

Trade Unions, Class Consciousness and Praxis

A Thesis Submitted in Fulfilment
of the Requirements for the Degree
of Doctor of Philosophy

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1993

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Abstract

The aim of this thesis is to explore the ways in which class aspects of trade unions are formed in relation to their organisational properties. To achieve this aim, various assertions on the *fundamental* role of trade unions are first discussed, and criticised for treating trade unions as organisations that typically react to external stimuli and not as organisations that also generate goals and strategies on their own initiative. Then the focus moves to class consciousness as an effective measure of class capacity of both trade unions and their members, and in doing so, the concept of class consciousness is reformulated to embrace collective and action-oriented aspects of it. Having tested this reformulated concept initially by analysing the comparative characters and capacities of three national unions at different points in time in Korea, a class consciousness scale is developed to measure not only diverse aspects of class consciousness but also qualitatively different levels of it, and such research methods as text analysis and interviews are also employed for the main empirical survey of this thesis. The chief findings include the uneven development of class consciousness within as well as between the individuals, and the conspicuousness of the leadership effect/alliance factor, the less-than-impressive effects of gender, size, union age, strike experience, and nationality of ownership on the overall level of class consciousness. Simultaneously, the potentially intriguing implications of the specific influences of those factors on certain aspects of class consciousness are discussed. The thesis is concluded with a recapitulation of the significance of the organisational factors investigated, suggestions on possible directions for further studies, and an urge to study trade unions as *class organisations*, with the emphasis on both words.

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Preface

This thesis ultimately aims to contribute to the question of how to enhance workers' class consciousness by the means of organisational mediation. To achieve the aim, I set out to investigate the nature and dynamics of class consciousness, and subsequently, examine various organisational factors of trade unions which have been widely accepted, with or without sufficient evidence, as being influential in forming and changing class consciousness. While the limitations in this type of approach which almost exclusively focuses on human factors, conscious effort to change, and intra-organisational properties, are certainly not absent in the present research, I want here to clarify the philosophical position I assume in developing the argumentation throughout the thesis.

My position, in this thesis, first and foremost, is materialist, rejecting any degree of idealism or dualism. By this, I mean to criticise confusions generated by some emphases that seemingly support 'the superiority of material over mind', as detected in some phrases of Marx and Engels. A case in point is the following:

It is not consciousness that determines life, but life that determines consciousness (Marx and Engels, 1976a p37)

Rather, the position I take in this thesis is better expressed in another phrase in the same book.

Consciousness can be never be anything else than conscious being, and the being of men is their actual life-process (Marx and Engels, 1976a p36)

The philosophical position of the thesis, thus, is that consciousness cannot be presupposed without being, and vice

versa. An attempt to rank between consciousness and being is not seen as justified but as a form of dualism. For 'the organised structure of every individual self within the human social process of experience and behaviour reflects, and is constituted by, the organised relational pattern of that process as a whole'(Mead, 1934 p201). In other words, there is nothing of idea, as opposed to material, about consciousness. While it is a truism that consciousness is what makes human beings peculiar, different from any other life forms, consciousness would never even begin without the collective being, society. Therefore, stressing conscious human effort as a changing agent, as this thesis does, is to be understood as one way to see the whole social process, not as opting for a part at the expense of the whole, or as highlighting a dictating power of mentality standing over and above what exists as objectivity. By the same coin, the debate on structure and agency in social change, which is more first-handedly related to this thesis than the consciousness/ being distinction is, is not to be treated as a 'permanent oscillation'(Anderson 1983 p26) but a way of looking at the workings of socially constructed beings, be it single individuals or a society.

Secondly, the stance I take in this thesis is determinist, determinism being defined as the view that all events are caused. An event, of course, could be either change or persistence of state. In developing discussions based on determinism, I will concern myself more with causal necessity than with predictability. The relationship between the two is described by van R. Wilson (1961).

Lack of causal necessity would certainly entail lack of predictability; but I see no reason to assume that lack of predictability entails lack of causal necessity... Present inability to specify the values of a variable can hardly be construed as evidence that no such values exist.(p237)

Van. R. Wilson goes on to contend that causal necessity in a particular case is holistic, and therefore, 'meaningful only as a function of all the relevant causal factors, whether known or unknown, taken collectively' (p238).

I never claim that this thesis embraces all the relevant factors, impossible as it is, even to attempt to list them. The thesis has rather a narrow scope for it focuses on the sociology of organisations rather than on that of social movement although the latter should be the case in a study of trade unions. On this account, predictability is completely out of the question. Yet, if the fact that trade unions as organisations are not separable from the wider society is a sure ground for the contention that studying the internal working of the organisations is not the same as trying to separate them from their environment, the methodological approach this thesis employs can be viewed as not at variance with a holistic approach but conducive to it.

The last word on the deterministic stance I take goes to the problem of essentialism. The stance rejects essentialism as long as it means that an enquiry into the cause of everything boils down to the revelation of one core. Nevertheless, I see expressions, or even concepts, such as "more important" or "less essential" as perfectly appropriate, unlike some Marxists.

Among the different relations between any one entity and all those others that overdetermine it, none can be ranked as "more important" or "more determinant" than another. To propose such a ranking is to reduce those differences to a quantitative measure of something presumed common to them all (Resnick and Wolff 1987 p4).

Contrary to the argument of Resnick and Wolff, my contention is that weighing a certain social aspect against another in terms of how widely and deeply they permeate social life is not only useful but also sensible in the

realm of social determinants, unless the whole of idea of explaining is relinquished. My belief is that classes are one of the most important and most developed social determinants, if not the most, and therefore, the directions and goals of trade unions deserve attention as much as anything else.

Finally, I want to stress that this thesis is about praxis in two senses: it intends to deal with praxis; and it itself is praxis. Praxis, referred to as creative and self-creative activity through which man produces and changes his historical, human world and himself, has often been given a priority over theory by Marxists. Marx himself sometimes appears to do the same as seen in the following phrases.

Philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways, the point however is to change it (Marx 1976a p5).

The resolution of theoretical antitheses is only possible in a practical way, by virtue of the practical energy of man (Marx 1975 p302).

Despite the appearances, I want to shed different light on these two extracts: the famous final thesis on Feuerbach expresses reservation for those who have *only* interpreted the world, not for those who have interpreted the world, whereas the second extract argues for the importance of sociality of theory as opposed to the pretensions and illusions of some theorists who view theory as possessing single-handed dictatory power over society or as blessed with a uniquely detached position from society. It is certainly hoped that this thesis goes further than only interpreting the world by bringing human praxis under investigation and attempting to show how to influence it.

Although I partially mention Marxist epistemology in this preface, the call for theoretical praxis has also come out

from students in the fields of organisational behaviour and organisational theory with quite different political inclinations and of course based on a quite different epistemology. That is to say, scholars of organisation studies have stressed the possibility of changes in society that theories can bring about. The following quotation is a case in point.

Social science can assist the process of change through its scrutiny of the conventional wisdom, ideology, and prejudice which still pervade many aspects of our social life. By identifying social conventions for what they are, the social scientist helps to create an awareness of the possibilities for alternative modes of action and organization which may provide benefits not previously achieved (Child 1973 p234).

Also in the opening chapter of the second edition of the Handbook of Industrial and Organisational Psychology, Dunnette (1990) asks, with great concern, if 'the science and practice of industrial and organisational psychology are enhancing each other so that their separate successes can have an impact on each other synergistically'(p7). And in the following chapter of the same book, Campbell (1990) warns that 'better theory simply for the sake of better theory is of no substantive value, basic or applied', and that 'a discipline that defines it to be so will cease to produce and cease to exist'(p42). In a similar vein, Mowday and Sutton (1993) evaluate that, 'while many of the early influential writings in organisational behaviour were based on intensive observation and experience in organisations, we have now evolved into a field that often requires minimal, if any, contact with organisations'(p220) and urge us to immerse ourselves in the context.

I think therefore that, while the title of the thesis might be seen as misleading since the concept 'praxis' is not expounded anywhere in this thesis, the inclusion of the word might be generously and perhaps rightly excused for,

to repeat, the thesis is about praxis, for it itself is praxis.

All in all, I hope that what I have stated above more or less justifies the fact that this thesis disproportionately concentrates on 'agency' in a disproportionately centripetal way.

Acknowledgements

I first and foremost thank John Kelly, my supervisor. His knowledge on the subject of trade unionism, and his cool but firm belief in the working class stimulated me throughout. It is a pity that he can supervise only as many as five Ph.D students at a time. Otherwise, I would recommend him to every prospective Ph.D student I know.

I thank all those who willingly participated in the survey. I want to tell them I was genuinely thrilled by the degree of interest they showed in the survey. Some unionists helped me collect material which I decided not to include in this thesis. I hope they will not be disappointed. I will make full use of it for further research and I thank them all the same.

I thank my friends who gave me emotional support in these years, not necessarily with the thesis but with my life as a whole. I am especially grateful to Heesu Kim who has been wonderful to me in London. All the best for her work!

I thank the British Government and British Council for the Foreign and Commonwealth Office scholarship which paid the immensely high college fees. I also benefited by an LSE scholarship.

Finally, I would like to take advantage of this occasion to say a word, in writing, to my parents. They are parents who stand by their children in a most productive way; no matter that their children obviously do not live up to their expectations. Or come to think of it, I do not have much idea as to what my parents' expectations about me and my brothers are, except for the most basic ones such as keeping an open mind and open eye. I will do my best to do so.

Chapter 1

Introduction

This thesis was born out of the belief that we can actually affect trade union behaviour through organisational mediation. It is an obvious enough argument. For we all know that every avowed union activist works in the trade-union movement with precisely this intent. Yet, what we may need at the moment when not much work seems to be produced *aiming to change* trade unions as against the never-ending string of publication on firms aspiring to a higher profit or productivity, is the elaboration of the obvious. Trade unions are also organisations, and organisations can change, even their goals, in some aspects. Hence, it is hoped that, by exploring the class nature of trade unions in capitalist society and defining the workings of certain organisational properties, we will come to a better understanding on trade unions and thus assume a strategically better position to stimulate them toward organisations of the working class.

Bearing this aim in mind, the second chapter begins by looking at various assertions on the *fundamental* role of trade unions, the *Trade Union Question*. This age-old debate on whether or not trade unions are essentially integrative to capitalist society is discussed with selective reference to both classical and contemporary literature, and then the most widely held position of the day, i.e., the duality thesis that sees trade unions as permanently oscillating between component of the existing economic system and pressing class interests that basically transcends it, is scrutinised. All these arguments are criticised for failing to bring the possibilities of trade unions to the fore and for treating unions mainly as organisations that react to external stimuli rather than as organisations that generate goals and strategies on their

own initiative. Subsequently some existing studies that have taken an organisational approach to investigate trade unions are discussed on their merits and demerits. They form the basis of this thesis.

The third chapter turns to the question of class consciousness, arguing that class consciousness can be an effective measure of class capacity of both trade unions and their members. In doing so, attitudinal approaches to class consciousness are contrasted with those which view it as something imputed, and subsequently, existing studies on typologies and developmental stages of class consciousness are discussed. Based on these arguments, the concept of class consciousness is reformulated so as to embrace collective and action-oriented aspects of organisational capacities.

The fourth chapter sets out with a short introduction to the history and condition of the Korean trade-union movement, and then moves to analyse the comparative characters and capacities of three national unions at different points of time in Korea, focusing on their capacities to organise, to propagate and to mobilise. The material for assessment consists of their programmes, inaugural manifestos, action platforms, and strategies.

In the fifth chapter, the way in which our class consciousness scale is developed is presented. This is followed by a description of the area of survey, Masan and Changwon, two adjoining industrial cities in southern Korea. Then, the three methods of analysis in the main empirical research of this thesis, namely, questionnaire, text analysis, and interview are depicted, and then some organisational properties, such as factors of unionisation, alliance, 'pure' unionisation, strike experience, union age, size, gender distribution, and nationality of ownership, are selected for comparison. The survey itself

was carried out on 27 unionised and 5 non-union workplaces in 1989.

The sixth chapter describes survey results. Here, the responses to the questionnaire, the class consciousness scale, are statistically analysed with a focus on the distribution patterns. It is shown in this chapter that opinions on workers' solidarity best explains the overall level of class consciousness, and among our pre-selected factors, the clearest difference in class consciousness is found to go along with the Alliance factor, that is, between the workers in allied unions and those in the non-allied. The text analysis of union circulars and interviews with key activists also confirm that the direction and the level of union activity greatly differ between the allied and non-allied.

In the seventh chapter, the implications of the results are examined, highlighting the uneven development of class consciousness and the leadership effect/Alliance factor. The former phenomenon is ubiquitous among different aspects of class consciousness within the individual as well as among different individuals. To explain the latter, i.e, the Alliance factor, various bodies of knowledge are utilised, including social behaviourism in psychology. The implications of other findings, for example, differences in certain aspects of class consciousness in relation to the effects of Gender, Size, Unionisation, Strike and the Nationality of Ownership effect are also discussed.

And finally, the eighth chapter recapitulates the significance of the organisational factors investigated, and is concerned with what has been missed out in the present work, and makes suggestions on possible directions of further studies. The thesis is closed with an emphasis on studies of organisations as filling the gap between individuals and society as a whole and as an effective

ground for conscious effort, and accordingly, an urge to study trade unions as *organisations of class*, with emphasis on both words.

Having sketched the structure of the thesis briefly, here seems a good place to discuss some limitations of it. The most serious limitation is to be found in the fact that this study is not carried out in a longitudinal way while claiming to establish a causal relationship between the organisational properties under investigation and class consciousness. Arguments for causality are bound to be weaker and more vulnerable when their grounds are a cross-sectional analysis. Although I have taken a good deal of caution to ensure no systematic involvement of external and compound variables in selecting the workplaces, unions and the survey area, there must have been some unforeseen and still unknown variables affecting the outcome of this research. Here, I only want to state with some degree of confidence that, thanks to the type of the investigated unions, i.e., enterprise unions without exception, and to their almost complete membership coverage of production workers on the shop floor, the selection effect, for instance, the effect of more class conscious individual workers' seeking to join a more radical union, or the effect of less class conscious workers' remaining outside the union is minimised in this study. In addition, the chances of an individual worker seeking employment with a certain company because the union is radical are thought to be small enough to be disregarded.

A second limitation of this study is that it does not cover all the relevant organisational properties concerning class consciousness. My list of eight properties is far from exhaustive. Apart from the obvious ones, there must be a number of less salient but just as powerful properties developed or conventionalised peculiar to some unions and absent in others. To bring them to the surface, we need to

carry out a thorough search using an ethnographical method. Only insiders with active involvement could track down the 'hidden' properties.

Thirdly, the near exclusion of the management effect adds one more limitation to this study. While management character is not dealt with except for the inclusion of the Nationality of Ownership effect, management undoubtedly plays a crucial role in radicalising trade unions especially at the enterprise level. Although this limitation does not seem to fatally invalidate the main theme of this study, i.e., that there are certain organisational properties of trade unions which help enhance class consciousness, management is what is missed out here in looking into the process of radicalisation of trade unions.

Finally, an excuse is made for the discrepancy between the trade unionism literature and the actual empirical survey. The fact that the former mainly comprises the British, American, and Australian trade unionism whereas the latter is carried out in Korea causes some conceptual as well as technical confusion. I can only say that this way was inevitable due to the lack of literature on Korean trade unionism.

Before moving to the next chapter, I list below the clarifications and specific usages of terms utilised throughout this thesis. While their meanings are expounded in the respective contexts in the main text, this list may help reduce confusion from the outset. In addition, it is to be noted that the actual analyses of unions in this thesis do not always make full use of the concepts as defined below, mainly due to the lack of necessary material of analysis. For instance, the analysis of capacity to mobilise in Chapter 3 does not investigate all the relevant resources that were or were not mobilised, but only those

whose source material was available for investigation.

Capacity to mobilise is measured by the manifest and potential extent of resources, both internal and external to unions, under the collective control of the unions. The resources are mainly comprised of human reserves, but financial and other material resources are also included. While capacity to mobilise is enhanced as a direct result of an increase in capacity to organise and propagate, the former is defined distinctly from the other two types, as extending toward setting in motion the human and material networks external to unions when required.

Capacity to organise is defined as the ability to organise both human resources and the entire spectrum of wage workers' interests. Organising human resources includes numerical growth of membership and the deployment of members for various union activities, while organising interests can be measured by the coverage of union concerns and members' commitment and loyalty to the union.

Capacity to propagate is the extent of a union's ability to reach and influence the general public as well as the membership. Whereas its ability to reach is easy to measure in terms of assessing contacts initiated by the union through leaflets and media coverage in its favour, how influential or persuasive the propagation has been seems less straightforward, as it involves measurements for attitude change on a long term basis.

Class refers to a concept designating an aggregate of people having a common location in the relations of production. In this thesis the term normally refers to the working class, unless specified otherwise.

Class Capacity is defined, adopting Therborn's position (1983), as both the manifest and potential ability of a

given class to act in relation to others and the form of organisation and practice thereby developed. A more conventional definition in a non-relational way may be the organisational and cultural resources which are at the disposal of a class.

Class consciousness, while conventionally defined in either psychological (attitudinal) or philosophical (imputed) terms, is reconceptualised so as to embrace relational and action-oriented aspects. Thus, the term class consciousness in this thesis is used interchangeably with class capacity in general and organisational capacity of class in particular.

Leadership of union, used in this thesis, is loosely and broadly defined so as to include not only the elected executive committee, the union staff workers appointed by the executive committee and the elected lay union representatives who are called in Britain stewards, but also active union members with no office but willing to carry out union-related work on their own initiative. However, other literature discussed in this thesis often uses this term to refer to leadership at national level, and at other times at shop floor level, the distinction must be clear when put into context.

Organisational capacity is one of the observable dimensions of class capacity. Here, it particularly refers to the capacity of trade unions to act in the manner that transforms the basic class relations of capitalism and is measured by the extent to which unions organise, propagate, and mobilise in class terms. While I say 'observable', some aspects of organisational capacity such as capacity to mobilise are not always readily observable except under certain circumstances, for example, in collective action.

Praxis means creative and self-creative activity through

which people produce and change their historical, human world themselves. The term specifically in this thesis refers to two things: the transformative aspirations of trade unions toward a non class-exploitative society and the conscious effort to affect unions in this direction. In this sense, this work as well as the subject matter of it can be regarded as praxis.

Trade unions in this thesis refer to two distinct types of unions. First, in the trade unionism literature, they are almost always industrial unions crossing the physical boundary of individual plants. On the other hand, the trade unions investigated in the main empirical survey of this thesis, are invariably enterprise unions. It is also to be noted that in Korea only one union is allowed in a company.

Unionisation in our empirical survey does not refer to the strengthening process of a union in terms of membership size, but to the certification process of a union. Therefore, unionisation means the establishment/creation of a union.

Chapter 2

The Trade Union Question: What is the fundamental role of trade unions in capitalist society?

The above title of the chapter can be rephrased in several ways: Are trade unions to integrate the whole of society by attempting to soothe the less privileged or, as some of us prefer to call it, the structurally exploited, of the society?; Or, are they merely a pressure group which represents a portion of citizens who have a distinct set of economic interests?; Or still, do they play the role of disintegrator, with or without the intention to strive for a new form of society? The question, different wording perhaps but to the same effect, has been also uttered by some contemporary sociologists (Child, Loveridge, Warner 1973) as follows:

The nature and purpose of trade unions has attracted considerable discussion. Much of this has centred on the question of whether unions do or should function primarily to perform an economic service for their members, or function primarily as agents for social change and as the institutional means for their members to participate more fully in democratic processes (p71).

This problem, approached so differently according to the viewer's political stand, and sometimes called the 'conservative-radical-liberal trichotomy' (Hemingway 1978 p2), is dubbed the Trade Union Question in this thesis.

The Question, thanks to its intuitively interesting and politically important implications, has a long history, almost as long as that of the trade-union organisation itself. It also has generated a great deal of argumentation and many valuable insights, and it is still one of the most weight-carrying questions concerning trade unions. Yet, the Question has rarely been scrutinised with measurable indicators, partly because of research

difficulties inherent in it and partly because of its political sensitiveness that has made it look a means to a certain preoccupied aim to many politically-inclined investigators, let alone politicians. While it is true that the Question is too live and relevant to be left outside politics, it is equally true that the Question is too important for attempted answers to be left fragmented.

In this chapter, I will first discuss various answers to the Trade Union Question, ranging from Marxist to pro-market, and try to categorise them. Then, I will look into the duality thesis whose main line of argument is that trade unions by nature permanently fluctuate, reacting to the changes of the wider economic and political conditions, being a mirror image of capitalism. Finally, I will question the usefulness of posing the Trade Union Question as it is, criticise the lack of practical value of the existing answers, and suggest shifting the research focus to the trade union themselves and to their active role in making out the answer to the Question.

2.1 classical views and contemporary relevance

2.1.1 the Marx-Engels Stream

Marx and Engels had what Hyman (1971) calls an 'optimistic' (p4) view on trade unions, which they did not wholly relinquish despite their occasional disappointments in their later life in the presence of some contrary phenomena which they ascribed to such factors as the labour aristocracy, the relative embourgeoisement of the working class particularly in Britain (Marx 1934 p356), and a malrepresentation of the working class by a few prestigious unions (see Draper 1978 p107). Trade unions, for them, were above all the organisation of the proletariat, and

because the proletariat had every reason to revolt, it was only natural that their organisation was also revolutionary.

The logic of trade unions held by Marx and Engels can be best depicted with the four functions of the union they observed. First, the trade union functions for the defense of immediate economic interests, the function they thought to be limited and only momentary. Engels (1958) observes that 'all these efforts on the part of trade unionists cannot change the economic law by which wages are fixed according to supply and demand in the labour market' (p246).

Why does the proletariat then join the trade union and strike at all in the first place if its function to defend economic interests is only conspicuous by its lack of success? Marx and Engels seem to say that the struggle is instinctive for the oppressed: the second function of trade unions is as an outlet of humanistic motivation. Engels (1958) states, on the question of why the workers go on strike even when it is clear that the stoppage cannot prevent a reduction in wages, that 'they must assert that since they are human beings they do not propose to submit to the pressure of inexorable economic forces' (p247).

The third function of the trade union is to develop class consciousness and is expressed by Marx (1976b) in the following way.

They[trade unions] are the means for uniting the working class, the preparation for the overthrow of the whole society together with its class contradictions (p435).

When he (1976c) differentiates class in itself i.e., 'class as against capital' from 'class for itself'(p211) where the former is a class which has been produced by the given

social relations and exists in an objective way while the latter becomes fully realised only through conscious class struggles, organisational interventions by trade unions or political parties are regarded as a crucial factor to bridge the two different states.

The last, but not least, function of the trade union is its role as the training school and seems closely related to the third, since it is, among other things, the workers' class consciousness that the school tries to enhance. However, the training is not confined to the arena of what is traditionally conceived as class war but also covers the workers' ability to manage themselves during the antagonistic period as well as after. They learn how to fight against the bourgeoisie effectively: they learn how to strike, how to propagate, and how to organise. The union activity provides workers with a military school, but as important as this aspect is that they learn 'administrative and political work' (Engels, cited from Draper 1978 p98). By being actively engaged in the union work, the workers acquire prospects and skills for managing their own societies and they realise that they are able to influence the world through their own organisations.

Based on these four functions of trade unions, Marx and Engels declare (1976b), in *Communist Manifesto*, that the isolation of workers due to competition among themselves, is replaced by their revolutionary combination, due to association, and that wage-labour will subsequently come to end, which is to be achieved through the 'ever-expanding union of the workers' (p493).

Although it is hard to find contemporary commentators and theorists of industrial relations as sanguine of the working class potential as Marx and Engels, for reasons fully stated in the next section, I think two researchers could be enlisted: Hyman and Kelly. Hyman is quite subtle

at putting forward his ideas. His argument is sometimes more inclined to Marx and Engels but at other times to Lenin. Yet discussing his point of view within the Marx-Engels stream seems to do justice to him since he is in the main opposed to the idea that trade unions, if left alone are bound to be reformist, which is the essence of the Leninist view on trade unions.

Hyman (1971) claims that the limits of trade-union consciousness can vary markedly between different historical contexts and can shift radically with only a brief passage of time. While noting problems due to the bureaucracy, collaboration, sectionalism and economism which are present in British trade unions, he maintains that they are not insurmountable, albeit powerful. In his words, while 'an explicit and aggressive commitment of trade unionism to socialist politics would provoke intense and brutal resistance from those who wield social and political power, and most of those in positions of authority in trade unionism, fearing such a confrontation, would do their best prevent any such development, there is nothing *inevitable* about the growth of socialist consciousness, organisation and action' (Hyman 1975 p202 *italics in original*). His main contribution is a recognition that trade unions are at one and the same time part of the problem and part of the solution: they are the former because they can be so easily integrated into capitalism, operating within an environment of hostile forces which condition and distort their character and dynamics; they are the latter because the key importance of any socialist movement should be laid in the place of production.

Kelly's stance is different from that of Hyman in that he attempts to justify the 'apparent economism' in the present British union movement. Kelly (1988) offers five reasons why wages struggle is a central part of trade unionism:

the low income of the majority of the working class; the membership's expectation on annual pay rise; the equation of standard of living with disposable income excluding social and other public services; the demand for a share in the benefits of economic growth; engagement with the pay comparison with workers in a similar sector. He goes on to claim that the Leninist critique of trade union action - that the effects of wages struggle on political class consciousness is at best nil or usually negative - is to be discarded. Having compared the three important strike waves of 1916-22, 1968-74, and 1978-9 in Britain that differed from one to another in consequent style, he tentatively concludes that the wages struggle in and of itself has no pre-determined effects on class consciousness and that emphasises the importance of strike waves in enhancing class consciousness, agreeing with Rosa Luxemburg. His focus then moves to the methods by, and the conditions under which trade union struggles and demands develop class consciousness amongst workers and gives two alternatives: one is a radical union-government partnership; the other is industrial militancy that exerts a forceful impact on politics - he believes that radicalisation of trade unions can be achieved prior to that of their ally in politics.

Having discussed that the firm belief in the working class and its organisations held by Marx and Engels is shared and elaborated by some contemporary industrial relations students like Hyman and Kelly, let us now question what are the grounds for this belief. To put it simply, for Marx and Engels, it was the structural defects inherent in capitalism coupled with the historically imputed task of the proletariat as the universal agency of change that led them to the belief in trade unions. But then, apart from these grounds, investigation into organisational workings of trade unions is almost completely amiss in their arguments on trade unionism.

As for Hyman, although he agrees that there can be no straightforward answer to the question of 'in what sense can unions be regarded as agencies of class struggle, of resistance to capitalism?' for 'trade unionism itself is deeply ambiguous and contradictory' (1989 p224), and acknowledges that, while 'trade unions can never become fully anti-capitalist organisations, socialists can help strengthen their anti-capitalist tendencies' (1989 p251), the question of the ways in which the help can be given is not duly pursued. Similarly, Kelly does not go as far as to explore how trade unions marred by bureaucratic practice, collaborative policy and sectional orientation can internally change and move toward for example a radical union-government partnership.

I conclude thus that despite their competent analyses of capitalism, of trade unionism in the context of industrial relations, and of dynamics of strike waves and union policy, the Marx-Engels stream in the Trade Union Question has on the whole neglected the organisational aspects of unions.

2.1.2 the Leninist stream

A less optimistic view on the role of trade unions was put forward by Lenin, although his argument in relation to trade unions at times appears quite outwardly inconsistent.

What Lenin regarded as most important in the revolutionary movement was an elite armed with revolutionary theory, which he equated with the revolutionary party. Only when they put conscious efforts into the masses - including trade union members - could the masses be revolutionary. In Lenin's view, if the trade unions were left alone as they were, they at best would develop trade-union consciousness which is defined as 'the realisation of the

necessity for combining in unions, fighting the employers, and striving to compel the government to pass necessary labour legislation, etc.' (1929 p115)

Although Lenin never overtly criticised Marx and Engels, he nevertheless entirely rejected the possibility of a spontaneous development of trade unions to a revolutionary organisation of the proletariat, to which Marx and Engels were inclined. For Lenin, the struggle that the trade unions were engaged in was an economic one which was 'the collective struggle against their employers for better terms in the sale of their labour power, for better conditions of life and labour' (1929 p142). As the living and working conditions differ from one trade to another, the struggle to improve them can be nothing more than a trade-union struggle. And trade unions only see the relationship between themselves and their immediate employers not that between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Thus, even though they engage in struggle, their ideology would be subordinated to bourgeois ideology.

Lenin, however, also expresses a favourable view on trade unions in various places: he argues that economic exposures are important in raising class consciousness and a starting point for socialist propaganda (1929 p137-8); that the trade-union struggle is always necessary under capitalism (1930a p355); and that obtaining improvements in living conditions help the working class to participate in the revolutionary movement (1930b p85). And deduced from all these, we can see that Lenin had two positive functions of trade unions in mind; one is a lever to raise class consciousness, and the other, a weapon to protest against employers and to gain economic improvements. Concerning the second function, Lenin was in fact more open-minded about the utility of trade unions for wage increases and shortening of the working day than Marx and Engels and that is partly why he was so vehemently opposed to economism and

reformism. That is to say, although he never thought that any change in social relations would occur through reforms, he did consider reforms to be able to dilute the revolutionary energy in a section of the proletariat rather effectively at least on a temporary basis.

Then the point Lenin stresses can be summed up as follows: trade unions *per se* are not predetermined; they are organisations whose content is to be filled by people with certain intentions; thus, what kind of effects the trade unions are to produce is dependent on their leadership; they have to be led by revolutionary socialists if they are ever to facilitate the overthrow of capitalism. Thus, his trade union question all boils down to the question between subservience to spontaneity or conscious leadership. And in this respect, we may point out as the distinctive features of the Leninist view of trade unions, the necessity of a conscious effort made by revolutionary socialists, the denouncement of economism, and the rejection of union autonomy.

A contemporary view equivalent to that of Lenin is found in Hobsbawm. He claims (1981) that the British trade union movement has lost its soul, its dynamism, and its historical initiative by being preoccupied with economic and narrow-minded wages struggle, albeit militant. In his eyes, this tendency stems from nothing other than the spontaneous characteristic of the British labour movement. According to him, the 'spontaneous' experience of the working class leads it to develop two things: on the one hand a set of immediate demands (e.g., for higher wages) and of institutions, mode of behaviour, etc., designed to achieve them; on the other - but in a much vaguer form and not invariably - a general discontent with the existing system, a general aspiration after a more satisfactory one, and general outline (co-operative against competitive, socialist against individualist) of alternative social

arrangements. He goes on to note that the second group of ideas cannot be full-blown except at the rare moments when the complete overthrow of the existing system appears likely and is immediately practicable. Under conditions of stable capitalism, 'trade union consciousness' is quite compatible with the *de facto* (or even the formal) acceptance of capitalism, unless that system fails to allow for the minimum trade unionist demand of 'a fair day's work for a fair day's pay'. At this point comes a communist party which works as a special mediating factor. Hobsbawm argues that the party can check the trade union movement against drifting into mere reformism and that this conscious intervention is essential except in the rare times of revolutionary crisis.

It is apparent that the Leninist stream does not see, and does not like to see, the trade union as an autonomous organisation. Rather, the real significance of the Leninist view lies, in the insight that the trade union behaviour should be studied in connection with the influence of its ideology and the nature of its leadership, and we will discuss this to a fuller extent later in Chapters 7 and 8.

In the mean time, some criticisms can be made of the Leninist stream. The archi-criticism that the Leninist stream is subject to is that while it is its chief strength in the Trade Union Question that it recognises trade unions as organisations with contents to fill in and goals to develop, the very recognition constitutes its main weakness at the same time: Lenin and Hobsbawm do not pay attention to the fact that, *because and as long as* trade unions are organisations, they have emerged with an original set of goals of their own which, however class-based, can not be simply replaced or overshadowed by revolutionary aspirations from 'outside'. We naturally have to assume a complex interaction between the two within trade unions if

the latter is ever to influence the former, and that is precisely what we need to look into.

Another problem with the Leninist view, related to its antipathy to economistic trade unionism, is the much challenged assertion of the dysfunctional effect of wages struggle on workers' class consciousness; as Kelly (1988) suggests, wages struggle, being an essential and important part of the working class struggle, is not something that can be discarded or dismissed but upon which radical goals should be built.

On the whole, we can conclude that although the Leninist stream may be seen to have made a step forward toward an organisational perspective on the Trade Union Question, if so, it has been done at the expense of some of the very reasons for the trade union existence.

2.1.3 the Webbian stream

The view of Sydney and Beatrice Webb on trade unions (1894, 1920) can be best summarised as industrial reformism. In fact, it may be seen as the view which places the most importance on trade unions in a sense: while they did not see trade unions as a revolutionary institution, they tended to consider them to be the ultimate organisation for protecting the workers' interests in the capitalist society, and indeed in a socialist society as well.

The theory of trade unions enunciated by the Webbs (1920) assumes that there exists an underlying theme developed by the labour organisations as a result of the influence of the prevailing social, political, economic, and cultural norms in a certain epoch. This theme, termed the *doctrine*, accounts for the marked divergence and conflicting policies found in different unions, and the Webbs define three kinds

of doctrine: the Doctrine of Vested Interests, the Doctrine of Supply and Demand, and the Doctrine of a Living Wage (p562-597).

First, the Doctrine of Vested Interests is the assumption that the wages and other conditions of employment hitherto enjoyed by any section of workers ought under no circumstances to be interfered with for the worse and although this doctrine was held by those with a lengthy apprenticeship, its vitality was eventually lost with the advent of large-scale manufacturing and gradually replaced by the Doctrine of Supply and Demand that is on the other hand, based on the assumption that labour is a commodity like any other. This doctrine however, while impelling the workers to opt for the establishment of strong unions and seek to control the supply of labour in a whole industry, instead of relying on individual bargaining, puts the weaker sections in a disadvantageous position. The third and last function, favourably envisaged by the Webbs as the basis of social reformism, is that of a Living Wage which carries the assumption that the best interests and welfare of the community as a whole can only be attained by deliberately securing, for each section of workers, those conditions which are necessary for the continuous and efficient fulfilment of its particular function in the social machine.

The Webbs further their argument by declaring that the three doctrines should be reconsidered on the basis of the one most important criterion: democracy. The complete acceptance of democracy, with its acute consciousness of the interests of the community as a whole, and its insistence on equality of opportunity for all citizens, will lead to the abandonment of the first doctrine, the modification of the second, and the far-reaching extension and development of the third.

Subsequently, the Webbs uniquely specified three branches of industrial administration: the determination of the commodities and services to be produced; the adoption of material, the choice of processes, and the selection of human agents; and, the settlement of the conditions under which the human beings are to be employed. According to the Webbs, the first branch belongs to the consumers, the second is the business of managers and it is the third that is claimed to be the sovereign territory of the workmen. They maintained that one section should not interfere with another whereas no section wielded controlled sway even in its own sphere because above all these sections stood the community itself.

From the foregoing analysis, the Webbs deduce that trade unionism was not merely an incident of the present phase of the capitalist industry, but had a permanent function to fulfil in the democratic state since unions would have to protect their members in many ways that could not be cared for by an external organisation or power. Especially as the Webbs regarded as past the notion of a governing class and its exploitation of the lower class as early as 1897. A new *raison d'être* for the activities of trade unions was logically in sight for them.

A number of researchers have supported the notion of industrial reformism enunciated by the Webbs, even though none of them seems to match the calibre of the latter in terms of their scope of society. One of the better known arguments in this stream has been put forward by Freeman and Medoff (1984) of the Harvard Business School. By emphasising the positive effects of trade unions on the workplace and the society as a whole, they have shown a favourable image of trade unions to the American public and academia who have long been inundated with the opposite, that is, anti-union theories. Those in this position have come to be called "the Harvard School" in whom we can

detect a considerable similarity to the Webbs in shedding light on the reformist role of trade unions.

Having conducted a good deal of empirical research that has produced a positive correlation between unionisation and productivity of the firm, the Harvard School starts its argument by noting that trade unions have two faces: the monopoly face and the collective voice/institutional response face. The monopoly face is used to raise wages above competitive levels, and assuming that the competitive system works perfectly, these wage increases have harmful economic effects, reducing the national output and distorting the distribution of income.

In terms of the other face, trade unions are an effective means of communicating median employee preferences and problems to employers. The collective voice/institutional response face, therefore, can improve managerial and overall organisational efficiency, and thus the general functioning of the economy. In more detail, the collective nature of trade unionism fundamentally alters three things: first, the operation of the labour market by responding to a different set of preferences some of which might well be structurally missed in a non-union setting; second, the labour contract by appropriately and collectively considering the sum of preferences for work conditions that are common to all workers; and third, the social relations of the workplace by curtailing management power within enterprise and thus better enforcing workers' rights. The Harvard School tentatively suggests that the last aspect, that is, the enhanced union ability to enforce labour agreements, creates the possibility for the first and second aspects, i.e., changes in the operation of labour market and the nature of the labour contract subsequently.

The conclusion of the Harvard School is as follows: in relation to company politics, the monopoly effect of union,

i.e., the wage effect, seems to offset or dominate the collective voice effect, which may well not be welcome by the management of an individual firm; yet, regarding the public goods and market economy as a whole, not a specific company, a strong union movement¹ plays a positive role for what is good for the overall society, but not necessarily in harmony with what is desired by the individual firm.

I will first make two individual criticisms on the Webbs and the Harvard School for their respective works, one for each, and then turn to the Trade Union Question. For all its logical exposition, the Webb's view of trade unions is rather fragile, mainly due to the character of what they see as the supreme criterion on union doctrines, namely, democracy. Being basically social utilitarian², the Webbs argue that democracy has to be based on 'expert opinion' which is never to be opposed and is to dictate in a most thorough way what the community want (1920 p823). This is in effect a combined form of the elitist model and

¹It is noteworthy however that the Harvard School takes a conditional stand as to what a strong labour movement is and how strong it is to be. While advising against the "union-free" economy, the School also believes that 100 percent unionisation would be undesirable for the US economy. The School ideally maintains that 'there should be a sufficient number of union and of nonunion firms to offer alternative work environments to workers, innovation in workplace rules and conditions, and competition in the [labor] market' (1984 p250).

²The following is how Crowley (1987) analyses the Webbs' philosophical stance. "The Webbs see man essentially selfish, rational utility-maximiser. [Their] argument is that human being make the most of themselves by efficiently filling their role in the social machine, thereby both maximising production and establishing an equal claim to the package of utilities necessary for occupying that role" (p139).

the regulatory model³ biased toward the latter, which does not have a built-in mechanism of accountability, endowing experts with disproportionate power on the ground of their supposedly better-equipped minds. What is most seriously flawed with the notion of democracy as the criterion for trade union aims and purposes is, however, that it is in fact not compatible with the social reformism of the Webbs. For social reform, if it is to be achieved at all, cannot but follow implicit and explicit power-ridden confrontations as far as industrial relations is concerned where the parties hold structurally conflicting interests against each other. It is simply not realistic to presume that "neutral" arbitration by experts could bring forth social reform.

One weakness in the Harvard School research is that it is essentially union-centric, largely ignoring such crucial factors of the dependent variable, i.e., productivity, as management directives, government policy, and cultural variables. Criticisms derived from later empirical studies that have failed to substantiate the Harvard School's argument have noted as a serious problem the omission of a cultural variable (Toner 1985) and organisational factors (Addison and Barnett 1982) in their model. A warning against single-factor analysis of research object as complex as industrial relations may be found in Metcalf's article (1991).

Union membership and density is determined by the complex interaction of five factors: the macroeconomic climate, the composition of jobs and

³The elitist model of capitalist democracy assumes that the public sphere is legitimately and quite overtly dominated by influential minorities whereas the regulatory model assumes that the task of government is to use expert knowledge in order to minimise social tension and optimise economic growth (Smith 1990).

the workforce, the policy of the state, the attitude and conduct of employers, and the stance taken by unions themselves. Recent studies examining the fall in membership in the 1980s have focused on the business cycle, industry mix, and industrial legislation. Unfortunately the authors tend to push their own favoured factor largely to the exclusion of the other influences (p22).

To return to the Trade Union Question, the Webbian stream of trade unionism does not agree with the view that the role of unions is anti-Establishment. On the contrary, the Webbs and the Harvard School suggest that trade unions, working as a corrective to the existing social system, can and will make society better, and in other terms, more resilient. We can assume, therefore, that in the eyes of these social reformists, a furtherance of class cleavages is not a likely consequence of trade union activity.

Also characteristic to the Webbian stream is that it, while concentrating on the outcomes of trade unionism, ignores the enormous variations between unions and the possibility that any conflicts present within the organisations might change their path. Related to this lacunae is that the role of trade unions the Webbian stream conceives is based on an almost mechanical view on both historical and decision-making processes. Therefore, we can conclude that, although the Webbian stream grants trade unions the role of social reformer, in this given role trade unions are supposed to play cards according to a given set of rules, and moreover, in unison.

2.1.4 the Gramscian stream

There is a trend of thought among Marxists that trade unions are a fire extinguisher on revolution, an integrator of the existing social system. Gramsci (1978, 1977) is the one who held the most pessimistic view on trade unions as far as their role in revolutionary movement is concerned:

he had no hope in them on the basis of their origin, ideology, structure, and function. Although he developed a sophisticated theory of factory council as an alternative to the trade unionism, it will not be the focus of this thesis since it is thought that his conception of factory councils, to be actualised, entails an already-advanced class consciousness in a matured revolutionary atmosphere.

The origins of trade unions, according to Gramsci, is very capitalistic, pursuing the aim to secure in the interests of the proletariat, the maximum price for the commodity labour, and to establish a monopoly over the commodity. The basic character of trade unions is accordingly competitive and their ideology is not objectively different from that of a commercial company.

The internal structure of trade unions is also negative in relation to the enhancement of a revolutionary movement. The structure is divided into two parts: a trusted administrative personnel and the rank-and-file. Due to this division, the latter do not sense that their will to power is expressed clearly and precisely. The trade unions institutionalise the hierarchies where 'the machine crushes and the bureaucracy crushes any creative spirit' (Gramsci 1977 p98).

Another very important factor that reduces trade unions to nothing but a 'pressure group' lies in their function itself. Being in a position of carrying out collective bargaining whose immediate aim is a settlement and an agreement, the officials of trade unions need to acquire expert knowledge on commercial laws, conditions of a contract, methods of calculating company profits and deficits and so on. With these 'competent' officials, the fundamental aim of trade union becomes, not the transformation of society but a compromise with it. private property is seen as something invincible and

irrefutable, and the agreement made by the employer and the trade union is 'respected' - considered to be based on legality - by both sides.

With all the foregoing aspects, trade unions come to be regarded as a necessary component of the Establishment and a useful body for the capitalists. In other words, a trade union comes to be considered an organisation that makes discipline and the smooth flow of production possible in the factory. Without them, the employers would be confused about how they should go about negotiating: trade unions have the official representativeness that conveniently suits the employers.

It appears, at first sight, as if Gramsci predicted the harmfulness of trade unions without any qualification. However, it is also seen that he hesitated to go that far. He noted as much as 'the trade union is not a predetermined phenomenon. It *becomes* a determinate institution, i.e., it takes on a definite historical form to the extent that the strength and will of the workers who are its members impress a policy and propose an aim that define it' (Gramsci 1977 p265). Still, if they are so unpredictable and unreliable in the process of working class emancipation, why, Gramsci asks, would we have to adhere to them?

Thus, it seems reasonable to conclude that Gramsci's point of view highlights the need for a new kind of institution that can supersede the hegemony of capitalism which penetrates into trade unions. For him, trade unions are organically incapable of overthrowing capitalist society.

They[trade unions] are in a sense an integral part of capitalist society, and have a function that is inherent in a regime of private property... The trade union is essentially competitive, not communist character. It cannot be the instrument for a radical renovation of society (Gramsci 1977 p99)

Aronowitz, an American New Left, appears to be in line with Gramsci as far as his pessimism about the role of trade unions is concerned. Summing up the strike waves in the late 1960's in the U.S.A., Aronowitz (1973) declares that unions are no longer in a position of leadership in workers's struggles. Although for most workers the trade union still remains the elementary organ of defence of their immediate economic interests, according to him, it has also evolved into a force for integrating the workers into the corporate capitalist system.

Aronowitz notes that there are obligations in the collective bargaining agreement by which trade unions are supposed to abide in order to be treated as a "respectable and responsible" organisation, and which in fact bind the unions to the hegemonic superstructure of capitalism (Aronowitz 1973 p217). He counts four obligations of that kind: first, the promise not to strike, except under specific conditions, or at the termination of the contract; second, a bureaucratic and hierarchical grievance procedure consisting of many steps during which the control over the grievance is systematically removed from the shop floor and from workers' control; third, a system of management prerogatives wherein the union agrees to cede to the employer the operation of the employer's facilities and the direction of the working forces; and last, a "checkoff" of union dues as an automatic deduction from the workers' paychecks.

Aronowitz goes on to argue that the modern labour agreement is the principal instrument of class collaboration between the trade unions and the corporations and that the role of collective bargaining is to provide a rigid instrumental framework for the conduct of the class struggle, all of which strongly echoes Gramsci's argument.

While admitting to some extent that trade unions perform a

defensive role during the periods when growing capitalist instability forces employers to launch an offensive against workers' living standards and working conditions, Aronowitz stresses that the trade union structure has become less able to solve elementary defensive problems along with its function, the structure of trade unions based on the close ties between unions and corporations has resulted in more freedom for capital on the one hand, and more constraints in the agreement on the workers' side.

Discerning not only the bureaucracy and conservatism inherent in the present union organisation but also the overall decline of the rank-and-file initiative, Aronowitz makes a noteworthy point: the most important issue to be addressed in defining the task ahead is not the question of inflation, wages, or general economic conditions; no matter how inequitable the distribution of income, no matter how deep the crisis, these conditions will never by themselves, be the soil for revolutionary consciousness. Downplaying the role of economic conditions in which the classical Marxists so adherently believed, Aronowitz emphasises the role of practice and goes on to pronounce that 'the transformation of the working class from one among many competing interest groups to capitalism's revolutionary gravedigger depends on whether working class practice can be freed from the institutions which direct its power into bargaining and participation with corporate structure and can move instead toward workers' control' (1973 p261). Aronowitz, however, unlike Gramsci, does not afford an alternative form of class organisation, trusting it to be developed in the course of spontaneous revolt carried out by racial minorities and the unorganised.

To sum up the Gramscian stream, we can single out the main theme in its argument on the Trade Union Question: far from taking up a leadership role toward radical social change, what is more likely is that trade unions undermine the

revolutionary spirit, though not decisively. Compared to the preceding streams on the Question, the Gramscian stream commands a credit for bringing the structure, ideology and functions of trade unions under analysis. Yet, it is still open to the criticism that the variations in different trade unions, the widely divergent union characters are largely overlooked, and that likewise the *possibilities* of trade unions are never explored. While acknowledging that its frustration with trade unions is not wholly ungrounded in the face of the ever-present co-optive tendency, we can still argue that the Gramscian stream comes short of bringing the internal contradictions and conflicts of the organisations to the fore and that it fails to make an advance toward developing a 'union strategy'. This may seem unfair to Gramsci who put forward an alternative to trade unions, i.e., factory councils. The criticism is still valid in my opinion, for our starting point in union study should be the acceptance of the existence of trade unions, especially when they are deeply embedded in capitalism. On this score Gramsci is guilty of negating what is not easily negated in reality.

2.1.5 the Simonsian stream

Thus far, I have discussed only those who hope to see trade unions active, irrespective of whether they actually believe in them or not. In this sense, the thesis of trade unions put forward by Henry C. Simons is distinct from all the fore-mentioned in that he envisages the decline of capitalism - or as he would call it, democratic liberalism - on the sole basis of over-powering trade unions. Thus, he could have been categorised as a syndicalist if he had liked the future he anticipated. In fact, he was content with the U.S. economic and political systems of the 1940's provided that the systems would successfully undermine the encroachment of trade unions. It was on this point he was

extremely pessimistic - the political system of the U.S.A., being democratic and therefore supposed to grant the right to organise, would not be able to block the inroad of trade unions. Simons called this situation "an awful dilemma".

According to Simons (1944), the economic powers that trade unions abuse are basically two kinds: strike power and monopoly power. The former originates in the trade union position that can at any time interrupt or stop the whole flow of social incomes. If trade unions persist in exercising that power, the system must soon break down. The latter is more insidious and gradual, and is caused by consistently demanded wage rates which are set against these two dangers - total disruption and gradual extermination - so governments should place effective limitations on the exercise of the powers of trade unions.

Yet, in Simons' eyes, it is not at all straightforward to implement these limitations when the governments concerned are democratic. The trade unions, even though they represent only sectional interests and they themselves are a minority, are a mass minority that has enough power to run counter to the public interests and even the national interests. And, democratic governments appear to be nearly impotent to enforce laws against mass minorities, even if majority opinion permitted it. At this stage, Simons maintained that the institutions of political democracy and trade unionism were not compatible: democracy cannot live with tight occupational monopolies; and it cannot destroy them, once they attain great power, without destroying itself in the process.

Similar warnings on trade unions, although less extreme than those of Simons, have been uttered by Milton Friedman, and his wife Rose. According to their argument (1980), unions are wholly monopolistic, harming not only consumers but also other workers, for the gains that strong unions

win for their members are primarily at the expense of other workers.

The Friedmans specify three sources of union power: first, they reduce the number of jobs available by enforcing a high wage rate; second, they directly restrict the number who may pursue an occupation; third, unions sometimes gain power by helping business enterprises combine to fix prices or share markets, activities that are illegal for business under antitrust laws. The Friedmans go on to insist that all the three sources of union power refute the myth that the higher wages in the unionised sector are at the expense of profit. Although unions often do provide useful services to their members, to do so, they basically need the sacrifice of the national economy and of the majority's wellbeing.

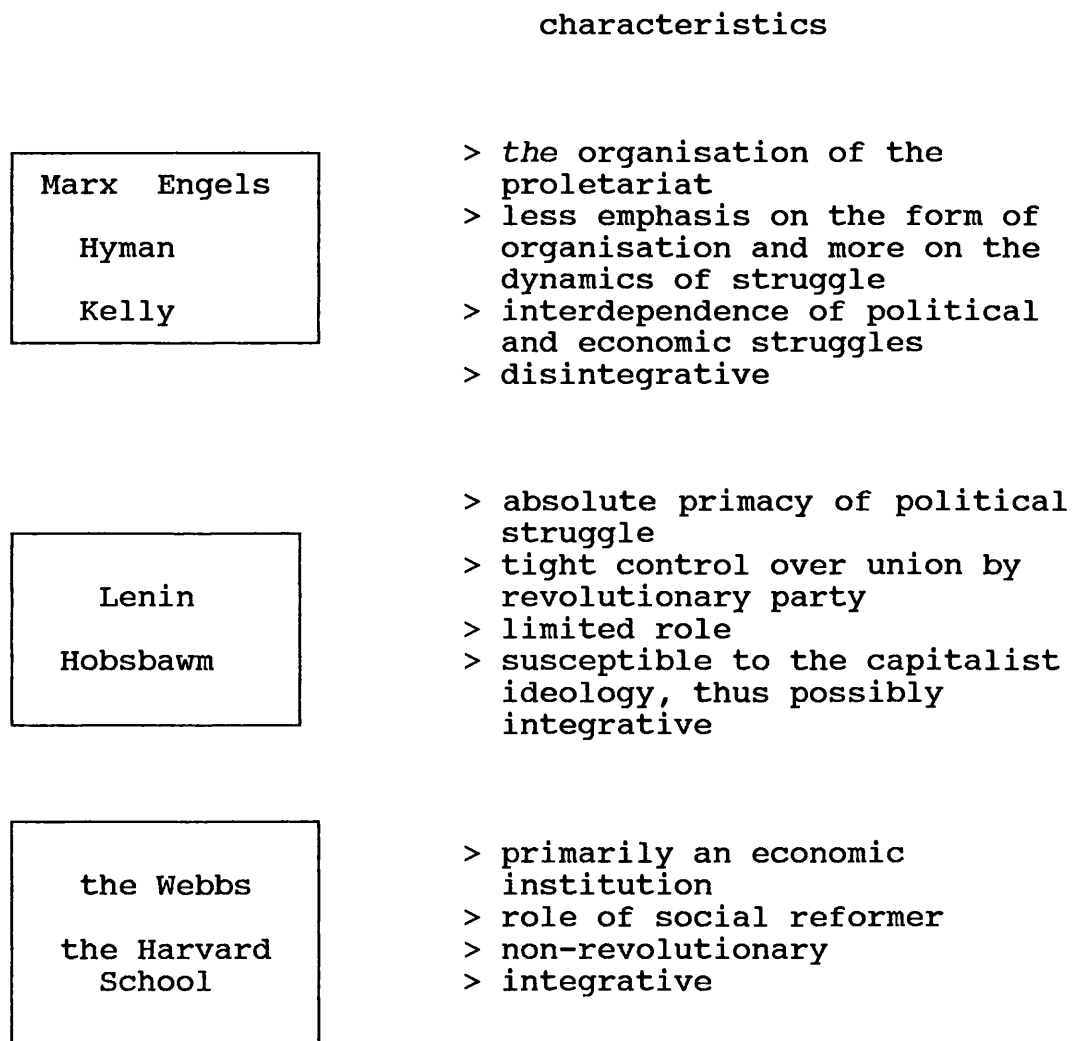
This thesis of pernicious monopoly makes at least three points in relation to the Trade Union Question: firstly, unions are, or will be, powerful enough to disrupt the whole economic system, if not interrupted; secondly, the interests of trade unions are sectional, and therefore, nothing to do with class interests, let alone the interests of the whole society; finally, the possible shattering of the Establishment caused by trade unions will not be the intentional result of trade union leaders or membership actions.

The above arguments lead us to take the Simonsian stream primarily not as a systematic observation but as a political indictment. As for organisational approach, Simons and the Friedmans obviously did not see that it was necessary to probe into the inside of the organisations, regarding them as something like cancer cells about which the imperative is 'Wipe them out at all costs!'. This analogy of cancer cell is also relevant since the Simonsian stream views trade unions as intentless; once established,

the locomotor of the one and original function of unions will unstoppably force them toward one single goal: a higher wage.

Having made a selective exposition and critique of the various answers to the Trade Unions Question, highlighting their common lack in organisational concern, I will at this stage attempt to draw a genealogical tree of the different views on trade unionism.

Figure 2.1.1 the Genealogy of the Trade Union Question



Gramsci
Aronowitz

- > structurally, functionally, and ideologically defective
- > disbelief in any positive role in revolutionary process
- > unpredictable but likely to be integrative

Simons
the Friedmans

- > pernicious monopoly
- > incompatible with liberal democracy
- > represents sectional, not class interests
- > destructive and disintegrative unwittingly

2.2 the duality of union activity and beyond

The role of trade unions, as seen in the foregoing section, has been much and variably disputed. So has the level of their achievements. For example, those who first and foremost consider the role of unions to be an economic shield of the working class tend to assess their achievement as satisfying:

Trade unions, by doggedly sticking to their immediate ends and refusing to be captured and exploited by any political party, have gradually transformed society (Flanders p27 1985).

Especially if the trade union movement is seen to have significantly contributed to the bringing of the welfare state and the latter to have resulted in very substantial change in capitalism, so much so that property ownership has come to play a minor role in determining the economic control and political power in the society (Crosland 1967), trade unions can be thought to have achieved not only economic aims but also political ones.

Yet, if it is believed that the role of trade unions lies with the socialist transformation of capitalist society, and that the welfare state is nowhere near it in terms of the pervasive poverty, the power concentration, the growing gap between the top and bottom of the wealth scale, and above all, the continuing of wage labour, the achievement of trade unionism is evaluated to be dismal. In what is following, I will examine the prevailing thesis of union role, i.e., the thesis of union duality, borne by constant disappointments in the non-revolutionary behaviour of the trade union, and attempt to explore a way to go beyond that thesis.

The thesis of union duality basically states that unions have the face of Janus for they work to perpetuate the existing system but also operate to undermine it. Trade unions, as Beier (1977) identifies, have shown two functional trends historically: (A) The elevation of the class situation of the workers within the prevailing social-economic-political system, i.e., the pressing of class interests to improve wages, conditions, social policy and so on; (B) The abolition of class society, which means in practice the elimination of the commodity character of labour, the maintenance of labour productivity with the simultaneous establishment of human dignity in the workplace, in society, and in the state.

That trade unions oscillated between these seemingly contradictory functions has been studied within what can be called the fundamental sociological status of trade unions in a capitalist society which renders unions both 'limits and possibilities'. Anderson (1967), in an article succinctly depicting the duality of unions, first clarifies the key aspects of trade union limitations as follows: being an essential part of a capitalist society, trade unions, as institutions, do not challenge the existence of society based on a division of classes, they merely express

it; trade unions, taking on the natural hue of the closed, capital-oriented environment of the factory, are a passive reflection of the organisation of the workforce; the efficacy of its maximum weapon against the system, i.e., the strike, is very limited by nature - it is fundamentally an economic weapon which easily boomerangs if used on terrain for which it is not designed; trade unions by themselves produce only a sectoral base for a socialist movement and accordingly they have only a sectoral, corporate consciousness and a sectoral power-potential, i.e., their control of labour power.

Having listed the limitations of trade unionism, Anderson then puts forward the reason why trade unions are resilient: because trade unions are produced and reproduced automatically by social conditions they cannot be totally assimilated into the society, to the point of disappearing as a differential force at all. Therefore, so goes the logic, whatever the degree of collaborationism of trade union leaders, there remains a future for trade unions, and for Anderson himself, the introduction of the centralised incomes policy which must bring together economic and political struggles is believed to force to see the potential of trade unions.

Yet, it is overly simplistic to equate the thesis of union duality with the statement that trade unions are to be interpreted as institutions within the capitalist system which can, under specific economic and political conditions, transcend it. For the thesis itself has changed its hues and tones according to times and circumstances. Especially the disillusionment with the potential of the working class on the whole, later named New Left (Aronowitz 1973, 1983; Braverman 1974; Ehrenreich and Ehrenreich 1976; Gorz 1982; Katznelson and Zolberg 1986) has reflected and contributed to the shift of emphasis from the anti-systemic to the systemic aspect of

trade unions within as well as beyond the boundary of the duality thesis, as exemplified in Erd and Scherrer (1985).

Both sides[employers and unions] have an interest in continuous economic growth, one because it is the precondition for capitalist accumulation, and the other, because it is a requirement for successful interest representation. There is also a consensus between the two sides that stable cooperative relations are best guaranteed through legal agreements. Lastly, - and only then are these claims plausible - both employers and unions have a common interest in the preservation of the capitalist mode of production, the former for obvious reasons and the latter because that mode of production is basis for their organisational existence, and with its transformation their fate would be uncertain or they would become superfluous altogether (p120).

Although the authors neither agree on an interpretation of unions as institutions of capital nor predict that they will become socially meaningless organisations, they are under firm conviction that the interests of unions are inseparable from the capitalist development, as clearly shown in crises.

Against the tendency amongst Marxist scholars who still lay their hopes in the existence of latent potentiality of unions, Erd and Scherrer, to substantiate their assertion, give as empirical evidence the German case that in its 150 years of existence, capitalism in Germany has always received support from trade unions in economically and politically difficult situations, which practically eliminates the possibility for unions joining a revolutionary tide, once becoming forceful, to uproot capitalist social relations.

Bearing in mind that any answer to the Trade Union Question has to be time-bound as well as space-bound, the overall picture, at least in advanced capitalist countries, and at least on the surface, seems to tell us that the trade unionism of the moment is more similar to an interest group

than to a social movement: the trade union is more engrossed in representing sectional interests than concerning the change of society; solidarity, if ever sought after, is viewed as a means for a common gain that can be dissolved after the gain has been attained; negotiation is favoured over militancy, demands are pre-assessed on the ground of the likelihood of getting accepted by the employer, and the conduct of industrial relations generally shifts 'away from adversarial approaches towards the generation of commitment' (Edwards 1992 p361).

What is also daunting in addition to its apathy toward common cause with the working class, is that trade unions, even as an interest group, are largely on the defensive in recent years. Some statistics of the Group of Seven industrialised countries (G7) are shown below.

Table 2.2.1 Aggregate union density rates(%) in the G7 countries, 1970-1989

	'70	'80	'89
Canada	31	35	35
France	22	19	12
Germany (FR)	33	37	34
Italy	36	49	40
Japan	35	31	27
UK	45	51	42 ^a
USA	30	23	16

Notes: Data include employed workers only.

^a: 1988

Source: Visser (1991)

Considering this downturn, or even the 'dissolution' as declared by some scholars (Phelps-Brown 1990 p11), of the labour movement in the Western world as well as the recent mass uprisings leading to the overthrow of the so-called communist regimes in Eastern Europe, it is only natural that the millenarians of capitalism beam with confidence

whereas the remaining socialists of *fin de siecle* struggle to find a way out, this is expressed by one socialist as follows;

A hundred and twenty-five years after Lassalle, and a hundred years after the founding of the Second International, the socialist and labour parties are at a loss as to where they are going. Wherever socialists meet they ask one another gloomily about the future of our movement... Certainly we in the socialist movement are only scratching our heads as we face the future, for we appear to be entering a land for which our guidebooks ill equip us (Hobsbawm 1989 p159).

As Lipietz (1989) observes, capitalism appears to regenerate through its own crisis, while aborted revolutions and successful reforms appear to have done 'their part in convincing people (who had the option of either being delighted or regretful) that doubt may be quite a reasonable attitude (p59)'. Doubt itself is, in my opinion, a good thing, an indispensable process for constructing the future. If doubt prevails in the Marxist camp, we can at least set aside the long-standing accusation that 'the Marxist interpretation of history is an act of faith immune to reason' (Seldon 1990 p189).

Yet, I do not think that faith is a bad thing either; in fact, it is another indispensable ingredient for constructing the future. Therefore, what I do not agree with is the so-called rationalist assertion that faith and doubt are entirely incompatible. On the contrary, they are essential to each other: faith cannot survive and definitely cannot be actualised without constant doubt that reminds the former of the reality whereas doubt alone leads nowhere, only leaving us with heaps of 'observations' and 'descriptions'. We have only to remember that we are to be equipped for two requirements; 'the necessary demand of judgmental and interpretative qualities on the part of the social scientist, and a willingness to sift through the evidence that may lead to conclusions that he or she would

prefer not to reach' (Eldridge 1973 p182).

The discussions on the various answers to the Trade Union Question and then on the duality thesis as the predominant position of the day held by many scholars irrespective of their political ideology, lead us to a conclusion: while a difference is detected to some extent in that those included in the genealogy of the Trade Union Question tend to *predict* the fate of trade unions more readily, compared to those on the duality side who are more hesitant to predict and happier to stick to a description of the present trade unionism as it is, they basically share a common hiatus - a general disregard for the internal dynamics of trade unions as organisations. And the most serious result from this disregard is that ways in which the possibilities of trade unions can be actualised is left unexplored. In the remaining part of this chapter, I will discuss some researchers who have contributed toward an exploration of the possibilities of trade union at organisation level.

2.3 the future of the Trade Union Question

In this section, I first deal with the dubious viability of answering the Trade Union Question, and selectively present and assess some of those who have made an organisational inquiry into trade unions, suggesting the take up of a more viable and practically minded area, i.e., organisational approach.

The problem that is most difficult to surmount in answering the Trade Union Question, is the sheer complexity and vastness of what constitutes the answer: the Question must be analysed in the context of the given social and economic conditions which never remain unchanged over time, not to

mention the organisational dynamics of trade unions themselves. If we imagine that there were a regression equation where Y denotes, say, a social change in capitalist society and each X denotes a variable in the change, the Xs would parade on forever. Moreover, because trade union movement is also an expression of other factors, it would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to single out the "exclusive" effect of trade unions in social change.

A second problem arises as soon as we try to look underneath our question; can we set a criterion which differentiates the supposed role of trade unions from the actual role? For example, a union under management-controlled leadership might wind up unwittingly promoting the overthrow of the existing economic system by suppressing the masses' underlying desires beyond endurance.

A third problem lies in the interpretation of Y, i.e., social change, in our fictitious equation. What do we mean by social change? How are we supposed to handle, for instance, the distinction put forward by Parsons (1951) between "change within a system" and "change of a system" (pp480-482)? Unless we make it certain as to what the prediction, i.e., social change, means we cannot reliably proceed further.

A fourth problem is related to the measurement and indicators of the union role. Even though the influence of trade unions is found to take one direction decisively rather than another, with what indicators do we measure how much influence they exert? Some available indicators, among many, are the voting behaviour of the membership, the union density, the content of union circulars, the rhetoric of leaders, the cognitive style of the rank and file, the typology of struggles and the number of strikes, but their

mutual relationships are often complementary as well as conflicting. None of the indicators is so comprehensive as to tell us about social trends at large, and therefore, is able to provide us with a clear-cut picture.

In a nut shell, the Trade Union Question cannot be answered in a sweeping formulaic way. Too many variables are involved both expectedly and unexpectedly, and the Question is of too contingent a nature to be furnished with a consistent answer across different societies and times. It is also absolutely pointless to place the Question in a vacuum as if trade unions are independent of their surroundings; that is, as if unions have one and the same organisational nature fixed no matter what conditions they are in.

Noting the list of formidable, if not insurmountable, difficulties involved in answering the Trade Union Question, we might well now be justified in doubting the methodological viability of the Question. But perhaps more seriously, we have to consider the problem that the practical value of the Question is not at all easily graspable. Where do those diagnostic statements as to the trade union, much too assertive and much too general in form as well as in content, leave us? Insightful as they are, what the various answers to the Trade Union Question, irrespective of the extreme diversity in their political implications and of the varying degrees of rigour in their background research, basically iterate is more of polemics than of scientific analysis. Although the Question has been tackled in many different ways and a great deal of understanding of trade unions has been accumulated in the process of answering it, the answers themselves may not have made a positive contribution but distorted the whole picture. For they convey the general impression that trade unions are mainly organisations reacting to the external stimuli, overlooking that they are also organisations

generating their strategies on their own initiatives. We are inundated with statements as to what trade unions are, or what they are destined to be, but the questions of what they can be and how they can be what they can be are thus far insufficiently explored.

At this stage, I suggest an approach that is methodologically more viable as well as more useful and relevant to the development of unions: study of unions as organisations in capitalist society. I will now examine some work carried out in this approach from whose problems and weaknesses the main direction of this thesis is conceived.

The first work that is discussed is Blackburn's study of union character (1967). To put it simply, his research was carried out with the aim to test a formula: *unionisation = unionateness * completeness*. Unionisation here refers to the process of increasing strength of unionism in a given field, or to the level the process has reached; completeness is defined as the proportion of potential members of an organisation who are actual members; unionateness regards the level of commitment of an organisation to the general principles and ideology of trade unionism. Defining the last concept, i.e., unionateness, Blackburn favours a utilisation of several operational items (p18-19) over an application of such dichotomy as the ideological/instrumental distinction employed by Lockwood (1958), on the ground that the latter type of distinction is often unclear and awkward to quantify.

One serious disagreement that I have with Blackburn's study concerns his painstakingly developed definitions of two concepts: unionateness and unionisation. First, his definition of unionateness is unsatisfactory for the underlying assumption is that unions are at best a shield

for the economic interests of their members and their characters can be classified according to how tough their shield is. Derived from this assumption none of the seven items measuring unionateness, namely, collective bargaining and allied activities, independence of employers, militancy, declaring itself to be a trade union, registration as a trade union, affiliation to the Trade Union Congress, and Labour Party affiliation is actually geared to detect a trace of transformative orientation in a union. In my opinion, even for the bank clerks' associations in his study which are known to be less class conscious and less militant than manual workers, a measure of union character should consist of an item to spot the level of transformative orientation which can be expressed not only in obvious class terms but also in a general concern for a better society.

My dissatisfaction with the other problematic term, unionisation, is directly linked to the definition of the first: if the concept unionisation is to be regarded as 'the measure of the *social significance* of unionism' (p14 italics added) at all, it should be able to measure how far the union's interests and concerns extend over and above its trade or profession boundary, albeit very occasionally expressed. Otherwise, it would miss out a very important aspect of the social significance of unionism.

Beynon's fascinating account of the shop floor workers in the Ford Motor Company in Britain (1984, first published in 1973) is one of pioneering and lasting inspiration for organisational investigations. Criticising the 'scientific' examiners for cutting themselves off from the subject of their writing, Beynon tried to overcome this contrived isolation by presenting a book whose pages are 'made up of the activity and conversation of men and women in the pub, the factory, on the picket line or in their homes, combined in an attempt to describe the lives that

people lead when they work on the shop floor of a large car factory; to outline the crises they encounter and the way in which they try to make sense of them and the world they live in' (p9).

Despite its richness and depth, Beynon's study is subject to the main limitation inherent in any case study: it is hard to place it in a more general and structured perspective. And when it comes to the organisational diversity of trade unions, he does not offer much. While he describes in considerable detail the existence and importance of social processes including strikes, in which leaders are made, struggles developed, and trade union ideology shaped, it still remains to be found out why the car workers who were at the centre of the class struggle in the 60's in Britain, were 'not able to link their struggles positively with those of other workers'(p369), and what differences would occur when workers were.

A similar comment can be applied to his later work with Nichols on the shop floor of ChemCo, the giant multinational chemical company (Nichols and Beynon 1977): while they note the workers perception of their union as a service organisation, their frustration with the business-like union and with most of the socially established ways of doing things, their ideological detachment from the hegemonic embrace of capital (p156-166), the questions of how and why union-related situations and perceptions differ, and of how the thus-far unorganised resistance rooted in workers' exasperation can be organised are still left to be tackled.

Among the divergent interests in organisational workings of trade unions, the study of leadership stands out as one of the most elaborated areas, and the elaboration is much indebted to Batstone, Borastone and Frenkel (1977). As Benson (1991 p31) comments, Batstone *et al.* were the first

to make an attempt to relate the various types of shop stewards to the way in which stewards led their members and the sorts of goals which they attempted to pursue. Their general aim was to describe and analyse how shop stewards and their members act within the workplace as trade unionists, and particularly they were concerned with the organisational aspects of shop steward behaviour. To categorise leadership style, they developed a four-fold typology of shop steward behaviour: leader, nascent leader, populist, and cowboy (p34-5). Underpinning this typology are the concepts of power and trade union ideology on which those in the category of 'leaders' will attempt to utilise all forms of power and will primarily rely on the broad acceptance of a particular ideology for the control of their members.

Yet, while it should be appreciated that Batstone and his collaborators have made a meticulous delineation of the processes of leader-member interaction on the shop floor, the *outcomes* of the interaction of various types are left unveiled. This omission is also true, though to a lesser degree, of their subsequent study on strikes (1978) which, despite its careful enumeration of means and conditions of strike definition, largely leaves out the question of how strikes variably affect the participants. And especially with respect to how and under what conditions the unity, collectivity and efficacy of the domestic organisations, which I will define as organisational capacity/class consciousness in the following chapter, come to be influenced, they state that it is 'beyond the scope' (p267) of their book. Thus, their work is to be perceived as a stimulus in making a further attempt to probe into union organisations, particularly focusing on the ways in which the organisational conditions and properties including leadership character, influence the strength of those organisations.

More recently, Fiorito and Hendricks (1987) have pointed out that, while 'many studies include measures of the percentage of workers organized or similar variables, very few go beyond this superficial level to examine the effects of union characteristics *per se*, such as union's structure, strategy, internal distribution of authority, democracy, or similar constructs' (p1), and from that criticism they have attempted to fill the gap by inquiring into the question of how unions differ. To do so, they collected secondary data on 59 national unions in the United States and factor analyse nine variables based on such theoretical dimensions as size, democracy/ oligarchy, structure, bureaucracy/ rationalization/ centralization, ideology. Among those, ideology yields the haziest result.

As Fiorito and Hendricks themselves state, the best way to view their work is to look at it 'as an outline of the available descriptors of union characteristics' (p36). And while the work manages to show the existence of variances in union characteristics, the questions of why they vary and of how influential the differences still remain to be pursued.

The last study (Lembcke 1988) that our attention is drawn to focuses exclusively on variations in union organisational forms. Based on a content analysis of the constitutions of the 27 unions comprising the Congress of Industrial Organizations [CIO] in the United States in the late 1930s, on case studies of three unions in the same period, and on a comparison between five communist and five non-communist unions, Lembcke claims that union organisational forms vary, depending on the level of proletarianisation of the class fraction dominant in the organisation; the unions with Communist party influence differ from the others in that the former were more democratic and 'class-efficacious' in form.

However, notwithstanding his emphatic references to organisation theory and the class/organisational capacity thesis (Therborn 1983; Offe and Wiesenenthal 1980), his work does not seem entirely successful in establishing how the extent of class capacity is indicated at the organisational level, except in delineation of forms that are seen to 'maximize the unity of the largest numbers of workers in an industry or geographic region' (p153) and in such provisions as referendum and recall elections specified in union constitutions. Rather, more tangible and supportive evidence for the level of organisational capacity in class terms is thought to be found by looking at, for example, how competently in actuality unions organise members in number as well as strength. In addition, his study, relying mainly on historical documents and secondary material, comes short of gripping the generative process of goals and perceptions, the leadership-membership interaction, and its effect on organisations.

The above discussion leads to several points: the existing organisational studies on trade unions do not appear so much to put forward their arguments in class terms, i.e., in terms of class interests, as the non-organisational scholars do; yet, they show a far higher viability, and thus a better promise to tap the possibilities of trade unions than the Trade Union Question, mainly because it will enable us to look into how organisational properties come to play a role of mediator between a wage worker and the society; the organisational investigations generally lack a concern with variations of trade unions, in character as well as organisational characteristics/properties; the effects of trade unionism on organisations themselves are left largely unexplored.

From these points, a direction for organisational study of trade unions is suggested; it is to revive and retain the concern for the path of trade unions shared by those in the

Trade Union Question, which means the restoration of class terms; it is to strive to inquire into variations in trade unions and into their divergent effects on the behaviour and development of the organisations themselves; a conceptual device to measure those effects is to be developed.

To explore the possibilities of trade unions, this thesis will focus on how unions with different characteristics carry out organisational mediation in shaping the class consciousness of their members and the class consciousness of the unions as organisation, and how the organisation and its members interact. The underlying rationale for opting out of class consciousness as a yardstick of the changing nature of the trade union in and against the wider society will be spelt out in the next chapter. Investigations into the workings of trade unions in relation with the enhancement of class consciousness may prove to a useful way to tap on the corrected Trade Union Question: What can be the relationship between trade unions and capitalism?

Chapter 3

Class consciousness as class capacity

In the previous chapter the Trade Union Question posed initially is: what is the fundamental relationship between trade unions and contemporary capitalism?; are unions still capable of articulating opposition to the power of capital, or are they now primarily a means of incorporating working-class resistance? Subsequently, although the Question has been much debated and triggered valuable insights on the workings of trade unions, what is now more relevant, the foregoing chapter concludes, is not a diagnosis as to whether trade union activity *per se* inspires or deflects the advance of workers' power, but a series of attempts to explore the organisational properties pertaining to the possibilities of trade unions.

In line with this contention put forward in Chapter 2, I will now present the concept of class consciousness as the best candidate available for the job of measuring the advance of workers' power. In addition, it will become clear, as the argument proceeds, that I am inclined to believe that the enhancement of class consciousness can be in fact equated with the promotion of socialism. The first section of the chapter concerns the two trends in investigations of class consciousness, i.e., class consciousness as something imputed and class consciousness as an individual attitude towards class society. The second section elucidates how class consciousness can be analytically assumed to develop from a lower to a higher stage. The final section attempts to broaden the concept of class consciousness so as to make it equivalent to class capacities.

3.1 imputed class consciousness vs. attitudinal class consciousness

Although the fact that Marx did not have a well-developed theory of class consciousness has been considered by many Marxists and non-Marxists alike, to be a serious omission in his theory of the transition from capitalism to socialism, it did not seem to unduly trouble Marx himself, given his view of the development of the class structure. According to him, it is inevitable that the polarisation of the two basic classes in capitalist society will bring about the working class' recognition that their interest is uncompromisingly opposed to that of capital and that they will have to opt for a socialist society. Once the domination of capital has created among the mass of workers a common situation and common interests, he contends, the mass in itself is already a class as against capital, and subsequently, this mass becomes united and constitutes itself as a class for itself in the course of struggle (Marx 1976c). The relation between historical necessity and class consciousness is so inseparable in Marx's eyes that he states, with Engels, the following.

It is not a question of what this or that proletarian, or even the whole proletariat, at the moment regards as its aim. It is a question of what the proletariat is, and what, in accordance with its being, it will historically be compelled to do (Marx and Engels 1975 p37).

This stand is later taken and reiterated by Lukacs who represents the Hegelian strands of Marxism.

Now class consciousness consists in fact of the appropriate and rational reactions "imputed" to a particular typical position in the process of production. This consciousness is, therefore, neither the sum nor the average of what is thought or felt by the single individuals who make up the class. And yet the historically significant actions of the class as a whole are determined in the last resort by this consciousness and not by

the thought of the individual - and these actions can be understood only by reference to this consciousness. (Lukacs 1971 p51)

It is from this point of view that one of the two different usages of class consciousness in the Marxist tradition stems, which shall be referred to here, as 'imputed class consciousness [ICC]'. .

A word of warning is in order. Although the two quotations above may well convey the impression that Marx and Lukacs thought that class position and consciousness cannot but coincide with each other, the whole truth is more complicated than that: the alleged inseparable relationship between class position and class consciousness does not mean that they are perfectly correlated. Marx was 'fully aware of the contradiction between the sociological contingency of the class at a given moment (stratified and divided by sectional interests, etc.), and its being as constitutive of the structural antagonism of capitalism' (Meszaros 1971 p100).

Lukacs is even less straightforward than Marx, and as far as his reservation on the capacity of the proletariat to 'spontaneously' absorb the full-blown class consciousness is concerned, he seems in fact more inclined to Lenin than to Marx. What is more, as implied in his notion of a 'historical lag' between the objective conditions of capitalist crisis and the subjective conditions of class consciousness, Parkin (1979) notes, Lukacs explicitly points out that the lines of connection between the material and ideological realms are subject to intense disturbance and noise; the suggestion of anything as clear-cut as a determinate relationship between the two, other than of the most circuitous kind, is dismissed as laughably simplistic (p152).

What Marx and Lukacs have in common is the conviction that

the irreconcilable antagonism between the fundamental classes will eventually be fully grasped by the exploited mass. Yet, missing out what should come between the product of time, i.e., the ripening of objective conditions and the product of historical intervention by an organised party in the development of class consciousness, certainly makes it look either wholly deterministic or completely voluntaristic, depending on which of the two aspects is being emphasised in the passage in question.

The *ICC* is basically a dual conception. That is to say, actual consciousness is contrasted with a yet-to-be-realised consciousness. In the critically meant words of Wright (1985), the *ICC* is defined counterfactually: 'it is what people, as occupants of a particular location within the production process, would feel and believe if they were rational' (p242). A series of questions should be seriously considered in relation to this characteristic of the *ICC*. For instance, is it justified to see the relationship between the two different levels of consciousness as eventually converging to one and the same point? Or to put it another way, will what the worker normally thinks in the end be transformed into what he or she should think? It goes without saying that it is also problematic, if not impossible, to settle the matter of who decides on what constitutes the 'right' class consciousness. For class consciousness is not a fixed entity: it is continuously redefined by the working class in the course of the development of the mode of production, even though their basic class position remains unchanged (van der Pijl 1989 p241). We discard the idea of the 'right' constellation of class consciousness, not because it is elitist but because it is non-materialist, designating what should be right and wrong.

Another characteristic of the *ICC* is that class consciousness is assumed to operate at the supra-individual

level and that it is causally efficacious irrespective of what individuals may or may not think, and this characteristic has been understood as rather cryptic by many sociologists who try to tackle the concept empirically. According to Lukacs, while class consciousness is not necessarily found in individuals, the totality, the action of the proletariat, can be imputed to class consciousness. This very point of supra-individuality is criticised by Wright for being awkward and an "objective teleology of history¹" (p243).

While there is much sense in warning against a teleological explanation of history as "misleading" and therefore as dangerous, it may be a little thoughtless to discard any supra-individual attribute on the ground of being "awkward". Especially so, when it is the concept socially and collectively operating as class consciousness that is concerned. A clarification on supra-individuality can be attempted negatively, i.e., by pointing out what the concept does not mean: first, supra-individuality in the ICC is not to be confused with supra-humanity, the latter meaning that there are laws of history or a divine power that could be unfolded automatically and independently of human intentions; and second, supra-individuality here is not to be equated with the Durkheimian concept of 'collective consciousness' or 'collective representation', a set of beliefs and ideas imposed upon the individual members of society that revolves around a 'typical' individual, a reflection of the collective (Hirst and Woolley 1984). Supra-individuality, rather, refers either to a methodological stance that views the individual not as a self-contained unit but as an organism 'located in the collective action of others, and in the constraints imposed

¹Wright explains what 'objective teleology of history' means: It implies that there exists some objectively given end-state of history or 'goal' of history, distinct from goals and objectives of human individuals, which determines the actual trajectory of historical development (p280f).

by the larger system' (Steiner, 1974 p96), or just simply as a way to denote the abstract and general character of the historical and class movement that is not reducible to individuals. And if it is possible that class consciousness pertains to 'the form of agency that is involved in the collective pursuit of global social transformation' (Anderson 1980 p19)², we may well be permitted to talk about supra-individuality.

The most serious weakness of the ICC is the virtual non-existence of practical ways to explain the variance and development of class-consciousness: the ICC approach virtually ignores questions like how class consciousness is or is not enhanced. It is also indifferent to the possibility that it may develop backwards. Although the relationship conceived by Lukacs between the objective situation and class consciousness is by no means linear, as noted earlier, a 'low' class consciousness is considered to be an 'abnormality' that will be corrected with the deepening of contradictions in the capitalist mode of production. Thus, the self-claim of the ICC approach on its explanatory power of the historical advance of workers' movement in fact remains invalidated.

Examples of the second usage of class consciousness, that is, the attitudinal class consciousness [the ACC] are

²Anderson (1980) distinguishes between three forms of agency, i.e., three ways in which human beings can be said to 'make history', each involving a different sort of goal for their activity. While the first and most typical form of historical action, the pursuit of 'private' goals and the second kind of agency, ventures involving 'public' goals, operate within the framework of the existing social relations, the third and 'unprecedented' form of agency engages in the collective pursuit of global social transformation, which acquired full expression only with the emergence of the workers' movement and revolutionary Marxism: here for the first time collective projects of social transformation were married to systematic efforts to understand the processes of past and present, to produce a premeditated future' (p19-20)

abundant, for it is a major trend in conventional sociology. One protagonist of this trend is Wright according to whom,

'[C]lass consciousness' identifies it[self] as a particular aspect of the concrete subjectivity of human individuals. When it figures in macro-social explanations it does so by virtue of the ways it helps to explain individual choices and actions. In this usage, when the term is applied to collectivities or organizations, it rather refers to the patterned distribution of individual consciousness within the relevant aggregate, or it is a way of characterizing central tendencies. But such supra-individual entities, and in particular 'classes', do not have consciousness in the literal sense, since they are not the kind of entities which have minds, which think, weigh alternatives, have preferences, etc. (p242)

Contrary to some critics who have readily categorised him as a 'structuralist' or 'anti-micro' (e.g. Alexander and Giesen 1987), we can clearly infer from the above quotation that Wright neatly fits into the tradition of individual methodology³, at least in the realm of class consciousness. However, we will leave aside comparisons between different methodological stands, and move directly to the question of how effectively Wright measures class consciousness.

For Wright, 'to study consciousness is to study a particular aspect of the mental life of individuals, namely, those elements of a person's subjectivity which are *discursively accessible to the individual's own awareness*' (p244, italics in original), and accordingly, class consciousness is 'those aspects of consciousness with a distinctive class content to them' (p246). Based on these premises, Wright constructs a measurement of class consciousness, a questionnaire that contains eight

³Methodological individualism is defined as theoretical positions holding that adequate sociological accounts necessarily involve references to persons, their interpretations of their circumstances, and the reasons and motives for the actions they take.

questions' the responses to which, when added up, range from maximally pro-capitalist to maximally pro-workers.

I will criticise Wright's questionnaire on three points, which will be taken into account for the construction of my own questionnaire in Chapter 5. First, the class content the questionnaire taps is extremely limited: with the number of questions being eight, the aspects of inquiry are actually still fewer - three questions concern perceptions pertaining to strike, and as many as four questions are about the profit motives of corporations. The reason for this seemingly unnecessary limitation is not explained by Wright who on the other hand makes an attempt to justify his use of a questionnaire (p253). Second, by formulating questions in a general wording when their contents are definitely both situation-specific and meaning-specific, Wright puts the reader in doubt of the validity of the questionnaire. As pointed out by Charchedi (1987), for example, the first question could be answered positively by a hypothetical fascist respondent (p121-122) without making

'His Questionnaire items are: 1. Corporations benefit owners at the expense of workers and consumers; 2. During a strike, management should be prohibited by law from hiring workers to take the place of strikers; 3. Striking workers are generally justified in physically preventing strike-breakers from entering the place of work; 4. Big corporations have far too much power in American society today; 5. One of the main reasons for poverty is that the economy is based on private property and profits; 6. If given the chance, non-management employees at the place where you work run things effectively without bosses; 7. It is possible for a modern society to run effectively without the profit motive. Whereas answers to these 7 questions are coded either +1 (pro-worker), 0 (Don't know) or -1 (pro-capitalist), Question 8 is given categories. 8. Imagine that workers in a major industry are out on strike over working conditions and wages. Which of the following outcomes would you like to see occur: (1) the workers win their most important demands; (2) the workers win some of their demands and make some concessions; (3) the workers win only a few of their demands and make major concessions; (4) the workers go back to work without winning any of their demands. (p147-148)

any reference to class content. The ostensible simplicity is deceptive: the questions are in fact very ambiguous. Finally the weakness in Wright's questionnaire is further aggravated by its lack of regard for the qualitative differences of class consciousness, which I will refer to as 'stages of class consciousness development' in the following section. By relying on the yes/no, present/absent dichotomic responses, the questionnaire completely rules out any possibility of probing into qualitatively different levels of class consciousness. Suffice to say that there is more than one way to think class consciously: there is more than one way to think even in 'pro-worker' terms.

While the questionnaire responses constitute only part of his material of analysis, Wright jeopardises the whole significance of his study by commencing research on the assumption that the class consciousness is a set of static and consequent attitudes of social structure. In other words, by confining the research focus to the one-way flow of effects from the social structure onto individual attitudes, his study certainly limits its power to explain historical trajectories of class struggle. In fact, it does not explain at all the sources of social action that constantly changes structural boundaries. Therefore, although concentrating on the ACC aspect may give Wright the credit of achieving 'a degree of concreteness that is unusual among the followers of Marx' (Marshall, Rose, Newby and Vogler 1988 p169), we are to take heed of the criticism that he 'conceptualises the relation between structure and consciousness in a deterministic way' (Carchedi 1987 p124).

An investigation of the two different inclinations toward class consciousness leads us to a realisation that we are forced to choose between people's awareness of society [the ACC] and the structural sources of this awareness [the ICC]. As Davis (1979, p10) points out, they have failed to

grasp the complex relations that are involved in their subject matter, 'preferring an over-simplified division of social experience into subjective or objective components of a crude base-superstructure model'. For the 'objective' approach makes no empirical enquiry into the metabolism of class consciousness that is constantly defined and redefined by human agency in the construction of social reality and meaning. The picture of what constitutes class consciousness and how it develops as drawn by the researcher, therefore, remains subjective. On the other hand, exclusive concentration on the 'subjective' cannot amount to anything more than descriptive reporting, even though the approach relies on objective research methods tapping individual attitudes. The reductionist tendencies involved in both of these approaches are best avoided.

3.2 typologies and stages of the development of class consciousness

Unveiling the dynamics of the development of class consciousness has long been a challenging task and thus tackled in various ways. For instance, those who emphasise the strength of ruling ideology (eg: Miliband 1970) reproduced especially by capitalist-controlled mass-media highlight the limitations or distortion of class-consciousness development epitomised in 'false consciousness'. Conversely, it is asserted that the ability of subordinate classes to develop alternative belief systems is bound to increase with structural changes of capitalism, such as industrialization, urbanization, and the polarization of the class structure (see, for example, Foster 1974). In between these sweeping predictions, the middle ground has been consolidated by those who argue that immediate experiences due to structural position and indoctrination by mass-media are both influential in the

development of class consciousness in opposite directions, which results in inconsistent and disorganised class consciousness (eg: Kriegler 1980). These three streams may be respectively named hegemonic theory, structural theory and quasi-hegemonic theory (Chamberlain, 1983). Broadly speaking, Touraine *et al.*'s position (1987) that the development of class consciousness and the trade-union movement depends on how distant workers are from basic conflicts experienced as class struggle, can also come under the quasi-hegemonic stream.

Though different in defining the motor of class-consciousness development, these three streams are all concerned with the question of the mechanisms through which class consciousness is developed. However, as important as, or basic to this theme for understanding the dynamics of the development, is the question of what content class consciousness takes up when it develops. This question has been tapped in two ways; one emphasises types of class consciousness and the other focuses on developmental stages of it. The former is more descriptive and non-directional, and although it does not always equate class consciousness with individual attitudes toward class, methodologically it is more inclined to the ACC approach. It also dissociates itself from the assumption that class consciousness develops forward. On the other hand, the latter approach is more analytical and conceptual, and it implicitly assumes directionality in the development of class consciousness. Methodologically it has a tendency not to employ an empirical survey.

The typology studies usually set out to tackle class consciousness by developing a survey schedule designed to measure worker attitudes on a range of issues: class identification, job satisfaction, class animosities, and voting behaviour. Workers' attitudes shown via verbal responses are then 'correlated with any number of

independent variables, such as skill level, racial or ethnic identification, religion, age, sex, and so on' (Fantasia 1988 p4-5). The data in hand are subsequently sorted out into categories either set a priori or formed in the course of the analysis. The categories may or may not be directly referred to as typologies of class consciousness, although they clearly describe workers' attitudinal states in response to class-divided social arrangements.

One serious problem is inherently linked with the kind of research method that has been just described. As Parkin (1971 p95) points out, studies of working-class attitudes which rely on the questions being posed in general and non-situational terms are likely to produce findings which emphasise class consensus on values; this is because the dominant value system will tend to provide the moral frame of reference. Thus, it is very much possible that not only the distributions in the categories but also the categories themselves turn out to lack actualities.

A study of French workers (Andrieux and Lignonj 1966) provides us with a good illustration of a class-consciousness typology. The authors distinguish three types of reaction among factory workers to their situation in the economy and in society: (1) evasion (the attempt to escape from industrial work either by rising to a higher position within the firm or by setting up in business on one's account); (2) resignation (a dull and resentful acceptance of industrial work as an inescapable fate); and (3) revolt (opposition and resistance to the capitalist organisation of industry). Although all of these three types could be identified, the second is by far the most common, while the third is the least so.

Another well-known example of typology studies is Lockwood's delineation (1966) of three different types of

workers: the proletarian worker, the deferential worker and the privatised worker. The first type maintains the image of society that takes the form of a power model and the second perceives social inequality as of status hierarchy, while the third most approximates to what may be called a 'pecuniary' model of society.

Whereas typology studies back themselves with empirically collected evidence for the actual existence of various types of class consciousness, developmental stage studies do not see as crucial the necessity for a one-to-one correspondence between the reality and their conceptual frameworks. Although there is hardly consensus concerning the defining criteria of class consciousness in this research trend, among the models with some currency there would appear to be a 'fair degree of overlap'. The most basic component or the most 'undeveloped' form of class consciousness is usually held to involve some sense of class identity or of psychological membership in the working class. When this stage is developed further, some conception of an opposition or conflict of class interests begins to be formed. According to Giddens (1980), the connection between these two stages is that the second is mainly a process of developing and clarifying ideas which are latent at the first stage. The next stage is some awareness that class inequality is a product of the wider institutional structure of society, which is more than a mere conflict consciousness and therefore, questions the dominant world-view fostered by the ruling class. Finally, the highest stage of class consciousness has been argued to be a conception of a preferred alternative structure of society (compare, Gallie, 1983 p25; Giddens, 1980 pp105-117; Hazelrigg, 1973 pp219-47)

Parkin's (1971) stages of political value system roughly fit into the class-consciousness hierarchy suggested above:

the dominant value system accepts the status quo and perceives it as essentially just and legitimate; the subordinate value system involves accommodation to the status quo evaluating it neither positively nor negatively but concerned rather with finding the best means of furthering interests within its framework; finally, the radical value system rejects the status quo and seeks to promote fundamental social change.

Meszaros' (1971) proposition, on the contrary, is an example of an approach which gives so little consideration to the relational character of classes, that it looks as if class consciousness could develop on its own.

- (1) abstract self-consciousness, or consciousness of merely individual self-interest;
- (2) status consciousness or the consciousness of specific privileges;
- (3) exclusive class consciousness or the consciousness of self-fulfilment in terms of class-dominance;
- (4) non-class consciousness or (illusory) being-above-class consciousness;
- (5) the effective unity of class non-self-consciousness, devoid of illusions of standing above classes, but also inherently opposed to the alienated reality of class existence (p110).

Notwithstanding the path posited by the developmental perspectives, studies of industrial workers during the past several decades have not been in consensus in finding an enhancement in workers' attachment to collective ends, or in their enthusiasm for action as a class in order to establish a new social order (see Clegg, Boreham and Dow 1986). It has been persuasively argued that even those workers who place themselves in the working class, that is,

who recognise their class identity do not show any strong feelings of class allegiance (Zweig, 1961 p135). In other words, an individual's subjective conception of class location is not necessarily accompanied with an emotional attachment to his/her class. It is this pervasiveness of 'deviances' from the supposed path of class-consciousness development that makes typology studies more popular and attractive than stage studies for the former are carried out in order to explain the variance in class consciousness. Thus, the relationship between the two approaches to class-consciousness development has become such that typology studies, armed with empirical data, expose the mis-match between the conceptualised levels of the development and the reality.

Having compared and contrasted the two stances of inquiry, I will put forward a few assumptions concerning the development of class consciousness. They are all very modest, so much so that they may be better viewed as open possibilities rather than assumptions. First, class consciousness can develop forward, 'forward' meaning a greater organisational, and ultimately class capacity. Second, even on the acceptance of the first assumption, there is still no universal path that class consciousness is destined to take to develop. Third, class consciousness can be deflected in various ways and for various reasons. Fourth, class consciousness is problematic to measure and above all, it should not be pinned down as one-dimensionally measurable. An auxiliary to this assumption is that, when measured, the ever-operating factors of its development, including the very activity of measuring itself, should be taken into consideration even if it is impossible to identify them all. Fifth, there can be no ready-made recipe for the way in which class consciousness is enhanced.

3.3 class consciousness and organisational capacities

Upon my conclusions from the two foregoing sections that class consciousness is more than just a set of opinions and preferences of the individual and that it can develop although we are not in the position to dictate or predict its path, I will attempt at this stage to redefine the concept, so that it can be utilised as an effective yardstick to measure the advance of working-class capacities.

My attempt to reformulate the concept of class consciousness in order to highlight its developmental aspects constitutes a postulation that it is not defined as merely psychological but as action-oriented; and the action can be carried out by a collectivity - 'there are actors other than human individuals and many significant decisions are the decisions of social actors, not simply aggregations of the decisions of human individuals' (Hindess 1986 p124; see also Sewell 1992) - as well as by individuals. In formulating class consciousness in the collective way, we are faced with the 'issue of reification' (Bedeian 1987; Scott 1992) mentioned earlier in this chapter concerning Wright's assertion on consciousness being exclusively the property of human individuals, that is, the objection against the 'granting to the concept of organisation, of anthropomorphic characteristics that it does not possess' (Bedeian 1987 p14; Scott 1992 p288). However, I do not mean to argue that organisations behave exactly in the same manner as human beings but that we can regard organisations as a type of Physical Symbol System (Simon 1990), a system that is 'capable of inputting, outputting, storing, and modifying symbol structures, and of carrying out some of these actions in response to the symbols themselves', and all in all, 'capable of intelligent behaviour' (Simon 1990 p3).

Now, the concept of class consciousness is extended to encompass not only the working-class' attitudes toward themselves and the capitalist class, but also the class capacity manifested in their organisations. This new conceptualisation draws upon Marx who, as seen in my Preface of this thesis, equates consciousness with being, and is based on the argument made above that organisations are, though in ways differently from human individuals, justifiably regarded as a system capable of intelligent behaviour.

Class capacity is defined, following Therborn (1983), as the manifest and potential ability of a given class 'to act in relation to others and the forms of organization and practice thereby developed'(p38), and the class capacity of the working class is sought, again following Therborn, 'in its *collectivity*: especially its capacity for unity through interlocking, mutually supportive and concerted practices' (p41, *italics in original*), which has been also described as degrees and forms of *connectedness* (Stark 1980 p318) within the working class. *Organisational capacity* is a specific form of class capacity manifested in organisations that is more observable and more tangible in 'its extensiveness, intensiveness and the "targets" of its activity' (Stark 1980 p319) than class capacity in a less organised state. Here our attention is directed to the organisational capacity of trade unions. Their organisation capacities of course should not be assessed in themselves but in relation to the strength of the opposing or competing forces, and of course, the vital question of whether they act in a manner that transforms the basic class relations of capitalism needs to be taken into account. Whereas the concept of organisational capacity has been once operationalised by Lembcke (1988) as forms of trade union organisation on a scale of two different organisational logics, i.e., associational and pecuniary logics, the notions derived from Offe and Wiesensthal

(1980), in this thesis, preference is given to organisational capacities to organise, mobilise and propagate, over organisational forms which are thought to be less satisfying in grasping the on-going dynamics of class consciousness.

Capacity to organise is defined as degrees of organising two different but related objects: the first object, the human resource, concerns organisation in effective deployment of members, posts and roles, as well as its organisation in numbers; the other object of organisation involves the entire spectrum of interests that wage workers have. In the latter sense, the union's ability to articulate and deliver the needs and interests of workers including strengthening membership's commitment and loyalty to the union is what is evaluated as capacity to organise.

Capacity to mobilise is defined as the extent of resources, both internal and external available to the union, under the collective control of the union. This capacity also concerns two aspects: mobilisation of human material resources. Following Tilly (1978)'s distinction, we distinguish among defensive, offensive and preparatory mobilisation (p73-75): the first term is applicable when a threat from outside induces the trade union to pool their resources to fight off the enemy; in the second case, the union pools resources in response to opportunities to realise its new organisational strategy; in the third variety, the union pools resources in anticipation of future opportunities and threats. Because the manifestation of capacity to mobilise is largely situation-bound, involving a perceivable or foreseeable presence of a threat or opportunity, we are not always in a position to assess it.

Capacity to propagate is easy to define: the extent of the union's ability to reach and influence the general public

as well as the membership. The propagation toward the membership can be regarded as a means to organise membership's commitment and interests. While capacity to propagate in terms of reaching either the public or the membership is relatively easy to measure, the question of how influential or how persuasive the propagation remains far less so.

While the above definitions mainly concern union *efficacy*, we also need to investigate the resources that ensure and encourage union *democracy*. To clarify organisational capacities in this aspect, Hemingway (1978) defines, - with regard to the relationships among internal parties of the union, not to the union as a whole against external threats and pressures, etc. though, - as 'three types of resources' of trade union democracy: first, 'institutional resources that comprise the ability to pass motions, resolutions, and the rest within the context of the institutional provisions for union communications, government, and democracy'; second, 'alliance resources that may be found in cliques and caucuses, occupational and political ginger groups, links with other unions, employers and public bodies, and used to support a bargaining position within the institutional area'; and third, 'action resources that imply direct actions (in the sense of taking up arms) taken to limit and constrain the opposition' (pp17-18).

To be sure, the activity of trade unions, including their processes and effects, can in no way be adequately placed on the conventional scale of class consciousness, i.e., an attitude questionnaire. Nor is it sufficient to rank levels of class capacity a priori and counterpose the research results to them. It is suggested, therefore, that we see trade unions as a collective actor so that a study of their behaviour can provide us with information on how they interact with their environment and how they could interact in the future.

By redefining class consciousness to embrace organisational capacities of trade unions as above, we are able to fill the unnecessarily existing gap between the so-called objective situation of a class and subjective awareness of this situation. Whereas we have thus far swayed between the objective and the subjective without knowing how to link them together, the newly formulated concept of class consciousness enables us not just to bridge the two but, more importantly, to do away with the dichotomy itself.

When class consciousness is posited as collective and materialistic, it is no longer separable from 'objective' conditions, yet it is not reduced to them either. Those who have emphasized the relational and collective aspect of class capacity have often been inclined to play down class consciousness in social change. For example, Therborn (1983) minimises the significance of class consciousness.

[First of all] revolutions do not spring so much from revolutionary class consciousness, cultivated *in situ*, as from revolutionary situations of institutional breakdown in which masses become revolutionised. Therefore, the degree of revolutionary ideology in a non-revolutionary situation has little definitive explanatory power. Secondly, from the standpoint of a materialist concept of history, what is being done and what is being achieved are more important than what ideas are being held. Forms of practice are, typically, more interesting than states of consciousness (p38).

Class consciousness is, of course, believed to develop dramatically in a revolutionary situation: a less-than-fully-class-conscious worker who has complied with the existing balance of power for pragmatic reasons may begin explicitly to reject the hegemony of conservative ideology when the balance is disturbed, e.g., in some strike situations (see Mann 1973). However, staking the whole future on this time-honoured belief in the 'explosion of class consciousness' which makes class consciousness sound rather similar to exasperation or indignation provoked by

an emotionally frustrating event, seems rather indolent. The contention that a disturbance in the balance of power has to precede class-conscious action is a dichotomous materialism which seriously disregards the fact that 'man makes history'. Another very idealistic way of looking at class consciousness is treating it as if it could be commanded from above and neatly drawn toward the ultimate goal, free from any trial-and-error stage. The citation below includes a case in point.

[T]he greater the productive efficiency of capitalism, the more acute is the disparity between its ability to produce and its distributive outlets likely to be. It may be said that all that unions need to do is to prepare the way for a qualitative change by education and propaganda; by exploring alternative ways of directing economic affairs when the change occurs; by being alert to the possibility of change so that the forces which give rise to it are not misdirected into a corporate state authoritarian direction. There is much which is not known about the forces which produce and resolve revolutionary situations. Unions could assist in the analysis. (Allen 1967 p257)

The line of argument I put forward is, on the contrary, that without concrete experience through collective action of the trade-union organisation struggling to challenge the built-in disparity constantly, the union could not stay 'alert', let alone generate 'alternative ways of directing economy', and therefore, 'educating and propagating in order to prepare for a qualitative change' may not be said to be 'all that unions need to do' but it is what unions could strive to do.

If it is agreed that class consciousness is the active pursuit of the common interests of workers, it must be the pursuit itself that has to be looked into in order to understand the pursuit. And it goes without saying that the development of their organisational capacities is an indispensable part of the pursuit. Therefore, what I will concentrate on in the remaining chapters is how we can try

to assess the ways in which trade unions strive to sustain and develop their organisational capacities and to identify some of the factors that affect the development of their organisational capacities. Taken as organisational capacities, class consciousness is thought to make a good yardstick to measure the advance of the working class. The next chapter especially deals with the development of union confederations and their class consciousness - organisational capacities - at different points of time, using concrete examples in Korea.

Chapter 4

The development of class consciousness in the case of the Korean trade-union movement

The development of Korean society, like any other, can be analysed only through the complex interaction between internal and external forces. The recent Korea has been a textbook case of this interaction, due to its geographical location that shares territorial boundaries with three of the second half 20th-century world-powers, namely, China, Japan, and the Soviet Union, and this condition, needless to say, was bound to attract the US attention. The influence of the external forces is so clearly present that Korea was a colony for most of the first half of this century and a divided country for most of the second half, the latter situation, remaining unchanged until today.

As a physical voucher of the "balance of power", the destiny of the Korean people has often appeared to be swept by external forces. This has resulted in generating the two contrasting tendencies in writing a modern Korean history; the importance of the resistance, adjustments, and compromises initiated by internal forces has been sometimes minimised and at other times blown out of proportion, usually for the sake of ego-boosting. For both perspectives, the interaction between the internal and external forces has been regarded as unworthy of close scrutiny. Yet, the interaction justifiably comes to the fore in history once the internal forces become conscious, organised and mass-based. The brief history of the Korean trade-union movement depicted in the first part of this chapter focuses on the process in which the working class is formed and organised through interactions with the conditions laid before it, and further, the process in which the working class itself actively makes conditions and thereby, makes history. The second part of the chapter

highlights the development of class consciousness in national union confederations with concrete examples at three different points in time.

4.1 conditions of the Korean trade-union movement

The Choson (Yi) Dynasty, the last of the successive dynasties in the Korean peninsula, acquired the name of the 'Hermit Kingdom' through its self-imposed isolation from the outside world from the mid 17th century after suffering a series of devastating foreign invasions. This isolationist policy was largely effective for two hundred years during which time contact with other nations was specifically forbidden and foreign trade was strictly restricted to a few designated frontier areas or undertaken in the form of official tributes. Yet, the same period also saw the slow decay of the traditional society; increase in national wealth primarily due to agricultural improvements led to an increase in population, expansion of cities, and development of a mercantile economy and small-scaled commodity manufacturing; the traditional Korean caste that placed the scholar at the top of the rank, and then the farmer, then the artisan, and lastly, the merchant started to be shaken. Still, wage-labour in its modern sense - reproduced wholly by wage-earnings and based on free contract did not appear, and it was not until the late 19th century the change really became obvious.

Two events possibly epitomised the formal entry of Korea to capitalism; one is the 1876 Treaty of Kanghwa-Do that marked the opening of Korea to external capitalist economies, especially to Japan; the other is Kap'o Reforms in 1884 that facilitated the dissolution of the natural economy and that laid the base for the drastic extension of the commodity-money economy through an introduction of

monetary taxation. Especially, the first of the two events contributed to the initial formation of wage labour in Korea in that the three ports opened for the trade with Japan required building works, dock works and engineering works which came to produce workers totally dependent on wages and free from feudal bondage.

In the power rivalries over this stagnated country, it was Japan's insistent and well-calculated infiltration that finally succeeded in ensuring the exclusive right to Korea. Japan's victory in the Russo-Japanese War in 1905 virtually reduced Korea to a Japanese colony and this status was officially confirmed when Korea was eventually annexed in 1910.

Japan's colonial policy in Korea grew out of the needs of an economy in the early phase of industrial development, that is, to supplement its food supplies for the burgeoning Japanese proletariat (Hamilton 1986 p9). Thus, it is not surprising that one of the first things the coloniser undertook was the cadastral survey of 1911-18, which resulted in transferring a large portion of the land in Korea into the colonisers' hands, and which abolished the thus-far held concept of the state ownership of the land. This move to privatisation of the land led to a change in class composition; tenant farmers who traditionally enjoyed the right of the land-occupant were now separated from the land and deprived of any rights; private ownership accelerated land concentration which in turn pauperised small-holding farmers who came to form the rural proletariat. Land concentration is well illustrated by the Japanese owned Oriental Development Company which had 300,000 tenant farmers on its own land (Sohn, Kim and Hong 1970 p258). As for wealth increase and distribution, although the output of agriculture rose by 74 per cent between 1910-1912 and 1937-41 (Kuznets 1977 p19) due to capitalist administration and land improvement through

irrigation, rents for fertile land could be up to 90 per cent of the crop (Cummings 1981 p44) so the overall income per capita remained stable -\$190 in 1876, \$225 in 1930 (Song 1990 p35).

Prior to Japanese occupation, industry and commerce in Korea were minimal; manufacturing made up 6.7% of net commodity product in 1910-12 (Kuznets 1977 p19). This situation did not rapidly change until 1920 for the colonial administration preferred to restrict the development of indigenous capital. Their reluctance was clear in the Corporation Law which empowered the Government-General to approve the establishment of new firms. However, the 1 March Protest for Independence in 1919 in which two million Koreans participated (Rees 1988 p66), coupled with industrial prosperity in Japan which cried for an outward investment of idle capital, brought a 'liberalisation' of colonial policy and the Corporation Law was repealed in 1920 (The Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Korea [CCIK] 1990 pp151-2). Although repeal was followed by the setting-up of new businesses, investment was mainly confined to light industries like textile or raw-material-related industries like food processing.

What really triggered the inflow of Japanese capital at this juncture was the Japanese intention to invade Manchuria and subsequently China. Korea, due to its geographical location, became a 'forward logistic base' for the Japanese military advance, and a remarkable building of heavy industry such as petro-chemical, electric generation, fertiliser manufacturing, and cement industries, started from the early 1930's. This wartime economic structure, virtually all of which was Japanese-owned, categorically ignored inter-industry linkages and produced unbalanced inter-region development, concentrated in the north of Korea. Yet, although strategically calculated, the continuation of public works in Korea for roads, railways,

harbours, communication networks, and hospitals, which laid the infrastructure may be said to have been a positive side effect of the military-building.

Prior to the annexation to Japan, organised labour disputes in Korea were rare. A few non-union workplaces were involved in wild-cat strikes in the form of riots. The first case of a premeditated organised strike was carried out by dockworkers in 1898 in the southern city of Mokpo and the same year saw the first trade union, also organised by dockworkers in the northern city of Suhngjin (Dictionary of Trade Unions[DTU] 1987 p87). Workers' struggles in this period reflect foreign encroachment as seen in the strikes among coal miners and gold miners revolting against the changing ownership of those mines to foreigners at the turn of the century. This, the presence of nationalism in workers' struggles continued to be detected thereafter.

The growth of industry in the 1920s and 1930s required increasing numbers of wage workers, yet the huge pool of industrial reserve army created from the pauperised rural areas, made it possible to set wage levels at the half of the then-notoriously-low Japanese wage, and the national discrimination that was expressed, for example, in the fact 'virtually all managerial and technical personnel were Japanese' (Kim p.33) were all conducive to the occurrence of innumerable labour disputes across the country during the Japanese occupation.

Notably, the Choson Workers' Mutual Relief Association and the Labour Meeting were established in 1920 as the first nation-wide labour organisations although soon passed off due to the divided leadership. The next nation-wide organisation was the General League of Choson Farmers and Labourers in 1924 which grew into separate organisations of the General Leagues of Choson Farmers and of Choson Labourers in 1927. Affected by the Russian Revolution, the

General League of Choson Labours was inclined to socialist ideology - it was closely connected to the Choson Communist Party - and adopted the class emancipation of workers and the building of a new society as programmes in addition to the promotion of workers' livelihoods. However, it is to be understood that the activity of the League was very limited. For organising in trade unions itself was illegal during this period - all the organisations mentioned above were established by the means of written communication circulated within the leadership. Another characteristic of the League was that the leadership consisted of socialist intellectuals rather than socialist workers, which *per se* is not necessarily a drawback, yet a typical phenomenon found in the early stages of labour movements. Nevertheless, the leadership of the League, theoretically guided by the Comintern, came to be committed to proletarian internationalism, to play a crucial role in establishing regional and industrial trade unions since the late 1920's, and to painstakingly assist various strikes throughout the country, under the constant threat of arrest, torture, and even execution. This inclination to socialism in trade unions, dubbed the 'red' unionism, continued in the 1930s during which time overall living conditions deteriorated due to the forced export of rice to Japan for war provisions. The suppression of unions was intensified to an inhumane level with the increasingly militaristic rule.

The largest, fiercest and most systematic struggle in the period of the Japanese occupation took place in the northern port of Wonsan in 1929. It initially occurred spontaneously at a British-owned oil-manufacturing company against harsh treatment by Japanese supervisors, and then spread to other unions with organisational support from the Wonsan Federation of Labourers, and eventually developed into a general strike. The Wonsan general strike differed from many other strikes at the time in that it involved a

direct confrontation between a regional federation of unions and a regional federation of capitalists, i.e., the Wonsan Chamber of Commerce. It barely needs mentioning that the confrontation was thus also a national conflict. For the Wonsan general strike ended in a downright defeat of the workers almost enforced by a fearful leadership. It has often been quoted in the history of the Korean labour movement as a prime example of leadership betrayal. Yet, it might also be understood as a case that could be generally anticipated under a fascist rule where being involved in a union, not to mention leading a collective action, was to risk one's life.

In 1945, Japan unconditionally surrendered to the Allies. Naturally it meant liberalisation to Koreans and various indigenous political groups were unleashed in the turmoil of the Japanese defeat, but none of them seemed capable of assuming immediate control. Although a 'central government', the Korean People's Republic, was formed and announced, Soviet and American troops advanced into Korea 'to enforce the Instrument of Japanese Surrender' in the north and south of the 38th Parallel respectively. Behind this was a previously-made decision by the Allies that Korea would be temporarily partitioned and put under a post-war trusteeship. It turned out that this proposal not only divided Korea territorially but also resulted in the mirror images of the two occupying states, i.e. the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. In the situation where the two countries' interests in Korea conflicted with each other as the wartime alliance broke up, the south of the Parallel alone undertook a general election and established a government in 1948. Rhee Syng Man, the first president and fanatic anti-communist, allowed himself to side with ex-collaborators to Japan partly to downplay the still considerable but divided Communist power in South Korea.

The economic situation under the US military government

worsened for several reasons. First, it was not easy to transform the wartime economy to a peacetime one especially when the administrative and technical manpower, i.e., the Japanese residents, returned to Japan: production was reduced to a fifth, and employment was well below half of the colonial levels (CCIK op.cit. p156, p166). Second, the excessive issue of currency by the Japanese Government-General at the end of the war caused a drastic increase in the amount of currency in circulation. Third, the inflow of overseas Koreans in the wake of the liberation swelled total consumption. All these together resulted in hyperinflation.

In the mean time, the US military government set itself two tasks for post-liberation Korea: land reforms and disposal of formerly Japanese-owned property. Although it left both tasks incomplete, they were continued by Korean government later. The principles in carrying out those two tasks decided by the Americans, that is, distribution with redemption and connectionism (the Japanese-owned property was distributed to those who had been connected to the property in some way, during the colonial period) were followed by the Korean government after 1948 and were to play a crucial role in the formation of classes in Korea by rendering privileges and giving the priority to the propertied class and in effect to the collaborators with Japan.

Immediately after the liberation, the labour movement in Korea started with an un-capitalistic action: the workers occupied the enterprises left behind by the Japanese proprietors and operated on a profit-sharing basis (Hamilton op.cit. p21). The workers' self-management movement was stopped by the US military government for being unlawful, but those who participated in it soon gathered in the national union-organisation, i.e., the All-Nation Council of Trade Unions. The Council is one of the

three organisations to be comparatively analysed in the next section of this chapter, so let it suffice to note here the left-wing Council's close affiliation to the Korean Communist Party and therefore, to the Soviet side. The Council invited US hostility from the outset and subsequently found itself in a confrontation with the US-backed right-wing Independence-Promoting League of Labour and more directly with the US military government itself in general strikes which eventually caused the premature demise of the Council.

South Korean society which was already limping, especially its economy, partly due to the division which separated the heavy industry-concentrated North and the light-industry concentrated South, was again shattered by the Korean War in 1950-1953. The war had a devastating effect on both Koreas, resulting in four million casualties including those of the USA and China, and the destruction of around 40% to 60% of the production facilities in South Korea alone (CCIK op.cit. p173). Yet, the most lasting effect of the War was probably the re-division of Korea, now not only territorially but also as two states hostile to each other separated by the most heavily armed border in the world.

War-stricken Korea - hereafter 'Korea' refers to South Korea - was economically dependent on US aid. Although the character of the aid changed from that of emergency relief, that is, food and medicine during the war years to that of reconstruction in the post-war years of the '50s and the whole '60s, the aid, fell short of actually building the economy. For, despite its massive and immediate service to basic needs, the aid was given mainly for security and strategic reasons, that is, for the purpose of keeping the US influence on Korea by maintaining a certain level of stability, and the contents of the aid were largely decided according to the donor's situation rather than that of Korea. Thus, the aid in the late '50s and the '60s was

composed of the US's surplus agricultural products and other consumer goods, rather than producer goods. Yet, again, although the aid did not produce a great deal of positive effect, it played an important role in consolidating the Korean capitalist class in the process of its distribution.

The aid economy in '50s Korea was characterised by a stagnation in production throughout that period, with annual growth rate ranging from -4% to 3%, and income per capita around US\$ 270 by 1985 values, which meant, of course, a stagnation in employment. In fact, the absolute number of workers employed in enterprises with five employees or more decreased by 12% despite a 25% increase of the total population during the 50's (DTU op.cit. p109). Although, for the first time since the foundation of the Republic, a Labour Standard Act, together with other labour laws was enacted in 1953, the existence of huge surplus labour allowed the employers to force upon their employees harsh working conditions; most factories operated a 10 hour-or-more-work day, and were not properly equipped with medical facilities, which resulted in an increasing number of occupational diseases and accidents. The wages for workers in addition were not even enough for subsistence level so that workers had to partly rely on financial help from relatives or debts (Kim 1982 p183). With this relative surplus of labour and the constant infringement of labour laws under the increasingly autocratic Rhee regime, the labour movement in Korea degenerated during this period.

To be sure, the small number of industrial workers was a structural factor in setting a limit on the development of the labour movement. When the objective conditions are so extremely bleak as to threaten a person's very livelihood, the growth of a labour movement in a quantitative as well as a qualitative sense may well be hard to expect. Yet, it

is obvious that the workers in the 50s were not contented. What may be deduced retrospectively is that the workers' movement was suppressed at that time because of the non-existence of the proper trajectory, possibly a vanguard worker organisation or leadership. Although it might be argued conversely that conditions hostile to labour movements and harsh situations in workplaces are causes of the underdevelopment of labour movements rather than the effects, a comparison of the '50s with the later half of the '40s, the two periods with most similarities in terms of economic performance, makes it clear that the activities undertaken by the Council in 1945 and 1946 demonstrated that it definitely led the labour movement at a national level. Those systematic activities were conspicuous by their absence in the '50s. The easily invoked anti-communist feeling due to the Korean War, which Rhee resorted to in order to intimidate the opposition, could also be said to be conducive to undermining the labour movement where left-wing influence had been traditionally considerable but fatally crushed by the US military government.

All in all, despite the fragmented labour disputes throughout the period - 20 to 40 annually till 1958, (N.J. Kim op.cit. p189) they were all confined to individual workplaces and the demands were invariably economic. It barely needs mentioning that the Independence-Promoting League of Labour, being an arm of the regime, was practically tantamount to the absence of labour organisation. In effect, it may be considered that the existence of the League was negative rather than neutral to the development of a grassroots movement for it made many trade unionists regard the internal strife in the League as a trade union movement itself.

The situation eventually came to change in the late '50s with a split in the League. Some leaders of industrial

unions, who were against the corruption and co-optation of the leadership of the League, declared the formation of a separate nation-wide organisation, the All-Nation Conference of Trade Unions, in 1959. This is the second organisation to be analysed in the next section, and thus it is not described in detail here. With the advent of the Conference, though illegal and therefore unable to be engaged in open activities, the long-suppressed discontents of workers were released and the number of disputes doubled and then with the mainly-student uprising, the April Uprising which was ignited against the rigged election in 1960 and toppled Rhee, the number increased fivefold. Although the Conference as a second national body of the working class lasted about a year only, it led many labour disputes actively opposing the pro-government and pro-employer character of industrial and enterprise-level unions in attempts to reform them. At the end of 1960, the Conference voluntarily, after a sign of democratisation under a new political regime, merged with the League partly excluding the core of the League's former leadership, and together formed a sole nationwide union.

The 'Spring of Seoul' in 1960 abruptly ended with another incident in the following spring, i.e., the May Military Coup headed by Park Chung Hee and Kim Jong Pil in 1961. The existing national union was ordered to dissolve immediately and the formation of a new national 'peak association' and member industrial unions was undertaken by the military-formed Korean Central Intelligence(KCIA). The leaders of the Conference were categorically excluded in the process of forming the new organisation, the Federation of Korean Trade Unions (FKTU), and the appointed presidents of industrial unions were asked to select 'trustworthy' candidates for forming and managing the enterprise-level unions. Although the Park regime was not hostile to all types of unions and it actually believed that the better the workers were organised, the better for rapid industrialisation (Ogle 1990 p15), it was obvious that it

wanted only one type of union, that is, a strictly centralised and strictly obedient type, at the expense of unions proper.

The Korean economy in the '60s and '70s rapidly developed in size. With the banner of 'modernisation of the fatherland' flying, the Park regime began a strongly government-initiated economy building programme, guided by the pre-drawn Five-Year Economic Development Plans since 1962. Characteristic to the Plans were export-centredness, reliance on foreign borrowing, an emphasis on labour-intensive industries, and unbalanced development across industries (CCI op.cit. p182, p183). During the 18 years between 1961 and 1979, the GNP grew 30 times and, the GNP per capita 20 times. Exports especially increased almost 359 times, and by 1981 Korean exports came to account for 1.13% of the total world exports, compared to 0.03% in 1961.

Notwithstanding this impressive performance, the Korean economy suffered at the same time several defects such as an inflation rate higher than growth rate, stagnation of the domestic market and primary industry, and pressure from the accumulative foreign debt. Most importantly, for the export-oriented economic growth based on the competitive edge in the international commodity market, thanks to cheap domestic labour, the workers were forced to sacrifice under a policy of 'low wages' and 'growth first, distribution later' - although the wage rates rose higher than other 'late industrialised countries' (Amsden 1990). In contrast, a small number of conglomerates called *chaebol*, through preferential treatment by the government such as an easier excess to bank loans and exemption from certain taxes, grew to be the most distinctive and powerful feature in the Korean industrial structure, the top 20 responsible for a share of 24% in the manufacturing sales in 1980 (Song op.cit. p114).

Despite the plausible conjecture that the labour movement must have been active and aggressive in this increasingly stifling situation of inequality and unevenness in a fast-growing economy, it was not the case in the '60s and '70s. Although the FKTU did not outwardly play a role of government apparatus like the Independence-Promoting League of Labour under the Rhee regime, it was still very much under government influence, lacking worker autonomy, and the labour disputes during this period were also typically workplace-confined and economic, another example of fragmented labour movement without a leadership. Yet, the number of organised workers steadily increased from 320,000 in 1960 to 470,000 in 1970, and the membership of the League came to reach 1 million at the end of the 70's, which reflected the rapid growth of the population dependent on wages.

As the quantitative increase of organised workers was not accompanied by a qualitative development in the labour movement, a series of desperate protests were to take place. The opening incident was that of Chun Tae Il, a twenty-two year old cutter in a garment sweatshop in Seoul, who burned himself to death in 1970. His last cries - "Observe the Labour Standard Law!", "Workers are not machine!" - clearly spoke for the suppressed workers, who worked in appalling conditions with no political voice under the shadow of the brilliantly changing economy. This incident shocked the public and particularly many sympathizers previously distanced from the labour movement and attracted them into trade unions. There were two types of sympathizers: university students and church-related organisations such as the Urban Industrial Mission(UIM). Individually or in groups, they started investigations into working conditions and education programmes for workers, and some university students sought employment in factories according to their 'entryist' strategy to politicise workers. This new trend came to characterise much of the

labour movement in the 70's, and especially towards the end of the decade. The 'democratic union movement' led mostly by female workers fighting for a worker-initiated union was often assisted by outside sympathizers.

The labour movement in the '70s therefore can be said to have made a link with the wider anti-government movement. The movement was formed in opposition to the declaration of martial law in 1972 by President Park, to secure his regime in the changing atmosphere - internationally a detente between the USA and China and domestically a growing discontent with the unequal benefits of economic development. The discontent was expressed as a clear threat to Park in the 1971 presidential election where he defeated Kim Dae Jung by a narrow margin despite rigging. This downright backward move in politics enraged the public in general and caused the organisation and consolidation of the extra-parliamentary opposition. Thus, the labour movement in the '70s was in the midst of the growing political awakening and was stimulated by it. Yet, it seems that, without its own centre, the labour movement was very limited in standing on its own and putting forward its own voice, and thus an organisational solidarity with other sectors of the social political movement on an equal footing was not achieved.

In the development of the general political confrontation, the Park regime came to end as Park was assassinated by one of his closest aides in 1979. One of the factors that helped the collapse of the regime was a labour dispute, the YH incident. Female workers of the YH Trading Company who lost jobs due to the proprietor's capital plight staged a sit-in strike in the headquarters of the largest opposition party, the National Democratic Party. The sit-in was brutally crushed by the armed police, resulting in the death of a worker. The regime laid the blame upon the leader of the party, Kim Young Sam and the 'seditious' UIM.

On announcing his innocence, and denouncing the government's irrational attitude towards the UIM, Kim Young Sam, a moderate dissident, found himself expelled from the party as well as from the National Assembly. This brought about an anti-government uprising in the southern cities of Pusan and Masan, Kim's constituency and its neighbour city, and a severe warning from the Carter Administration of the USA. These two effects disoriented the tightly-woven ruling group for Pusan and Masan were also part of their own stronghold and they knew well that they could not afford to lose US back-up. Park was killed in this disorientation.

On Park's death there were great hopes for the long-awaited democratisation of the state. However, the first definite move that came was not at all democratic; General Chun Doo Hwan mobilised troops to 'purge' the military, a *de facto* coup. In the same year and later in 1980 another *coup d'etat* declared full-scale martial law, which was practically seconded by the Commander of the US-Korea Joint Forces (see Ogle op.cit. p95). The protest against the Chun's coup started in the southern city of Kwangju, where the most brutal suppression of a demonstration in recent Korean history occurred, resulting in possibly up to 2000 deaths (Clark 1988). Ipso facto, the Chun regime from the outset was destined to be the most universally hated regime in Korean history.

Economic performance in 1980 seemed to indicate that the export-oriented headlong drive had come to a standstill with the second oil crisis and the worldwide food shortage. The growth rate turned out to be negative, in fact, minus 4.8 and the inflation rate, 25.6%. Again the regime resorted to massive foreign borrowing which culminated in 1985, reaching a formidable US\$ 47,000 millions. Behind the apparent reason for the borrowing, i.e., the purchase of fuel and food, was the fact that the new regime had to

pour money into the confused *chaebol* to soothe and secure them on its side. Throughout the first half of the 80's the Korean economy remained on the verge of bankruptcy. Then, it was fortunate that international conditions began to change favourably, bringing about 'three lows', i.e., low oil prices, a low dollar and a low interest rate. By 1986, the growth rate had once more returned to the usual two-digit figure.

Chun, as commander of martial law, started out with a sweeping attack on trade Unions. The structure of the FKTU was reshuffled and changed back to an enterprise-level union system; although enterprise-level unions were still required to belong to an industrial union, the latter was deprived of any bargaining power and ordered to take up a form of federation of the former. The control and supervision at all levels of union organisations became tighter, forcing them to be subject to a 'purification committee' to ferret out any independent elements. Soon, a retrogressive revision of labour legislations, was undertaken, and as a result, 'third party interventions' in labour disputes was categorically prohibited. The handful of independent unions, including the legendary Chongkai Garment Workers Unions formed after the last words of Chun Tae Il, that had survived the harsh Park regime were crushed one by one.

The complete disbandment of independent unions, coupled with the prohibition of third party interventions led the labour movement in the early '80s to go underground to escape from the reach of State Intelligence. The progressive extra-union organisations became more active in running education programmes and in offering counselling. The Chun regime, paranoid about union radicalisation, and justifiably so, considering its weak political legitimacy, made a frantic search for connections between unions and these worker support groups, and tried to break them: the

Labour Minister ordered the dissolution of 14 dissident unions in 1986. Yet, despite this bleak situation, strikes increased, and some of them exhibited, as seen in Daewoo Motors and Daewoo Apparel in 1985, an extraordinary level of solidarity and comradeship. Although badly defeated more often than not, the efforts to democratise trade unions in the early '80s, and particularly, the struggle carried out by young female workers to unionise harbingered an impending social change.

Social change came as expected: it started in the street. Chun's decision to suspend the talks on a constitutional amendment, a decision publicly supported by the FKTU, caused the long resentment among the people to flare up. Spearheaded by university students, citizens of major cities came out to join demonstrations in the summer of 1987. As the level of protest went beyond containment, strengthened by the support from a large number of the previously quiet white-collar workers, it forced the Chun regime to give in: Roh Tae Woo, the co-maker of the 1980 coup and heir to Chun, declared the decision to reform the constitution, and outlined proposals for democratisation.

The Great June Struggles for Democratisation, as it soon came to be called, did not see the participation of the industrial workers at the organisational level although they took an active part in demonstrations individually. Within a month, reflecting their long-suppressed discontent due to their political powerlessness and economic alienation, they explosively put forward demands, which came to be called the Great July-August Workers Struggles. Within a year union density dramatically increased by 44% and by the end of 1989, the total number of organised workers reached almost 2 millions. The number of unit unions - enterprise unions - increased from 2,725 to 7,380 by mid 1989 (CCIK op.cit. p325).

This growth of trade unions meant qualitative as well as quantitative aspects. Many newly founded unions and those with a now changed leadership turned their backs on the labour-management corporatism of the FKTU and declared class-solidarity by means of their first issued statement. This trend appeared in various industrial complexes located nation-wide, and they came to form regional federations of trade unions, which expanded to 17 different regions, with 628 member unions and the total membership of 245,790 by mid 1989. Another group of organisations belonging to this trend is the occupational federations, centring on white-collar workers, that counted 11 federations with 925 member unions and the total membership of 144,200 by mid 1989 (The Korea Social Science Institute [KSSI] 1989 p399).

It is these militant federations that formed the All-nation Conference of Trade Unions in 1990 as a counter-body of the FKTU in order to overcome the spontaneity of workers' struggles and to unite on the class front. This Conference is referred to as Conference II to distinguish it from the previous Conference that was disbanded in 1961, and is the third of the three national unions that are compared in the next section.

The Korean working class has come to the fore as the most potent social force since 1987, the year which was pivotal for the labour movement. The labour movement is no longer indebted for its existence, to a small number of vanguard activists; it is firmly mass-based. Yet, it has at the same time a core of leadership, nationally as well as regionally. Also noteworthy is the change in the constitution of progressive forces in society; the traditionally strong student power in Korea has given way in status as the leading force to the working-class movement. In the early years of the 1980's student activists discussed how to achieve a radical social change more efficiently, with two strategic choices in their

hands: whether they should concentrate their full capacity on building their own movement to make it lead all the other sectors of social movement, or on educating themselves as future worker activists to organise the working class. It is now obvious that this once-much-debated topic is now rather outdated.

To be sure, the present labour movement is not without obstacles. In fact, it is being confronted with a new set of less straightforward problems partly because the capitalist class and the state have been clearly warned and partly because the economic conditions are changing. One illustrative example is the change in personnel management in workplaces. The pre-1987 personnel management was more or less equated with productivity management: the wellbeing of employees was not regarded as worth spending money on; recruiting was easy due to labour surplus, therefore, a high labour turnover did not worry employers; 'undesirable' workers were speedily dismissed and in the cases of collective resistance, the government took over the job of personnel management by quashing the resistance or forcing a mandatory arbitration. Since 1987, company management has been advised by the state to take care of its problems on its own, to the furthest possible extent. Headed by the *chaebol*, the transformation of personnel management is on its way; inter-personal relations are more closely checked, indoctrination classes are run, trade union activities are systematically interfered, everyday grievances are better listened to, and a reward system that more closely links pay and performance is operated. These efforts made by employers have yielded some degree of success, and especially intervening with union activities, in some cases, has caused inter-union conflicts.

The Roh Tae Woo regime, which started with a promise of democracy in 1988, has not been very satisfactory - the regime has been dubbed pejoratively, a 'fifth and a half

republic' rather than the Sixth. While outwardly declaring its non-interventionist principle over labour disputes, the regime has displayed its 'determination' to secure 'industrial peace', for example, by staging a land-sea-air military operation to quash the Hyundai workers' strike in 1989. The regime has also mobilised mass media to counter-propagate labour disputes, especially the establishment of the All-nation Conference of Trade Unions. With the vast majority of organised workers still paying their dues to the FKTU, and with the strong and well-calculated counter-attack by the government and employers, the democratic movement of the Korean working class at the time of the present survey, has a precipitous path ahead of it.

The last words of this section go to the present status of trade unions in Korea: unions are banned from any political involvement; only one union is permitted in each enterprise; only enterprise-level unions may negotiate with employers; intervention by third parties is prohibited; there are restrictions on the dues which unions may collect from their members; disputes are to be settled directly between union and employer, under the authority of tripartite labour committees; by the end of 1989 trade union density is 22 per cent (Upham 1992).

4.2 comparisons of class consciousness between three national union organisations across time

As indicated in the foregoing section, class consciousness, or interchangeably organisational capacity of the three national unions, i.e., the All-Nation Council of Trade Unions, the All-Nation Conference of Trade Unions and the All-Nation Conference of Trade Unions II, are comparatively analysed in this section. In doing so, their respective

inaugural manifestos and programmes are compared, the capacities on three aspects, namely, the capacity to organise, the capacity to propagate, and the capacity to mobilise are discerned, and of course, their overall strategies in their different situations are assessed.

The All-Nation Council of Trade Unions was formed in the wake of the Korean liberation from the Japanese occupation in 1945. The fact that it took merely three months to establish the Council after the Japanese surrender is a credit to the left-wing underground activists who had prepared the ground under colonial rule, but also the prospect of regaining their sovereignty after 35 years tremendously excited the Korean people and made them seek organisation contributed to the speedy establishment of the Council. By the end of 1945, the Council claimed the undisputable representation of the Korean working class with 17 industrial unions and a total membership of 573,408 (DTU. op.cit. p99) -- the size of membership could have been exaggerated to some extent by the Council itself considering the total number of workers in manufacturing, mining, and transportation all combined, did not exceed 560,000 (Ko 1989 p96). But, it is also to be noted that the Council included agricultural workers, commercial workers, clerical workers, etc., in fact, every sector of wage labour which at that time consisted of up to 5 millions (see Ogle, op.cit. p8-9).

In structuring itself, the Council, in principle, chose the form of industrial union as its basis, having learnt a lesson from the defeat of the Wonsan general strike in 1929 that regional unions were more decentralised and thus less competent (KSSI op.cit. p147). Complementary to the industrial-union-axis were regional councils that were to deliver the strategies and perspectives of the industrial unions to each region so that branches of industrial unions could participate in discussion.

Now, let us deal with written material of the Council. Discussed are three extracts the first of which is shown below.

Inaugural Manifesto

We would make the mistake of syndicalism if we equated the union movement solely with struggles for economic benefits, ignoring and downplaying political struggles..., on the other hand, we must also fight against the infantile tendency to lead the masses only through political struggles, which would result in isolation from the masses.... Therefore, we must develop a grass-roots and popular union movement in which any worker would willingly participate. That is to say, we must lead and organise struggles for the workers' everyday interests, make those struggles the propulsive force for the economic construction in the early period of the national foundation of Korea, take the full responsibility for production management as trade unions, and thus, contribute to the sound development of Korean industry by securing the right to participate in the management of enterprises.

Distinctive in the manifesto above are two characteristics: one is the assertion of the formation of link and balance between economic and political struggles, and the other is the emphasis on social responsibility. These were repeatedly reiterated by the leadership of the Council and the reason for that, I think, is that, as north of the Peninsula was believed to be already governed by the people themselves, and as the vast majority of the working class in south Korea had chosen to organise in the pro-north Council, unification with the north and the establishment of a people's state in the whole of Korea were perceived as a matter of time. That is to say, seeing the acquisition of power as approaching so near, the leadership of the Council put more emphasis on constructing the production facilities than on direct confrontation with either the U.S. military government or the capitalists. For the leadership, the arch-enemy was remnants of the Japanese rule. Social responsibility is again highlighted in the principles of practice shown below.

Principles of Practice

1. We actively participate in complete independence of Korea, that is, the establishment of the regime based on the national unification front and progressive democracy exclusive of pro-Japan traitors.
2. We overcome the present shortage depression and vicious inflation by building industries in cooperation with conscientious nationalistic capitalists.
3. We defend workers' interests through the movement specified above and expand and consolidate our organisation by educating and disciplining the working masses.

There is no expression of confrontation in the three principles above. Also noteworthy is that there is no reference to the organisational autonomy, which the Council, as a Communist-affiliated body, obviously considered to be an unimportant point.

The action platform below is also largely composed of legislative demands. The only outstanding item that is at variance with capitalist order is the tenth demand: the demand over the right for factory committees to control production in factories formerly owned by pro-Japan proprietors. Yet, even this demand is hardly radical or revolutionary, considering that most industries were not formerly owned by pro-Japan traitors but by Japanese, and that they were now in temporary possession of the U.S. military, upon which no demand was made. In other words, the Council was waiting for the U.S. decision to come out or for them to leave the matters to Koreans eventually.

Action Platform

1. Establish a minimum-wage system that guarantees the livelihood of the workers!
2. Implement the eight-hour work day!
3. Implement the six-day work week and provide one-month paid vacation!
4. Provide two-month vacation for pregnant female workers before and after childbirth!
5. Prohibit child labour for children under fourteen!
6. Establish housing, nurseries, recreation rooms, and medical facilities for workers!

7. Establish collective bargaining rights for the interests of the workers!
8. Speedily begin operation of all industries!
9. Absolute opposition to dismissal and unemployment!
10. Let us obtain the right for factory committees to possess and control all industries formerly owned by national traitors and the pro-Japanese!
11. Implement a social security system for the unemployed!
12. Oppose all sub-contract systems based on exploitation!
13. Absolute freedom of speech, publication, assembly, association, and strike!
14. Absolutely support the farmers' movement!
15. Let us support the Korean People's Republic!
16. Long live Korean independence!
17. Long live the unity of the working class of the world!

Notwithstanding the construction-oriented stand of the Council, the major mistake it made was that it distanced itself from the development of the U.S.-initiated politics. For example, the Council refused to register as a union, as ordered by the U.S. military, and was thus disbanded, mainly because they did not want to acknowledge the U.S. military government as a body possessing the jurisdiction in Korea. Therefore, while not confronting it with demands and policies, the Council was actually placing itself in a confrontational position with the U.S. military.

In fact, the relations between them were hostile enough and were getting more incompatible with the growing hostility between the U.S and Soviet Union. Thus, the Soviet-backed and Soviet-backing Council was definitely an unpleasant element for the U.S. Yet, as detected in the profuse expression of gratitude to the Allies by the Korean Communist Party (Lee 1977 p82), the Korean left-wing in general did not fully realise that the change of international atmosphere, i.e. the breakdown of unity between the Allies was also forcing them to change their own position. The effect of underrating the U.S. interest in south Korea was soon to be known; in September 1946, the Council carried out the greatest general strike in Korean history with the participation of 250,000 workers, and was so brutally suppressed, with the arrest of more than 30,000

participants, that the organisational structure itself collapsed (KSSI op.cit. p150). The general strike also revealed that the capability of crisis management was seriously flawed; as soon as the strike escalated to being a mass uprising, as happened in several regions, especially in the southern city of Taegu, and the U.S. army started to fire at the demonstrators, the Council found itself helpless.

The Council's capacity to organise appeared extremely good at the outset, yet, degenerated drastically after the defeat in the September general strike. This conspicuous change, while telling us how crucial it is to win at least some demands in a general strike, also reaffirms that the initial organisation was largely achieved due to situational factors which were not extended to stimulate the members over time and failed to be sustained. Its capacity to propagate was proved by its organ, the All-Nation Workers' News and also greatly assisted by the organ of the Korean Communist Party. In addition, the internal propagation, or membership education was systematically carried out by regional councils and by the organs of each industrial union. The Council's capacity to mobilise was proved by the September general strike and later also shown in the pro-trusteeship demonstrations at the end of 1946. Yet, those demonstrations also showed the Council's hastiness; while the Council mobilised its members for *pro-trusteeship* demonstrations in the midst of national rages *against* trusteehip, the mobilised workers went out in the streets without understanding the reason for the sudden change of their organisation's view on this matter, let alone being allowed to have time to form their own opinion. Without any intra-organisational groundwork the Council basically followed the abrupt, literally overnight change of the Communist Party's attitude from

anti to trusteeship to pro¹, which immediately put the whole left wing camp into a vulnerable position, bombarded with nationalistic attacks from the right. Thus, like its capacity to organise, the Council's capacity to mobilise was largely an effect of the unusual condition, i.e., the advent of liberation. Therefore, the class consciousness of the All-Nation Council of Trade Unions, although greatly boosted by the situational factors, was fatally flawed in terms of its strategic aspect, especially in its view of the U.S. military as an army of liberation.

The second national union-organisation to be analysed is the also-short-lived All-Nation Conference of Trade Unions that burgeoned at the end of the Rhee Syng Man regime in 1959, subsequently merged with the League of Labour in the wake of the April Uprising and Rhee's resignation in 1960, and was eventually dissolved by Park Chung Hee in 1961. What triggered trade unionists to establish another national union is thought to be in general the League's continued stand as a government's apparatus, and in particular, the extreme level of corruption not only overlooked but also fostered by the leadership of the Pusan Dockworkers' Union and the Federation of Dockworkers' Unions which exerted a dominant influence in the League then. The discontent with the workings of the dockworkers'

¹The four-power (US, USSR, UK, and China) trusteeship was part of the agreement at the Mosca Foreign Ministers Conference in December 1945. See Cummings (1981 pp215-227) for the content of the Moscow Agreement. He then goes on to describe the events revolving around the Agreement as follows;

On January 3, 1946, leftist groups that have been expressing opposition to trusteeship abruptly swiched their stand. They came out *not* in favor of trusteeship, as has so often been charged, but in favor of the *the full* text of the Moscow agreement... Within days, rightist propaganda had worked its effects: the Left found it all but impossible to refute charges of collusion with Russians, the American came out as champions of independence and the Left suffered a temporary but distinct diminution of support in the south (Cummings 1981 pp223-224).

unions was aggravated when the president of the Federation of Dockworkers' Unions, known to be partial and corrupted, successfully conspired to change the collective leadership system of the League to a presidential lead and to assume the presidency of the League himself. This incident led a group of leaders in the League to plan a split which was readily seconded by the leader of a main faction in the League who was in personal rivalry with the new president. Although that particular leader later returned to the League having been persuaded by Rhee, the other leaders proceeded to form a new national body and eventually established the All-Nation Conference of Trade Unions through a clandestine meeting among union leaders in October 1959. The support for and strength of the Conference was shown by its rapid growth in size immediately after the April uprising; 311 out of 541 member unions, accounting for 140,000 out of 290,000 organised workers, seceded from the pro-government League of Labour (Kim 1982 p250) In terms of organisational structure, the Conference changed little from the conventional form of the League; it was still composed partly of regional unions, partly semi-industrial unions, and partly, enterprise-level unions.

Three extracts from written materials issued by the Conference are discussed (All of them are cited from The History of Korean Trade-Union Movement. FKTU 1979 pp 488-490).

Inaugural Manifesto

We hereby solemnly declare that we form the All-nation Conference of Trade Unions in order to strive for the development of a truly free and democratic trade-union movement, that we will win workers' right through a relentless fight against malicious proprietors, their agents, and labour brokers, that we will strive to promote the cultural status of the working masses by abolishing every kind of bureaucratic elements reminiscent of feudalism, and that we render services to democratisation and anti-communist unification of the fatherland.

The mention of labour brokers, and feudal elements shows the direct cause of the formation of the Conference: the practice of the dockworkers' unions as a middle man between workers and the company. The mention of anti-communist unification, on the other hand, shows that the Conference's stand in the relations with Rhee, a fanatic anti-communist and, unificationist, was not intended to be confrontational. In addition, we can deduce that the Conference did not have a comprehensive view of the relationship between capital and labour, inferring from the expression, malicious proprietors, that is, proprietors distinguished only by a vague personality-describing qualifier.

A vagueness is also detected in the programmes shown below:

Programmes

1. We fight to defend workers' human right and to promote workers' wellbeing through free and democratic labour movement.
2. We contribute, through democratic labour movement, to the sound development of national economy and to the building of a just society where workers and capitalist are equal.
3. We secure the national sovereignty through democratic labour movement and contribute to the world peace joining hands with international labour movement.

For union programmes, these look rather under-formulated, which tells us that the Conference scarcely developed a concrete alternative to the League's policy. Considering the wretched conditions of workers at that time, the Conference's programmes were severely limited only being a reform of intra-organisational practices, and ambiguous at that. The second item categorically reveals how equivocal the Conference's perspective on the capitalist-worker relationship was. It is not at all comprehensible what the equality between the two classes actually consists of in this context.

The prospectus of the Conference below explains in some detail why they wanted to launch a new national confederation. The overall impression it conveys to the reader is probably that it has almost a diplomatic tone, emphatically acknowledging the past accomplishments of the League and painstakingly explaining why the existence of two national confederations was not tantamount to a disruption to the unity of the national front of workers. It is to be noted, like the foregoing documents and like many diplomatic statements, that there is not a great deal of tangibleness in this prospectus of the Conference.

Prospectus

....From the outset, the establishment of trade unions in this country was given as a present by the national liberation and democracy, unlike in advanced democratic countries whose unions were a result of workers' active struggles. What is more, the unions in this country launched not as workers' organisations in their original sense, but as patriotic organisations fighting against the communist infiltration. Therefore, we cannot but earnestly admit that, despite the innumerable accomplishments in anti-communist struggles, the unions had been abnormal by the standard of its essential task in labour movement.

However, as the domestic circumstances became stable with the establishment of the government, the Korean union movement managed to return to their proper task and developed a normal union movement. In addition, through the enforcement of labour laws and other relevant laws, labour movement came to be legally protected and workers could exercise the rights of organisation, of collective action, and of strike..

Yet, there must be several reasons why the Korean labour movement has not freed itself from the boundaries of past tendencies, in spite of the improved conditions. The most important among those reasons that can be pointed out is in a word a lack of autonomy... Therefore, we are convinced that the normalisation and development of Korean trade union movement can be achieved through the member unions' democratisation....

.... our constant and enduring efforts to democratise the League from inside have proved to be vain...

Therefore, we hereby intend to form a new national organisation. As seen in advanced democratic countries, the existence of two or three national organisations is usual, and their movement develops soundly through the mutual competition among them....

The prospectus above, like the foregoing documents, makes it clear that the Conference does not intend to challenge the state authority or to change significantly any legislative aspect of labour relations. Needless to say, it does not propose any structural reform of the economy. Yet, the emphasis on the importance of autonomy in the union movement is to be viewed as significant when compared with the Council of 1945.

Although the formation of the Conference was encouraging to the workers who had been dissatisfied with the practices of the League, the Conference did not officially lead any of the strikes that occurred in a great number in 1960, which makes it an impossible task to analyse the capacities of the Conference to organise and to mobilise. Or to be more precise, the fact that the Conference was not systematically involved in labour disputes, gives us an idea as to how much influence the Conference exerted on its member unions.

The Conference's reluctance to interfere with politics and its cautious stand on its relations with the League were to some extent revised by the April Uprising. In a statement issued by the Conference three weeks after the Uprising, the Conference demanded the immediate resignation of the League's executives and of 'the person administratively responsible' for infringing labour laws (FKTU 1979 p494). Still, making use of a roundabout expression like 'person responsible' instead of specifically pointing out the official post or the name indicates that this statement was for a decorative purpose, at least to some extent.

The most serious strategic mistake that the Conference made was perhaps its decision to merge with the still larger League, which resulted in the weakening of the already loose link between the leadership and the rank and file in the organisation of the Conference. Although the

leadership of the newly merged organisation was largely composed of the Conference side, internal power struggles were soon started by former leading factions of the League who were so used to exploiting the organisation for their personal purposes. Consequently, until its dissolution by the May 1961 military coup, the newly formed confederation had to busy itself with internal strife. The Conference practically left the rank and file scattered and separate at a time of great opportunity for the democratisation of state apparatuses.

Assessing the class consciousness of the Conference is relatively easy in a sense because it was an organisation that was almost totally detached from the rank and file. Not only its level of class consciousness measured by the content of the written materials confirms that the leadership was class conscious only at a rudimentary level, but also the organisational practices from the outset to the end, provided no noticeable flow between the leadership and the rank and file. Considering the Conference' decision to merge with the dubious League without any concrete alternative concerning the character of the new organisation in a turbulent period of politics, the capacity of the Conference in appraising and taking into account the circumstantial and external conditions seemed, with hindsight, no better than that of the Council of 1945. Although the effect of the error made by the Conference was not perhaps as devastating as that by the latter, it was only because the Conference did not set out with a vast number of devoted members in the first place.

The last organisation to be scrutinised is the All-Nation Conference of Trade Unions founded in January 1990, and is referred to as the Conference II. The Conference II was declared illegal by the government even before birth, so it had to launch itself in a guerrilla-like style: leaflets were thrown about and the president went into hiding

immediately. The preparation period for the Conference II was long compared to that of the two previous organisations; it was eventually formed more than a year after the decision was announced by the National Meeting of Regional and Occupational Federations at the end of 1988. Three inter-linked obstacles standing in the way of the formation of the Conference II may be worth mentioning: first, there were some trade unionists within the radical sectors, who believed that pursuing the democratisation of the existing FKTU would be strategically more efficient than forming a new organisation and fighting against the FKTU from outside; secondly, those who preferred the form of industrial unions over regional unions insisted that the formation of industrial unions should have precedence; thirdly, the capacities of the existing regional and occupational unions were so uneven that it was difficult to converge their pressing tasks and conditions into a single organisation. Eventually, the general opinion became more inclined to the stand of 'founding first, problem-solving later'. Thus, the Conference II was born, consisting of 14 regional federations and 2 occupational federations, 574 unit-unions representing 190,000 workers.

Two rather lengthy extracts are dealt with below.

Inaugural Manifesto

We today solemnly declare, waving high the flag of the All-nation Conference of Trade Unions, that a new history of independent and democratic labour movement launches in this land. For how long we have been forced a slave-like life with sub-human living conditions and no political rights! Yet, now look! Look at the nation-wide procession of workers who begin to march with vigour, standing out aloft at the fore of history, severing the shackles of oppression and subservience!

We, workers, are the subject in maintaining this society and in developing the history as direct producer...

We have undertaken indomitable struggles in factories, in offices, in pits, and in streets, crushing every kind of coercion and appeasement by the capitalist and the State which obstructed the workers organisational advance and struggles in order to eternalize the suppression and

exploitation on workers. We have organised trade unions at workplaces, formed regional and industrial unions, and eventually concentrated in the All-nation Conference of Trade Unions, overcoming the boundaries of regions and occupations.

We hereby declare that the workers in this land now have a nation-wide organisation through which they can promote their own economic, social and political status, and deal in unity with the oppression by the capital and the state. We announce that a new organisational actor that can develop an autonomous and democratic labour movement overcoming the labour-management corporatism, and the governmental apparatus-like and undemocratic trade unionism, typified by the FKTU, is born. We also declare to the entire world that the organisational procession of the all workers in the country that can unite with other democratic forces in order to actualise freedom and happiness of the 40 million people by eliminating the oppression and exploitation by the regime and the few *chaebol*, sets sail.

...On the basis of the development of our organisation and consciousness through popular union movement with widely participated struggles in order to realise economic benefits, we will proceed to fight,... in order to transform fundamentally the economic and social structures and in order to advance the democratisation, autonomy, and the peaceful unification of the fatherland.

In order to fulfil these basic goals, we will, on the one hand, expand and consolidate the organisational capacity of the democratic labour movement, and on the other hand, strive for the establishment of the national centre of industrial unions...replacing the enterprise union system...

... We are convinced... for our forward path accords with the direction of development of history.

...Let us liquidate, united firmly under the flag of the All-Nation Conference of Trade Unions, the past days of oppression, subservience, co-option, and non-democracy, and march forcibly towards the society of freedom and equality.

Long live the All-Nation Conference of Trade Unions!
Long live the labour movement!

Two outward differences between this manifesto and those previous ones are; that opposition to capital, specifically pointing out the *chaebol* as the arch-enemy, is affirmed without a qualifier here; that the state is made clear as adversary to the working class. A closer look into the document tells us that the Conference II is reluctant to play an ideologue; there is no obvious reference to socialism, although one might say that it is all underlined

throughout the manifesto, especially in the phrase of 'a fundamental transformation of economic and social structure'. Three possible explanations for this apparent downplaying of ideology can be listed: firstly, considering the still-strong 'red' complex in the minds of South Koreans, the lack of references to socialism may have been tactically or cosmetically chosen; secondly, it is possible that the leadership is genuinely a-ideological; thirdly, a mixture of the first and second cases can be assumed, that is, the leadership is partly cautious and partly thinks that opting for one type of ideology over another is not essential in the labour movement in Korea. Whichever is true, the underlying theme in the manifesto is basically socialist. Finally, noteworthy is the repeated emphasis on the solidarity with other democratic forces, as proclaimed in its Manifesto as well as its Programmes. This shows that the Conference II has overcome sectional interests and possibly class-centric attitudes.

Programmes

1. We fight to win living wages by the 44 hour week.
2. We abolish the wage differentials between occupations, sexes, and the academic qualifications, and win the same wages for the same labour.
3. We fight to win an institutionalised job security system for the prevention of dismissal and unemployment, for the livelihood of the unemployed and for employment guarantee.
4. We fight to secure safe working conditions to prevent industrial accidents and occupational diseases.
5. We fight to win completely the rights to organisation, to collective bargaining, and to collective action.
6. We fight in solidarity to crush the suppression of labour movement by the capitalists and the state.
7. We fight to win the establishment of the public-owned lease housing legislation, the enactment of free compulsory education and of national health service, reform of unfair taxes, the expansion of the fiscal expenses on social welfare, reforms in legislations and policies on stabilisation of prices and prevention of pollution.
8. We fight to abolish discrimination against female workers and to protect maternity.
9. We scrape out degenerating imported cultures and establish a wholesome grassroots culture.

10. We fight to win the workers' and the whole people's democratic rights such as the freedoms of speech, of publication, of assembly, of association, of protest, and of thought.
11. We, in firm unity with other democratic forces, fight to realise the democratisation, autonomy, and peaceful unification of the fatherland.
12. We contribute to the world peace through international solidarity with the workers in the world.

Distinctive in the Conference II's programmes is first that the demands are concrete unlike those of the previous two organisations, and second, that wider social problems crossing class boundaries, such as 'degenerating imported cultures' and 'pollution' are pointed out. All in all, the most salient feature in the class consciousness of the Conference II is that its wide grasp of the society is based firmly on a class-based stand, which contrasts with the primacy of social responsibility put forward by the Council of 1945.

Notwithstanding the high level of class consciousness shown in the written materials above, the Conference II's capacity to organise has not proved to be equally excellent. Within a year, the membership of the Conference II was reduced by 33% from 190,000 to fewer than 130,000 (Weekly Workers' News. 28 Dec. 1990). Also, the Conference II still relies mainly on medium to small unions, not being able to converge the demands of large-scale unions. To be sure, the extreme degree of suppression by the Roh regime has to be fully taken into account to explain the disappointing achievement of the Conference II. Especially, the government tactics of investigating the internal affairs and interrogating the officials of the member unions of the Conference II in order to undertake 'administrative audits' has been effective in undermining the Conference II's efforts to recruit. Yet, by adhering to a defensive position, the Conference II has not been able to make full use of its capacity as the one of the two

peak union organisations in the country.

The Conference II's capacity to propagate seems split in its two dimensions. As for internal propagation, the Conference II is very well connected to its member unions, sending out its officials to member unions to assist them whenever needed as well as through the organ and leaflets on specific issues. However, external propagation to non-member unions and to the wider public has not been much attempted, and this lack of external propagation has had a damaging effect on the Conference II when the government is determined to innundate the public with counter-propaganda against it. The limit in the latter type of propagandism has been, of course, one of the causes of the under-organisation of the Conference II.

The capacity to mobilise was once tested when the Conference II called for a general strike on May Day 1990. Considering that 120,000 workers of 155 trade unions participated in the strike for 4 days, the Conference II can in fact mobilise most of its member unions. This, in turn, indirectly proves that its internal propagation has been conducive to its organisational cohesion.

This section is not intended to make attempts to quantify class consciousness. Hence, I list a few general points that can be deduced from the comparisons above. Firstly, it seems clear that class consciousness, as far as organisational behaviour is concerned, is not to be analysed on the sole basis of either quantitative methods or qualitative methods. In other words, class consciousness of organisation should be scrutinised by its quantifiable behaviour as well as the content of the behaviour, for example, by the frequency and scale of propagation as well as by what is propagated. Only by regarding the two aspects simultaneously, can we make a correct assessment.

Secondly, if it is agreed that class consciousness should be explicated partly by adaptability to circumstances without being co-opted, it becomes obvious that conditions outside the organisation in question have to be looked at. In addition, it is essential to discern the extent to which the external conditions undermine or facilitate the development of organisation. Only by doing so, are we able to compare two or more organisations at different points in time.

Thirdly and lastly, as shown in this section, the three capacities, to organise, to propagate and to mobilise are to be understood as analytically devised tools, that is to say, they do not in reality exist in the form of some entity separable from, let alone independent of each other. On the contrary, the capacities and their workings, dynamic and inter-related, affect each other and are to be seen as a whole.

A more systematic attempt to analyse organisational capacity will be made from the next chapter onward. While there has been difficulty inherent in comparisons between concrete organisations at different points in time in this chapter, involving some aspects that are in fact not commensurate due to the difference in their respective environmental factors, we will now turn to analyse various trade unions under the same space/time conditions.

Chapter 5

Designing and conducting the survey: the Methodology

5.1 developing a class consciousness scale

I will attempt here to articulate one of the assumptions made at the end of Chapter 3, namely, that class consciousness can develop upward, and based on that articulation, to create a scale to measure individual class consciousness.

First of all, to assume that class consciousness can develop upward is to assume that its development has directionality and may appear to conflict with another of the working hypotheses, that the path of its development cannot be definitively preconceived. Therefore, it is to be re-emphasised that the upward development of class consciousness is no more than a possibility that is contingent upon factors both known and unknown to us, yet that can still be legitimately pursued. In addition, the assumed directionality does not exclude the possibility of other directions with which in fact we are not unfamiliar. Hence, what is assumed here in this thesis is not very much different from the premises that people's attitudes, their view of the world, their influence on their own lives change and that the change can be consciously intended although the consequences cannot be predicted.

On the process of class consciousness development, yet another hypothesis was put forward in Chapter 3: the development is not linear. As richly documented in the attitude change literature, attitudes are notoriously hard to grasp for their seemingly inconsistent or even obviously contradictory components. This aspect has been in fact the focal point of the quasi-hegemonic theory of class

consciousness development (Chamberlain 1983). Therefore, from this inconsistency observed within single individuals, a hypothesis is drawn: individual class consciousness consists of various components and levels or dimensions of attitudes. This leads to derivatives that there are some aspects of class consciousness that are more difficult to develop than others and that the forms of the differences may well vary among individuals, although those people exposed to the same set of mediating factors may be inclined to a higher degree of homogenisation.

The questionnaire of the present survey is based on three premises that are drawn from the criticisms of Wright's questionnaire in Chapter 3. First, each of the ten questions in the questionnaire is devised to explore a unique aspect of its own in class consciousness, so that, taken together, the questionnaire enables us to tap the widest possible range of class consciousness. It is to be noted that, while there are surely many more aspects of class consciousness than the present questionnaire covers, for example, class consciousness as a member of the global society, as a father, and as a commuter, etc., - 'Sociality is the capacity of being several things at once' (Mead 1959 p49) - a compromise is necessary in practical consideration for the return rate of each questionnaire: the rule of thumb is that, 'the more questions, the lower the return rate'. Second, four response choices for each question are designed to elicit qualitative differences arguably existing in every aspect of class consciousness, so that the dichotomous rigidity inherent in a yes/no or present/absent response style is avoided, and the developmental nature of class consciousness, not just an increase in intensity of attitudes (e.g., how much do you like or dislike...?) is gripped. Third, the questions are worded such that the responses can be interpreted with clear and direct reference to class terms: the questions and choices do not leave room for other loci of reference

so that, say, the respondents' fascistic tendency could be misinterpreted as pro-worker. Two additional notes are to be made: some questions, containing words whose meanings are situation specific, i.e., that can be understood only in the situation unique to Korea, cannot be generalised to workers in other countries - this point will be further clarified with the discussion on individual questions below; while the response choices are scaled, they are not regarded as intervally scaled, and thus, the statistical technique to analyse the responses has primarily to be that of frequency which are sufficient to display response patterns. The whole questionnaire except for two supplementary questions on age and sex is shown below. Every question is followed by a blank space which respondents are invited to make use of if they want to add any comments of their own. The provision for the open-end responses has a two-fold purpose: to ensure one of the four choices presented as developmental stages of class consciousness does correspond at least roughly to the respondent's without substantial distortion of it; and to use the response results for further research.

In what follows, I will try to present a rationale behind the formulation of each question in our survey questionnaire, although it seems self-explanatory in many cases. The results of a pilot study consisting of a small number of union leaders and members, Marxist activists outside a union, house wives and white-collar workers with no apparent ideological inclination, in formulating the questions, will be indicated for certain cases.

Question 1 What do you think of your work fellows?

1. My work fellows and I are in competitive relations (in terms of promotion and wages increase, etc.).
2. We work closely together, but I feel no deeper trust in them.
3. We share pains and pleasures.
4. We are, or will be, comrades, striving for the

same ultimate goal.

Question 1 taps the Marxist argument that association of workers marks the beginning of the end of competition among workers, i.e., the nature of collective labour dawns on workers with a first attempt to organise themselves. And it is hypothesised that the response patterns differ between workers in the unionised workplace and those in the non-union workplace. The scale is formulated in the order that starts with a feeling of competition which is overshadowed by a perception of physical proximity, and then develops into some kind of friendship, and help of experience in class struggle, eventually to comradeship. In the pilot study, it was ensured that the word 'competitive' contained in the first choice, generally did not convey a constructive connotation.

Question 2 What is your opinion about collective action?

1. Individual action is more effective and efficient than collective action.
2. At times demanding collectively is necessary.
3. Collective action is powerful, hence, an essential means for winning.
4. Collective action is meaningful not only as a means to accomplishing immediate goals but also as a school for solidarity and trust.

If Question 1 deals with mainly an affective and concrete aspect of collectivity, Question 2 entails a conceptual evaluation of it. The choices range from a rejection of the necessity of collective action, to a conditional (while the conditions are not specified) acceptance of it, to a general acceptance of it as a means, and finally to a recognition of collective action as a goal in its own right, which, it is conjectured, can be viewed as socialistic and as based on the 'associational logic', borrowing Offe and Wiesenenthal's term discussed in Chapter 3 of this thesis.

Question 3 To what extent do you think militant struggles by workers are appropriate?

1. I disagree with any militancy whatsoever.
2. I am content with the solidarity of the workers in my workplace.
3. It would be optimal if all the workers of one industry were united.
4. The nationwide solidarity should be achieved.

This question is intended to measure the extensiveness of solidarity in an individual's perception of workers' struggle. It is hypothesised that workers' perception and aspiration on solidarity will expand from a rejection of militancy, to a confinement to his/her own workplace to industry-wide, and eventually to nation-wide.

Question 4 What kind of society do you want?

1. I am largely satisfied with the society we live in now.
2. I want a society in which the living wages are guaranteed.
3. I want a society where the individual's class identity is determined by his or her own effort.
4. We should strive for an equal and classless society.

Question 4 is formulated on the basis of the assumption that, when class consciousness develops, it does so along with an articulation of ideas concerning improvements in certain aspects of society, and a conception of a preferred alternative structure of society, as suggested by Giddens (1980). The third choice of this question is derived from the speculation that regarding class existence as fair provided the upward/downward mobility on the class ladder is guaranteed according to one's effort can be considered to be more class conscious than just hoping for 'a society that guarantees the living wages', but less class conscious than rejecting the whole idea of class altogether. At the time of the survey, a minimum wage was not guaranteed to Korean workers, let alone a living wage.

Question 5 How do you see your future social status?

1. I am satisfied with my present being as a wage worker.
2. Although I have no desire to change my status as a factory worker, I want to be better off than now.
3. I want to start a small business of my own if the opportunity comes.
4. I will remain a worker and fight as one until we are emancipated from exploitation and alienation.

This question aims to assess the intensiveness of interest in, or commitment to, transforming society with *personal* reference to the respondent's future. The third choice is thought to involve some degree of escapism in the face of class exploitation, though more class conscious than both complacency (first choice) and aspirations confined to pecuniary terms (second choice). Some respondents in the pilot study expressed doubts on the order of the choices suggesting that the third choice was the least pro-worker of all. However, it remains there in the third position on advice from others: striving to going beyond the wage earner status at the personal level is more class conscious than acquiescing in it. Some room for debate is still thought to exist.

Question 6 What kind of action do you think you are prepared to take in order to bring about radical social change?

1. Voting in elections and referenda is my best effort.
2. I intend to participate in educational programmes for workers or street demonstration.
3. I believe that we need a working class party. I will take part in organised political activity.
4. Against the state violence attempting to suppress the workers' movement I will not hesitate to resort to violence.

This question is concerned with the extensiveness of a viable range of concrete actions that can be opted for to transform society. The underlying assumption is that the more a worker is committed to social change, the more extensive the range of actions she is prepared to resort

to. Obvious from the four choices is that street demonstrations were not uncommon as a means of expressing opposition to the government, that a working class party was non-existent in Korea, and that the government's suppression of the workers' movement was sometimes violent at the time of the survey.

Question 7 What do you think of the nature of labour disputes in this country?

1. It is an employer-employee problem in the factory concerned.
2. The problem goes over and beyond the workplace boundaries. It is a problem between the working class and the capitalist class.
3. The conflict includes not only the two classes but also the political regime.
4. The conflict bears a fundamental social contradiction involving the political and economic system and ideology.

The problem of Question 7 reflects another classical assertion in Marxism: every struggle of the working class is a class struggle, and class struggle not only involves two classes themselves, but also the whole of social relations. It will also be interesting to see to what extent Lenin's contention on 'trade union consciousness', i.e., that trade unions develop perception that is limited to the relationship between the immediate employer and workers is supported.

Question 8 What is your attitude towards the 'company owner'?

1. The company owner works hard for the company, and the workers should help him or her by working hard as well.
2. The company owner is an essential element for the company, but his or her interests are not identical with ours.
3. The owner and the workers are both necessary for production, but the relationship between the two sides is hostile.
4. The owner exploits workers, which is morally wrong, hence the class of company owners should disappear.

It is to be noted that the general public in Korea uses the term 'company owner' interchangeably with the 'chairman' of the board of directors, and the 'largest shareholder' if it is a corporation; that as a rule a company owner, even of the largest conglomerate, 'works' for the company and makes the top decisions, unlike some large firms especially in developed countries with a growing tendency of detachment of management from ownership. As for the choices, the first focuses on co-operation, the second on the importance of the company owner's role but also on the difference of interests of the two classes, the third on the symbiotic but confrontational relationship, and the fourth on the rejection of the dominant ideology and the negation of class system.

Question 9 At what level do you think wage rises or wage negotiations should be settled?

1. The financial shape of the company is to be importantly considered.
2. Wage rise should accord with productivity rise and inflation rate.
3. Wage settlement is only an one-year armistice and we have to demand our share every year.
4. Wage rise does not change the fact that workers are exploited. Thus, wage rise can never satisfy me.

This question specifically aims at the perception on wages. While all the choices but the last one are in the boundary of the wage system, they are thought to be placed in this order, according to the various perceptions on what constitutes a wage, or on which criteria should be employed to put forward a demand on wage increase. Wages, being the core of workers' reward from work in capitalist society, are thought to be difficult to negate and transcend even conceptually, which makes the fourth choice qualitatively distinctive from the other three. In the pilot study, it was suggested that even highly class conscious workers would take the financial state of the company into account for wage bargaining (first choice), but the vast majority

thought differently; while they would consider it technically at the bargaining, it does not mean that those with high class consciousness would opt for the first choice sacrificing the third or fourth in the questionnaire.

Question 10 What do you think of the intervention in labour disputes by the so-called 'radical opposition'?

1. It is undesirable.
2. As far as the opposition supports the workers, its welcome.
3. We should ask for not only its assistance but also guide and lead.
4. Although the aid from the opposition is highly needed, more important is to build our own nationwide organisation to help ourselves.

Question 10 probes into the willingness toward class alliance or the so-called 'united front' by tapping the ways in which workers view external assistance allegedly on their side. The first choice represents a rejection of a broader political alliance, the second a conditional and passive acceptance of it, the third a positive acceptance with a tendency to dependence on it, and the fourth the primary importance of the autonomous strength of their own organisations and also a need for alliance. The term, 'radical opposition', popularly used interchangeably with the 'uninstitutionalised opposition' denoted the loosely organised, extra-parliamentary political groups with or without socialist ideology. They were in general considered to be pro-worker and some of the sectors made it central to their job to promote workers' power by getting involved in unionisation and labour disputes, which was illegal under the Korean labour law, and despite the counter-propaganda by the government, they were regarded as 'our side' by many active trade unionists at the time of the survey.

5.2 on the survey area

The survey area includes two adjoining cities, Masan and Changwon, located on the southern coast of Korea.

Masan was designated as a Free Export Zone (MAFEZ) in 1970 and saw a drastic expansion in population, drawn to the newly built factories from the adjacent rural areas. The population of Masan was around 460,000 in 1986. The MAFEZ is exclusively for the purpose of export and houses medium to small size foreign firms centring on electronics manufacturing. More than half of the 75 factories in the MAFEZ are Japanese-owned, attracted by low wages and favourable exchange rates. For example, while low exchange rates and wages and wage levels helped boost employment in 1986 and 1987, the trend of wage rises since late 1987 has made some foreign factories in the MAFEZ withdraw capital. The number of workers employed in the MAFEZ at the time of the survey in 1989 was around 30,000, of whom almost 80% are female.

On the other hand, the Changwon Machinery Industrial Complex (CMIC) built as a development promotion area in 1974, is for Korean firms, especially for Korean monopoly capital. The main products of the CMIC are general machinery for production facilities and munitions. Although the population of the city is 190,000, less than a half of the Masan population, the numbers of workers and companies in the CMIC are both greater than those of the MAFEZ, 80,000 and 172 respectively. Most of the 80,000 workers live in Masan and commute, for Masan is by far the better provider in all kinds of facilities. Approximately 85% of the workers in the CMIC are male.

The trade union movement in the MAFEZ-CMIC was almost non-existent before 1987. One conspicuous reason for this

absence was two Acts circumscribing the establishment of trade unions in these two complexes; the Special Act on Foreigners' Investment prohibited trade unions in the whole MAFEZ and the Special Measures on Defence Enterprises placed a ban on establishing trade unions in munition factories and munition-convertible factories in the CMIC where the 30 odd enterprise-level unions were invariably company-manipulated.

An exception to this total absence of trade unionism was the struggle for unionisation in the Tong-Il Corporation, a munitions factory where the struggle lasted for several years before 1987. The Tong-Il case bears another feature uncharacteristic of the larger MAFEZ-CMIC atmosphere: the struggle was led by a student activist turned worker. Although there were a few university students employed as factory workers in the mid 1980's, student entryism was not at all commonplace in Masan and Changwon, and in fact, the Tong-Il struggle is the only known case in which the top leader had a non-worker background.

In concert with the nationwide explosion of labour disputes in 1987, i.e, the Great July-August Workers Struggle, the workers in the MAFEZ-CMIC put forward long suppressed demands: for trade-union organisation and wage rises. In the midst of strikes and street demonstrations confronting the police, new unions were organised, company-controlled unions were democratised, and wages were raised. Starting with large workplaces, the unionisation spread to medium- and small factories in early 1988, and by the end of 1988, 65,000 workers were organised in 130 unions, with union density reaching around 60%.

The first wave of strikes in the MAFEZ-CMIC occurred spontaneously and all the labour disputes were workplace-confined except in the streets where workers from different factories fought in unity against the armed police. Yet,

having experienced the spontaneity, the leaders born through the struggles, came to realise the need for solidarity to oppose the highly organised suppression carried out by the state power. The realisation subsequently gave birth to the first regional federation of unions in December 1987 which was to be followed by the establishment of other union federations of democratic unions in many regions in 1988. The federation of trade unions in Masan and Changwon which is from now on referred to as the Ma-Chang Union Coalition, within a year brought in 32 unions as members, embracing 30,000 workers, accounting for 40% of all organised workers in the MAFEZ-CMIC.

The general character of the Ma-Chang Union Coalition can be best described as highly militant and confrontational. It is known to be the most highly organised regional federation of all, and the most militant and uncompromising. It also works effectively at wage bargaining: with organisational help from the Coalition, its member unions won a wage increase 20% more on average than the level won by non-member unions in the same area in the spring wage negotiations of 1989 which ended just before the survey. While the Coalition does not officially represent their member unions at the bargaining table due to the law prohibiting Third Party Intervention, the Coalition is more than organisationally linked with its member unions on all matters as its executive committee is composed of the presidents of the member unions, with its chairman elected from among the presidents. Most of the officers of the Coalition are former activists in enterprise unions in the area and started to work for the Coalition usually on discharge from a company.

Ideologically speaking, the Coalition is 'independent', meaning that no particular ideology can be pinned down as the ideology of the organisation. However, detectable is

such socialist 'jargon' as class interests, class struggle, alienation of labour, human liberation commonly expressed in their speech. The Coalition is affiliated to the democratic All-Nation Conference of Trade Union II discussed in Chapter 4, and has no organisational tie with the Federation of Korean Trade Unions.

In choosing an area for a survey on the dynamics of the development of class consciousness in relation to trade unions, the MAFEZ-CMIC was regarded as almost ideal, the reasons for which are as follows. Firstly, because of the active struggles undertaken in 1987 and 1988, it was presumed that highly class conscious workers accounted for a significant proportion of the workers in the MAFEZ-CMIC, which was important for the survey as instances and frequencies of a wide range of levels of class consciousness were desired in order to compare different unions and different factors.

Secondly, there was some degree of homogeneity of workers and working conditions in the MAFEZ-CMIC, which was essential in holding certain variables constant or at least in controlling them. For instance, the labour process and personnel management, supposedly important variables in the development of class consciousness but not particularly dealt with in the survey, could be held constant on the basis that the differences in the two variables among workplaces were so small as to be overlooked. In addition, by selecting workplaces from both the electronics-centred MAFEZ and the general machinery-centred CMIC the possibility of any systematic effects due to differences in the two variables could be balanced out.

Thirdly, the fact that there was hardly any noticeable trade union movement in the area prior to 1987 was considered to minimise the possible effects of any compound variables carried forward from the pre-1987 period to the

current trade union movement. That is to say, since this study is not designed to be longitudinal but still searches for causal relationship, it was thought best to select an area where the actors had as an equal matching as possible except for the control variables at the starting point, i.e., the year of 1987. Exceeding variances in collective action and education among different unions prior to 1987 would have made it very tricky to compare them meaningfully on any other variables. In addition, the fact that the unions in the CMIC established prior to 1987 were company-manipulated was thought to separate neatly the effects of the unionisation factor from those of the leadership factor since for those unions in those days leadership existed in name only albeit unionised.

Fourthly, since the area was relatively unaffected by the influence of other radical movements, especially that of the student movement, it was assumed that in interpreting the survey results we could discount the possibility of their being contaminated by student-turned worker activists, which would definitely be a worrying aspect in some other industrial complexes in Korea. In the pilot study carried out in Seoul, the investigator came across a factory which had 4 student entryists out of its 40 workers, an external variable would likely contaminate and distort the extracted level of class consciousness.

Finally, it was assessed a priori that the research variables could be easily allocated in the MAFEZ-CMIC. That is to say, the gender difference was thought to be clearly tested for, female labour dependent workplaces as well as male labour dependent ones existed, different sizes, domestic vs. foreign capital, and most important of all, both solidarity unions (allied unions) and non-solidarity unions, and a centre to unite the solidarity, i.e., the Ma-Chang Union Coalition, organisationally exist in the MAFEZ-CMIC.

5.3 Survey procedure

Prior to the selection of factories, the organisational factors to be compared were clarified as below.

1. the Unionisation factor: unionised workplaces vs. non-union workplaces. The category of 'unionised workers' are used interchangeably with unionised workplaces, for almost all production workers in the unionised workplace held membership of one and the same enterprise union at the time of the survey.
2. the Alliance factor: unions allied in the Ma-Chang Union Coalition vs. non-allied unions.
3. the Purely Unionisation factor: non-union workplaces vs. non-allied unions. Note that allied unions are not included in this variable.
4. the Strike factor: allied unions with strike experience vs. allied unions without strike experience. Note that only allied unions are included on this variable.
5. the Union Age factor: less than six months old vs. more than two years old. All unions are included.
6. the Union Size factor: unions with membership smaller than 300 vs. unions with membership larger than 1500. Note that all unions are categorisable as either small or large on this variable, because a precaution was taken in the selection process to exclude medium size unions. However, there is one union which has a membership size of just over 400 and is classified as small.
7. the Gender factor: female labour based workplaces vs. male labour based workplaces. Note that all workplaces, not just unionised ones, are included in this variable. Six workplaces with roughly a half of the production work force female and the other half male are excluded from comparison.

8. the Nationality of Ownership factor: companies owned by foreign capital vs. companies owned by domestic capital. One company is excluded on this variable on the ground that its capital is 50% Foreign 50% domestic.

The selection of workplaces was made, using official reports on labour affairs obtained through the Masan and Changwon City Halls, and the Masan office of the Ministry of Labour. For selecting allied unions, a list provided by the Ma-Chang Union Coalition was consulted. A total of 36 factories were initially chosen, but for three of them, all of which were non-unionised companies of the Samsung *chaebol*, access to workers was denied by the managements on the basis of their isolationist policy - they do not allow outsiders to contact their workers as an effort to keep their 'unique' manpower policy intact. Another small company in the MAFEZ also refused to co-operate. Therefore, the actual survey involved 32 factories whose distribution according to the eight research factors was as following (unions or workplaces where certain factors were not applicable are excluded).

Table 5.3.1 cross-tab distributions of selected organisational properties of surveyed workplaces for comparisons^a

	U NU	A NA	ST NS	Y O	L S	F M	D FO
U NU	27 * * 5	10 17 * *	9 18 * *	11 16 * *	8 19 * *	11 12 1 2	19 7 4 1
A NA		10 * * 17	6 4 6 11	1 9 10 7	3 7 5 12	4 6 7 6	6 3 13 4
ST NS			6 * * 4	6 0 1 3	1 5 2 2	2 4 1 2	5 1 2 2
Y O				11 * * 16	0 11 8 8	4 4 7 8	9 2 10 5
L S					8 * * 19	4 4 7 8	6 2 13 5
F M						12 * * 14	5 6 14 0
D FO							23 * * 8

U -- unionised

NU -- non-union

A -- allied

NA -- non-allied

ST -- strike experience

NS -- no strike experience

Y -- young

O -- old, mature

L -- large

S -- small

F -- female based

M -- male based

D -- domestically owned

FO -- foreign owned

^a: For some variables the distributions do not necessarily include all of 32 workplaces, as indicated above. For instance, the data on the Gender factor include only 26 workplaces.

«»: the shadowed workplaces or unions constitute the comparison on each variable in the questionnaire analysis. In addition the Purely Unionisation factor is compared between the 5 non-allied unions and the 17 non-union workplaces.

*: not applicable

The survey was conducted in the summer of 1989, two years after the Great July-August Workers' Struggle of 1987, and as for the Union Age factor, the mature unions were mostly the ones established during the Struggle period. Three methods were utilised in the survey: questionnaire survey, text analysis of union circulars, and interviews with union officials. The questionnaire survey was conducted in order to analyse different levels and aspects of individual class consciousness, the text analysis and interviews to investigate the direction and nature of leadership, and the interaction between the leadership and the rank and file.

For the questionnaire survey, altogether 1,500 copies were distributed and 1,265 were collected, the response rate being 84.3%. Roughly 10% of workers in each factory, or 10% of workers in selected production departments if the factory was large, were given the questionnaire. The distribution to respondents was carried out by union officials where unionised, irrespective of the union character and other organisational properties. They were all asked to approach both active and passive participants in union activity and to exclude incumbent union officials, including themselves, from filling in the questionnaire. As for non-union workplaces, the personnel manager was met and asked to hand over the questionnaire to a floor supervisor, who then distributed it to respondents herself or himself. A word was passed to the supervisor responsible to make each respondent sure that the questionnaire was nothing to do with the management. The collection was made on the next day of distribution except for a few occasions when the appointment with the distributor was not kept. The survey included manual workers only. The questionnaire in full is attached as Appendix I.

As for the text analysis of union circulars, a largely

unstructured method was employed for the assessment of text for two reasons: a fear of data reduction and the inappropriateness of adapting a computer programme among those available (see Coxon and Jones 1979 for a review of computer-based dictionary pertaining to class content). Thus, the union circulars were analysed in a qualitative way, apart from the existence/non-existence distinction made on certain words pertaining to class consciousness. Still, utilised in the place of a dictionary or a strict framework of assessment were the ten items and the four stages for each of them in the survey questionnaire. That is to say, the ten items provide a frame of analysis specifying ten aspects of class consciousness and the four choices provide a frame of evaluation specifying four stages of each of the aspects in class consciousness.

In this qualitative sense, the method for analysing the text in this research is not what is strictly defined as content analysis (e.g. Berelson 1952). Yet, considering that quantification is not a universal requirement (see Krippendorff 1980) and that the result of the text analysis in this present study is thought to be replicable to a fair extent, classifying this method as content analysis is not wholly unjustified. What is more, the chief objectives of the analysis are in line with some of the identified purposes of content analysis such as 'reflecting cultural patterns of groups, institutions, or societies, revealing the focus of individual, group, institutional, or societal attention, and describing trends in communication content' (Weber 1985 p9). However, it might be more appropriate to call the method utilised in this study discourse analysis, highlighting its unstructured and qualitative focus, and its lesser concern with pre-generated categories of inference (see Potter and Wetherell 1987).

The interviews with union officers proceeded in an easy atmosphere in their respective union offices discussing a

wide range of topics, although a series of pre-conceived standardised questions were also asked in order to probe into the union capacities to organise, to propagate, and to mobilise. The standardised questions were concerned with the union organ, education programme, alliance with external organisations, etc. The length of interviews varied greatly ranging from 1 hour to 4 hours. For most unions two officers were interviewed separately or together, but for two unions only one was consulted because they both had only one full-time officer, the president himself. For non-union workplaces, interviews with personnel managers were conducted to obtain information on the features of the workplace and the past history of labour disputes in the companies. Often, the personnel managers showed reluctance to give information on labour disputes. As for the discourse analysis of union circulars, only comparisons between unionised workplaces were possible, needless to say. The interview schedule is attached as Appendix II.

Chapter 6

Empirical results

This chapter reports the empirical results of the thesis. First, questionnaire responses are described according to the pre-selected factors, namely, unionisation, alliance, union age, union size, gender distribution in workplace, strike, and nationality of capital. Second, the Alliance factor, the Strike factor and the Union Age factor are further investigated based on text analysis of union circulars. Last, the results of interviews carried out with union officials of both allied and non-allied unions are compared.

6.1 questionnaire responses

The overall responses are distributed as follows.

Table 6.1.1 distribution of questionnaire responses
N=1,265

questions	frequencies/(%)				mis.
	1	2	3	4	
1. work fellows	82 6.5%	476 37.6%	263 20.8%	416 32.9%	28 2.2%
2. collective action	10 0.8%	153 12.1%	127 10.0%	942 74.5%	33 2.6%
3. militant solidarity	72 5.7%	305 24.1%	309 24.4%	564 44.6%	15 1.2%
4. desired society	37 2.9%	175 13.8%	373 29.5%	665 52.6%	15 1.2%
5. your own future	15 1.2%	463 36.6%	575 45.5%	199 15.7%	13 1.0%
6. action for social change	268 21.2%	242 19.1%	494 39.1%	202 16.0%	59 4.7%
7. nature of labour dispute	108 8.5%	105 8.3%	316 25.0%	725 57.3%	11 0.9%
8. company owner	712 56.3%	129 10.2%	103 8.1%	294 23.2%	27 2.1%
9. wage increase	193 15.3%	746 59.0%	112 8.9%	201 15.9%	13 1.0%
10. pro-worker intervention	273 21.6%	71 6%	42 3.3%	845 67.0%	34 2.7%

Distinctive in Table 6.1.1 above are, first, that the workers are extremely dissatisfied with the present society and his or her own life shown in the results of Questions

4 and 5 respectively, and second, that collective behaviour is almost universally perceived as a better means to achieve demands than individual behaviour as shown in the responses to Question 2. Overall, the table shows that the distribution of responses are uneven and sometimes contradictory. For example, it is shown that, while 52.6% of respondents want a classless society as indicated in the percentage of Item 4 responses in Question 4, only 23.2% of respondents opt for the abolition of bourgeoisie as shown in the percentage of Item 4 responses in Question 8, and only 15.9%, the abolition of the wage system shown in the percentage of Item 4 responses in Question 9.

Now, the response distributions are shown according to the factors selected in Chapter 5. First, the distribution patterns are investigated using a Chi-Square, and then, the mean scores of the aggregates of responded stages are compared by a t-test to see if there is any directional difference in class consciousness of workers across factors. The aggregate of responded stages is referred to as a Class Consciousness Score[CCS], for which the highest possible is 40, that is, the score reached if the respondent choose only the fourth stage for all the 10 questions, the lowest possible is 10, the score earned if the respondent choose on the contrary only the first stage for all the 10 questions.

An investigation into the response patterns according to the Unionisation factor (see Table 6.1.2) shows that there is significant¹ difference between the workers in the unionised workplaces and those in the non-union workplaces in the response patterns on every question but three, namely, Question 5, Question 8 and Question 9. If

¹The significant level is set at 0.01. While this level is among the most stringent cut-off points, it also enables us to concentrate on the greatest differences only, screening out smaller differences.

individually looked at: Question 1 shows that workers in non-union workplaces tend to see their fellows as competitors more than those in unionised workplaces do; Question 6 interestingly shows that the unionised and the non-union workers display an almost equal proportion reaching the fourth stage, i.e., a willingness to resort to violence when needed; a comparison between the first and fourth stages of the two groups indicates that unionisation is correlated to the level of wage demands, although the other stages contribute to the statistical non-significance.

The means of the CCSs are 29.527 for the unionised workers and 25.393 for the other group, with standard deviations 5.029 and 6.021 respectively. The significant F[SIGF] is 0.0000. Hence, there is significant difference between the two means, in other words, the unionised group's class consciousness is higher than the non-unionised.

Table 6.1.2 response patterns of unionised compared to non-union workplaces
 $N_1(\text{unionised}) = 1124$
 $N_2(\text{non-union}) = 141$

	1	2	3	4	chi.sq./ SIGF
1. work fellows					
unionised	5.6%	38.6%	21.5%	34.3%	17.627
non-union	15.0%	37.6%	19.6%	27.8%	.001*
2. collective action					
unionised	0.4%	10.7%	10.5%	78.4%	54.467
non-union	4.5%	26.4%	8.3%	60.6%	.000*
3. militant solidarity					
unionised	5.1%	21.9%	24.7%	48.3%	56.895
non-union	11.3%	45.1%	24.8%	18.8%	.000*
4. desired society					
unionised	2.9%	13.1%	29.1%	54.8%	12.215
non-union	3.6%	21.2%	35.0%	40.1%	.007*
5. your own future					
unionised	1.0%	37.3%	45.1%	16.6%	8.649
non-union	3.0%	34.1%	52.6%	10.4%	.034
6. action for social change					
unionised	20.7%	20.3%	42.3%	16.8%	15.357
non-union	35.2%	18.8%	29.7%	16.4%	.002*
7. nature of labour dispute					
unionised	6.9%	6.2%	26.5%	59.4%	64.548
non-union	22.6%	18.2%	14.6%	44.5%	.000*
8. company owner					
unionised	56.7%	10.1%	8.9%	24.4%	7.913
non-union	64.2%	13.4%	3.7%	18.7%	.048
9. wage increase					
unionised	14.6%	59.2%	9.3%	16.9%	10.245
non-union	21.9%	62.8%	5.8%	9.5%	.017
10. pro-worker intervention					
unionised	19.7%	5.0%	3.4%	71.9%	53.416
non-union	42.4%	12.1%	3.8%	41.7%	.000*

The response patterns of the Alliance factor are shown below.

Table 6.1.3 responses patterns of allied compared to non-allied unions
 N_1 (allied) = 413
 N_2 (non-allied) = 711

	1	2	3	4	chi.sq./ SIGF
1. work fellows					
allied	3.7%	28.8%	23.8%	43.6%	37.904
non-allied	6.8%	44.3%	20.1%	28.9%	.000*
2. collective action					
allied	0.2%	8.4%	10.9%	80.5%	3.923
non-allied	0.4%	12.1%	10.4%	77.1%	.270
3. militant solidarity					
allied	0.5%	7.0%	16.7%	75.7%	212.157
non-allied	7.8%	30.6%	29.4%	32.2%	.000*
4. desired society					
allied	1.7%	6.6%	29.2%	62.5%	30.714
non-allied	3.5%	16.9%	29.2%	50.4%	.000*
5. your own future					
allied	0.5%	32.6%	39.4%	27.5%	57.143
non-allied	1.3%	40.1%	48.4%	10.2%	.000*
6. action for social change					
allied	8.5%	22.6%	49.7%	19.1%	57.033
non-allied	27.8%	18.8%	37.9%	15.4%	.000*
7. nature of labour dispute					
allied	3.1%	3.4%	23.7%	69.7%	39.924
non-allied	9.1%	9.4%	28.1%	53.4%	.000*
8. company owner					
allied	48.8%	10.6%	10.8%	29.8%	17.885
non-allied	61.3%	9.7%	7.7%	21.2%	.000*
9. wage increase					
allied	10.6%	52.6%	11.5%	25.3%	42.448
non-allied	16.9%	63.0%	8.1%	12.0%	.000*
10. pro-worker intervention					
allied	7.1%	3.4%	3.7%	85.7%	72.244
non-allied	27.1%	5.9%	3.2%	63.6%	.000*

There is significant difference between the allied and the non-allied unions in the response patterns on every question but one, namely, Question 2 collective action. Question 2, an item initially devised to see how inclined members of trade unions with different organisational characters are toward the 'associational logic' seems to have yielded a result that indicates that trade unions are basically a collectivity based on associational rather than pecuniary logic, regardless of their characters. When individually analysed: On Question 1, it is noteworthy that comradeship has been much more widely established in the allied than in the non-allied unions; contrasting in Question 3 militant solidarity is such that while 7.8% in the non-allied unions object to any kind of militant solidarity only 0.5% in the allied do; the extreme favourableness toward collective behaviour exhibited by

both of them are unionised in form; conspicuous in the responses to Question 5 is that the percentage of the workers in the allied unions choosing the fourth stage, i.e., a determination to fight as a worker till exploitation and alienation are abolished, is almost three times that in the non-allied; Question 6 shows that although far more workers in the non-allied limit their actions for social change to voting in elections than in the allied, those who consider violence as a means of struggle are a minority in both groups, those regarding as desirable harmony and cooperation between the workers and the company owners account for a statistical significance between the two groups on Question 10 is mainly due to the difference between the first and the fourth stages, especially with four times as many workers in the non-allied unions as in the allied considering the pro-worker intervention undesirable. The means of the CCSs are 31.932 for the allied and 28.103 for the non-allied, with standard deviations 4.344 and 4.864 respectively. The SIGF is 0.0000. Hence, there is significant difference between the two means. In other words, the class consciousness of the allied workers is higher than that of the non-allied.

The response patterns according to the Purely Unionisation factor shows (Table 6.1.4) that there is significant difference between workers in non-union workplaces and non-allied unions in Questions 2, 3, 7, and 10. In addition, although statistically not significant, Question 1 was responded to quite differently between the two groups when the first and the second stages are concerned.

Also noteworthy is that, in Question 2, the majority of workers even in non-union workplaces are in favour of collective action. The response patterns of Questions 7 and 8, on the other hand, show that admitting the existence of fundamental contradictions in society is not equal to a rejection of the capitalist corporation system indicate an

even development of class consciousness within individuals.

Table 6.1.4 response patterns of non-allied compared to non-union workplaces
 $N_1(\text{non-allied}) = 711$
 $N_2(\text{non-union}) = 141$

	1	2	3	4	chi.sq./ SIGF
1. work fellows non-allied non-union	6.8% 15.0%	44.3% 37.6%	20.1% 19.5%	28.9% 27.8%	10.691 .014
2. collective action non-allied non-union	0.4% 4.5%	12.1% 26.5%	10.4% 8.3%	77.1% 60.6%	37.817 .000*
3. militant solidarity non-allied non-union	7.8% 11.3%	30.6% 45.1%	29.4% 24.8%	32.2% 18.8%	16.228 .001*
4. desired society non-allied non-union	3.5% 3.6%	16.9% 21.2%	29.2% 35.0%	50.4% 40.1%	4.945 .176
5. your own future non-allied non-union	1.3% 3.0%	40.1% 34.1%	48.4% 52.6%	10.2% 10.4%	3.537 .316
6. action for social change non-allied non-union	27.8% 35.2%	18.8% 18.8%	37.9% 29.7%	15.4% 16.4%	4.084 .253
7. nature of labour dispute non-allied non-union	9.1% 22.6%	9.4% 18.2%	28.1% 14.6%	53.4% 44.5%	33.7 .000*
8. company owner non-allied non-union	61.3% 64.2%	9.7% 13.4%	7.7% 3.7%	21.2% 18.7%	4.524 .210
9. wage increase non-allied non-union	16.9% 21.9%	63.0% 62.8%	8.1% 5.8%	12.0% 9.5%	2.941 .401
10. pro-worker intervention non-allied non-union	21.1% 42.4%	5.9% 12.1%	3.2% 3.8%	63.8% 41.7%	24.078 .000*

The means of the CCSs are 28.103 for the non-allied and 25.393 for the non-union with standard deviations 4.864 and 6.021 respectively. The SIGF is 0.0000. Hence, there is significant difference between the two means. In other words, the class consciousness of the non-allied is higher than that of the non-union.

The response patterns to the Strike factor in the allied unions are shown below (Table 6.1.5). Between the allied unions with strike experience and without, although only two questions, namely, Questions 6 and 9 produced statistically significant difference in response patterns, the responses to Questions 2 and 3 show that there is a substantial degree of difference, albeit not significant statistically, between the two groups in viewing collective behaviour and militant solidarity.

Rather interesting is that questions asking how the respondents regard their relationship with fellow workers (Question 1) and the nature of labour disputes (Question 7) produced the most similar response patterns between the two groups. The response patterns to Question 7 particularly draw some extra attention as the question is largely about strikes.

The means of the CCSs are 32.670 for the allied with strike experience and 30.936 for the allied with no strike experience with standard deviations 3.835 and 4.785 respectively. The SIGF is .0001 Hence, there is significant difference between the two means. In other words, the class consciousness of the former group is higher than that of the latter.

Table 6.1.5 response patterns of the allied with strike experience compared to the allied with no strike experience
 $N_1(\text{strike}) = 232$
 $N_2(\text{no strike}) = 181$

	1	2	3	4	chi.sq./ SIGF
1. work fellows					
strike	3.5%	27.8%	22.6%	46.1%	1.307
no strike	3.9%	30.3%	25.3%	40.4%	.727
2. collective action					
strike	0.0%	4.8%	11.0%	84.2%	10.111
no strike	0.6%	13.0%	10.7%	75.7%	.013
3. militant solidarity					
strike	0.4%	4.7%	13.3%	81.5%	10.320
no strike	0.6%	10.1%	21.2%	68.2%	.016
4. desired society					
strike	1.7%	6.1%	26.0%	66.2%	3.299
no strike	1.7%	7.3%	33.3%	57.6%	.348
5. your own future					
strike	0.9%	28.9%	40.5%	29.7%	4.952
no strike	0.0%	37.4%	38.0%	24.6%	.175
6. action for social change					
strike	6.1%	18.0%	52.2%	23.7%	15.195
no strike	11.8%	28.8%	46.5%	12.9%	.002*
7. nature of labour dispute					
strike	2.6%	3.0%	21.9%	72.5%	2.155
no strike	3.9%	3.9%	26.1%	66.1%	.541
8. company owner					
strike	45.2%	10.4%	12.2%	32.2%	3.259
no strike	53.4%	10.8%	9.1%	26.7%	.353
9. wage increase					
strike	5.7%	52.2%	11.7%	30.4%	17.611
no strike	16.9%	53.1%	11.3%	11.3%	.001*
10. pro-worker intervention					
strike	4.3%	3.9%	3.4%	88.4%	7.060
no strike	11.0%	2.9%	4.0%	82.1%	.070

The response patterns to the Union Age factor are shown below.

Table 6.1.6 response patterns of newly founded
compared to mature unions
N₁(newly founded) = 254
N₂(mature) = 870

	1	2	3	4	chi.sq./ SIGF
1. work fellows newly founded mature	7.7% 5.0%	37.5% 38.9%	13.7% 23.7%	41.1% 32.4%	15.755 .001*
2. collective action newly founded mature	0.4% 0.4%	12.1% 10.3%	12.1% 10.1%	75.3% 79.2%	1.766 .622
3. militant solidarity newly founded mature	5.6% 5.0%	24.6% 21.2%	26.6% 24.2%	43.3% 49.7%	3.339 .342
4. desired society newly founded mature	2.4% 3.0%	15.8% 12.3%	29.2% 29.2%	52.6% 55.5%	2.398 .494
5. your own future newly founded mature	0.8% 1.0%	37.1% 37.4%	46.6% 44.7%	15.5% 16.9%	0.498 .992
6. action for social change newly founded mature	21.2% 20.5%	21.6% 19.8%	39.6% 43.1%	17.6% 16.6%	1.015 .798
7. nature of labour dispute newly founded mature	10.7% 5.8%	8.3% 6.8%	27.8% 26.1%	53.2% 61.3%	9.868 .020
8. company owner newly founded mature	57.5% 56.5%	7.5% 10.8%	9.1% 8.8%	25.8% 23.9%	2.390 .495
9. wage increase newly founded mature	12.7% 15.2%	59.1% 59.2%	10.7% 8.9%	17.5% 16.7%	1.562 .668
10. pro-worker intervention newly founded mature	17.4% 20.4%	7.3% 4.3%	4.9% 2.9%	70.4% 72.3%	6.396 .094

Statistically only one question, i.e., Question 1 produced a significant difference in response patterns between the newly founded and the mature unions. It is to be noted that in Question 1 the difference arises mainly due to the responses to the third and fourth stages; while more members in newly founded unions have the tendency to see their work fellows as comrades than those in the mature unions, the latter tend to care more about sharing joys and sorrows with work fellows than the former do. Also noteworthy is that in Question 7, although statistically not significant, members in the mature unions tend to view the nature of labour disputes in a wider perspective than the other group do. Another point to be noted is that, on the basis of the questionnaire results, the Age factor exerts hardly any influence at all on how to see one's own future as seen in the almost identical response patterns of the two groups to Question 5.

The means of the CCSs are 29.191 for the newly founded unions and 29.629 for the mature unions, with standard

deviations 5.024 and 5.029 respectively. The SIGF is 0.2544. Hence, there is no significant difference between the two means. In other words, the former group's class consciousness cannot be said to be higher than the latter's and vice versa.

The response patterns to the Union Size factor are shown below.

Table 6.1.7 response patterns of unions with more than 1,500 members compared to unions with fewer than 300 members
 $N_1(\text{large}) = 634$
 $N_2(\text{small}) = 480$

	1	2	3	4	chi.sq./ SIGF
1. work fellows					
large	4.7%	42.4%	25.6%	27.3%	39.255
small	6.8%	33.6%	16.2%	43.4%	.000*
2. collective action					
large	0.5%	12.1%	10.6%	76.8%	3.342
small	0.2%	9.0%	10.5%	80.3%	.342
3. militant solidarity					
large	6.2%	23.3%	28.4%	42.1%	24.138
small	3.7%	20.1%	19.9%	56.3%	.000*
4. desired society					
large	3.5%	14.4%	29.7%	52.3%	5.729
small	2.0%	11.4%	28.6%	58.0%	.126
5. your own future					
large	0.8%	39.5%	45.8%	13.9%	8.447
small	1.2%	34.6%	44.2%	20.0%	.038
6. action for social change					
large	22.9%	20.8%	41.7%	14.6%	7.447
small	17.9%	19.5%	43.1%	19.5%	.059
7. nature of labour dispute					
large	5.7%	8.4%	25.6%	60.2%	6.611
small	8.4%	5.5%	27.6%	58.5%	.085
8. company owner					
large	58.3%	12.4%	7.4%	21.8%	15.718
small	54.6%	7.0%	10.7%	27.6%	.001*
9. wage increase					
large	17.5%	62.8%	7.3%	12.4%	34.599
small	10.9%	54.5%	11.9%	22.6%	.000*
10. pro-worker intervention					
large	24.3%	3.7%	2.4%	69.6%	24.041
small	13.9%	6.7%	4.6%	74.8%	.000*

There is significant difference in Questions 1, 3, 8, 9, and 10 between workers in large and small unions. The response patterns to Question 1 show that workers in small unions are far more likely to regard their work fellows as comrades than those in big unions. As for the responses patterns to Question 3, it is shown that members of small unions are more inclined to nationwide solidarity than the other group. The results on Question 8 are interesting because members of small unions may well have been expected to appreciate the owner's role in the company more than

workers in large factories would due to the physical closeness in the former case. In addition, despite the statistical non-significance in Question 5, the fact that 20% of small-union members, against 13.9% in big factories chose the stage 4, i.e., to remain a worker to fight, draws attention when the working conditions for the former are generally not as good as the working conditions for the latter.

The means of the CCSs are 28.951 for the large unions and 30.242 for the small unions, with standard deviations 4.943 and 5.048 respectively. The SIGF is 0.0001. Hence, there is difference between the two means. In other words, the class consciousness of the members of small unions is higher than that of the members of large unions.

The response patterns according to the Gender factor are shown below.

Table 6.1.8 response patterns of female labour based compared to male labour based workplaces
 $N_1(\text{female}) = 498$
 $N_2(\text{male}) = 582$

	1	2	3	4	chi.sq./ SIGF
1. work fellows					
female	4.0%	46.4%	17.5%	32.1%	42.096
male	8.3%	28.3%	25.7%	37.8%	.000*
2. collective action					
female	0.4%	9.3%	9.9%	80.4%	6.981
male	0.9%	13.3%	11.9%	73.9%	.073
3. militant solidarity					
female	6.6%	20.7%	27.8%	44.9%	11.438
male	3.8%	22.1%	21.8%	52.3%	.010*
4. desired society					
female	3.4%	13.7%	26.9%	56.0%	1.504
male	2.2%	13.6%	28.1%	56.1%	.681
5. your own future					
female	1.4%	45.8%	42.2%	10.6%	46.582
male	0.9%	30.0%	45.1%	24.1%	.000*
6. action for social change					
female	25.9%	20.3%	39.9%	13.9%	31.315
male	13.2%	21.0%	44.5%	21.2%	.000*
7. nature of labour dispute					
female	6.0%	10.1%	25.2%	58.7%	6.448
male	8.0%	6.3%	26.5%	59.3%	.092
8. company owner					
female	55.3%	10.4%	8.2%	26.1%	1.359
male	54.3%	11.9%	9.5%	24.4%	.715
9. wage increase					
female	16.3%	60.0%	9.7%	14.1%	10.755
male	12.6%	57.8%	8.4%	21.2%	.013
10. pro-worker intervention					
female	20.3%	4.7%	2.7%	72.3%	2.374
male	19.5%	5.3%	4.3%	70.9%	.499

There is significant difference between workers in the female labour based workplaces [FLBW] and those in the male labour based [MLBW] in Questions 1, 3, 5, and 6 (Both groups contain men and women). In addition, the respective responses percentages in the fourth stage of Question 9 show the existence difference practically although not statistically. The difference between the two groups in the second stage of Question 1, that is, viewing work fellows only on a work basis, is particularly large, while the between-group contrast in fighting against exploitation and alienation as a worker is even more striking. Also noticeable is the response difference in the extent of action for social change that the two groups are prepared to resort to respectively.

The means of the CCSs are 29.086 for the FLBWs and 30.058 for the MLBWs, with standard deviations 4.779 and 5.408 respectively. The SIGF is 0.0036. Hence, there is significant difference between the two means. In other words, the workers in the MLBWs have higher class consciousness than their counterparts in the FLBWs.

To see more closely the gender difference in class consciousness, female workers and male workers were compared with each other irrespective of their workplaces. That is to say, all the female workers in the MLBWs as well as FLBWs were inserted in one group and, likewise, all the male workers in the other. The results are shown below in Table 6.1.9.

Bearing in mind that statistical difference in the Gender factor in Table 6.1.8 was found in Questions 1, 3, 5, and 6, let us point out the results of the further comparison between female and male workers: first, the response patterns on Question 1 are basically similar to the ones in Table 6.1.8 -- while female workers are less likely to see work fellows on a competitive relationship, it is also

female workers who are less likely to see them as comrades; second, the responses to Question 2 show that female workers are more inclined to collective action than their male counterparts; third, unlike the foregoing data, Question 3 concerning militant solidarity did not produce significant gender difference; fourth, female workers favour an 'improved' status quo far more than male workers do, as shown in the responses to Question 5; fifth, more female workers see voting in elections as the optimal mode of action for social change than male workers; sixth, the virtual difference regarding Question 9 in Table 6.1.8 disappears this time.

Table 6.1.9 response patterns by gender

N₁(female) = 562
N₂(male) = 686

	1	2	3	4	chi.sq./ SIGF
1. work fellows					
female	3.8%	49.6%	16.3%	30.3%	62.305
male	9.1%	28.8%	25.4%	36.6%	.000*
2. collective action					
female	0.4%	8.5%	8.3%	82.9%	24.894
male	1.2%	15.8%	11.9%	71.1%	.000*
3. militant solidarity					
female	6.6%	21.6%	27.2%	44.5%	8.966
male	4.9%	27.1%	21.9%	46.1%	.030
4. desired society					
female	3.0%	13.3%	30.6%	53.1%	0.441
male	3.0%	14.4%	29.2%	53.4%	.932
5. your own future					
female	1.3%	49.9%	42.0%	9.3%	55.315
male	1.0%	28.6%	49.5%	20.9%	.000*
6. action for social change					
female	28.7%	18.8%	39.5%	13.1%	27.361
male	17.0%	21.4%	41.8%	19.8%	.000*
7. nature of labour dispute					
female	7.7%	9.3%	25.5%	57.6%	1.738
male	9.2%	7.8%	25.1%	57.9%	.629
8. company owner					
female	59.0%	8.5%	7.8%	24.7%	4.197
male	56.3%	11.7%	8.8%	23.2%	.241
9. wage increase					
female	14.8%	61.7%	9.8%	13.7%	5.018
male	15.9%	57.8%	8.4%	17.8%	.170
10. pro-worker intervention					
female	20.0%	5.3%	2.4%	72.4%	7.988
male	23.9%	6.2%	4.3%	65.5%	.046

The means of the CCSs are 28.888 for female workers and 29.277 for male workers, with standard deviations 4.794 and 5.670 respectively. The SIGF is 0.2183. Hence, there is no significant difference between the two means. In other words, the class consciousness of female workers cannot be said to be lower than that of the opposite sex, and vice

versa.

Now, to see if there is any difference purely due to an unequal distribution of gender in workplaces, female workers in the FLBWs are compared to female workers in the MLBWs.

Table 6.1.10 response patterns of female workers in FLBWs compared to female workers in MLBWs
 $N_1(\text{female in FLBW}) = 421$
 $N_2(\text{female in MLBW}) = 77$

	1	2	3	4	chi.sq./ SIGF
1. work fellows					
female in FLBW	2.7%	48.6%	16.5%	32.2%	13.175
female in MLBW	12.0%	34.0%	22.0%	32.0%	.004*
2. collective action					
female in FLBW	0.5%	6.9%	9.8%	82.8%	0.918
female in MLBW	0.0%	4.2%	8.3%	87.5%	.821
3. militant solidarity					
female in FLBW	7.5%	16.7%	25.8%	50.0%	6.495
female in MLBW	0.0%	14.3%	38.8%	46.9%	.086
4. desired society					
female in FLBW	3.4%	12.8%	26.8%	57.0%	1.490
female in MLBW	2.0%	8.0%	26.0%	64.0%	.685
5. your own future					
female in FLBW	1.5%	49.4%	38.0%	11.1%	2.195
female in MLBW	0.0%	42.9%	40.8%	16.3%	.533
6. action for social change					
female in FLBW	26.3%	20.7%	39.8%	13.3%	6.363
female in MLBW	14.9%	12.8%	53.2%	19.1%	.095
7. nature of labour dispute					
female in FLBW	5.6%	10.2%	26.0%	58.3%	4.139
female in MLBW	4.0%	2.0%	32.0%	62.0%	.247
8. company owner					
female in FLBW	54.7%	8.8%	9.1%	27.5%	1.544
female in MLBW	59.2%	10.2%	4.1%	26.5%	.672
9. wage increase					
female in FLBW	14.5%	60.6%	9.4%	15.5%	1.941
female in MLBW	10.2%	57.1%	14.3%	18.4%	.585
10. pro-worker intervention					
female in FLBW	17.2%	3.9%	2.7%	76.2%	5.440
female in MLBW	6.3%	8.3%	2.1%	83.3%	.142

The table above shows that females in FLBW did not respond differently to 9 questions from females in MLBW. The only exception to this overall similarity stems from Question 1 in which the latter group see the relationship with work fellows on far more competitive terms.

The means of the CCSs are 29.398 for the female workers in the FLBWs and 30.727 for the female workers in the MLBWs, with standard deviations 4.768 and 3.592 respectively. The SIGF is 0.0747. Hence, there is no significant difference between the two means. In other words, the class consciousness of the former group cannot be said to be

lower than the latter and vice versa.

This time, male workers in FLBW are compared to male workers in MLBW (Table 6.1.11). Contrary to the overall similarity between female workers in FLBW and in MLBW, the two groups of male workers divided in the same way are different from each other in their response patterns to Questions 3, 5, 9, and 10. Especially the between-group difference in viewing the desirability of nationwide worker solidarity in Question 3 is conspicuous.

Table 6.1.11 response patterns of male workers in FLBWs compared to male workers in MLBWs
 $N_1(\text{male in FLBW}) = 101$
 $N_2(\text{male in MLBW}) = 553$

	1	2	3	4	chi.sq./ SIGF
1. work fellows					
male in FLBW	11.1%	32.1%	23.5%	33.1%	1.961
male in MLBW	8.0%	27.5%	26.2%	38.2%	.581
2. collective action					
male in FLBW	0.0%	21.3%	11.2%	67.5%	3.232
male in MLBW	1.0%	14.3%	12.0%	72.7%	.357
3. militant solidarity					
male in FLBW	2.5%	42.0%	35.8%	19.8%	34.520
male in MLBW	3.8%	23.1%	19.7%	53.4%	.000*
4. desired society					
male in FLBW	3.8%	17.7%	29.1%	49.4%	1.868
male in MLBW	2.3%	13.9%	28.1%	55.7%	.600
5. your own future					
male in FLBW	0.0%	25.9%	65.4%	8.6%	14.680
male in MLBW	0.9%	28.7%	45.7%	24.7%	.002*
6. action for social change					
male in FLBW	22.4%	18.4%	42.1%	17.1%	5.131
male in MLBW	13.1%	22.1%	43.2%	21.7%	.162
7. nature of labour dispute					
male in FLBW	7.4%	9.9%	22.2%	60.5%	1.419
male in MLBW	8.3%	6.8%	25.9%	59.0%	.701
8. company owner					
male in FLBW	58.2%	17.7%	3.8%	20.3%	5.433
male in MLBW	54.0%	11.8%	9.9%	24.3%	.143
9. wage increase					
male in FLBW	26.6%	57.0%	11.4%	5.1%	19.842
male in MLBW	12.6%	57.9%	7.9%	21.5%	.000*
10. pro-worker intervention					
male in FLBW	36.4%	9.1%	2.6%	51.9%	12.880
male in MLBW	20.7%	5.1%	4.6%	69.6%	.005*

The means of the CCSS are 27.543 for the male workers in the FLBWs and 30.027 for the male workers in the MLBWs, with standard deviations 4.570 and 5.555 respectively. The SIGF is 0.0004. Hence, there is significant difference between the two means. In other words, the male workers in the FLBWs are lower in class consciousness than those of the same sex in the MLBWs. Therefore, it can be deduced from the three sub-sets of comparisons, that is, the one between female workers in general and male workers in

general, the one between female workers in the FLBWs only and female workers in the MLBWs only, and the one between male workers in the FLBWs only and male workers in the MLBWs only, that the difference in the Gender factor is largely due to the relatively low class consciousness of the male workers in the FLBWs.

Lastly, the effects of the Nationality of Capital factor are considered.

Table 6.1.12 response patterns of domestically owned compare to foreign owned factories
 $N_1(\text{domestic}) = 931$
 $N_2(\text{foreign}) = 322$

	1	2	3	4	chi.sq./ SIGF
1. work fellows					
domestic	7.6%	34.4%	23.0%	35.1%	29.833
foreign	4.1%	51.4%	16.5%	27.9%	.000*
2. collective action					
domestic	1.0%	13.5%	11.7%	73.8%	12.177
foreign	0.3%	9.8%	6.7%	83.2%	.007*
3. militant solidarity					
domestic	7.0%	22.2%	24.6%	46.3%	19.419
foreign	2.5%	31.8%	26.1%	39.6%	.000*
4. desired society					
domestic	3.1%	14.5%	27.7%	54.8%	8.896
foreign	2.5%	13.7%	36.5%	47.3%	.031
5. your own future					
domestic	1.3%	34.3%	45.8%	18.6%	30.833
foreign	0.9%	44.8%	48.0%	6.3%	.000*
6. action for social change					
domestic	19.6%	21.4%	41.7%	17.3%	17.766
foreign	30.9%	16.1%	39.3%	13.8%	.000*
7. nature of labour dispute					
domestic	8.5%	9.1%	24.6%	57.7%	2.107
foreign	9.1%	6.6%	26.5%	57.7%	.550
8. company owner					
domestic	58.1%	10.6%	8.1%	23.2%	0.512
foreign	57.1%	10.3%	9.4%	23.2%	.916
9. wage increase					
domestic	14.6%	60.2%	8.0%	17.2%	10.872
foreign	18.4%	59.2%	11.4%	11.1%	.012
10. pro-worker intervention					
domestic	23.2%	5.4%	3.6%	67.8%	2.866
foreign	19.9%	7.2%	2.9%	69.9%	.413

There is significant difference between the workers in domestically owned factories and foreign owned factories in response to Questions 1, 2, 3, 5, and 6. On Question 1, while more workers in the domestically owned factories see work fellows as competitors, the same group are also more likely to regard work fellows as comrades, compared to the workers in the foreign owned factories. As for collective action, where the former are more likely to choose the complete rejection of militant solidarity, they are also more likely to opt for a nationwide solidarity. On

Question 5, far bigger a proportion of the former want to remain a worker and fight against exploitation than those employed by foreign capitalists. These workers in the latter group are also more likely to be satisfied with voting in elections when it comes to action for social change.

The means of the CCSs are 29.285 for the workers in the domestically owned factories and 28.245 for the workers in the foreign owned factories, with standard deviations 5.428 and 4.626 respectively. The SIGF is 0.0045. Hence, there is significant difference between the two means. In other words, the class consciousness of the workers in the domestically owned factories is higher than that of the latter group.

To investigate further the relationship between the factors and the CCS, regression analysis by stepwise entry was employed, and the results are: the Alliance factor is the best predictor among all and explains 13.56% of the CCS; the Unionisation factor explains 5.76% of the CCS; the Purely Unionisation factor explains 3.68% of the CCS; the Size factor explains 1.63% of the CCS; the Gender factor (of workplace) explains 0.88% of the CCS; the Strike factor explains 0.39% of the CCS; the explanatory power of the other factors is non-significant. Table 6.1.13 summarises the effects of those statistically significant factors.

Table 6.1.13 absolute importance of each factor in accounting for the CCS

factors	R ²	F	SIGF
alliance	0.1356	155.315	0.000*
unionisation	0.0576	67.653	0.000*
purely unionisation	0.0368	28.203	0.000*
size	0.0163	16.402	0.000*
gender	0.0088	8.527	0.004*
strike	0.0039	4.110	0.008*

6.2 text analysis of union circulars

By union circulars, we mainly mean union organs. They are invariably published by the editorial department of each union, if ever published. Frequency of publication varies among unions and so do the quantity and the number of pages for each issue. Copies are distributed to every union member and an allocation of some copies are made for other unions and the Ma-Chang Coalition. Normally union circulars are not for the wider public. As mentioned in Chapter 5, the ten questions in our questionnaire are used as a dictionary in this text analysis. For example, phrases like 'Let us live and die together' and 'How could I ever forget you, comrade' are detected and categorised under the first entry, .i.e., relationship with fellow workers.

6.2.1 the Alliance factor

Circulars of 10 allied unions and of 13 non-allied unions are analysed, a summary of the results of which is shown in Table 6.2.1.1 below. While the full extent of the text analysis on the circulars of allied and non-allied unions is attached at the back of this thesis as Appendix III, a few points that seem of particular interest are highlighted here. First, the class contents of the circulars are different between the allied and the non-allied unions in every aspect of class consciousness delineated in Chapter 5. To illustrate just one of the aspects, whereas the non-allied unions mention their immediate employers when referring to nature of labour disputes, the allied unions take pains to show the link between the capitalist class and the state.

Table 6.2.1.1 comparisons of union circulars between allied and non-allied unions

items	characteristics	
	allied organs	non-allied organs
work fellows	-frequent use of 'comrade' -emotionally powered phrases	-news on personal events -sentimental poems
collective action	not much obvious difference -deeper perspective	
militant solidarity	-frequent use of 'solidarity' -appeal for support for other unions	-factual reports on other unions
desired society	-confrontational criticisms on social inequality	-complacent -more space on share price, etc.
your own future	express the desire for a better living -emphasis on class mission	
action for social change	-depicting unions as forward base for class struggle	-generally apathetic to social change
nature of labour dispute	-attempts to reveal 'hidden' parties to labour disputes	-confined within company
company owner	-treated as necessary evil	-seen as crucial
wage increases	-alternately emphasise exploitation and 'fair share'	-concern exclusively with quantitative aspect of wages
pro-worker intervention	No positive comments are made on external pro-worker intervention to labour disputes -introduce radical political bodies to the membership	
		-reaction ranges indifference to objection

Second, the level of, and the emphasised aspects of class consciousness shown in the union circulars roughly correspond to the questionnaire response patterns, except for the aspect of pro-worker intervention. However, the fact that such a high level of class consciousness displayed in the questionnaire responses is almost mute in union circulars can be readily explained: the relatively low profile of this aspect in the circulars is attributable to the Labour Law in Korea that prohibits a Third Party Intervention and unions certainly did not want to be accused of violating the law and putting themselves in a vulnerable position. Third, and related to the second point, is that the levels and aspects of class consciousness that most clearly distinguish between the allied and the non-allied in the questionnaire response patterns coincide with the most differing aspects of organisational capacities between the two comparison groups shown in their respective union circulars. Finally, organisations even in their written documents are also inconsistent among the various aspects of class

consciousness like their members.

6.2.2 the Strike factor

Issues of organs, all published in June 1989, of 3 non-allied unions with strike experience and of 3 non-allied unions without strike experience prior to the publication, are compared. Note that, unlike in the questionnaire survey, the Strike factor here is compared between non-allied unions. A summary of the results is shown in Table 6.2.2.1 below while Appendix IV at the back of this thesis displays the full content of analysis.

In line with the questionnaire response patterns among allied unions, the results of the text analysis on circulars of non-allied unions also show that strike experience does not have a strong positive relationship with class consciousness. Still, it is interesting to note that the comments on action for social change and wage increases in the circulars of the unions with strike experience constitute the facets of class consciousness most different from those without strike experience, as is the case in the questionnaire responses. For instance, a union with strike experience maintains that 'wages are a rightful reward for the labour power of the workers and that the reality that this rightful reward has to be won over not just by the productive labour but also by another kind called wages struggles is only too tragic'. Also, the difference in the levels of class consciousness between the non-allied unions with strike/no strike division, seems greater than the difference between their allied counterparts with the same division (Table 6.1.5), the reason for which might have something to do with the 'low' class consciousness of the non-allied unions on which a greater impact is made by a single incident of strike than on the allied unions who have already reached a high level of class consciousness with or without strike experience.

However, we cannot make a straightforward comparison on this aspect due to the difference in the method of analysis, namely text analysis and questionnaire survey.

Table 6.2.2.1 Comparisons of union circulars between non-allied unions with strike experience and non-allied unions with no strike experience

items	characteristics	
	strike experience	no strike experience
work fellows	not much noticeable difference except for a slightly stronger emphasis on fellowship among the allied	
collective action	need to put forward demands collectively is share by both groups	
militant solidarity	-one organ touches on politically sensitive topic	-politically apathetic
desired society	-express a degree of disillusionment with employer	-emphasise cooperation with management
your own future	no mention about relationship between one's future as worker	
action for social change	-a small sign of acknowledgement in need for change	-no mention about social change
nature of labour dispute	-one organ employs class terms	-no organ makes any reference to class
company owner	no organ sees the employer and employee relationship as hostile but the latter group tend to be more corporatist	
wage increase	-expressive of need for wage increase	-treat wage matters as secondary
pro-worker intervention	no mention about pro-worker intervention by either group	

6.2.3 the Union Age factor in relation to the Alliance factor

Circulars of 2 mature non-allied unions and of 2 mature allied unions are analysed. Note that the analysis here basically is intra-union, not inter-union: the comparison is not between mature and young unions but between the past and present of mature unions in themselves. Thus, the primary comparisons are made between two issues of each union organ published with the time gap of a year, the earlier in May or June 1988 and the latter in June 1989, although inter-union comparisons between the allied and the non-allied are also intended. One of the non-allied unions staged a strike during the one year period in question.

If we recall that the Union Age factor in the questionnaire response patterns has produced the least impressive effect

among all the organisational properties studied, the particular piece of analysis may be considered to be a further probe into that earlier analysis. The main finding here seems to be that unions in fact develop, though at a slow pace perhaps, their class consciousness, especially in those aspects concerning directly with such usual union practice as wage negotiations. Another noteworthy finding is that the development of class consciousness of allied unions is faster than that of the non-allied. For instance, as for **desired society**, while the non-allied unions remain much the same over time emphasising the mutual prosperity of the labour and management, the allied unions seem changed qualitatively over time so as to explicitly challenge the world dominated by the capitalist class.

Table 6.2.3.1 comparisons of union circulars issued with the time gap of one year

items	allied	non-allied
work fellows	unchanged	unchanged
collective action	unchanged	++
militant solidarity	++	unchanged
desired society	++	unchanged
your own future	++	+
action for social change	++	unchanged
nature of labour dispute	++	++
company owner	++	+
wage increase	++	+
pro-worker intervention	++	unchanged

A summary table above, the term "unchanged" indicates no change over time in the class terms (A specific reference to 'class' itself is not necessary to be qualified as class terms, of course) the organ uses. If change has been detected only in the direction of more frequent use of class terms, it is indicated as "+", and if the change also includes qualitative enhancement of class consciousness shown for example by a more committed report or a more developed suggestion along the order suggested in the choices of our questionnaire items, it is indicated as

"++". The full extent of analysis is shown in Appendix V.

6.2.4 on the view of female workers in a class society

Female workers in the female labour based workplaces seem to enjoy far more attention in terms of the sheer amount of gender-related articles in their union circulars than those in the male labour dominant workplaces where the unions virtually paid no attention to their sexually minority members. And this disparity is applicable to the allied and non-allied unions alike. Another contrasting aspect is that, in terms of the general orientation of the gender-related articles carried by union circulars, the approach taken by the allied unions in the female-labour-based workplaces attempts to link the 'women question' to the capitalist inequalities as opposed to the approach favoured by the non-allied unions of the female dominant workplaces that lists and describes the problems women face without making any reference to class. The full extent of analysis is shown in Appendix VI.

6.3. interview results: allied unions vs. non-allied unions

It is to be noted that, among the three types of organisational capacities distinguished earlier, the capacity to organise in terms of the size of membership is not straightforward in this context of enterprise unions because many workplaces are under the union-shop system, and even if they are not, they have no competition due to the 'one-workplace one-union' clause in the Trade Union Act. In the place of a name, the alphabet is used to designate each union. Although Tables 6.3.1 and 6.3.2 below provide a gist of the interview results, a more detailed report is attached at the back of the thesis as Appendix VII.

The most striking organisational difference between the allied and the non-allied has to be internal democracy. While democracy is assured in union constitutions for every union of both groups in terms of general referendum and recalls, whether the union actually works democratically is another matter. Whereas the allied unions appeared undemocratic in certain aspects of practice, - for instance, out of the ten allied unions, only one decided to join the Ma-Chang Coalition by a ballot, and another by the rank and file's show of hands, while all the others joined it through a discussion within the executive committee or by the president's decision - they were far better at extracting opinions from the membership, drawing in their participation, and arguing over relevant union issues with them. The divergent atmospheres in respective unions were a good proof of what kind of participatory democracy they were running: the offices of the allied unions were always crowded with union officers, representatives, and lay members, engaged in arguments; the offices of the non-allied were on the other hand just quiet. Another piece of evidence for their difference in democracy was of course found in their union organs: the union organ was the most important asset to the allied unions and it was obvious that they took pains to involve as many members as possible in making every issue of it, whereas for the non-allied the organ, if they ever had one, was either a formality or a 'friendly' reminder of the existence of the union. One non-allied union even made use of its union organ as supplementary to the company magazine, running management's messages to employees.

This difference in participatory democracy was in turn inseparably linked to their respective approaches to organise a union activity and their membership. Compared to allied unions which were busy trying to be near members, talking to them, and making and constantly changing the priority list for spending union funds, the non-allied

unions were in the main aloof from their members and inert about financial matters: when I asked the vice president of a large non-allied union about the allocation of union funds, he simply said that they tried to be consistent year after year, and 'democratic and fair' in financially assisting every one of the over 30 friendly societies.

Despite the claim of some union officers in the non-allied that they cared more about members' real needs than the allied which regarded their members as 'instruments to their unrealistically ambitious goal', the analysis of union organs - the class terms of which have been already discussed in the foregoing section - and interviews with officials seem to show that the interests of the allied unions in members' everyday life and welfare were in fact more diverse. Compared to many organs of the non-allied that filled pages with endless poems, the organs of the allied generally were substantial in content: the articles ranged from hobbies to industrial hazard, from wage calculation to history.

As seen in Tables 6.3.1 and 6.3.2, education programmes for both union officials and the rank and file differ very much between the allied and the non-allied in terms of content as well as of amount. The non-allied unions usually settle for the easiest way: they notify the Federation of Korean Trade Unions [FKTU], and then notify the membership of a series of lectures organised by the officer sent by the FKTU. The allied unions on the other hand discuss this matter with the Ma-Chang Coalition, and set internal programmes as well as lectures by external speakers. To be sure, their education programmes are not without faults. For example, one of the large allied unions denoted as G, opted for a 'differential' education: they discriminated the 'core' of the membership, i.e., the most active, from the less involved, and concentrated on the training of the former at the expense of the latter. While the officers of

that particular union tend to think it to be the most effective way in the face of the often-occurring violent suppression by the police, their education strategy seems problematic in keeping the majority inactive. Yet, the overall level of education programmes is far better in the allied than in the other group.

As for mobilisation, the allied unions are again more conscious of the importance of mustering as many members as possible for collective action than the non-allied. While the figures of strike attendance are not so dissimilar between the two groups, it was not uncommon for the allied unions to call for a family gathering, an invitation to families of members to join the sit-in. The allied unions also tended to opt for an over-night sit-in which was far less common to the non-allied. They received collections from other member unions of the Coalition during a strike, along with the 'militant cheer leaders' of the Coalition who organised entertainment such as a song contest to keep the strikers from boredom.

Another feature unique to the mobilisation of the allied unions was the effort to bring their members to regionally organised mass meetings of workers. On this score, the allied unions varied in the degree of mobilisation among themselves. For instance, one allied union without any obvious organisational obstacle had given up on publicly advertising mass meetings to its membership. While the official gave the low participation rate as the reason for the discontinuance, it seems that underlying the low participation was the union's relatively unenthusiastic handling of membership education, of political issues, and of solidarity with other unions.

The most conspicuous feature in the propagation carried out by the allied unions is that they often make attempts to appeal to the general public of the region for a moral

support for their strike by disseminating leaflets explaining what caused the strike and how determined they were to fight against the cause(s). In addition, some of the allied unions try to keep relationships with reporters of more progressive newspapers and to send them up-dates during strikes. In doing so, they seem to be anxious to present to the public their image as responsible and rational, and in return, to ensure a stronghold of struggle. The results are however not very successful especially in engaging nation-wide sympathy for strikers mainly due to the much more powerful counter-propaganda especially aimed at the 'radical unions' by the government and capitalists.

Table 6.3.1 interview outcomes for allied unions

	organisation	mobilisation	propagation
A	-external as well as self-education programmes	-strike 95% -regional mass meeting 40-50%	-monthly organ & additional news letters -public appeal
B	-no membership education on regular basis	-strike 70-80%	-bi-monthly organ -public appeal
C	-self-generated as well as external education programmes	-regional mass meeting 90%	-monthly organ
D	-frequent membership meetings and discussions	-non-strike union meetings 90%, regional meetings 60%	-monthly organ -has published a book on grass-roots culture
E	-monthly general meeting -regular education programmes	-regional mass meetings 60-70% despite unique obstacles	-monthly organ -public appeal
F	-relies on external bodies for membership education	-strike 95% -for regional mass meetings, attendance low	-monthly organ
G	-no systematic education programmes for rank-and-file	-regional mass meetings 50% -strike attendance varies	-monthly organ
H	-occasional lectures for membership	-regional mass meetings 70%	-monthly organ
I	-no regular education programme but speeches	-strike 30% due to special problem, the regional, low	-by-monthly organ -public appeal
J	-relied on external bodies for membership education	-regional mass meeting 15% due to triple shift	-monthly organ

In comparing the allied and the non-allied unions on their organisational capacities, it can be concluded with certainty that no matter what the given capacity was, the allied made far greater effort to expand it. Certainly,

the leaders of the allied unions expressed far more concern about the difficulty in covering all the needs of the membership and in satisfying every single member. And while the interviews clearly show that it was the allied unions that received more complaints and criticisms from membership, along with suggestions and words of encouragement, it can be readily explained by the higher level of activity and commitment the allied unions demand from membership. For they have set out to keep and heighten that level even further, even a temporary lethargy seems to result in a more serious setback and retreat to the allied unions than is the case for the non-allied.

Table 6.3.2 interview outcomes for non-allied unions

	organisation	mobilisation	propagation
A	-no education programme	-individually informs of mass meetings	-monthly organ
B	-no education programme	-partial sabotage	-no organ
C	-one hour yearly education	-not applicable	-organ on irregular basis
D	-self-education programme on union activity	-not applicable	-no organ
E	-occasional lectures	-not applicable	-monthly organ
F	-no education programme	-certification strike over 50%	-bi-monthly organ
G	-frequent general meeting	-not applicable	-no organ
H	-shares company education programme	-strike 80%	-monthly organ
I	-outside speaker for lectures	-regional mass meetings 50%	-monthly organ
J	-educational course	-strike attendance high	-issues news letters often
K	-self-education programme	-regional mass meetings 15%	-monthly organ
L	-no education programme	-strike 90%	-no organ
M	-self-education programme	-not applicable	-no organ
N	-no education programme	-not applicable	-no organ
O	-no education programme	-strike 100%, regional low	-monthly organ
P	-no education programme	-not applicable	-monthly organ -news letters
Q	-no education programme	-not applicable	-no organ

Chapter 7

Discussions

7.1 unevenness of class-consciousness development

This aspect is not the main finding of our research for two reasons: first, it is not one of the organisational properties under investigation; second, the unevenness of class consciousness is a well-known fact or a common knowledge, though relatively unexplored in detail. However, since the general response distribution pattern presents this aspect so saliently, we will discuss this first and move to our organisational properties. As the foregoing chapter has shown, class consciousness develops unevenly within the individual (see Table 6.1.1). Especially, the seemingly inconsistent responses to a classless society, the abolition of the capitalist class, and the abolition of the wage system indicate that, many of those workers who resent the class society and its inequality, neither recognise the capitalist as the recipient of unfair prestige nor see an alternative to one of the most essential components of the class society, i.e., the wage system; while 52.6% of respondents say that they desire a classless society, only 23.2% regard company owners as a class to be abolished, and only 15.9% think that the wage system is to be quashed. In other words, a discontent with the present society, and even a desire for a better society, both of which are prevalent, does not automatically lead to a concrete awareness of the cause of the defect, let alone to an idea as to what should be done.

Another example of the within-individual discrepancy in class consciousness is readily found in the responses to the fourth stage of Question 7, i.e., The [industrial] conflict bears a fundamental social contradiction involving

the political and economic system and ideology and nationwide solidarity: many workers who believe that industrial conflict originates in an all-embracing problem of society, fall short of favouring a nationwide workers' solidarity. Again, the concrete seems to take second place after the abstract.

Yet, a different picture arises in the discourse analysis of union circulars, where the abstract in some aspects precede or exist without the concrete. For instance, some allied unions are relatively uncritical of their respective employers while denouncing the capitalist class as a whole. They are especially reserved when it comes to downplaying the role of the company owner in the production and sale process while making undiluted criticisms of the capitalist class and arguing that workers are the motor of economic as well as historical development.

This uneven development of class consciousness is, however, by no means inexplicable. Nor does it have to be left to terms like 'positively schizophrenic' (Mann 1970 p432). Not only is ambivalence in individual attitudes commonplace in the literature of attitude (see, for example, Katz and Hass 1988), but also explanations of the unevenness in class consciousness have been especially attempted with a hypothetical distinction between a workplace-related experience and a wider political and economic sphere. According to Mann(1970), for example, social images are formed both by people's immediate experiences in their everyday routine relationships and also by messages transmitted through the mass media, a consequence of which is that the consciousness of the working class is typically fragmentary and disorganised: they are likely to reject dominant ideas about events or actions in which they have been actively involved, but at the same time to endorse the media's condemnation of similar events about which they have no first-hand knowledge. By the same token, the

working class tend to approve the overall political and legal systems as legitimate in principle, but at the same time are likely to be critical of how those institutions work as long as they have direct experience with them. Kriegler (1980) also comments that workers tended to express their political views differently, depending on the context in which the question was placed. According to him, the fact that answers to questions on the general political orientations of the interviewee often contradicts responses to questions concerning the worker's immediate industrial experience suggests that many workers operate, in this respect at least, on two distinct planes: the general and stereotyped, and the highly specific based on day-to-day industrial reality.

Although the data of the present survey are in line with the well known arguments in terms of the unevenness of class consciousness, our data also suggest that the nature of the unevenness is more complex than those arguments discussed above. The distinction between indoctrination by media and direct experience, that is to say, is not a clear-cut demarcation between, as it were, false consciousness and true working class consciousness. For the data show that the production process itself also hinders class-consciousness development in some aspect. For instance, viewing the role of the individual company owner as essential in production is perfectly understandable considering that the fragmented labour process prevents workers from developing any conception of the workings of production as a whole. When taking into account the fact that in a capitalist society the workers' livelihood depends on production that they do not fully understand, it is natural to some degree that the physically present company owner commands more respect from workers than the general capitalist. It seems to be reasonable to postulate that the concrete can be more mystifying than the abstract when the former is not fully

grasped, i.e., when it alienates the relevant people.

The alienation and dissatisfaction in workplaces is also evident in the responses to Question 5; 45.5% of the respondents want to leave the factory if an opportunity comes. Another piece of evidence that affirms the difficulty in overcoming the directives involving first-hand experiences is the workers' view of wages; transcending the wage relations even in theory proves to be most difficult in the survey. All in all, experiences nourished in one's own environment do not seem automatically extended to a larger perspective, and however aggravating those experiences are, it requires a systematic impact for them to be linked to an idea of societal change, if they are at all.

This is where organisational mediation comes in. Based on the survey data, I will in the following sections of this chapter discuss some factors that change and break up what is considered to be the norm that is heavily propagated by the media and the state as well as the mystification fostered through direct experience.

7.2 the Unionisation effect and its accumulation.

The term *unionisation* here is not used, as in some of the literature, to refer to 'the process of increasing strength of unionism in a given field, or to the level the process has reached' (Blackburn 1967 p14). Rather, unionisation is used to mean organisation of the workforce in part or as a whole in one company. It therefore consists of not only joining but also creating an organisation, i.e., a trade union. Thus, unionisation in our sense assumes a dichotomous categorisation, namely, either unionised or non-union. So the factor unionisation here concerns very

much the organisation as well as the individual. It is also recalled that many of the unions included in the survey were union shop, and the others open shop, while there was no closed-shop union.

There certainly is a difference in class consciousness between workers in unionised workplaces and those in non-union workplaces (see Table 6.1.2). Yet, looking more closely at Question 5 **your own future**, Question 8 **company owner**, and Question 9 **wage increase**, the difference between the two groups is statistically insignificant. Therefore, we can deduce from it that while unionisation either yields, or is achieved on the basis of, a higher class consciousness overall, - we have to consider both possibilities since the time factor that can explain a causal relationship is not taken into account here - it does not significantly alter the feeling of alienation among workers nor does it make a considerable impact on workers' perception toward the role of company owner, and the same is true of wages. Yet, it is to be noted that the insignificance is only statistical, for, in fact, the responses of the unionised group to the three questions are all biased to the fourth stage compared to those of the other group. In addition, the difference in the standard deviations of the two groups indicates that the class consciousness of the former group is more homogeneous. This can be understood as a result of an organisational mediation.

The survey data tend to confirm the Marx and Engels assertion that unionisation marks the beginning of the end of competition among individual workers and opens the era of solidarity. This assertion is self-evident to a large extent for unionisation itself is a result of concerted action and concerted action requires some degree of awareness by the individuals concerned that they have common interests. The survey result that the percentage of

organised workers who see work fellows as competitors is as small as a third of the proportion of those in the unorganised group supports this argument as well. Yet, it has to be said that unionisation *per se* does not seem to guarantee a great deal of development in class consciousness. As Blackburn (1967) maintains, 'the social significance of organisations depends on their character and, if unionisation is taken as a measure of class consciousness, it must allow for the characters of the unions concerned' (p.7). With similar effect, Lockwood (1958) argues that, apart from the requirement of the awareness of common interests, there is no inevitable connection between unionisation and class consciousness.

In line with Lockwood's assumption, Guest and Dewe (1988) report that while job dissatisfaction and solidarity account for very little of union membership, workers join trade unions out of a narrowly instrumental view of the union role, i.e., protecting and enhancing wages, job security and working conditions. However, a difference between joining a union and establishing one is to be noted here: although the latter can also be instrumental, it often accompanies a struggle for union recognition which consolidates the awareness of a common identity among the workers involved. This may well explain the significant difference found in responses to seven questions between the two groups. Particularly, unlike the Guest and Dewe findings, the need for solidarity is considerably more sought after by the organised workers than the other group in the present survey. It seems reasonable to suggest, therefore, that, when people perceive themselves and others in terms of their membership of social categories their behaviour and reactions begin to be organised in terms of these categories (Abrams 1990). In other words, the very act of establishing and joining a union urges its members to feel more clearly and strongly about their own status as workers, i.e., to identify with other workers, and about

solidarity with those in the same social category.

A comparison between members of non-allied unions and workers of non-union workplaces shows a picture very different from the Unionisation effect (see Table 6.1.4). I have termed the former the Purely Unionisation factor. With allied unions taken out from the analysis, the gap in class consciousness between the non-allied and the non-union becomes considerably narrower. In addition to the three questions that produce statistical insignificance for the Unionisation effect, the Purely Unionisation effect turns the difference in response patterns to three more questions into insignificance, namely, Question 1 **work fellows**, Question 4 **desired society**, Question 6 **action for social change**, although, non-statistically speaking, there is a noticeable difference between the two groups in the response patterns to Question 1.

It hardly needs mentioning, of course, that what I call the Purely Unionisation effect is not actually pure. It is, if anything, sterile rather than pure, since a very important possibility in unionisation, that is, the possibility for the participants and the organisation to be radicalised in the very process of unionisation is purposefully excluded in this effect. Yet, it seems noteworthy that, as far as the so-called pure and simple unions are concerned, there have been a number of research findings suggesting that the simple act of combination is largely based on an instrumental view (Premack and Hunter 1988; Farber 1987; Kochan, Katz and McKersie 1986), while there is recent evidence stating otherwise (Fiorito 1992). Crouch (1982) depicts this kind of 'pragmatic' union as having an organisational goal which is not different from that of individual members, i.e., protection against the vulnerability of the individual employment relationship. Union goals are further discussed in the next section.

To see how this initial goal of the union works over time, the Union Age factor was postulated where newly founded unions were compared with mature unions - although by some standards, the latter would be considered still young for they were two years old or more - and it produced one of the most unexpected results in the survey: there was barely any difference in class consciousness between the two groups. It was especially surprising because 10 out of the 16 mature unions were allied whereas only 1 newly founded union was so. This result, I think, has to be explained by the inactivity of some non-allied mature unions. As seen in the text analysis of union circulars as well as the interviews with union leaders, non-allied unions hardly change over time in terms of the level of class consciousness as far as union organs are concerned. What is more, some of them, especially those which were established as company-manipulated unions from the outset, without a struggle for union recognition, do seem degenerative and frantic as if they feel threatened by changes in other unions toward radicalisation. It seems, therefore, at least to some extent, that the thesis of leadership betrayal, that is, that union leaders block the upward flow of the rank and file class consciousness is plausible, although, in this case, the leaders' behaviour is not of betrayal but rather of consistency.

7.3 social behavioural aspect of class-consciousness development and the Leadership effect

The Alliance factor is the most strong and influential among the factors chosen for group-comparison in the present survey (see Table 6.1.3). Not only is the Alliance factor related to the highest number of response pattern differences - the allied are different from the non-allied in all questions but one, Question 2 collective behaviour,

which is also linked with the biggest difference in Class Consciousness Score. In addition, the standard deviation of the workers' class consciousness in the allied unions turns out to be the smallest, which indicates that organisational mediation exists, and exists most saliently in those unions. That is to say, there is more homogeneity in the allied unions, which suggests organisational mediation. Perhaps the most distinctive aspect in the class consciousness of the allied is that almost 30% of the members favour the abolition of the capitalist class. The significance of this is also reflected in the regression analysis which shows that the best predictor among the 10 questions of the Class Consciousness Score of a member of an allied union is not militant solidarity as for all the other groups, but the company owner.

As stated in Chapter 6, the most noticeable common characteristic seen in the allied unions is their radical leadership who painstakingly make a conscious effort to uplift the members' class consciousness by propagation and mobilisation. This is clearly detected in their union circulars and the interviews with the leadership. It seems that the leaders' efforts for interaction with the rank and file in the allied unions is due less to their personality traits than to some charisma¹ socially acknowledged, endorsed, and validated by the union members (see Bryman 1992). At least outwardly, the leaders of the allied and non-allied unions do not appear different as far as their extroversion is concerned. In addition to that, the allied leaders are most militant in terms of wage struggles, and

¹Bryman (1992) defines charisma as 'a revolutionary force in that it involves a radical break with the pre-existing order' (p27) usually prevalent in a situation of 'profound social dislocation and accompanied discontent' (p54).

they tend to have high political awareness. In this sense, the leaders in the allied unions certainly fall in to the category which consists of trade unionists who see union membership as involving a 'moral, solidaristic or radical commitment', rather than those who view their organisations in 'instrumental, calculative or bread-and-butter terms' (Undy and Martin 1984 p188). The contrast of the two kinds of leaders is also expressed with terms like transformational leadership based on charisma, shared visions, and strong leader-follower identification as opposed to transactional leadership centred on social exchange principles (Bass 1985, see Benson 1991 for a literature review of leadership typologies). As the structural differences between the allied and the non-allied, in terms of the labour process, working conditions, and wage levels, etc. are not so great as to divide the two groups as they are, it is reasonable to attribute the difference in class consciousness to their leadership differences. Even though there might have been structural differences between the two union categories, they might have been less influential than generally expected, as was the case in the study of Fosh and Cohen (1990), which finds the following;

[T]he local government members' industrial and political consciousness [was] a reflection, though to some extent a weaker one of their local leaders militant, solidaristic, left-wing stance... [In explaining] the differing levels of participative democracy, the most important variables were not the ones usually put forward in the literature. Thus institutional factors - the structure of the local union organization and collective bargaining - together with the influence of the national union and the particular attributes of the membership were less relevant than the interaction between local leaders and members' commitment to collectivism and leadership style with the threats and challenges posed by management (p127, p137-138).

They also observe, very importantly, that 'local leaders do not merely mouth members' aspirations, however unrealistic,

but to a significant extent mould their demands, sometimes moderating them and sometimes increasing their scope, as for example by turning an individual grievance into one of concern for the whole workforce' (p138).

If the difference of class consciousness between the two groups is attributable to the leadership, the next question that arises naturally is how we can account for the process of interaction inside the unions that results in the difference in class consciousness. I will make an initial attempt to answer this question by introducing the social behaviourist theory of attitude formation and change.

According to Doob (1947), an attitude is an implicit response which is evoked (a) by a variety of stimulus patterns (b) as a result of previous learning or of gradients of generalization and discrimination (p136). By this, he means that, while an attitude can almost always be aroused by a variety of stimuli, previous learning determines whether or not particular stimulus patterns will evoke the attitude. Doob's argument has a bearing on the present survey in that the acquirement of an attitude, or a set of attitudes, and indeed the evocation of a certain response, much depend on the nature of stimuli that an individual is exposed to. That is to say, difference in stimuli for the members of the allied unions and for the members of the non-allied unions may be suggested to account for difference in class consciousness between the two groups. It can be assumed, of course, that change in stimuli may not bring about change in attitude in a specific period of time, in which we will probably see an uneven pattern of class consciousness within the individual and indeed within the organisation as we have seen in union circulars. However, the conscious and constant reinforcement by the leadership seems gradually to facilitate the development of class consciousness in a certain direction.

How then can the working of the leadership initiative in stimulating the very first change be explained? I want to argue that the primary change in the rank and file's class consciousness is brought about with the provision of an appropriate source upon which a new attitude can be built. For instance, the leaders' mere attempt to mobilise their members for a joint demonstration actually provides the members with an opportunity to experience solidarity and political issues. The act of participation itself then may lead the workers to the awareness that they are indeed part of the working class. This line of argument has been put forward by Bem (1970, 1972) whose thesis is: 'Behaviour causes attitudes'. He contends that behaviour and the conditions under which it occurs are one of the major foundations of an individual's beliefs and attitudes, i.e., one of the most effective ways to "change the hearts and minds of men" is to change their behaviour. The famous example he gives is that of brown bread: while most people agree that the question, "Why do you eat brown bread?" can properly be answered with "Because I like it", it is equally or perhaps more frequently the case that the question, "why do you like brown bread?" ought to be answered with "Because I eat it." Bem's position called self-perception theory has been positively examined by several researchers (see Olson 1993 for a review).

Another of Bem's arguments which is relevant to the effectiveness of organisational mediation by union leaders is that personal contact or interpersonal influence is superior to the mass media as far as changing attitudes is concerned (1970 p75). In the same vein, it has been argued that increase in involvement could lead to more careful information-processing in changing attitudes (Petty and Cacioppo 1986). The ideological hegemony of the capitalist class which was succinctly expressed by Marx and Engels (1976a) in their celebrated statement that 'the ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas' (p59),

transmitted to, and sustained in, the general public as social norms by electronic and printed mass media can be in actuality, challenged by the working class themselves. This line of argument is also backed by McAdam, McCarthy and Zald (1988) who, in an attempt to account for individual variation in movement participation, opt for 'prior contact with a movement member' as the factor that has been shown to bear the strongest relationship to activism (p707). The other factors listed by them are psychological characteristics, attitudinal correlates, suddenly imposed grievances, rational choice, membership in organisations, history of prior activism, and biographical availability.

Supportive of the foregoing argument is a largely descriptive study carried out by Batstone, Boraston and Frenkel (1977). They report, on stewards' role in collective action, that 'leader stewards' who are defined as those espousing union principles and seeing their role as active as a representative rather than a delegate of their members, are more influential than 'populists' who accept fewer union principles and who in practice accept a delegate role in relation to their members, in moulding workers' attitudes by the continual reaffirmation of union principles, while also pointing out, close to Beynon's argument, that what the leaders foster is more suitably called a factory consciousness rather than class consciousness for it is basically plant-based and conforms to the dominant structure of society.

Although those leader stewards whom Batstone and his colleagues studied are different from the leaders of the allied unions in the present study in that the latter have interests in a wider spectrum of societal affairs, their observation vindicates the idea that the leadership character is a crucial factor of union behaviour.

Having discussed Batstone *et al.*, it seems necessary to present another piece of research that gives conflicting evidence of the efficacy of leadership mediation. On the activities of the French *Confederation generale du travail* (CGT) at workplace level, Gallie (1983) gives the following description:

A major objective of the radical French trade unions was to use the frictions of everyday life in the factory as a means of educating workers about the broader character of society. They actively sought out potential sources of grievance that could mobilise the base, they viewed strikes not merely as an instrument for achieving economic ends but as a way of raising workers' consciousness, and they strove to weld together demands about immediate grievances in the factory with wider political demands. Underlying much of their thinking was a belief in the efficacy of involving workers in forms of industrial action as a means of sharpening their awareness of the class character of society (p113).

Despite the painstaking efforts made by the unions, the differences in class radicalism between the CGT supporters and non-unionised workers, analyses Gallie, were not substantial, albeit consistent, which leads him to the conclusion that the direct influence of the unions on workers' wider social attitudes appears to be relatively slight. This conclusion, needless to say, runs counter to the present findings. Subsequently, he argues that the reason for the slight influence is that French workers have been markedly unreceptive to the unions' efforts at political indoctrination and rejected them as an illegitimate extension of the proper sphere of union activity.

Why did Gallie fail to find a substantial difference in class radicalism between members of the most radical union and non-unionised workers? I think that this is due partly to the fact that this particular part of his research is seriously flawed both in method and interpretation. First,

notwithstanding the fact that the objective of his investigation was to determine the extent to which class radicalism could be *attributable* to the character of the trade unions in the workplace, the two groups compared were non-unionised workers on the one hand, and the CGT supporters who had a choice for their support of three unions on the other. It is incomprehensible to me how one can investigate a degree of attribution to organisational mediation by comparing cross-sectionally non-unionised workers with those who obviously, prior to joining, had enough of a specific political tendency to choose the most radical union in existence. In other words, there is no safeguard for assuring that even the non-substantial difference in class radicalism between the two groups can be rightly attributable to the union. Second, even though it is true that some surveys found that French workers were dissatisfied with the CGT for its excessive emphasis on politics, it seems unreasonable to me to attempt to account for the lower-than-expected class radicalism in the CGT members by resorting to the surveyed dissatisfaction since, if the most distinctive feature in the CGT is its political sensitivity, the members, again, must have a choice of changing membership to a more moderate union. That is to say, without explaining why the CGT supporters kept their membership, one cannot just assume that the reason for their relatively low class radicalism was due to their 'rejection of the CGT legitimacy in political involvement.'

To investigate the leadership-membership interaction more closely, we may helpfully refer Gallie's findings that 'provide little support for the trade unions' major role in directly moulding workers' attitudes to society' (Gallie , 1983 p257) to goal differentiation between the leaders and the members. Organisational goal can be defined in several ways (see Silverman 1970 pp9-11), one of which is the current goals of the leadership of an organisation. The goals probed in our survey on the basis of text analysis of

union circulars are first and foremost the leaders'. Whether they are also the rank and file's depends on whether the goals have been actually absorbed and integrated within and throughout the organisation. Since organisational democracy and representation in trade unions is not one of the focal points in our research, evidence for how democratic the unions are in representing interests and goals of individual members is not sufficiently provided. However, one indicator concerning organisational democracy is the use of the union ballot.

A striking contrast within the allied unions is that they appear quite undemocratic on the surface at times and yet democratic in everyday decision-making procedure. The most conspicuous example of ostensibly undemocratic practices is that most of the allied did not resort to a union ballot when they decided to join the Ma-Chang Coalition. As for democratic practice, not only have they far more contacts between the leadership and the rank and file than the non-allied but also they carry out union ballots more frequently than the non-allied. On the contrary, while the leaders of the non-allied unions often give as a reason for remaining non-allied the rank and file's objection or reluctance to the Coalition, they seem less concerned with interaction with the rank and file in general. Especially for some company-manipulated unions, representing workers' economic interests comes second after the success of the company regardless of the opinion of the rank and file. It may well be too sweeping a statement to say that the more radical the union is the more democratic. Yet, democracy without action, even without an opportunity to participate seems the nature of democracy in the non-allied. That is to say, despite the leadership claims that the rank and file participation is guaranteed, the fact that there is not much to participate in makes the guarantee not much different from a sham. Union ballots and elections, without the stimuli to widen the field where democracy

operates are severely restricted or unprovided, as is often witnessed in the non-allied, and may be called, at best, democracy without efficacy.

7.4 the Strike effect

Strikes have a special place in industrial relations literature in three aspects. First, this subject has been unusually extensively studied and the overall agreement of research findings is that strikes vary systematically with the business cycle: the probability of a strike varies procyclically and the duration of strikes varies countercyclically (McConnel 1990; Harrison and Stewart 1989; Vroman 1989; Gunderson, Kervin and Reid 1986; Kennan 1985), although there have been some contrasting findings along the way (Kaufman 1981; Swint and Nelson 1978; Skeels 1971). In this sense, strikes are largely regarded as a function of labour and product markets. Second, the factors regarding strike incidents, that is, determinants of strike/non-strike activity other than the business cycle, have been equally well documented (see McClendon and Klaas 1993) and selectively highlighted by researchers with different trainings and interests (see Gordard 1992). Third, at both macro and micro levels, being statistically easily treatable and being an expression of their withholding capacity on the workers side, strikes are widely taken as unambiguous indicators or 'operational definitions' of overt conflict (Ingham 1974 p25).

Yet, strikes become a far more ambiguous and complex object of study when it comes to the role of strikes in the escalation of class consciousness, and the relationship between the two is largely unexplored. More recently, Kelly (1988) has tried to probe the relationship empirically. He chooses four periods of high wages

militancy in British industrial relations, and compares each of them against four indicators of class consciousness, namely, Communist Party membership, voting figures for the Labour Party, trade union membership, and annual opinion poll data. The findings are, in short, such that in general the overall relationship between strike frequency or wages militancy and the four indicators is not very impressive, apart from the pre-World War Two period when both the labour and Communist Parties grew in association with industrial militancy. Kelly concludes, therefore, that wages struggle can radicalise workers, rejecting both the Lenin-Hobsbawm argument that it cannot, and the contrary claim of more economic Marxists that it does.

In terms of the impact of individual strikes on the workers directly involved, the picture is even more complicated. The few existing studies of the effects of strikes with or without specific reference to class consciousness (Waddington, Wykes, and Critcher, 1991; Allen 1981; Batstone, Boraston, and Frenkel 1978; Mann 1973; Lane and Roberts 1971) have produced conflicting results. For example, while Mann asserts that a major strike leads to an 'explosion of class consciousness, the most recent study of all (Waddington et al. op.cit.) reports that the workers of the 1984-5 miners' strike have retreated to the state of privatised worker, seeing their work situation as socially meaningless and that 'the temporary possibility that local trade union consciousness might be linked to wider issues at the national and international level was largely unrealised' (p148). Thus, it is true to some extent that 'to go on strike is to deny the existing distribution of power and authority. The striker ceases to respond to managerial command; he refuses to do his work.' (Lane and Roberts, op.cit. p105), the lasting and systematic effects of this dramatic change in everyday life on strikers' class consciousness have often been exaggerated.

The present survey, to be precise, does not exclusively investigate the impact of strikes on workers, but rather, an overall relationship between strikes and class consciousness. That is to say, the former can be either one of many causes of class consciousness escalation, or/and an effect of it, although I will use the term, effect, for the sake of convenience. In addition, the results are divided into two parts: the strike effect between the allied unions and that between the non-allied.

The effect of strikes on workers in the allied is by no means great(see Table 6.1.5). Particularly interesting is the response patterns to Question 9 on wages; the proportion of workers who replied that wage increases would never satisfy them as long as the exploitative wage system remained, in the allied unions with strike experience is almost three times higher than those without strike experience. Unlike Kelly (1988), I do not have exact percentages of wages struggles in those strikes, mainly because the demands in strikes of most allied unions were very much mixed, ranging from wages to the reinstatement of dismissed or imprisoned leaders, and also, because highly political slogans often cropped up even in economic strikes. However, considering the fact that many of the strikes were unreservedly economic, it seems a reasonable interpretation that a multiplicity of economic strikes does not necessarily mean a pecuniary orientation by the strikers.

The possible reasons for this inconspicuous difference between the allied unions with strike experience and without are thought to be as follows: first, class consciousness of the members of the allied unions was already so high that strike experiences did not enhance it much further; second, while the allied without strike experience did not stage strikes of their own, they still

participated in workers' demonstrations at regional and national level, which affected the workers more or less the same way as strikes. When pulled together, the two reasons tell us that strikes are neither efficient nor sufficient a leverage of class consciousness for workers with above a certain level of class consciousness and that strikes in ones own workplace is not absolutely necessary for escalation of class consciousness as there is a field of solidarity provided by wider class issues.

Contrary to the results of the comparisons within the allied unions, and in line with the interpretations above, the difference within the non-allied is greater. Especially, the circulars of the unions with strike experience express their disillusionment with industrial peace and the employer. It also appears as if they become more action-oriented through strikes. It is noteworthy that unlike the allied who at least see wage increases in a confrontational perspective to employers irrespective of strike experience, the non-allied unions with strike experience display a more pecuniary as well as overt attitude toward wages than those without strike experience who do not care to, or dare not, make the cash-nexus relationship explicit.

To conclude, I simply reiterate what has been discussed already; strikes are not automatically a piece of dynamite for class consciousness and there is a good substitute for workplace strikes, mass demonstrations and meetings which are rendered more important for class conscious workers. As Beynon (1984) observes, class consciousness is not only formed by single instances like strikes, but also, and perhaps more, moulded by comprehensive and relational encounters which are provided inside and outside the work situation.

7.5 the Size effect

The size of a union in the present survey coincides with that of plant which in turn coincides with that of company with a very few exceptions. The survey results show that members of small unions have a higher class consciousness than their larger counterparts (see Table 6.1.7). Particularly interesting are the responses concerning Questions 8 and 9: workers in large plants who have obviously fewer opportunities to see the owner and top management have less inclination toward the abolishment of the class of company owners than those in small plants; the former group who tend to receive better wages than the other group, are much more pecuniary in viewing wages. The results can be interpreted to be in tune with the discussions on class-consciousness discrepancies: i.e., workers in large plants see the owner in a more mysterious way and are more confined within the boundary of wage relations. Although the results in hand are insufficient to support the 'the-more-affluent-the-less-radical' thesis, they still indicate that the alienation from the whole production process and from human contacts in the workplace may lead workers to depend more on the monetary reward of work and hinder them from developing a perspective beyond.

I want, now, to discuss the survey results in the literature of the 'size effect' of organisations. The general thesis concerning the size effect has been developed as one of the major tenets in sociology as classical thinkers as different as Durkheim and Marx agreed that large organisations produce more causes for internal conflict. Durkheim (1933) argues in *Division of Labour in Society*, that small scale industry displays a relative harmony between worker and employer due to less fragmentation of work (p356). Likewise, but with a different prospect in mind, Marx (1936 p470) noted that

large scale industry allows only minimal employer-employee interaction and thus is instrumental in arousing 'class consciousness' and intensifying the conflict between capital and labour. Despite this agreement, the point each makes is different from one another: Durkheim has a view more rooted in the tendency towards specialisation and bureaucratisation in large organisations. As for Marx, large scale industry facilitates the development of class consciousness mainly because it is more likely to dispense with non-capitalistic and extra-economic relations such as the patriarchy of employers than small scale factories, i.e., wage relations would come to the very fore. Put it differently, while Durkheim argues that large organisations are bound to be less democratic which then affects the nature of the relationship between management and workers, Marx contends that the size of industrial organisation only helps expose the already inherently defective relationship between the two by putting aside unessential aspects distorting the relationship. Whether the two arguments in fact converge and support one and the same phenomenon, in other words, whether there can be a link found between the argument that the larger the organisation is the more bureaucratised it becomes and the argument that the more bureaucratised the organisation is the more class conscious the workers become, is the issue I want to tackle here².

The evidence that supports an inverse relationship between size and organisation democracy, or a positive relationship between size and bureaucratization of industrial organisation is well documented in sociology (George, McNabb and Shorey 1977; Pugh and Hickson 1976; Warner and Donaldson 1971; Lockwood and Goldthorp 1962; Revans 1956; Clelands 1955). In general two explanations for the relationship have been given; one focuses on personal

²See Heery and Fosh (1990) for various ideological standpoints on their respective meanings of bureaucratisation.

relations and the other on the cost-benefit calculation. The first position argues that the small plant generates organisational identification and commitment through relaxed personal relationships between management and workers whereas the bureaucratic organisation of the large firm engenders remote and impersonal relations between workers and management through minimal interaction between lower participants and insufficiency of visibility of the elite and organisational goals (Ingham 1970). The indicators most often used to probe the size-bureaucratization relationship are strike statistics, absenteeism and labour turnover rates. On the other hand, the second explanation bases itself on a 'rationality' of the individual behaviour: according to Olson (1980 p33, p86), the larger the group, the farther it will fall short of providing an optimal amount of collective good to each of the members, which makes the individual reluctant to participate, which, in turn, pushes the leaders of large groups to coercion.

Moving to the size-class consciousness relationship, size has long and implicitly been related to class consciousness in the form of union density and union size, where the membership size is treated as equivalent to the power of the organisation or to the power of the working class in a given country. In the relationship between large plants and unionisation, large manufacturing plants became the undisputed core of unions and workers' power in terms of quantity as well as militancy by the end of the Second World War in industrialised countries. In line with the size-bureaucratization thesis, the higher rate of unionisation in large plants has been explained by its relatively smaller unit-cost in organising (Bell, 1953) and also its relatively deeper segregation between management and workers and the higher worker alienation (Lipset 1960, p267; Warner and Low 1947; see Cornfield 1986).

In addition to the rate of unionisation, some researchers have shown interest in studying the relationship between plant size and strike incidence, and produced findings that support a positive correlation between the two (Edwards, 1992; Clegg 1979). However, when it comes to the explanation as to why larger workplaces are disproportionately at risk of a strike, deeper alienation or stronger discontent to management does not seem to be the automatic answer; it has been argued that higher strike incidence in larger plants simply reflects the fact that there are more bargaining units and negotiations, which in turn produces greater scope for disagreements (Metcalf, Wadsworth, and Ingram 1993; Clegg 1979). Therefore the earlier contention on the alienation due to beureaucratisation or rationality in large plants does not hold in relation to strike incidence. In any case, our present survey results are not directly applicable here, for plant size has almost no bearing on the number of bargaining units in Korea - the law prohibits a second union in one plant.

More relevantly, Poole (1981 pp136-137) puts forward an exposition of the factors involved in the association between enterprise size and unionism: to begin with, the sheer number of working people congregated together facilitates the formation of their perception on common interests *vis-a-vis* their employers and this stimulates joint action via trade unionism; secondly, the lesser quality of work experience stimulates unionism, assuming quality is less in large plants; thirdly, the levels of non-economic rewards are closely and inversely related to the size of firm, a factor which is obviously conducive to trade unionism; fourthly, the bureaucratic style of administration in the large scale company encourages trade unionism; finally, recruitment campaigns are more concentrated on the large scale companies because of the optimal potential gains.

However, there has been recently strong counter-evidence to the size-class consciousness thesis: employees in large organisations are less likely to favour union representation than those in small organisations (see Cornfield 1986; Heneman and Sandver 1983; Lawler and Hundley 1986; Cooke 1983; Goldfield 1982; Fiorito and Greer 1982; Sandver and Heneman 1981; Lawler 1981; Delaney 1981; Chaison 1973; Rose 1972). Allen and Stephenson (1983) report that there is no evidence for a more 'left-wing' workforce in larger firms, although they also report a strong relationship between inter-group understanding and size. It seems clear that the size-class consciousness or size-radicalisation thesis does not hold unconditionally. The question of size-bureaucratization-strike-class consciousness is not, therefore, without problems.

The results of the present survey run against the prevailing hypothesis that there is a linear causality between union size and class consciousness. Moreover, the data show that workers in small unions/plants are in fact more class conscious than those in large unions/plants. The only plausible explanation for this appears to be that some large allied unions tend to have trouble reaching the whole of their membership and do not provide a lot of their members with an opportunity to benefit from members education programmes. As mentioned in Chapter 6 and Appendix VII, there is a great deal of variation in members' class consciousness in some large allied unions. As for the non-allied unions, large ones look more settled and secure as company unions than most of the non-allied small unions whose members are more discontented about their comparatively low wages and weak bargaining position and thus more aware of the need for solidarity. Gathering all this together, the higher Class Consciousness Score produced by the members of smaller unions is not of surprise.

More encouragingly, our interview data do not support the contention that size is positively related to bureaucratisation either. The interviews in the present survey render a picture that leaders of allied unions, large and small alike but especially large feel the need to fight against inertia existing among the rank and file while striving for a further specialisation of union functions. As for the non-allied, particularly some large unions are almost completely out of touch with their rank and file. But then, some small non-allied unions are not found to have a better contact with the rank and file than the larger ones. After paying several visits to both allied and non-allied unions, it dawned on me that there were always more people to be seen in the offices of allied unions than in the ones of the non-allied. What is more, those who gathered in the allied union offices were mostly non-officials whereas in the non-allied offices there usually appeared only those who held official posts. It is assumed thus that there is a fair amount of informal interaction in allied unions. Overall, small allied unions integrate the whole membership through propagation, education, and personal contact more than any other category. Yet, it is definitely evident that all large unions do not necessarily succumb to bureaucratisation. In addition, the larger plants do not always produce more bitterness from the workers' side. Company propagation and close checks coupled with a bureaucratic union seem certainly to work in some factories to keep workers' class consciousness low, and what is more, some large companies engage in trying out various self-initiatives involving the whole management personnel to prevent an extreme degree of bureaucratisation. As Marginson (1984) reports, management exercises a strategic choice over the degree to which organisations are bureaucratised.

Therefore, while rejecting the contention that the larger the union is, the more class conscious the members are, we

also observe that, though strong, the tendency of large unions to be bureaucratised is not inevitable. It may well be the case that 'size becomes a determinant of organisational behaviour only if allowed to do so' (Lembcke 1988 p19). Perhaps our investigation into the size effect remains inconclusive, and our interpretation incongruous. Yet, it is important to note that our data in fact testify that, how decisive or how straightforward the size effect may be in the first place, the leadership effect seems to overshadow it.

7.6 the Gender effect

The survey data basically show that there is little difference in the overall level of class consciousness between male workers and female workers(see Table 6.1.9). As for the various aspects of class consciousness, most interesting is the contrasting response patterns regarding Questions 2 and 5: while female workers value collective behaviour more than their opposite sex do, they are far more reluctant to make a long-term commitment to the labour movement. Also noticeable is that female workers are less action-oriented when it comes to social change. The survey results that indicate no higher class consciousness on the side of male workers, despite some interesting differences in some aspects of it, are not so commonly found elsewhere as to be readily accepted. Before attempting an account of the underlying reason, I will first discuss what has been found in industrial relations and the trade union movement in terms of gender difference to class consciousness.

As Cook (1984) notes, with the socialist political goals of social change and the primacy of the working class as the motor of history firmly rooted in the trade unions of most of continental Europe, at least up to World War I, 'the

"women question" was subordinated to the goal of revolution in the belief that the special problems of women workers were irremediable under capitalism and women could hope for equity only in a new society'(p11). And the view that women's natural role were those of wife and mother while men were their breadwinners persisted throughout much of this century. The two-fold fault in socialist trade unionism, i.e., the neglect of women workers as women and the impotence to change them and alleviate their hardship, brought about the criticism that Leftist or socialist movements and their ideologies had never contributed to the emancipation of women (Morgan 1970).

Notwithstanding the tremendous increase in the share of female labour accounting for the total work force in the 20th century, the change of perception of the traditional role of women as well as the focus of trade unionism on the male workers in heavy industry seems relatively slow, albeit steady, and this is well reflected in the activity of female members of trade unions. It has been reported that in some industries in Britain, militancy is either decided by or relegated to the male of the family who is asked by female union members whether a strike is opportune (Soldon 1985). In her pamphlet, *Women, Trade Unions and Political Parties*, Cockburn (1987) deals with women's participation in their unions, which is summed up by the considerably lower percentages of women who have been a shop steward, voted in a union election, put forward a proposal in a meeting, gone on a strike, stood in a picket line, and been to a union meeting than those of male members in Britain. This is in line with the time-honoured voting tendency of women that has been strongly biased toward right-wing parties.

In the face of these hard findings that reaffirm the women's persistent favour for conservatism, the results of the present survey may appear rather out of place.

However, they can be accounted for. I will first deal with the female response to the question of one's own future. As shown in the discourse analysis, many female workers tend to accept the dominant ideology concerning 'the women's place' in the family and society and view wage work as temporary and supplementary. Thus, a long-term commitment to the labour movement is seen as the most difficult goal for female workers to gain, reinforced constantly as they are by the patriarchal and capitalistic ideology throughout their lives.

Second, the explanation for the level of class consciousness shown by the female respondents in this survey has to be sought in the peculiarity of the development of the Korean labour movement as well as the conscious education by the unions on 'gender and capitalism'. As stated in Chapter 4, female workers command a special place in the labour movement in Korea, for in the unionisation and union-democratisation struggles which took place prior to 1987, female workers by far outnumbered their gender counterparts. Particularly, it would not be to exaggerate to suggest that the labour movement in the 70's was basically 'feminine' as far as the sex of the leaders and other participants was concerned. However, all this means that the Korean case is not an exception but a good example to affirm that 'class consciousness can develop out of class conflict and does not necessarily precede it' (Vanneman and Cannon 1987 pp181-182). That is to say, the female workers in this particular piece of research had a good deal of class experience, traditionally as well as personally, and were as class conscious as any male worker.

The argument for class experience as more direct and relevant than the gender difference itself in shaping class consciousness is readily backed up by the results of some recent studies that have given considerable research

attention to women's class perceptions and to such different factors in determining and constraining women's class action and participation in trade unions as union frameworks biased toward men (Melcher, Eichstedt, Eriksen and Clawson 1992; Thornthwaite 1992; Rees 1990), the structure of the labour market (see Vanneman and Cannon 1987), the nature of female jobs and working conditions and life connections in the family (Woodward and Leiulfsrud 1989). In fact, there have been several research findings that class perceptions and need for organisation are built first and foremost in the work experience itself, and that women as workers take the first steps towards seeing the interests of all workers as their own. This is indicated by a high willingness to join unions, often higher than their male counterparts show (Schur and Kruse 1992; Woodward and Leiulfsrud 1989; Vanneman and Cannon 1987). Thus there is more to be explained in gender differences than the differences themselves explain.

As for union education on gender and capitalism, two unions, both allied, of female-labour based workplaces were found to run an editorial of systematic critiques on gender inequality in capitalist society in their organs. Especially, the fact that one of them was highly successful in mobilising for a sit-in strike the otherwise-conservative middle-aged female members who account for the majority of the membership, might be attributed to the union's strenuous conscious-raising efforts in this aspect, including the most comprehensive and class conscious editorial column on the "women question".

It goes without saying that it is not only the propaganda through their organs, but also the enterprise-based union structure that elects female leadership more commonly than the national-level industrial unions certainly contributes to the advance of class consciousness among the female members. As Heery and Kelly (1988) suggest, female

representation makes a difference in the prioritising of issues concerning women's working conditions and thus in the encouragement of female participation in the union.

To make a short conclusion, it seems that, not being incompatible or separate but being inter-twined and mutually consolidating in certain aspects, (see, for various theoretical positions on this relationship, Walby 1986) the oppression of wage workers and that of women can be concurrently educated against.

7.7 nationalism, or nationality of ownership and class consciousness

A comparison between workers under domestic and foreign capital was conceptualised initially with an interest in testing the primacy of class consciousness over nationalism held by a string of Marxists (see Adamson 1991 for a brief review) against the empirical condition at hand that workers employed in factories owned by foreign capital might be more confrontational toward the dominance of capital in the workplace than the other group. There is a reason to believe that workers are more distanced, in a mental as well as physical sense, from the top management whose nation is, in this case, Japan. The former coloniser, is still resented by many Korean nationals. The results, however, turned out to be the opposite: workers under foreign capital have class consciousness even lower than that of those under domestic capital.

Although it is true that nationalism has 'so many different forms and variations that it is more appropriate to speak of nationalisms in the plural than of nationalism in the singular' (Alter 1985 p5), here I will treat the concept of nationalism as passive and affective, and refer to

nationalistic feelings and race/ethnic-related sentiments including resentments. That is to say, nationalism in this study does not deal with systematic and constructive aspects of it as a politically organised effort, i.e., a movement with an alternative (see Anderson 1986 for various theoretical positions on nationalism). Nor do I make a distinction between nationalism and racism although the two may or may not be conceptualised differently from each other (see Miles 1987).

The body of literature on the relationship between class consciousness on the one hand and nationalism on the other, is not large. Some people (see Stacey 1976 p82) have implied that the relationship is not straightforward, sometimes antagonistic as well as reinforcing. Similarly, it has been argued that nationalism is a class-neutral ideology, 'free-floating' and possible to be 'appropriated by classes and class alliances which are both hegemonic and counter-hegemonic' (Adamson 1991 p73). On the contrary, Ollman (1972) argues, listing the steps that progression to working class consciousness entails, that the workers must believe that their class interests come prior to their interests as members of a particular nation, religion, race, etc. Still another researcher, making an historical analysis of American migrant workers' formation, comments that, while 'class experiences may take ethnic forms, or even be expressed in ethnic terms, this in no way negates the importance of that class experience' (Cumbler 1986 p40).

Even though the relevant literature becomes abundant as soon as we drop the specific notion of class consciousness for the time being and descriptively concentrate on labour relations in foreign-owned plants, it does not become much less vexing to assess the differences and effects caused by the ownership nationality. While there have been several empirical studies focusing on industrial relations in

foreign-owned plants, they have not reached an agreement as to whether or not those plants are likely to experience more labour conflicts than their indigenous competitors. With specific reference to strikes, for example, there have been findings suggesting that foreign-owned plants are likely to enjoy relatively lower rates of strike frequency and incidence (Gennard and Steuer 1971) while there have been others supporting the opposite (Enderwick and Buckley 1982; Forsyth 1973).

It seems, apart from 'the limitations of poor data, regional specificity, size restriction, and inappropriate methodology' that the above studies suffer (Enderwick and Buckley 1982 p308), that labour relations are much affected by systematic factors in the structure of companies themselves. For instance, Perlmutter (1969) classifies transnational enterprises according to the cultural influences acting on their style of management which heavily differs one from another, and invokes different reactions, different degrees of confrontation and antagonism, and different degrees of cooperation, on the side of trade unions. *In toto*, it seems fair to observe that a great deal hinges on the character of management in question, and not just its nationality.

This is no place to pursue this matter any further simply because there is no relevant information at hand on the characters of management or on any other systematic factors which would help us with our question on the relationship between class consciousness and the ownership nationality. The very fact that there have been many conjectures, hopes and despairs, and strategic suggestions all contrasting and conflicting, in the ownership nationality/ transnational enterprise studies in relation to labour resistance (see Ramsay and Haworth 1989) tells us that workers' class consciousness at personal as well as individual levels does not necessarily develop for the sole reason of their being

under foreign production control.

One of the rare studies dealing with industrial relations in companies owned by a former coloniser, highly compatible with our survey condition, is that of Kelly and Brannick (1988) and their findings are not very illuminating either; they state in passing, while acknowledging the existence of culturally-based confrontations between British managements and an Irish workforce, that those confrontations have been insignificant in causing the frequent occurrence of strikes in British-owned companies.

Therefore, with the lack of empirical studies which have a direct bearing on this topic, and without a close investigation into the relevant surroundings in the present survey, only a sketchy and tentative conclusion can be drawn at best. While nationalistic sentiments certainly exist in foreign-owned workplaces, it does not seem conducive to a growth of class consciousness on the side of workers, and if I risk going further, the survey results could be interpreted to mean the relative autonomy of class consciousness from affective nationalism.

Now, we have discussed the effects of some organisational properties on class consciousness, based on the empirical results. Among those properties, the Alliance factor/ leadership effect seems to exert an overriding influence. Such factors as gender distribution, size, unionisation do not tend to make a straightforward effect on class consciousness as a whole but affect various aspects of class consciousness differently. The implications of the discussions made in this chapter are further explored in the next chapter.

Chapter 8

Conclusion

8.1 for further studies of the seven main research findings and more

In addition to summing-up what has been found in the present empirical research, aspects that have been unexplored or insufficiently touched upon are mentioned, and the need for further research is called for in this section.

8.1.1 unevenness of class-consciousness development

The development of class consciousness is uneven among individual workers as well as within a single individual. For instance, while much resenting class inequality in capitalist society, many workers do not see any problem in accepting the unfairly prestigious position of the capitalist. Class consciousness of organisation is no exception in the uneven development and, although the degree of unevenness is lower where organisational mediation exists, the mediation itself is very uneven as well.

The present research leaves a great deal to investigate. For all we know for certain from the findings is that class consciousness develops unevenly. We agree that the fragmented labour process and alienation prevent workers and their organisations from acquiring a comprehensive understanding of society as a whole. Messages from the mass media and popular culture in general sharply contradict the immediate experience of workers and the

actual circumstances of their organisations exacerbate the split in class consciousness. How would the effects of this everyday contradiction be analysed so as to help enhance workers' and their organisations' class capacities?

I suggest two directions for further studies: adoption of attitude studies and exploration of the factors of unevenness. As for the former direction which has a close bearing on the dynamics of class consciousness, there are a few areas in attitude research that should prove particularly helpful. First, findings on the ambivalence of attitudes (Thompson, Zanna and Haddock 1992; Hass, Katz, Rizzo, Bailey and Eisenstadt 1991; Katz and Hass 1988), i.e., the co-existence of both positive and negative attitudes towards one and the same object, the latent and manifest aspects and nature of their relationships especially, could be introduced into the study of class consciousness. Second, findings on the possible discrepancies between instrumental and symbolic attitudes, or object appraisal versus value expression (Snyder and Miene 1992; Pryor, Reeder, Vinacco and Kott, 1989) or specific attitudes as opposed to general attitudes (Deshpande and Fiorito 1989) could be related to the uneven development of class consciousness, which could help explain the different views held by workers toward the concrete and the abstract, for example, toward the owner of their own company and to the capitalist class in general. Third, attitude strength, which has been studied in five dimensions, namely, extremity, intensity, certainly, importance/centrality, knowledge (Krosnick and Abelson 1992) could be usefully adopted to the study of the strength of class identity, union commitment, and individuals' and organisations' class consciousness to stand against conflating and contrasting attitudes or threats.

Now, as for the exploration of the factors of class

consciousness, my suggestion is to look for thus-far-neglected independent variables, for example, the long-term and short term influences of victory and defeat in struggles either for wages or political gains when either directly involved with or morally supported by the development of class consciousness; the differential effects of degrees of democracy or oligarchy in union government on class consciousness, etc. These factors have been largely investigated with regard to typologies of the leadership and rank-and-file relationships (see Heery and Fosh 1990; Hemingway 1978), not to the development of organisational capacities of the trade union. It is assumed that every organisational experience of individual members and organisations is linked, both as a cause and an effect, to enhancing or undermining certain aspects of class consciousness, thus to the uneven development of organisational capacities.

8.1.2 the Unionisation effect

The main findings concerning unionisation are, first that union members are more class conscious than workers in non-union factories, and second that the difference in class consciousness between the unionised but non-allied and the non-union gets much smaller, and third and last, that simply staying unionised over time does not necessarily guarantee an enhanced class consciousness and what is more, it may even have degenerative effects on the development of class consciousness.

We can deduce from the above findings that those unions that exist only nominally without active pursuit of members' interests do not contribute significantly to the changes in the social landscape of class relations. As Blackburn (1967) argues, 'the social significance of organisations depends on their character' (p7) and thus,

'if unionisation is taken as a measure of class consciousness it must allow for the characters of the unions concerned' (p10). In the present research, by contrasting the Unionisation effect and the Union Age effect with the Alliance factor, the importance of union character has been emphasised. Congruent with this line of research would be to explore more dimensions of union character that presumably affect the character of membership and the wider society. My own selection of the dimension, i.e., alliance, is not very dissimilar to Blackburn's , i.e., unionateness which is defined as 'the extent to which it is a whole-hearted trade union, identifying with the labour movement'(p18). However, the character of trade unions as class organisations cannot be sufficiently examined within a single dimension, and analyses of various types of unions would help to understand the relations between individual and organisational class consciousness.

In addition to the study of union character, the dynamics of union commitment consisting of a belief in the union, loyalty and responsibility to the union, and willingness to work on behalf of the union (Gordon, Philpot, Burt, Thompson and Spiller 1980) could be investigated, which has been left out of the present research. Since we can make a conjecture that apolitical and non-allied unions tend to expect union satisfaction rather than union commitment from their members (see Kuruvilla, Gallagher and Wetzel 1993 for the difference between the two concepts), in other words, that in those unions the leadership is happier with 'membership apathy', easily monopolising the running of their organisations (Blau and Scott 1963 pp45-46), then how to stimulate union commitment and how to relate it to the development of organisational capacities would seem a vital area to be studied.

8.1.3 the Leadership effect

The findings that the present research has produced show that the Alliance factor is the greatest among the factors related to class consciousness, and my interpretation is that the decision to be allied was made first and foremost by the union leadership. Perhaps what is referred to as leadership was not official at the time of the union formation in question, or even at the time of joining forces with other unions. But it seems clear that a minority group with highly class conscious minds played the role of informal leadership even when the union was non-existent and set out to carry out active intercourse with other workers in the workplace. This eventually resulted in the establishment of the so-called 'democratic' union. Thus, I do not think it unreasonable to argue that what is most conspicuous about all the allied unions is their radical leadership, and that the organisations' political orientations are more inspired by the leadership than the other way round. We can, therefore, I think, justifiably speak of the leadership effect.

There are some further research directions that can be suggested in the study of the leadership effect on the trade union. First, it appears important to distinguish between the proximate leadership and the distal leadership, especially so when we deal with an industrial union with national government and local branches. While the effect of proximate leadership has been much studied, in the field of organisational behaviour, with regard to the supervisor-subordinate relationship (e.g., Vecchio 1987; Keller 1989), and knowledge on the subject could be furthered by studies of immediate contacts, proximal information sources and interaction groups (e.g. Rice and Aydin 1991; Rentsch 1990), the interest in the effects of distal leadership on the entire organisation has only recently emerged (e.g. Gardner 1990). Since 'the concern in this area is

primarily with the leader's ability to affect large numbers of followers, not simply immediate subordinates' (O'Reilly III 1991 p444), it will prove fruitful to compare and contrast the two types of leadership in the context of the trade union.

In addition to making a distinction between the proximate and distal influences of leadership, I feel that the methodological problems involved in leadership studies need to be re-examined. Most serious of all, in my opinion, is the hiatus in leadership formation, both in terms of how the wider society creates certain types of leaders and how organisations internally influence the making of their leaders. As Meindl (1990) proposes, concerning the latter aspect, not enough attention has been given to leadership as an outcome of social psychological forces among followers and observers. To fill these gaps, substantial amounts of participant observations and other ethnographical studies should be carried out. I am in agreement with Edwards (1992) that the method of detailed, and at the same time, systematically analytical ethnography is the best to yield a clearer and more comprehensive list of the factors involved. To observe the formation process of leadership may well turn out to be trickier than assessing its effects for they may sometimes involve subjective and perhaps nearly unobservable practices (Meindl and Ehrlich 1987), but still it is probably the best way to see the nature of interactions between the leadership and the rank and file.

The third and last research suggestion I have in mind concerns organisational goals which have been touched upon in the foregoing chapter but never fully discussed. While the divergence of the goals of leadership has been frequently emphasised (see Ross 1948; Crouch 1982) based on the assumption that 'there are major differences in perceptions of union goals amongst union leaders, activists

and members' (Undy and Martin 1984 p189), the predominant view about the divergence has been almost invariably either that of conflict management and containment within the organisation through union ballots, or of the rank and file's alienation from virtually all organisational decisions. This tendency, I think, inherently reflects a negative view towards organisational influences and a passive definition of democracy, i.e., the absolute sovereignty of individual autonomy. And this underlying tradition of predilection for the individual 'intact' against organisational 'control' restricts debate to the degrees of representative democracy centring on either democracy or oligarchy, or at best, polyarchy (see James 1984; Bank 1974). However, regardless of whether organisations prevail or not, individuals' attitudes, preferences and opinions are constantly affected and changing. Therefore, what seems to be important is not keeping the divisional perspective toward leaders versus the rank and file, and organisations versus members, and collectivities versus individuals, but exploring the ways in which the diverse goals are articulated or fail to be articulated, and expressed in certain forms. Again, ethnographical studies are called for here.

8.1.4 the Strike effect

The findings can be recapitulated as follows; strikes may not be the most effective lever of class consciousness, especially where other means and ways to class confrontations are available, whereas workers and unions with no previous experience of overt conflict with their employers seem to have learned a good deal from the direct involvement in strikes. One may postulate further that the more class conscious the individual worker and the trade union are, the less affected by a single strike incident and its results.

We see from the above findings that the effects of strike also depend on the union character to a great extent. And as to the decision to strike, we can reasonably assume on the one hand that the likelihood of the success of strikes is related to the organisational capacities of the union, while it is equally reasonable to contemplate on the other hand that most highly mobilised unions, being able to exact settlements amenable to the interests of their members without resorting to strikes, do not have a high frequency of strikes (Friedman 1983). In addition, the established expectations of management and the union about the behaviour of the other party, in other words, the protocol developed in labour-management relationships, is thought to affect, in fact, to reduce the likelihood of strikes (Reder and Neumann 1980).

Therefore, it is far from straightforward to set a causal relationship between strikes and the development of class consciousness on the sole basis of a strike/no strike dichotomy. What we need is to engage in a series of close and systematic observations on the whole process of strikes in different unions at different points of time, including not only the pre-strike period but also the existing union activity and the routine interaction between the leadership and the rank-and-file. We also need to carefully look into attempted strikes and those conflicts which do not develop into strikes. Only then, I think will we be able to account for the inter-union variations in strike incidence and establish a causal relationship to a degree between strikes and class capacities.

8.1.5 the Size effect

The Size effect found in the present research is such that members of smaller union are more class conscious than those in larger unions. Additional to this finding is that while bureaucratism has been firmly settled in the larger

non-allied unions, leaders of the larger allied unions make various attempts to fight against it.

The research findings above are not to be automatically applied to the nation-wide industrial unions for the unions in the present survey, being single-enterprise unions, are all space bound, which means that keeping the level of intra-organisational interactions frequent and constant is relatively easy, compared to the industrial unions with regional branches for whom direct contacts between the leadership and the membership is not always possible.

As already discussed, the subject of union size in the midst of organisation size in general has been extensively studied. Yet, the relationships revolving around size, bureaucratisation, centralisation and democracy are not so well established as they appear. Perhaps a negative correlation between size and democracy is there, and so is a negative between democracy and bureaucratisation. But considering that size is found to be positively related to decentralisation in decision-making on operational matters which is in turn also positively linked to structuring of activities (Warner and Donaldson 1971), we may be justified in postulating certain conditions under which a better structure of union activities and decentralisation could stimulate union democracy. It might be the case where the activities are closely linked to internal communications. Or upon organisational crises or facing external threats, the evenly distributed decision-making processes on operational matters might help the membership to claim a decision on the core policies of the union. It seems, therefore, there is no pure size effect independent of situational and contextual factors, let alone the conscious effort to fight against the deadweight of bureaucratism.

One point I would like to put forward in regard to

bureaucratic administrative features is that they do not seem incompatible with informal procedures. This is the impression I gathered from the crowding and inviting offices of allied unions. While leaders of allied unions are as much conscious of rules and regulations as those of the non-allied, much is formed and determined through informal routes that exist at various levels of union hierarchy. As long as the ostensible presence of bureaucratic features does not suppress informal intercourses and routes, the union cannot be said to have succumbed to the 'inevitable' path to bureaucratism.

8.1.6 Gender effect

The brief summary of the research findings on the Gender effect is that female workers are as class conscious as their male counterparts, which is explained by the more or less equal amount of class experience, including class struggles, women have had. While the non-difference itself is an interesting and exciting finding, also thought-provoking is that some aspects of women's class consciousness are noticeably different from men's. Thus, it is deduced from the findings that while women's experience as workers is matched by men's, their experience outside the workplace is quite different from male workers' and the disparity in the seemingly non-class experience leads women to a formation of different views about their long-term involvement in the labour movement and life plans. The context women workers are in is succinctly depicted by Rees (1990);

Women's role in the labour market is thus governed by both class relations and patriarchal relations. Patterns of participation in paid work are determined by domestic commitments concomitant with stage in life-cycle for many women...[and this] contrasts sharply with the traditional male pattern of attachment to the labour force throughout the period from leaving full-time education to

retirement (pp176-178).

Therefore, it is only natural that my suggestion for further research should follow what is pointed to by the findings of the present research: to investigate the interrelationship between the workplace experience and the non-workplace experience, or the link between the spheres of production and reproduction (Beechey 1987).

To be sure, carrying out investigation into the interrelationship is not easy from the outset; for one thing, while expressed in formal institutions and practices, 'gender relations are simultaneously the continuous product of *lived experience*, which renders them dynamic and potentially fluid' (Crompton 1990 p393). Thus, change in personal interaction, especially very intimate interaction such as marriage and family, may well lead to dramatic changes in women's perception of life and the world. What is more, the nature of the mediation of women's class consciousness by everyday reality outside of production and of its effects do not seem straightforward to assess. My conjecture is that there must be a great deal of 'one step back before the leap' and latent changes involved. Drawn together, I am in agreement with Crompton (1990) that it is best to conduct case study research through which 'we come closest to the interweaving of personal lives and social structure (p393)'.

8.1.7 the Nationalism, or Nationality of Ownership effect

The findings of the present research can be effectively summed up in the following way: the workers in domestically owned factories are more class conscious than those employed by foreign owned factories; the latter group of workers are much less keen on engaging in action than the former group; considering the higher standard deviation on

the side of the former group, we do not have any ground to suspect the existence of more organisational mediation on the union side of the former group; the nationality of ownership does not seem to affect the class consciousness of workers systematically.

In retrospect, I think that it was a little too ambitious a project to attempt to examine the effect of nationalism on class consciousness on the basis of the nationality of ownership. Yet, my excuse is two-fold: 'nationalism is manifest in many contexts and in many different forms (Adamson 1991 p176)' so that one form or another of 'the multitude of manifestations of nationalism (Alter 1985 p5)' might be detected in the workplace of a transnational company; although unlikely to grasp the effect of nationalism in this research setting, it is thought to be interesting in its own right to see the possible difference of perception between the two groups of workers.

While it is obvious that the present research has not produced any evidence either to support or reject the claim that national or ethnic loyalties deflect and fragment class identity, it clearly shows that working for a foreign owned company where nationalistic resentments are bound to pop up from time to time does not necessarily enhance class consciousness. Therefore, as I have already commented in the foregoing chapter, I may be so daring as to state that affective nationalism and class consciousness are not synergic to each other.

In regard to the methodological concern, I should mention that I have reservations about the validity of the comparison between the two groups because of the possible existence of different predispositions between the two groups in seeking employment in either domestically owned or foreign owned companies. If this is the case, the inactiveness on the side of the workers in the latter group

may be attributed not to the more alienated labour-management relationship, but to their predisposition related to the decision to work for and stay in a foreign owned company, the president of which is a national of the former coloniser.

One more comment I want to make in relation to the Nationality of Ownership effect, is that, while the effect is not shown through our research, this subject may be pursued in different research settings, such as transnational bargaining tables between transnational management and matching transnational union. To see nationalistic sentiments and perhaps, ethnicity-bound interests undermine class interests or overcome through the solidarity of workers of different nations would certainly be interesting as well as strategically useful, and the establishment of an international bargaining structure that has not yet come into being may well be a victory of the working class, i.e., an advance in class capacities (see Ramsay and Haworth 1990 for different positions on this topic).

8.2 towards an organisational study of trade unions in capitalist society

The above title of this section, except for the last three words I have added in order to highlight the historically specific and thus class nature of the trade union, is borrowed from Child, Loveridge and Warner's article published in 1973 which has been hailed as a 'major theoretical breakthrough' (Poole 1981 p157) in the internal structure approach to the study of trade unionism. The reason behind the adoption of this title is not to be misunderstood though; while appreciating many of their contributions including the fresh call for the explorations

of the trade union organisation, the approach I propose is not an extension of their work, but based on a quite different standpoint.

In this final section of the final chapter, I will close the thesis by briefly urging a view toward trade unions as class organisations. To do so, I will first put forward an argument for the importance of defining the organisation type of the trade union. Second, I will digress from the topic of trade unions and emphasise the roles of organisation and of organisation study in linking the micro and the macro both in real life and research. Third and last, I, drawing together, will attempt to place the trade union organisation in the wider and inherently class society.

8.2.1 What type of organisations are trade unions?

If the ubiquity of organisations is one of the most conspicuous aspects that characterises the modern world, another is their ever-increasing diversity. Thus, as Ahrne (1990 p46) argues, while organising is a general process in human history, the understanding and explaining of diverging patterns of authority and combinations of hierarchical mechanisms entails analyses of differences between organisations, and typologies of organisations (for various ways of classifying organisations, Scott and Meyer 1983; Woodward 1965; Blau and Scott 1963; Etzioni 1961; Parsons 1951, and for an overview see Scott 1992) have been constructed basically to meet this broad purpose.

In the same vein, that is, in order to help understand what the organisation is and how it works internally and externally, attempts to categorise trade unions as distinctive from the other forms of organisations have been made. For instance, Blau and Scott (1963), having built a

classification of organisations on the basis of prime beneficiary, categorise trade unions as 'mutual-benefit associations' where the prime beneficiary is the membership. Being a mutual-benefit association means, according to Blau and Scott (1963), that the trade union has to face the never-ending issue of maintaining membership control, i.e., internal democracy, which involves coping with two main problems: membership apathy and oligarchical control.

This issue of internal democracy of trade union, although different in appearance, reoccurs in Child, Loveridge and Warner's study (1973) that has been mentioned earlier, when they emphasise the twin rationales of goal-formation through representation and of goal implementation through administration, placing us in the familiar picture of trade-offs between the two conflicting but inseparable values of freedom and efficiency, or democracy and discipline.

In relation to the topic of categorisation, Child, Loveridge and Waner (1973), pointing out that 'business' unions may be similar to business organisations in general in terms of their organisation and methods of operation, raise a question about Blau and Scott's category of mutual-benefit associations distinguished from other types of organisations such as business and service associations. Instead, trade unions are classified as 'work organisations' which are defined as;

those within which work is carried out on a regular basis by paid employees, and which have been deliberately established for explicit purposes. The category includes organizations with formal objectives as diverse as business enterprises, hospitals, educational institutions, government departments and the administrative offices of trade unions (Child 1972 p2).

I will now discuss one more typology of trade unions which

is put forward by Hyman and Fryer (1975) and which list both the aspects common to and different from other types of organisations. Initially, they mention five features of trade unions that are empirically found in virtually every type of organisation: purposeful creation, continuity over time, structured administrative system, problems of internal and external administration and control faced by leadership, and the possibility of oppressive experience by membership in the organisation.

More importantly, Hyman and Fryer (1975) then pinpoint two features that distinguish trade unions from most other types of organisations: first, trade unions possess formally democratic characters which facilitate a degree of dynamism not necessarily apparent in other organisations; second, trade unions are secondary organisations in that they presuppose the existence of antecedent structures, and above all, a certain degree of development of capitalist economy.

Drawing together all the forementioned typologies, each developed from a different political standpoint, I will argue that there are at least three vital aspects that should together form a firm basis for the organisational study of trade unions; first, union character can be so diverse that some unions can be even reasonably classified into the same category as business enterprises; still, internal democracy is a constantly recurrent issue for trade unions base, or at least, claim to base themselves on democratic control and thus we may regard the conflict surrounding democracy as both a problem and a privilege of trade unions; third, trade unions exist as an opposite to employers in wage relations, in enterprises either public or private, and in capitalism as a whole, and regardless of whether the form of the opposite is compromising, confrontational, integrative, or revolutionary, they, in an important sense to a great degree, are secondary to and

dependent on the primary.

8.2.2 study of organisations as a link between the micro and the macro.

In the Preface, I have tried to excuse myself for being so agency-oriented, the agency being both human individuals and organisations. But perhaps the distinction between "agency versus structure", "individual and society", "action versus order" or "unilinear constraints versus free choice" (Sorge and Warner 1978 p18) is to be usefully drawn only at an analytical level (see Alexander and Giesen 1987), meaning that while we can distinguish the one from the other for the convenience of analysis, in fact no distinction can be actually drawn, and that if anyone who thinks he or she has done so in an ontological sense, his or her attempt in itself might have to pay a price, i.e., a serious hindrance to perspective and to practical value.

The argument I want to advocate at this juncture is that, regardless of what object the researcher looks into at what level, the study of organisations should be viewed as a link between the micro and the macro worlds, although, again, the distinction between the two worlds is only to be made in an analytical sense.

In fact, the term 'link' can be employed with regard to at least two kinds of gaps that exist at two different levels: the one between individuals and the wide society, and the other between organisational behaviour and organisation theory (or micro and macro organisation studies). As for the former, Ahrne (1990) effectively sums up what gap we need to fill when he says that;

People do not belong to systems or structures but
are affiliated to various organizations.

Organizational affiliations are the bonds that connect individuals with society and they are decisive in forming the social position of individuals and in establishing social control (p133).

A similar voice is raised when McAdam, McCarthy and Zald (1988) asks just how the assessment and translation of macro events into micro mobilization take place during the emergent phase of collective action, and one answer they give is the *micro-mobilization context* where organisations intervene. Stating that 'micro-mobilization contexts serve as the organizational "staging ground" for the social movement' (p715), they find an example in unions which 'serve as the existing context in which grievances can be shared and translated into concrete forms of action' (p709).

The second type of gap which is found between organisational behaviour and organisation theory can be made readily understood when given a definition of each discipline clarifying the unit of analysis;

Organization theory thus focuses on the actions of organizations viewed as total entities. This stands in contrast to the field of organizational behaviour that examines the behaviour of individuals and groups within the context of organizations (Bedeian 1987 p1).

Equally distinctive is, Bedeian goes on to state, the nature of dependent variables of respective fields in that, while for the field of organisational behaviour they are 'measures of individual or subunit affective or behavioural relations', organisation theory by comparison 'takes as its primary concerns dependent variables such as effectiveness, efficiency, and environmental relations'(p1)

These two disciplines, despite their common locus of research, i.e., organisations, have come so apart from each other to be described as a 'schizophrenic orientation'

(O'Relly III 1991 p429). Micro researchers have relied heavily on individual characteristics such as motives and needs to explain behaviour and neglected contextual dimensions such as opportunity and constraint while their macro counterparts have not given much attention to individual behaviour and its application in organisation favouring analysis of structural levels and organisation interaction with environment.

I have brought up the issue of the micro-macro gap here to re-emphasise the role that studies of organisations, of organised individuals (most people of our time are organised in one way or another) play in helping understand people and society. While there can be many levels and aspects of analysis in studying social objects ranging from individual to mega-trend, their existence would not prevent us from building an ever-more comprehensive account of our world as long as we do not stop the attempt to fill the analytical gaps.

8.2.3 trade unions as organisations of class.

At this stage, we can recapitulate some prolonged research trends in union studies that need to be corrected. First, trade unions, notwithstanding their undeniable influence in industrialised society, have been much neglected by organisation researchers, including organisational psychologists (see Barling, Fullagar and Kelloway 1992). Second, when studied, unions have been commonly categorised as undistinguished from other types of organisations. Third, contrary to the enormous amount of research energy expended on the organisation amelioration and correction of enterprises, little has been suggested where trade unions are concerned. Fourth and derivative from the second and third problems, trade union behaviour has been interpreted and predicted largely on the basis of structural forces of

the wider society, ignoring the organisation itself, as we have seen in the various answers to the Trade Union Question. Fifth, when an ecological view¹ is taken, the class character existing so inherently and prevailing both inside and out has been mostly stripped off from the nature of intercourse between unions and society at large. The basic stance we should assume facing the major ongoing research trends so interwoven into the politics of society, therefore, is to re-assume the class nature of trade unions and simultaneously to undertake the 'struggle for new organisational forms that challenge the political and managerial defence of capitalism'(Clegg and Higgins 1989).

We have seen, throughout this thesis, how variedly class nature is expressed across different trade unions and across different times. This variance in expression, closely linked to the organisational properties of trade unions as we have discussed, has led many researchers to the duality thesis of trade unionism. In the midst of this research emphasis on the union duality, the class nature of the organisation, as firmly embedded in class relations as the capitalist enterprise itself, has often been lost. I have tried to expose precisely this: the class nature of trade unions is there with the capitalist production relations, and whether we can enhance the class capacity of trade unions much hinges on our knowledge on the workings of their organisational properties. Only when we come to understand fully the importance of organisational properties and the possibilities of organisational initiatives on the trade-union side, we will be able to put

¹As a level of analysis, the focus of the ecological view is on the organisation as a collective actor functioning in a larger system of relations. Within this approach, the analyst may choose either to examine a specific organisation or type of organisations and the environment or to examine the relations that develop among a number of organisations viewed as an interdependent system. (Scott 1992 p15)

forward new organisational forms to challenge the secondary status of the workers' organisation imposed by the capitalist relations. I hope that this thesis, from start to finish, persuasively files the case for the possibility of trade unions.

Appendix I
questionnaire

This questionnaire has been designed as part of a doctoral thesis. The data collected will be used for academic purpose only and the identities of respondents will not be exposed under any circumstances.

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Would you kindly answer the following ten questions and two other complementary questions?

There is no 'right' answer to these ten questions. Thus, you are asked to circle the item you agree on. Each question has four items among which you may find yourself to agree on more than one item in some cases. However, please make sure to choose only one item you agree on most. Do not hesitate to make use of the blank space provided below each question if you feel it necessary to clarify your opinion in relation to the question. You may leave it blank, of course. Please consult the example question below.

Example) What is your hobby?

1. table tennis
2. mountain climbing
3. fishing
4. other

Question 1 What do you think of your work fellows?

1. My work fellows and I are in competitive relations (in terms of promotion and wages increase, etc.).
2. We work closely together, but I feel no deeper trust in them.
3. We share pains and pleasures.
4. We are, or will be, comrades, striving for the same ultimate goal.

Question 2 What is your opinion about collective action?

1. Individual action is more effective and efficient than collective action.
2. At times demanding collectively is necessary.
3. Collective action is powerful, hence, an essential means for winning.
4. Collective action is meaningful not only as a means to accomplishing immediate goals but also as a school for solidarity and trust.

Question 3 To what extent do you think militant struggles by workers are appropriate?

1. I disagree with any militancy whatsoever.
2. I am content with the solidarity of the workers in my workplace.
- 3 It would be optimal if all the workers of one industry were united.
- 4 The nationwide solidarity should be achieved.

Question 4 What kind of society do you want?

1. I am largely satisfied with the society we live in now.
2. I want a society in which the living wages are guaranteed.
3. I want a society where the individual's class identity is determined by his or her own effort.
4. We should strive for an equal and classless society.

Question 5 How do you see your future social status?

1. I am satisfied with my present being as a wage worker.
2. Although I have no desire to change my status as a factory worker, I want to be better off than now.
3. I want to start a small business of my own if the opportunity comes.
4. I will remain a worker and fight as one until we are emancipated from exploitation and alienation.

Question 6 What kind of action do you think you are prepared to take in order to bring about radical social change?

1. Voting in elections and referenda is my best effort.
2. I intend to participate in educational programmes for workers or street demonstration.
3. I believe that we need a working class party. I will take part in organised political activity.
4. Against the state violence attempting to suppress the workers' movement I will not hesitate to resort to violence.

Question 7 What do you think of the nature of labour disputes in this country?

1. It is an employer-employee problem in the factory concerned.
2. The problem goes over and beyond the workplace boundaries. It is a problem between the working class and the capitalist class.
3. The conflict includes not only the two classes but also the political regime.
4. The conflict bears a fundamental social contradiction involving the political and economic system and ideology.

Question 8 What is your attitude towards the 'company owner'?

1. The company owner works hard for the company, and the workers should help him or her by working hard as well.
2. The company owner is an essential element for the company, but his or her interests are not identical with ours.
3. The owner and the workers are both necessary for production, but the relationship between the two sides is hostile.
4. The owner exploits workers, which is morally wrong, hence, the class of company owners should disappear.

Question 9 At what level do you think wage rises or wage negotiations should be settled?

1. The financial shape of the company is to be importantly considered.
2. Wage rise should accord with productivity rise and inflation rate.
3. Wage settlement is only an one-year armistice and we have to demand our share every year.
4. Wage rise does not change the fact that workers are exploited. Thus, wage rise can never satisfy me.

Question 10 What do you think of the intervention in labour disputes by the so-called 'radical opposition'?

1. It is undesirable.
2. As far as the opposition supports the workers, it is welcome.
3. We should ask for not only its assistance but also guide and lead.
4. Although the aid from the opposition is highly needed, more important is to build our own nationwide organisation to help ourselves.

complementary questions:
Please tick () where applicable.

1. age
- | | | |
|------------------------|-----------|-----------|
| between ages 14-19 () | 20-24 () | 30-34 () |
| | 25-29 () | 35-39 () |
| | 40-44 () | 50-54 () |
| | 45-49 () | 55-59 () |
2. sex female () male ()

Thank you very much for your co-operation.

Appendix II

interview schedule

*Standardised questions for unions

on the establishment of union

1. date of establishment
2. process of union recognition (any conflict?)
3. level of participation in recognition struggle

on the features of union

1. size
2. gender constitution
3. number of officials
4. qualification for membership (inclusion of white-collar workers?)

on the relationship with the Ma-Chang Coalition

1. member of the Coalition?
2. if yes, the way the decision to join was made
3. if no, the reason for not joining

on strike

1. any strike experience?
2. if yes, a. when and how many times?
b. length and participation level of strike
c. nature of strike (demands)
d. what was won through strikes
3. if no, a. interviewee's opinion on strikes
b. any other form of conflicts with employer?

on union activities

1. education programmes (internal/external, frequency, participation level, content)
2. publication of union organ (frequency, number of contributors, number of copies distributed)
3. any incidence of producing printed material?
4. member participation in political meetings and street demonstrations
5. decision-making processes
6. other activities

*standardised questions for non-union companies

1. size of production workforce
2. gender constitution of workforce
3. any previous attempt for unionisation?
4. prospect for unionisation

[Apart from these questions, an effort to pose further questions was constantly made whenever and wherever possible, the findings from which are shown in Chapter 6 and Appendix VII.]

Appendix III
text analysis of circulars of the
allied and the non-allied unions

(1) relationship with work fellows. The word 'comrade' is a usual designation for the union members in particular and workers in general in circulars of the allied unions while the same word is given either a limited use or no use at all in the non-allied circulars. One example of the latter is, as the word appears in an issue of a non-allied organ, **We need to show a little more comradeship if we want to see our union's proposal go through at this collective bargaining'**. Another difference between the two groups is that the former more frequently resort to emotional phrases like **'Let us live and die together'**, **'How could I ever forget you, comrade'**, and **'Let us march forward with a united heart'** as reads an issue of an allied union's organ, while the latter are normally more matter-of-fact. Yet, the latter group carry almost as a fixed feature private and sentimental poems which are invariably absent from the former. Both groups in their organs carry condolences to and congratulations on members' personal affairs.

(2) collective action. The need for collective demand and internal union solidarity are also well propagated by most of the non-allied so that differences between the two groups on this score is not obvious. Yet, among the allied organs, there are a few instances of emphasising the meaning of collective behaviour more strongly than as a means to achieve demands, for example, **'The level of wage increase we won this year may well be unsatisfactory but we are most proud of it for it was achieved by our own collective initiative, our own collective claim and our own collective struggle, unlike the previous years' wage increases that were solely decided by the employer'**.

(3) militant solidarity. Of the 13 non-allied unions,

only two ever mention the word, solidarity, in their organs. One circular of a large non-allied union pleads for solidarity among the unions in subsidiary companies of the same conglomerate, and carries the slogan, 'The solidarity of ten million workers will push the evil labour laws to revision'. The remaining 11 non-allied unions in their organs run the news on the progress of collective bargaining in other workplaces in Masan and Changwon. However, the news articles are mostly fact-conveying, and do not make an appeal to their own members to support other unions. On the other hand, every allied union makes it a point to ask their members for regionwide support in their organs, for example, 'This year's wages struggle was not only a victory of our union but also a result of the support from the regional and further nationwide working brothers. Therefore, let us not overlook our brothers who are struggling hard without much progress and let us send them our flaming support'. Allied circulars also run depth analyses, for instance, on 'the relationship between our wages struggle and the Ma-Chang wages struggles of 1989' to show their rank and file the reason for regional solidarity. As for nationwide solidarity, slogans like 'We are with ten million working brothers and they are with us' are commonplace, and articles on solidarity experiences like, 'the memory of a march with sixty thousand workers that will live forever -- after the participation in the all-nation workers protest against the evil labour laws', in this case by a female rank and file often appear. In addition, notices of money collecting to contribute to strike funds for the unions both within and outside the region are carried in the circulars of the allied.

(4) desired society. The circulars of the non-allied unions do not pay much attention to society at large, let alone with a confrontational view. In general, they seem faithful to the designated category of their publication, i.e., an employees' organ in a company. Two of them

exceptionally criticise the former regime of the country for having been undemocratic, but others confine their societywide interests within the stock market news, or books on social structure and working class philosophy. Although none of the non-allied unions expresses a satisfaction with the existing society, they do not try to pinpoint defects of the society either, tending to emphasise the need for better wages exclusively. One short postscript by a non-allied editor sums up the organs' general attitude toward social classes and inequalities; 'It is due to your laziness or stupidity, say the rich to the poor. It is due to luck or cheating, say the poor to the rich. But, why matters? For everyone in the end returns to a handful of earth with empty hands'. On the other hand, the allied circulars are teeming with criticisms of society, denouncing the *chaebol* and the state. They also use the term class often. One particular circular reads as follows; 'As did the slaves in the antiquity and the serfs in the feudalism, the wage workers in the capitalist society will break the social oppression and exploitation, and take a step to build a society where the grassroots become their master, a society of peace and equality'. Although only two of the allied organs are found to run systematic analysis of the structure and history of capitalism, most of the others are also engaged in verbal attacks on the capitalist class. Yet, it is to be noted that none of the allied unions puts forward a concrete depiction of the alternative society to the capitalist one. In fact, the majority of the allied do not go as far as mentioning the possibility of a new society.

(5) your own future. A desire for a better living in terms of material comfort is expressed by the allied and non-allied alike. However, complaints on hard living are much less frequent in the non-allied. There is no mention of the desire to start a small business of one's own found in either the allied or the non-allied. One issue of a

non-allied organ exceptionally carries a female worker's impression on a workplace-level strike the union recently staged; 'The solidarity of my work fellows has brought out the pride of a worker in me. We should go on fighting for what is legitimately ours until the day of its full achievement'. One salient aspect concerning the question of one's future detected in the allied circulars is however, that they repeatedly emphasise 'our historical mission to ameliorate the society', 'our duty to build an equal society for the forthcoming generations', or 'the task imposed on our shoulders to strive for a fundamental social change', which obviously boosts the cause of the working class movement and the pride of participating in it.

(6) action for social change. In line with the apparent apathy of the non-allied unions to the society at large, ignoring the aspect of the worker as a member of society, they do not mention in their circulars what workers could do to contribute to the making of a better society. This view of trade unions as an employees' organisation is found in almost all non-allied unions' circulars, one of which carries a representative article by a vice president of union concerning 'the *raison d'être* of the trade union: It is the trade union in which the employees of the same company can organise and have their rights secured by law. Through the power of organisation and solidarity of the trade union, one seeks one's rights and interests, receives a wage increase, improves the working conditions, and eventually promotes one's social and economic position. On the contrary, the allied unions tend to see the union organisation as a forward base for working class movement making an impact on the society in general, with which the union practices are to be in tune. This attitude is illustrated in one allied organ: 'The ruling class holds political power by money and force... This power starts losing its ground as soon as workers are organised to

demand their just rights, and that is why the ruling class relying on exploitation, does everything to quash the movement... What should we do in order to defeat the forces of exploitation and suppression and to advance the movement of workers?... Political activities and political struggles should be carried out on a mass basis. We should build a national league of workers and a workers' party... All these can only be achieved by autonomous, active and systematic participation of every worker...' Lastly, the possibility of making use of violent force on the workers' side is never mentioned in any of the allied circulars.

(7) nature of labour disputes. The circulars of the non-allied unions depict labour disputes mainly as a problem between the employer and employees of individual company on the one hand, and as a problem of legislation on the other although two of them choose not to use the term dispute at all. In addition, the state or the government is not regarded as a party in labour disputes on wages. On the contrary, the allied see the state and themselves as confrontational with each other. An allied union organ reads as follows; 'The capitalist class commands mass media and educational institutions through their political power and propagates, "Capital investment should be rewarded by profit. Maximisation of profit is the fundamental purpose of enterprises" '. Yet, it is also noted that while the state and the government are often blamed, they are also an object of appeal. For example, an allied union pleads to the government to put a stop to capital withdrawal by foreign companies, saying 'The foreign companies deceive the Government of Korea and the People of Korea'.

(8) company owner. The role of company owner and management is seen as crucial in the non-allied union circulars. A conspicuous feature in those circulars is articles on company performance which appear in every issue. In addition, articles written by the CEO are often

carried with an accompanied photo of the writer. Even when there is a severe conflict between the labour and management, the union appeals for a 'restoration of mutual trust'. While it is sometimes argued in articles of the non-allied organs that the economic development of the country is to a large extent due to the contribution of workers to back up their wage demands, the same line of argument is not applied to the company level. A particular article reads, 'The company owners of this country, please lead us to the group of the developed countries by listening to the workers' demands and grievances more carefully'. In the allied circulars on the other hand, attacks on individual capitalists as well as the class as a whole are abundant. Yet, interesting is that there is no incident where an individual capitalist is criticised as harmful in the last analysis. That is to say, the capitalist class is treated by the allied as a necessary evil. A rather lengthy citation extracted from an article entitled 'Let us break from the corporatist consciousness' in an allied union reads: Among workers there are many who tend to think that "my wellbeing depends on the company's wellbeing" or that the company precedes the workers and the union". Those workers who think this way think that workers are much responsible for the financial trouble of the company and easily accept the employers' assertion that a raise in wages is conditional to company surplus... However, whether the company is going well or not is not the responsibility of the management, nor of the workers... In a capitalist system a wage labourer is not bonded to a company and therefore can change jobs if necessary...

(9) wage increases. Both the non-allied and allied circulars express concerns on wages galore. Yet, the level of emphasis on wages is different in that the non-allied tend to exclusively concentrate on the quantitative aspect of wages while the other group takes interests in the nature of the wage itself to some extent. A slogan used by

a non-allied union is a good illustration of the former's attitude: 'Our long-cherished desire is wage rise'. Some non-allied circulars quote television news or newspaper analyses on business index, and take the stand that 'the recent decrease of production order should be taken into account for forthcoming wage negotiation'. On the other hand, the allied circulars tend to widen the issue as follows: Labour movement is a struggle of workers for a change and development. The development may be thought to be a materially more comfortable living through higher wages at a first glance, yet, it is not the whole meaning of the development. The development in its true meaning is a qualitative change. That is to say, if the thus-far life has been a passive one pushed around, moulded and prohibited by the employers and the political regime, our life from now on is the autonomous one for which we ourselves determine our destiny, without being exploited. It is this energetic life, entitling us to the fair share according to our effort that renders the full meaning of the development. However, although the term exploitation is commonplace in the allied union organs, what is the 'fair share' and what constitutes exploitation are not sufficiently explained.

(10) pro-worker intervention. No explicit invitation for pro-worker interventions with labour disputes is found in either allied or non-allied circulars since it is illegal - there is a law that prohibits a third party intervention in labour disputes - and one particular non-allied union expresses its objection to any external intervention. However, outside dispute situations, all allied unions actively link themselves with uninstitutionalised opposition: they introduce lists of education programmes run by various opposition groups in their circulars; 4 allied unions mention that they have entrusted their rank and file as well as the union officials education to non-union anti-government organisations; three allied unions

carry articles on the activities of nationwide democratic movement organisations.

Appendix IV

text analysis of circulars of non-allied unions with strike experience and without strike experience

(1) relationship with work fellows. In general, there is not much noticeable difference between the two groups. However, one union which has experienced a strike and been threatened with layoffs in a certain production line, expresses much concern for a lack of fellowship among their members and insists that 'a part is for the whole and the whole is for a part'. In addition, while, one of the three unions with no strike experience mentions nothing about worker relationship, all the three unions with strike experience do.

(2) collective action. All of the unions with strike experience and two of the other group stress the need for putting demands collectively. However, none of them seem to regard it as more than a means to achieve wage increases and a better working condition.

(3) militant solidarity. Again, all three unions with strike experience and two without carry news articles about labour disputes in other unions in the region. One of the former mentions a unionist education course attended by its officials as well as by officials from other unions. Although the same union organ carries a highly emotional article on Kwangju Uprising of 1980, criticising the fact that those responsible for the massacre still remain unpunished, it does not go as far as to suggest what should be done about it by workers. None of the 6 unions notes the need for a nationwide solidarity among workers.

(4) desired society. Two of the unions with strike experience express their disillusionment with the employers' lipservice on a 'harmonious relationship between

the workers and management': one organ complains that 'most company owners stick to the conventional viewpoint that the relationship between the two parties is strictly vertical', and the other points out that 'the unequal relationship in terms of power puts the worker in a constantly threatened position'. The latter organ also indicates that 'A just society is where the absolute majority of the people would neither accept nor give corrupted money and bribes, and a welfare society is where those who shed sweat, that is, those who diligently work live well and comfortably'. The third union with strike experience specifies that 'We must win the minimum wage level. Only when benefits are given to every sector of the society, a humanistic living in this world can be realised'.

(5) your own future. There is no mention about workers' future life plans in either category of union organs, except for one case: in one article appearing on the organ of a union with no strike experience, a female worker writes, 'We women's social life is relatively short. So it is all the more important to make the best of the short social life to make it useful for the future life plan', where the 'short social life' refers to the wage earning working life prior to marriage.

(6) action for social change. There is no concrete remark on the extent of action to be taken to change the society in either category of the organs. A union with strike experience makes an appeal to its members to 'get rid of injustice, corruption and unreasonableness even if it is only within this small space of our everyday life'. Another union with strike experience carries a photo of a mass demonstration criticising the long-standing dictatorship.

(7) nature of labour disputes. The organ of a union with strike experience distinguishes the two main classes of the

capitalist society, i.e., the wage worker and the capitalist, and points out that 'the cause of labour disputes is the capitalists' unquenchable greed for the profit pursuit'. This is the only organ out of the six that mentions the term capitalist. No organ clarifies its view on the government position in labour disputes.

(8) company owner. There is no organ that claims that the relationship between workers and company owners is essentially hostile. A no-strike union's organ states in an article, 'If the owners had a truly caring and loving heart for their workers, they would not go ahead with layoffs', while the same article quotes a capitalist's saying that 'The recession is temporary. Striving from now on entails the most precious property, i.e., the employees', and regrets over the prevailing tendency in capitalists that runs counter to that particular saying. Another article of the same organ reads, 'What has the management done to prevent these financial difficulties we are in now? No, the difficulties would not be due to a fault of the management. But, still, what is the point of marketing?... Making goods according to the production order is all we have to do. Isn't that right? We are not supposed to do the sales in the market ourselves. That is not our responsibility... Then why is that we are the ones that get punished?'

(9) wage increases. One of the unions with no strike experience never mentions the word wages in its organ. Another with no strike experience specifically states that the level of wage rise proposed by the management was accepted due to the workers' concern on the recent financial difficulties of the company. The last no-strike union carries a photocopied newspaper article that presents a women's organisation's claim that the main culprit of the inflation is not wage increases but real estate speculation. A union with strike experience contemplates,

'Wages are a rightful reward for the labour power of the workers. The reality that this rightful reward has to be won over not just by the productive labour but also by another kind of labour called wages struggles is only to tragic'. Another union with strike experience reports, 'Leaders of several unions at a meeting concluded that their unions were outwitted by the employers' schemes to divide workers' united front and that otherwise they could have achieved a 80 to 90% wage rise'. The third union with strike experience emphasises the importance of wage, equating it with the life. None of the unions criticises the wage system itself and there is no mentioning of the word exploitation in any of the circulars.

(10) pro-worker intervention. No organ attempts to introduce radical organisations, and no education programmes conducted by pro-worker organisations are mentioned.

Appendix V

text analysis of circulars issued by mature non-allied and mature allied unions with the time gap of one year

(1) relationship with work fellows. One of the non-allied unions carries a list of victims of industrial accidents in the 1988 issue but there is no mention about work fellowship in the later issue. The other non-allied union carries a music score of 'Comrades, here I am', as the song of the month. One of the allied unions, on the other hand, carries in the 1988 issue, an article entitled 'Dismissals', where those who have been unfairly dismissed are advised to 'consult relevant organisations and to fight with patience as the results depend on one's effort', without offering the unfairly dismissed union protection or help. Yet, the organ makes use of the terms comrades and comradeship frequently in both the earlier and later issues. The other allied union carries in the earlier issue a letter of gratitude from a member who has received a collection from other members for his son's operation, and also news on members arrested or dismissed in relation to union activity. The same union runs a poem in a later issue: 'Ye, comrades! We can do it, can't we? We can clamour together, smile big standing face to face, and share pains together!'

(2) collective behaviour. One of the non-allied unions tend to use the term collective in relation to the management: 'Labour and management are one and the same collectivity'. In the later issue however, there appears an article on collective bargaining in which it is claimed that the bargaining right should be accompanied by the right of collective action. The other non-allied union states in the earlier issue, 'As long as you members back up our union with a strong cohesive power, our union will forever progress'. Later the same organ reads, 'Should we

set out to solve a problem, two people's effort is better than one person's, ten people's effort is better than two people's, and the effort of all is better than ten people's. That is to say, a good result presupposes a unity of hearts'. The two allied unions both place a great emphasis on collective behaviour and collectivity throughout the earlier as well as the later issues of their organs.

(3) militant solidarity. One of the non-allied union never mentions the term struggle in either its earlier or later issue of the organ. Struggle is replaced by bargaining and negotiation. The other non-allied union's attitude toward solidarity does not seem to have changed over time either: both issues of its organ only carry the news of strikes in other unions, without explicitly appealing for a regionwide support. On the other hand, one of the allied unions has changed in terms of inter-union solidarity: while it already makes an appeal for the other striking unions in an earlier issue, later the organ reports on every case where it has sent some of its officials to striking unions for support and carries an article that relates the suppression imposed on other workplaces to their own. The other allied union lists the unions that financially helped its members during a strike, which counts over forty. In a later issue, the same union argues that the aims of the 1989 wage struggle are first the wage rise itself and second the development of workers' consciousness, stating further that the solidarity fortified through the 1989 struggle will contribute to the building of the nationwide union organisation.

(4) desired society. One of the non-allied unions announces that the new society opens with the era of mutual prosperity of the labour and management. A later issue reads that the union and the management are partners. Like the first one, the second non-allied union does not

show much interest in what a future society should look like. In its organ, an article insists, 'the development of individuals, companies, and the state will inevitably come when we sharpen the competitive edge with efficiency, innovation, and creativity while claiming what is rightfully ours'. A later issue of the organ puts forward more complaints about wages and maintains that the wages struggle will provide time and money resources for social activities that will then prepare the workers for an enhanced political status. One of the allied unions concentrates on wage rise exclusively in the first issue and then comes to mention in a later issue terms like exploitation and oppression and puts forward a slogan, 'Down with the world of capitalist!'. The other allied union also seems to have changed over time: in an earlier issue, criticisms tend to be directed at low wages and police suppression of labour disputes while in a later issue, phrases like, 'We could not go on being manipulated by the capitalist and the state authority and remaining an underdog. For we know well that the motor of history is the working class'. Yet, it is to be noted that no mention as to what kind of relations workers and capitalists should develop is made.

(5) your own future. No depiction of the future worker is seen in either issue of the first non-allied union's organ. The second non-allied organ also lacks a proposal for a future worker, although it is mentioned in a later issue that a minimum wage should be guaranteed. The first allied union is not very different from the two above in making it unclear what is best for a worker to choose for his or her future. Although, a later issue of the union organ repeatedly emphasises that workers should fight til they put an end to all the pains and sufferings, it sounds a bit too rhetorical to be persuasive enough. The other allied union, although highly aggressive, does not make a statement as to how important the labour movement is to the

whole life span of a worker in an earlier issue of its organ. Yet, in a latter issue, it goes as far as saying, 'the wider cause of our struggles lies in the advance of the day when the grassroots become the master of the society'.

(6) action for social change. In terms of action to be taken for social change, the first of the non-allied unions says nothing at all in either issue, except for one article written by a union official of the later issue that comments that workers' loud voices and demands only bring out concerns, worries, and anxieties over the possibility of chaos. In the case of the second non-allied union, although there is no objection to be found to action for social change, there is no support of any kind for it either. The first allied union on the other hand reports in a later issue on workers' demonstration and protests and advertises to its members that political activity of the trade union has been legalised through a recent revision of the Trade Union Act, whereas the earlier issue mainly concentrates on the workplace. The other allied union develops its view on action for social change in a way similar to the first allied union although pursuing a more concrete scheme compared to the first. In a later issue, the union assesses the present political situations and attempts to see its own struggles in relation to those conditions.

(7) nature of labour disputes. The first non-allied union categorically rejects the notion that the source of industrial conflict goes beyond the wall of the factory: 'Our union must settle all the labour problems within the labour-management boundaries. Only it does not make use of the term conflict. The other non-allied union, although it does not explicitly set a boundary of industrial conflict in either an earlier or a later issue of its organ, tends to see it as a problem of individual workplaces. Yet, in

a later issue, it acknowledges that the problem has something in common across factories by probing into the nature of wages and profits. A difference between the two issues of the first allied union is that in the later issue, it uses terms like capitalist and wage workers which do not appear in the earlier one. In an article entitled **the falsehood of the Labour Disputes Conciliation Act** in the later issue, the union also condemns the Act and states that **the ruling class has the legal system at its disposal.**

(8) company owner. The first non-allied union abundantly points out that the owner and the workers are in the same boat. According to an internal survey conducted by the union, the results of which are carried in the later issue of the organ, 50.3% of the workers think that **'The prosperity of the company improves my own prosperity.'** and another 45% think that **'The prosperity of the company improves my prosperity to some extent.'** The fact that only the two choices were given to the workers to answer, makes clear the union philosophy. In the case of the second non-allied union, it is seen in the earlier issue of the organ that the union which leads a **campaign for defect products reduction** also casts its lot with the company. However, in the later issue, the attitude changes toward that of conflict, which is shown in the remarks on **company owner's usual excuses for not giving a wage rise.** On the other hand, the first allied union changes its attitude toward company owner from that of conflict to that of confrontation: in the earlier issue of its organ, the union maintains that it is conventional for the owner not give **what is rightfully workers' at the collective bargaining if the workers' side is seen weak;** in the later issue, the union insists that the company owner resorts to deception and fraud against workers, which can be quashed only by the latter's solidarity. The second allied union in the earlier issue of its organ condemns the owner and the management for having oppressed and exploited workers

continuously, and in the later issue, it refers to an executive manager as a parasite. Yet, none of the allied unions states clearly whether the role of the company owner is essential or redundant in production.

(9) wage increases. Any attempt to set a criterion of wage demand is not visible in either the earlier or the later issue of the first non-allied union's organ. On the contrary, the second non-allied union in its later issue specifies three criteria: First of all, the right wage should be at least sufficient for a minimum level of living, second of all it should be set according to inflation, and third of all it should take into account the growth of productivity. The first allied union on the other hand mentions the minimum wage as a criterion in the earlier issue, but comes to equate winning the wage rise with protecting self-dignity against the dictatorship of the management. The second allied union asserts in the earlier issue of its organ that wages are determined by the power relations between the labour and the management. In the later issue, the union puts forward an argument that securing a wage rise is conducive to political struggles since it mitigates the workers' hardship and the participation in political struggle will in turn enhance class consciousness necessary to break with exploitation.

(10) pro-worker intervention. The first non-allied union is, in the earlier issue of its organ, categorically opposed to any outside intervention: 'If there are members in our union who attempt to solve our problems in collusion with outside influences, they must return to our members' pure side immediately'. In the later issue, it also states that the uninstitutionalised opposition makes the situation worse. The second non-allied union makes no comment on pro-worker intervention either in the earlier or the later issue of its organ. The first allied union once and very

briefly in the later issue of its organ mentions that it receives advice with legal matters from non-union labour organisations. The other allied union, however, changes a great deal over time: while in the earlier issue of its organ the union mentions nothing about pro-worker intervention, it explicitly argues in the later issue that militant solidarity with non-union labour organisations is urgently required for individual enterprise-level unions are not powerful enough to fight against the capitalist and the government.

Appendix VI
text analysis of union circulars of allied
and non-allied female dominant unions

Most of the unions in female-labour-based factories, allied and non-allied alike, run in their organs a series of either counselling or comments on gender-specific matters. On the contrary, no union organ in the male-labour-based is found to pay careful attention to their female minority members. One union, allied, though urges in its organ the participation of female members in union meetings and general assembly, by stating that **'your participation will bring about a stronger union and a stronger workers' power'** and another, also allied, contributes the successful sustainment of good humour among the general members in a recent sabotage partly to the female partaking and their cheers. These two references to the female gender are both very cursory.

In addition to the difference in the amount and systematicity of gender-related issues, another contrast is detected in the nature of approaches to the issues between allied and non-allied unions in the female-labour-based. The non-allied, while encouraging their mostly female membership to participate more actively in union activity as a whole and to stand more resolutely and staunchly by their union when confronting conflict with management, their treatments of gender-related topics are largely contained within domestic and everyday interests. And although there are no organs among those unions that actually consciously try to undermine their members' class consciousness in relation to the gender, they do not make much effort to strengthen it either. The gender question and class consciousness is never linked together, and what is more, they are understood to be separate from each other when a non-allied union organ limits the female workers'

working life by stating 'most of us will work for five to eight years at the longest in the factory before we get married', with the connotation that rules out any possibility for a long-term commitment of female workers to the workers' movement. The above statement is actually intended to encourage the female workers to make the best of this factory experience and to become involved in union activities.

On the other hand, all of the four mainly-female allied unions' organs show interests in the relationship between gender and class consciousness, two of which put forward slogans such as 'Equal wages for women workers!' and 'Let us not forget that we female workers do our share in workers' movement as well as in production of goods and services!', and the other two more systematic and painstaking in their approaches to the gender-class relationship. What follows is an extract from a serially running column of the 'Women Question' in one of the latter two allied union organs.

Women of today and tomorrow - The power of women has to be organised as social force.

In our present society, it is the women who provide labour power for the lowest wages. The power of the nation that has taken the world by surprise as a host country of the Olympic Games has been achieved on the sacrifices of the factory workers, farmers and their wives and daughters who have been deprived of the due social welfare and who have endured the income below subsistence.

There is no aspect of our life at present, be it the life in the family, in the local community, or at work, that is not affected by the state power and the state policy. Yet, the state has based itself on the patriarchy that subordinates women, in order to maintain the conservative anti-communist society...

The division of the country into two, which has led an enormous financial spending on the stationary U.S. troops and on the import of the weapons of the latest technology is directly linked to the subordinate life of women. The humanisation of women, security of the family, and the pursuit of welfare cannot but coincide with the demand from all of us, i.e., the task of national unification. This reminds women in the family, in the local community, and at

work, of the mission to play a leading role on forming a new national commune toward the unification of the nation. It is in this context where women have to be organised as a social force. That is to say, the role of women to pursue the peace of the family and the health of the children should be enlarged and extended to anti-pollution movement, to anti-war, and anti-nuclear movement, and to life-preservation movement... Through these social movements, women can prepare the social ground for the re-creation of the national commune.

Appendix VII
interviews with officers of allied
unions and non-allied unions

allied unions

Out of ten allied unions, only one decided to join the Ma-Chang Coalition by a ballot, and another by the rank and files' show of hands. The others all joined it through a discussion in the executive committee or by the president's decision. The capacity to organise for enterprise-level unions is not straightforward because many workplaces are under the union-shop system, and even if they are not, they have no competition due to the one-workplace one-union clause in the Trade Union Act. Therefore, only the capacities to propagate and to mobilise are discerned here. In the place of a name, the alphabet is used to designate each union.

Allied union A joined the Coalition during its own wage struggle by the rank and file's show of hands. It has a monthly organ and issues additional news letters for special occasions or emergency situations. During the 1989 strike, it disseminated two statements of appeal, 4,000 and 1,000 copies each, to the citizens of Masan and Changwon in the streets in order to inform them and to receive moral support. The rate of attendance at sit-in during the strike was high, sustaining 95% throughout the period. The union relies upon the education of its leadership partly on the Coalition and partly on outside organisations. Apart from the union officials, any aspirants are taken in, and as a result, most of the shopfloor delegates have attended an outside education programme. The general members are on a self-education programme where union officials lead discussions and give lectures. All the mass meetings and demonstrations, both

political and economic, in the region are publicly advertised to the all members and the usual rate of participation is 40 to 50%.

For the allied union B, it was the president who decided to join the Coalition, and later the decision was notified to all members. Union organ is published. Collective action such as sabotage and strike has been taken at least twice a year for the last two years. The most recent strike, forced by company lockout, lasted over 40 days and the rate of attendance at sit-in was 70-80% throughout. 1,000 copies of a statement of appeal were disseminated to the citizens during the strike. While the union officials attend education programmes run by the Coalition and other organisations, there is no time allowance for the members education in the collective agreement. The union asks a university student union, the Seoul Trade Union Association, and the Ma-Chang Coalition to recommend them useful books on working class philosophy and movement, economics and union activities, which are then circulated among officials. However, the union has not been trying hard to involve the rank and file readers.

For the allied union C, the decision to join the Coalition was made by the executive committee. There has been no strike. All workers' mass meetings and demonstrations are publicly advertised and the rate of participation in any of them is over 90%. The education of the rank and file members is carried out by union officials who attend the Coalition meetings. The union has a monthly organ.

The allied union D joined the Coalition by the president's decision. The union has a monthly organ and has published a book on the grassroots culture. While there has been no strike, all the members are frequently called for a general meeting during the lunch hour on the company ground, and in those meetings, political as well as economic slogans are

chanted. The rate of attendance is usually around 90%. The education for the rank and file is conducted once a month by the union. All mass demonstrations are advertised in advance and the rate of participation is normally over 60%.

The allied union E joined the Coalition by a general ballot of the members. Despite the fact that middle aged married women who are normally thought to be least class conscious among workers account for 60% of the union membership, the rate of participation in the Coalition meetings is as high as 60-70%. The rank and file education is carried out in each production line regularly. Official general union meeting is held once a month. The union has an organ and during the strike a statement of appeal is issued and disseminated to the public.

The allied union F joined the Coalition by a decision of the union leadership. Throughout a one month-long strike in 1989, the rate of attendance at sit-in was about 95%. However, mobilisation of the rank and file to the mass demonstrations since the wage struggle has proved to be difficult, and subsequently the effort to advertise them publicly has been stopped. Thus, only union officials are informed of the demonstrations in advance. There is no self-programmed education for the rank and file some of whom are trusted to outside organisations. There is no general union meeting, either. The union has an organ that is published every month.

The allied union G joined the Coalition by a decision of the leadership. Strikes have been frequent. Around 50% of the total membership is mobilised to mass demonstrations in the region and usually transported by company buses to the venue. The education of the whole membership is not carried out. Instead, the core members who account for 8% of the total membership are concentratedly educated and

disciplined by the leadership and external unionists in a hired venue outside the workplace. The rate of attendance at sit-in is inconsistent due to frequent police occupation of the factory. 80% of attendance rate drops to 10% if the police come in. The union leaders assess that the variation of class consciousness and fighting spirit among workers is considerable. The union publishes an organ every month.

The allied union H joined the Coalition by a decision of a few leaders. Like the union F, the majority of the membership in the union H are also married women. The general education is conducted three or four times a year with an outside speaker, usually from the Coalition. The union also carries out an extended leadership education by itself. Mass demonstrations organised by the Coalition are advertised publicly to all members and the rate of attendance is 70%. The union has an organ and has never staged a strike.

The allied union I joined the Coalition by the president's decision. The union staged a major strike for 69 days in 1989, which has been considered both by the leadership and the rank and file to be a failure to a large extent. During the strike, three different statements of appeal were disseminated to the public. The rate of attendance at sit-in was 30% mainly due to fact that the majority of the workers were commuters from another city where the company was formerly located. All the education programmes in the region are advertised to the members but the participation rate is low. Presidents of other unions are often invited to speak. It has a by-monthly published union organ.

The allied union J joined the Coalition by a decision of the leadership. The union staged a strike in 1988 for over 40 days but not in 1989. Though a wage struggle, political slogans were much employed at sit-in. The union relies for

the education of its members on outside organisations. The mass demonstrations in the region are publicly advertised but the participation rate stays at 15% mainly because the workplace operates on a three shift system. The union has an organ.

non-allied unions

The non-allied union A has been on a union democratisation struggle in which various factions of workers have been involved. The fact that the leadership has been changed four times during the first six month of 1989 by no confidence, shows how unsettled the union is yet. Although not officially allied, the union informs the floor delegates of the mass demonstrations led by the Coalition and then the delegates inform the rank and file individually. Therefore, there is a certain level of participation in the regional solidarity. Yet, there has not been proper education conducted by the union although the union publishes an organ.

The non-allied union B had been in existence for 3 months when the survey was conducted, but the first president had already resigned with a confession that he had been co-opted by the company. While there has been no strike, some sabotage and refusal to do overtime work was involved during a wage negotiation. The union has no organ and no education programme.

The non-allied union C has an experience of a five-day strike. The president says that he is against inter-union solidarity. Once a ballot was carried out to see how many members wanted to join the Coalition, and the result was that the majority did not. The union conducts a one-hour education a year and invites a lecturer from the FKTU once a year. It has an organ.

The non-allied union D was established to reform the irrationalities of the management, according to its president who categorically rejects any possibility of joining the Coalition. There has been no strike. The union itself conducts the rank and file education on union activity. There is no organ.

The non-allied union E has no experience in labour disputes. The president holds a negative opinion on the pro-worker intervention by the uninstitutionalised opposition. There is a general education four times a year and a certified labour consultant is invited to speak. The officials join a FKTU leadership training programme. The union has an organ.

The non-allied union F was established with the help of an allied union in legal and organisational matters. On establishing itself, the union staged a two-day strike with a 'majority' participation - the officer interviewed could not recall the percentage. The union does not have any contact with the FKTU apart from paying the compulsory due. There is no education programme for the rank and file, either internal or external. The union has a bi-monthly published organ.

The non-allied union G has no strike experience. There is no organ, and a notice board is used when informing the members is necessary. Yet, the general meeting is frequently held and the union invites speakers from the FKTU to educate the rank and file on union activity and collective agreement.

The non-allied union H, one of the largest in the region has an experience of a 4-day strike under the present leadership with a 80% attendance rate. The leadership has an extremely negative opinion on the Coalition. Individual participation in the Coalition mass meeting is rare among

the members. On employment, the company conducts an intensive education for new recruits and the union has a share in the programme. The union in addition invites lecturers to advise the workers how to invest money and to grow property, etc. There exist more than 30 friendly societies and hobby clubs in the workplace and all of them are financially assisted by the company and the union. The union has an organ.

The non-allied union I has no experience in strike. Many rank and files are in favour of the Coalition but the president is also pressed against it by a strong and unanimous objection from the male members. Because of the common threat of capital withdrawal of foreign factories in the MAFEZ, the union has started to mobilise its members to the Coalition mass demonstrations. The participation rate is around 50%. The union has an organ, and the general education is conducted by an invited speaker, usually a certified labour consultant.

The non-allied union J has an experience of a five-day strike, a pure wage struggle. The issue of joining the Coalition has been raised in the executive committee and no decision has been reached. The officers inform that the rank and file do not have a favourable opinion on inter-union solidarity since an attempt to carry out a joint action with two other non-allied unions turned to be a failure. The union runs a education course for new members, and the officials join the FKTU training programme. The union publishes newsletters regularly.

The non-allied union K is newly founded small union. The president intends to join the Coalition. During the two months of existence, the union has conducted a self-programmed education session twice for the whole membership. The leaders attend education programmes run by

outside organisations. The union has just started to mobilise its members to the Coalition meetings and the participation rate is around 15%. The union has an organ.

The non-allied union L has an experience of a 15-day strike with a 90% attendance rate. The leadership comments that it does not object to the idea of joining the Coalition. The officials attend education programmes run by the Coalition. There is no education programme for the rank and file except that a notice board is used to explain the Labour Standards Act.

The non-allied union M has no strike experience. The president states that he does not have any intention to join the Coalition. He also says that it is natural for the management to be more powerful than the union although workers and union activity are to be protected by law. The union invites speakers from the FKTU and also conducts an education programme for the rank and file for itself.

The non-allied union N has no strike experience and its president does not intend to join the Coalition although he himself participates in mass demonstrations led by the Coalition. There is no education programme for the rank and file. There is no organ.

The non-allied union O has staged a 15-day strike. The attendance rate at sit-in was almost a 100%. The union publicly advertises mass demonstrations of the Coalition in advance but the participation rate is low, less than 10%.

The organ is published once a month. There is no regular education programme for the rank and file although the union set up education sessions during the strike. The officials attend education programme conducted by outside organisation.

The non-allied union P has experienced labour disputes

although none of them has culminated in strike. Although it is a large union, it does not have an education programme for the rank and file, except the education by newsletters. It has a monthly organ. The officials have attended a lecture on the Labour Standards Act given by a certified labour consultant. Although the union does not participate in the demonstrations and meetings of the Coalition officially, it advertises them to its members through the floor delegates. About 90% of the executive committee want to join the Coalition.

The non-allied union Q is a small newly founded union without a strike experience. There is no organ, no education programme. Only the union officials have been on education sessions run by the KFTU. The president is uninterested in the Coalition.

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