group interviews with stewards and foremen.
The correlation between perceived need for a worker assistance program and perceived use of drugs was positive and significant at p<.1. (See Table 5-13.) This was the expected result. By contrast, the correlation between perceived need and alcohol use was not significant. It was suggested that this was, in part, a reflection of the acceptance of alcohol use as a social norm among industry participants.

Respondents were also asked to agree or disagree with each of the statements (1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=agree, 4=strongly agree) shown in Table 5-14. The results of a correlation analysis between the 22 items and the six clusters representing belief structures are shown in Table 5-15.

While the majority of respondents did not believe that workers sometimes drink alcohol or smoke pot on the job or during break, a majority believed that workers sometimes come to work under the influence of alcohol or drugs. A majority also believed that family problems sometimes interfere with job performance and that credit problems affect a worker’s concentration on the job. Over 70% of respondents believed that people with problems of addiction should be thought of and treated as physically sick people.
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<th>STANDARD DEVIATION</th>
<th>% SD</th>
<th>% D</th>
<th>% A</th>
<th>% SA</th>
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<td>Workers owe it to their fellow workers to seek help for personal problems.</td>
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<td>13.7</td>
<td>68.6</td>
<td>15.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Workers at the job site, regardless of job title, have similar views about how people should act on the job.</td>
<td>2.640</td>
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<td>26.0</td>
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<td>The most important consideration in judging whether you want a person to work for you is whether he/she does the job right.</td>
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<td>2.0</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>72.5</td>
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<tr>
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<td>If a worker does something &quot;wrong&quot; at the job site, he/she will probably get caught.</td>
<td>2.529</td>
<td>.543</td>
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<td>Workers at your job site are generally satisfied with their jobs.</td>
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<td>Sometimes workers come to work under the influence of drugs.</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Stress at the job site is generally low.</td>
<td>2.549</td>
<td>.577</td>
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<td>43.1</td>
<td>52.9</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Workers at the job site are closely supervised by a manager.</td>
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<td>Sometimes workers have credit problems that affect their ability to concentrate on the job.</td>
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<td>Workers can greatly influence those things that happen to them at the job site.</td>
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<td>Sometimes family problems interfere with a worker's performance on the job.</td>
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<td>Beliefs on conditions in the workplace were then examined relative to cluster scores. (See Table 5-15.) Cluster 6 showed positive and significant correlation with responses to Items 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 17, 19, and 20. Cluster 6 was negatively and significantly correlated with item 3. Cluster 1 also showed positive and significant correlations with items 10, 14, 15, and 19. Cluster 2 showed a positive and significant correlation with items 1 and 11.</td>
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### TABLE 5-15

EMPLOYER SURVEY: CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS

CLUSTERS, PARTICIPATION AND JOBSITE CONDITIONS

\( n = 39-50^a \)

Pearson Correlation Coefficient; Prob > R under Ho: \( \beta = 0 \)

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* P < .05

Respondents who believe that the ultimate responsibility of the manager is to help its company meet its social responsibility, that workers should believe they can rely on the employer, and that it is important to implement a worker assistance program (Cluster 6) tended to see alcohol, credit, family and gambling as problems in the workplace. They believed that addicted persons are physically sick and that addiction problems are a result of outside pressures such as stress. They also believed that drug and alcohol addiction causes conflict in the workplace. Workers were not viewed as alienated in that respondents believe workers can greatly influence those things that happen to them at the job site. These same respondents also tended to disagree with the statement that the most important consideration in judging whether you want a person to work for you is whether he/she does the job right.
Respondents who see their company's role as consistent over time believed that it makes good business sense to address social problems. They believed that business is in an excellent position to help employees (Cluster 1) and tended to see credit and family problems as prevalent in the workplace. They believed that alcohol and drug use sometimes causes conflict between workers and that addiction is a result of outside pressures such as stress.

Respondents who believe that the company's only legitimate role is to provide jobs, that the general public has always expected business to help solve social problems, that providing services is consistent with current workplace practices, and that supporting programs should be to fulfill role requirements (Cluster 2) also tended to agree with statements suggesting that workers owe it to their fellow workers to seek help for personal problems and that workers can influence those things that happen to them at the job site.

By contrast, respondents who believe that society is passing the buck by asking business to solve problems government should solve, that providing services will cause employees to evade responsibility for their own affairs, and that employees should be left alone to deal with problems without employer interference (Cluster 4) tended to disagree with statements suggesting that credit and family problems are
greatly affecting worker performance. They didn’t necessarily believe that workers owe it to their fellow workers to seek help for personal problems or that addicted people should be thought of and treated as physically sick people. They tended to disagree with the premise that addiction is the result of outside pressures and tend to agree with the statement that drug and alcohol abuse isn’t really the problem it is made out to be.

Respondents who tended to believe that the general public believes that employers should provide a drug- and alcohol-free workplace and that implementation of a worker assistance program will lead to a more positive environment (Cluster 3) tended to disagree with the statement that drug and alcohol abuse isn’t really the problem it is made out to be.

Employer data were also examined to determine whether there was any evidence to merit further investigation of how organizational variables affected receptivity among respondents of the employer survey. Table 5-16 shows correlations between variables of interest (e.g., clusters, need) and variables measuring organizational characteristics.

Little was revealed when examining results that was unexpected. Participation in the Laborers’ Membership Assistance Program showed a positive and significant correlation with size of the company employing respondents. Measures of organizational characteristics were not
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<th>% OF Work ON GVT JOB (0-99)</th>
<th>TYPE OF OWNERSHIP</th>
<th>SIZE</th>
<th>% ALCOHOL USE IN CO. (0-100)</th>
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* p < .05

aThe "n" differs for the different clusters due to missing responses.
bP = whether the respondent represents an employer organization that is participating in the Laborers' Membership Assistance Program.

significantly correlated with the measure of a respondent's perceived need for such a program. Two significant correlations were found, however, for beliefs represented by Cluster 6. Respondents who believed a manager should help a company meet its social responsibilities, that workers should believe they can rely on the employer, and that implementation of a program is important tended to be from larger companies. Curiously, they also tended to represent organizations with
less complex legal structures as measured by type of ownership.\footnote{The assumption was made that the following measures represent increasing complexity in the legal structure of a company: 1=sole proprietor, 2=partnership, 3=s-chapter corporation, 4=publicly-held (or c) corporation.}

**SUMMARY**

In summary, employers did exhibit a desire to continue their relationship with the union into the future. As expected, ideology was found to be an important influence in respondent's beliefs concerning conduct in the workplace. Two archetypes emerged -- those whose views resemble those defined by classical ideology and those whose views resemble modern socioeconomic management ideology. Other important questions concerning beliefs were raised. First, what underlying beliefs define a company's social responsibility in the minds of managers in construction? Second, how do beliefs about which types of problems should be considered workplace problems and which should be considered societal problems affect receptivity to the Laborers' Membership Assistance Program?

Results of the cluster analysis suggested that while receptivity may be influenced by ideology, it may also be influenced by the interaction of ideology with beliefs about
the nature of contractual relations. Beliefs about the nature of contractual relations appear to be supported by perceptions of the behavioral norms. At another level, in particular the operational level, the analysis suggests that ideology becomes interpretable only within the context of the decision, e.g., as affected by issues of organizational capability. Of course, the argument could be raised that beliefs about the nature of contractual relations as measured by behavioral/contract norms are actually measures of ideology. The evidence that this is the case was not convincing. Ideology and the perception of behavioral norms appear to be separate phenomena interacting to influence the decision to continue a currently on-going relationship or to establish a new relationship.

Results of correlation analyses suggested that perception of need for the program is critical to the decision to participate. Perceived need was also found to be associated with beliefs concerning role consistency and feasibility. Respondents whose beliefs included the view that it was important to implement a worker assistance program tended to see a wider range of problems in the workplace and tended to see alcohol addiction as a medical problem. As expected, respondents who appeared more receptive toward implementation of a worker assistance program were more likely to adhere to the medical model. It was also found that respondents from
larger companies were more receptive to implementation of a worker assistance program. Unexpectedly for this sample, respondents from organizations with corporate structures were less receptive to implementation of a worker assistance program than were sole proprietorships.

Participants in the three sample groups voiced support for implementation of the Laborers' Membership Assistance Program. Union stewards and foremen acknowledged need for services but were concerned about monies diverted from wages or programs currently in place. Stewards and foremen expressed a desire to be involved in diffusion of information. Evidence suggested that this group of workers relies heavily on provisions laid out in formal documents to legitimate program implementation.

Business managers voiced support for the program but exhibited reservations concerning its implementation. Evidence suggested that these reservations were linked to perceived changes in their power positions or to apprehensions concerning the proper way to handle specific problems.

Employers expressed a belief that some type of worker assistance program is needed (59.2%) but at the same time placed little importance on providing this type of program. Thirty percent felt it was not important and another 54% found it only somewhat important to provide a program.

Results of analysis of the employer questionnaire
revealed that certain beliefs which possibly affect receptivity will cluster and that they cluster primarily around ideology and beliefs about how business should operate. Role consistency and legitimacy and organizational capability and feasibility appeared to be playing a central but yet undefined role in influencing receptivity. However, there is evidence that perceptions of role consistency are related to perceived need for the program (with Item 18, .27163, p=.0590) and with importance placed on implementation (with Item 18, .35582, p=.0112).

Participants in the employer survey clearly had diverse views about the nature of relations in the construction industry. They were not as bound by formal documents as were union members. One explanation is that these individuals have sources of power lying outside formal documents providing processes and structures for carrying the relationship with the union forward in time.

Implications of these findings for implementation of the Laborers' Membership Assistance Program were numerous. First, stewards and foremen would be supportive under identifiable conditions. First, the program should be consistent with terms of "the contract". Second, stewards and foremen should be allowed to participate in the diffusion of information. Third, the program must be shown to benefit the laborer who uses the services, not to be a weapon against the laborer.
Findings for business managers were similar. First, the business manager's involvement in the program must be shown to be consistent with their role as specified in formal documents. Second, they must be recognized for participation in implementation and maintenance of the program. Third, the program must not undermine current power positions or status of business managers.

Findings concerning employers suggested that the union can solicit help from this group if the union can persuade the employer that providing funding for the program is consistent with the company's perceived role. This is independent of whether employers hold a view closely related to Classical Ideology or one related to Modern Socioeconomic Managerial Ideology.
CHAPTER 6

RELATIONAL CONTRACT

Information in this chapter addresses the third of the three research questions used to guide the study. A relational contract model is presented and described. The model is intended to guide systematic assessment of how perception of contractual relations impacts choices made in the workplace.

RESEARCH QUESTION 3

Can understanding behavioral norms defining relational contract contribute to an increased understanding of existing relations and/or the decision to modify existing relationships?

A fundamental principle in science holds that a particular construct or trait should be measurable (Churchill, 1979: 70). In general, questions arising during the final stages of this study concerned how to specify better the domain of the concept of relational contract. In the study, it was assumed that if relational contract is measurable, then social contract can be shown at some future point to be

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measurable using a similar rationale. How to refine and generate items which captured the domain as specified by the literature was an unknown. Furthermore, little direction as to measurement was available from previous research. What was known was that reduction of data to constructs or concepts could help direct the research effort in a direction supportive of development of grounded theory.

The five behavioral norms identified by Macneil were, as noted earlier, used as the starting point in this study. The behavioral norms were role integrity, contractual solidarity, harmonization with the social matrix, expectation interests, and effectuation of consent. Interpretation of observations made during the course of the study suggested that additional behavioral norms should be considered for inclusion in the model. First, the linking norms reliance and restitution and measures for these norms will inevitably become important to interpretation of observations made in future research. In addition, though originally believed to be one of several measures for exploring effectuation of consent, receptivity emerged as a core concept which should be evaluated on its own merit. Finally, power and role legitimacy emerged not as behavioral norms per se but as a measures of role integrity. The core concepts, contextual factors, and linking norms emerging as relevant to this theory are shown in Figure 6-1.
CONTEXTUAL FACTORS

INDUSTRY CHARACTERISTICS

- INDUSTRY HISTORY
- INDUSTRY STAKEHOLDERS
- INDUSTRY STRUCTURES

- LN: Policies
- 2: Operations
- 3: Leadership

ORGANIZATION CHARACTERISTICS

- ORGANIZATION DEMOGRAPHICS
- ORGANIZATION VALUES
- ORGANIZATION STRUCTURES

- LN: 1: Culture
- 2: Diversification
- 3: Discretion

CORE CONCEPTS

ROLE INTEGRITY
- 1: Contractual Solidarity
- 2: LN
- 3: Harmonization w/ Social Matrix

- LN: 1: Restitution
- 2: Expectation
- 3: Reliance

IDEOLOGY

RECEPTIVITY

CHOICE (EFFECTUATION OF CONSENT)

LN: Areas where circles intersect and which are numbered "1", "2", or "3" indicate linking norms.

FIGURE 6-1
RELATIONAL CONTRACT MODEL
Core concepts are defined as the antecedents of a decision or choice made (Miles, 1987). Interpretation of the results of analyses conducted during the course of the study suggested the presence of six core concepts -- 1) role integrity, 2) contractual solidarity, 3) harmonization with the social matrix, 4) ideology, 5) receptivity, and 6) choice. In addition to core concepts, two categories of contextual factors were identified. Contextual factors are those factors which potentially help shape the core concepts. They may be external -- industry characteristics -- or internal -- organizational characteristics. Each of the core concepts and contextual factors are discussed in the next section.

The Core Concepts

Core concepts are identified based on similarities. If identified correctly, they should be applicable across a variety of domains (Zaltman, LeMasters and Heffring, 1982; Ozanne and Grewal, 1987). Concepts and the relationships between concepts thus form the basis of theories. Several core concepts have been defined in previous chapters as behavioral norms but definitions will be restated where appropriate. As shown in Figure 6-1, three concepts -- role integrity, contractual solidarity, and harmonization with the social matrix -- collectively define the contractual relations
portion of the framework. Ideology and Receptivity emerged as core concepts through analyses of data. Effectuation of Consent, or Choice, is shown as the outcome. Three linking norms -- restitution, expectation, and reliance -- are shown as holding together the three relational core concepts. Analysis of the data did not indicate that Macneil's remaining behavioral norms should be added to the model. (See Appendix C-1 for definitions.)

Role Integrity: Perceptions of role integrity serve as a starting point for understanding relational contract. Such perceptions emerged as a function of beliefs about role consistency, role legitimacy, and role positioning.

Role consistency refers to the condition of cohering or holding together or retaining form of a role over time. Perceptions regarding role consistency are thus believed to strongly influence a decision to support program implementation where implementation can alter the form of the role as currently defined. Results of the study suggested that support for implementation of a worker assistance program will be forthcoming only if the program effects are considered to be congruent with current beliefs about role, i.e., whether or not implementation reflects individual beliefs about role consistency. For example, business managers indicated that they would support the program since doing so was consistent
with their role as perceived. This decision was independent of their doubt about program effectiveness. At the organizational level, employers who believed that the role of their company had already changed with respect to providing assistance for worker problems were also those who tended to have employee assistance programs in place and who tended to support implementation of the Laborers' Membership Assistance Program. Supporting implementation did not, therefore, require a redefinition of the role of the company in order to support impending change.

Role legitimacy refers to the perception that activities are congruent with expectations regarding established rules and standards. Observations made during the study indicate that success of the implementation effort is tied to the belief at all levels, i.e., union stewards and foremen, union business managers and employers, that the program fulfills a legitimate workplace role. There was no consensus among union members on whether the Laborers' Membership Assistance Program was fulfilling a legitimate role. Unexpectedly, the grouping of items from the employer mail survey on Cluster 2 included items concerning employer respondents who believe that providing jobs is the only legitimate activity while suggesting that provision of services for workers' personal problems is consistent with current workplace practices. This implies that there may be no consensus among respondents as to
whether providing social services as well as jobs is a legitimate workplace activity, even though both are currently seen as workplace activities.

Role positioning became a point of interest for future study when the link between role integrity and maintenance of a role in a state expected of the person or organization was examined with respect to power status among interviewees. Many observations were uninterpretable without consideration of power positions held by individuals and self-interest as expressed through efforts to protect that position. Implementation efforts of any kind threatening to intervene in a way that might lower levels of power attained are bound to interject stress into the relationships found in the union setting. Power appeared to be, in many instances, a substitute for lack of job-related skills and the mechanism by which the "career" developed.

Results of the multidimensional scaling of belief structures suggest that role consistency, legitimacy, and positioning are central to understanding ideology. The relationship implied was not causal. In fact, individual beliefs about role did not group at extreme ends of the ideology dimension. The proposition worthy of further study growing out of this finding is that similar beliefs about role can be used to rationalize a variety of positions on ideology. Implications are that perceptions about role integrity can be
manipulated to increase a respondent's receptivity to implementation of specific types of programs if the individual's ideological views are known.

**Contractual Solidarity:** Contractual solidarity is a measure of the desire to preserve a relationship. It is strengthened when situations arise that are perceived to pose external or internal threats to the relationships currently in place.

External threats arise when parties perceive that forces outside the relationship threaten the status quo. The external threat in this case was defined as any force outside the relationship under investigation. For example, drug testing policies were investigated as a response to government threat which was affecting established relationships between employer and worker through imposition of new and, in some instances, harsh guidelines. Union business managers expressed concern that a program should be implemented to protect members who might encounter problems under the new drug testing policies being imposed.

Employers expressed concern over potential government intervention into workplace affairs. For example, over 60% of respondents to the employer mail survey indicated that avoiding future government legislation and regulation would be an important consideration in the decision to participate in
a workers assistance program.

These findings are surprising only when considered in conjunction with the fact that government presence in the construction industry, especially heavy construction, has historically been strong. In fact, given current and historical trends in privatization of highway-related work, it is not uncommon to hear reference from insiders to the relationship between heavy construction and government as a partnership acting to meet the needs of society. The government threat sensed during the course of this study more likely came from societal pressures acting on sectors of government outside that traditionally working with construction, i.e., an agency other than the state Department of Transportation. Government agencies other than the Departments of Transportation were perceived by participants as putting pressure on parties to the relationship to redefine acceptable behaviors, one of which had to do with levels of drug and alcohol use in the workplace. Approximately 56% of

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60According to Felicia Carson, Managing Partner of TRAVELSIGNSTM Associates, twelve of fifty states have privatized the state logo signing system along interstate highways since 1985. Numerous other states are considering the option to contract to private industry. Highway work itself has long been contracted out by state government to private contractors. Northrup and Foster (1975) point out that much of the work carried out in highway construction has been publicly financed. Lange and Mills (1979) concur that major purchasers of highways, street, military facilities, and similar structures are government agencies.
respondents from the employer survey indicated that they believe that the "general public" expects employers to "guarantee" a workplace free of drugs and alcohol. The issue then becomes one of response. Does the threat act as a catalyst for preserving and/or strengthening the relationship or does it become a vehicle for dissolving the relationship?

Internal threats are also believed to impact contractual solidarity. Such threats arise when workplace problems are perceived as a threat to both the union and the contractor/employer. Internal threats believed to impact the decision to participate in the Laborers' Membership Assistance Programs were examined in this study as a function of the perceived disruption due to drug, alcohol, and other personal problems. It was speculated that these threats combined with external threats to strengthen the various parties' reserve to support and promote the program.

Concern over drug and alcohol use was evident in all samples. For example, over 50% of respondents to the employer mail survey considered drugs and alcohol to be serious problems for workers and their families. Fifty-one percent believed that approximately 10% of their workers' work was impaired by alcohol while 45.8% believed that 10% of workers' work was impaired by drugs. Similarly, stewards and foremen reported that workers sometimes come to work under the influence of drugs (58%), or alcohol (58%) and sometimes smoke
pot (59%) or drink alcohol (43%) on the job or during break.

Perceptions of conditions in the workplace appeared to strengthen the desires of union leaders and signatory employers to cooperate in implementation of a worker assistance program. Business managers expressed a desire for contractor cooperation in financing the Laborers' Membership Assistance Program. Stewards and foremen expressed the belief that "contractors should be helping." Most important, however, was the evidence concerning employer perceptions of who should be providing services. In almost all instances, employers deferred responsibility away from the employer-provided service to union or joint labor-management programs. Employers who saw a role for maintaining a cooperative relationship between the union and employer for drug and alcohol rehabilitation also favored cooperation on problem solving related to retraining, health care, and family problems.61

Harmonization with the Social Matrix: Harmonization with the Social Matrix is the process of assuring that the nature of the relationship is consistent with societal expectations. It concerns the structures and processes in place to implement programs for the purpose of compliance with

61See Appendix D for results of multidimensional scaling program on "who should provide the service?"
legislative or voluntary industry standards and mandates. Together, structures and processes provide a mechanism for responding to internal and external contingencies which impact relationships.

Structures and processes in place for the union and signatory employers to cooperatively respond to pressures associated with societal expectations were realized through the trade agreement. This was supplemented by a joint committee structure organized for the purpose of addressing implementation of the Laborers' Membership Assistance Program. Constraints on implementation of the Laborers' Membership Assistance Program thus appeared to lay outside the realm of traditional formal mechanisms. Whether structures and processes were in place was not an issue. Concerns centered on whether the structures and processes in place should be used in cases where no proof existed that such activities were expected of the union and signatory employers. Furthermore, neither business managers nor union stewards saw alcohol as a problem.

Contract Linking Norms: Linking norms cutting across role integrity, contractual solidarity, and harmonization with the social matrix were identified by Macneil (1980). Though only expectation interest was originally examined as part of the model, the remaining two linking norms -- restitution
interest and reliance interest -- emerged as important to understanding contractual relations.

Restitution interest, when analyzed using promise-centered contract models, is defined through focusing on problems created when promises are broken and the breaking of promises enriches one party to the contract (Macneil, 1980). The focus of reliance interest has been on reliance of one party on the contract, and, as noted earlier, expectation interests have been equated with what has been promised (Macneil, 1980). Restitution interests tend to be more legalistic in nature while reliance interests tend to be psychological and expectation interests tend to be more structural. Restitution interests were implicated in this study when concerns were raised about lower wages in cases where contractors were perceived to be doing well financially. Reliance interests were reflected through the belief of union workers, based on past behavior, that they can rely on employers for funding of health and other benefits to protect them from threats to individual wellbeing. They were also reflected through the imposition of structures for providing such benefits. Expectation interests cut across and link all norms. They have evolved over time from both explicit promise and implicit promise based on practice.

Change in perceptions of role integrity, contractual solidarity, and harmonization with the social matrix lead to
changes or adjustments in the three linking norms. For example, changes resulting from a specific decision can lead to adjustments in beliefs about role integrity and to adjustments in structures and processes required to be in harmony with the social matrix. These adjustments in turn require that advantages gained by the parties must be balanced so as not to invoke claims with respect to restitution interests. Laborers will not support the program if they believe that it is designed to benefit employers while posing a threat to workers in the form of job loss.

**Ideology:** Business ideology refers to a system of beliefs that justify business behaviors. Classical business ideology developed from ideas laid by Adam Smith in 1776. He argued that individuals should be allowed to pursue their own self-interest since doing so without government interference would lead to maximization of the wealth of nations. Self-interest was the driving force and competition the socially beneficial consequence of the conflicting self-interests (Heilbroner, 1961).

More recent perspectives on business ideology are reflected in the views of Lodge and Walton (1984). They argue that business must move "away from the adversarial, arm's-length, short-term, contractual and rigid relationships of the past towards ones which are more cooperative, intimate, long-
term, consensual, and flexible" (1984:9). Their views are thus reflected in that set of beliefs associated with modern socioeconomic management ideology.

The analysis of the mail survey revealed that understanding perceptions of contractual relations among signatory employers required consideration of ideology. Identification of sets of beliefs along dimensions revealed that respondents from the employer group represented archetypes, i.e., classical versus modern socioeconomic management ideology. 62 There was no evidence that variables previously identified as relevant to describing ideology should be modified. The most important implication arising out of findings was that beliefs concerning the distance which should exist between signatory employers and workers may be important to understanding the employer’s beliefs about where the union’s responsibilities lie.

Receptivity: Receptivity refers to the degree of acceptance of principles and procedures associated with a proposed change. The change being observed in this study was defined through program implementation. Observation made

62 There was no evidence that ideology had a causal relationship with behavioral norms as identified by Macneil. The preponderance of evidence points instead to the likelihood that ideology interacts with beliefs about relational contract in a way that potentially affects receptivity to program implementation.
during the study led to the proposition that both behavioral norms defining relational contract and ideology must be incorporated into examination of receptivity. For example, the end of Dimension I representing belief sets of employers (See Figure 5-6.) contained Cluster 4 items related to classical ideology. This cluster was negatively and significantly correlated with perceived need for a worker assistance program (−0.32996, p=.0431). By contrast, Cluster 6 items reflecting the modern socioeconomic managerial ideology and which were located at the other end of Dimension I were positively and significantly correlated with perceived need for a worker assistance program (+0.58142, p=.0001). It is fairly safe to assume that individuals exhibiting a higher level of perceived need will exhibit higher levels of receptivity to program implementation.

An item not incorporated into the multidimensional scaling analysis but which reflects beliefs about potentially influencing receptivity concerned the view of addiction as a moral problem versus a medical problem. Seventy-four percent of respondents from the employer sample agreed with the statement that "(p)eople with problems of addiction should be thought of and treated as physically sick people." However, it was not this statement that had a significant correlation with perceived need for or importance associated with implementation of a worker assistance program. Those
respondents who agreed with the statement that addiction problems result from outside pressures the person faces were more likely to agree that programs are needed (.338, p=.01) and important (.331, p=.02). This view, absent other constraints, should signal greater receptivity on the part of certain parties to the contract to implementation of a broad based program covering stress. Nevertheless, measures for assessing receptivity among construction workers remain basically unknown. This study does, however, point to at least two measures -- perceived need for the program and perceptions of the nature (or cause) of the problem.

Choice (Effectuation of Consent): Choice or effectuation of consent refers to the decision made and is thus closely related to the primal root of the same name, e.g., choice (Macneil, 1980). Choice, by its very nature, requires the sacrifice of alternatives or opportunities. For example, employers choosing to invest resources in worker assistance programs are foregoing the opportunity to invest resources elsewhere. Choice thus has implications that extend beyond the decision itself and may in many instances be contingent upon perceptions of how the choice will impact on-going relations. Nevertheless, once employers commit to funding the Laborers' Membership Assistance Program by so specifying the choice in a trade agreement, the arrangement is expected to
continue into the future.

The Contextual Factors

Contextual factors influence perceptions of the core concepts. They define the context within which perceptions are formed and decisions made. Two primary categories of contextual factors were identified for this study -- 1) industry characteristics and 2) organizational characteristics.

Industry Characteristics: Study of the construction industry supported in a way that no other industry could the belief that the nature of relationships cannot be interpreted out of context. Formal and informal contracting systems found in construction may be found in other industries but they are not characterized by the same level of complexity (Silver, 1986). Furthermore, the degree and type of labor-management interaction differs from that found in manufacturing. The same can be said for industry-government interaction.

Assessment of industry characteristics focused attention on a number of categories of interest -- industry history, industry stakeholders, and industry structure. These features interacted to define the character of the construction industry in much the same way that corporate character is
defined. It was found that many views about proper role or behavior can be traced to those enduring values embedded in the industry's fundamental character.

Industry history acted to shape values of parties to the relationship. These relationships had evolved and been maintained for many years. As a result, industry customs were deeply ingrained. Parties to the relationship had been socialized through many years of service, and they were expected by peers to reflect traditional values of the industry. It should be noted, however, that it was not always possible from results of this study to discern what those "traditional" values might be. It appeared that influences of companies exposed to other industries where construction was not the primary business were being felt.\textsuperscript{63} Worker assistance programs in the form of employee assistance programs were more common in the parent company industry than in construction.

It also became apparent during the course of the study that when scholars and government officials call for a new organization in which labor and management together define the core values, they failed to acknowledge the extent of labor

\textsuperscript{63}For example, at least one construction company in the survey was owned by a parent company involved in retail. Initially, the construction company had been formed to handle paving and drainage requirements of the parking lots. Over time, it had expanded operations to seek contracts with other companies requiring similar services.
and management cooperation in construction. Cooperative systems have been in place in sectors of construction for many years. On-going relationships between industry stakeholders have been legitimized through various means, including the use of cooperative arrangements between labor and employer associations and between these associations and government.

Industry structures evolved in response to the nature of the work and to formal and informal contracting arrangements which were legitimized through mutual acceptance of parties. With respect to construction, industry structure reflects those processes in place for maintaining ongoing relations while permitting necessary flexibility to conduct business. This process frequently takes the form of contractor networks arranged through subcontracting agreements. Trade agreements and policy statements are written in a manner that recognizes the existence of such arrangements.

**Industry Linking norms:** Linking norms emerging in the evaluation of industry characteristics were operations, policy, and leadership. The history of an industry combines with industry structure to influence the nature of operations found in the industry. In the case of construction, operations were reflected in complex contracting systems. Similarly, industry history and industry stakeholders interact
to influence the types of policies, mandates, and agreements, etc., that guide the industry. Industry stakeholders and structures in turn influence the nature of industry leadership. In construction, this leadership is provided by employer associations which in most areas of the United States have opted to cooperate to some extent with leaders of craft unions.

**Organizational Characteristics:** On one hand, the choices made by managers help shape the character of organizations. On the other hand, organizational characteristics influence decisions made by managers. Characteristics believed to be influential were organizational demographics, e.g., size, age and profitability, degree of diversification, type of legal structure, presence of slack resources, and structural change.

Perceptions of organizational demographics took the form in this study of perceptions concerning size, age, and profitability. Size and profitability were found to be associated with beliefs among employers concerning organizational capability.\(^{64}\) In addition, analysis of

\(^{64}\)Age of the organization was believed to be an important measure but could not be evaluated in this study. Approximately 80% of companies had been in existence for over 20 years. Nevertheless, the fact that the companies were found to be highly supportive of labor-management cooperation suggests that whether union support among companies differs
responses to the employer survey suggested that observed change affected attitudes toward activities within the organization. For example, respondents who reported that their company had a new management team tended to believe that it makes good business sense to modify business practices to address problems affecting society. They did not necessarily believe that supervisors should be given the responsibility of identifying workers with personal problems. This is an important observation since, given the reported role of supervisors in the literature, this finding signals a possible shift away from the reliance of employers on supervisors for addressing worker problems in construction. Those reporting a new management team were also more likely to report that providing services for workers' personal problems is consistent with current workplace practices.

Organizational structure, both legal and physical, also helps set the context within which decisions are made. The finding that respondents from companies with less complex legal structures tend to agree with Cluster 6 items was unexpected. Such results suggest that paternalistic views once believed to be prevalent in some sectors of the economy may still be prevalent in construction.

Organization values are also known to help set the based on the age of the company is a potential topic of inquiry for future research.
context within which decisions are made. In this study, an attempt was made to capture this phenomenon in part by trying to determine where slack resources would be spent should they be available. Based on analysis of rankings, 28.3% of respondents indicated that their first choice would be to assign the resources to investments\(^{65}\) and 31.9% chose to assign resources to capital improvements. Only 25.2% indicated that their first choice would be to put resources into increased employee wages or other benefits.

Analysis of rankings of respondents using multidimensional scaling indicated that there are identifiable trade-offs in the minds of respondents concerning how slack resources should be allocated. The trade-offs were between raw materials inventory and wages or other employee benefits and between inventory and capital improvements. The value attached to spending slack resources on employee programs other than training programs was hard to assess. However, those valuing investment and capital expenditures tended not to value spending money on non-training employee programs.

**Organizational Linking Norms:** Linking norms emerging at the level of the organization were diversification, culture,

\(^{65}\)The survey did not specify type of investment. However, given the format of the instrument, it can be assumed that "investment" was not interpreted to mean "reinvestment" of funds into the business via capital improvements.
and discretion. Organizational structure and organizational demographics combine to influence the degree of the organization's diversification. The possible relevance of diversification surfaced when it was discovered that larger organizations may be more amenable to supporting some kind of worker assistance program than are smaller organizations. Observations suggested that size might be related to diversification and that greater exposure to companies in other industries where employee assistance programs are more common could be influencing receptivity.

Organizational demographics and organizational values combine to influence organizational culture. In the case of the Laborers' Union, membership was decreasing, signaling a possible decline in revenues. In addition, technical skills of members were generally low. In those local unions exhibiting the lower levels of skill, higher levels of control by management were observed along with a more autocratic management style.

Organizational values and organizational structure combined to influence the amount of discretion possessed by managers. For example, sole proprietors by definition should have greater leeway in decision making concerning their business. The decision itself is also influenced by organizational values that have evolved since the company's founding.
SUMMARY

In summary, relational contract theory suggests that beliefs about role integrity, contractual solidarity, and harmonization with the social matrix interact with ideology to affect receptivity and ultimately choice or effectuation of consent. Beliefs concerning core concepts are formed within the context of industry and organizational characteristics.

Role integrity can be investigated using measures of role consistency, role legitimacy, and role positioning. Contractual solidarity can be investigated by identifying and assessing the impacts associated with internal and external threats. Harmonization with the social matrix can be investigated via investigation of structures and process for supporting an organization's compliance with societal expectations. Ideology can be investigated relative to archetypes identified in the literature and receptivity relative to perceived need and perceptions of the nature of the problem.

Categories for investigation of the contextual factors -- industry characteristics and organizational characteristics -- were also identified. Analysis of industry history, structures, and stakeholders provide insight into the nature of relations within the industry while organization
demographics, values, and structures provide insight into the nature of relations within the workplace. Linking norms were identified for both core concepts and conceptual factors.
CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSIONS

The purposes of this study were to identify constraints on program implementation by exploring the nature of contractual relations in construction and to assess the usefulness of Macneil's concept of relational contract for explaining choices made by parties to a relationship. To accomplish these purposes, a grounded theory paradigm was employed.

Discussion in this chapter focuses on assessing whether or not the study accomplished its purpose and on how results can be used to direct future research. It is divided into three sections. The first section is a synthesis of key observations made during the course of the study. The second section focuses on the study as grounded theory and the canons of good science applicable to grounded theory. The third section contains suggestions for future research.

OBSERVATIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Central to this study were questions concerning implications of the study's findings for implementation of the
Laborers' Membership Assistance Program. Critical to successful program implementation is the identification of constraints acting as barriers on efforts. A synthesis of information gathered during the course of the research suggested that a framework built around relational contract can be a useful tool for identification of such constraints. The following eight primary constraints surfaced as relevant:

1. the belief that the choice to support a proposed change is inconsistent with current roles of various parties as defined through formal and informal mechanisms.

2. the belief that results of a proposed change associated with the choice are not legitimate.

3. the belief that the choice will disrupt the relative power positions of the affected parties.

4. the lack of desire to carry the relationship forward in time.

5. the absence of shared beliefs concerning prevalence and severity of problems.

6. the lack of government pressure to act.

7. the unwillingness to fund the program.

8. inadequate organizational size to support the choice.

Observations made during the study suggest that union personnel who believe that supporting implementation of the Laborers' Membership Assistance Program is consistent with their role will actively promote the program. Observations made of individuals exhibiting doubt as to the consistency of
the program with their role revealed that they offered verbal support but exhibited little enthusiasm for or willingness to promote the program. Similar behaviors were observed with respect to whether the program was perceived to be legitimate.

Observations concerning role positioning, or the power associated with respective roles, suggested that disruptions in or threats to the current status would invite substantial hostility among local union leaders. The Laborers’ Membership Assistance Program was not necessarily seen as a means for increasing local union leader status relative to that of the employer. By contrast, personnel at the international union and regional union offices saw the program as a means for promoting the value of the Laborers’ Union as a cooperative player in the workplace.66 Perceptions of the program as a threat by local union leaders unfortunately acted as a constraint on efforts by the international union and its regional representatives to move forward successfully in the implementation effort.

The lack of a desire to carry the relationship forward in time and the absence of shared beliefs concerning prevalence and severity of problems surfaced as issues of concern for

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66Union membership declined over the decade of the 1980s. Though not explicitly stated, the Laborers’ Union was searching out strategically viable means for persuading contractors that on-going relations with the union was in everyone’s best interest.
several reasons. First, absence of desire to carry the relationship forward in time threatens contractual solidarity. For example, had the desire to carry the relationship forward not existed, cooperative efforts in development of the pilot Laborers’ Membership Assistance Program would not have succeeded. Second, absence of shared beliefs tends to lower levels of commitment to development of cooperative programs. Unfortunately, observations made during the study suggested that the level of support was somewhat jeopardized by absence of shared beliefs as to the severity of specific problems covered by the program.  

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Observations suggested that pressures to provide services covered by a worker assistance program were indirect. They were generally related to rising health care costs and employer drug testing policies and not to direct government pressure. In spite of potential positive outcomes associated with the program, implementation of the Laborers’ Membership Assistance Program added non-mandated responsibilities on top of those already associated with government-mandated worker benefits and services.

The last two constraints listed were 1) the unwillingness to fund the program and 2) inadequate organizational size to

67 Growth of the non-union sector in construction is also an issue with respect to contractual solidarity. Data covering this issue were not incorporated into this study.
support the choice. The issue of funding arose in two contexts. First, concern was expressed that funding the program would deflect funds away from other uses. The concern of stewards and foremen was that currently provided benefit and wage packages should be improved. The belief that new programs might be given priority in funding clearly appeared to lower union membership support for implementation of the worker assistance program.

Second, the belief that the choice to support the Laborers' Membership Assistance Program might have a possible negative impact on future decisions was expressed. In the case of employers, the concern could potentially lead to the decision not to participate in the program and thus tie up future funds. Union personnel, acknowledging this possibility, were willing to manipulate the situation to lessen the probability that the decision not to support the program would be made due to concern over future obligations or that support would be withheld in the future. For example, in one instance, negotiations for support of the Laborers' Membership Assistance Program proceeded without the union specifying in the terms of the trade agreement that a portion of the funds agreed to in writing would be designated to the
Laborers’ Membership Program.⁶⁸

Larger organizations were more likely to be participating in the Laborers’ Membership Assistance Program. They were also more likely to perceive a need for the program and more likely to believe that employers have some responsibility to workers to provide services for addressing personal problems. Observations thus suggest that persuading smaller companies to participate will be more difficult than persuading larger companies to support the program.

Examination of a sample LIUNA trade agreement and the LIUNA Constitution in Chapter 4 also generated a series of questions for summarizing observations based on formal documents. Answers to the questions shown in Table 7-1 provide additional insight on constraints arising out of the nature of contractual relations in construction.

First, observations made during the study suggested that objectives stated in the LIUNA Constitution do not lead naturally to the belief that the union should address workers’ personal problems. Beliefs differed across union members as to those problems over which the union has legitimate

⁶⁸The evidence did not suggest that companies that reported increases in profits over the last three years would be more likely to support the program. In fact, though not significant, correlations between increased profits and perceived need for the program or for participation in the program were negative.
jurisdiction. Some believed that promises supporting development of new programs pertained only to those programs currently specified in the agreement. In cases where assistance for personal problems was perceived to be promised, the belief existed that employers should provide financial support. This belief was consistent with past practices as specified by trade agreements. Expectations as to whether the Laborers’ Membership Assistance Program has been promised were

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QUESTION</th>
<th>ANSWER</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Do objectives stated in the LIUNA Constitution lead naturally to the belief that assistance for personal problems has been promised?</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do provisions in trade agreements examined lead naturally to the belief that employers should provide financial support for new services?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do parties to the relationship believe that implementation of the Laborers’ MAP is consistent with the union’s role?</td>
<td>Yes &amp; No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Are perceptions of parties to the relationship concerning the union and employers’ roles consistent with terms specified by formal documents?</td>
<td>Mostly Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do patterns of desired association suggest dependence of one party on another and the belief that mutual dependence will continue into the future?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is there evidence of shared beliefs concerning the prevalence of worker personal problems which affect work performance?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do parties to the relationship believe that society expects business to play a role in addressing workers’ personal problems?</td>
<td>Yes &amp; No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is government considered to be a factor in the decision to support program implementation?</td>
<td>Yes &amp; No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do parties to the relationship consciously perceive that program participation will impose constraints on future decision making?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do parties to the relationship who opt to participate in new programs differ from nonparticipants in identifiable ways?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
thus created through multiple mechanisms -- by provisions of the Constitution and trade agreement and by past practices.

Second, the evidence generated by examining the nature of the trade agreement suggested that parties desire to continue the relationship between the union and employer organizations into the future. Employers expressed through provisions of the agreement a preference for union administration of specific types of on-going services. The union clearly relied on the employer for future financial support.

In summary, implications of the findings for implementation of the Laborers’ Membership Assistance Program based on formal documents are that union members and signatory employers must be persuaded that the activity is a legitimate workplace activity and that the activity is consistent with past practices. Where the program is not perceived as consistent with past practices, parties to the relationship must be persuaded that their workplace role has changed and that the change is itself legitimate.

Parties must also perceive that the relationship will continue into the future and will benefit all parties. They must be persuaded that society expects the union and signatory employers to cooperate in an effort to provide those services targeted by the Laborers’ Membership Assistance Program. Finally, parties must be persuaded that the program will add value to the relationship over time. For example, at a time
when there is a shortage of skilled workers in construction, the argument can be developed that it is more rational to help current workers become more productive than to train new workers. Union involvement in increasing worker productivity is rational given the historical employer deference to the union in administration of certain workplace activities in construction.

**Recommendations for Union Leaders**

Identification of constraints and use of the relational contract model to observe relations in construction led to a number of recommendations. Primary recommendations for union leaders involved in implementation of the Laborers' Membership Assistance Program are:

1. Redefine the role of the business manager.
2. Address the issues of status and power.
3. Document the presence of worker problems.
4. Put simple operational processes in place.
5. Build program accountability.
6. Address the issue of union jurisdiction.
7. Emphasize the value of administrative mechanisms currently in place.
8. Modify the program to "fit" the industry sector.
9. Use a variety of information-sharing techniques.
Redefine the role of the business manager at the local level through formal documentation. Change the manager's job description to reflect the expectation that managers will promote a drug- and alcohol-free environment. Only then will business managers accept this type of overseer role as legitimate and consistent with the role being filled.

Address the issues of status and power, and associated threats to local business manager status, by bringing managers into early stages of the planning process. Educate and train managers prior to the final decision to implement the program and encourage them to provide "real" and substantial input.

Document the presence of worker problems that are purported to affect productivity at the work site. To be successful, data collection must be nonobtrusive and nonthreatening to specific individuals. Also seek out multiple perspectives on the nature of worker problems. Upgrade presently existing data such as that kept on grievances to reflect whether linkages exist between worker complaints and personal problems covered by worker assistance programs.⁶⁹

Put simple operational structures and process in place

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⁶⁹Caveat: The search for "significant differences", e.g., change in productivity levels from time₁ to timeₙ, will provide little useful information during early phases of program development and may in fact produce misleading information.
for administering and maintaining the program. Work with employers to identify acceptable levels of non-government mandated responsibilities for parties affected by the program at the policy and administrative levels.

Build program accountability into the process of implementing and maintaining the worker assistance program. Whether or not funds are secured through negotiation, construct a "walk-a-way", i.e., a provision which permits the union and employer to withdraw support if the program is shown to be non-effective. A time frame should be specified for the accountability period.

Address the issue of union jurisdiction. Specify in writing the rationale for incorporating assistance for worker problems under union jurisdiction. Show the program to be legitimate given the formal and informal industry norms, the union’s role, and the nature of relations in construction. If this cannot be done, cancel the program.

Use the administrative mechanisms, i.e., structures and processes, currently in place to market the program to employers, the union hierarchy, union members, and society in general. Emphasize that it is expensive and inefficient, thus illogical, to develop new mechanisms outside the union-employer framework to meet the needs of these workers.

Continue to modify the program to "fit" the needs of the industry sector in which it is being implemented. Recognize
that models coming out of the manufacturing sector do not account for the types of complexities found in the construction industry. Identify differences across small, medium, and large employers on culture, diversification, and discretionary capabilities. Make allowances in the marketing of the program for these differences. Recognize that management's exposure to worker assistance programs may differ substantially depending on whether the company operates in industries other than construction. Identify industry-wide policies, operations, and leaders. Document beliefs of leaders concerning worker assistance programs and elicit where feasible their visible support for programs of this type. It is not necessary that leaders be signatory employers, only that they be influential with respect to trend-setting within the industry.

Use a variety of information-sharing techniques, not just traditional methods, for educating union members about the benefits associated with a worker assistance program. If workers learn best through the grapevine, then use the grapevine to communicate. Keep in mind that the marketing of the program must be on-going.
THE STUDY AS GROUNDED THEORY

The above observations were made utilizing processes associated with the grounded theory paradigm. The process is inductive and not deductive as in studies guided by hypothesis testing. Examination of the canons of good science within the grounded theory paradigm leads to a number of questions which can be employed in assessing the research effort. These questions are identified in Table 7-2 and used to evaluate processes guiding this study.

The study was relatively successful on the first criterion. Concepts did earn their way into theory by being repeatedly present. For example, the relevance of power or role positioning to interpretation surfaced in every research setting. Recognition of the importance of power as an important sub-concept for measuring role integrity improved interpretability of findings. Concepts surfacing due to the use of a model to guide the research were grounded in Macneil's ideas defining relational contract.

The study closely adhered to the methodological requirement that incidents be interpreted as potential indicators affecting the phenomena of interests. Given the closed nature of construction to outsiders, all identifiable incidents and observations were treated as indicators of some underlying phenomenon potentially suitable for study in future
TABLE 7-2
CRITERIA FOR CONDUCT OF GROUNDED THEORY

ASSESSMENT OF RESEARCH EFFORT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CRITERION</th>
<th>ASSESSMENT</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Did concepts earn their way into theory due to the fact that they were</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>repeatedly present?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Were incidents interpreted as potential indicators affecting the phenomena</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of interests?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Were categories identified which can serve as means by which theory can be</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>integrated?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Are the concepts well-represented by the data collected?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Were concepts shown to be different and similar through constant</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comparison?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Were patterns examined to identify a presence or absence of regularity</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with respect to concepts?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Was process built into the theory?</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Were hypotheses developed?</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did the research recognize the broader structural conditions affecting</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the phenomenon of interest?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*These criteria are based on the discussion of grounded theory by Corbin and Strauss (1990).

efforts. It was recognized early in the study that incidents occurring in construction must be assessed within the context of the industry.

Categories were identified to serve as means by which the theory could be integrated. Characteristics of the construction industry and specific organizations were successfully identified as providing those conditions which define relationships and thus define the nature of modern
contractual relations within the industry. These characteristics, i.e., contextual factors, thus provided a context within which core concepts and linking norms could be interpreted.

The study partially met the criterion for representation of the concepts by the data collected. Representation was limited for the following reasons. First, there was uncertainty as to the type of data that should be collected. Though initial choices were made based on the literature, the amount of relevant literature on relational contract and on construction was sparse. Second, even in cases where it was known that certain data were desirable, the nature of the population and conditions surrounding the study with respect to that population placed constraints on choice and collection of data. Third, the study was the initial step in identifying data relevant to the concepts under study. As such, the intent was to begin the process of identifying concepts and data relevant to theory development.

Comparison between concepts and the search for differences and similarities was the vehicle driving the research throughout the course of the study. Ideology was compared with role integrity to determine whether the evidence suggested that one was a measure of the other or whether they were separate concepts. Likewise, contractual solidarity and harmonization with the social matrix were examined.
simultaneously. This was necessary given that contractual solidarity may increase with perceptions that external threats exist while harmonization with the social matrix requires that the organization react to such threats. Comparisons confirmed that contractual solidarity pertains to collective and internal commitment of parties to sustain the relationship against threats while harmonization with the social matrix concerns commitment to establishment of structures and processes for addressing the external threat.

Patterns were also examined to identify a presence or absence of regularity with respect to concepts using correlation and multidimensional scaling. Process was built into the theory through efforts to provide for a systematic procedure for describing changes in environmental conditions. This was accomplished using Miles' schema of core concepts, contextual factors, and linking norms.

The study laid a solid foundation for development of hypotheses using relational contract theory for future research. In addition, numerous questions surfaced during the course of the study. They concerned such issues as how receptivity to participation in the Laborers' Membership Assistance Program differs among individuals participating in the study based on characteristics of the employing organizations and how role integrity affects choice.

The broader structural conditions affecting the
phenomenon of interest were the focal point for much of the research. They evolved as a pivotal point in the theory in the form of contextual factors. Interpretation of observations outside the recognized parameters of industry structures and processes would have yielded questionable results.

In summary, the conduct of this study was generally consistent with the canons of good science as defined within the grounded theory paradigm. The study represents a first step in evaluating the usefulness of Macneil’s work for research in business. By identifying a framework for guiding future efforts, the research represents one study in a sequence of studies to be conducted for the purpose of bringing relational contract theory within the purview of business scholarship.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Implications of this study for future research occur at both the practical and theoretical levels. At the practical level, the need for increased understanding of constraints on choice is ever-present. The value of the relational contract model in identifying constraints on program implementation was demonstrated earlier.

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At the theoretical level, the possibilities for future research are great. The first step, however, will be to apply the relational contract model developed in this study to a new setting. Measures for evaluating the components of the model should be further developed during this process. From this point forward, the model presents a framework within which numerous hypotheses can be identified for testing.

Observations made during the course of this study also suggests relevant categories of inquiry for future research. Three are identified below.

The first area of inquiry concerns models of change and addresses the following question:

Is resistance to change, or constraints on choice, best overcome using behavioral models of change or contractual models of change?

Additional areas for future research surfaced during the study which will not be discussed in this section. For example, the effect of diversification on program implementation is a valid area of inquiry. Managers from companies operating in several industries have been exposed to philosophies supporting implementation of worker assistance programs. These managers have in turn imported the idea of providing social services into the construction industry from an outside industry. Government also plays a role in supporting worker assistance programs in that state governments generally provide such services. As for diffusion of information concerning implementation, "rumor" emerged as a possible mechanism for strengthening support for the program. The value of "rumor" for such purposes in the construction industry is neither acknowledged by union personnel nor well researched as a viable tool.
Under behavioral models of change, the focus would be on bringing about acceptance of new programs through behavior modification and/or systematic attitude change. For example, an attempt could be made to alter the status quo by unfreezing current attitudes leading to specific behaviors, changing the attitudes through education, and then refreezing new attitudes concerning proper behaviors. (See Lewin, 1958.) Under contractual models of change, the focus would be on bringing about change through modification of role definitions and thus redefinition of relationships.

The second area of inquiry concerns implementation of cooperative programs and addresses the following question:

Does the choice to implement cooperative programs tend to strengthen or weaken the level of contractual solidarity among parties to the relationship?

It has been assumed that cooperative programs in the workplace will tend to strengthen the level of contractual solidarity. Yet, in the aggregate, the potential obligations growing out of cooperative efforts may actually result in parties pulling away from the relationship. This possibility deserves further examination in that, if true, advocates of cooperative programs may be using invalid approaches to persuade parties to the relationship to participate in cooperative programs. Furthermore, in certain industries, the "win-win" solution may
be perceived to be a myth.\textsuperscript{71}

The third area of inquiry concerns the relationship between ideology and behavioral/contract norms and addresses the following question:

Does ideology interact with behavioral norms or is the link between ideology and behavioral norms causal?

Observations made during this study suggest that the link between behavioral norms and ideology is not causal. Results of analyses suggested that participants would evaluate the decision to participate in a program in light of whether the choice was congruent both with their ideological positions and with their assessment of role integrity and other behavioral norms. Ideological views did not in and of themselves lead to a specific choice. Likewise, beliefs about role integrity, contractual solidarity, and harmonization with the social matrix did not in and of themselves lead to a specific choice. It was also observed that individuals holding classical management views would use the same rationale based on

\textsuperscript{71}Dyer, Lipsky, and Kochan (1977) found that trade union activists prefer use of joint-management programs for issues involving quality of work and productivity while collective bargaining was favored for job security, earnings, and fringe benefits. Ponak and Fraser (1979) found that joint programs are supported by union activists as a means for dealing with industrial relations issues outside of collective bargaining. However, these findings are specific to the union's view and do not provide adequate information concerning the employer's view on joint programs.
behavioral norms for their choice as would those individuals holding modern socioeconomic managerial views.

At the theoretical level, implications for use of relational contract in business research extends beyond questions surrounding program implementation. They incorporate the larger society and take the form of a debate over the existence of a social contract between business and society. Business researchers have for many years debated whether or not such a contract exists. Anshen (1980) suggested that the people possess a "social will" with respect to expectations of business. He argued that the "social will" had changed over the course of this century and that a "new social contract" had emerged.

Keeley (1980) also focused on social contract as the basis for his research. However, he argued that the social contract metaphor as described by Anshen was not a powerful one. He questioned the validity of a metaphor that depicted corporations as personified entities that have "a mythical social contract with society" (1980:226). Instead, he advanced the idea that organizations are a series of working agreements. These agreements are between natural persons, and they specify mutual rights and obligations.

Anshen and Keeley are representative of numerous scholars wrestling with the concept of the social contract. The concept has gained wide popular acceptance (Business Week,
1980). Unfortunately, though Anshen, Keeley, and other scholars have made valuable contributions through their scholarly work, the concept of the social contract between business and society remains virtually undeveloped. The concept of relational contract addresses this problem by laying the foundation for study of social contract. This is true for the following reasons.

First, it is possible to define and measure "contract". If the social contract is a kind of contract, then it naturally follows that definition of social contract must follow from a basic definition of contract. The key is to bring to bear upon the subject the literature of a discipline for which contract is the basic tool -- legal scholarly works. Macneil's work on relational contract provides a framework within which this can occur.

Second, the criteria identified by Macneil for contract via the four primal roots of contract are applicable to the concept of the "social contract". Social contract and its existence are debated within the context of a given society. The society within which the social contract is being debated increasingly focuses on the need for skilled labor. Specialization of labor is a requirement in today's workplace. Similarly, presence of a complex system of laws and customs guiding exchange leads to specialization of exchange on a global scope. The form of government found in the United

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States, and increasingly in other industrialized countries, values freedom of choice within boundaries. Individuals can choose whether or not to enter into a contract. While contracts are frequently broken, doing so is generally discouraged. Finally, assumptions that industrialized societies and civilization in general will continue into the future are prevalent.

Third, having demonstrated that criteria of the four primal roots support the concept of the "social contract" as contract, it can be argued that social contract is a form of relational contract. The term "social" has many definitions, among them -- 1) characterized by friendly relations, 2) suited to polite society, 3) living in a community, 4) pertaining to the life, welfare, and relations of human beings in a community. The common thread running among the definitions is the implied existence of relations, i.e., existing connections or significant associations. Historical definitions of "social contract" also imply that such relations exist. A "social contract" is then by definition relational.

It follows that the framework presented for relational contract should be applicable to systematic investigation of social contract. Furthermore, the framework can be employed to examine choice at multiple levels of inquiry. For example, role integrity refers to maintenance of a role in a state
which is expected of a person or organization occupying a social position (Macneil, 1980). Demands of special interest groups that business organizations alter behavior are met with stiff resistance where the change is perceived by the organization's decision makers as inconsistent with current practices, as lacking legitimacy, or where change is perceived to threaten the organization's status within the industry.

Similarly, contractual solidarity or the act of holding exchange together focuses both on individual preservation and collective preservation (Macneil, 1980). Decision makers are concerned with personal survival, survival of their business organization, and survival of the network of organizations within which they conduct business. At the societal level, these same decision makers must be concerned with threats to the national economy and to the integrity of working arrangements within the domestic workplace. Such threats inevitably impact the survival prospects of the organization.

Harmonization with the social matrix is directly concerned with the legal and nonlegal requirements placed on business by society. Deviations from standards growing out of these requirements lead to considerable conflict. These requirements are spelled out by the larger society and apply both to individuals and organizations. Organizations must have in place processes and structures for responding to requirements or standards of conduct as specified by society.
Development of relational theory as a vehicle for examining social contract also highlights the need to develop measures that reflect both the legal and nonlegal requirements of modern contractual relations. At one level, it highlights the need to examine the structures and processes in place at the industry and organization levels which enable an organization to comply with societal expectations. At another level, the theory implies that behavioral contract norms interact with ideology to impact receptivity. Ideology and receptivity in turn play a major role in influencing effectuation of consent or choice.

The relational contract framework developed in this study permits attention to the complexities associated with operationalization of relational contract, a type of contract which incorporates social contract. It avoids the singularity found in many research projects through identification of contract norms while respecting the roles of ideology, receptivity, and context in the decision making process. It does not imply that contract is a static term, a trap ensnaring many scholars. For example, there is no "old social contract" or "new social contract". There is instead an ever evolving contract, a characteristic which makes this type of contract consistent with the everchanging nature of the environment in which business organizations operate. The chore for future researchers is to refine measures within the
context of the framework which will enable researchers to
monitor change in contractual relations over time.
REFERENCES


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APPENDIX A-1

CALIFORNIA DEATH STATISTICS 1979-1981
HELPERS AND LABORERS -- EXCESS DEATHS (MEN AGES 16-64)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CAUSES OF DEATH</th>
<th>WHITE</th>
<th>BLACK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All Causes</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hypertension</td>
<td>244</td>
<td>252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heart</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Circulatory</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stroke</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cancer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lip and Mouth</td>
<td>218</td>
<td>575</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stomach</td>
<td>231</td>
<td>523</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urinary</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digestive</td>
<td>168</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lung</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chronic Lung Disease</td>
<td>267</td>
<td>325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cirrhosis</td>
<td>323</td>
<td>393</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Falls and Machine Injuries</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>367</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Accidents</td>
<td>251</td>
<td>312</td>
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<tr>
<td>Suicide</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Other</td>
<td>330</td>
<td>337</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The percentages represent percentages above the average (=100) death rate for adult men, by occupational category. For example, white helpers and laborers experience 225 percent more mortality than the average working male in California.

APPENDIX A-2

THE EMPLOYEE ASSISTANCE PROGRAM

A membership assistance program (MAP) is like an employee assistance program (EAP) with one key difference; the union, not the employer, is responsible for initiating and administering the program. Adoption of this modified form of employee assistance program is a rational move by unions in construction since many of the workers do not work full-time or permanently for a given employer. Furthermore, though some construction companies do provide employee assistance programs, these programs do not cover workers represented by such unions as the Laborers. It is believed that other employers, especially those affiliated with smaller companies, cannot afford to provide such benefits or simply see no need for providing the services. The union hopes to fill the benefits gap by implementing programs for its members in cooperation with signatory employers.

A union membership assistance program is generally modeled after the standard employee assistance program and shares a common history with the EAP. Understanding the EAP movement is the first step in understanding the MAP. A brief overview of the development of the EAP movement will be presented below and will be followed by brief discussion of
the strategy employed in EAPs to deal with workers' personal problems.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE EAP

EAPs grew out of a workplace alcoholism program called the broadbrush approach. The approach was launched by the National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism (NIAAA) in 1972 (Wrigh, 1988; Blum and Roman, 1988; Sonnenstuhl, 1988). The NIAAA sent 100 Occupational Program Consultants into the field to sell the idea of a program which took into account limitations of other workplace programs in dealing with substance abuse. The idea was to provide a structure for implementing a program to cover a wide range of personal problems, as opposed to the more narrowly-defined alcohol programs.

The broadbrush approach was intended to circumvent two problems associated with earlier substance abuse programs -- 1) dependence on supervisory personnel and 2) alcohol denial and manipulation (Wrigh, 1988). Experience with earlier alcohol-specific programs had shown that supervisors who were expected to identify troubled workers were neither proficient nor comfortable in the role of diagnostician. Furthermore, supervisors with a strong bias against alcohol tended to see the problem everywhere while addicted supervisors rarely saw a problem. Alcohol denial and manipulation proved to be an
even greater obstacle to success of workplace programs which were currently in place. Supervisors with one or two hours of training were no match against an alcoholic who had spent years developing an alibi system (Wrich, 1988).

Providers of the new employee assistance programs advocated addressing problems identified with earlier programs by focusing strictly on job performance. In addition, the program would remove the stigma of referral by incorporating "respectable" problems into the program. EAPs thus defined within their jurisdiction any problem of a personal nature which might potentially impact a worker's job performance.

The strategy chosen for providing assistance by providers of employee assistance programs is known as constructive confrontation. Deteriorating job performance is used as a criterion for intervention. Supervisors identify troubled employees, confront them with evidence of unsatisfactory job performance, encourage them to use the EAP if they have personal problems, and emphasize the consequences associated with poor performance (Sonnenstuhl, 1988).

Although the technique of constructive confrontation is a relatively recent workplace phenomenon, precedent for use of intervention in employee problems dates back to early decades of the twentieth century (Roman and Blum, 1987; Trice and Beyer, 1984; BNA, 1986). Macy's Department Store established an employee counseling service in 1917; Alcoholic Anonymous
methods were introduced at DuPont and Eastman Kodak during the early 1940s; formal alcohol programs were introduced at Caterpillar Tractor Company, Illinois Bell, and Standard Oil of New Jersey during the late 1940s (BNA, 1986). Though initial diffusion of these earlier programs throughout the industrial sector was slow, the growth rate began to accelerate as the belief emerged in medical communities that alcoholism is a disease requiring treatment. By 1972, 25 percent of Fortune 500 companies indicated that they had EAPs. This increased to 57.7 percent by 1979 (BNA, 1986). By the mid-1980s, 80 percent of the Fortune 1000 companies reported that they had implemented EAPs (Blum and Roman, 1988).

Successes reported by companies implementing programs under the newly designated term "employee assistance programs" were encouraging (Wrch, 1988) and thus the impact of early EAPs began to be felt throughout the workplace. Companies began to view the effects of workers' personal problems on job performance and productivity in a new light. In response, a new profession composed of occupational program consultant (OPCs) and dedicated to the troubled employee emerged to serve needs identified by companies. At the societal level, a new dialogue developed concerning the role of business in addressing workers' personal problems, specifically alcohol and drug use. For example, drinking had been traditionally viewed as a reflection of group norms common to workers in
some industries. Questions were then raised about the role of employers in adopting programs which would modify these norms and bring about systematic change among workers. Put another way, managers were being asked to identify means for changing workplace culture. The EAP was advocated by both researchers and OPCs as the most rational mechanism for accomplishing this goal. Furthermore, it was a mechanism that was less threatening than earlier programs since it focused not on substance use but on worker productivity.
Simplified Organization Chart for a Typical Craft Union
INDUSTRY CHARACTERISTICS

Construction can be described as loosely-related activities which are grouped because of the nature of their products, technologies and institutional settings (Lange and Mills, 1975). Historically, the construction industry has employed roughly 4 to 7 percent of the U. S. labor force during any given month. Seasonal shifts in demand for labor accounts for most of this variance (Mills, 1980). The impact of the construction industry on other industries is substantial given these figures on employment and the fact that it accounts for 11 to 14 percent of the country's GNP (Mills, 1980). In addition, construction provides those services necessary to preservation of the country's infrastructure.

The structure of the construction industries is such that estimates of all kinds are difficult (Northrup and Foster, 1975). There are thousands of contracting firms as well as individuals doing a variety of types of work. The contractors themselves are generally organized into a network of contractor associations on the basis of specialization. Similarly, unionized workers are organized into unions based
on their skill or craft.

The construction industry is divided into four major sectors -- residential construction, commercial construction, industrial construction, and highway and heavy construction. The sector of construction most closely related to this study is highway and heavy construction. Highway construction primarily involves the preparation for and construction of roads, bridges, and tunnels. Heavy construction includes site preparation for large construction projects, including dams, airports, and subway systems. Primary unions representing workers in this sector of construction are the Operating Engineers International Union, Laborers, and Teamsters (Northrup and Foster, 1975). Because much of the work is publicly financed, the contractors are subject to the provisions of such acts as the Davis-Bacon Act.

Construction, while sharing characteristics with other industries, is somewhat unique with respect to uncertainty, hand tool technology, fragmentation, and subcontracting. Uncertainty in construction has been widespread due to factors over which firms have variable levels of control. These factors include financing, labor and material needs, government approval of processes, legislative and interest group activities, economic cycle variations, seasonal uncertainty, and potential unavoidable setbacks (Applebaum, 1981). The uniqueness of construction with respect to
uncertainty is due to the level of sensitivity exhibited to such factors as those noted above.

In addition, hand tool technology still plays a prominent role in construction (Applebaum, 1981). In fact, construction is one of the few industries where hand tool technology remains a primary influence. Workers frequently own their own tools and other means of production. As such, they can become their own bosses more easily than can workers in many industries (Applebaum, 1981). This appears to be true for men at all levels of the industry, from upper management to the laborer on the job.

Finally, the localized, fragmented nature of construction persists (Applebaum, 1981). Though becoming more concentrated, the largest 400 firms carried out no more than 30 percent of work done during recent decades. This arrangement has unavoidable consequences for employment relations or any other contractual relationships.

EMPLOYMENT RELATIONS IN CONSTRUCTION

The three characteristics noted above persist and have immediate and unavoidable consequences for relations within the industry. Historically, they have combined with market variability, market and labor characteristics, and specialization within traditional craft jurisdictions to
institutionalize the contracting system common to construction (Silver, 1986). Contractors and unions have sought out systems which will preserve job opportunities while not restricting expansion of the labor force (Mills, 1979). These systems had to provide for the following employment conditions in construction (Lange and Mills, 1975):

1. shifting of workers among work sites.
2. shifting of workers among employers.
3. identification of workers with the craft rather than the employer.
4. a mix of skilled and unskilled workers.
5. a relatively high degree of worker autonomy.
6. unstable employment opportunities.
7. hazardous work.

The unionized sector of construction attempted to deal with these conditions by institutionalizing mechanisms for dealing with recruitment of manpower and training. The preferred mechanism has been the hiring hall.

The craft unions with which construction workers in the unionized sector are associated act, through union hiring halls, as referral agencies (Northrup and Foster, 1975). A union hiring hall is defined as "a union-administered job-referral system whose referrals enjoy advantages over all other job applicants" (Ross, 1972). Use of formal hiring hall arrangements became prominent after enactment of the Taft-Hartley Act, an Act which outlawed the closed shop.

Several major works describing hiring halls were published during the 1970s (Ross, 1972; U.S. Department of
Labor, 1970). Still, surprisingly little was revealed about how hiring hall practices actually work. Though it was acknowledged that such systems offer access to local labor supply, major users of industrial and commercial construction remained skeptical about values associated with the system. This is clearly demonstrated by a 1974 Business Roundtable Report:

The day-to-day operation of hiring hall administered by a union official can be ruthless. Referral lists can be manipulated, contractors enticed to order men by name or specialty skill in order to avoid the next man on the list, dissident members or "permit" men referred constantly to jobs of short duration, and many similar injustices perpetrated.

Control over the referral process also may have a direct impact upon the layoff of employees. For example, instructions from a union official to quit a job are quickly honored if a member hopes to obtain a referral to another job in the future. In reality, contractors who are dependent on the hiring hall have substantially lost the right to hire or terminate their employees.

Union control of the administration of the hiring hall results in unions being the repository of virtually all available information concerning the quality and quantity of the construction manpower pool within a labor market. The same information is usually inaccessible to contractors or construction users, except for general information about total membership in local building trades unions. This imbalance in the availability of construction manpower information prevails throughout the organized segment of the construction industry, regardless of the form of the hiring had places contractors at a severe disadvantage in performing their role as employers. (p. 17)

Despite the criticisms and current trends in open-shop arrangements, hiring halls continue to be a factor in assessing the construction industry of the 1990s. Unions such as the Laborers' Union are also attempting to strengthen their
position in the industry through the role they play in training. Unions have historically had a strong voice in apprenticeship programs in construction. Today, many programs continue to be funded by a small assessment from signatory employers based on man-hours. Such arrangements are specified in the trade agreement and generally accepted as legitimate within the industry.
APPENDIX A-5

JOINT UNION/EMPLOYERS POLICY STATEMENT

Purpose

The Laborers' Union and employers who make contributions to the Laborers' District Council Health and Welfare Trust Fund #2 and the Baltimore Construction Workers Trust Fund care about the well-being of workers and recognize that a variety of problems can disrupt their personal and work lives. For instance, alcoholism is a treatable disease with devastating effects on one's personal health, family and work. Drugs, poor health maintenance, family problems and emotional distress can have similar effects. Most people attempt to solve their problems either on their own or with the advice of family and friends. Oftentimes, normal supervisory counseling procedures alone are enough to motivate an employee to return work performance to an acceptable level. Unfortunately, in some cases, neither the efforts of the employee union representatives nor the supervisor results in problem resolution and performance continues to decline.

Both the Laborers’ Union and its signatory employers recognize the need to adopt a membership assistance program as 1) a means to promote employee wellness; 2) a practical and constructive mechanism for dealing with employees’ personal problems affecting their work environment; and 3) an aid to provide access to those workers and family members who voluntarily wish to use the program as a means to resolve a personal problem.

The general purpose is to assure that any worker having personal problems will receive careful consideration and an offer of confidential professional assistance.

Training will be provided to labor/management representatives on how to best utilize the services of the MAP to promote collaborative early identification and resolution of work hampering personal problems.

It is recognized that many personal problems, even those not manifested in the workplace, can be successfully dealt with and resolved, provided assistance is offered at an early stage and referral is made to an appropriate form of care.

The MAP is not a substitute for existing contractual disciplinary procedures, but rather will be recommended by labor/management when appropriate as a constructive alternative.

The Joint Labor/Management MAP Advisory Committee authorizes the implementation of the MAP within the following guidelines:

1. The goal of the membership assistance program is 1) to retain valued personnel; 2) to improve workplace productivity; and 3) to enhance the quality of life.

2. This program is designed to deal with the broad range of human relations problems such as alcohol or drug abuse, emotional or behavioral disorders, family and marital discord, and financial and other personal problems. It intended to provide early identification, motivation, short-term counseling, assessment and referral to appropriate care in order to enhance the treatment process.

3. The program is available to all eligible plan participants and their dependents, since it is recognized that problems at home can adversely affect an individual's well-being and ability to function on the job.

4. If plan participants or their dependents realize that they have personal problems that could be resolved with assistance from the assessment and referral service, they are encouraged to seek such confidential assistance on their own. To ensure proper care, participants must avoid seeking treatment for problems on their own before using the MAP professional services. Participation in the program is voluntary and will not jeopardize a worker's job security, job assignments, promotional opportunity or reputation.
5. Because of their concern for the well-being of their membership, union representatives will also refer plan participants to the MAP if it is evident that the individual is in need of assistance.

6. When job performance problems are not corrected with normal supervisory attention, workers will be referred to the assessment and referral counselor to determine whether personal problems are causing unsatisfactory performance. If performance problems are corrected, no further action will be taken. If performance problems persist, the employee will be subject to normal corrective procedures. This policy does not alter or replace existing administrative policies, contractual agreements, or discipline-grievance arbitration procedures, but serves as an adjunct to assist in their utilization.

7. Once referred to the MAP by a labor/management representative, it will be the responsibility of the employee to 1) comply with the recommendations of the MAP; and 2) meet existing job performance standards and established work rules.

CRAFT ADMINISTRATION

Craft administration refers to administration in non-bureaucratic forms of work organizations in which craftspeople self-administer aspects of production (Silver, 1986). Arthur Stinchcombe (1959) identified five basic elements of the work process about which decisions are made under this type of administration. They are 1) location of the work activity, 2) coordination of movements of tools and supplies, 3) activities undertaken in performing an assigned task, 4) production, and 5) inspection criteria for particular operations. Characteristics of the work process itself are governed by the worker as dictated by an established set of craft principles (Silver, 1986).

The right of workers to govern characteristics of the work process gives the worker power in relation to the employer. Though the employer establishes policy, he/she must rely on the skills and knowledge of the people hired to get the job done. Policies of the employer are conveyed to the workers by the project manager. The project manager also develops schedules and transmits them to the work crew through foremen and supervisors after which workers reserve
the right to make basic decisions about how to perform the work (Applebaum, 1981; Silver, 1986).

The supervisor acts as the interface between the project manager, the construction worker, and the craftspeople on the project. He serves an important function in establishing the nature of relationships found at the worksite. Like the foreman, the supervisor in construction may be controlled by the union (Applebaum, 1981). In other words, the supervisor may be a union man and as such feel more loyalty toward the men and their union than toward management.

Over time certain expectation as to the supervisor’s behavior have emerged. He is expected to be democratic, consultative, and responsive to problems. Business is conducted face-to-face and statements about situations made up front. He may make it a practice to have regular social events with the men on the project and may drink and socialize after work with the men who work for him. (See Applebaum, 1981.) Such expectations are not explicitly stated but are defined by those norms and customs defining relational contract in construction.

The arrangements between supervisors and workers are extremely relational; so are employment practices in general. Contractual arrangements in construction place supervisor and worker in unique relationships and employers and unions representing potential employees in a much more intimate
relationship than is generally found in other industries (Mills, 1980; Applebaum, 1981). Areawide trade agreements cover the contractor and workers whenever work is on projects in the area of coverage. The continuing relationship covering employment practices is between union and employer, not between worker and employer.

Construction unions perform two important employment functions for the industry. First, unions allow for more flexible employment relations through hiring hall activities. Potential benefits accrue to both employer and worker through this arrangement. On one hand, a stable source of labor for contractors is made available for employers. On the other hand, job opportunities are preserved for workers. Second, they lend an element of stability to the industry by instituting a wage floor. This aids in controlling competitive forces at work in the industry and preventing competition from becoming overly intensive.

In reality, the picture painted above based on scholarly works may not be wholly realistic. Unions in construction, more than unions in manufacturing, are more closely aligned with craft guilds. Craft guilds have historically attempted

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72 A worker's loyalty is generally to the union and not to union officers. The latter are often criticized for giving special favors, mishandling union funds, high salaries and fancy cars, and for being a politician first rather than a real leader (Applebaum, 1981).
to maximize the common welfare of workers of a particular craft through controlling entry into the craft and overseeing and maintaining the quality and scope of tasks. In reality, craftsmen in construction have been subject to control by other craftspersons, merchants marketing products, and city, state or federal governments that monitor, compete against, or derive benefits from the craftsmen (Byrne, 1990).

In spite of external controls felt by the industry, individuals within the industry continue to maintain a system of relationships that gives the industry the appearance of some sort of self-sufficiency. This has led to a system of adversarial cooperation or coordination that sustains administration over employee relations. In addition, the nature of employment administration in construction subjects the industry to ongoing controversy concerning worker benefits. The decision to provide new services is generally made by union leaders at the international level in cooperation with employers/contractors, either voluntarily or in response to legislative mandate, with little input from the rank-and-file.

Support of efforts to implement new programs requires a different kind of cooperation. This cooperation must come from lower ranks. As with production processes, workers expect to have a say in implementation of other activities impacting their day-to-day movements. The belief that craftspersons have
the right to administer from within their ranks is purported to be strong. Knowledge of the perceptions of personnel at all levels of organizations concerning the legitimacy of any workplace program thus becomes critical new program implementation.
ROLE OF LABORERS IN CONSTRUCTION

Approximately 18 to 20 trades in construction are organized into unions (Mills, 1980; Applebaum, 1981). Laborer is a trade composed of workers who have traditionally been knowledgeable in measurements, blueprint reading, oxyacetylene burning, and use of laser beams, cement mortar, power tools, dynamite, underground pipe, concrete, jack hammer, and bush hammer. Accompanying skills include shoveling, carrying, mixing, placing, screening, leveling, breaking, hammering, busting, burning, blasting, laying, loading, and unloading. Functions include handling all heavy hand labor and assisting journeymen. They have been responsible for performing hand labor under the foreman’s orders, protecting tools and materials, and cleaning up. (See Applebaum, 1981.)

Generally, laborers’ work is not associated with the more prestigious trades. Their work is instead associated with the "dirty work", work that permits relatively less discretion on the part of the worker to organize his own time and lay out

73The Teamsters Union also organizes workers in some sectors of construction.
his work (Applebaum, 1981). However, the complexity of work tends to have an inverse relationship to intertrade relationships. For example, highly skilled workers tend to make fewer contracts outside their own trade than do less skilled workers. Laborer occupations bring workers into contact with a relatively larger sphere of other trades than is the case with more skilled workers (Silver, 1986). Because of their unique position in construction, laborers at the construction site are believed to fulfill many informal social functions. Other crafts workers seek them out when first coming on the job since laborers are on site from the beginning to the conclusion of a project. Laborers are thus in the best position to accumulate important site-specific knowledge. Getting information from a laborer can save steps and time in becoming acquainted with the work site. Information thus becomes an important source of power for laborers. "In many respects their lack of craft power is compensated for by their social power" (Silver, 1986: 71).

The laborer serves informal integrating functions in the construction process through a variety of activities, e.g., relaying messages, checking work status on various sites. Interestingly, it is such craft occupational variables that influence social network formation on and off the job, not managerial position. The latter appears not to have an appreciable influence on social network formation (Silver,
1986). Management operates instead to carry out the system of craft administration which has evolved in construction.
APPENDIX B-1

BUSINESS MANAGERS: INTERVIEW INSTRUMENT

1. How large is the local you manage?
2. What is the average age of the members?
3. How old is the youngest member? the oldest member?
4. How many retirees do you represent?
5. Approximately what percent of your members is Black? White? Hispanic? Other?
6. What percent of members are female?
7. What percent of your members have a high school degree or GED? Less than a high school degree? College?
8. What percent of your members are eligible for the MAP?
9. Approximately how many weeks out of a year do your members work?
10. Approximately how many members are currently not employed?
11. When was the local chartered?
12. How many business managers has the local had over the last 5 years?
13. Do you believe that the MAP is needed?
14. Do you believe members of the local will use the MAP?
15. Why would members of your local decide not to use the MAP?
16. What would cause members of your local to decide to use the MAP?
17. What do you consider to be the biggest problem facing your members?
POUNTS FOR CONSIDERATION FOR FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEWS

1. Reasons for using focus group interviews
   a. Obtain range of reactions and perceptions
   b. Allow both the interviewer and group members to explore the meaning of questions and answers
   c. Allow the interviewer to experience the richness and diversity of respondents' opinions and beliefs
   d. Allow flexibility within the information gathering process
   e. Involve and inform stakeholders

2. Developing the interview
   a. Establish purpose of the interview process
   b. Identify two or three objectives for the interview
   c. Determine groups to be interviewed
      • Consider all who have relevant input to purpose
      • Err on side of greater heterogeneity
      • Consider ease of which rationale for selection can be justified
   d. Develop the questions
      • Use about five to six for each hour
      • Sequence in a natural order from general to specific
      • Where appropriate, group by major area
      • Keep fairly short and neutral
   e. Write the introduction
• Thank for attending
• Explain who you are, what the situation is, the purpose of the overall activity, how the interview fits into the situation, who is being asked to provide information, and how the information will be used
• Invoke non-attribution and non-aggressiveness
• Explain the procedure of the Interview to include definitions
• Ask if there are any questions on the process, etc.

3. Conducting the interview
   a. Read the introduction
   b. Go around the group and get names and departments - write down so can reference during interview
   c. Ask the questions
      • Read the questions as they are worded on the questionnaire
      • Use correct intonation and emphasis (neutral)
      • Ask the questions in the correct order as much as possible
      • Ask every question and try to leave enough time for each
   d. Deal with respondents’ answers
      • Record what is said in as much exactness as possible (may want to tape)
      • Do NOT answer for or lead the respondents
      • Show an interest in the answers given by the respondents
      • Make sure the answer is adequate and clear
   e. Dealing with the respondents
      • Probe only indirectly - avoid all leading cues
        ▲ Elements of a perspective which may be expressed:
          ▲ What events support or are involved in the perspective
          ▲ Does the perspective cover a specific time
          ▲ Does the perspective relate to specific groups
        ▲ Characteristics of a perspective as related to other group members
          ▲ Do other group members have similar perspectives or beliefs
          ▲ Do other group members have a different view; if so how does it differ
          ▲ Are some elements causing specific outcomes or other events
          ▲ Does the group see the perspective as generalizing to other issues

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Are there limitations to the perspective as held by various group members

- Characteristics of group's perspective relative to external groups or individuals
- Move through the sequence of items with transitions
- Block time on the survey and give updates as progress
- Summarize points to regain control and to transition
- Ask for additional points of view or for amount of consensus
- If necessary, thank them for input on question, note interest in area, and then note need to move to next question.
- Focus questions on group members who are not participating
- Do not become defensive or personally involved in the discussion
- Discourage personal attacks between group members
- Where necessary, repeat the question, probe, instruction, definition, or clarification
- Do not volunteer information or seek information unrelated to the items
- Thank the individuals for participation in the interview

4. Report the findings

a. Describe the study and its purpose
   - When was the study conducted
   - Why was the study conducted
   - Who requested the study
   - Who developed the questionnaire
   - What were the specific objectives of the questionnaire

b. Describe who was interviewed
   - Include description of major groups and subgroups interviewed
   - Include explanation of selection criteria
     - Use random process whenever possible to lend greater credibility to results
     - Narrow the population if necessary
     - Stratify the sample if necessary
   - Include justification of selection process
   - State number of individuals participating from each subgroup and reference appendix (see appendix section)
• Overview of important points
  • Include major similarities or differences across groups or subgroups
  • Use degree of group consensus on specific items if appropriate
  • Comment on trends and ideas
  • Develop categories for the specific items, obtain frequency of groups mentioning the category

• Overview highlights by subgroup
  • Consider the subgroup as the unit of analysis
  • Include some specific verbatim responses
  • Include "chance" findings and issues identified
  • Use degree of group consensus on specific items if appropriate
  • Comment on trends and ideas

• Suggest conclusions if appropriate

• Appendices
  • Consider including appendix on sampling plan and participation level - include number in population, number asked to participate, number actually attending, range of group size, and most common group size
  • Replicate questionnaire with summarized responses by question for each subgroup
  • Include title of subgroup and date and time of interview(s)
  • Include list of participants or the departments they represent

For additional information on focus group interviews, see the references on the following page.

Gerald W. McLaughlin
Julie K. Snyder

September 19, 1990

IRPA 90-91, No. 08

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Additional References:


APPENDIX B-2.2

FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEW INSTRUMENT

INTRODUCTION
TAKE UP QUESTIONNAIRE. THANK YOU. INTRODUCTION. NAMES/JOB SITE

Date ___________ Start Time ___________
Local ___________ End Time ___________
Initials ___________ Color ___________

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>JOB SITE CHARACTERISTICS:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>How many work indoors?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How many work outdoors?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How many work underground?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How many usually work in a work group?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How many consider the job: extremely dangerous? pretty safe?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TIME

1. What types of problems other than safety do Laborers have?

2. How do these problems affect the way Laborers perform their jobs?

3. How should employers help Laborers deal with these problems? How should the union help?

4. Do you know of Laborers who are in programs to help them deal with problems you mentioned? YES NO
   a. Community Services
   b. AFL-CIO
   c. Not-for-profit Credit Services
   d. Other

PROBES:
Credit, Stress, Drugs,
Alcohol, Family Problems,
Bad Health Habits
Workplace v. Home
Young v. Older Worker
Sources of Stress
Big v. Small Problems
New v. Old Problems
Seriousness
Safety

Drug Policies
Government Role

What are doing v.
What should do

272
FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEW INSTRUMENT CONTINUED:

TIME

5. What do Laborers who know about the MAP think about the program?

PROBES:
Aware of MAP?
Want MAP?
Trust MAP?
Good Idea?

6. What do they think the MAP covers?

Drugs, Alcohol
Credit, Family Problems
Bad Health Habits
Job Stress

7. Which of the problems are most likely to attract Laborers to the program?

8. What will cause Laborers to use the MAP?

Need
Forced use by
Business Agents
Stewards
Supervisors
Etc.

Not to use the MAP?
Fear
Personal Beliefs

9. What changes in the MAP will make it more useful for Laborers?

10. Is it important to you that the union provide this type of program for members who need it?

GET CONSENSUS

11. Will this type of service help Laborers learn how to deal better with their problems?

THANK YOU!

End Time

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APPENDIX B-2.3

LABORERS’ SURVEY: STEWARD/FOREMEN

SECTION A: The first group of questions are about MAP training sessions.

1. Have you attended a MAP training session? Yes No

   If you answered No, please go to Section B. If you answered Yes, please continue and answer the following questions:

   a. How many MAP training sessions have you attended? 1 2 3 4
   b. In the MAP training sessions your attended, did at least one MAP session cover how to recognize workers with work performance problems that might be related to

      1) substance abuse? Yes No
      2) on-the-job stress? Yes No
      3) off-the-job problems? Yes No

2. Have some of the supervisors you are working with attended a MAP training session?

   Yes No Don’t know

3. In your opinion, will the MAP reduce the chances of injuries at the job site?

   Yes No

SECTION B: This group of questions are about your job site. We want to know if you believe the following statements are true or false. Please answer based on what you have seen over the last two or three years. Circle YES if you agree with the statement and NO if you do not agree.

1. Laborers at the job site have similar views about how people should act on the job.

   Yes No

2. The most important consideration in judging whether you want to work with a person is whether he/she does the job right.

   Yes No

3. If a laborer does something “wrong” at the job site, he/she will probably get caught.

   Yes No

4. Laborers you work with are generally satisfied with their jobs.

   Yes No

5. Sometimes people come to work under the influence of drugs.

   Yes No

6. Stress at the job site is generally low.

   Yes No

7. Laborers at the job site are closely supervised by a manager.

   Yes No

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8. Sometimes it is okay to break safety rules in order to get the job done.  
   Yes  No
9. Workers sometimes drink alcohol on the job or during break.  
   Yes  No
10. Sometimes people have credit problems that affect their ability to concentrate on their job.  
    Yes  No
11. Laborers can greatly influence those things that happen to them at the job site.  
    Yes  No
12. Sometimes people come to work under the influence of alcohol.  
    Yes  No
    Yes  No
14. Workers sometimes smoke pot on the job or during break.  
    Yes  No

SECTION C: This group of questions concerns such things as your age and time in the union. The answers will be used to make broad comparisons across many locals. All information is confidential. These questionnaires will not be seen by anyone other than the researchers.

1. How old are you? ________ years
2. Are you married?  Yes  No
3. Do you have children under age 19 living at home?  Yes  No
4. Do you have a high school diploma or your GED?  Yes  No
5. Does your father work in construction?  Yes  No
6. Do you have other relatives that work in construction?  Yes  No
7. Are you a steward?  Yes  No
   a. If Yes, how long have you been a steward? ________
8. Are you a foreman?  Yes  No
   a. If Yes, how long have you been a foreman?
9. How long have you belonged to the Laborers union? ________ years
10. Are you (circle one)?
    a. Male?    b. Female?
11. Are you (circle one)?
    a. Black?
    b. White?
    c. Asian?
    d. Hispanic?
    e. American Indian?

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Companies throughout the United States are being encouraged to consider the role they should play in helping address the country's social problems. Many employers and unions are investing resources into developing some type of worker assistance program (either an Employee Assistance Program or a Membership Assistance Program). Unfortunately, such programs are not commonly found in construction due to lack of information about what works in this industry. Though the lack of information is a problem for the entire industry, it is especially acute with respect to small- to mid-sized companies.

This questionnaire is designed to gather information which will be helpful to individuals interested in worker assistance programs in construction or construction-related companies. The information gathered will be useful for all types of employers affiliated with this industry. However, for purposes of this research, the questionnaire is designed for employers who work with the Laborers' Union and whose employees may be eligible to participate in the Laborers' Membership Assistance Program.

The Laborers' Membership Assistance Program has been used as the starting point in gathering information for several reasons. First, it allows us to identify a group of employers whose qualities are such that valuable and useful information can be gathered. Second, it focuses our efforts in a specific geographical region which will, in turn, make it possible to interpret the results of answers in a meaningful way.

You may be assured of complete confidentiality. The questionnaire has an identification number for mailing purposes only. This is so that we may check your name off the mailing list when your questionnaire is returned. Your company's name will never be identified or placed on the questionnaire. Only summary results from all respondents combined will be reported.

I would be happy to answer any questions you might have. Please write or call J. S. McLaughlin. The telephone numbers are (703) 231-6353 or (703) 552-0127.

Thank you for your assistance.

J. S. McLaughlin
Project Director

The time required to complete the questionnaire is approximately 20 minutes.
Employer Questionnaire: Worker Assistance Programs

PART 1: The Laborers' Membership Assistance Program (MAP)

The questions in this section concern the Laborers’ Membership Assistance Program (MAP) being offered through a joint management-union effort in the Baltimore-Washington area. A Membership Assistance Program is like an Employee Assistance Program but is made available to workers through their union health and welfare fund. Please mark your answer using an X or circle the answer where instructed to do so.

1. Were you aware of the Laborers’ Membership Assistance Program (MAP) before you received this questionnaire?
   ____ No  ____ Yes

   If you answered “yes” to the previous question, how did you learn about the Laborers’ Membership Assistance Program?
   ____ Memo or letter from the Laborers’ Union
   ____ Special brochure describing the Membership Assistance Program
   ____ Newspaper article
   ____ Telephone discussion with leaders from the Laborers’ Union
   ____ Face-to-face discussion with leaders from the Laborers’ Union
   ____ Film
   ____ Poster
   ____ Other

2. Does your company participate in the Laborers’ Membership Assistance Program?
   ____ No  ____ Yes

   If you answered “no” to the previous question, please go to PART 2.

   If you answered “yes” to the previous question, please continue by answering the following questions:

3. When was the decision made to participate in the MAP?
   ____ During the most recent contract negotiations
   ____ Prior to the most recent contract negotiations but in anticipation of events associated with negotiations
   ____ Independent of events associated with contract negotiations

4. Based on your general knowledge of the Membership Assistance Program, check all of the following problems that you believe are covered by the program.
   ____ Drug abuse
   ____ Bad health habits
   ____ Illiteracy
   ____ Financial problems
   ____ Job stress
   ____ Gambling
   ____ Alcohol abuse
   ____ Family problems
   ____ Mental health

5. Have any of the following types of company employees attended training programs sponsored by the Laborers’ Union under the Membership Assistance Program?
   ____ company foreman
   ____ superintendent
   ____ project manager
   ____ middle management (other than project manager)
   ____ other (Explain)

6. Are you aware of workers employed by you full-time who have utilized the Laborers’ Membership Assistance Program?
   ____ No  ____ Yes

7. Are you aware of workers not employed by you full-time who have utilized the Laborers’ Membership Assistance Program?
   ____ No  ____ Yes
PART 2: Worker Assistance Programs in General

The items in this section concern worker assistance programs in general (either Employee Assistance Programs or Membership Assistance Programs). We are interested in how important it is to you that a decision to participate in a program of this type accomplish certain objectives or goals. Please circle the extent to which you believe the following are important. Ni = Not Important; Mi = Moderately Important; I = Important; Vi = Very Important

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Not Important</th>
<th>Very Important</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Save money</td>
<td>Ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Reduce absenteeism</td>
<td>Ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Salvage workers</td>
<td>Ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Boost morale at the worksite</td>
<td>Ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Improve company image</td>
<td>Ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Promote welfare of the surrounding community</td>
<td>Ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Promote welfare and happiness of employees</td>
<td>Ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Provide similar benefits to other firms in the industry</td>
<td>Ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Avoid future government legislation and regulation</td>
<td>Ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Fulfill workers' expectations</td>
<td>Ni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PART 3: Company Characteristics

1. Where is your company's headquarters located?
   State__________ Country__________

2. How long has the company been in operation?
   ____ Less than 5 years old
   ____ 5-10 years old
   ____ 10-20 years old
   ____ Over 20 years old

3. Which of the following best describes your company as it currently operates?
   ____ sole proprietor
   ____ general partnership
   ____ limited partnership
   ____ S-corporation
   ____ Publicly-held corporation

4. If a sole proprietor, do you own the company?
   ____ No    ____ Yes

If you answered "yes" to the previous question, how long have you owned the company?
   ____ Years

5. Has your company undergone any of the following changes during the past two years? (Mark all that apply)
   ____ Change in ownership (if sole proprietorship)
   ____ Major restructuring of the company (such as change in corporation status)
   ____ Major reduction in number of employees
   ____ Merger
   ____ Acquisition
   ____ Divestiture
   ____ Expansion outside your headquarters' country
   ____ New management team

NS = Not Serious; MS = Moderately Serious; S = Serious; VS = Very Serious

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6. Over the last year, approximately how many workers did the company employ during each quarter?

**Winter:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Full-time workers:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than 50</td>
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<tr>
<td>or less</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part-time workers:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or less</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Spring:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Full-time workers:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than 50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or less</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part-time workers:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or less</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Summer:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Full-time workers:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than 50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or less</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part-time workers:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or less</td>
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</table>

**Fall:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Full-time workers:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than 50</td>
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<tr>
<td>or less</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part-time workers:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or less</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7. Approximately what percent of the company's work over the last three years has been on government projects? (Circle the number.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>20</th>
<th>30</th>
<th>40</th>
<th>50</th>
<th>60</th>
<th>70</th>
<th>80</th>
<th>90</th>
<th>100</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

8. Use an 'X' to mark the statement that best describes your company's profits during the time periods given.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Last Year</th>
<th>Last 3 Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Increased</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No change</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decreased</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We believe it will be useful to better understand where companies in your industry spend extra cash resources when they are available. Please place a 1 by the item you believe should have the highest priority in terms of additional funding, a 2 by the item you believe should be second most important, and so on until you have put a number by each item on the list. No ties, please.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Very Important</th>
<th>Moderately Important</th>
<th>Not Important</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I</td>
<td>MI</td>
<td>NI</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We need your help to identify those measures of success that are most important to your industry. Below is a list of possible ways some industries define success. For each of the following, please circle how important you believe each of the following measures is for defining success. **NI** = Not Important; **MI** = Moderately Important; **I** = Important; **VI** = Very Important

1. Change in absenteeism
   - **NI**
   - **MI**
   - **I**
   - **VI**

2. Change in accident rates
   - **NI**
   - **MI**
   - **I**
   - **VI**

3. Change in health care costs
   - **NI**
   - **MI**
   - **I**
   - **VI**

4. Change in quality of work
   - **NI**
   - **MI**
   - **I**
   - **VI**

5. Change in productivity
   - **NI**
   - **MI**
   - **I**
   - **VI**

6. Change in return on investment
   - **NI**
   - **MI**
   - **I**
   - **VI**

7. Change in net profit margin
   - **NI**
   - **MI**
   - **I**
   - **VI**

Which measure of success is "most important" to you?

Are there important measures of success that we have missed?

- **No**
- **Yes**

If you answered "yes" to the previous question, please list the additional measures below.
The following questions concern policies and programs which you currently have in place. Please use an 'X' to mark your answer.

1. Does your organization have a written policy on any of the following:
   ___ alcohol use
   ___ drug use
   ___ gambling
   ___ other (Explain)

2. Does your company have its own employer-provided employee assistance program (i.e., an employee assistance program that is separate from the Laborers' Membership Assistance Program)?
   ___ No  ___ Yes  ___ Don't know

If you answered "no" to the previous question, please go to PART 4.

If you answered "yes" to the previous question, please answer the following two questions.

a. Who is eligible to use the Employee Assistance Program?
   ___ Management personnel
   ___ Office/clerical personnel
   ___ Building trades personnel
   ___ Other blue collar personnel
   ___ Family members of eligible personnel

b. How long has your company had this program in place?
   ___ 0-1 year
   ___ 2-4 years
   ___ 5 or more years

PART 4: The Company Role

Today's business organizations deal with the effects of social problems on the workplace every day. We are interested in your opinion as to who should be responsible for providing programs to deal with these problems. Please place an 'X' in the box indicating which type of program you believe should provide assistance in the areas listed below.

1. Family problems
   | Union Program | Employer Program | Government Program | Joint Labor-Mgt Program |

2. educating people to read and write
   | Union Program | Employer Program | Government Program | Joint Labor-Mgt Program |

3. Retraining
   | Union Program | Employer Program | Government Program | Joint Labor-Mgt Program |

4. Rehabilitation for alcohol and drug abuse
   | Union Program | Employer Program | Government Program | Joint Labor-Mgt Program |

5. Health care (other than mental health care or rehabilitation)
   | Union Program | Employer Program | Government Program | Joint Labor-Mgt Program |

6. Mental health care
   | Union Program | Employer Program | Government Program | Joint Labor-Mgt Program |

This section contains additional items about how you view the role of business and of your company in addressing certain social and workplace problems. Please circle the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements. SD = Strongly Disagree; D = Disagree; A = Agree; SA = Strongly Agree

1. It makes good business sense to modify business practices in order to address problems affecting society.
   SD D A SA

2. Private business is in an excellent position to detect and help employees with personal problems.
   SD D A SA

3. Rules and regulations governing the workplace should be an outgrowth of the collective bargaining process and nothing else.
   SD D A SA

4. The general public believes that employers should guarantee a workplace free of drugs and alcohol.
   SD D A SA

5. My company's role in addressing a worker's personal problems is the same today as when the company was founded.
   SD D A SA
6. A company should act to address a social problem only when government encourages action.
   SD  D  A  SA

7. Society is passing the buck to business by asking employers to solve problems which government should solve.
   SD  D  A  SA

8. The general public has always expected private business to help solve social problems.
   SD  D  A  SA

9. Providing many benefits and services tends to encourage employees to evade responsibility for their own affairs.
   SD  D  A  SA

10. Addressing a worker's personal problems is primarily the responsibility of the union.
    SD  D  A  SA

11. Employers should be able to rely on government agencies to help them solve workers' personal problems which affect job performance.
    SD  D  A  SA

12. Major changes in the workplace should come about as a result of cooperation between management and labor.
    SD  D  A  SA

13. A manager's primary concern should be to maximize the company's financial objectives, not to respond to shifting public expectations.
    SD  D  A  SA

14. Workers should be left alone to deal with their personal problems without employer interference.
    SD  D  A  SA

15. Supervisors should be given the responsibility of identifying workers who have some type of personal problem.
    SD  D  A  SA

16. The ultimate responsibility of the manager is to help a company meet its social responsibilities.
    SD  D  A  SA

17. A worker's personal problems should be addressed by professional counselors outside the workplace.
    SD  D  A  SA

18. Providing services for workers who have personal problems is consistent with current workplace practices.
    SD  D  A  SA

19. My primary reason for supporting some kind of worker assistance program would be to fulfill requirements of my role in the workplace.
    SD  D  A  SA

20. Personnel at all levels of business organizations are more knowledgeable today on how to assist workers with personal problems than they were in the past.
    SD  D  A  SA

21. The only legitimate role for employers in society is to provide jobs.
    SD  D  A  SA

22. Implementation of a worker assistance program (EAP or MAP) will lead to a more positive workplace environment.
    SD  D  A  SA

23. Workers should believe that they can rely on the employer to help them solve their personal problems.
    SD  D  A  SA

PART 5: Need for Worker Assistance Program

This section contains questions from studies of employee or worker assistance programs in other industries. These measures are used to determine whether worker assistance programs (either Employee Assistance Programs or Membership Assistance Programs) are viewed as useful in your industry. Please use an 'X' to mark your answer.

1. Do you believe that some kind of worker assistance program is needed by workers in your industry?
   _No_  _Yes_  

2. Do you believe that some kind of worker assistance program can be successful in your industry?
   _No_  _Yes_  

3. Is the idea of supporting some kind of worker assistance program viewed in a positive light by those people you work with on a day-to-day basis?
   _No_  _Yes_  _Don't Know_  

4. To what extent is it important to you that some kind of worker assistance program be implemented?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>not important</th>
<th>somewhat important</th>
<th>important</th>
<th>extremely important</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

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5. Do other owners/managers you know believe that some kind of worker assistance program can work?
   ___ No   ___ Yes   ___ Don’t know

6. Does the idea of supporting some kind of worker assistance program have the support of those people in your organization who make programs work at the worksite?
   ___ No   ___ Yes   ___ Don’t know

7. Who are the people in your company who make programs work at the worksite?
   ___ Top management
   ___ Project manager
   ___ Superintendents
   ___ Foremen
   ___ Crew Chiefs
   ___ Other (Explain)

8. What is your belief regarding the percentage of the company’s employees whose work is impaired as a result of alcohol abuse? (Circle the number.)

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<th>90</th>
<th>100</th>
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</table>

9. What is your belief regarding the percentage of the company’s employees whose work is impaired as a result of drug abuse? (Circle the number.)

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<tr>
<th>0</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>20</th>
<th>30</th>
<th>40</th>
<th>50</th>
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</table>

We are interested in learning how you view conditions in the workplace which might impact the need for worker assistance programs. Though the items in this section are sensitive, we feel they are extremely important and will permit us to provide valuable feedback to you. Please circle the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements. SD = Strongly Disagree; D = Disagree; A = Agree; SA = Strongly Agree

1. Workers owe it to their fellow workers to seek help for personal problems.
   SD D A SA

2. Workers at the job site, regardless of job title, have similar views about how people should act on the job.
   SD D A SA

3. The most important consideration in judging whether you want a person to work for you is whether he/she does the job right.
   SD D A SA

4. If a worker does something “wrong” at the job site, he/she will probably get caught.
   SD D A SA

5. Workers at your job sites are generally satisfied with their jobs.
   SD D A SA

6. Sometimes workers come to work under the influence of drugs.
   SD D A SA

7. Stress at the job site is generally low.
   SD D A SA

8. Workers at the job site are closely supervised by a manager.
   SD D A SA

9. Workers sometimes drink alcohol on the job or during break.
   SD D A SA

10. Sometimes workers have credit problems that affect their ability to concentrate on the job.
    SD D A SA

11. Workers can greatly influence those things that happen to them at the job site.
    SD D A SA

12. Use of alcohol or drugs by workers sometimes causes safety problems at work.
    SD D A SA

13. Sometimes people come to work under the influence of alcohol.
    SD D A SA

    SD D A SA

15. Use of alcohol or drugs at the job site sometimes causes conflict between workers.
    SD D A SA

16. Workers sometimes smoke pot on the job or during break.
    SD D A SA

17. Gambling problems are a major reason for poor quality of work.
    SD D A SA

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Options</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18. Most people with addiction problems just want to live it up.</td>
<td>SD, D, A, SA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Addiction problems are the result of outside pressures the person faces, such as job or family stress.</td>
<td>SD, D, A, SA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. People with problems of addiction should be thought of and treated as physically sick people.</td>
<td>SD, D, A, SA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Treatment for addiction problems just doesn’t work.</td>
<td>SD, D, A, SA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Drug and alcohol abuse isn’t really the problem it is made out to be.</td>
<td>SD, D, A, SA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**PART 6: Demographics**

1. Are you? _____ male _____ female

2. How many years have you worked in this industry? _____ Years

3. How many years have you worked for this company? _____ Years

4. In what year were you born? 19___

5. Please check the highest level of formal education you have completed:
   - _____ less than high school degree
   - _____ high school or GED
   - _____ some college
   - _____ Bachelor’s degree
   - _____ Master’s degree
   - _____ beyond Master’s degree

6. Are you married? _____ No _____ Yes

7. How many dependents do you have? _____

8. What is your official title? ________________
APPENDIX C-1

DEFINITIONS: BEHAVIORAL NORMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BEHAVIORAL NORM</th>
<th>DEFINITION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Role Integrity</td>
<td>The maintenance of the role as sound and/or in a state which is expected of a person or organization occupying a social position.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contractual Solidarity</td>
<td>The desire to hold exchanges together or preserve relations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harmonization with the Social Matrix</td>
<td>The act of compliance or of providing for compliance with legal and nonlegal requirements of society.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mutuality</td>
<td>A state in which all participants perceive that there will be a possible improvement from their pre-exchange position.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planning</td>
<td>Process of determining how and what to implement and how to put contractual relations in place.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flexibility</td>
<td>Providing for contractual relations under conditions of uncertainty, thereby providing for problems of bounded rationality.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creation or Restraining of Power</td>
<td>Use of the ability to change power relations in order to balance power created or restrained through contracting.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linking Norms</td>
<td>Norms which cut across all other norms to fit them together and account for the complexities in modern contractual relations.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## APPENDIX C-2

**DEFINITIONS: MULTIDIMENSIONAL SCALING**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TERM</th>
<th>DEFINITION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Object</td>
<td>A thing or event</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stimulus</td>
<td>A perceived object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attribute</td>
<td>A perceived characteristic of a stimulus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proximity</td>
<td>The amount of similarity or difference between a pair of stimuli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Data Matrix</td>
<td>Arrangement of data into a table where column one shows the proximities between stimulus 1 and succeeding stimulus, where column two shows proximities between stimulus 2 and, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Point</td>
<td>A position in a space that is an abstract representation of a stimulus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dimension</td>
<td>A characteristic that serves to define a point in a space; an axis through the space</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Configuration</td>
<td>Organization as a set of points</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Euclidean Distance</td>
<td>The distance between 2 stimuli calculated from their coordinates according to the Pythagorean formula (d_{12} = \sqrt{(x_a - x_b)^2 + (y_a - y_b)^2})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stress</td>
<td>A measure showing how far the data depart from the model</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

APPENDIX D

MULTIDIMENSIONAL SCALING: EMPLOYER SURVEY

WHO SHOULD PROVIDE SERVICES

A multidimensional scaling procedures was used to assess beliefs concerning who should provide services to address specific worker problems. Respondents to the employer mail survey were asked to chose between four service providers -- 1) government, 2) the union, 3) the employer, and 4) labor-management cooperative programs. Services to be provided were for family problems, literacy (learning to read and write, retraining, rehabilitation for drugs and alcohol, health care (other than mental health care), and mental health care.

Based on changes on S-Stress, a four dimensional solution was chosen. The Dimensions and S-Stress were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dimension</th>
<th>S-Stress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>.04032</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>.05375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>.06859</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>.09979</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>.16631</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The stimulus coordinates are shown in Table 1. Items loading most heavily on Dimension 1 are UN-DA (1.636), UN-HT (1.3254), and UN-MH (1.5286) at the positive end and JT-HT (-2.1679), JT-RT (-2.1679), JT-DA (-2.1536), and JT-FA (-2.1492) at the negative end. Respondents who tend to have an
identifiable preference for union-provided services for drug and alcohol rehabilitation, health care, and mental health care, tend not to believe that health care, job retraining, drug and alcohol rehabilitation and family problem services should be provided through labor-management cooperation.

Items loading most heavily on Dimension 2 at the positive end are GO-DA (1.7590), GO-FA (1.4356), GO-MH (1.3726), and GO-ED (1.2411). Those loading on the negative end of the dimension are UN-HT (-1.7149), UN-MH (~1.5106), UN-DA (-1.2547), and JT-DA (-1.1671). Those respondents who see a role for government in providing social services tend not to see a role for the union or, in the case of drug and alcohol rehabilitation, for either the union or joint labor-management programs in providing services.

Items loading on Dimension 3 are GO-ED (2.3186), JT-RT (2.1694), and UN-HT (1.0682) on the positive end and JT-MH (-1.1436), ER-FA (~.9308), and ER-ED (~.9088) on the negative end. Loadings suggest that respondents who see a strong role for government in education also see a major role for labor-management cooperation in job retraining. Though this dimension is weak, it appears to suggests that respondents do not see employers as the primary parties responsible for education and related activities.

Items loading on Dimension 4 are UN-RT (1.7860) at the positive end and JT-ED (-1.8317) and JT-RT (-1.1114) at the
negative end. These loadings suggest that those who see the union as being responsible for providing job retraining do not tend to support labor-management cooperation as the vehicle for addressing workers' skill problems.

The multidimensional scaling plots for Who Should Provide Programs for addressing specific problems are shown in Figures 1, 2, and 3. Dimension I presents preference for union-provided services versus government-provided services. Dimension II presents preference for union-provided services versus services provided through labor-management cooperation. Dimension III is barely interpretable except that it implies a difference in perceptions concerning types of training programs being supported through joint labor-management programs and through education relative to programs provided through other mechanisms. A similar result was found by examining Dimension IV. There appear to be distinct differences in perceptions concerning retraining and education programs sponsored through joint efforts and those provided for by the union.

The results of this analysis are striking in that they show a preference by employers for union or jointly-sponsored programs for meeting workers' needs with respect to personal problems.
### TABLE 1

**EMPLOYER SURVEY: WHO SHOULD PROVIDE SERVICES**

**STIMULUS COORDINATES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STIMULUS NO. \ a</th>
<th>PLOT SYMBOL</th>
<th>DIMENSION 1</th>
<th>DIMENSION 2</th>
<th>DIMENSION 3</th>
<th>DIMENSION 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 [U-F]</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.4752</td>
<td>-1.4299</td>
<td>0.8651</td>
<td>-0.1535</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 [E-F]</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.4789</td>
<td>0.6000</td>
<td>-0.9308</td>
<td>-0.3587</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 [G-F]</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.3275</td>
<td>1.4356</td>
<td>0.2354</td>
<td>0.0767</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 [J-F]</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-2.1492</td>
<td>-1.0781</td>
<td>-0.7560</td>
<td>0.4740</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 [U-E]</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.0771</td>
<td>-0.1959</td>
<td>-0.4569</td>
<td>0.3298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 [G-E]</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0.6261</td>
<td>0.5678</td>
<td>-0.9088</td>
<td>-0.0352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 [E-E]</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-1.0012</td>
<td>1.2411</td>
<td>2.3186</td>
<td>0.7716</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 [J-E]</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>-0.8627</td>
<td>-1.1337</td>
<td>-0.3137</td>
<td>-1.8317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 [U-R]</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0.9818</td>
<td>-0.8380</td>
<td>-0.3833</td>
<td>1.7860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 [E-R]</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>0.5460</td>
<td>0.7226</td>
<td>-0.8271</td>
<td>-0.1765</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 [G-R]</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>0.3778</td>
<td>0.5383</td>
<td>-0.6794</td>
<td>-0.0458</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 [J-R]</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>-2.1679</td>
<td>-0.6189</td>
<td>2.1696</td>
<td>-1.1114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 [U-D]</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>1.6363</td>
<td>-1.2547</td>
<td>0.4519</td>
<td>-0.5930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 [E-D]</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>0.3846</td>
<td>0.4926</td>
<td>-0.7477</td>
<td>-0.1058</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 [G-D]</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>0.0042</td>
<td>1.7590</td>
<td>0.7118</td>
<td>-0.1144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 [J-D]</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>-2.1536</td>
<td>-1.1671</td>
<td>-0.6001</td>
<td>0.7984</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 [U-H]</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>1.3254</td>
<td>-1.7149</td>
<td>1.0682</td>
<td>0.2391</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 [E-H]</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>0.7860</td>
<td>1.1430</td>
<td>-0.5198</td>
<td>-0.6257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 [G-H]</td>
<td>J</td>
<td>0.1157</td>
<td>0.9728</td>
<td>-0.3540</td>
<td>-0.0747</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 [J-H]</td>
<td>K</td>
<td>-2.2995</td>
<td>-0.6833</td>
<td>-0.1687</td>
<td>0.7707</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 [U-M]</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>1.5286</td>
<td>-1.5106</td>
<td>0.8615</td>
<td>-0.0466</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 [E-M]</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>0.3933</td>
<td>1.0503</td>
<td>-0.6439</td>
<td>-0.4267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 [G-M]</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>-0.1836</td>
<td>1.3726</td>
<td>0.7517</td>
<td>0.1223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 [J-M]</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>-1.2469</td>
<td>-0.2706</td>
<td>-1.1536</td>
<td>0.3294</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\ a Coding for who should be responsible is as follows: U=UNION; E=EMPLOYER; G=GOVERNMENT; J=JOINT LABOR-MANAGEMENT PROGRAM. Coding for types of problems is as follows: F=FAMILY PROBLEMS; E=EDUCATION (LITERACY); R=RETRAINING; DA=DRUG AND ALCOHOL PROBLEMS; H=HEALTH CARE; M=MENTAL HEALTH CARE.
FIGURE 1

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FIGURE 2

291
FIGURE 3

292
APPENDIX E

BUSINESS MANAGER INTERVIEWS: CONCEPTUAL CORRELATION MATRIX

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PRIMARY IDEAS EXPRESSED BY LABORER BUSINESS MANAGERS&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>Personal problems keep laborers from performing properly.</th>
<th>The employer's solution is to cut workers from the workforce.</th>
<th>Contractors will not respond to suggestions concerning alcohol and drug problems.</th>
<th>The MAP will be good if it is used.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Laborers have trouble with drinking, drugs, absenteeism and tardiness.</td>
<td>There is a link between drugs and alcohol and productivity.</td>
<td>Employers aren't concerned with addressing the root cause of the problem.</td>
<td>This is a problem the laborers must deal with.</td>
<td>Laborers who have personal problems do not necessarily want services.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal problems keep laborers from performing properly.</td>
<td>Employers aren't concerned with laborers' personal problems.</td>
<td>Employers do not believe labor leaders' views on laborers' personal problems are valid.</td>
<td>Poor performance may be a way to get workers into the program.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The employer's solution is to cut workers from the workforce.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Employers don't want to change the way they handle the problem.</td>
<td>The use of the MAP may help workers keep their jobs.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contractors will not respond to suggestions concerning alcohol and drug problems.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Contractors will have to be persuaded through negotiations to support the MAP.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The MAP will be good if it is used.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup>Primary ideas are recorded in the Row 1 and Column 1. Secondary ideas are found within the cells of the matrix.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PRIMARY IDEAS EXPRESSED BY LABORER BUSINESS MANAGERS</th>
<th>Workers will not use the MAP if they are ashamed.</th>
<th>Some workers don't know they need help.</th>
<th>You have to scare workers into using the MAP.</th>
<th>You have to hit laborers over the head to get them to listen.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Laborers have trouble with drinking, drugs, absenteeism and tardiness.</td>
<td>Laborers with problems should not be embarrassed since most are proud.</td>
<td>Laborers must be convinced that they need help.</td>
<td>Workers have to believe their job is threatened by drugs and alcohol use.</td>
<td>Laborers don't see drinking, drugs, absenteeism and tardiness as problems.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal problems keep laborers from performing properly.</td>
<td>Accusations about personal problems embarrass workers more than poor performance.</td>
<td>Some laborers don't associate poor performance with their personal problems.</td>
<td>Laborers must believe the MAP will help them perform better.</td>
<td>Laborers must be taught that poor performance and personal problems are related.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The employer's solution is to cut workers from the workforce.</td>
<td>Laborers would rather be cut than embarrassed.</td>
<td>Some laborers don't understand they are cut from the workforce because they need help.</td>
<td>Laborers must believe the MAP will help them keep their job.</td>
<td>Laborers must be convinced that being fired is related to personal problems.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contractors won't respond to suggestions concerning alcohol/drug problems</td>
<td>Contractors are not sensitive to personal feelings of laborers.</td>
<td>Contractors aren't concerned with workers who don't help themselves.</td>
<td>Laborers have to believe MAP is protecting them from insensitive contractors.</td>
<td>Union leaders must convince both contractors and workers of the problem and solution.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The MAP will be good if it is used.</td>
<td>Feeling ashamed will keep laborers from using the MAP.</td>
<td>The union must be proactive in showing some workers they need help.</td>
<td>The MAP has to be a solution to a scary/serious problem.</td>
<td>The union has to get laborers to listen in order to get them to use the MAP.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drug problems are most likely to cause a worker to use the MAP.</td>
<td>Drug abuse is serious enough to overcome feelings of being ashamed.</td>
<td>Workers who have drug problems are more likely to recognize their problems.</td>
<td>Scare tactics are more effective and best used where drugs are the issue.</td>
<td>The union is more likely to get workers with drug problems to listen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workers will not use the MAP if they are ashamed.</td>
<td>Workers will subconsciously deny their need for help to avoid embarrassment.</td>
<td>Fear is effective where workers feel ashamed.</td>
<td>Shame will keep laborers from listening to information about the MAP.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some workers don't know they need help.</td>
<td>Fear is effective where workers don't know they have a problem.</td>
<td>The union must get laborers to listen in order to convince them that they need help.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You have to scare workers into using the MAP.</td>
<td>Scare tactics are the way to get laborers to listen.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
VITA

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